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The Social Consequences of Establishing 'Mixed' Neighbourhoods:

Does the mechanism for selecting beneficiaries for low-income housing projects affect the quality of the ensuing 'community' and the likelihood of violent conflict?

Report for the Department of Local Government and Housing,
Provincial Government of the Western Cape

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Summary

The post-apartheid state has, through the provision of subsidies, fuelled a massive expansion of formal, low-income housing in South African towns and cities. The new public housing neighbourhoods are, however, as segregated racially as their apartheid-era predecessors. Whilst the relative importance of different reasons for the reproduction of racial segregation might be unclear, it is clear that the adoption of different procedures for allocating new housing would result in neighbourhoods that are more diverse or mixed in terms of race and other characteristics.

Adopting new procedures and creating more mixed neighbourhoods *might* have undesirable social, economic and political consequences. Mixed neighbourhoods might be characterized by social tensions and conflict, weak social capital, and hence economic disadvantage and political problems. The Department of Housing and Local Government in the provincial government of the Western Cape commissioned research into the social consequences of establishing more mixed neighbourhoods. 'Mixed' was understood as including both racial mixing, and mixing in terms of 'community of origin', i.e. of the neighbourhood from which beneficiaries had come.

Constrained by time and funding, the research comprised four components. First, a review was conducted of the existing literature on racially-mixed neighbourhoods in the Western Cape. Secondly, existing quantitative data on the 'quality of community' in the Western Cape were reanalyzed. Thirdly, and most importantly, more than fifty in-depth interviews were conducted with residents in selected neighbourhoods in metropolitan Cape Town. The neighbourhoods were selected purposively to include a range of mixing, in terms of both race and community of origin. Much of our research was concentrated in the unusual case of Delft, where several neighbourhoods (Delft South and Leiden) are highly mixed. Additional research was conducted in the less mixed neighbourhoods of Delft North and Weltevreden Valley, and in the somewhat mixed neighbourhood of Tambo Square. These interviews focused on the quality of community in these neighbourhoods, paying special attention to inter-racial relationships and other possible social cleavages. Finally, additional research was conducted in two towns outside of Cape Town: Malmesbury and Robertson.

The literature review (in Chapter 2) found that most existing studies have focused on single cases rather than comparative analysis. Some have found little racial integration in racially-mixed neighbourhoods. Others have found evidence of good inter-racial relationships, but these cases have generally been explained in terms of specific characteristics (such as the unusual existence of inter-racial relationships prior to the establishment of the new neighbourhood).

The reanalysis of quantitative data (in Chapter 3) found that there is some variation in the measurable quality of community, as reported by residents. The measured quality of community tends to be lower in poorer neighbourhoods than in richer ones, but is also significantly higher in African neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods where the reported

quality of community was lowest tend to be ones populated primarily by poor, coloured people. Across most neighbourhoods, however, the quality of community seems low: people report some interaction with neighbours, including mutual assistance, but many people feel insecure in their neighbourhood, few participate in collective organisation and action, 'community' organization appears weak, and there seems to be little feeling of togetherness.

This picture was broadly corroborated in the qualitative research (reported in Chapter 5). Residents forge a 'community' in new housing projects through both everyday interactions with their neighbours (greetings, occasional conversations in the street, borrowing minor items), but it is rare for interactions between neighbours to be more substantive. Most residents seem wary of intimacy with neighbours whom they instinctively mistrust: trust is earned, through familiarity and reciprocity, rather than assumed. Residents acknowledge that even apparently friendly neighbours can turn against you, gossiping, perhaps out of jealousy. There is little evidence of robust, sustained 'community' organization, or of regular collective action. Crime dominates the social landscape. In some neighbourhoods, residents will come to each other's assistance in the event of crime, but it is more often the case that residents fear criminals and are reluctant to take risks in confronting them. Overall, it is hard to identify much of a 'community' in these neighbourhoods.

In the more racially-mixed neighbourhoods where we conducted research, we did not find evidence of enduring antipathy across racial lines. Many residents told us that living alongside racially-other neighbours had been a learning experience. People employ a racialised discourse, but race seems to have become a multi-cultural rather than a hierarchical or exclusionary concept. We did find, however, strong evidence of antipathy towards immigrants from Somalia and elsewhere.

Whilst the quality of community seems generally low, we did not find significant evidence that it is lower in more mixed neighbourhoods than in less mixed ones (whether 'mixed' is understood in racial or other terms). We found no evidence to suggest that the adoption of mechanisms that result in more mixed neighbourhoods would result in undesirable social outcomes. We find that the supposed integrative benefits from coming from the same 'community' of origin come to be outweighed by the positive effects of current contact and interaction in the new neighbourhood. This is in part because people coming from the same 'community' of origin often have less in the way of a shared history than we might imagine, as that 'community' might have been a very transitional episode in most people's lives. The differences between more and less mixed neighbourhoods are probably reduced because poverty, crime and social flux are leveling experiences that cut cross racial or other lines in poor, public housing neighbourhoods. These experiences do not seem to mitigate xenophobia, however.

Our research in the small towns of Robertson and Malmesbury suggested that the quality of community seems higher there than in Cape Town, but otherwise we found the same general picture. Whilst there has been little racial mixing, there is little evidence to suggest that more rapid or widespread mixing would have any undesirable consequences.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The post-apartheid state has, through the provision of subsidies, fuelled a massive expansion of formal, low-income housing in South African towns and cities. Almost all of the new state-subsidised houses have been allocated through mechanisms that privileged residents of informal settlements over residents of backyard shacks or people living in overcrowded formal accommodation. The result, in the Western Cape, is that residents of informal settlements account for only a small proportion of the housing backlog. The housing problem in the Western Cape has become primarily one of backyard shacks and overcrowding. At the same time, the privileging of informal settlements in the allocation of new public housing has meant that most new public housing projects are as racially-segregated as apartheid-era residential areas. Massive public investments in housing and infrastructure have done little or nothing to reduce racial segregation. For both of these reasons, the existing mechanisms for allocating state-subsidised or public housing need to be reviewed. Shifting to a system based on allocating houses to people on waiting-lists, with little regard to their current place of residence, would result in, first, many more houses being allocated to people living in backyard shacks or overcrowded formal housing and, secondly, less segregated new neighbourhoods. One possible risk in such a reform to policy on house allocation is that more 'mixed' neighbourhoods – mixed, that is, in terms of place of origin as well as race – would have a lower quality of 'community' and, perhaps because of this, would be more prone to violent conflict.

1.1. The spectacular but insufficient expansion of formal, low-income housing

Since 1994, the South African state has assisted a very substantial number of poor people to access formal housing, primarily in towns and cities. The government claims to have approved more than three million housing subsidies between 1994 and 2008, and '2,358,667 units were completed as a result of expenditure of R48,5 billion', such that about 10 million people benefited from 'state-subsidised housing opportunities' (South Africa, 2008: 28). These figures are spuriously precise, given the poor quality of provincial and municipal record-keeping in many parts of the country.[1] Nonetheless, it

[1] Kecia Rust (from the Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre) finds it difficult to reconcile these figures with other, very incomplete data on house-construction. There appear to be three major problems with reaching an aggregate figure for new, state-subsidised housing. First, records in the deeds office do not indicate whether the house was constructed with or without a state subsidy, whilst data on the approval of housing subsidies are incomplete and difficult to match with actual house-construction. Secondly, it seems that a substantial proportion of state-subsidised "RDP" and "BNG" houses – perhaps as high as one-half – have not been registered with the deeds office. Thirdly, it seems that state subsidies have been used in some cases to finance transfers of ownership from the state to occupants (leasehold being converted to freehold), in which case the provision of a subsidy did not mean the construction of a new house. Rust counts less than 1 million (registered) RDP/BNG units. This figure rises to 2.8 million only if there are as many again unregistered RDP/BNG units and about the same number also of properties where the ownership has been transferred from state to occupant. Even then, there would only be 2 million new houses (Rust, 2009). Furthermore, it is unclear whether the total expenditure claimed by the state is in current or constant prices. The estimate of the number of beneficiaries per house (approximately 4.2, i.e. 10m divided by 2.36m) is realistic: In the Western Cape, a survey found that new public-subsidised housing had an average of 4.13 occupants (Vorster and Tolken, 2008: 46).

is evident from travelling around any of South Africa's towns or cities that huge public housing projects have been built. New neighbourhoods, comprising rows of very small, generally identical houses, have been built in (or at least on the periphery of) almost every town or city. The figure of 10 million beneficiaries corresponds to about one-fifth of the country's population, and at least one-third of the country's urban population. Even if it is somewhat exaggerated, the proportion of the poor, and especially of the urban poor, who have benefited must be very large indeed.[2] At the same time, the state has invested massively in infrastructural development in existing low-income neighbourhoods. Stung by criticisms of its allegedly slow delivery, the state trumpets the dramatic improvement in access to electricity, water and sanitation (e.g. South Africa, 2008: 21).

The Western Cape has experienced some of this low-income urban development, although it is difficult to separate out the precise figures for state-financed housing from the total for all new housing. The number of households in the Western Cape living in formal housing rose from about 766,000 in 1996 to 921,000 in 2001 and an estimated 1.13 million in 2007. In metropolitan Cape Town alone, the number rose from under 506,000 to 575,000 to 743,000 (Burger and van der Berg, 2009: Table 1). Many of these new flats or houses were built by the private sector without any involvement by the state. Many others, however, were built with financial subsidies from the state. Burger and van der Berg provide a graph that suggests that about 240,000 housing subsidies were provided in the Western Cape in the fourteen financial years from 1995/96 to 2008/09 (2009: Figure 1). This conforms with data from two provincial government documents, which record that projects comprising a total of 172,000 houses were approved in the ten year period between 1994 and 2003,[3] whilst 77,000 houses were built during the five financial years from 2004/05 to 2008/09 (of which 52,000 houses were in Cape Town).[4] In Cape Town, a total of 32,500 houses were reportedly built under the Integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP)[5] in the area around Cape Town's airport, whilst many other houses were built in Khayelitsha and other parts of the city.

Overall, it seems likely that at least 250,000 state-subsidised houses were built in the Western Cape, including at least 150,000 in Cape Town, between 1994 and 2009. Put another way, more than one half (and perhaps as much as two thirds) of the formal housing built in the Western Cape since the end of apartheid was built with public funding. Put yet another way, at least one in five, and perhaps one in four households in both Cape Town in particular and the Western Cape as a whole lives in a post-1994, state-subsidised house.

The expansion of formal housing (and services) to the poor in particular is indicated if we take the data disaggregated by 'race' (or population group). In Cape Town, and the

[2] It should be noted, and has been acknowledged by the state, that the quality of construction was inadequate for a considerable minority of these houses.

[3] 'Low cost housing projects – last updated 8 March 2004', document provided by Paul Whelan. The broad pattern over time in this document is consistent with that in Burger and van der Berg's data on subsidies (perhaps because they come from the same source). The provision of housing subsidies and or approval of new housing slowed down dramatically between 2002 and 2003, and never regained the strong momentum of the period 1999-2002.

[4] Data from 'Provincial Government Housing Delivery Figures, 2004/05-2008/09', spreadsheet provided by Paul Whelan. These figures exclude sites that were serviced but without a house being provided.

[5] This figure was provided by Gerry Adlard.

Western Cape generally, the 'African' population is overwhelmingly poor (although not all poor people are African, as there remains a significant poor 'coloured' population also). Almost all people living in informal housing are 'African', many being migrants from the rural Eastern Cape. Immigration was the primary reason why the total number of African households in the Cape Town doubled between 1980 and 2001, rising from 10% to more than 30% of the population of the city. The African population rose by one half between 1996 and 2001 alone. In this respect, Cape Town is typical of South African cities, and indeed of cities across the global South. The rapid growth rate of the African population has meant that the construction of new formal housing has not prevented the persistence of a housing backlog.

In 1996, approximately 55,000 African households in Cape Town lived in formal housing. In 2001, the figure was over 80,000. Extrapolations using the 2007 Community Survey data suggest that the figure had risen to more than 180,000 households, an increase of about 100,000 over seven years. In 1996, 65% of African households in Cape Town lived in informal housing. By 2001, the proportion had fallen to 50%, and by 2007 to 38%.[6] These figures (for Cape Town), which will include some new houses built without government subsidies and some old houses bought from previous owners or rented, are broadly consistent conform with the data cited above (for the province) on the construction of subsidized housing.

The housing backlog persists, however. Because the decline in the *proportion* of households in informal housing occurred at the same time as the total *number* of African households in Cape Town was rising, the absolute number of African households in informal housing actually *grew*. The proportion fell because the absolute number of African households in formal housing grew rapidly over the same period. Burger and van der Berg reports that the number of households living in informal dwellings in the Western Cape rose from 155,000 in 1996 to 185,000 in 2001 and 192,000 in 2007. The number and proportion living in backyards rose steadily, such that by 2007 backyards accounted for approximately 40% of the total.[7]

Burger and van der Berg estimate the total housing backlog in the Western Cape at 210,000 in 1996, rising to 258,000 in 2001 and 305,000 by 2007. This backlog comprised households in informal settlements, households in backyard shacks, and people living in overcrowded formal accommodation. In 1996, informal settlements accounted for about one half of the total backlog, with overcrowding accounting for more than one third and backyard shacks for only a small proportion. By 2007, in contrast, overcrowding accounted for the lion's share (over half) of the total, backyard shacks for more than one-quarter, and informal settlements for only one-fifth of the total (2009: Figure 3). Burger and van der Berg point out that their figures are significantly lower than the number of people often reported (in the press and elsewhere) to need

[6] Our calculations using data from 1996 and 2001 Population Censuses, and 2007 Community Survey. The figure of 180,000 for 2007 was derived using Burger and van der Berg's (2009) figure for the total number of households in formal housing in Cape Town, 742,811.

[7] 'Extent of backyard occupation in the Province', response to Parliamentary Question 10, provided by Paul Whelan, December 2009. It should be noted that the 2001 Population Census and 2007 Community Survey should be compared with caution, given that the latter covered only a sample and housing types are especially sensitive to the sample design. The figures reported do, however, correspond loosely with the estimates of the City of Cape Town of the number of households on its housing waiting list that are living in formal areas, taking into account that the latter include people sharing houses and flats as well as people living in backyards.

housing, and are lower also than the numbers on waiting lists for housing. This presumably reflects the fact that some households in informal accommodation have lodged more than one application for formal housing, whilst other applicants may already be living in formal housing registered in someone else's name. Nonetheless, the housing backlog is many times higher than the number of new, low-income houses being built p.a., and is constantly being inflated through new immigration as well as natural population growth.

In 2009, the Western Cape provincial MEC for housing, Bonginkosi Madikizela, reported that 16,000 new housing units would be built in the 2009/10 financial year. At this annual rate of delivery, it would take twenty-eight years to meet the existing housing backlog in the province. Given the obvious expectation of continued immigration, however, even this forecast is unrealistic. Between 2001 and 2007 the population of the Western Cape grew by an estimated 17%. If this growth rate continued, the housing backlog will grow rather than decline. In thirty years time, the backlog would be almost double its current level (Madikizela, 2009).

Whilst the persistence of a housing backlog reflects primarily continued, rapid immigration, the changing composition of the backlog reflects public polices on the allocation of new public housing. Residents of informal settlements have, as we shall see, been the state's priority in terms of the allocation of state-subsidised housing. This is why, despite continued immigration into informal settlements, informal settlements comprise a smaller proportion of the housing backlog. Residents living in backyard shacks and in overcrowded formal housing have been regarded as a low priority by the state, and as a result now comprise together a very large majority of the population in need of housing.

1.2. The allocation of public housing in new neighbourhoods

The post-apartheid state's policy on low-income housing has revolved around two strands: the construction of new housing and the transfer of ownership of existing housing. New housing has been constructed primarily through the award of means-tested capital subsidies to help to finance the infrastructural and construction costs of housing to be owned by the occupants (under the Integrated Residential Development Programme, or IRDP). In practice, the subsidies for a bundle of houses are usually handed over to a municipality, which contracts out the development and construction work to private companies, and then 'sells' the site or house to the individual beneficiary. Subsidies were means-tested and required that an applicant, if single, supported dependents (Tomlinson, 1998). In some cases the central government subsidy is subvented with additional funds from municipal or provincial governments, or from contributions from the prospective occupants (under People's Housing Projects, PHPs). Subsequent amendments to government policy required that applicants contribute, either through a minimal cash payment (R2479) or their own labour, and restricted new home-owners' rights to resell their new properties. In 2002-03, the national Department of Housing reassessed its policy, resulting in a new policy entitled *Breaking New Ground.* The new policy attached more importance to the quality of the new state-subsidised neighbourhoods (Charlton and Kihato, 2006). The slow progress and high costs of new housing projects on green-field sites led national and provincial housing departments to reconsider in situ upgrades of informal settlements. The Upgrading Informal

Settlements Programme (UISP) finances in situ upgrading. Besides being more cost-effective, such upgrades are also less disruptive.

The construction of new, subsidized housing is the focus of this report, but it is not the only arm of state policy. The state has also systematically transferred the ownership of existing public housing to the occupants. Under apartheid, African people were only permitted to own houses outside of the Bantustans in exceptional circumstances, so that the 'matchbox' and other housing in townships across the country was owned by the state. Kecia Rust (2009b) estimates that the ownership of almost one million houses have been transferred to the owners. In the 2000s, some projects (such as the national Department's N2 Gateway project in Cape Town) have also included some rental housing units. It should be noted also that some municipalities own accommodation, mostly in blocks of flats, that are rented out. The Cape Town City Council of rents out approximately 50,000 housing units. Finally, the state has begun to develop policy with regard to 'gap' housing, i.e. housing for people earning more than R3,500 per month and thus ineligible for the capital subsidy, but who earn too little to build or buy through the private sector property market. Part of this policy entails negotiations with financial institutions as part of the Financial Sector Charter (Rust, 2009a). These other aspects of state policy are not discussed further in this report.

The provision of new state-subsidised housing has thus entailed a mix of 'decommodification' and 'commodification'. Whilst the market has been the mechanism through which new houses are built – development and construction are contracted out to private developers, the size of the house depends on what additional resources the beneficiary is able to contribute (at the time or later), and ownership is transferred to the beneficiary – the market is certainly not the mechanism by which subsidies are *allocated*. The allocation of subsidies, and hence of subsidized housing, is a profoundly political process, largely insulated from the market. In practice, houses have been allocated in ways that privilege some poor people over others, and which serve to reproduce racial segregation.

The workings of the allocation system in Cape Town can be illustrated most easily through a description of the processes used in the Integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP).[8] The iSLP accounted for a large proportion of the public housing provided in central Cape Town between the early 1990s and early 2000s. The iSLP sought to provide formal housing for the residents of more than 20 informal settlements, some people living in the backyards or in derelict hostels in formal African townships, and some people who were registered on long-standing municipal waiting-lists (most of whom were living with kin in formal coloured housing areas). Most of the formal housing was provided in six areas, the largest of which were Delft South, Weltevreden Valley, Philippi East and Crossroads. According to a former top official of the iSLP, a total of 32,500 houses were built.[9]

The allocation of housing in projects such as the iSLP is supposed to proceed through four steps. First, the state identifies 'communities'[10] to be rehoused and land on which

[8] This section is based largely on information kindly provided by Gerry Adlard (interview, 30th July 2009, and subsequent correspondence).
[9] Information from Gerry Adlard.
[10] Inverted commas are used around 'community' in this context to indicate that this is the term used in the planning process to refer to a collection of claimants, and does not indicate any necessary social

new public housing can be built. Secondly, quotas of sites or houses are allocated to each claimant 'community', generally through a deliberative process involving all the claimant 'communities'. Thirdly, each claimant 'community' allocates its quota of sites to its own members, supposedly according to some agreed criteria. Finally, when the houses are built, the project manager allocates specific houses and hands over the keys to specific individuals on his list. In the past, it seems that there were no guidelines or principles as to how this final stage of allocation should proceed, and it is likely that most project managers have used their discretion, sometimes consulting with the beneficiaries, at other times not.

The allocation of houses has, in practice, been subverted in at least two ways. First, if groups of claimants are aggrieved at their allocation – whether because their 'community' was not allocated sufficient houses in total, or they as individuals were not allocated a house by the 'community – they might invade the land or occupy houses earmarked for other people. Faced with such direct action, the state often reallocates houses in the particular project to the land invaders, and placates the intended beneficiaries with the promise of housing on a different project. Secondly, when the actual keys to houses are handed over to the intended occupants, there is sometimes some shuffling of who has what keys, as people swap houses with each other for whatever reason. On some projects, the project manager delays registering each specific property and owner at the deeds office until a week or more after handing over the keys, to allow for any such exchanges.

In the case of the iSLP, quotas of sites on the various prospective developments were divided between the various claimant 'communities' through deliberations in a planning committee on which each claimant 'community' was represented. In general, claimant 'communities' were allocated sites on projects that were closer to where they were then, but often they were given sites in more than one project. For example, the Samora Machel informal settlement was located on part of the area that was to become Weltevreden Valley, and was only allocated sites on that development. The Browns Farm informal settlement was also located on an area to be developed, but was too large to be accommodated there (because development would mean reduced density). The Browns Farm 'community' was therefore also allocated sites in the new Philippi East development, and a smaller number of sites also in Weltevreden Valley. Informal settlements like Mpetha Square, Mpinga Square and Mkonto Square, in Nyanga East, were allocated sites in Weltevreden Valley and Delft.

In practice, the negotiated plans for allocating quotas were often subverted through land invasions or the threat thereof. In the case of Weltevreden Valley, the population of the Samora Machel informal settlement grew with the prospect of housing (from approximately 250 claimants to about one thousand). Samora Machel residents occupied additional land, and demanded successfully an increased quota of sites in the new development. In the case of Delft, residents living in backyards or overcrowded housing in the existing neighbourhoods of Voorbrug, Rosendal and Eindhoven protested that they were not considered a claimant 'community' in the quota allocation, and occupied housing as it was being built. They, too, pushed the state to accommodate them.

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cohesion between them. Usually, but not always, the 'community' comprised an informal settlement, but the iSLP also referred to categories of claimants such as 'Langa backyard[er]s' as a 'community'.

Whilst the final allocation of sites on iSLP developments often diverged from the initial agreements, the outcome was generally that sites on each development were divided up between residents from a number of claimant 'communities'. For example, whilst about one quarter of the sites on the Weltevreden Valley development were finally allocated to residents of Samora Machel, the other three-quarters were divided between eleven other informal settlements and a small proportion were allocated to backyard residents in some of the formal townships.

The allocation of sites to individuals within each claimant 'community' was undertaken within the 'community' itself, supposedly in accordance with documented iSLP 'principles'. People could object, and iSLP 'facilitators' would try to resolve disputes. The list of proposed beneficiaries would be submitted to the iSLP project manager, who would manage the process of checking that they were eligible for subsidies, and would allocate actual houses or plots as soon as they became available. We are not aware of any studies of the actual practices of either the selection of beneficiaries within the 'community' or the allocation of specific houses to the selected beneficiaries. Corruption has, however, been widely alleged in projects of this sort, and some specific cases have been exposed.[11] Whether corruption has been standard or the exception is, however, unclear.

Outside of and subsequent to the iSLP, many of the major housing developments in metropolitan Cape Town have been earmarked for a single claimant 'community'. Indeed, developments are designed to 'solve' the 'problem' of a specific informal settlement. In practice, in most informal settlements, the claimant 'community' is elastic, as new immigrants into the settlement replace others who have moved out into new housing. Wallacedene (in north-east Cape Town) has expanded through successive phases of development, as successive waves of in-migrants into the original informal settlement are resettled in formal housing.

1.3. The implications of procedures for allocating new state-subsidised housing

Procedures for constructing and allocating new, subsidized, low-income housing have generally had the effect of privileging residents of informal settlements over poor people living in backyards or in overcrowded formal accommodation, although this effect was probably not intended. Most new housing has been in projects earmarked for residents of specific informal settlements. Residents of informal settlements therefore constitute the one category of poor people among whom the housing backlog has declined.

The process of allocating subsidized public housing has several important implications for our analysis. First, who lives where and alongside whom in these new low-income parts of the post-apartheid city is in large part the result of the politics and sociology of

[11] For example, former iSLP officials report that there was an investigation into alleged corruption and mismanagement in the allocation of some of the houses in Delft South. In our interviews with residents in various new neighbourhoods inside and outside Cape Town (see later chapters), many complain that other people seem to have obtained houses through fraud or corruption.

informal settlements. People are allocated housing according to their 'membership' of a politically significant informal settlement. Who benefited from the Weltevreden Valley development, for example, depended primarily on who lived in the Samora Machel informal settlement whilst Weltevreden Valley was being planned and developed. Given that residence in informal settlements such as Samora Machel tends, we think, to reflect prior networks based on kinship or rural place of origin, new neighbourhoods such as Wallacedene or Weltevreden Valley tend to be relatively homogamous socially, except insofar as sites were allocated to members of different claimant 'communities'. Unless the state explicitly seeks to produce integrated neighbourhoods by allocating properties to heterogeneous or diverse categories of claimants, the social segregation of the apartheid city will be reproduced.

Secondly, the allocation of properties to a claimant 'community' need not indicate that the beneficiaries are long-standing members of a socially cohesive community. Many of the 'members' of the Samora Machel 'community' who ended up receiving properties in Weltevreden Valley were *recent* immigrants into Samora Machel. They may have had social ties to the prior residents of Samora Machel, which enabled them to move into the settlement, but the basis of community in Samora Machel was prior social ties and perhaps an opportunistic common identity, not a history of co-residence.

Thirdly, the use of a political rather than a market mechanism to allocate housing meant that beneficiaries had varied incomes and economic opportunities. Many of the beneficiaries had such low incomes or faced expensive demands that the temptation was considerable to rent out or sell their new property. As we shall see below, this adds to the flux and fluidity in the composition of the population in many low-income neighbourhoods.

Fourthly, the process entails 'communities' competing for scarce resources (even given the scale of the construction of new low-income housing). Projects such as the iSLP developed procedures to contain the possibility of inter-communal conflict arising from the competition for housing (see above). Indeed, if there was inter-communal division, then the relevant iSLP project would be put on hold. It is unclear whether the paucity of inter-communal conflict over iSLP housing was due to the inclusive procedures, or to the policy that development would be halted in the event of conflict. The iSLP also developed procedures for containing intra-communal conflict, but there is insufficient evidence to conclude that these were similarly successfully.

Perhaps the most striking implication of the system for allocating new housing is the reproduction of racial segregation. Because most new housing projects have been populated with residents from informal settlements, which themselves have tended to be mono-racial, the new neighbourhoods also end up being mono-racial. Moreover, given that the poor people in informal settlements are almost all African, whilst poor coloured people live in overcrowded formal accommodation (or, less often, in backyard shacks), most of the beneficiaries of new public housing in Cape Town have been African, not coloured.

There are therefore a number of reasons why procedures for the allocation of state-subsidised housing to the poor should be, and to some extent has already been, reconsidered. Both the City Council of Cape Town (CCC) and the Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC) have reviewed or revised their procedures.

The 2004 City Council policy (CCC, 2004) identified the following 'general principles' as guiding the allocation of housing:

> **Equity:** All persons applying must have an equal opportunity for housing assistance, and never be under the belief that special deals have been struck or that undue influence was exercised.
>
> **Transparency:** any person must be able to scrutinise the procedures utilised to allocate housing assistance, for evidence of irregular, unfair or corrupt practices.
>
> **Functionality:** policy must be practical and not unduly costly. Practical judgement should be employed in implementing this policy in a way that preserves its intent but may save money or achieve greater progress.
>
> **Social cohesion:** the spirit of this policy is to minimise social conflict and optimise development progress. In instances where its enforcement results in conflict or friction justified deviation may be exercised to this end.
>
> **Access:** allocation policy should not be used to delay projects. It should not result in further administrative hurdles. It must be applied to enhance easier access to housing opportunities.
>
> **Integration:** allocation policy is to be employed in a way that promotes integration of the city.

The policy recognized three different 'sources' from which people might become the beneficiaries of house allocation: membership of a 'target community', inclusion in a supplementary 'municipal submission', or listing on a housing waiting-list. The 'target community' was defined as 'the group of beneficiaries that gave rise to the new housing project in the first place'. This would usually mean an informal settlement living near to or on the site of the new project, and for whom the new project was designed. No guidance was given, however, as to the criteria for determining when a 'community' constituted a 'target community'. The 'municipal submission' was supplementary, in that houses might be allocated to this category if there were more houses than households in the 'target community'. The kind of people who might be listed on the 'municipal submission' included people identified for relocation because they lived in an existing informal settlement that needed to be 'dedensified' prior to being upgraded. Finally, houses might be allocated to people on one or other municipal housing waiting-list (lists that would be collated, with standardized and updated information, into a composite municipal Housing Register). Households living in backyard shacks or in overcrowded formal housing would only get houses if they were on a waiting-list and houses were allocated to this source.

Sites on the 'project list' for any new development would be divided between any 'target community', the 'municipal submission' and the waiting-lists, with each 'source-split' being specific to the particular project. Whilst it seems to have been imagined that the policy would mean that green-field projects would be allocated primarily to people on waiting-lists (or the prospective new composite register), in practice it seems that

most green-field projects were earmarked for the informal settlements selected as 'target communities', whilst people living in backyard shacks or overcrowded formal housing were overlooked.[12] Projects that entailed the upgrading, in situ, of informal settlements obviously favoured those settlements' residents, and it seems that the focus of new public housing provision might have shifted to such in situ upgrades. It seems that the perceived importance of the 2004 policy concerned the allocation of houses to people on waiting-lists, but in practice the allocation of housing continued as before, making little or no use of waiting-lists. Housing continued to be allocated not on the basis of individually-specific criteria (as recorded in a register) but rather on membership of a supposed 'community'. Date of registration has been used only to select individuals from the larger number of residents of such 'communities', i.e. for intra-'community' allocation.[13]

Between 2004 and 2009 the Council sought to clarify what it meant by 'target community', and some city officials tried to move towards the more open 'source-list' envisaged in the 2004 policy. In 2009, the Council passed a new policy, partly to clarify the existing (2004) policy, and partly to reiterate the need to strike a balance between 'back-yarders', 'overcrowders' and the residents of informal settlements, as well as between people residing close to the project and people living further away. In particular, people who had been registered and waiting for housing for a long time, but live outside the immediate vicinity, could be prioritized as highly as (if not higher than) people who live nearby but had not been waiting for so long.[14]

The new policy for the province as a whole was explained by the MEC for housing in his 2009/10 Budget Speech:

> 'We aim to oblige municipalities to strike the right balance between informal settlement dwellers and backyarders in the selection of beneficiaries for new housing projects. It cannot be right that people as young as 21 years old get preference over people who have been waiting for a house for three decades.
>
> This administration will take the plight of backyarders very seriously indeed, particularly with regards to the allocation of housing. We are starting the process of reviewing the way in which municipal so-called housing waiting lists are used to allocate housing.
>
> We will re-examine the allocation ratio of 70:30 which discriminates against backyarders and change it to 50:50.' (Madikizela, 2009)

[12] We have been unable to obtain detailed source-lists for individual projects.
[13] Information from Paul Whelan.
[14] City of Cape Town, "Housing Allocation Policy, 2009"; additional information from Paul Whelan and Brian Shelton. Draft 'Implementation Guidelines' (dated 1st February 2010) proposed that up to 10% of houses in a project could be allocated to applicants who are on the Cape Town housing waiting-list but live outside the 'target area' that would usually be defined as within 5km of the project. Neither the 'policy' nor the 'implementation guidelines' specify the proportions of new houses to be allocated to back-yarders, overcrowders or informal settlement residents.

The provincial department also committed itself to the development of 'ways to simplify standardize and demystify the manner in which houses are allocated', so as to 'make the process transparent and easy for everyone to understand' (Madikizela, 2009).

The new policy requires much more systematic collation of waiting-lists than hitherto. Both the national and provincial governments have sought to develop new guidelines for housing registers, with the national department aiming to put together a National Housing Need Register. As part of this, the Western Cape provincial housing department surveyed the existing procedures for compiling waiting lists and allocating housing among municipalities across the province.[15] The provincial government is also seeking to standardize the information collected from applicants for housing on application forms.

1.4. Arguments against engineering more 'mixed' neighbourhoods

There are several reasons to move away from the current policy of allocating most new public housing to residents in selected informal settlements or 'communities', whether through 'in situ' upgrades or green-field development. Alternative mechanisms could be fairer in terms of accommodating all people deemed to be deserving of public housing, regardless of where they live currently, and could contribute to post-apartheid class and racial integration. At the same time, however, the provincial Department of Local Government and Housing worries that more 'mixed' neighbourhoods – mixed, that is, in terms of class, 'race', culture or simply place of origin – might result in undesirable social, political or even economic consequences.

The undesirable consequences might fall into one or both of the following categories:

1. To what extent does the method shape the quality of 'community' in the resulting neighbourhood? Is there a higher quality of community – in terms of social relationships and economic opportunities linked to these – in projects that entailed either *in situ* upgrade or the relocation together of all of the residents of an existing neighbourhood, than in projects where the beneficiaries are selected from a list and have no or weak pre-existing social ties to one another? Does settling people next or near to 'strangers' cause difficulties?

2. Does the selection of beneficiaries from a waiting-list result in animosity and resentment among residents in the vicinity of the housing project, who might feel that 'their' housing opportunities have been given to strangers?

The first of these sets of consequences entails *division through inclusion*, i.e. the inclusion of heterogeneous beneficiaries results in a divided 'community'. The second set of consequences entails *division through exclusion*, in that exclusion generates hostility among non-beneficiaries.

This formulation of the possible 'problems' that might ensue from new procedures for the allocation of houses perhaps sanitises the challenge. South Africa is a violent

[15] See departmental working paper: *Allocation of subsidised housing opportunities in the Western Cape municipalities* (2008).

society, and animosities can easily escalate into violence. There is a long history of violent conflicts related to housing in South Africa, including housing-related protests against the apartheid state in the 1980s, clashes between people living in hostels and people living in shack settlements in the transitional period of the early 1990s, and clashes between informal settlements over access to housing or other resources. Land invasions and protests over housing and municipal services typically entail aggressive direct action, even if the protesters themselves are not violent. In Cape Town, struggles for housing in the Crossroads/Philippi area turned violent on a series of occasions over the past twenty-five years. In the mid-1990s, some iSLP projects were put on hold whilst 'warlords' competed for authority over informal settlements. This phase of conflict seems to have abated following municipall elections in 1996 and the iSLP's insistence that houses would not be built for 'communities' involved in conflict.[16] In 2003, violent conflict once again stopped house-building in part of Boystown (Crossroads) as well as some of the last iSLP work.[17] Violence has occurred elsewhere also. In 2008, for example, the elected leader of residents involved in an upgrade project in Masiphumelele, in southern Cape Town, was stabbed by dissidents within Masiphumelele.

In Cape Town – and the Western Cape – there is always the possibility of inter-racial violence over housing. South Africa does not have a public history of racialised violence around housing, but there have been worrying incidents of conflict, mostly directed against the state rather than other people. In 1993-94, competition for new houses between poor African and poor coloured people in Cape Town was fuelled by political parties, and informed the allocation procedures for Tambo Square (as we shall see below; see also Koen, 1995). In late 2007, more than 200 coloured backyard dwellers from Delft, Belhar, Elsies River and Bonteheuwel illegally occupied unfinished houses that were being built as part of the N2 Gateway project in Delft. The *Cape Argus* (21st December, 2007) reported that they had been incited by a (coloured) councillor for the Democratic Alliance. Seventy percent of the houses in this project had been earmarked for former (African) residents of Joe Slovo informal settlement who had lost their houses to a fire in 2005, while 30% were for people on the housing waiting list. Some of the illegal occupiers had reportedly been on the waiting list for over a decade, and felt that this allocation of houses was unfair. One of the occupiers demanded '50/50 not a 70/30 deal' (*Cape Argus*, 21st December 2007). The DA councillor said that he had 'cold hard facts' showing that, under ANC rule, African people received preferential treatment over coloured people on government housing waiting lists, hence the need for direct action (*Cape Argus*, 1 February 2008). The occupiers were forcibly evicted.

At about the same time, the *Cape Times* (1st February 2008) reported that a coloured teacher from Mitchell's Plain had bought a house in Khayelitsha. Before he could move into the house, some of his prospective new (African) neighbours made racist comments and threatened him with violence. When he persisted, he was assaulted (suffering a minor injury to his eyebrow, which required stitches) and his house was vandalized

[16] Interviews with Mbuyiselo Nombene and Mteto Ntlanganiso, March 1997.

[17] Catherine Cross, '"Breaking new ground" at the grass roots: Conflicts in Crossroads and their implications for new housing programmes', powerpoint presentation, undated.

(with damage amounting to R15,000.[18] His purchase of the house was disputed by the wife of the seller, but the court issued an order confirming his right to his property. Nonetheless, his new African neighbours refused to accept him into the neighbourhood 'because of the colour of [his] skin'. He seems to have desisted from his attempt to live in Khayelitsha (*Cape Times*, 13th February 2008). In Fisantekraal, in northern Cape Town, racial tensions have erupted over housing, as we shall see in Chapter 2.

The potential for violence on a much larger scale was underscored by the wave of xenophobic violence directed against presumed foreigners in May 2008. Countrywide, more than sixty people were killed, more than 200 shops were destroyed, and more than 300 other shops were looted. Cape Town was largely spared the violence. The worst-affected neighbourhood in Cape Town was Dunoon, where between 20 and 30 shops were looted, and 270 foreigners were evacuated, but no one was killed (Cooper, 2009).

The 2004 City Council of Cape Town policy on housing allocation refers to 'social cohesion' as one of its guiding principles: the policy should 'minimise social conflict', whilst 'in instances where its enforcement results in conflict or friction justified deviation may be exercised' (CCC, 2004: 1). It is certainly plausible that attempts to integrate – in whatever sense – new neighbourhoods could arouse feelings of resentment or exclusion, which would in turn lead to individual or collective violence. There might be other, less dramatic, costs to integrated neighbourhoods. For example, it is possible that integrated or mixed neighbourhoods might have less 'social capital' than unmixed ones. If social capital is important in the mitigation of poverty, in containing criminal or anti-social behaviour, or in facilitating more effective collective representation and use of the formal channels of democratic governance, then it is possible that there are real economic, social and political costs to living in a mixed neighbourhood. These kinds of argument are more commonly made in the USA, and is reflected in the long literature on the role of 'tipping-points' in segregation: once a visible group of people reach a certain proportion of the population of a mixed neighbourhood, then other groups rapidly leave, and the only people interested in taking their places are members of the visible group. In the (contemporary) USA, the response is flight, not violent conflict, but this is rooted in the same perceived processes. In Europe, in contrast to the USA, more attention has been paid to the opposite, i.e. the possibility that increased diversity actually enhances the quality of community.

In short, the relationships between the composition of the population in any neighbourhood, the social and economic character of the neighbourhood, and the prospect for violence or conflict, remain unknown in the South African context. The challenge was to design, within tight resource constraints, a research programme that would shed some light on the South African reality.

1.5. Research design

The provincial government of the Western Cape commissioned the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) to conduct research

[18] The teacher – Adrian Edmund Adam – contributed his own account to a facebook page called 'Fight Racism in Cape Town' under the topic 'Discriminated against while out and about?' on 29th December, 2008.

into the social consequences of alternative mechanisms for selecting beneficiaries for housing projects. Crucially, the provincial department asked the CSSR *whether there is any evidence that allocating houses (or plots) in new projects to beneficiaries drawn individually from a composite waiting-list, such that new public housing neighbourhoods are more diverse in racial or other terms than hitherto, does or would lead to identifiable social, political or economic problems*.

This commission posed several difficulties. First, the precise meaning and objective of the research became much clearer during the research itself. This is not unusual, in that one of the values of research is often to clarify the questions being asked. The more serious difficulties were methodological.

1.5.1. The ideal social science research design

Ideally, researchers would collect data on the various public housing projects constructed in the Western Cape since 1994, and ascertain whether there is any relationship between the mechanism of allocating houses, the heterogeneity of the beneficiaries, and whether the outcome is social division, economic disadvantage or violent conflict. These relationships are set out in Figure 1.1.

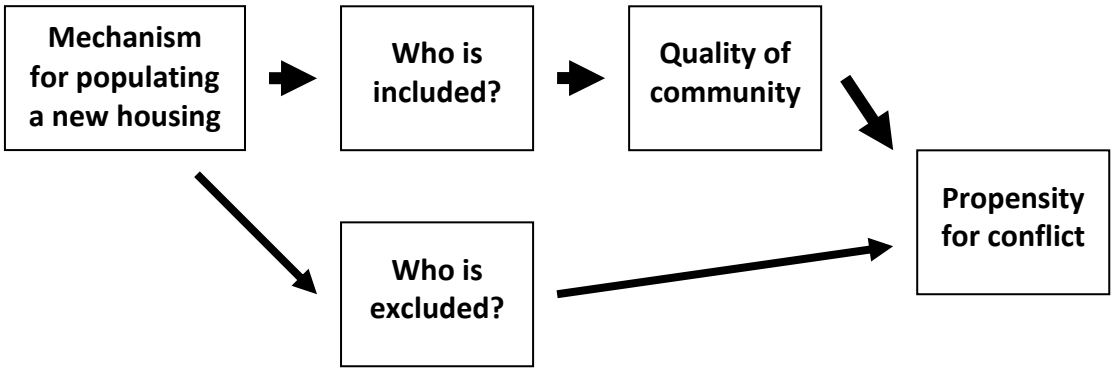


Figure 1.1: Paths from house-allocation to conflict

'Division through inclusion' and 'division through exclusion' might be examined separately. Put simply, is there any likelihood that more cases fall into the shaded quadrants (A and D) in the Figures 1.2a and 1.2b below than into the unshaded quadrants (B and C)?

	Non-beneficiaries are resentful	Non-beneficiaries are not resentful
Mechanism leading to mixed beneficiaries	A	B
Mechanism leading to unmixed beneficiaries	C	D

Figure 1.2a: Division through exclusion

	Communities are divided	Communities are not divided
Mechanism leading to mixed beneficiaries	A	B
Mechanism leading to unmixed beneficiaries	C	D

Figure 1.2b: Division through inclusion

Ideally, the mechanisms used to allocate housing in new projects would have been applied randomly so that there are no other, unobserved factors that correlate with the independent variable and which are the real causes of different outcomes. Alternatively, data would be available on all other factors, so that they can be taken into account when examining the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The classic social science research design would then entail an analysis of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, controlling for whatever other factors might otherwise disguise or distort the relationship.

The real world, of course, is rarely 'designed' as an experiment. Almost all housing projects fall into the bottom row in each of Figures 2a and 2b above, at least in terms of mixing by race or class. There are simply too few cases in the top row of either Figure above to examine whether there is a statistically significant and substantive relationship between the mechanism for allocating houses, i.e. whether the resulting set of beneficiaries is 'mixed' or not, and the extent of resentment among non-beneficiaries or divisions within the ensuing 'community'. The question posed is what *would* happen *if* houses *were to be* allocated in ways that resulted in more mixed neighbourhoods?

Moreover, there are few examples of the violent conflict that is the most worrying form in which resentment or division might be manifested. In other words, there are few cases in the left-hand column of each figure, at least in the sense that resentment or division has not led to violent conflict. In short, most new state-subsidised housing projects cases seem to fall into quadrant D in both of the two figures above.[19] There seem to be more cases in quadrants A and B in Figure 1.2a than in the same quadrants in Figure 1.2b, but the absence of any systematic study makes it impossible to move far beyond speculation. It is extraordinary, given the high levels of violence of different sorts in South Africa, that there is almost no systematic inter-neighbourhood study of violence of any kind.

1.5.2. Alternative research designs

There may not be a sufficiently large number of cases in the four quadrants in the Figures above to test for statistically significant relationships between independent and dependent variables at the level of the neighbourhood. There are too few (racially) mixed neighbourhoods and (fortunately) too few where there has been evident intra-neighbourhood conflict to examine the general correlation at the *neighbourhood level* between mixing and either the quality of community in general or intra-neighbourhood conflict in particular. There are, however, examples of neighbourhoods that have been populated using different mechanisms, such that some have mixed and others unmixed populations. This makes possible the systematic study of how *individuals* in these different kinds of neighbourhood experience the quality of community, whether through quantitative or qualitative research. In other words, whilst the number of mixed neighbourhoods is small, the number of individuals living in them is easily large to allow comparison with individuals living in unmixed neighbourhoods.

[19] Of the small number of cases of racially-mixed neighbourhoods that have been researched in the existing literature reviewed in Chapter 2, Fisantekraal might fall into cell A in Figure 1.2, whilst Delft South and Westlake Village seem to fall into cell B.

It might be feasible to design and conduct a large sample survey in representative samples of mixed and unmixed neighbourhoods (and among affected non-beneficiaries), to measure the extent of resentment and division. This would allow the analysis of whether the attitudes or behaviour of residents in the very small number of mixed neighbourhoods differ from those of the residents of the much larger number of unmixed neighbourhoods. This, however, was way beyond the budget available for this research. It was hoped for a while that a survey commissioned in new housing projects in 2008 – the Western Cape Occupancy Survey (WCOS) – might be usable for this purpose, but it transpired that the relevant questions in the survey were only asked of a non-random sub-sample, ruling out the use of these data to answer the question. Moreover, it is not clear precisely how one would measure, using a structured questionnaire, division and resentment, and then how one would interpret the data in order to assess whether the level of division or resentment was sufficient to raise significantly the likelihood of violence. The WCOS was not designed for this purpose, and understandably did not include the questions needed to interrogate issues of division and resentment.

The fact that the issues to be examined are not amenable to easy measurement, and might be socially or politically sensitive, point to qualitative research being appropriate. A careful ethnographic study of selected neighbourhoods would undoubtedly generate invaluable insights into the attitudes and behaviour of neighbours, i.e. the quality of community, and the propensity for conflict or any other social, political or economic implications of the strength or weakness of community. One can imagine an ethnography such as Fiona Ross's study of The Village, a new housing project on the eastern periphery of Cape Town (Ross, 2010), but focused on a different set of questions to Ross's. Such ethnography takes a long time to complete, however. Ross's work is based on fieldwork conducted over about a decade!

1.5.3. The 'under-resourced detective' approach

Given the resource constraints (both time and finances), the sampling difficulties and the uncertainty over survey design, it was decided instead to adopt a more modest three-prong strategy:

- First, the existing literature on the process and outcomes of mixed neighbourhoods in South Africa would be reviewed.
- Secondly, available data from existing surveys would be reanalyzed in order to shed light on the general correlates of the 'quality' of the 'community' in contemporary Cape Town, and to try to identify any possible relationship between patterns of social mixing and the ensuing quality of community.
- Thirdly, semi-structured interviews would be conducted with a modest number of residents in carefully-selected neighbourhoods to probe the lived realities of social cohesion and division. Research on the attitudes of non-beneficiaries was not possible.

This research design might be called the 'under-resourced detective' approach, in that it shares many characteristics with the approach of detectives such as the fictional Inspector Kurt Wallander in Henning Mankell's Swedish crime novels. Wallander must solve the mystery of murder, but with constrained resources (the novels are set in Sweden in the 1990s and early 2000s, as fiscal austerity curtailed police operations), and with severe time constraints (lest another murder happen!). Moreover, he and his

colleagues must try to solve the mystery through a combination of systematically examining evidence – including possible evidence – and then piecing together the disparate clues that are uncovered.

This report covers the three prongs of our research. Chapter 2, written by Tracy Jooste, reviews the existing literature on experiences of mixing in new low-income neighbourhoods in Cape Town and elsewhere in South Africa.

Chapter 3 uses quantitative data from the 2005 Cape Area Study (CAS) to assess the quality of community across Cape Town. Using data on several different dimensions of the quality of community, we show that there is considerable variation in the quality of community, as experienced or perceived by residents, across Cape Town. Regression analysis shows that measures of the quality of community do correlate with variables such as how long someone has lived in the neighbourhood and how long neighbours have lived there, as we would expect. Neighbourhood-level variables unsurprisingly have the biggest effects on the quality of community. Living in a low-income, coloured neighbourhood is associated with a much lower quality of community. The quality of community is much higher in African neighbourhoods, regardless of whether they comprise formal or informal housing. Unfortunately, the CAS dataset does not permit the analysis of differences in the quality of community according to the racial mix of the population, because the sample comprised too few residents of racially mixed neighbourhoods. Nor, at this stage, does it permit the analysis of differences in the quality of community between new neighbourhoods according to the mechanism by which the sites or houses were allocated.

The final part of Chapter 3 turns to the reanalysis of data from a study – the Western Cape Occupancy Study (WCOS) – that was commissioned by the provincial government in 2008. Given that this survey was conducted in new housing projects, it was hoped that it would allow for analysis of the relationship between the mechanism of house allocation, the mix of residents, and the quality of community. Unfortunately, key questions in the survey were only asked of a sub-sample of respondents selected using a rather arbitrary rule. This is not a criticism of the WCOS, which was designed for different purposes.

Chapters 4 through 6 explain the selection of sites in Cape Town for our qualitative research, and set out the main findings of that research. Chapter 4 examines the selected neighbourhoods in Cape Town: Delft South and Leyden, Delft North, Weltevreden Valley and Tambo Square (see the map). These four areas were selected to allow for the analysis of how different mechanisms for allocating houses resulted in different combinations of mixing, by both race and community of origin. In practice, mixing by community of origins is not a neat binary distinction: no areas are entirely mixed or entirely unmixed. Mix by community of origin therefore distinguishes between ‘more’ and ‘less’ mixed neighbourhoods. Delft South was understood to be an area whose population was mixed racially and by community of origin. Houses were allocated to coloured and African people, from diverse places of origin. The populations of the older neighbourhoods of Delft North (Voorbrug and Rosendal) were mono-racial (in that they were almost entirely coloured) but also came from diverse communities of origin (i.e. overcrowded low-income coloured residential areas across central and northern Cape Town). Tambo Square was seen as having a racially-mixed population, but one that was less mixed in terms of community-of-origin because almost everyone

came from either Manenberg or Guguletu. Finally, Weltevreden Valley was seen as a mono-racial population that was less mixed in terms of origin, because a high proportion of its residents came from one informal settlement (Samora Machel).

In conducting our research we discovered that some of these areas were not as homogeneous as we had imagined. Tambo Square comprised distinct (small) neighbourhoods, with varying degrees of racial mix. The 100-odd houses south of the Jooste hospital were occupied almost entirely by coloured people. The area north of the hospital was much more mixed, racially. In addition, we found that only a minority of our interviewees in either part of Tambo Square came from Manenberg or Guguletu: more than half came from other places. We think that both the Northern and Southern parts of Tambo Square are nonetheless less mixed than the various Delft neighbourhoods, in terms of their places or communities of origin, but we cannot demonstrate that empirically.

		Racial mixing	
		Mixed	**Unmixed**
Mix by community of origin	**More mixed**	**Delft South and Leyden**	**Delft North (C)**
	Less mixed	**Tambo Square**	**Weltevreden Valley (A)**

Figure 1.3: Anticipated categorisation of selected neighbourhoods in Cape Town

		Racial mixing	
		Mixed	**Unmixed**
Mix by community of origin	**More mixed**	**Delft South and Leyden**	**Delft North (C)**
	Less mixed	**Tambo Square (North)**	**Weltevreden Valley (A)** **Tambo Square (South) (C)**

Figure 1.4: Revised categorisation of selected neighbourhoods in Cape Town

Chapter 5 reports on the qualitative evidence on the quality of community as experienced by individuals living in selected mixed and unmixed neighbourhoods. ‘Mixed’ and ‘unmixed’ here refer to mixing in terms of both race and place or ‘community’ of origin.[20] Chapter 6 examines social relationships in racially-mixed neighbourhoods and attitudes towards foreigners. Chapter 7 draws together the conclusions from this mix of researches.

[20] Community is placed in inverted commas here to indicate that it refers to a presumed community, even in the absence of any evidence of strong social cohesion in the places concerned.

Chapter 8 turns to the small towns in the Western Cape, and asks whether they appear to be similar or different to Cape Town in terms of the social consequences of alternative mechanisms of allocating housing. Qualitative research was conducted in Malmesbury, north of Cape Town, and Robertson, east of Cape Town.

Some limits to this study should be obvious already. First, there was neither time nor resources to conduct either a systematic survey or a thorough ethnography. Secondly, the purpose of the study was to interrogate something that might happen, not to explain something that has happened.

Other limits to the study warrant additional comment. First, the selection of sites for qualitative research inside and outside of Cape Town was purposive, and it cannot be assumed that these areas are 'typical' or representative of either Cape Town as a whole, or the Western Cape as a whole. The analysis of the four sites in Cape Town and two outside of Cape Town should be taken as indicative but not representative of the kinds of experiences that people have in different contexts. These sites are typical in terms of levels and patterns of poverty, but we cannot say that they are typical in terms of the objective or subjective quality of community. There might be unobserved factors that render these sites different to other, apparently similar sites.

Another limit to the study is that, whilst we focus in detail on the social dimensions of the quality of community, we pay inadequate attention to the economic dimensions of the quality of community. We have no information on whether the volume or distribution of economically-useful social capital is related to the quality of community. We cannot say whether 'good neighbours' make for a richer neighbourhood.

Thirdly, it was not possible to examine the implications of the quality of community for violence beyond considering the likely propensity given general levels of neighbourliness. It is possible that good neighbourliness does not preclude inter-neighbour violence. Indeed, an apparently strong and cohesive 'communities' – i.e. ones characterized by high levels of interaction between neighbours, a strong sense of identification with the place, feelings of security, and high rates of participation in communal organization and activity – might become violent ones. Interrogating the relationship between the quality of community and levels of inter- or intra-communal violence is beyond the scope of this report.

1.6. Conceptualising the 'quality of community' in contemporary Cape Town

The quality of community is central to the research conducted for this study. Whilst the precise relationship between the quality of community and the propensity for conflict is unknown, we assumed that there would be some relationship, and that if a neighbourhood had a high risk of conflict, then this would be evident in one or other dimension of the quality of community. For example, if there was a high likelihood of intra-communal, inter-racial conflict, then we expected that there would be intimations of this in how people talked about the neighbourhood, their neighbours, and the 'community' generally.

The quality of community, together with 'social cohesion', is something with which the post-apartheid state professes a concern. The government's *Fifteen Year Review* points to the 'erosion of social cohesion' (South Africa, 2008: 29, 117-8), and diverse departments and levels of government refer to the importance of 'social capital'. The *Breaking New Ground* strategy listed among the specified objectives that make up its 'new housing vision' the need to combat crime, promote social cohesion and improve the quality of life for the poor (DoH, 2004: 1). Typically, however, the only other mention of social cohesion in the document is in a footnote. The strategy emphasizes the economic dimension of housing, i.e. their use as assets, and the need for more integrated planning for the city as a whole, but is entirely silent on the social relationships that shape social cohesion. The same emphases are clear in the Western Cape Department of Local Government and Housing's *Isidima* report on 'sustainable human settlements' and 'dignified communities' (Western Cape, 2009).[21]

The quality of community is not, however, something that has attracted much critical attention in South Africa. The richest sources of material on the quality of community are ethnographic studies, but these are quite rare in post-apartheid South Africa. Fortunately, this limited literature does include several excellent and recent studies in poor areas of Cape Town. Perhaps the bleakest portrayal of a poor neighbourhood is Ramphele's account of New Crossroads.

In the early 1990s, Ramphele researched the lives of a group of young people living in New Crossroads, a former informal settlement which had recently been upgraded with formal housing and good municipal infrastructure and become what Ramphele called 'a desirable location', at least 'when compared with the other alternatives in Nyanga' (2002: 19-20). Poverty remained widespread. In Ramphele's account, this reflected not only high unemployment and a lack of skills, but also social factors at the level of the family (such as paternal abandonment or absence) and neighbourhood. Ramphele argued that 'communities' like New Crossroads had not dealt well with hardship and change: Mistrust, vicious gossip, jealousy and envy were pervasive, perhaps because of poverty and competition for scarce resources, but also because of envy of success and resentment of difference. Young women who did not participate in drinking or were not available sexually, perhaps because they aspired to educational success and invested the necessary effort, were ostracised. In the face of ostracism, and even accusations of witchcraft, or violence, successful individuals tended to leave, resulting in the absence of role-models within the township. Several of the adolescents with whom Ramphele worked closely experienced violence (one was murdered, and another almost raped, in both cases by identifiable neighbours or friends). The weakness of state institutions means that 'lawlessness and helplessness are the order of the day in New Crossroads' (*ibid*: 117). Whilst the erosion of trust and the prevalence of violence and authoritarian social relationships within New Crossroads might be attributable to apartheid, the result is 'a community at war with itself and its future' (*ibid*: 122). At the same time, Ramphele emphasises, there are many instances of generosity. Poor people sometimes survive because their neighbours support them.

Other studies also suggest that this mix of close ties and generosity, on the one hand, with violence and jealousy, on the other, is common. Salo's (2004) study of Manenberg

[21] 'Dignity' seems to be mentioned twice, 'dignified' once only (in the title!), and 'social cohesion' only four times in a 72-page document.

and Jensen's (2008) of Heideveld, reveal many similarities with New Crossroads. Jensen details how, in Heideveld, men and women struggle to maintain dignity and respectability (*ordentlikheid*) in the face of poverty and, especially, gang violence. Heideveld was built in the 1960s, in part to accommodate coloured people removed forcibly from areas that had been proclaimed 'white'. It comprised a mix of 'economic' and 'sub-economic' housing, but poverty was held in check in the 1970s and 1980s because 'coloured labour preference' meant that men and women had somewhat protected access to jobs in the construction and clothing industries respectively, whilst access to grants helped non-working women. The emergence and growth of gangs, ranging from the defensive street-corner gangs to major, city-wide criminal syndicates, together with worsening economic conditions in the 1990s, transformed the neighbourhood. Respectability came to be defined in terms of distance from gangs, but everyday life required that men and women accommodate themselves to gangs, not least because of the protection that local gangs might give against others. Bray *et al*. (2010), writing about the different neighbourhoods of the Fishhoek Valley on the Cape Peninsula, similarly point to the combination of community and threat that characterizes life in many neighbourhoods (see also Otter, 2006, on Khayelitsha).

The strengths and weaknesses of 'community' are evident also in Ross's studies of The Park, outside Somerset West and now on the eastern periphery of metropolitan Cape Town (see especially Ross, 2010). Ross began her research in the 1990s in a small informal settlement (The Bush). In the early 2000s, residents were relocated into new, state-subsidised housing. The new, formal housing helped to recast the meaning of respectability (*ordentlikheid*), but people still had to construct lives through relationships of interdependence with neighbours, in the face of poverty, drinking, and violence.

Ashforth (2005), in a brilliant study of Soweto (outside Johannesburg), goes furthest in probing the inherent ambiguity of community by dissecting the nature and consequences of witchcraft. Witchcraft is both the product and the antithesis of community: it is born out of and destroys close relationships. Witchcraft is not the work of strangers, but of close kin or neighbours who have been seduced by greed or jealousy. Ashforth writes that most Sowetans seem uncertain about whether witchcraft exists or not, but they act on the presumption that it might. In the event of misfortune – which is common in an era of unemployment and AIDS – even skeptics wonder whether the cause is not malice among kin or neighbours. Once close relationships easily explode in dispute or conflict.

This qualitative literature provides some clear lessons for our study. Firstly, on one level, all of these case-studies were characterized by some strong communal ties: neighbours did, often, help each other. But mutual assistance need not entail deep trust; social relationships were often fragile and vulnerable; pride in the neighbourhood or 'place attachment' was generally compromised by the realities of violence and crime. Secondly, in these accounts, neither coloured nor African neighbourhoods seem to stand out as having an obviously higher quality of community. Thirdly, these ethnographic accounts of (mostly) mono-racial neighbourhoods seem to reveal both more division and dispute *and* more cohesion than studies of desegregating neighbourhoods (which we discuss in detail in Chapter 2). In other words, most accounts of social division in desegregating neighbourhoods seem rather tame in comparison to accounts of the limits of community in New Crossroads, Manenberg, Soweto and elsewhere.

None of the authors of these studies set out to examine the 'quality of community', and certainly none of them have sought to analyse it systematically. For the purposes of both our quantitative and qualitative research we needed a more precise and explicit framework for analysis, but we had little to draw on in terms of South African studies.[22] In our reanalysis of existing quantitative data we focused on four dimensions of the quality of community: interactions with immediate neighbours, interactions with people in the neighbourhood generally, security, and community activism. Using 2005 CAS data, we find large variations in all of these dimensions of the quality of community activism. In our qualitative research, we were able to cover these same dimensions, i.e. relationships with immediate neighbours, including mutual assistance, crime and collective organization and action, and trust. We were also able to enquire into pride and identification with the community, which had not been measured in the CAS dataset. Most importantly, we were able to probe explicitly inter-racial attitudes and behaviour, as well as attitudes towards immigrants from outside South Africa.

Finally, before proceeding to the main body of the report, some discussion is needed about the stability of 'community'. Discussions of 'community' tend to assume or imply a degree of stability in the population in question. This assumption sits at odds with the widespread finding among researchers of high levels of flux and fluidity in who lives where and with whom, especially in low-income 'African' urban neighbourhoods (see, for example, Seekings, 2008b). Neither the 'communities' that benefit from public housing projects nor the 'communities' created by these projects have stable populations.

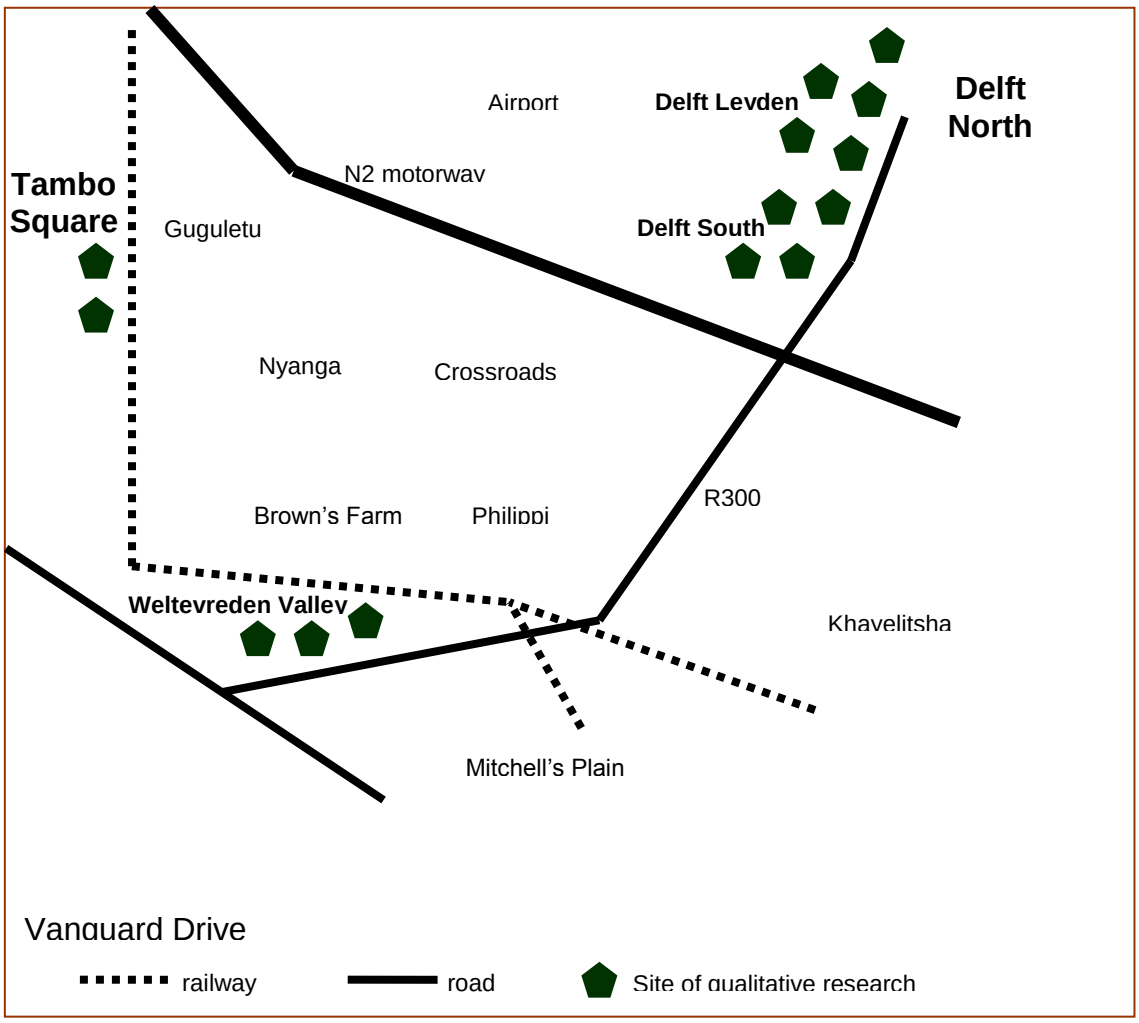
Several studies have begun to document the flux that characterizes new public housing projects in the Western Cape. Lemanski's work in Westlake Village (in southern Cape Town) provides a case-study of a settlement developed in the late 1990s (most of Westlake Village was occupied in 1999) for beneficiaries who were already living in the vicinity of the project. Within six years, Lemanski (2009) found using records in the deeds office, 23% of the properties had been sold *formally*. Two factors might inflate the formal sales figures in this case-study: a local councilor offered free or cheap conveyencing, and the settlement's location amidst high-income suburbs meant that suburban employers sought to buy, formally, properties for their domestic employees.

Other studies suggest that Westlake Village is not so exceptional. The Western Cape Occupancy Study (WCOS), commissioned by the provincial government, conducted a survey in new settlements built after 2002, when an amendment to the Housing Act imposed restrictions on subsidized beneficiaries selling their properties within 8 years. The survey only sampled households whose details matched the details in the deeds office and subsidy data. The survey therefore excluded anyone who had somehow sold a property formally (including prior to registration in the deeds office), or who were not occupying the house that the deeds office recorded as having been allocated to them, or whose house had not been registered at the deeds office. More than one quarter (28%) of the registered beneficiaries were *not* living at the address at the time of the interview. Of these, almost one-third had died, most (57%) were living elsewhere, and 12% were unknown (Vorster and Token, 2008: 16). The current occupants variously claimed to

[22] Some work has been done on social capital, including both levels of trust (see, for examples using quantitative data on Cape Town, Jooste, 2005a, 2005b; Burns, 2006; and Seekings, 2006) and associational activity.

have bought the house or plot from the registered owner (mostly, it seems, informally), to be renting it (mostly not kin), or to be living there for free whilst looking after it (mostly kin). The survey found almost no cases of beneficiaries staying in their backyards whilst renting out the main house (although a significant minority of owners had rented out their properties and lived elsewhere, typically with a partner or kin). These figures focus on the beneficiaries themselves, and provide little indication of the fluidity of the dependent population living with the beneficiaries. It is unclear, therefore, whether they underestimate the overall degree of flux in new public housing projects.[23] Two house-to-house surveys conducted in Delft by the Cape Town Council reportedly also found that one-third of properties were no longer occupied by the recorded beneficiary.[24] Kecia Rust also finds that as many as 30% of RDP houses and former leasehold houses (whose ownership had been transferred to occupants) had been resold since 1994 (Rust, 2009b).

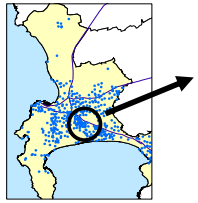
MAP SHOWING LOCATIONS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH SITES IN CAPE TOWN

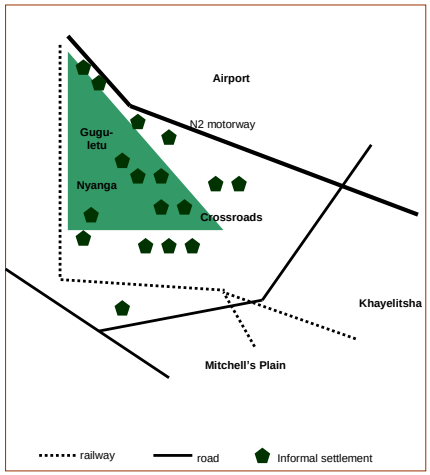


[23] See also Chapter 7 of the WCOS report (Vorster and Tolken, 2008), which presents the views on resales of municipal officials and estate agents.
[24] Information from Brian Shelton.

THE PROCEDURE FOR ALLOCATING HOUSING: iSLP

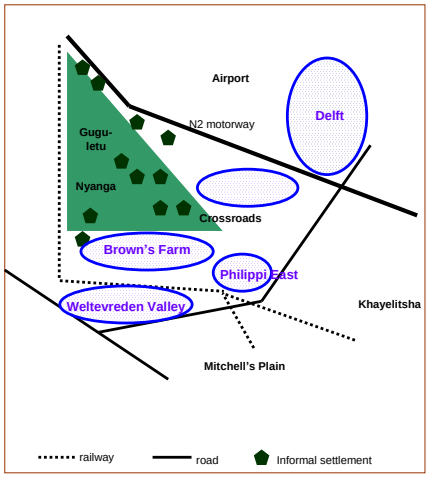
How **has the post-apartheid state allocated public housing? E.g. of iSLP area c1990**





Integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP)

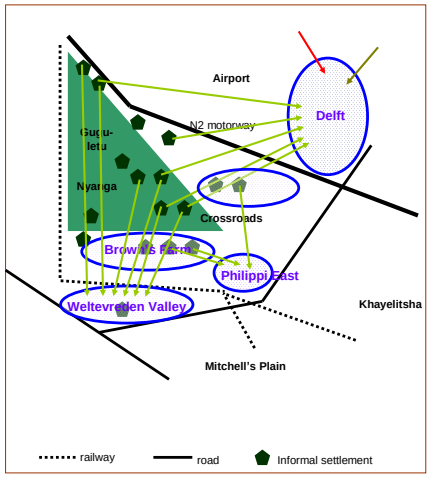
1. The state identifies 'communities' to be resettled (or upgraded) and land for new public housing projects.



Integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP)

2. Quotas of sites or houses are allocated to each claimant 'community'.

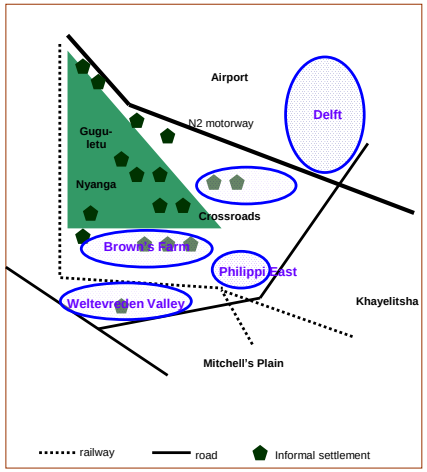
NB an exception: Half of the sites in Delft were allocated to individual (coloured) people on established housing waiting-lists.



Integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP)

3. Quotas are reallocated in the face of land invasions or other forms of protest.

e.g. Delft and Weltevreden Valley



Chapter 2: Experiences of Mixing: Review of the Literature on Cast-studies of Mixed Neighbourhoods in South Africa[1]

This literature review investigates some of the factors which have effects on the quality of 'community' life and the nature of social relations in low-income state housing projects, particularly those with populations that are mixed in terms of race, class or previous residence. It draws on existing case-studies on low-income housing in South Africa. The chapter shows that the establishment of desegregated, mixed housing settlements may lead to the establishment of more integrated communities. The complex nature of social relations within neighbourhoods has, however, sometimes meant that 'mixing' has had unanticipated consequences. In light of this, there may be limits to what the state can do in terms of building more integrated communities. It is thus important to acknowledge that when selecting beneficiaries and establishing new neighbourhoods that the state intervenes in a complex social context. The social relations within these neighbourhoods tend to be fluid and affected by a host of exogenous factors.

2.1. Lessons from the literature: Understanding social relations within neighbourhoods

The creation of opportunities for a greater variety of individuals and the investment in social and economic infrastructure of informal and peri-urban settlements remains significant to the housing challenge (Freund, 2001). While integration is often seen as an ideal which our society should be working towards, there is a need to better understand the realities and complexities hereof. A number of studies have been undertaken to build on this understanding, many of which have focused on specific case studies. The literature and research relevant to this subject are drawn from disciplines across the social sciences including sociology, anthropology, geography, economics and political studies. Reviewing the relevant literature and case study research which focuses on the neighbourhoods and communities[2] allowed for the identification of a number of hypotheses which informed the empirical research. This section of the report also discusses some of the main lessons learnt and issues emerging from the literature and sheds light on the some of the complex features of social relations in state-funded and state-driven housing projects.[3]

While integration and desegregation are sometimes used synonymously, research has shown that it is important to make a distinction between the two processes. Desegregation is seen as a mechanical or legal process which involves establishing physical proximity to different racial or class groups (South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), 1999). Desegregation is the process of eliminating segregation

[1] This chapter was written by Tracy Jooste of the Palmer Development Group.

[2] Neighbourhoods are seen to have a spatial dimension refereeing to a group of people living within a particular local area, while community refers to spaces of social interaction, network establishment and the creation of social bonds.

[3] Annexure A provides a summary of the core case studies consulted in this review.

and according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, to desegregate is "...to free of any law, provision, or practice requiring isolation of the members of a particular race in separate units..." (Merriam-Webster, 2009). It therefore involves ending the process of segregation which has typified the South African city as a result of apartheid laws. While desegregation is important as a means to bring different groups into closer contact it is important to interrogate the quality of this contact (SAHRC, 1999). Integration therefore relates more to the quality of relationships between the various groups of individuals that are brought into closer physical proximity through a process of desegregation.[4]

In this literature review assessing the level of integration refers to assessing the quality of relations in the following respect:

- The study of integration on a micro or neighbourhood level refers to an assessment of the quality of relations between individuals and households from different racial groups or different neighbourhoods of origin (brought together into a single neighbourhood or community through the housing process)
- On a macro or city level integration refers to the quality of relations and linkages between neighbourhoods or communities and the greater city space

Integration may take on a social definition, i.e. looking at the quality of social networks and ties, and a spatial dimension, i.e. looking at the extent to which neighbourhoods are linked to cities. The primary focus of this research relates more to the social definition of integration, with the focus being on identifying any potential negative social consequences which may result as part of the housing allocation process, particularly where integration takes place as a consequence of the beneficiary allocation methodology used.

2.2. Racial desegregation and the extent to which it leads to integration

Desegregation may represent a stage of the integration process (Jansen, 2004; Chisholm and Sujee, 2006). While the desegregation of communities or neighbourhoods is an important step towards creating a more integrated society the extent to which desegregation leads towards social integration and the nature of integration cannot be taken for granted. We cannot assume that because communities are desegregated they will necessarily function more effectively and that the nature and quality of community is intrinsically strengthened. Indeed, there are a number of complex factors which determine or influence the extent to which communities become integrated or mixed. This realisation serves as a partial motivation for this research. While the main focus of the Western Cape Provincial Government's policy objectives is not to engage in a social engineering exercise in order to 'create' racially or socially integrated communities, the reality is that racial mixing is very likely to be necessary in order to ensure fairness in housing allocation, particularly in the context of the Western Cape where race determines where potential housing beneficiaries are in the housing queue. Further mixing may be necessary to address past inequalities, such as the marginalisation of backyard shack dwellers in the past. A host of problems may be encountered where

[4] The importance of neighbourhoods and the destructive impact of segregation on neighbourhoods have long been acknowledged, particularly in American sociology. Du Bois (1903) recognised that neighbourhoods are primary locations for social interaction and the separation of groups fuels prejudice and inequality (Charles, 2003)..

desegregation and/or integration takes place. For the purposes of this research it will be important to understand the causes and types of problems and or conflicts which may arise. Equally important are the factors which may have positively affected the levels of social integration in certain cases.

The sections to follow draw on the literature in order to shape an understanding of the factors which may influence the nature and extent to integration in low-income housing projects which bring together individuals from a diverse range of racial or neighbourhood backgrounds.

The role of location in proximity to place of origin

The establishment of desegregated settlements cannot be assumed to automatically lead to the formation of racially integrated communities. It is important to acknowledge that households in newly created settlements may leave families, friends and daily routines behind when relocating. This is a consequence of housing policy in South Africa, which does not leave scope for personal choice in terms of the location housing project. One key reason for this is that housing implementation is totally supply driven and potential beneficiaries can always decide to not take up a housing place and wait for the project, but the queuing system does not always leave scope for this. As a result, the formation of a new community sometimes (but not always) translates into the merger of a diverse set of histories, routines, social identities and cultural patterns. The outcome of this convergence of diverse identities and the extent to which they will adapt to form a new community are influenced by a number of factors. One of those factors relates to the extent to which beneficiary households are willing and or able to maintain their links to their historic networks formed and rooted outside the new community. This is influenced in part by the location of the new settlement in relation to their former place of residence and the extent to which the new settlement provides opportunities to establish locally based routines and networks necessary to support a set of needs.

The relevance of locality in shaping the nature and extent of integration between different racial groups are illustrated by comparing two housing projects. Delft South (Oldfield, 2004) and Westlake Village (Lemanski, 2006) are two housing projects purposely designed to be racially mixed with the state allocating houses to beneficiaries previously classified as coloured and Black African with the aim of creating more integrated communities. Delft South is a green field site for a housing project to be made up of Black African and coloured households that were relocated to form part of a newly created neighbourhood. The initiative was organised through the Integrated Service Land Project. In terms of the policy, Delft South beneficiary households were to be selected through centralised lists with coloureds mainly drawn from the City Council's racially integrated housing list and Black African households integrated onto the housing list using the criterion of proof of residence for at least two years. Coloured people were typically on the list for longer, because they had retained rights to residency in the city under apartheid when Black African families were excluded.[5] Westlake Village was part of a structured urban planning initiative to create an integrated space comprising both low-income housing and high-income housing in a gated community as well as business and shopping complexes.

[5] Oldfield notes that in practice, the housing allocation process did not neatly follow this policy, with some families allocated housing through local council waiting lists while other occupied their housing through a series of illegal land invasions.

Unlike in Delft South where a mixed group of beneficiaries were drawn from across Cape Town, occupants of Westlake Village were drawn from a single nearby settlement, shared a common history of having lived close to each other and in the surrounding area of the housing project, albeit for differing lengths of time (Lemanski, 2006). This has played a significant role in determining the extent of social integration in these communities. Having a shared origin in terms of physical living space and networks appears to have been pivotal in securing robust social networks which exist in the context of racial difference in Westlake Village. In addition to the obvious role of this factor, the proximity of the settlement to the former place of residence played an important role in shaping the formation of social networks inside the new development. As will be discussed below the location of these settlements has influenced the degree to which coloured and Black African households have connected and integrated socially within the housing settlement.

Delft South beneficiaries come from different parts of Cape Town and therefore contributed to the creation of a multi-racial and multi-community settlement (Oldfield, 2004). However, the location of their new homes in a part of the city some distance from the neighbourhood from which they came has played an important role in shaping the level of racial integration within the new settlement. Oldfield's study showed that despite their physical proximity as neighbours, coloured and Black African people's lives were patterned differently. The location of their jobs differed with African people tending to work in low earning positions in formerly white neighbourhoods and coloured people mainly working in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, in retail or domestic work. Most families continued to shop, attend schools and participate in social activities outside of Delft typically in the neighbourhoods from which they originally came and usually in neighbourhoods which are mono-racial and segregated. Drawing on her research conducted in 1998-99, very soon after the Delft South houses were occupied, Oldfield observed that "the physical proximity of coloured and Black African families in Delft South has not shifted households' economic, social and spatial practices" (2004: 195). This has been linked back to their experiences of living in Cape Town and the inequalities which were shaped around race under apartheid. As a result, households continued to rely on the networks established outside of Delft. This is believed to have played an important role in limiting the extent of integration within this community between this diverse neighbourhood.

The Westlake Village development is made up of a community which were relocated from the nearby unserviced informal settlement (called 'Die Bos') comprising more than 600 families of coloured and Africa decent. Westlake Village forms part of a mixed-use development comprising businesses, shops, a school and a gated high-end residential complex (Lemanski, 2006). In this regard Westlake Village is quite atypical to many of the projects housing low income families coming from informal settlements. In terms of the racial make-up it is estimated that 57% are Black African and 42% are coloured. While racially different, the two groups are similar in terms of their economic welfare facing equal challenges in terms of access to employment and income. The research suggestions that because they were relocated within a specific geographic space this community was able to maintain existing social movements and linkages located in the surrounding areas thereby ensuring that their everyday activities allowed them to be more fully integrated into life in the settlement and its surrounding areas.

In this context the social issues with which Westlake Village residents grapple include 'insider-outsider' mentalities developed in response to the arrival of people from outside the original network or community. However, despite these issues, Lemanski's research shows signs of strong inter-racial connectedness and sense of neighbourhood being present in this community, regardless of race. This is attributed to the strong sense of local identity and the shared patterns of everyday movement (for school and work). The research also showed that in terms of schools and places of work, race played only a small or no role in determining the choices and movements of coloured and Black African residents. These factors are seen as a consequence of the long tenure shared between residents as well as the location of the housing project in an upmarket suburb of Cape Town, with relatively good access to employment opportunities (Lemanski, 2006). There is a strong localised identity in Westlake Village, shaped by tenure of residence rather than homeownership. While this is said to be linked to race, race is not the determinant of who does and who does not belong. This strong local identity appears to transcend racial identities and has thus contributed towards racial integration in everyday life.

The section to follow explores the notion of shared social experiences further, illustrating the significance hereof on the quality of social relations.

Shared social experiences

Shared experiences within a neighbourhood can assist in forging localised bonds, as reflected in the Westlake case study. Ross's research on residents relocated from the racially mixed informal settlement of Die Bos to a formal settlement, The Village, (established in physically close proximity) further illustrates this argument. The research found that because residents have shared the same experiences of economic vulnerabilities and faced the same set of social problems, they identified with each other in a manner that strengthened their attachment to the 'community'. In this context community came to stand for "caring, small-scale interactions and enduring social relations" (Ross, 2005b, 2010).

Ross's research further illustrates the fluid and flexible nature of networks in a community grappling with poverty. The social networks in this community were observed to be based on friendship rather than kinship and were flexible enough to meet short-term needs, something which is important given their impoverished living conditions. Practical examples of this include neighbours trading favours such as collecting wood in exchange for a meal. Thus, while these bonds are not seen to be robust they are flexible enough to meet short-term needs and ensuring survival (Ross, 2005a).

Ross's research suggests that the move to formal housing can result in a shift in the nature and quality of existing networks and the forms of social practice. Because access to housing is dependent on satisfying certain criteria not everybody had equal access to a state subsidised house. This created something of a divide within the community, between those which met the eligibility criteria and those who did not. The beneficiary selection process may therefore exacerbate inequalities and differences within communities. It can thus have a negative rather than positive impact on the social foundation of the community.

Mixed-race communities which share a strong attachment to locality and where historical ties exist are likely to have strong everyday social connections which may transcend race. However, research suggests that race may play a part in influencing the selection of formal social networks to which individuals belong. Westlake Village is illustrative of strong informal networks established within the community and linked to a historic local identity shared amongst residents. In terms of networks that developed through membership to organisations such as religious institutions and sports club membership, Lemanski observes lower levels of integration and attributes this to the matter of choice, "Residents had no choice over the race of their neighbours, and social mixing has flourished" (Lemanski, 2006:423). In contrast, the research suggests that when residents had the choice in membership to an organisation, they tended to join racially homogenous groups. However, these choices are not necessarily driven by primarily race or the desire to not mix with other races. Rather these choices rested on an attachment to organisations which reflect elements of individual identity including language and culture (Lemanski, 2006).

While shared social experiences and a historical attachment to place may play a role in determining the depth of social ties in a community, it is not a necessary condition for integration. As the next section shows inter-racial networks may emerge even in mixed-neighbourhood communities, illustrating that living together may contribute to new forms of integration that occur through shared livelihoods and joining together to organise in a new context.

The establishment of new inter-racial networks in response to basic needs

Newly established, desegregated settlements characterised as multi-neighbourhood and multi-racial establishments do not have access to existing social bonds built on shared histories. However the opportunity to establish cross-racial formal and informal networks of association may present itself in response to shared social needs.

Informal and formal networks of association in Delft South have generally linked to historical connections built outside of Delft South, limiting to some degree the depth of localised social connections and support networks. Typically Black African and coloured households continued to socialise with family and friends outside the settlement, therefore reinforcing existing social bonds rather than focusing on establishing new ones. Therefore, households' social and spatial practices and movements did not necessarily shift upon arrival at Delft South (Oldfield, 2004). However, the relocation to a desegregated community has fostered the formation of new informal networks which link to the concept of neighbourliness with neighbours sharing street cleaning, looking out for each other's welfare and having a common vision of escaping language barriers (Oldfield, 2004). Thus, the desire to form part of a community as a collective entity functioning to secure certain daily welfare gains has seen the formation of informal social networks.

The Delft South study showed that despite differences in terms of ethnicity, language and culture, Black African and coloured communities shared the same insecurities and vulnerabilities around housing. This has assisted in the formation of stronger bonds between particular groups within the community, as they fought for the attainment of housing. This was illustrated when a group of illegal invaders (called Door Kickers) formed in the settlement. The Door Kickers were established as a response to a growing

frustration with the slow and seemingly unequal process of housing allocations. [6] This group, comprising both coloured and Black African people, was brought together by a common purpose and a common frustration with the housing process (Oldfield, 2004). Racial and political identities were set aside and became secondary to meeting the shared goal, one that related to a basic human need - access to a house for shelter. While the group were acting illegally in the occupation of these homes, they consolidated their housing legally by winning a class action suit which was laid against the group by the Western Cape Department of Housing. The Door Kickers won the suit on the grounds that they qualified for state-provided housing subsidies but it was their right to administrative justice through proper housing allocations for the waiting list was violated (Oldfield, 2004:197). The suggestion here is not to support illegal occupations, but rather to identify the importance of upholding fair and transparent housing allocation process, the absence of which could lead to illegal invasions and possibly even violence. In the case of Delft South, the so-called Door Kickers developed a strong bond of trust between its members, something which ensured that commonality in terms of cause and effort transcended racial difference. This bond endured facilitating linkages between these families located across the settlement. Oldfield observes further that the network of 'Door-kicker' families was the foundation upon which community organisations were built, with residents working together to combat social problems such as crime (Oldfield, 2004). These factors led to the establishment of micro-level integration, particularly in terms of formal organisational networks established to create a safe and stable social environment for the community as a whole, regardless of race. Thus, while some informal and formal networks are linked to historical social ties which tended to be racially homogenous, these persisted alongside new networks which were based on formal social and political goals which transcend race.

This example, while specific to the contextual facets of the case study is not unique in the sense that shared vulnerabilities and common struggles have been shown to unite communities seeking access to services in other contexts. Research into the struggle for access to housing in Durban during and just after apartheid demonstrated that the housing issue served as a catalyst for the formation of muti-racial and multi-class alliances, assisting in the establishment of integration in the metropolitan area (Maharaj, 1996). These examples illustrate that the fight for social and political rights and satisfaction of basic human needs have the potential to bring together diverse groups.

The section to follow explores some of the emerging issues around exclusion and inclusion in communities. The findings bring to the fore the fragility of poor communities which, although often treated as a homogenous group, face a number of inequalities.

Issues of exclusion and inclusion

Issues of exclusion and inclusion within communities have been shown to play a role in shaping the nature of social relations. Historically individuals have had differentiated rights of access to housing, and while the Constitutional right to housing is equal, issues

[6] In 1998, approximately 1800 Door Kicker families claimed and then invaded homes built in Delft South Sections 12 and 13. Housing invasions in Delft South were initiated when many families lost faith in the housing allocation process, leaving them doubtful that they would ever be allocated housing. Furthermore, they found irregularities in the allocation process, essentially leading to families taking the process of housing allocation into their own hands (Oldfield, 2004:196).

of exclusion and inclusion persist and continue to be a cause of problems.[7] The heterogeneity of poor communities is often not acknowledged, despite the impact which this may have on the quality of community life (Robins, 2002; Huchzermeyer, 2002b). It is furthermore necessary to review the extent to which there is alignment between the expectations of housing beneficiaries and the policy and practice of housing delivery implemented by the state. Many of these expectations bring together social and political issues relevant to gaining a better understanding of the sensitivities around housing. These are discussed in greater detail in the section to follow.

Differential treatment within communities

A fundamental question for this research relates to whether housing development processes as a form of state intervention correlates with the construction or breakdown of community. South Africa's housing policy is based on the housing provision of the individual rather than of the promotion of collective home ownership. In settlements where attachment to the community serves as a social safeguard, this policy which has the potential to foster inequalities could have detrimental affects on the social capital in settlements (Bénit, 2002). Bénit's case study of Diepsloot in Johannesburg (2002) illustrates how the state's implementation of differential housing programmes within a single community created inequalities, ultimately making communities vulnerable to conflict and tension.

Diepsloot has, since the 1990s served as a resettlement area for all squatters in the northern part of Greater Johannesburg. While not racially diverse, the settlement brings together a great diversity of individuals and groups from a number of different settlements, "each forming micro-communities headed by leaders from their previous squatter settlement" (Bénit, 2002:50). Bénit's research emphasises the significant role which the differential treatment of households has played in shaping the social landscape and tensions within communities. The very bringing together of a number of community leaders into a single settlement created tensions around power and clear social divides emerged. Each resident group was said to have had their own experience of the struggle against the apartheid government and local leaders expressed reluctance "to relinquish their former power in the name of the new Diepsloot 'community'" (Bénit, 2002: 51). Leaders and community members therefore continued to identify themselves in relation to the community from which they came.

In addition, the settlement was divided into sections, with some benefiting from low-income houses, while other sections were more densely populated with little or no access to services, with another section having benefited from a site and service programme, giving residents between access to services such as water, electricity and sanitation as well as community facilities. [8] This has lead to rivalry and tension between

[7] Housing policies have to some degree been responsible for this, by favouring certain groups over others in the housing allocation process; however there is growing recognition of the need for a more equal approach. In the Western Cape this is evident in the recent policy shift from 70/30 split between housing allocations for informal settlement dwellers and backyarders to a 50/50 split.

[8] Bénit offers more insight into the background behind these diverse programmes: "At the time of research (1999), Diepsloot was the focus of three distinct public programmes. The uncontrolled informal settlement of Diepsloot One was the subject of a policy to reduce population density through two different procedures, addressing 4 800 of the 6 100 households living in the settlement. At the time, 3 800 RDP houses were being built on neighbouring serviced land (*Project Linked Subsidy Programme*). One thousand sites without services are being designed on another piece of neighbouring land (*Mayibuye Programme*). The RDP houses were clearly far more interesting for the households than the unserviced

the divergent groups which make up the 'community' (Bénit, 2002: 51). A diverse number of public programmes were implemented in this community, essentially creating different groups of beneficiaries. While the objective behind implementing a number of different programmes was to ensure that nobody was excluded, Bénit (2002:56) notes that "the proliferation of different programmes, which leads to the construction of different categories of households in the legitimate concern to exclude no-one from the development, contributes paradoxically to the division between the residents"(2002:56). This research highlights the significance of selection criteria and differential approaches in determining not only who will benefit from the housing programmes, but what the benefit will entail, in shaping social tensions within communities.

In addition to these factors, different role players in Diepsloot had their own ideas of how beneficiaries should be classified. Local 'communities' accepted the legitimacy of the criterion of length of residence in the area and while this was generally supported, the system inherently leads to the discriminations between groups from different origins. Private contractors were however in favour of classifying residents by their income, thereby organising a different form of social segregation (Bénit, 2002: 55). Other tensions emerged as a result of perceived exclusion. In one part of Diepsloot, the development programme included transferring serviced plots to occupant households that were originally settled on the site. This group become known as 'owners', many of whom would rent out space to backyard shack dwellers. A particular tension emerged from within this community between 'owners' and 'tenants', which has played a part in shaping a 'us' and 'them' mentality. This particular tension arose as tenants felt excluded from the development and somewhat cheated of their rights to a subsidy, relative to those to which they pay rent (Bénit, 2002: 56).

Bénit's identifies a number of factors which may play a role affecting the quality of community. One the one hand, divisions within a newly established neighbourhood can be said to be an almost inevitable consequence of bringing together a diverse number of groups, with strong community attachments of their own, into a single settlement. However, a number of exogenous factors have exacerbated the tensions within this 'community', including the differential treatment of beneficiaries in determining access to housing and the role of external players such as developers, the state and community organisations in this regard. One of the key findings from this research is the importance of effectively managing the wide range of stakeholder interests, something which local municipalities are crucial in overseeing. With community representatives, the private sector and political organisations playing active roles in the housing process, municipalities have to maintain their capacity in making key decisions, resolving conflict and intervening when necessary (Bénit, 2002: 64).

Bénit's study further talks to the concerns around the potential role of housing programmes in breaking down fragile bonds within neighbourhoods. In some respects this is attributed to the nature of housing policy in South Africa which focuses

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plots, but the municipality was not able to obtain a sufficient number of subsidies as part of the Project Linked Subsidy Programme. A third type of programme was undertaken earlier to consolidate the shacks built by their occupants on the 1 124 serviced plots at Diepsloot West. Individual subsidies were to be allocated to the owners of the plots as part of the *Consolidation Subsidy Programme"* (Bénit, 2002: 54).

significantly on individual or person, rather than place.[9] Huchzermeyer (2002a) makes a similar observation in her case study research of two townships, Gunguluza (in Uitenhage, Eastern Cape) and Kanana (south of Johannesburg, Gauteng). Her research demonstrates the extent to which housing interventions, specifically project-linked subsidies undermined community initiatives, spurred inequalities and promoted the pursuit of individualistic rather than community driven objectives. These case studies identify two important tensions which may arise as a result of the implementation of differential housing projects. There is an explicit tension between the individual-focused housing policy and the tendency of communities, especially vulnerable and poor communities, to function as a collective, relying on committees and civic organisation structures to satisfy their goals. Thus, while established communities have the potential to apply the strength of their social bond in the fight for housing, they may not all be rewarded equally for their efforts. This may give rise to a second tension – individuals may well work as a collective to secure housing access, but they also hold ideals which align with an individualised model of suburb life (Huchzermeyer, 2002a).

These findings are useful in building an argument that housing as a state intervention has an influence on community bonds and while the state is but one player in the housing process, the manner in which it engages with communities and manages beneficiary processes may be significant in influencing social relations within communities. It is important however to recognise that while differential treatment may lead to negative outcomes, it is an almost unavoidable reality which is not easily resolved. Indeed, a blanket approach to housing delivery is not an option, but the findings suggest that engagement with communities in a transparent and inclusive manner is fundamental to avoiding negative consequences. In this respect, voluntary, non-political civil society organisations are important role players seeking to develop solutions which respond to the specific needs of the communities in which they operate (Huchzemeyer, 2006). These organisations may therefore be instrumental in working in partnership with government in the process of addressing issues of fairness, provided that the local government plays a strong leadership role with a focus on protecting the interests of affected communities and upholding the policy objectives.

The transparency of the beneficiary selection process and perceived equity in particular has the potential to spur divisions. This argument is illustrated in the case study discussion to follow.

Perceptions of transparency and equity

The perceived equity and transparency with which houses are allocated has been shown to play a role in contributing towards tensions within newly established low-income

[9] Place-based communal bonds should not be estimated, particularly because they may serve as a strong foundation upon which communities work together for collective gains. One case study in particular, looking at the survival of the Warwick Avenue Triangle in Durban highlights the role of not only shared interest, but attachment to place in building strong community networks which were utilised in the mobilisation against the apartheid state (Maharaj, 1999). Warwick Avenue Triangle developed as an integrated neighbourhood over a number of decades and by the early 1980s formed into a multi-racial community, which the apartheid state sought to destroy through a forceful process of relocation. Through protest action and the formation of a residents association the community defended and maintained the non-racial character of the area. The case of the Warwick Avenue Triangle in Durban, one of the few integrated, multi-racial communities which the apartheid government could not succeed in breaking down, is said to have survived because of the strong communal bonds shaped by the long history of residence and attachment to place which the community shared (Maharaj, 1999).

housing developments. Research in Joe Slovo Park (a state-driven low-income housing project which is made up of households located from the informal settlement of Marconi Beam to well-located vacant land in Cape Town) shows evidence of the tensions which may emerge from biased allocation processes and the role of community leaders in creating divisions. In this regard, it was found that some long-standing residents were never allocated houses, while it was alleged that some community leaders received more than one house (Cousins *et al*., 2006). These biases, even if only perceived, may have a significant bearing on the quality of social relations. They contribute towards creating a divide in communities but may also lead to the mobilisation of communities seeking to obtain equal rights.

In Delft South, the political processes governing housing allocation played a significant role in shaping residents attitudes towards each other and towards the state. Having been relocated from across Cape Town and through a process which was non-transparent and seemingly non-equitable, some residents grew more and more frustrated with the long wait for houses. These frustrations mounted into action, leading to the illegal invasion of homes (Oldfield, 2004). Westlake Villagers faced less of a struggle to obtain homes (Lemanski, 2006). Because the residents were largely relocated from an established, existing community there was far greater awareness and transparency in the allocation process and in terms of eligibility. The extent to which beneficiary selection processes are perceived to be equitable may play an role in shaping the dynamics and the quality of relations within communities.

A study of the Fisantekraal housing development project, located in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, near urban and rural nodes, provides another example of the development of a neighbourhood comprising a mix of beneficiaries. The project, initiated in 2001, comprises residents from three beneficiary groups which were identified, first the farm workers and domestic workers from the surrounding area (whose accommodation is conditional upon employment), people living in overcrowded and backyard shacks in Morningstar[10] and informal settlement dwellers from the nearby Zwelethu, established through a process of land invasions (Burgoyne, 2008). The combination of these three communities into a single settlement resulted in the establishment of a mixed-race, desegregated settlement, with the population estimated to be 45% Black African and 55% coloured.

The establishment of Fisantekraal was an opportunity to relocate Zwelethu residents as a community. The process for drafting housing lists for the three beneficiary groups were not uniform – Zwelethu occupants were limited to the number of shacks as per an audit, whereas the other two groups were invited to apply to be on the waiting list. A combined list of 1836 beneficiaries resulted, with Morningstar and rural dwellers comprising the majority. A phased construction process commenced with the first phase accommodating 802 units, 306 of which were allocated to Zwelethu residents (representing the full size of beneficiary list for this settlement) in order to ensure full relocation. The allocation of the remaining units (to be split equally between Morningstar and rural workers) largely took place through the use of community representatives; responsible for developing and motivating a system of priorisation e.g. those being evicted from farms were given priority (Burgoyne, 2008).

[10] Morningstar is a low-cost suburb established near Durbanville in the 1980s.

The beneficiary identification process presented a number of problems, many of which can be linked to unequal and seemingly unfair processes being used. The City Council's audit of Zwelethu established the parameters for beneficiaries from this area, while Morningstar residents and farm workers had an open platform to apply. This fuelled a sense of inequality, particularly for the Zwelethu residents. Furthermore the allocation of houses through the use of representative organisations was inconsistent, highly subjective and did follow any fair logic to which everyone was equally subjected (for example, the application date was often not considered). Community leaders were given an unreasonable amount of political power in these processes, creating frustration for those on the list and fuelling tensions within communities, which continued even in later phases of the construction process. The consequences included protest action and land invasions (Burgoyne, 2008). While tensions and consequent protest action and invasions largely centred on the fight for access to housing "due to the racially differentiated community of Fisantekraal, the predominantly housing-centred conflicts became characterised by racial tension as well" (Burgoyne, 2008:74).

In the case of Fisantekraal the allocation process in particular was heavily influenced by political leaders and community organisations that followed subjective and inconsistent approaches and it is not clear that there were any processes in place to establish consensus. While there are likely to be benefits from adopting an inclusionary process which involves community representatives, it appears that the mechanisms used to include beneficiaries in decision-making created rather mitigated dissatisfaction with the housing process. This research further reiterates the important role of government in carefully managing stakeholder relations.

Linked to the discussion on fairness and equity is the issue of expectations, to be discussed below.

The significance of expectations

Because individuals and families attach so much of their emotional and economic well-being to the attainment of a formal house, tensions around housing delivery processes are almost inevitable. It is worthwhile taking a closer look at some of the factors, identified in the literature which has contributed towards this. Much of the conflicts observed in low-income house projects link back to expectations. One significant set of expectations relates to what households feel they need. On one level, households expect certain things from the government, for example they expect a fair and transparent process of beneficiary identification and housing allocation, they expect a house which offers security, safety and to which they can attach a sense of pride. When the state fails to fulfil some or all of these expectations, illegal invasions and protest often result (for examples, see Oldfield, 2004; Burgoyne, 2008).

There is often a mismatch between what recipients expect in terms of decent homes and what planners and developers perceive as decent homes, leading to disappointment and dissatisfaction. Ross (2005a) illustrates this in her research on The Village. However, there are countless examples of communities protesting not only about the slow pace of delivery but more and more about the quality of the homes offered by the state. It has been argued that implementing a capital housing subsidy model, South Africa had to make the trade-off between maximising the number of subsidies at the expense of quality or maintaining quality standards but delivering fewer subsidies. The political decision has clearly been to focus on the numbers and the reduction of the housing

backlog, unfortunately this has had negative implications for the quality of housing provided (Gilbert, 2004). However, it is important to acknowledge that a shift in focus from quantity to quality may also lead to protest of some sort, given that the provision of better quality houses may result in fewer houses being provided. This would certainly be greeted with some disapproval by those waiting for homes.

South Africa's low income housing programme is seen as an example of the disjuncture between political visions and the ideas of those planning housing programmes as compared to everyday practicalities and needs of those on the receiving end (Charlton, 2008).[11] In a case study of Joe Slovo Park, Robins (2002) finds an obvious disjuncture between what planners and policy makers envision for low-income housing projects versus the everyday urban realities facing the poor. His research focuses on the upgrading of the Marconi Beam informal settlement (near Milnerton in Cape Town) into what planners envisions to be a "more orderly working class suburb", consisting of a few "neat rows of formal brick structures" which became known as Joe Slovo Park (Robins, 2002: 511).[12] However, as Robins illustrates the reality facing poor households demands a reliance on informality rather than formality. As he observes, from the perspective of poor households, there are a number of good reasons to favour informal living over formal housing, including that they do not have to pay municipal rates and service fees and have the freedom to build and extend their dwelling with the cheapest materials accessible (Robins, 2002: 516). In addition it is argued that social bonds are stronger in informal contexts, where everyday social interactions are more frequent, with more frequent expressions of reciprocity and sharing of food and household utensils for example. His research further argues that the state's housing plan does not adequately meet the needs of the poor, who have no choice but to rely on informal economies to sustain a living. The emergence of informal dwelling alongside the formal units in the Joe Slovo settlement is evidence of the "re-informalisation" of the development as a result of income constraints and basic needs of the poor (Robins, 2002: 542). Robins finds (similar to Ross, 2005a) that the poor experience high levels of fluidity and rely on a diverse range of survival strategies to meet their changing needs. Their social conditions therefore change over time and they do not fit the planners' mould of a homogenous, static group. Robins argues that it makes more sense of view residents of informal settlements as "moving targets" in response to the observation that the poor are constantly reshaping their lives in response to the contingencies which they face (Robins, 2002: 517). The implications of this research is not that beneficiaries necessarily prefer informality as opposed to formal housing , but rather that unless people have access to the economic opportunities which allow them to afford the costs associated with formality, they will continue to rely on informal economies.

There is a growing awareness that housing policy is not responding to the diverse range of needs of people on the ground and the isolation and segregation of low cost housing development has increasingly been challenged (Mazur & Qangule, 1995). Research has therefore emphasised the need to question the extent to which the housing options available are appropriate and adequate in fulfilling the needs of the poor, suggesting that interventions should focus on offering a wider range of subsidized housing options for

[11] Charlton's recent research (2009) provides an analysis of possible explanations for this disjuncture, e.g. the state's lack of acknowledgement of the diversity of beneficiaries. This paper has not been published as yet.

[12] Joe Slovo Park was established in the mid-1990s as a low-income housing scheme built on an adjacent piece of land. The settlement comprised RDP houses built as part of the National Housing Subsidy Scheme. The project built 936 houses using a subsidy worth R15 000 per beneficiary (PLAAS,2006).

all categories of need (Smit, 2008).[13] It is clear however from research into communities which have been subjected to this sort of differential treatment (e.g. the Diepsloot case-study) that this process has to be a carefully managed one as it runs the risk of creating divides and tensions around exclusion and inclusion.

Another set of expectations relate to what recipient households feel they deserve. Sentiments around what is deserved are far more contentious than those around needs. The concept of housing as a basic need is arguably shared by all, however the literature illustrates that there are often divergent notions of what who deserves what and why. Much of this is linked to historic and geographic contextual factors, which are particularly relevant in the Western Cape and Cape Town, where typically coloured people will have been on housing waiting lists for longer than African Black beneficiaries (Oldfield, 2004). Coloured residents are also likely to view the Cape as their place of origin as opposed to many Black African people who have typically migrated from the Eastern Cape. This has created a set of expectations around who deserves a house and this has manifested itself as a racial issue. Racial tensions are further linked to the perceived threat of having to compete with Black Africans for housing and employment (Hendricks and Hofmeyr, 2005).

Even in the absence of this sort of threat of competition, households expect to be subjected to an equitable and transparent process of beneficiary and selection. Those who have been on the housing list longer generally expect to be given access to a house first. However, the frustrations expressed by those not receiving houses as expected is probably less about the perceived absence of a ‘first-come-first’ serve policy and more about the lack of transparency in the selection process applied by municipalities. Conflicts have often resulted because of inconsistent processes for selection, uncertainty as to what it means to be registered as opposed to being on an actual list, a lack of clarity in terms of selection criteria and the influence and involvement of political figures in determining who is on the list. It is hypothesized that due to a combination of these factors, complaints around the allocation processes for housing are justified and unfortunately play into racial tensions (ODAC, 2008).

A recent study into the allocation of subsidized housing by municipalities in the Western Cape reveals a number of complexities and inconsistencies in the selection process at the level of municipalities (DLG&H, 2008). This is not unique to Cape Town however, as a similar set of tensions have been observed in eThekwini (Durban) where those registered on the housing database for longer expect to be the first receive a house, however the length of registration is not a criterion for obtaining a house and the city has different allocation processes for different housing programmes (ODAC, 2008).[14] At the neighbourhood level, expectations around who deserves housing can also fuel tensions within specific communities even if they enjoy a high level of inter-racial integration, as illustrated by ‘insider-outsider’ conflicts in Westlake Village.

The struggle for the fulfilment of a basic need such as access to a house may invoke strong responses generally in the form of protest action and times it can fuel tensions,

[13] Typical housing options for the poor include: the ownership or rental of a shack in an informal settlement, a rented room within a shack, the rental of space for a backyard shack or of the shack itself in established townships, a rented room in an established township, and the receipt of an RDP house in an upgrading project or in a greenfield development.

[14] Recently Ethekwini took the decision to do away with its register, now applying a project-based register developed specifically for each project and kept only for the duration of that project.

sometimes linked to race. However, it may also offer a platform for generating co-operative behaviour and bringing otherwise opposing groups together. Community organisations and structures (formal and informal) have been shown to play a significant role in assisting the acquisition of formal housing in situations where the state has failed or been slow to meet housing demand (For example, see Oldfield (2001)). In this respect, the housing crisis and the frustrations of those affected has served as a catalyst for social and political actions which have sought to hold the state accountable for its policies and actions.

Divergent views on what the community represents

Divergent views on what the community represents to different groups may influence social relations and contribute towards the sentiment of exclusion.

In cases where kin-based roots are embedded outside the new community this can lead to tensions surrounding the perceived commitment which these households may or may not have to building the new community rather than continuing to support their places of origin. This social tension also may also link to notions of exclusion and inclusion, as reflected in selected case studies. Residents of The Village (in Somerset West) were made up of households relocated from a nearby informal settlement (The Park) and many shared a common history and attachment to locality. While initially there were some proposals for relocating intact sections of the informal settlement in order to retain bonds within neighbourhoods this idea was abandoned. The objective instead was to try and create a more integrated community to ensure that the Village consisted of households from coloured, African and Rastafarian backgrounds living as neighbours, rather than retaining pockets of homogenous groups living together in the community. These efforts were described as “social engineering as an experiment in developing racial tolerance” and formed part of establishing the ideal of a model community (Ross, 2005a: 644). The decision was also a response to racial tensions between coloured and Black African people which were linked to differences in understandings and ideals of what the home represents.

Smit in his study of rural linkages in urban households of Durban explains that for households which have multiple homes (i.e. in the rural homeland as well as their urban place of residence) maintaining an urban and a rural base offers a safety net particularly pertinent in time of economic hardship (Smit,1998). In the case of the Village, for many young Black African men, their house in The Village represented something of a temporary residence while they worked in the City and they continued to see their primary residence located elsewhere, typically the homestead in the Eastern Cape to which they would remit part of their income. Coloured residents, with ideals of communities characterised by nuclear family units, saw this as an expression of disloyalty to the community (Ross, 2005a). These divergent views on what the neighbourhood-based community represents therefore represented a tension within the newly established integrated settlement. This finding highlights important aspects for consideration in our research, particularly in a context of rapid rural-urban migration as experienced by many South African cities and towns.

In a study of three informal settlements in Cape Town (Marconi Beam, Imizamo Yethu and Weltevreden Park) Lohnert identifies the need to view urban housing as an issue of relevance to both urban and rural areas and takes cognisance of the influx of individuals from rural areas on urban housing demand. In these case studies she found that 85% of residents had come from the former Transkei and Ciskei Homelands, i.e. the Eastern Cape Province, with kinship ties between these urban households and their rural-based families remaining strong. The link which low-income urban households have to residences outside the settlement could have a significant bearing on the depth of bonds within the communities and/or settlements into which they have been recently integrated. Lohnert makes the point that "the urban lifestyle does not become the sole focus of the migrant family" (2007:25), and rather urban residences represents an economic opportunity. Occupying an urban house does not necessarily signify the full relocation of emotional and cultural bonds. On the contrary the bonds with the rural place of origin remain strong and it is the desire to provide financial and social support their families back home that motivate them to seek employment in urban areas. Lohnert (2007) further emphasises the need to better understand and study the bonds between the urban settlements which these individual occupy (as an intermediate measures) and their places of origin. Her research showed that within informal settlements, social networks played some role in determining the expansion of these informal settlements as family ties determined where immigrant families decided to locate their dwelling (Lohnert, 2007).

While the social tensions discussed here cannot necessarily be avoided, they are worth noting as potential areas of contention.

Housing delivery as it may contribute to, build or break down 'community'

The literature review findings suggest that in the delivery of housing, the state intervenes in a complex social environment which may possess a number of inequalities linked to context and place. Social relations within communities are complicated and while the state may have a well-intentioned plan, the social history and the socioeconomic realities facing communities may lead to a number of unanticipated consequences. There are therefore no best practices when it comes to establishing new communities and above all it is important to take cognisance of the contextual and social specificities of the communities which are being subjected to housing intervention.

This is no more evident than the debate around relocation versus informal settlement upgrading. While the findings indicate that relocation of communities with a shared history or past may contribute towards retaining a set of bonds, the relocation process may also break-down communities. Evidence of this is reflected in a number of case studies discussed in this paper (see for example Ross, 2005 and Bénit, 2002). The relocation process cannot be assumed to be unproblematic and there is an emerging argument that relocation may pose a number of disadvantages to communities, for example in terms of threatening their access to schooling and job markets. In her research on the struggle for in-situ upgrading in three informal settlements in Gauteng, Huchzermeyer (2006:6) found that a large proportion of resident resisted relocation due "its threat to their livelihood, schooling and community networks, not least their

home".[15] Relocation is sometimes argued by the state as being necessary on the basis of the suitability of the land for occupation and due to the inappropriate zoning of illegally occupied land on which informal dwellings are located. However, there is a compelling argument for the upgrading of informal settlements rather than the relocation of whole or parts of communities. Huchzermeyer (2006) in particular argues that informal settlement upgrading may do more to retain the livelihoods and social networks which communities have built. The social networks which have been established in poor communities have been shown to be fundamental to their survival, including the sharing of labour and food (Ross, 2005b; Robins, 2002). A research study of Joe Slovo Park in Cape Town, showed that where relocation and the allocation of plots in particular have ignored the existing strong social networks and kindship ties, it has been shown to lead to the disruption of social ties and bonds within communities (Cousins *et al.*, 2006).[16] The Western Cape Provincial Government's policy direction clearly reflects a growing preference for in-situ upgrading, having identified the benefits hereof for community stability.

While in-situ upgrading may be less disruptive on the quality of community life, it is does not necessarily contribute positively to integration on a macro-level. The common observation that informal settlements tend to be located on the periphery of cities, places some limitation on the extent to which communities are integrated into the greater city space. However, low-income housing communities are generally not being relocated to well-positioned land with access to economic opportunities and social facilities either; therefore the practice of relocation has generally not lead to the improvement in integration of communities into the city (Huchzermeyer, 2003b).

The findings suggests that through housing delivery the state intervenes in a complex social landscape which is characterised by a number of existing inequalities and social ties which are vulnerable to breakage. While state intervention is necessary to redress segregation and improve the level of integration experienced by communities, it is necessary to take cognisance of the local context and the existing factors which influence livelihoods and social networks. A host of exogenous factors and players also have a bearing on the quality of community and as the literature survey has demonstrated there is a need to ascertain an accurate knowledge of the social and political context in which the state as the agent of delivery is intervening.

While the core focus of this research relates to neighbourhood level understandings of the quality of community and integration, it is useful to consider the extent to which newly established communities are integrated into the broader city space. The discussion to follow briefly looks at integration beyond the neighbourhood.

2.3. Integrating neighbourhoods into cities

While it is not the intention of this research to study the integration of neighbourhoods into the city space, it is worthwhile reflecting on this topic briefly, in acknowledgement of the importance of the location of settlement to economic and social opportunities.

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[15] Huchzermeyer's research analyses the legal cases of Harry Gwala in Ekhuruleni, Eikenhof in Thembelihle and and Protea South in Region G (both in City of Joburg). The legal battle centered on the fight for in situ upgrading as a opposed to relocation (2006).

[16] Yose,C. (1999) drew this conclusion based on research conducted in the Joe Slovo community, for the preparation of a Masters Thesis in Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town.

As shown in earlier sections of this review, the physical location of settlements has a bearing on the extent to which residents in desegregated public housing developments are able to entrench their social networks into the new settlement. This identifies that location matters in terms of the proximity between the former place of residence and the new housing project. Location is also important in terms of the access which it does (or does not) provide to economic and social opportunities, as this has influence on the prospects of integration. Therefore integration at a macro-level is also important.

Typically low-cost housing developments are located on the periphery with little access to economic opportunities, thereby limiting the extent of integration into the broader economic and social space (Huchzemeyer, 2003b). It is argued that while integration at the level of the neighbourhood is important, it is equally as important to ensure that households within desegregated communities are spatially integrated more broadly since their very location on the periphery has an adverse impact on their social and economic well-being (Huchzermeyer, 2001).

As demonstrated in the Delft South case, residents have relatively limited opportunities in terms of access to economic opportunity and social infrastructure, usually having to send their children to schools outside the settlement and travel long distances to work and shop. Delft South's physical proximity and limited access to economic opportunity therefore perpetuates its status as a marginalised settlement, segregated on a macro-level (Oldfield, 2004). This observation serves to highlight the importance of scale when assessing issues of integration.

The location of Westlake Village as a housing project positioned on a well-located area of land in an upper class area of Cape Town, with good access to transport proved favourable for social integration on a micro-scale. Households in this development share similar access to opportunities, tended to find work and do their shopping in the surrounding areas and send their children to school in the nearby area (which tended to be more integrated). Proximity and cost are the main factors driving school choice, rather than race. This allowed for a level of integration into areas outside the settlement (Lemanski, 2006). However the location of the project has not facilitated integration with the nearby white community, residents of the gated community and owners of local businesses. There is a clear spatial and social separation between residents of Westlake Village and the surrounding developments. This represents a new kind of socio-economic segregation evident in South Africa, with the emergence and spread of private gated settlements. Joe Slovo Park near Milnerton was also intended to represent a purposeful attempt at creating more integrated space for a number of neighbourhoods. The majority of residents of Joe Slovo were mainly Xhosa-speaking African households. They were housed alongside a newly established predominantly coloured, middle-income neighbourhood of Phoenix and the predominantly white formal residential area of Milnerton. The vision for the settlement was the creation of integrated close to transport and employment opportunities. While the initial intention was to create a racially integrated space, the construction of high walls as barriers between Joe Slovo Park and Phoenix are evidence of the persistent tension along the lines of race and class (Robins, 2002). This type of physical separation has created pockets of social isolation, effectively limiting opportunities for socioeconomic integration (Napier and Ntombela, 2007).

There is a strong awareness of the benefits for greater spatial integration, particularly in urban areas. Research undertaken in Mangaung Local Municipality (Bloemfontein) explains how the municipality implemented mechanisms to ensure greater spatial integration through the construction of infill projects. The municipality built approximately 21,000 houses between 1994 and 2004 in Mangaung. In order to address the scarcity of well-located land, curb urban sprawl and promote integration, 35% were constructed within existing areas of the town as in-fill projects, through a process of rezoning land (for example land previously earmarked for parks) for residential use in the provision of low-income housing. The remaining 65% of houses constructed in formal areas much further from the city (Mokoena and Marais, 2007). The findings of this study suggest that infill projects can be used to help contain urban sprawl. Despite of this, urban sprawl has not been fully addressed and ineffective transport and infrascture planning have limited the extent of integration. The limited space available for poor households in well-located land may contribute towards over-crowding in these settlements; especially as the working-age poor seek access to employment opportunities.

Many low-income housing settlements continue to be established on the periphery of cities, limiting the extent to which integration with city resources occurs. While housing is arguably only one part of a parcel of the social package of services which affect this sort of integration, it is important that the mechanisms to improve access to well-positioned land are continually tested.

2.4. Conclusion

The objective of this literature review was to provide insight into emerging hypotheses around the factors which may affect the nature and quality of social relations in neighbourhoods established through the low-income housing process. This review is important in the context of the provincial department's aims of improving the housing beneficiary process to be more equitable and fair, a process which may lead to the established of mixed neighbourhoods. The findings show that while the state is an important role player in the establishment of new communities, the housing delivery process invariably means intervening in a complex social context. The manner in which communities are formed (e.g. the beneficiary selection process, level of community participation and management of expectations) and reshaped over time has a bearing on the extent of social cohesion or divisions which may develop in newly created settlements. The social context in which the state intervenes has to therefore be carefully studied in order to understand the factors which may contribute towards or hinder integration. Furthermore, in noting these complexities and the extent to which they vary by context, the findings suggest that integration is not something which can necessarily be replicated and a blanket strategy is unfeasible and likely to be insensitive to these contextual differences. In this regard, the housing allocation process needs to be transparent and communicated so that recipients and non-recipients understand the process, its objectives and the need to redress past inequalities.

The findings therefore indicate that government has a very strategic role to play in influencing the efficiency and success of the housing process, focusing on:

- ⇒ Managing stakeholder interests and relations
- ⇒ Ensuring clarity in understanding of the housing allocation and beneficiary selection process (and thereby managing expectations)

- ⇒ Access to information
- ⇒ Creating and promoting a transparent environment
- ⇒ Considering the impact of different types of housing approaches on the quality of community
    - For example, in-situ upgrading versus relocation
    - Considering the implications hereof on the greater spatial integration in the city

One of the main aims of this literature review was to identify a number of hypotheses which may assist us in commencing our empirical research. An overarching hypothesis is that integration may take a number of different forms where integration may be seen to be taking place, this is not necessarily replicable. The following factors may play a role in shaping the nature and quality of social relations in communities which represent examples of integrated settlements and were useful in guiding the empirical research:

- The convergence of a number of different communities upon a single, new housing settlement may lead to the formation social divisions based on place of origin.

- The location of the housing settlement in relation to former places residence may be significant in determining the extent to which households are able to create and embed everyday social networks within the new community. In this respect, whether households continue to retain linkages outside the new community may inhibit the creation of new bonds.

- Shared social experience and a common, historic attachment to place may explain the depth of social relations in settlements which comprise a single relocated community.

- Communities which do not possess this shared social experience may experience integration in a myriad of other ways. Integration may take shape as a result of living as neighbours and for example sharing a common interest in living in a safe and clean environment.

- The experience or perception of exclusion may foster divides within communities.

    - Exclusion may be experienced in a number of ways, including the lack of transparency and perceived inequality of beneficiary selection processes.

    - Divergent views on what the community represents and perceptions of commitment to community may also foster tensions.

- Housing delivery may contribute towards the breakdown of communities - the type of housing process implemented may be significant in this regard (i.e. whether it is a relocation or in-situ upgrade project).

- The location of the housing project plays a role in determining broader inequality and integration of the neighbourhood in relation to the city.

Annexure A: Summary of key case studies

The table below provides an overview of the core case studies discussed in this literature review, providing a sense of context and methodology applied. The case studies are also characterised by their make-up as either being multi-community, mono-community, multi-racial or mono-racial.

Case study	Author/year	Method	Primary research focus
Delft South, Cape Town: • Established in 1996 • Relocation, greenfields project • multi-race, multi-community	Oldfield, 2004	Qualitative – in-depth interviews (30) with households in small geographic areas. Interviews were held with individuals and family, friends, neighbours members together. Tried to target neighbouring African and Coloured Families, where possible. 10 Community Leaders were interviewed, individually and using focus groups.	Understanding experiences of moving to Delft in the context of different processes to access housing.
Westlake Village, Cape Town • Established in 2001 • Social housing, relocation of community from surrounding informal settlement, • Mono-community multi-racial residents	Lemanski, 2006	Qualitative – semi-structured interviews with 49 interviewees. She conducted with a number of residents over a 5 months period, some interviewed more than once. Author attended several local meetings, chatted randomly with locals and interviewed a number of external players such as developers and political representatives.	To understand everyday life as well as attitudes and perceptions regarding life in WV as a new housing area and as a demographically-mixed community.
Fisantekraal, Cape Town • Illegal occupation in 1990s, municipality established settlement to accommodate squatters and others in need of homes from the surrounding area. • Relocation of Zwelethu informal settlement as well as drawing beneficiaries from rural area and nearby Morningstar. • Settlement developed in two phases: with 802 RDP units built in 1999 and 460 units in 2001. • Multi--race and multi-community	Burgoyne, 2008	Review of relevant documentary sources such as policy statements, minutes and reports from Council Housing Portfolio Committee. Interviews with key stakeholders in municipality.	Understanding housing delivery processes in SA, using Fisantekraal as a case study.

The Park, Somerset West, Cape Town: • Relocation of community from surrounding informal settlement. • Multi-race, mono-community.	Ross, 2005	Qualitative: in-depth, semi-structured interviews, visits, unstructured conversations etc. Research undertaken over a number of years to observe changes. Stakeholders also interviewed.	Ross examines the effects of formal housing opportunities on households previously occupying shacks, looking particularly at the ideals which are attached to formal housing opportunities.
Marconi Beam, Cape Town: • Occupied in 1982 by illegal squatters, resettlement to Joe Slovo Park in 1997. • Core housing with entire community re-settled. **Weltevreden Valley, Cape Town:** • Initially occupied by illegal squatters in 1988. Since 1996, official housing project with resettlement and development of area. • Core housing and site and service with some immigration from other areas • Mono-race, multi- Community. **Imizamo Yethu, Cape Town:** • Established in 1991 as site and service area with immigration continuing to take place. • 50% inhabitants legal, 50% illegal in adjacent forest. • Multi- race and Multi-Community	Lohnert, 2007	Empirical studies carried out between 1995 and 2000, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative research. 680 households were selected as a representative sample. Selected household heads tracked visitors in a log book, as well as a record of investments made in housing. Qualitative interviews with key individuals, recording if biographies and participative interpretation of aerial photographs also formed part of methodology.	The role of social networks for urbanisation processes and survival within urban marginal settlements and the upgrading of these three settlements.
Joe Slovo Park, Cape Town • Established in 1997. Located in Milnerton, 5km from the Cape Town CBD. • Relocation of informal settlement to formal housing settlement. • Mono-community, Mono-race.	Robins, 2002	Qualitative interviews with stakeholders from NGOs (particularly DAG), residents, community liaison officers and the contractor/developer etc. Attendance at community engagements (e.g. local forum meetings)	Develop an understanding of the factors influencing the visible disjuncture between the vision of planners/developers and the realities facing those who live in the low income housing scheme of Joe Slovo Park.

Diepsloot, Johannesburg. ○ Since the 1990s it has served as a resettlement area for informal dwelling in the northern part of Greater Johannesburg. Estimated population of between 18 000 and 30 000. ○ Combination of housing programme implemented. ○ Mono-race, multi-community settlement.	Bénit, 2002	Qualitative interviews with key representatives of the community, municipality, business sector and political representatives.	The research aims to investigate the relationship between public intervention in the delivery housing and the construction or destruction of the local community.

Chapter 3: Measuring and Modeling the Quality of Community

3.1. Introduction

Broadly ethnographic studies of neighbourhoods in Cape Town (and elsewhere in South Africa) shed valuable light on the strengths and weaknesses of 'community' and social cohesion, but to our knowledge there are no studies in Cape Town or elsewhere in South Africa that compare systematically the quality of community in different neighbourhoods. There are, however, underanalysed survey data on Cape Town (and no doubt other cities also) which might be amenable to re-analysis to examine some of these issues. In this chapter we report analysis of two existing datasets: the 2005 Cape Area Study (henceforth CAS2005) and the 2008 Western Cape Occupancy Study (WCOS). The purpose of re-analysing these existing data was not to demonstrate directly the probability of violence inter- or intra-communal violence, which is not possible with existing data and circumstances, but rather to pinpoint some of the factors that shape the quality of community. The hope is that understanding better the quality of community in different kinds of neighbourhoods will provide us with the basis to understand better the probability of conflict, and hence the social costs of changing mechanisms for allocating new public housing.

The reanalysis of existing survey data has some obvious disadvantages. It is very unlikely that either the sample or the questionnaire was designed with any intention of analyzing the quality of community, and certainly not the effects of housing allocation on this. The re-analysis of data is constrained by the fact that both sample and questionnaire were designed with other objectives in mind. Fortuitously, however, some aspects of the 'quality' of 'community' in Cape Town were examined in surveys conducted by the CSSR in 2003 and 2005 as part of the Cape Area Study (CAS). In both surveys, respondents were asked questions about how safe they feel, their interactions with neighbours, how much they trust other people, and their involvement in associational activity in the neighbourhood. Other important aspects of 'community' – notably, identity and loyalty – were not examined in either survey. The 2003 survey included a wider range of questions, but with a smaller sample (less than 600 individuals in 2003, compared to 1200 in 2005), and so the analysis reported here focuses more heavily on the 2005 data. The 2005 data can be used to examine, first, the general shape of perceptions of the quality of community in Cape Town. More cautiously, the data can be interrogated to examine whether there are observable patterns according to neighbourhood or, more generally, the kind of neighbourhood. The data cannot relate the quality of community to the precise mechanism by which houses were allocated in any particular neighbourhood, but they can provide a foundation for thinking about how – and the extent to which – the quality of community might be affected by this.

The overall picture that emerges from the re-analysis of the CAS2005 data is rather blurred. Some indicators suggest that most people in Cape Town live in neighbourhoods in which there is a reasonable degree of community. Most people interact with neighbours regularly, and feel able to call upon them for assistance in a range of everyday situations. Most people feel that their neighbours can be trusted, and watch out for each other's property, but they are not emphatic about this, and significant

minorities are ambivalent. Regular interaction with some neighbours does not mean that good-neighbourliness is general. Respondents were markedly ambivalent when asked directly about the feeling of togetherness in the area, and there is little evidence of widespread participation in associational activity at the neighbourhood level. A significant minority does not feel safe walking in their neighbourhood during the day, and a large majority feel unsafe doing so after dark. A variety of problems are widespread in neighbourhoods, and it does not seem that many neighbourhoods tackle these problems through strong local organization. Few people appear to be active in community or any other neighbourhood-specific organization.

The WCOS was designed to answer questions about the allocation of public housing, but unfortunately it was not designed in anticipation of the precise research agenda that subsequently emerged. Some use is made of the WCOS data in the final section of this chapter, and again in Chapter 8.

3.2. Empirical measurement of the quality of community in Cape Town

The 2005 Cape Area Study (henceforth CAS2005) entailed interviews with 1200 individuals living in approximately 70 neighbourhoods spread across metropolitan Cape Town. CAS2005 employed a two-stage cluster sample design. First, a sample of seventy 'enumerator areas' (EAs) was selected using a stratified and probabilistic design (that selected EAs with a probability proportional to their size, in four different strata: predominantly African population in informal housing, predominantly African and formal, predominantly coloured, and predominantly white). Secondly, a sample of households was selected in these EAs, using a combination of aerial photographs and on-site visits, and allowing for differential non-response. Within each household that was contacted successfully, an adult was randomly selected. Inevitably, the realized sample was flawed. Poor, shack settlements posed minor problems, and rich 'gated' neighbourhoods posed a major problem. One selected EA was dropped entirely because of an outbreak of violence. Another, comprising a converted hostel for migrant workers, posed insuperable practical difficulties. In total, no or almost no interviews were conducted in seven of the seventy selected EAs. Overall, response rates were excellent in 'African' and 'coloured' residential areas, but disappointing in 'white' areas, where the initial representative sample had to be supplemented with a convenience sample. The overall response rate was between 60 and 64 percent (excluding the supplementary interviews in 'white' areas). The realised sample comprised too many members of the kind of people more readily found at home by interviewers – i.e. women and older people – but did not neglect working people and was not substantially out-of-line in terms of race. Results reported below use weights to adjust for non-response by gender, age and race. Xhosa-speaking, African respondents were interviewed by Xhosa-speaking, African fieldworkers, whilst English- and Afrikaans-speaking respondents, mostly white and coloured, were interviewed by English- and Afrikaans-speaking fieldworkers, mostly coloured (Seekings *et al*., 2005).

The variables used in the analysis in this chapter are set out in Table 3.1. The table shows the questions, the distribution of responses (weighted to account for unevenness in the sample design and realization), and the weights used when the data are combined into composite indices of the quality of community.

Table 3.1. Questions used in indices of the quality of community, weighting in the indices, and distribution of responses (CAS2005)

question		*response*	*%*	*Index weighting*
INTERACTION WITH NEIGHBOURS				12
D17	How well do you know your neighbours?	Well	61	3
		A little	35	1
		Not at all	4	0
		Don't know	0	0
D29.3	How often do you visit your neighbours or speak to them in person?	Every day	66	3
		At least once a week	16	1
		At least once a month	4	0
		Rarely or never	15	0
		Don't know	0	0
D25.1	Do you have a neighbour that you can rely on to help you by holding a ladder or moving furniture?	Yes	82	2
		No	15	0
		Don't know	3	0
D25.2	Do you have a neighbour that you can rely on to lend you R20 if you need it?	Yes	70	2
		No	21	0
		Don't know	9	0
D25.3	Do you have a neighbour that you can rely on to spend time with you if you were feeling unhappy or need advice about an important issue?	Yes	41	2
		No	44	0
		Don't know	16	0
SECURITY				12
D19	Do you feel safe or unsafe in your own home?	Safe	86	2
		Neither safe nor unsafe	6	1
		Unsafe	8	0
		Don't know	0	0
D20	Do you feel safe or unsafe walking in your neighbourhood during the day time?	Safe	73	2
		Neither safe nor unsafe	14	1
		Unsafe	12	0
		Don't know	1	0
D21	Do you feel safe or unsafe walking in your neighbourhood after dark?	Safe	30	2
		Neither safe nor unsafe	18	1
		Unsafe	51	0
		Don't know	1	0
D22.2	Have homes being broken into ever been a problem in your area?	No	36	2
		Yes, sometimes	43	1
		Yes, often	19	0
		Don't know	3	0
D22.3	Have cars being broken into ever been a problem in your area?	No	42	2
		Yes, sometimes	36	1
		Yes, often	18	0
		Don't know	4	0
D22.5	Have gangs ever been a problem in your area?	No	46	2
		Yes, sometimes	27	1
		Yes, often	23	0
		Don't know	4	0

GENERAL NEIGHBOURLINESS				12
D18	Would you say that the feeling or sense of togetherness in this neighbourhood is strong, weak, or neither strong nor weak?	Strong	47	3
		Neither strong nor weak	36	1
		Weak	14	0
		Don't know	3	0
D12	Do you strongly agree (etc) that people in your area will generally help each other out?	Strongly agree	17	3
		Agree	48	2
		Neither agree nor disagree	13	1
		Disagree	15	0
		Disagree strongly	4	0
		Don't know	2	0
D13	Do you strongly agree (etc) that most people who live in this neighbourhood can be trusted?	Strongly agree	10	3
		Agree	37	2
		Neither agree nor disagree	21	1
		Disagree	22	0
		Disagree strongly	5	0
		Don't know	5	0
D14	Do you strongly agree (etc) that residents in this area are alert and will generally look out for each other's security?	Strongly agree	15	3
		Agree	47	2
		Neither agree nor disagree	16	1
		Disagree	13	0
		Disagree strongly	5	0
		Don't know	5	0
COMMUNITY ACTIVISM				12
D24.2	Do people from your neighbourhood or a community/residents' association help to keep your neighbourhood safe?	Yes	42	3
		No	58	0
D1c	Do you participate in any community-based group e.g. neighbourhood watch or street committee?	Yes	13	3
		no	87	0
D39	Have you attended a community meeting in the past year?	Yes	31	3
		No	68	0
		Don't know	1	0
D31	In some areas of Cape Town there are street committees or neighbourhood watches or other groups like these. Is there such an organization in your street?	Yes	40	3
		No	50	0
		Don't know	11	0
Note: all data are weighted. Percentages are rounded off to nearest integer, so some totals do not sum to 100%.				

Interaction with neighbours might be considered a likely foundation of neighbourliness. Perhaps the most basic questions about 'community' in CAS2005 asked 'How well do you know your neighbours?' and 'How often do you visit them or speak to them in person?'. A clear majority of respondents reported that they know their neighbours well, and most of the rest say 'a little'. Two-thirds of respondents said that they speak to or visit their neighbours every day, and another one in six said that they did so at least once a week. The correlation between these two variables was low (r=0.23): not everyone who knows their neighbours well sees them daily, and not everyone who sees their neighbours daily knows them well. Overall, however, most people seem to have a high level of contact with their neighbours and/or consider that they know them well.

This high level of interaction was reflected also in how respondents answered questions about whether they had a neighbour on whom they could rely on for assistance in a range of situations. Almost everyone said that they had a neighbour who would help them by 'holding a ladder or moving furniture'. Two-thirds of the sample said that they had a neighbour who would lend them R20 (although only 40% said that they had a neighbour who would lend them R200). Two out of three said that they had a neighbour who would spend time with them if they were feeling unhappy or needed advice. Put in a more negative light, one in four people said that they did *not* have a neighbor to spend time with them, one in five people said that they did *not* have a neighbor on whom they could rely to borrow R20, and one in six people said that they did *not* have a neighbor who would hold a ladder.

We presume that these questions were understood as concerning reasonably close neighbours. A number of other questions implied a somewhat wider circle of neighbours, or even residents of the neighbourhood in general. Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with each of the following statements: 'People in your area will generally help each other out'; 'Most people who live in this neighbourhood can be trusted'; and 'residents in this area are alert and will generally look out for each other's security'.[1] Respondents were generally positive about their neighbourhood, but few agreed strongly with any of these statements, and significant minorities disagreed. It would seem that the level of interaction with *some* neighbours was not matched by a generally high level of neighbourliness or 'community' in the wider neighbourhood. This caution about the quality of the wider 'community' is suggested also in responses to the question 'Would you say that the feeling or sense of togetherness in this neighbourhood is strong, weak, or neither strong nor weak?'. Less than one half of the sample said that there was a strong feeling of togetherness in their neighbourhood. Most of the rest said that the feeling of togetherness was neither strong nor weak.

Violence and insecurity tear the social fabric of urban neighbourhoods just as close ties between neighbours helps to strengthen it. Crime, or fear of crime, clearly reduces the value of 'community' and even erodes the possibility of community. South Africans live amidst levels of crime, and exceptionally high levels of violent crime. Countrywide, there are approximately fifty murders daily, which in proportion to population is eight times higher than in the USA and twenty times higher than in Western Europe (Altbeker, 2007). A national survey of adolescents in 2005 found that two out of three had witnessed someone being hurt or attacked in their neighbourhood, and four out of

[1] The third of these was perhaps poorly phrased, in that it conflated alertness with the actual neighbourly activity.

ten said that they themselves had been the victim of crime at least once in the past twelve months. One half said that they knew people in their neighbourhoods who committed criminal acts such as robbery and assault (Leoschut and Burton, 2006). The political cartoonist Zapiro drew a memorable cartoon (see Figure 3.1), showing a classroom, with gangsters visible through a window, and a teacher asking 'Children, what do want to be when you grow up?'. One child has her hand up, and says 'Alive!'[2]

Figure 3.1: Zapiro cartoon

In CAS2005 respondents were not asked about their experiences of crime, but they were asked whether they felt safe or unsafe in their own home, whilst walking in their neighbourhood during the day, and whilst walking in their neighbourhood after dark. Half of the sample reported feeling unsafe at night, and only 30% reported feeling safe then. During the day, almost three-quarters reported feeling safe in their neighbourhood, with only 12 percent reporting that they felt unsafe. A small minority reported feeling unsafe in their homes (8% said unsafe, and another 6% said neither safe nor unsafe). More women than men reported feeling unsafe, but the differences were not large.

CAS2005 asked a series of questions about the prevalence of selected 'problems' in the neighbourhood. Six out of ten respondents said that house-breaking occurred sometimes or often in their neighbourhood, and only somewhat fewer respondents said that cars were broken into sometimes or often. Similar proportions said that there were sometimes or often drunk or vagrant people in the streets, gangs, or noisy neighbours. Few people live in neighbourhoods without one or more of these problems.

How people respond to problems of crime or anti-social behaviour is also a potential measure of the quality of community. Crime and anti-social behaviour may be

[2] CAS2003, as many as 16% of respondents said that they or someone in their family had been physically attacked in the past year, and 30% said that they (or a family member) had been the victim of a burglary or other theft.

perpetrated by a small minority of residents, or even by people from outside the neighbourhood. If people respond to the challenge by combining with neighbours, it might even strengthen a sense of community against a common 'enemy'. CAS2005 asked what respondents did (or would do) in the event of the various 'problems' discussed above. Faced with criminal behavior, people report that they turn to the police. Faced with anti-social behavior, some also say the police, some say they would take action themselves (or go a local organization), and some say they would do nothing. It is difficult to interpret these data, but the responses do not suggest that there, in most neighbourhoods, there are strong and active local organizations to sort out these kinds of issues. CAS2005 also asked whether 'people from your neighbourhood or a community / residents' association', commercial security companies, or the police helped to keep the neighbourhood safe. Almost one in three respondents said 'people from their neighbourhood'. This was a slightly higher proportion than said that there was a commercial security company, and about half as many (56%) who said that the police. In the face of the evident failure of police to make neighbourhoods safe, people turn to either the market or the community – although with only limited success, as we have seen.

Voluntary participation in neighbourhood-based associations generally is another possible measure of – and contributor to – the strength of community. CAS2005 asked about membership of a variety of associations including churches or other religious groups, trade unions and professional organisations as well as neighbourhood groups, social clubs and political parties. Unfortunately, the questions rarely specified whether the organization was specific to that particular neighbourhood. For example, CAS2005 found high levels of participation in church, but there are no data on whether the churches to which people belong are in the immediate neighbourhood or elsewhere. Only questions about participation in 'community-based groups' – such as the neighbourhood watch (i.e. crime prevention) or street committees (i.e. local organizations engaged in a variety of crime prevention, dispute settlement and general matters) – and attendance in 'community meetings' are explicitly specific to the neighbourhood. Only 13% of the sample said that they participated in a community-based organization, although 31% said that they had attended a community meeting in the past year.

That said, we did ask about whether the most important organization in which someone was involved drew a membership from one or more neighbourhoods. The category of organization in which most people participated, and which most people said was most important, was church or other religious organizations: 60% of respondents said that they participated in church or other religious organizations, and almost of these said that they considered this to be their most important organizational membership. Of the latter – who comprised more than one half of the total CAS2005 sample – only one-third said that the membership of their church came from the same neighbourhood, with two-thirds saying that it came from different neighbourhoods.[3] In other words, relatively little of the associational participation of people in Cape Town is within neighbourhood-based and specific organization. Most of the organizations to which people belong have

[3] By comparison, one half say that the membership of their church comprises different racial groups, and one half say that it is mono-racial. This might suggest that people understood the question as referring to the parent church, i.e. to say the Anglican Church generally not the Anglican Church in a particular neighbourhood.

members from different neighbourhoods. (At least, organizations are less neighbourhood-specific than they are race-specific).

The apparently low levels of participation in local organizations stands in contrast to the general acknowledgement that there are 'community' organizations in the area. Forty percent of the sample said that there was a street committee or neighbourhood watch in their neighbourhood, and two-thirds of these said that they thought it was doing a good job. But only a small minority of these people said that they themselves participated in a community organization of this sort.

In sum, across Cape Town as a whole, only a small minority of people appears to be active in community organizations, and only a minority appears to be active in any neighbourhood-specific organization. Most people are involved in a church or some other organization, but this is often not neighbourhood-specific. In CAS2003, but not CAS2005, respondents were asked whether they thought that people have a responsibility to their communities. Most agreed that people should give time and resources to developing strong communities and that older people had a responsibility to act as role models to younger people in their communities. Survey data do not allow us to link this normative commitment to community with actual behavior, but there is little to suggest that the link is strong.

A final dimension of the quality of community is the turnover of residents in the neighbourhood. We noted above that there is a high degree of residential flux and fluidity in many parts of Cape Town. More than half of the CAS2005 sample had lived in the neighbourhood, and even in the same property, for at least ten years, suggesting that in many neighbourhoods there is a stable core of residents.

3.3. Modeling the quality of community in Cape Town

These variables from CAS2005 can be grouped into four categories, which can be combined into a single, composite index of the quality of community. The details of the categories and overall index are set out in Table 3.1 above. The coding and weighting of responses used in constructing this index are somewhat arbitrary, and further research needs to be done to ascertain how robust patterns are to changes in coding and weighting. In brief, variables are grouped into four categories which have equally weighted maximum scores: interactions with immediate neighbours, general neighbourliness in the area, security, and community activism. The scores for these four categories are shown in Table 3.2. These four categories cover a somewhat different range of issues to the five 'domains' of social cohesion that were identified by Kearns and Forrest (2000) with respect to Britain: Common values and a civic culture, social order and social control, social solidarity (and especially the reduction of income or wealth disparities), social networks and social capital, and place attachment and identity. Unfortunately, the available survey data provide little indication about values and civic culture, social solidarity, social capital, and place attachment. These are issues that will be addressed in the qualitative research, but about which the following quantitative analysis has little to say.

The maximum possible score in the composite index is 48. Such a score would indicate that someone interacts frequently with their neighbours, has a positive impression of the

general neighbourliness in the area, feels secure and does not consider crime to be widespread, and lives in an area with active local organization in which he or she participates. The highest score actually achieved was 43, which corresponds to an extraordinarily high perceived quality of community. Both the mean and median scores were 26. The standard deviation was 7.3. The scores on the 'community activism' component or sub-index were significantly lower than for the other three components or sub-indices.

Table 3.2: Summary statistics for indices of quality of community

Category	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Standard deviation
Interaction with neighbours	0	12	8.7	10	3.2
General neighbourliness	0	12	6.2	7	3.2
Security	0	12	7.6	8	3.0
Community activism	0	12	3.4	3	2.5
Composite index	0	43	25.9	26	7.3

Source: Cape Area Study 2005.

The distribution of mean scores for each of the four sub-indices, according to the score in the composite index, is shown in Figure 3.2. On average, individuals reporting a high overall quality of community report higher scores on each of the four dimensions (or sub-indices). On average, that is, people who interact more with their immediate neighbours also feel more secure, and so on. There is one striking difference, however. People who report a low overall quality of community are especially unlikely to report a low level of general neighbourliness. The general neighbourliness index accounts for almost twice the proportion of the composite index in high-quality communities compared to low-quality ones.

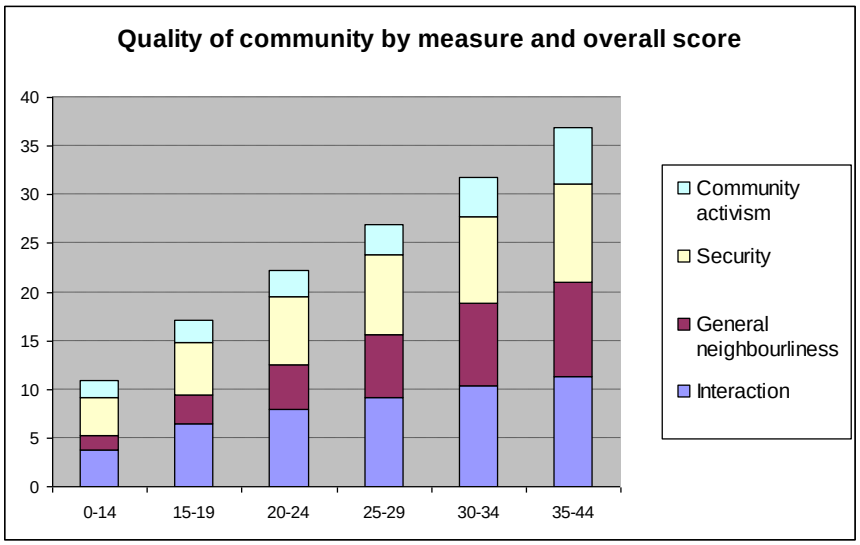

Figure 3.2

A simple regression of the aggregate score (see Model A in Table 3.3 below) shows that the quality of community rises with age (although the coefficient is small, indicating that large differences in age correlate with small differences in the quality of community), whilst gender makes no difference. Coloured people report a lower quality of community, and African people a higher quality, but the differences are not large. This simple regression model explains very little of the variance in the reported quality of community (with an r-squared of only 5%).

3.4. Observable differences between different kinds of neighbourhood

The perceived quality of community is likely to be shaped by a mix of individual and neighbourhood characteristics. Some people have personalities or have had experiences that lead them to engage more with their neighbours, for example, whilst some people live in neighbourhoods that, for one or other reason, is not very friendly, regardless of anyone's individual personality or experience. Two possibly consequential variables at the neighbourhood level are the race and average incomes of other members of the neighbourhood; race is assumed here to be a proxy for cultural factors. Possibly consequential variables at the individual level are age, gender, duration of residence in neighbourhood, and race (which is again assumed to be a proxy for cultural factors).

Simple cross-tabulations of some of the quality of community variables with neighbourhood income these suggests that there are sometimes relationships, and sometimes not. There seems to be a relationship between average incomes in the neighbourhood and reported feelings of safety in the street after dark, in that people in poor neighbourhoods feel very much more vulnerable than people in less poor or richer neighbourhoods. But there is no clear relationship with respect to perceived safety in the street during the day, or at home. People living in richer neighbourhoods are more likely to say that they could borrow R200 from a neighbour, but they are not obviously more likely to say that they could borrow a smaller sum, or that a neighbour would hold a ladder or spend time with him or her. Asked whether there was a strong or weak sense of togetherness in the neighbourhood, people in poor neighbourhoods were more likely than people in rich ones to say that it was strong. People in the richest neighbourhoods were also much less likely to know their neighbours.[4] Overall, however, people in rich neighbourhoods seem to have more social capital than people in poor neighbourhoods.[5] This is, of course, consistent with the assessment that social capital might be relatively more important to poor people, because of their lack of other forms of capital or income-earning opportunities.

[4] People in rich neighbourhoods were more likely to have friend and work colleagues to whom they could turn, and also to have kin to whom they could turn. Even if there is little social capital in a neighbourhood, it might not matter if people have ready access to supportive kin, friends or colleagues elsewhere.

[5] We constructed an index of social capital out of the twelve items, i.e. the four scenarios (ladder, small loan, bigger loan, talk and advice) times the three sources (neighbours, family, friends/work colleagues). Respondents scored an extra point each time they said that yes, they could rely on this source to help in this scenario. The mean score in poor neighbourhoods (i.e. poorest income quintile) was 8.2, whilst the mean score in richest neighbourhoods was 9.8. Regressing the index on race and neighbourhood income shows that coloured people have more social capital than African people, controlling for race, but the main effect is of neighbourhood income, even controlling for race.

The indices for quality of community allow us to conduct a more systematic analysis of the significance of individual and neighbourhood-level characteristics. Table 3.3 reports the results of a series of simple regression models, using the composite index of quality of community as the dependent variable, and adding a succession of independent variables. Model A includes individual-level characteristics, essentially as controls. Model B adds a set of dummy variables for the average household income in the neighbourhood; these are variables for five neighbourhood income quintiles, with the lowest-income quintile dropped from the regression. The regression shows that neighbourhood income has an effect, and including this in the model also amplifies the effects of race. Compared to living in a very poor neighbourhood, living in a medium-neighbourhood income is associated with a quality of community that is 4 points (or more than half a standard deviation) higher. Living in a rich or very rich neighbourhood has a marginally less pronounced effect. At the same time, being African has a more pronounced positive effect, and being coloured a more pronounced negative effect (both relative to being white). In combination, being African and living in a medium-income neighbourhood would be associated with a quality of living that is much more than one standard deviation higher than being coloured and living in a very poor neighbourhood.

Table 3.3: Regression models for quality of community

	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E
Age	.04 (.01)**	.04 (.01)**	.03(.01)*	.03 (.01)*	.03 (.01)**
Male	Not signif	Not signif	Not signif	Not signif	Not signif
African	1 (.6)*	3 (.8)***	3 (.8)***	4 (.8)***	
Coloured	-2 (.5)***	-2 (.7)**	-2 (.7)**	-2 (.7)**	
Low neighbourhood income		2 (.6)*	2 (.6)*	1 (.6)**	2 (.7)**
Medium neighbourhood income		4 (.7)***	4 (.7)***	4 (.7)***	5 (.7)***
High neighbourhood income		3 (.7)***	3 (.7)***	3 (.7)***	4 (.7)***
Highest neighbourhood income		3 (.8)***	4 (.8)***	4 (.8)***	4 (.9)***
Lived here < 1 year			-4 (.8)***	-4 (.0)***	-4 (.8)***
Lived here 1-5 years			-1 (.5)*	Not signif	-1 (.5)*
Recently-populated neighbourhood				-2 (.7)*	Not signif
Formal housing & African n'hood					8 (.6)***
Informal housing & African n'hood					7 (.7)***
White neighbourhood					3 (.8)***
constant	25 (.8)***	22 (1.1)***	23 (1.1)***	23 (1.1)***	19 (.8)***
Adjusted r-squared	.05	.08	.1	.1	.14
n	1187	1187	1185	1185	1187

Standard errors in brackets. Significance *5% **1% ***.1%. Data are unweighted.
All independent variables are dummy variables except age.

Model C adds variables recording how long the respondent has lived at their present address. Living there for less than one year is associated with a substantially reduced quality of community (of 4 points, or more than half a standard deviation); living there for between one and five years is associated with a more modest drop in the quality of community. (Replacing this with a variable for how long the respondent has lived in the

neighbourhood makes little difference). Model D adds a variable for the overall recency of the neighbourhood (measured in terms of what proportion of the other people in the same neighbourhood in the survey sample have lived there for less than five years). Unsurprisingly, the inclusion of this variable renders insignificant the variable measuring whether the respondent him- or herself has lived there between 1 and 5 years, but does not do the same for the variable measuring whether the individual respondent has lived there for less than one year. Together, these two variables are associated with a drop in the quality of community of almost one standard deviation. In other words, people who have recently moved into a newly-established neighbourhood experience a much lower quality of community. Including the variables for the duration of residency raises the r-squared to 10%.

The sample design of CAS precludes detailed analysis of mixed African/coloured neighbourhoods. Of the seventy sampled neighbourhoods (or, more precisely, enumeration areas of 'EAs'), only five were areas in which the minority racial category comprised more than 10% of the population (according to the 2001 census data). No fieldwork was conducted in one of these (part of Wallacedene), because of violence. One other was an inner-city area (Mowbray) that was mixed primarily because of students in higher education. Only three were low-income neighbourhoods: one area of Wallacedene (mostly African, but with a small minority of coloured residents), part of Delft South (mostly African, but with a large minority of coloured residents), and the Erica area of Kuilsriver (mostly coloured, with a small minority of African residents). The realised samples in these neighbourhoods give us 33 African but only 7 coloured people in mostly-African neighbourhoods, and 17 coloured but only 2 African people in mostly-coloured neighbourhoods. Including dummy variables for these EAs does not find anything distinctive about them, and the numbers are too small to include variables for within-EA majority or minority status.

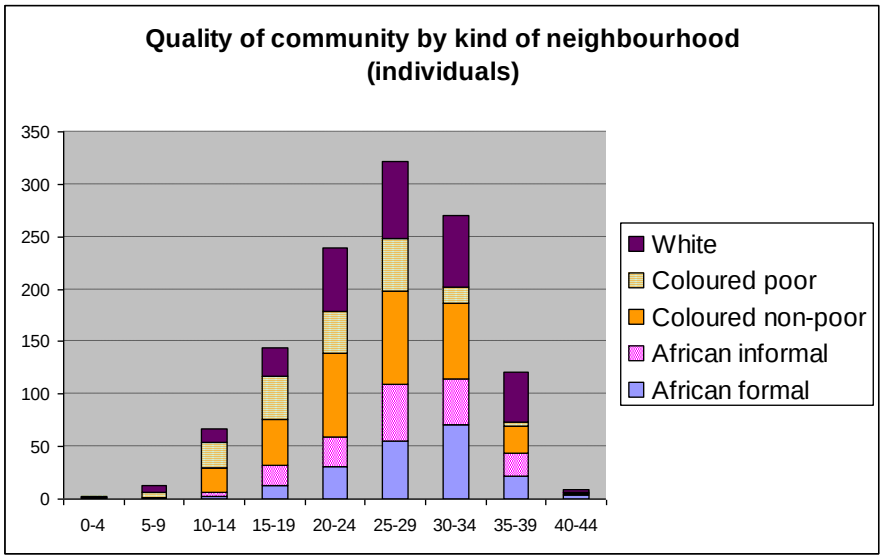

Figure 3.3

The sample design does allow, however, for a focus on certain kinds of neighbourhood, defined more generally. The sample of neighbourhoods (or, more precisely, enumeration areas of 'EAs') was stratified, with separate and broadly representative samples of four kinds of neighbourhood: mostly white neighbourhoods, mostly coloured

neighbourhoods, mostly African formal neighbourhoods, and mostly African, informal neighbourhoods. Figure 3.3 shows the distribution of respondents in different kinds of neighbourhood according to their reported quality of community. The mostly coloured neighbourhoods are divided between poorer and less poor neighbourhoods (although this was not part of the sample design, and differences should be interpreted with due caution). Two aspects of the distribution shown in Figure 3.3 are striking. First, residents in each of these five kinds of neighbourhood reported very varied levels of quality of community. There are, for example, residents in mostly white neighbourhoods who report both very low and very high quality of community. Secondly, there are relatively few residents in mostly African formal or informal housing neighbourhoods who report very low quality of community. Residents reporting that they live in a low-quality community are disproportionately drawn from mostly coloured neighbourhoods, including both poorer and less poor ones.

Variables for kind of neighbourhood can also be included in the regression analyses reported in Table 3.3. Model E in Table 3.3 shows the regression when variables for formal housing and predominantly African, informal and African, and white neighbourhoods are included. (Because of the close correlation between the race of the respondent and the racial profile of the neighbourhood, the variable for the former is omitted from the model). The results show that low neighbourhood income and recency of residence are associated with lower quality of community, but living in an African or (to a lesser extent) white neighbourhood is associated with higher quality of community. The coefficients for formal and informal African neighbourhoods are almost identical (with the formal being slightly higher than the informal): controlling for neighbourhood income and recency of residence, living in an informal settlement is in itself associated with only a marginally lower quality of community. For people living in poor African neighbourhoods, the fact that the neighbourhood is African outweighs the fact that the neighbourhood is poor. For people living in a poor coloured neighbourhood, however, the quality of community is low. And, controlling for all of these things, recency of residence continues to matter.

3.5. Neighbourhood-level analysis of the quality of community

The design of the CAS2005 sample means that the sample includes moderate numbers of respondents in each of the selected neighbourhoods (or, more precisely, EAs). In some neighbourhoods the realized sample was small, due (for example) to a low response rate. In 51 neighbourhoods, however, there were at least 15 respondents (with an average of about 20). Figure 3.4 shows the mean composite quality of community scores in the 51 neighbourhoods for which there were at least 15 respondents, disaggregated according to the kind of neighbourhood.

Regressing the overall quality of community on how long someone has lived in the neighbourhood, how long most neighbours have lived there and dummy variables for each of the neighbourhoods (whilst controlling for age and gender, but not race or income) results in an adjusted r-squared of 0.22, which is higher than in any of the models reported in Table 3.3. In six neighbourhoods, the relationship between the neighbourhood and the quality of community was significant at the 1% level, and in another eight neighbourhoods it was significant at the 5% level. For the other 37 neighbourhoods, the relationship was not statistically significant. In one neighbourhood

(part of Manenberg, a poor and predominantly coloured neighbourhood) the coefficient on the dummy variable for neighbourhood was -9, i.e. more than one standard deviation. Three other neighbourhoods had smaller, negative coefficients. Ten had positive coefficients, the highest (part of Bothasig, an affluent and predominantly white neighbourhood) being approximately one standard deviation (6.7) higher.

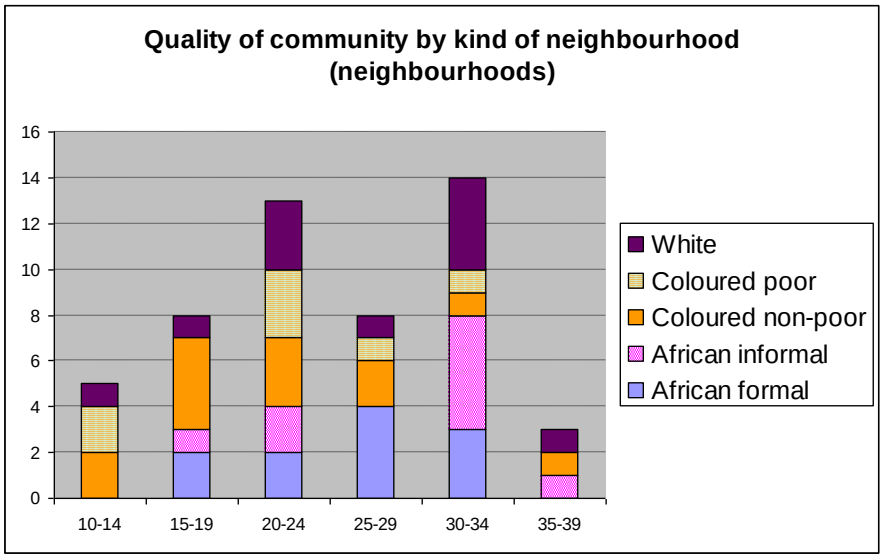

Figure 3.4

In sum, analysis of the mean quality of community at the neighbourhood level suggests that poor and even non-poor coloured neighbourhoods have the lowest quality of community, whilst the age of the 'community' (in terms of the average length of residency of the members of our sample) is also significant, as expected.

3.6. The quality of community in new housing projects: Evidence from the 2008 Western Cape Occupancy Study

The 2008 Western Cape Occupancy Study (WCOS) provides some further opportunities for the re-analysis of existing data on social networks and the quality of community. The survey was conducted in order 'to develop a profile' of the occupants of public housing projects, and 'to report on certain aspects related to the impact of these projects on occupants' lives' (WCOS, 2008: 1). The study generated important data on the extent and patterns of buying, selling or renting state-subsidised housing. In addition to conducting a survey, the study also entailed supplementary in-depth interviews, including with municipal officials and estate agents.

The final, realized WCOS sample comprised a total of 2,835 beneficiaries, just under one half in Cape Town and just over one half in the smaller towns. Most of these beneficiaries had occupied houses built with project-linked subsidies; about 11% had occupied a plot only. The sample comprised only beneficiaries whose details (i.e. personal identification documents and plot numbers) on the Housing Statistics System (HSS) database matched those in the deeds office. The sample therefore excluded people who had either sold or bought their properties and registered this change of ownership in the deeds office. The sample also omitted anyone whose house had not

been registered in the deeds office, for whatever reason, or who was actually occupying a different house to the one registered in their name. It seems that administrative difficulties prevent the correct registration of a high proportion of low-income properties: Rust (2009a) gives an estimate of 50%, based on a very small-scale audit of houses.

What is not clear is the design of the WCOS sample frame. The WCOS Report records that a total of 4,134 households were contacted (Vorster and Tolken, 2008: Table 1.1), but it is unclear whether the original sample comprised these 4,134 households, with a non-response rate of just over 30%, or whether the original sample was 3,000 and substitutes were used whenever a sample household was unavailable, in which case the substitution rate was 38%. No analysis is reported of non-response or the consequences of substitution.

We had hoped that we could use the WCOS data to examine the manner in which a new settlement had been populated made any discernable difference to social networks or capital in the ensuing settlement. More specifically, is there any observable difference in social networks or capital between settlements which are populated through the upgrade (*in situ*) or relocation (*in toto*), and settlements in which properties were allocated to people from a mix of backgrounds or origins? This would require the construction of a variable for the manner of populating a settlement and data on social capital. The WCOS did include a module on social capital, although it was much smaller than the module that the researchers had originally designed.

Unfortunately, two unanticipated details of the study's design made it very difficult to use the WCOS dataset to analyse the impact of mechanisms of allocating houses on social capital and the quality of community. First, the data on the procedures used for allocating houses were indirect and, more importantly, incomplete. Secondly, the data on social capital and the quality of community were also collected from only a small sub-sample.

The WCOS dataset includes several variables that might shed light on the circumstances of populating a settlement: In what kind of an area did you live immediately prior to moving to your present property? (q.76); did you live in a different area prior to moving to your present property? (q.77); 'When you moved here, did some of your previous neighbours or friends/family move with you here?' (q.83); and, 'What happened to your previous house?' (q.97.2), one option being 'it has been demolished'. Unfortunately, the second – and most important – of these questions (q.83) was only asked of respondents (and other members of their household) who (according to the respondent in answer to q.77) had previously lived in a different 'area'. Only 17% of the respondents said that they had previously lived in a different neighbourhood. In Cape Town, the proportion was slightly higher (25%); outside of Cape Town it was much lower. (The overall proportion was lower, at 12%, among the registered property owners, according to the respondents).[6] Not only were very few people asked q.83, but it is far from clear that q.77 was understood in ways that makes this a consistent filter. In q.77, respondents were asked if they (and each of the other household members) had lived in the named 'area' where they were living now directly before moving to their current dwelling. But it is unclear how precisely the 'area' was named. In the case of

[6] i.e. if q54=1.

Mfuleni, an unusually high proportion (50%) of respondents said that they had lived elsewhere, presumably meaning outside Mfuleni; most said that they came from the Eastern Cape or from Khayelitsha. In Khayelitsha, only 18% said that they had lived elsewhere, but this is not comparable if by this they meant outside of Khayelitsha, given that Khayelitsha is a very much bigger place.[7] Most said they came from the Eastern Cape; a few said they came from Khayelitsha![8] There appears to be little consistency in how people understood these questions. The same problems arise when considering reported data on the area where the owner of the property lived previously.

It might be reasonable to assume that, in cases where the owner of the household moved from a different neighbourhood (q77=2), and moved together with 'some' of their 'previous neighbours or friends/family' (q83=1), that they were probably part of a collective relocation. Similarly, cases where the owner moved, but not with previous neighbours, friends or family (q83=2), they were probably moved through a more individually-based allocation system. Unfortunately, there are only 52 cases of the former ('moved together') and 92 of the latter ('moved individually'). It is likely that the phrasing of q77 means that many cases that should be included in these categories are not.

To compound the problem, many of the questions in the WCOS module on social capital were asked only of a small minority of respondents. First, the module was only asked of owner-occupiers, i.e. in households where the owner was resident. Secondly, many questions were phrased in terms of a *comparison* between the respondents' *current* neighbourhood and their *previous* neighbourhood, and these questions were understandably only asked of people who said that they had previously lived in a different neighbourhood – i.e. the same filtering question (q.77) discussed in the previous paragraph. Given that so few people said that they had moved from a different neighbourhood, we have very little data on the quality of community in the new housing projects where people currently live. Furthermore, because some of the people who said that they had moved then said that they came from the Eastern Cape (or elsewhere outside of the Western Cape), we have even less data on the relative quality of *urban* community before and after relocation.

Whilst the small cell sizes and possible unrepresentivity of the derived categories 'moved together' and 'moved individually' mean that we must treat them with extreme caution, these categories can be cross-tabulated with the questions comparing the quality of community in present and previous neighbourhoods. This cross-tabulation is limited to property owners,[9] and excludes also any property-owner who was reported to have previously lived outside of the Western Cape. This leaves very small cell sizes (n=39 and 71). For these very small cells, people who 'moved together' are more likely than people who 'moved individually' to have said that they had more friends in their present than their previous neighbourhood (q84), and are somewhat more likely to say that people in the new neighbourhood are more trustworthy (q90), but are no more likely to say that people in the new neighbourhood are more helpful (q88). The

[7] Indeed, 'Khayelitsha' accounted for almost 20 percent of the entire WCOS sample.

[8] In the third major area within Cape Town in which WCOS sampled, 'Kraaifontein' (presumably meaning Wallacedene), most people said that they came from the Eastern Cape or from Kraaifontein itself.

[9] For about 60% of the total sample, the owner was the respondent; in about another 25% of cases, the respondent was the partner of the owner.

differences between present and previous neighbourhood are more pronounced in Cape Town than in the small towns (and there is even a small difference on the helpful question). The small cell sizes, however, mean that *none* of the differences are statistically significant.[10] Moreover, the results on the relative number of friends (q84) sits uneasily with the finding that people who 'moved together' on average know personally more households in the new neighbourhood than people who 'moved individually' (q86).

In short, it seems that it is not possible to use the WCOS data to probe the consequences of different kinds of house allocation. The questionnaire design results in cells that are simply too small, and perhaps also unrepresentative, and precludes any sensible specification of the house allocation system.

Perhaps the only things that can usefully be done with the WCOS data are the interrogation of, first, the effects of the duration of residency on social networks and, secondly, whether there are any differences between Cape Town and the smaller towns of the Western Cape. The first of these has been analysed and reported in the report on the WCOS (Vorster and Tolken, 2008). They show that the number of households known personally rises with duration of residence in a neighbourhood (*ibid*: tables 5.3 and 5.4, p.83) (although there is a slight twist when the duration is very long, and these findings are based on a bivariate analysis with no controls for other factors).

Our analysis of the differences between Cape Town and elsewhere in the province finds that there are no discernible differences with regard to the comparisons of present and previous neighbourhoods, but that people in Cape Town report knowing personally fewer of their neighbours than people in small towns (q86). This result is undermined, however, in a multivariate analysis. When we regressing the number of households known personally on how long the respondent has lived in their present neighbourhood and whether they are in Cape Town or not, whilst controlling for race, gender and age, the coefficients for both duration of residency and living in Cape Town are both positive, although the effects are modest. In other words, the bivariate difference between Cape Town and elsewhere is probably driven by the fact that the WCOS respondents living outside of Cape Town have, on average, lived in their present neighbourhood for almost two years longer than WCOS respondents in Cape Town. This is discussed further in Chapter 8.

3.7. Conclusion

The reanalysis of existing survey data provides results that are underwhelming. We have shown that many, but not all, neighbourhoods are characterized by a minimal level of community in terms of interaction with immediate neighbours and some degree of mutual assistance. By other measures, however, the quality of community in most neighbourhoods looks low: many residents feel insecure, few participate in collective organization or action, 'community' organization appears weak, and feelings of togetherness appear weak. Variation in the measured quality of community cuts across both the formal-informal line and racial lines, although the quality of community seems

[10] One result is significant at a 10% level but not 5% level. This is the relative number of friends (q84), for people in Cape Town.

to be lowest in poorer, predominantly ‘coloured’ neighbourhoods (i.e. neighbourhoods like Manenberg). Existing datasets did not, unfortunately, allow for the comparison of neighbourhoods where public housing had been allocated using alternative mechanisms.

Probing behind this rather bland set of conclusions requires more in-depth, qualitative research. Chapter 4 discusses the design of the qualitative component of our research in metropolitan Cape Town. Chapters 5 and 6 discuss our findings from the qualitative research. Chapter 7 pulls together lessons from the quantitative and qualitative research.

Chapter 4: The Qualitative Research Sites in Cape Town

4.1. The research sites

Our research within metropolitan Cape Town was undertaken in four low-income, public housing neighbourhoods, selected on the basis of the mechanism for allocating houses and the ensuing mix of residents in terms of both racial categorization and 'community' of origin. Delft South and Leiden are examples of areas whose residents are highly mixed in racial terms as well as by 'community' of origin. Delft North was similarly mixed in terms of residents' geographical origins, but not racially, in that coloured people comprised almost the entire population. Tambo Square (or at least the northern part of it) was mixed racially, but less mixed in terms of geographical origins. Weltevreden Valley – as well as the southern part of Tambo Square – were less mixed by origin as well as being mono-racial. Figure 4.1 repeats Figure 1.4, presenting this variation.

		Racial mixing	
		Mixed	Unmixed
Mix by community of origin	More mixed	Delft South and Leyden	Delft North
	Less mixed	Tambo Square (North)	Weltevreden Valley Tambo Square (South)

Figure 4.1: Categorisation of selected neighbourhoods

All four neighbourhoods were developed as green-field sites, i.e. they were constructed on substantially vacant land (notwithstanding an informal settlement, Samora Machel, on one corner of the Weltevreden Valley site). Delft North was constructed between 1989 and 1994. Delft South and Tambo Square were initiated prior in the early 1990s, but were then incorporated into the iSLP. Delft Leiden and Weltevreden Valley were initiated and developed as core parts of the iSLP. Construction in Delft South and Weltevreden Valley began in about 1994 and 1996 respectively. Construction in Delft Leiden began at the end of the 1990s.

<u>Delft North</u>

Delft North is the oldest of these neighbourhoods, and reflects the housing policy of the apartheid era. Planning began in the 1980s, and construction was completed by 1994. The site was owned by the 'coloured' House of Representatives (i.e. part of the racially-

segregated, late apartheid-era Tricameral Parliament), development was funded through the House of Representatives, and the beneficiaries were 'coloured' people on the House of Representatives' housing waiting-list. The 2001 Population Census records that three of the four sections of Delft North – i.e. Voorbrug, Rosendal and Eindhoven – together had a population of almost 6,000 households, 96% of whom were classified as coloured.[1] Residents purchased their houses on a subsidized mortgage (or bond) scheme.[2] Many residents reportedly fell into arrears.[3]

Delft South

In the early stages of planning for the next section of Delft – Delft South – it became clear that the demise of the House of Representatives was imminent, and a new administrative structure was needed. The area was handed over to the iSLP, but with a distinctive provision: 50% of the sites in Delft South would be allocated to people on the former House of Representatives waiting-list. The provincial government was responsible for Delft South (i.e. Delft towns 1 to 6), with the management contracted out to civil engineering companies (a deviation from the standard iSLP model). The subsequent Delft Leiden (i.e. Delft towns 7 to 12) was administered by the Tygerberg municipality. The fact that the key official (Herman Steyn) worked first for the province and then for the municipality ensured some continuity. It is not entirely clear how houses in Delft South were in fact allocated. There does not seem to have been a 'project committee'. But it is clear that the process ran into two problems. First, the consultant appointed to screen beneficiaries was either incompetent or corrupt (leading to an enquiry). Secondly, there was a house occupation by coloured people living in the backyards of Delft North (and perhaps elsewhere also), who asserted that their needs had been overlooked in the allocation process.[4]

The house occupation in 1998 is documented by Oldfield (2000). The families concerned had repeatedly enquired at the Delft South housing office about their positions on the waiting-list. Eventually, they occupied half-built houses that had already been allocated to other families through the iSLP process. Once building was complete, the 'Door Kickers' secured their possession by kicking down the door and replacing the lock with their own lock. The state failed both to evict them by force and to get a court order to remove them. According to Oldfield, the Door Kickers won the court case 'because they had proof that the housing waiting list had been violated through illegal housing sales, for instance, and that their right to administrative justice had been violated' (2000: 867).

Delft South eventually comprised a total of 6,247 sites.[5] One half of these were allocated to people on the apartheid-era 'coloured' waiting-list. The other half were divided between eleven informal settlements, the largest quotas going to Barcelona and Europe (on the north-eastern side of Guguletu, along the N2 highway), Polla Park (on Lansdowne Road,

[1] These figures exclude The Hague.
[2] Interview with Gerry Adlard, 30th July 2009.
[3] Millstein writes that the scheme was a rent-to-buy scheme, and residents were in arrears on rental payments.
[4] Interview with Gerry Adlard, 30th July 2009.
[5] 'iSLP delivery table', in iSLP report, p.20. One of our interviewees had been a 'door kicker'; he was from Elsies River, but had been living with a sister in Eindhoven when he took part in the occupation of houses.

on the south-west corner of Nyanga) and Mpetha Square (in the eastern part of Nyanga).[6] The 2001 Population Census records a total of 6,258 households in 'Delft South', comprising 3,758 African households (450 of which were in informal housing), 2,466 coloured households (200 of which were in informal housing), and a tiny number of Indian and white households.

The Population Census suggests that coloured residents of Delft South were slightly better off than their African neighbours in Delft South, but were still poorer than coloured residents in Delft North.

The subsequent Delft Leiden development (towns 7 to 12) comprised an additional 6,317 sites.[7] One half were allocated to individuals on the 'coloured' waiting-list. The other half was initially earmarked for backyarders in Guguletu, Nyanga and Langa, and residents of Nyanga hostels.[8] The eventual allocation of this second half was, however, very different: More than 1,000 sites were allocated to people on a list from the Joe Slovo settlement between Langa and the N2. Sites were also allocated to various informal settlements. Less than 10% of this half was allocated to backyarders.[9] It is unclear how this allocation was affected by the 1,800 Door Kickers.

Tambo Square

Construction also began in Tambo Square in the mid-1990s. Tambo Square forms a narrow slice of land running north-south along the railway lines running from Cape Town to Mitchell's Plan and Khayelitsha. On the other side of the railway line, to the east, lies the African township of Guguletu. To the west, on the other side of Duinefontein Roads, lies the coloured township of Manenberg. The historical details are not entirely clear, but it seems that the area fell into a buffer strip between Guguletu and Manenberg – one of the buffer strips routinely demarcated around African and coloured townships for security purposes. In 1990, one part of the buffer strip was set aside for a site-and-service scheme for African people living in specific informal settlements or backyard shacks in and around Guguletu. One of these informal settlements, on the junction of NY3 and NY78, had been named Tambo Square by its residents. This name was then carried across to the new site. At about the same time, coloured people from Manenberg tried unsuccessfully to occupy a different part of the area. ANC-allied civic organizations promptly denounced this as a political strategy on the part of the Labour Party. Some infrastructure was provided between 1991 and 1994, but most of the sites were not occupied because African squatters were demanding houses rather than sites only. In 1994, a group of coloured squatters succeeded in occupying an area, and ANC-allied organizations now denounced the National Party. Whilst the National Party provincial minister responsible for housing negotiated the withdrawal of the coloured squatters, further negotiations between representatives of all groups led to an agreement that any further sites in the rest of Tambo

[6] 'iSLP delivery table', in iSLP report, p.20.
[7] 'iSLP delivery table', in iSLP report, p.20.
[8] 'iSLP: Site allocation to iSLP communities, as at 22.3.2000', spreadsheet provided by Gerry Adlard.
[9] Delft Leiden allocation, dated 6th August, 2002; spreadsheet provided by Gerry Adlard.

Square should be allocated to residents of Guguletu and Manenberg in equal numbers (Koen, 1995: 3-7).

In August 1994, the provincial government announced that additional funds would be available to help with the construction of houses, under the new national government's housing subsidy scheme. Banks agreed to make loans available to residents with steady employment (*ibid*: 8). The 'consolidation phase' of Tambo Square was included in the iSLP, although Tambo Square was never covered in iSLP reports.

The public version of the 2001 Population Census does not provide separate data for Tambo Square, apparently instead including it in the larger category of 'Manenberg'. Thd distribution of incomes in Manenberg as a whole was similar to the distribution in Delft North, i.e. households tended to be better off than their counterparts in Delft South.

Weltevreden Valley ('Samora')

Weltevreden Valley is located on land to the north of Mitchell's Plain, between the R300 (Cape Flats Freeway, which formed the northern boundary of Mitchell's Plain) and the railway line to Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha. In 1994 most of the site was owned by state departments, it was almost vacant, and there was only one small and very recent informal settlement (Samora Machel, in its north-west corner), making it an excellent greenfield site for development. It was therefore among the first of the iSLP's own projects, and planning began in early 1994. Sites were allocated according to the formal procedures developed by the iSLP. First, a forum was held for representatives of different 'communities' – mostly existing informal settlements – to ascertain which were interested in a share of sites on the proposed development. Thirteen 'communities' expressed interest. The overall iSLP Consultative Forum allocated the total number of proposed sites between the participating 'communities', in line with the overall iSLP masterplan. Each participating 'community' was responsible for allocating its quota to individual beneficiaries, in accordance with iSLP 'principles'. A list of beneficiaries would then be published. Individuals could object, usually to the iSLP facilitator, who would meet with 'community' leaders in an effort to resolve the problem. The finalized lists would be given to the project manager, who would process the allocation of subsidies, which meant ensuring that beneficiaries were eligible. There were no explicit guidelines for how individual sites should be allocated to individual beneficiaries on the list, i.e. whether beneficiaries from the same 'community' of origin should be settled together or mixed in with people from other participating 'communities'.[10]

Construction of houses began in the late winter of 1996, and people began to move in during the spring. Beneficiaries attended workshops and inspected show houses. These houses showed what could be constructed for the R6,500 that remained for the top structure after the site had been serviced, which accounted for most of the housing subsidy. Officials involved in the project put a brave face on the housing: "Although the houses in the show villages are small and very basic, people are appreciative. They are especially happy when they understand that they won't have to pay rent and will own the houses", said one of the

[10] Interview with Gerry Adlard, 30th July 2009.

marketing personnel working for the provincial Department of Housing.[11] 'Community' leaders were less enthused, and denounced the 18-square-metre (3m by 4m) 'starter' houses constructed in Phases 1 and 2 units as 'dog kennels'. The Cape Town Council, controlled by the ANC, requested that the provincial government, controlled by the National Party, desist from building such small houses (Adlard, 2008: 9). By the time that phases 3 and 4 were built, the subsidy had increased, and larger, 30-square-metre houses were provided.

The Weltevreden Valley project had one twist: land invasions. First, in January 1997, empty land was occupied by squatters from Brown's Farm and Philippi, who apparently thought that they had not received appropriate allocations (*Cape Times*, … 1996). Secondly, one of the participating 'communities' located on part of the site itself, grew rapidly, and the allocations had to be revised. The Samora Machel informal settlement originally comprised only about 245 households, and the 'community' was allocated this number of sites. Samora Machel was located precisely on the planned entrance to the new housing project and would therefore need to be relocated. By now Samora Machel had grown rapidly, in response to the prospect of employment as well as future housing. In mid-1995, when the settlement was relocated to a 'transit camp', it comprised more than 1,000 households. The allocation of sites had to be adjusted to accommodate this influx, with reductions in the quotas allocated to other 'communities'.[12]

The four phases of Weltevreden Valley comprised a total of 4,160 sites. Phases 1 and 2 comprised 2200 sites, and phases 3 and 4 an additional 1800. Phase 1 and 2 sites were allocated to about 12 distinct informal settlements. Phase 3 and 4 sites were divided between Samora Machel, one other informal settlement, and backyarders from Nyanga, New Crossroads and Guguletu. The Samora Machel settlement eventually received more than 1,700 – or about 40% – of the sites, with the backyarders in the established townships receiving many fewer sites than they had been initially allocated. A minority (619) of the units comprised experimental 'high-density' developments of two-storey blocks of between three and five units.[13] All of these were allocated to Samora Machel.[14]

According to the 2001 Population Census, the approximately 4,000 African households recorded as living in the Weltevreden Valley area had very low incomes, comparable to the very poor African households in Delft South and significantly poorer than coloured households in either area.

4.2. The interviews

A total of 51 interviews were conducted in the selected neighbourhoods in metropolitan Cape Town, in addition to seven pilot interviews. The sample of interviewees was selected using a combination of multi-stage cluster and purposive sampling methods. Our objective was not to select a precisely representative sample as if we were conducting a large-n

[11] Quoted in iISP newsletter, *iIndaba Zasekhaya* no.4 (September 1996).
[12] Interview with Gerry Adlard, 30th July 2009. See also Adlard (2008).
[13] 'iSLP delivery table' mistakenly records all 4,160 sites as falling under phases 1 and 2.
[14] Interview with Gerry Adlard, 30th July 2009.

survey, but rather to ensure that our sample covered the full range of experiences. In any case, the high rates of flux in household composition reduces the value of an entirely random selection of households.

In order to ensure that our sample was drawn from the various parts of each study site, we first divided each site into large clusters, then into sub clusters bound by roads or other natural features. Either one or two houses were selected in each sub-cluster, purposively, depending on the number of interviews required. We used aerial photographs from Google Earth to identify clusters, sub-clusters and individual houses, using the actual visual terrain. This was useful in that it allowed for careful planning before we went into the field. Being able to identify the actual sub-clusters and distances before going into the field saved time in locating interviewees, and also allowed for the possibility of returning into the field to clarify certain pieces of information as need arose. The disadvantage was that some of the structures on the ground were not visible on the Google Earth aerial photographs, which is most likely because the satellite images and information have not been updated as fast as structures are built. It was also difficult in some circumstances to differentiate an RDP housing unit and a backyard. The streets and most houses were, however, the same on the photographs as on the ground.

In Delft South/Leiden we identified six large clusters: five in Delft South and the sixth encompassing the whole of Leiden. Depending on the size of the cluster, two or three sub-clusters were selected. In the case of Delft South, four clusters were divided into three sub-clusters each, whilst the fifth was divided into only two sub-clusters because it was smaller. The Leiden cluster was divided into six sub-clusters. Only one interviewee was purposively selected from each of these sub-clusters. The four areas forming Delft North – i.e. Voorbrug, Eindhoven, Rosendal and The Hague – were taken as large clusters. Each of Voorbrug and Rosendal were divided into three sub-clusters, whilst the smaller areas of Eindhoven and The Hague were divided into only two each. One interviewee was selected from each of these sub-clusters. Tambo Square was considered one large cluster, and was divided into eight sub-clusters. One interviewee was selected from each of six sub-clusters and two from each of the other two. In Weltevreden Valley, eight of the nine sites were considered as clusters in each of which either one or two interviews were conducted, depending on the size.

Fieldworkers were instructed to interview the head of the household. Interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, Xhosa and English depending on the population group of the interviewee and their language preference. Interviews were conducted by Singumbe Muyeba, Marius Coqui and Bulelwa Nokwe. The interviews were transcribed, and where necessary translated professionally into English. The full list of interviews is set out in an appendix to this chapter. Interviews are cited in the text below using the interview numbers set out in the appendix (e.g. “TS#32” for interviewee number 32, in Tambo Square). In a number of cases a second or third person – a spouse, neighbour or other person – participated in the interview, or at least part of it. If such a supplementary person is quoted in this report, he or she is identified as XX#xx’s neighbour or XX#xx’s wife (as appropriate).

A total of twenty-one interviews were conducted in Delft South and Leiden, with a larger number (fourteen) in Delft South (which is larger in terms of both geography and population). The age range of the interviewees was between 25 and 60 years, with an average age of 48 years. Nine out of the twenty-one were African, most of whom were women, and all but one of whom were born in the Eastern Cape (one person was born in Nyanga, Cape Town). They were all Xhosa speaking. The twelve coloured interviewees comprised six women and six men. All but one came from Cape Town (one was born in King Williams Town in the Eastern Cape). In terms of household composition, many lived in nuclear-family households. In the cases of interviewees living with extended family members, it was often the case that some of the kin were accommodated in the backyard. Many interviewees were in households headed by a single parent (usually a woman). Almost all the interviewees were unemployed and received either a child welfare grant, disability grant or depended on their pension. Those employed were in unstable employment doing menial jobs. All but two owned their houses; one had rented the house since the establishment of the neighbourhood, whilst the other interviewee answered on behalf of her parent.

Ten interviews were conducted in Delft North: two in the Hague, three in Rosendal, three in Eindhoven and two in Voorbrug. Two interviewees were born on the *platteland* (in the Western Cape Province), the rest in the greater Cape Town area. Eight were female and two were male. Afrikaans is the home languages of seven interviewees, one was bilingual (the interviewee is Afrikaans speaking, but speaks English to her children), one did not mention (the interview was conducted in English), and one speaks seSotho. Two women are widowed, the rest are married. The total number of people comprising these ten households is 43. The minimum count per household was two people, the maximum count being six people. Four households had five residents, three households three, two had four and the other one had six. Eight interviewees were the legal owners; two interviewees are currently renting, and have already stayed in Delft North for six and seven years respectively.

Ten interviews were conducted in Weltevreden Valley. Of these, two were with men and eight with women. The age range was between 32 and 54 years with the average being 38 years. All but one interviewee were born in the rural Eastern Cape and migrated to Cape Town in the early 1990s. One interviewee was born in Worcester (in the Western Cape). Before moving to Weltevreden Valley, nine of the respondents lived in the Samora Machel informal settlement located on the site of Weltevreden Valley. One household originated from Guguletu. Most of the interviewees moved into their houses in 2001 or 2002. The interviewees lived in very diverse households: three comprised nuclear families; four were single mothers with their children; one was a single mother with her children and two siblings; the final household comprised two brothers living together.

In Tambo Square, ten people were interviewed. Their ages ranged from 35 to 53 years, with an average of 43 years. Eight were born in Cape Town (one each in Athlone, Claremont, Ottery, Bonteheuwel, and Grassy Park; two in Guguletu; and one in 'Cape Town'), one in Grahamstown in Port Elizabeth, and the tenth did not say. In terms of household composition, five of the interviewees lived as a nuclear family – the husband, wife and one, two or three children. The rest were either single parents, living with their siblings or with

the boyfriend as the case was for one of the interviewees who had inherited the uncle's house. Many of the interviewees were unemployed and were either involved in menial jobs for their subsistence or received state grants.

Overall, two-thirds of our interviewees were women, and only one-third men. The discrepancy was most striking among our twenty-three African respondents, only six of whom were men. This gender bias is standard among surveys: Women are generally more available and more willing to be interviewed. As is typical in Cape Town, most poor African people are immigrants from the Eastern Cape, whilst poor coloured people have always lived in Cape Town.

4.3. 'Most people here live in poverty'[15]: Interviewees' accounts of their living conditions

All of these areas have overwhelmingly poor populations. The allocation of subsidized housing was conditional on beneficiaries demonstrating that they were poor.[16] The WCOS found that, across the Western Cape as a whole, fewer than one in households that had benefited from subsidized housing had a combined household income of more than R3,500, i.e. the threshold for eligibility for a subsidy. More than one in three had household incomes lower than R1,500 per month (Vorster and Tolken, 2008). The 2001 Population Census recorded very low incomes in Weltevtreden Valley and among African residents of Delft South, with coloured residents of Delft South and especially Delft North rather better off. In projects like these there has typically been considerable flux in occupancy since the houses were constructed (see Chapter 1), and incoming purchasers or tenants are often better off than the people whom they replace (Lemanski, 2009). Overall, all of our study sites were low-income neighbourhoods, and some were very low-income.

The pervasive poverty in these neighbourhoods is evident in our interviews with residents. In Delft South, few interviewees were in steady employment. Some were unemployed, some had casual work, and many received pensions or grants:

> *Actually, I do not have any income, Sir. The income that I bring in is from scratching in the bins, looking for something to put on the table, when walking with my trolley.* (DL#4)

> *I get an old age pension, but I first got a disability grant as I was injured. … my daughters are not working, no one is working. We survive with the money from my pension and my wife's pension.* (DS#23)

> *Hmm...I would say here in Delft we are starving, and struggling. In KTC we were not starving and struggling like here.* (DS#27)

[15] DS#18.
[16] It is not clear what eligibility conditions applied in the case of Delft North.

> *Most of the time when you get money then you must pay for food. Now there is no income. Sometimes you must check in the night, what can I eat? Then someone come and someone give food or stuff like that.* (DS#18)

In Delft North, also, many households were dependent on social assistance, including old-age pensions, child support grants and (in one case) a disability grant. According to the one foreign interviewee (a man from Lesotho):

> *… those people, they unemployed, they live solely on their children's grants. Across the street there's about four or five children in that, if there are not more, that's one person working and then there is a grant coming in, disability grant, and then obviously she gets support for her five children.* (DN#)

In total, eight out of the twenty-four adults in these ten households received one or more government grants. Discussions of living conditions are punctuated with references to "All Pay", the private firm that has the contract to pay out pensions and grants in the Western Cape.

Employment was more prevalent in Delft North than in Delft South. Some grant-recipients also supplemented their grants with earnings from casual work or from running shops, apparently out of their homes. Some of the residents do not consider themselves to be poor. One resident in Rosendal describes himself as better of than his colleagues at work who stay in places like Bellville or Elsies River:

> *Then I got upset one day. Then I said to him: 'Look here man, we get paid on the 25th. When I get paid on the 25th and feel like going to eat at the Spur, then I go eat at the Spur. But if it is the 23rd, then I can go to the Spur, but you will not be able to go to the Spur. Because you do not have any more money. I know for a fact that you do not have money.' Because from the 18th or the 15th he is broke, then he will have to go to the money lender because he does not have any more money. I stay in Delft. If you make the place as comfortable as you want it and as safe as you want it, then it does not matter where you live.* (DN#)

Another source of income in Delft North is to rent out a 'wendy house' in the back yard to 'back-yarders' (although none of the interviewees admitted that they themselves did this). The 2001 Census recorded about 750 backyard dwellings in Delft, compared to almost 12,000 independent brick dwellings; it is unclear what were the proportions in Delft North specifically. Interviewees in Delft North were divided on how prevalent this practice is. According to one woman, many backyarders are relatives of the house-owner. Relatives prefer to live in a wendy house than stay in overcrowded family accommodation elsewhere, whilst they wait for their names to be selected from the housing waiting-list. Some house-owners, however, prefer to rent to *non*-relatives:

> *… family will pay you next to nothing to stay in your yard. And if you get other people, if you charge R500, others will give it to you. But family will not give you R500; they will say, we are family, why don't you just take R200?* (DN#16)

In Tambo Square, almost all our interviewees were unemployed and struggle with poverty every day. There seem to be fewer old people in Tambo Square than in some of the other neighbourhoods, so less access to income from old-age pensions. The child support grant is important, but insufficient. As a result, there are often people asking for food or money.

> *People don't have jobs, … they are living here in poverty, because every day you know they would come to this house and ask for ya something to eat or something oh they ask money also, that happens every day, every day.* (TS#32)

> *[T]his area is a very poor area, a very poor area ... the people do come here they ask us for money and ask for food, all like my neighbours and so on and other people that side come here, the children come here and ask for food, ask for money and so on.* (TS#33)

> *Let me put it like this, everything that we earn, feeds us. We do not have enough to save.* (TS#34)

Sickness exacerbated the difficulties of poverty.

> *[I] am sick, am HIV-positive, you understand, now [I] am not working ... No money [for] going to the hospital … No paraffin … for a heater, nothing … [I] am sick now, today [I] am very tired, now no money.* (TS#32)

In Weltevreden Valley, also, employment is rare, but interviewees emphasise that they cope. None had permanent, full-time employment. One worked for one day in the week and another had been laid off from a well-paid job two weeks prior to the interview. Some interviewees had working spouses. Others depended on grants or informal work, mostly businesses conducted from home.

> *Ok, in 1993, I had a stroke. When we divorced with my husband, I had a stroke and was found paralysed on the right side from the legs to the hands. In 1993, I was found with a stroke, then I was given disability grant, so I am supported by the disability grant ... [and] I make [model] animals with beads [for sale].* (WV#43)

She estimates that she earns R1,500 per month from her bead-work. In addition, she receives rent from a back-yarder, and has her disability grant, giving a total household income of closer to R3,000 per month.

> *I'm working one day in Fishoek. … R640 a month*. (WV#45)

> *No, I'm not working ... I survive by chars, I do char that time and that time.* (WV#47)

> *I'm selling for myself. I sell chips at school ... like now I just come from school. I sell alcohol as well and paraffin ... I can afford to pay my burial societies, and can feed my brother's kids.* (WV#46)

> *[I] am not lazy, you see, I try to find a job … I support myself, you see. I try to wake up and find a job everyday. Nobody is gonna support me. … I lost my job at the end of August, last month … It was R3,000. … But now [I] am not working, now; before, it was R3,000*. (WV#42)

> *No, I'm not working, my husband works ... We only get money from my husband's work, and … [it] is little, I won't say is how much.* (WV#44)

> *Wow – it's bad, I'm surviving. It's tough. But I have a daughter in Johannesburg that got married there and I keep her two children and then I get the grant for these two children. Which is what I use to do everything.* (WV#43)

> *Yhoo ... it's difficult. I sell meat. And [get] the grant for the children ... I sell it [the meat] in my house; people come to buy here in my house.* (WV#50)

Most of the interviewees said they were not poor because they were not desperate. In their views, Weltevreden Valley is *not* a very poor neighbourhood.

> *I am in the same level as them ... The reason why is that ... everything they have I also have ... Anything I need to do, I do it. ... That's why I say I'm not poor.* (WV#46)

> *No, [I] am not poor, first of all because first of all I believe in God, as I said am a Christian, [I] am not rich, [I] am not poor. … I said I work[ed] before, in the guest house … I only have a matric, so you are not gonna find a good job with only a matric. … [I] am not a lazy guy, I believe in God and everyday I eat something … I believe in God and I go to church every day, because in my church we pray every day, not only Sundays, you see, yah.* (WV#42)

> *I won't say I'm rich, nor poor, .I'm about the same as other people ... It's because I see what they have ... If I suffer other people are suffering as well, we are the same*. (WV#44)

> *I can say ... I don't sleep without food … I wont say I'm poor*. (WV#49)

> *I'm same as people living here ... I mean, all people living here are not working but they are striving for themselves. I mean ... I can't say I'm poor because a poor person is someone who doesn't have anything. ... I have this fridge for putting meat ... So I can't say I'm poor because this fridge helps me put this meat and sell it to people*. (WV#50)

Only one resident described herself as poor:

> *I am poor ... I don't have money. I don't survive by anything. Lot of things I need, ... I don't have the money, I can't find work ... I want to stay in a good house, extend my house, live in a safe house and nicely with my family. ... I can't when I don't have money, I can't do those things*.

Even this woman said that she made sure her children did not go without food at school.

Overall, African interviewees are more positive than coloured interviewees, although their income levels appear to be very similar.

Residents in almost all areas did emphasise the small size of their houses. Only in Delft North had residents moved into houses with several rooms and a bathroom. Interviewees in both Voorbrug and Rosendal said that they considered themselves lucky:

> *They really, those people, especially the places that they live in is not ... you do not even sit ... I would not even put my dog in a small house like that. I mean it is all big families and to live on top of each other is not right. But the new places that they built by N2 Gateway that is still appropriate, but the first houses here in Suburban [i.e. Delft South] is not ... especially the asbestos houses that they gave. It is not. I would not go live there.* (DN#17)

As one person put it in Tambo Square:

> *For me it is cramped here. Everyone is in a corner. For me, if I stay here, I will faint.* (TS#36)

Most of the neighbourhoods have good amenities. Indeed, the 'integrated' element of the iSLP was that neighbourhoods were designed with schools, clinics, churches, and even some open spaces. The exception is Tambo Square, whose residents have to use amenities in either Manenberg or Guguletu:

> *No hospital, no school, no shops. It's a big area, no taxi, ... no station.* (TS#32)

> *Here in Tambo we lack a lot in terms of the infrastructure we used to have. For example, our children who go to primary school have to jump railway lines, cross main roads to get to school. And then in the location nearby there is only one church there.* (TS#41)

4.4. The process of getting a house

The official account of the allocation of houses in these public housing projects is only one side of the story. Residents themselves have their own stories about the process of

obtaining a house (or accommodation, in the minority of cases of people who are renting houses).

Residents of Delft North had applied for housing, often long before the early 1990s, but did not register for housing in this neighbourhood specifically. One woman, for example, had wanted a house in Bridgetown. When they heard about development in Delft, however, they lobbied for housing there.

> *Then I heard that the houses in Delft were going to be built. Firstly, we moved to my sister, who already stayed in a house, in Voorbrug. Then I received the letter. I was there whole day, every Thursday I went to Cape Town, to the housing department. They said to me: 'No, do not come every week, we will let you know'. Then on another day, I went again and said that I heard the people are getting houses in Delft. Then they told me if I am interested then they will put me on the list. Because, we applied for places in Bridgetown, on the other side. Then one day I received the letter to say that I qualified for the house. I think it was 1990, I am not really sure. Then they informed me that I could come to the office. There was a place for me. Then they explained to me how many houses were going to be build. Since that weekend, I came to look every weekend, how are they progressing with the house, how far are they with the house. When they had finished, I moved in and I am still here.* (DN#15)

While some had to wait for many years, others were more fortunate:

> *Hmm, yes, I was on a waiting list for plus minus two to three months. Yes, there were people that had been on the waiting list for fourteen to fifteen years, but I was one of those lucky ones. I went to Cape Town, one morning, when they were busy building 2,000 houses in Delft. Then there were 1,999 people on the waiting list. When I walked in there that morning, they made me the two thousand's. That is why I said I was one of the lucky ones. And yes, now I am in Delft.* (DN#16)

Some of the residents of Delft South had waited for a very long time for a house. The iSLP newsletter, iIndaba Zasekhaya, reported in late 1996 that Mr Joseph Plaatjies had been on the waiting list for close to twenty years after moving from Somerset East to Cape Town. Immediately prior to occupying a house in Delft South, he had been renting a house in Voorbrug.[17]

The process of acquisition of houses for the interviewees in Tambo Square seems to have been somewhat haphazard, at least at first. People from outside of Manenberg and Guguletu were able to register for houses – although there was often a long delay between registration and occupation. Our interviewees moved in between 1995 and 2001.

> *This house I actually received through a community worker. She worked by the housing. I worked with her at the NNP [New National Party?]. Then she called*

[17] *iIndaba Zasekhaya* no.5 (Dec 1996), p.1.

> *me one day and asked whether I want a house and I said yes. … And that is how I got the house today.* (TS#37)

> *Okay, let me put it like this, since I was living in [Guguletu] Section 4 at home. … [The original] Tambo Square is close to Section 4 ... So I heard that they wanted residents in Tambo … I had a relative living there in Tambo. So I went ahead and registered. Because there too little space for me to build a shack there, and I was also an established person, I decided to move out of home and go live in Barcelona temporarily. … And then they called us to here to fill in forms to get a house ... I registered in 1992. And then I got the house in 1996.* (TS#41)

All but one of our interviewees in Weltevreden Valley had previously lived in Samora Machel informal settlement. Most moved in between 1995 and 2001. One interviewee had moved in during 2006, having bought the house from its previous owner. Except for this interviewee, they described a process of first registering for a house (in response to public announcements in the original settlement), then waiting (for between six and eighteen months), and finally occupying the house.

> *There were people from Fezeka who came to register us. They registered us and we were on the waiting list. We had to move from the shacks and we were attending the workshops at Fezeka. We were given our house numbers and we were then move to our houses.* (WV#49)

> *So there was this thing of election. They said we were going to get houses before elections. And so when they want[ed] to be voted for ... they sent people out to register everybody who wants houses.* (WV#46)

> *[My husband] lived there and people were going around registering people who want houses. He registered and that's how he got the house. … He only waited for six months...after six months he got the house.* (WV#44)

> *I just registered and went to Guguletu. I stayed in Guguletu and was told that the house was approved ... My mother said. The house was approved in 2002 but I didn't come to stay, my mother stayed ... I stayed and I decided to come to the house in 2006. And my mother, she was in the process of getting her own house, ... in such that now she lives in the informal settlements on the waiting list of getting her own house.* (WV#45)

> *[We waited] for about a year, [and moved in] in 2002. … Yes, I think it was one and half year ... I stayed months and moved to my cousin who was staying here in Samora. She had her own house ... and I moved out in her house and built my own shack [in] Ezimbacwini.* (WV#47; note that Ezimbacwini is a Xhosa name for informal settlement)

> *I bought this house. [The] previous owner, I don't know where is he now, you see, maybe he went back to Eastern Cape, he told me he would go back to Eastern Cape because he was having a problems so he decide to go back to Eastern Cape. I don't know, maybe, because I don't not talk to him ... No this house is not in my name it is still in his name but he does give me the title did coz since he didn't work, he didn't find a proper work that's gonna last long, you see. ... I was working in a guest house ... Yes, he passed the title of this house, title deed of this house to me, yes.* (WV#42)

Some residents seemed to have stumbled upon the house such as this interviewee;

> *N: Yes, I had a part time job, but it wasn't the best. And then I went back home to bury my husband. And then I came back after a while. ... This house, when I got it I lived with some gentleman from our village where I was born ... He was in Johannesburg, looking for work there. And then I got his house through his sister. And I spoke to him and he said I should meet his sister because he was on his way to Johannesburg. He was living here but was unemployed and then when I went to his sister, who lives straight down there, and she gave me the key and then I settled here. And then that opportunity came. Yes. It's that man's house there at Ezimbacweni [i.e. in the informal settlement]. Alright then, then there came a time for us to sign up for houses whilst we were living here at Ezimbacweni. And then I went to his sister and told her that people are signing up for houses, where is your brother's ID book? And he wasn't around and he had his ID book. So we had to call him, but we couldn't get ahold of him. And the list was still coming to us to sign up on. And then they said they're going to come to our area tomorrow and then I went, because there was no other way, so I had to take my ID and sign up with it for a house. And then I did. And then the committees came and asked me if this is my house? I said no. 'Where is the owner?' they asked and I said the 'owner is not here he is in Johannesburg!' and then they said 'We are registering people for houses here, we're looking for people without places to live, not people who are house-sitting, we will be back tomorrow!' And then they came back on the following day and I just took out my ID, having met with that man's sister, and then I signed up for a house with my ID. Because me and his sister decided after trying to get hold of him that I must just use my ID, instead of losing the house completely. And indeed we did that.* (WV#43)

4.5. Who are the new neighbours?

In Weltevreden Valley, all neighbours are African. Figure 4.2(a) and (b) show the racial composition of the neighbours of interviewees WV#45 and WV#49 (their houses are coloured black). In each case, all of their immediate neighbours are African (indicated by grey boxes). In other neighbourhoods, however, residents have more mixed neighbours. In Delft North, most neighbours are coloured (indicated by orange boxes); there are few non-

coloured residents. In Delft South, Leiden and Tambo Square, many residents have racially-mixed neighbours. Figure 4.3(a) and (b) illustrate this with reference to interviewees TS#40 and DS#25. In the former case, residents seem to have been allocated houses in a random manner: two coloured families lives in between black ones. In the latter case, it is unlikely to be a coincidence that coloured residents live together on one side of the street, and African people live together on their side.

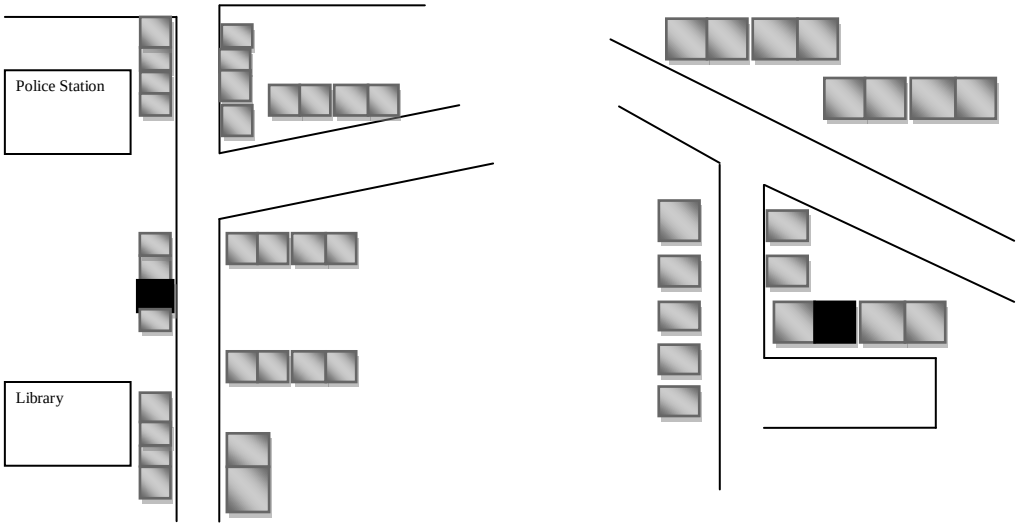

Figure 4.2(a): Neighbours of WV#45. *(b)WV#49*

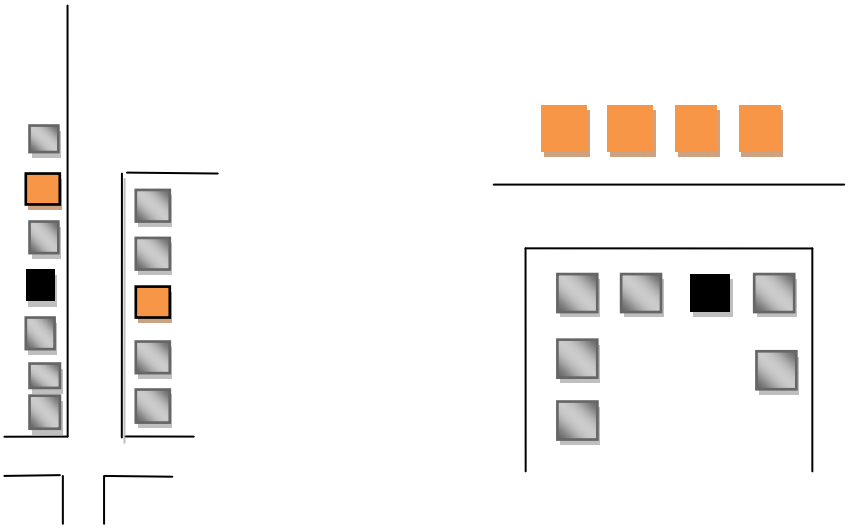

Figure 4.3 (a): Neighbours of TS#40 *(b)DS#25*

In the design of our study we anticipated that Tambo Square and Weltevreden Valley were examples of neighbourhoods whose populations were less mixed in terms of the number of

neighbourhoods of origin. A high proportion of the houses in Weltevreden Valley were allocated to people living in the Samora Machel informal settlement, whilst houses in Tambo Square were supposedly allocated to people from Manenberg and specific informal settlements in Guguletu (especially the original Tambo Square and Barcelona).

We did indeed find that most of interviewees in Weltevreden Valley came from Samor Machel, and indeed some of them knew some of their neighbours prior to moving into Weltevreden Valley. Others, however, met all their neighbours for the first time when they moved in. All of the interviewees acknowledged that they had a common origin (in the Eastern Cape).

> *There is another neighbour who was in ezimbacweni who stays in the back [a house in the other street behind her house]. If I want something maybe salt or sugar, I don't go to these neighbours, I go there because I don't understand these neighbours, I understand the other one.* (WV#49)

> *I grew up with "N", and "P" ... "N" is my neighbour. "P" is my cousin.* (WV#44)

> *I didn't know any neighbours ... I know them from here. Even the ones I lived with in the shacks are far from here. My current neighbours are all new to me.* (WV#45)

> *No, those we live with there we were scattered. Others live far from me ... They come from the same informal settlements I came from, but they were very far from me. I didn't know them there, I came to know them here.* (WV#47)

> *We all came from the [Transit Camp] but we were not neighbours there.* (WV#46)

In Tambo Square, some of our interviewees corroborated our expectation that it, too, was largely unmixed. According to a woman who moved from Tambo Square:

> *I know them [the neighbours] ... We are from, most of them, this one and that one, most of them, we are all from Tambo Square. ... This one we both come from Tambo, she was our neighbour. ... We used to call her mother "aunt". Her mother and my mother were getting along very much.* (TS#39)

All four of our African interviewees in Tambo Square said that they had come from one or other part of Guguletu. And a woman who moved from Manenberg:

> *Basically, we all moved in here together. It was a new area. But everyone living here is from Manenberg, who got houses here.* (TS#35's wife)

Other interviewees, however, provided us with more evidence of mixing than we anticipated.

> *No, I know most of them [neighbours] from here, whereas some of them I know from Tambo [Square]. Because if there were meetings there, I would go there, ... yes, [to] Tambo meetings, even though I was living in Barcelona ... Some of them [neighbours] come from Langa. Like this one on this side is from Langa. The other one on that side is from [Guguletu] Section 4. Opposite comes from Langa. This side they're from Guguletu. And that side as well, at that facebrick house, they're from Guguletu, too. And then the rest are people from Tambo [Square].* (TS#41)

> *Before I came I didn't know anyone, any of these people. It's only now … When I moved here we [did not] know each other.* (TS#33)

> *I do not know. Mostly, the people are from outside. I heard. Like I said, I did not grow up in Manenberg. I grew up in Grassy Park. I got to know them here.* (TS#36)

> *We met everyone here, except those that stays far at the bottom. We are one, two, and three, three that know each other already … We have known each other for 25, 27 years, from Athlone.* (TS#34)

Our two of our six coloured interviewees in Tambo Square came from Manenberg. One each came from Ottery, Athlone, Grassy Park, and Upington.

In Delft South and Leiden, we found some interviewees who did know their neighbours prior to settling there:

> *Some of them I know them [from] here. Some of them are coming from Langa with [me], some of them I know from here. And the neighbours who have a problem with me, is the neighbours who I know from here, not from Langa, yeah ... I miss my Joe Slovo neighbours; if I was staying with them again, yoh! I would feel very very free but I can't do otherwise because am not staying with them now. Some of them are up there in 20 section, some of them are there in the 19 section and others are there in the 15 section, 16 section, you see.* (DL#2)

> *Yes! Most of them knew each other.* (DS#21)

> *Yes ... My neighbours there at the back, and the other one on the corner.* (DS#28)

> *Yes ... the lady you were talking to, Mamtolo, ... our houses were divided by the street. (DS#30)*

Other interviewees in Delft South, however, said that they knew none of their neighbours prior to moving into the neighbourhood.

> *Big surprise! All kinds of faces. No, I knew none of the people.* (DL#3)

> *No one knew one another when we move here. It is through greeting each other, over the years, that we became acquainted with each other.* (DS#28)

Our fourteen interviewees in Delft South and seven in Delft Leiden came from an extraordinary range of places of origin. Most of the African interviewees came from Nyanga (especially KTC, within Nyanga) or Guguletu. Only one came from the Joe Slovo settlement, outside Langa. Four of our coloured interviewees came from Elsies River, and others came from Mitchell's Plain, Ravensmead, Belhar and Bonteheuwel, as well as Graaff-Reinet. One came from elsewhere in Delft.

Our Delft North interviewees came from highly disparate places of origin, as expected.

Overall, the evidence from our interviewees suggests that we need to modify the characterisation of our research sites. In Figure 4.4, we have reclassified the southern part of Tambo Square into the same category as Delft North.

		Racial mixing	
		Mixed	**Unmixed**
Mix by community of origin	**More mixed**	**Delft South and Leyden**	**Delft North** **Tambo Square (South)**
	Less mixed	**Tambo Square (North)**	**Weltevreden Valley**

Figure 4.4: Revised characterization of research sites

4.6. Schools

Schools provide an important opportunity for inter-racial interaction. Our research has been concentrated among adults, rather than children, and conducted at their homes, not in the schools. We hope, however, to supplement our analysis with some additional information from schools themselves, enabling us to extend Table 3.1 below, to include also data on the racial composition of the schools' students.

We do have some information on whose children go to which schools, from selected interviewees. DL#1, in Leiden, says that his neighbours' children go to a variety of racially-mixed schools, especially Leiden Primary. Some of his neighbours send their children to Erica Primary and another primary school in Belhar (which is immediately to the north of Delft north, across the Stellenbosch Road). Other children are collected by bus to attend schools in Cape Town. DS#25, in Delft South, also lists a number of schools attended by her neighbours' children: Sunray and Masonwabe primary schools in Delft, Masibambisane and Simunye secondary schools in Delft, and Lentegeur High in Mitchell's Plain. Interviewee DS#31 says that most of the children in her immediate neighbourhood go to Sunray Primary, which is mixed. This interview, who is an African woman herself, says that African children go to the 'coloured' schools but coloured children do not attend the 'African' schools. Other children in her neighbourhood attend Masonwabe and Delft no.3 primaries, and Simunye High School. Both DS#31 and DS#25 also mention Mpetha Primary, but I can find no trace of this school.

Children in Weltevreden Valley seem to attend schools over a wider area. In addition to Samora Machel, Naluxolo and Weltevreden Valley primaries, older children attend Simons Town and Sophumelela high schools, as well as Zisukhanyo Secondary. Children in Tambo Square go to a very wide range of schools, which is perhaps unsurprising given the absence of schools in the neighbourhood itself. Several of TS#40's neighbours' children attend Trafalgar High School in central Cape Town.

Readily available data from the Western Cape Education Department allows us to extend our analysis a little. Table 4.1 reports some data from the WCED's online school profiles. One column shows the reported school fees. Another shows the number of matric students in 2009 who took isiXhosa first language, and the total number of matric students. The fees data show that most of the schools in these neighbourhoods levy very low fees. The exception is Rosendal and The Hague primary schools, and Voorbrug Secondary. Erica Primary, in neighbouring Belhar, also charges higher fees (at R777.50 p.a.). The isiXhosa matric data shows that there are big variations in the proportions of Xhosa-speaking students in secondary schools. In Rosendal and Voorbrug, there are very few isiXhosa-speaking students (a total of 24 out of 172, or 14%). At the opposite extreme are Masibambisane and Simunye, where almost all students take isiXhosa as a first language (190 out of 232 students, or 82%, almost as high as the 90% at Philippi Secondary). Leiden Secondary is in between, where 57% of the matric students do isiXhosa as a first language.

Table 4.1: Schools in the selected neighbourhoods

Neighbourhood	Level	School name	Language of tuition (Afrikaans, English, Xhosa)	School fees (R p.a.)	matric students doing isiXhosa first language / total matric students (secondary schools only)
Delft North	Secondary	Rosendal	AE	NA	8/82
		Voorbrug	AE	550	16/90
	Primary	Sunray	E	100	
		Rosendal	AE	1600	
		Vergenoegd	AE	238.50	
		Eindhoven	AE	237.50	
		The Hague	AE	620	
		Welwitsciha (Eindhoven)	AE	137.50	
Delft South and Leiden	Secondary	Leiden	AE	250	52/91
		Masibambisane	E	200	92/110
		Simunye	E	300	98/122
	Primary	Leiden	AEX	237.50	
		Delft South	E	70	
		Leiden Avenue	AEX	207.50	
		Kairos	AEX	207.50	
		Masonwabe	AEX	190	
Weltevreden Valley	Secondary	Philippi (in Heinz Park)	E	NA	125/138
		Zisukhanyo	E	NA	130/135
		Sophumelela	E	NA	130/131
	Primary	Weltevreden Valley	XE	NA	
		Samora Machel	XE	NA	
There are no schools in Tambo Square itself.					

Appendix to Chapter 4: Interviewees in Cape Town research sites

Delft Leiden
Interviewee 1, DL (C) Male
Interviewee 2, DL (A) Male
Interviewee 3, DL (C) Female
Interviewee 4, DL (C) Male
Interviewee 5, DL (A) Female
Interviewee 6, DL (C) Female
Interviewee 7, DL (C) Male

Delft North
Interviewee 8, DN (C) Female
Interviewee 9, DN (C) Female
Interviewee 10, DN (C) Male
Interviewee 11, DN (C) Female
Interviewee 12, DN (C) Female
Interviewee 13, DN (C) Female
Interviewee 14, DN (C) Male
Interviewee 15, DN (C) Female
Interviewee 16, DN (C) Female
Interviewee 17, DN, (C) Female

Delft South
Interviewee 18, DS, (C) Female
Interviewee 19, DS, (C) Male
Interviewee 20, DS, (C) Male
Interviewee 21, DS, (C) Female
Interviewee 22, DS, (C) Female
Interviewee 23, DS, (A) Male
Interviewee 24, DS, (C) Male
Interviewee 25, DS, (A) Female
Interviewee 26, DS, (A) Female
Interviewee 27, DS, (A) Female
Interviewee 28, DS, (C) Female
Interviewee 29, DS, (A) Female
Interviewee 30, DS, (A) Female
Interviewee 31, DS, (A) Female

Tambo Square
Interviewee 32, TS, (A) Male
Interviewee 33, TS, (C) Male
Interviewee 34, TS, (C) Male
Interviewee 35, TS, (C) Male
Interviewee 36, TS, (C) Female
Interviewee 37, TS, (C) Female
Interviewee 38, TS, (C) Female
Interviewee 39, TS, (A) Female
Interviewee 40, TS, (A) Male
Interviewee 41, TS, (A) Female

Weltevreden Valley
Interviewee 42, WV, (A) Male
Interviewee 43, WV, (A) Female
Interviewee 44, WV, (A) Female
Interviewee 45, WV, (A) Male
Interviewee 46, WV, (A) Female
Interviewee 47, WV, (A) Female
Interviewee 48, WV, (A) Female
Interviewee 49, WV, (A) Female
Interviewee 50, WV, (A) Female
Interviewee 51, WV, (A) Female

Chapter 5: Qualitative Research into the Quality of Community in Cape Town

This chapter examines the quality of community in a set of low-income neighbourhoods in metropolitan Cape Town using material from in-depth interviews with residents. The purpose of the chapter is to establish a 'baseline' analysis of the quality of community, allowing for subsequent analysis of inter-racial interactions (in Chapter 6) and of the variations between the quality of community in selected neighbourhoods, and thus of the analysis of possible relationships between the mechanism for allocating public housing in new neighbourhoods, the social diversity of their populations, and the quality of community (in Chapter 7).

This chapter explores various dimensions of community. First, we examine residents' knowledge of and interactions with their immediate neighbours. We then turn to the extent of and limits to informal mutual assistance, especially through gifts and loans. Third, we examine crime, which is of almost overwhelming importance in every neighbourhood, and especially the informal and more formal, collective organizational responses to crime. Crime severely limits the quality of community, but it has the potential also of prompting the strengthening of community through collective organization and action. This leads us to a discussion of trust, which most of our interviewees interpreted in terms of crime. Finally, we examine pride in and identification with the neighbourhood.

These dimensions overlap partially with the four dimensions of community examined in Chapter 3 using existing quantitative data: interactions with immediate neighbours, general neighbourliness in the area, perceived security, and community activism. Because the qualitative research was collected for this project specifically, whereas the quantitative analysis entailed the reanalysis of existing data, the qualitative research was able to probe a wider range of dimensions of community.

The two following chapters use additional material collected in the in-depth interviews. Chapter 6 focuses on social relationships in 'mixed' neighbourhoods, focusing on inter-racial interactions and attitudes towards foreigners. We also asked interviewees to compare interactions and trust in their current neighbourhood with those in their previous neighbourhood (and to comment on any relationships with current neighbours that predated the move into the current neighbourhood). These are discussed in Chapter 7, as part of the analysis of differences between neighbourhoods. Here, in this chapter, we tend to gloss over differences between neighbourhoods. Whilst this is in part due to the logic of the presentation, it also reflects the reality that the differences between neighbourhoods seem muted. Put another way, the similarities between the quality of community in different neighbourhoods are more striking than the differences between them.

5.1. Greetings and gossip: Relationships with immediate neighbours

In general, residents of the four selected Cape Town neighbourhoods studied for this project have cordial relationships with their immediate neighbours, expressed in routine greetings and more occasional forms of petty mutual assistance, but they are wary of intimacy. Close friends and family tend to live elsewhere. Few residents had more than one close friend in the immediate neighbourhood. There are minor differences between the different neighbourhoods, but there do not appear to be any obvious and consistent differences according to race or social background.

In Tambo Square, most interviewees said that they got on well with their neighbours, but in most cases their knowledge of their neighbours and their interactions seem to have been limited. In the northern part of Tambo Square, most people greet their neighbours, but rarely interacted more substantively with more than one of their immediately neighbours. In the southern part of Tambo Square, and in one small part of the northern part, there seems to be much more interaction between immediate neighbours.

> *I used to go and visit them now and then, we would greet each other and we would speak to each other, that's all, because it's only a lady and her two daughters staying there, there's no man here next door.* (TS#33)

> *I know them very well.* (TS#38)

> *We moved in and became friends. We got to know each other. If we need something, then we ask each other.* (TS#41's neighbour)

> *We quickly know you here. You can ask anyone where someone lives. He will tell you exactly where someone lives. Everyone knows everyone here.* (TSS#34*)*

Generally, in Tambo Square, people had one close friend in the immediate neighbourhood. There would be a lot of conversation and visits between these close friends, whilst interactions with other neighbours would be limited to greetings. This is typically explained in terms of the slow pace at which relationships deepen into mutual visits. It is almost as if houses are private spaces, and only good and trusted friends are admitted, whereas interaction in the street is commonplace. The content of close relationships is, unsurprisingly, different also.

> *[Laughing] Oh gosh! Gossip! We joke more then we gossip. We enjoy laughing amongst each other. We talk a bit. But amongst ourselves. Not amongst other people. Sometimes we will all sit together, hey. But then we do not speak about other people, because what if the person arrives there. Then that person will think that we spoke about them. But then it is not like that. We speak about our own business. We laugh at our own jokes. About our husbands and children.* (TS#38)

Some interviewees interact little with any of their neighbours, most often because they have a lot of interaction within the family. As one put it, '*we, as a family, are to ourselves most of the time*' (TS#34), whilst another says that '*I spend time with my children and husband, I [only] speak and greet someone passing by if they want to speak to me*' (TS#36).

> *There some people here with him we do not converse. We will only greet and so on. ... That is where we drew the line. ... We only greet you, we will not converse intimately with you.* (TS#35's wife)

One's neighbours are rarely one's closest friends. As this same person put it, the neighbours are just neighbours. In her case, "*my children are my best friends*". One of our interviewees in Delft South similarly said that she "*only spends time with my children*" (DS#20), and another told us that she doesn't "*spend time with any of them*", meaning her neighbours, but talks with her cousin who "*stays at the back of my house"* (DS#22). "*My wife and my children are my friends*", says another Delft South resident (DS#24), whilst another says "*I don't have any friends, my friend is my wife*" (DS#23).

One resident contrasted relationships with her neighbours in Tambo Square with relationships in the shack settlement where she had lived previously:

> *In the shacks is not like here ... If you are short of beef stock there you could go to your neighbour. Here ... that is not happening. You do go but you have that in mind ... I must not ask too much. So here ... a person lives in her house. We just greet each other when we pass. We stand and chat with each other but the situation here is not same as life in the shacks. Yes we get along because we greet each other on the way. And when you want to ask something you do, but you don't go and ask often. Because you don't want to irritate people you see ... But it's ok.* (TS#39)

This emphasis on 'not asking too much' and 'living in one's house' is explicit or implicit in many of our interviews. This seems to be rooted in part in pride in having a secure, permanent, formal house, and in part in unease and insecurity among neighbours.

In Weltevreden Valley, all of the interviewees said that they knew their neighbours well and gave examples of the activities they did together such as help with childcare, drinking, or simply visiting and chatting:

> *I'm going to say I know them like this ... we are living very nicely ever since we got in. We never fought. You can't just pass your neighbour without asking how she is and all that. ... I can help where I can ... like this lady who just pass here, her children were raised by me you see. Even when she is giving birth ..., I went with her to Mitchells Plain. ... We went together, she was in labour and I organise a transport for her ... If I come from church they will call me for tea. We live very nicely.* (WV#49)

> *Ya, we are always happy, in the morning and the evening I always say good morning and good evening.* (WV#43)

> *My neighbours I know them by greeting them, "mholweni" [hello], and chat, we chat to each other. Things like that ... and helping here and there, where we can.* (WV#47)

Many of our interviewees in Weltevreden Valley have some kind of a relationship with most of their neighbours and do not restrict themselves to a single neighbour. '*No, I don't spend lot of time with anyone ... but I relate with all my neighbours*', said one woman (WV#47). According to another: '*No, there's no one ... I relate with all my neighbours*' (WV#44). When differences occurr, they are discussed and (generally) resolved: '*We sit down and talk about it*' (WV#50).

Other people in Weltevreden Valley admitted that their relationships with their neighbours were not especially close, or were limited to greetings:

> *I don't want to lie ... I just know them by seeing them. Just greeting each other, ... and [it] ends there.* (WV#45)

> *I always stay inside the house, I don't go to the neighbours. Maybe I want to talk something, I don't go out to tell the neighbours, that is, something hurting inside the heart, I must stay inside, yeah.* (WV#43)

Visits are the most common form of interaction. However, for many of the interviewees, they do not last long. As one woman put it, each person should stay in their own house (WV#43).

In Delft Leiden, but not in Weltevreden Valley or Tambo Square, some residents showed how well they knew their neighbours by giving details about them.

> *Most of my neighbours around here, I know where they came from because ... like I said we've stayed together for quite a long time, up to ten years almost. ... Some like this one [the neighbour to the left] is from Paarl and he [opposite neighbour] is from Bonteheuwel and that one [also opposite] is from Bonteheuwel too, ... That one there is from Heldeveld, and so on.* (DL#1)

> *On the left, there are Xhosa people staying there; very respectful people. They are originally from, what is the name of the place ... Polokwane. It is a thirty-two year old lady, she is married to a guy of thirty five. Oh God, shame, the poor man, he is illiterate, hey! Does his own washing every Saturday. Not that I mean to gossip. ... [He] has been working for these Muslims since he was nineteen years old, Muslims in Sea Point. Up until today, he is still washing the dishes. Then she has three children. The youngest one was born recently. But those things just jumps out! That is a lot of children [laughing]. Then she has a daughter who will be starting school next year. OK, on the right, there are*

> *coloureds living there, but we do not worry with them. ... OK, and then opposite them there are more Xhosa people, ... What would you still like to know about my neighbours?* (DL#3)

Even in Delft Leiden, however, some residents acknowledge how little they know about their neighbours. When we asked one of the respondents whether he/she thought that he was poorer or richer than the neighbours, he said:

> *I can't say that because we don't know each other in the area. We don't know … what is your income of your neighbour. You just see your neighbour as you say "good morning" and "good afternoon" and get inside and that's all.* (DL#2)

And a number of residents indicated that their relationships with neighbours did not extend much beyond greetings:

> *Our relationship is not bad, there's nothing more. We just chat and go to our houses.* (DS#25)

> *As you can conclude, not too tight. It is only when you have a shop, then you will see me a lot, then we will chat a lot. But not further then that. Over the years, I would not say that I built relationships with the neighbours.* (DL#3)

> *I say to them "good morning" and "good afternoon" and ask "how are you?"; [they answer] "fine" and you go.* (DL#2)

Poverty is perhaps a factor that constrains relationships. One woman in Delft South told us that '*sometimes you see the people here have got moods because a lot of people live in poverty, you see, one day is like that and tomorrow he's like that, people are not the same everyday*' (DS#18).

Amidst widespread poverty, spending money can prompt hostility. One Weltevreden Valley resident told us that her neighbours were resentful of her when they saw her buying things, because she did not work. She did not explain from where her income came; if it came from boyfriends, then she might be mistaking jealousy for disapproval (WV#46). That said, the theme of jealousy came up often in interviews. Several Tambo Square residents remarked on the jealousy prompted by signs of material success. Gossip is inherent in social interactions between neighbours, and is one reason why residents are wary of intimacy. '*There is always gossip here*', said one coloured woman (TS#37).

> *The gossip starts there! You know what I am saying. If you know other people's trouble. That is fighting. It is everywhere. About trivial matters, man, they make a big thing; therefore we are only in the house. It is better that way. Rather visit people outside the area. (DL#3)*

Asked about the ideal neighbour, she said that it was someone who was 'accepting' of other people, who would not keep "*interfering in other people's business*" (DL#3). Another Delft

South resident said that he did not interact with the neighbours because they were always 'judging' him (DL#2).

Gossip plus jealousy are a potent combination. According to an African woman:

> *Jealousy. Your neighbour doesn't like seeing you progressing. The neighbour does not like a good thing.* (TS#41)

And a coloured woman:

> *They put you down. They do not want you to move forward. Here I learned to struggle. People are envious and jealous ... They will come and fight with you. They scold you; they look for trouble with you. ... It is stories and malicious gossip. ... Now they are standing on a corner or in a yard, now they see you coming; now they stand and speak about you. But they greet you nicely when they pass your house ... It is mostly about domestic problems that they gossip about. What happened in those people's house? Did you hear that one's husband is not working again? ... Everyone's eyes are on me.* (TS#36)

Other people in the neighbourhood, although only rarely immediate neighbours, can become close friends. Some of the Weltevreden Valley interviewees met their closest friends in Weltevreden Valley. One woman told us that she had met her closest friends there; one lived close by, a second lived near to her mother (who sometimes looked after her child) (WV#44). Other interviewees had kept their closest friendships from the Eastern Cape, where they had grown up. One man knew his closest friend when they both lived in the Eastern Cape, but they became close when they both moved to Weltevreden Valley (WV#42).

Other residents, however, emphasised the risks of close friendship. Some said that they did not believe in having any close friends because of jealousy and gossip, and preferred to have their family members as friends. Supposed friends, as well as neighbours, can gossip or be motivated by jealousy. According to one woman, '*they gossip a lot that's why I don't like them*' (WV#47), whilst another explained that she did not have friends because '*they have jealousy*' (WV#50). If you tell your secrets to your friends, we were warned by a coloured woman, they might use this against you. They might get jealous because your boyfriend is generous. They might ask themselves '*why does she have a man and I don't?*', and they may '*do funny things or even use muti so that this man can leave me*'. This interviewee told us that her supposed friend had told the interviewee's boyfriend that the interviewee was in love with another man, and broke up the relationship. The interviewee now says '*my friends are my children*' (TSS#36). Another interviewee told us that '*I don't have a friend, my friend is [the] church*' (which was in Guguletu, not Weltevreden Valley itself) (WV#49).

Family seem to be especially important in Delft North, where almost half of our interviewees had close relatives living in the neighbourhood, and most of the others remarked on their close contact with family living elsewhere in Cape Town. Many

interviewees say they prefer to spend time at home with their husbands and children and would rather go and visit family than friends. Some feel that they would rather spend time with family than neighbours, because they fear that neighbours may meddle in their lives and also that they find it easier to communicate with family members than other people. Some long for the days where they lived in large houses outside of Delft surrounded by their cousins, uncles and aunts. Sometimes it is the absence of family that pushes people to seek friends in their immediate neighbourhood, for example to look after children.

The church is another source of intimate relationships. Four of our Delft North respondents made good friends at church. A woman explains that such friends share her understanding of suffering. She feels that the things she cannot discuss with her husband, she can discuss with her sisters at the church. A friend from church can play the role of a sister or mother, especially for someone whose mother has died.

In general, relationships with neighbours are minimal in Delft North. Greetings are common, but petty mutual assistance is far from general, and most residents express great wariness of people '*sitting at other people's houses'*. '*Here [there] is not much friendliness'*, said one woman; '*the people are for themselves'*. It is difficult to make friends, she continued; it is better to be on your own, even though this might lead to others gossiping about you. '*We only greet and when we see each other in the road and there is no sitting at each other's houses and that*' (DN#13).

> *We greet each other. Not that we sit at each other's houses. We see them everyday. We greet and so.* (DN#12)
>
> *Oh, ja. We talk with them, we greet them and that's all.* (DN#11)
>
> *I just greet them as they go by or walk past. Because they also got their families and they go to their families. … There's lots of people that greet me and I don't know them. Even these gangsters or children or youngsters – they greet me and I don't know them and I greet them back.* (DN#9)
>
> *Everyone … we greet and talk occasionally.* (DN#15)

At the same time, many people – especially young people – treat their neighbours with gross disrespect. One man complained of children '*roaming the street saying "motherfucker*" *… There's no respect for no one in this community. People talk to you as "your ma se dinges" and "your ma se dinges", stuff like that. They always swear. So that's the way people talk here*' (DN#10).

Gossip and jealousy are also rife in Delft North.

> *[Laughing]. You get that, as I said most of the women in the street are at home. Now obviously, when the women are at home, then there will be a gossiping or whatever. Let's say my child did something … Okay, then I would want to keep it to myself and I trust aunty Sylvie, then I will tell her, I trust her not to tell*

> *anyone else. I am just making an example. Then tomorrow, a week or two, then I will hear that it leaked out from there. Everyone knows everyone's business.* (DN#17)

> *There are people who visit each other. It is mostly women. Mostly women. Will maybe sit, talk and gossip.* (DN#14)

Two residents say that gossiping is their neighbours favourite hobby. Another say that not a day passes without the neighbours gossiping. A favourite topic to discuss is paternity. A grandmother tells that they cannot lay the issue about the father of her daughter's child to rest:

> *When a young girl has a baby then they will gossip: 'who is the father?' ... When they see her, they point with the finger.* (DN#12)

A young grandmother in The Hague is also concerned about her daughter's reputation:

> *I always tell my daughter that she has to think about her reputation. She has a lot of male friends with cars. What do the other people think, people that sit outside in a car, oh, she is a 'slegte meid', and there are many cars that stops by her. But ... Then I will tell her that she must build a reputation for herself, a good reputation.*(DN#16)

Several residents attributed their neighbours' nasty gossip to jealousy (DN#14). Many believe that their neighbours revel in their misfortunes, are envious or jealous of them. '*Because, you get people, when something happens to you at home, then it is like a soap opera on TV for them; they enjoy it*' (DN#14). Jealous neighbours may ignore you: '*Lots of times I can see that people are jealous because they don't want to greet or they doesn't want to speak to you'* (DN#9). Anyone with permanent work, who can afford a higher standard of living, is vulnerable to envy and jealousy.

Some people go to drink together at the local shebeen (or *smokkelhuis*), but many residents regard these as 'a bit unsafe' (DN#9). Neighbours might also gather for a braai, especially over Christmas. On such occasions, however, the host is often selective in which neighbours are invited.

There is, of course, some variation between people in terms of their relationships with neighbours. Some people are more open and friendly, and others more reserved or guarded. One Delft Leiden resident told us that '*I'm a very talkative mother'*. Although she had never realized her dream of being a social worker, but she liked to chat and help people, and many people in the area came to her with their problems. Indeed, '*if I see that there is a problem there I don't wait to be called, I go to see*' (DL#5). Others are less sociable: '*I don't talk too much'*, said another Delft South resident; '*you know those people who like to talk too much and know everything about other people's problems? I'm not that [kind of] person*' (DS#22).

Some people are less able to interact. For example, some people work long or unusual hours and therefore have less interaction with their neighbours. One Delft South resident told us that she did not know her neighbours '*so much because ... I'm not that person who is after other people's news you see, if I come from work I come straight to my house and sleep in bed and then tomorrow morning I go to work again*' (DS#22). Many spend much of the weekend at church, '*so there is no time to see the neighbours*' (WV#43). Recent arrivals are typically less integrated than older residents. Nonetheless, this variance seems to occur within clear bounds. Most residents know their immediate neighbours, and greet them regularly, but visits and intimacy are more infrequent, and many residents express concerns with jealousy among neighbours and friends.

5.2. Mutual assistance

In most neighbourhoods, the interactions between residents are not limited to greetings and occasional social visits. Residents – especially women – often borrow from each other, and more rarely join together in some collective activity.

Residents in Weltevreden Valley seem to engage in a wide range of collective activities. These include attending children's birthday parties, going for prayers during funerals taking place in the community, collective cleaning of streets, attending traditional ceremonies (*amagongqo*) in the neighbourhood, participating in savings associations, and drinking (alcohol) together. Not everyone participated in such collective activities, however.

Examples of mutual assistance include providing a pair of shoes for a neighbour's child, taking a sick neighbour to the hospital, and helping with everyday necessities such as money, salt and sugar:

> *When I have a problem … we advise each other. I say, "Ey, there's a certain problem, or someone has passed away", or she says, "I'm going home, I don't have money I received a call that my children are not well." If I have money I give her and say when she has the money she can give me back. … if I also have a problem ... she would help me out. … We do everything and when she needs something I give her, and when I need something ... [If] I don't have salt, I send a child to go to her.* (WV#46)

> *I'm a widower. I have children. I sometimes suffer; I don't afford to buy a child a school shoe. The grant is too little. I get a grant for two children, and I have three. And the other one is in high school. She needs lots of things. She needs expensive things which I can't afford. Maybe when I say, "Ey my neighbour I wish for that but I don't have enough." … And the neighbour would say, "no, Mheza [neighbour], I can do that for you". Maybe, for example my child want expensive shoes, I can't afford to buy expensive shoes. My neighbour maybe have shoes from her work, [and will say] "I have this shoe, … see if it can fit her". My neighbours help me.* (WV#50)

> *Yes, lots of things. Money or anything she is short of. Cabbage, potatoes and all that.* (WV#44)

Residents with cars help neighbours with transport:

> *Others don't have cars, others do. The ones with cars take them to hospital ... Each can take care of those who are sick. And so on ... They help each other.* (WV#44)

Similarly, in Tambo Square, residents borrow small items from each other, and help each other in the event of an illness or death in the family.

> *Here, if there is an illness maybe, then everyone will support you. Or maybe you have a death in the family. Then everyone will support you. That is the only time the whole community will support you. Or something went wrong at your house. But otherwise, everyone keeps to themselves.* (TS#35's wife)

> *When one of our neighbours has lost a family member we each give R20 to help there ... Another woman passed away recently in that side, ... and there was not even a cent for her to be buried. The resident came together and addressed that problem. They then decided that each house should put R20 in order to help there ... I think they help each other.* (TS#39)

One of the major causes of neighbours asking to borrow money is when their pre-paid electricity runs out.

> *Most of the time it is for electricity ... That is everyone's weak point. That is everyday. If you do not have electricity, then you[r] electricity will go of. When your electricity is off, then you are shy already to ask the other people. [But] they will always find a solution for you. Because no wants anyone to be without electricity during the evening.* (TS#35's wife)

> *People came to ask me money this morning. That woman whose house is extended so nicely, who has a husband and children. This morning she came and said that her electricity money is finished. She does not money for electricity. She is alone during the day. Everyone is at work. Then I gave her electricity money.* (TS#36)

In Delft South, also, people say that neighbours help each other. According to a coloured woman:

> *Our neighbours, we get along well. Everyone struggles, everyone struggles and around here we help each other. If one is struggling and the other has to give, then we intervene and so we carry on from day to day.* (DS#21)

Some residents in Delft South, however, compare unfavourably the neighbourhood today to the neighbourhood in the past. When they first moved into the area, said anonther coloured woman, they '*were together'*, but now '*everyone is for himself; that time, it was alright, but not now, no*' (DS#18).

We saw above that many people are wary of becoming too friendly with neighbours, because this exposes them to gossip or worse. Similarly, people indicate that mutual assistance need not entail a close relationship. An African woman in Weltevreden Valley spoke of mutual borrowing between her and her neighbours:

> *Yes ... when I have something I give them ... Thing like, maybe I need a rake to clean my yard, I go to them and they give me ... We borrow each other money ... When I go somewhere and don't have money I go to my neighbour and she gives me.* (WV#47)

But, she immediately added:

> *A person just help you and not with her whole heart. You tell a person your problem, ... everything, and she goes behind your back and gossip about it there. (WV#47)*

Similarly, a coloured woman in Delft South told us:

> *When you ask for something, you can ask the people here, the people here they got nothing for you. Even salt they've got nothing for you, the people here. When you ask they're going to be good to you then tomorrow the people talk 'oh she got no money and she got that and that and she's like that'.* (DS#18)

In Delft South, several residents emphasised the reciprocity entailed in mutual assistance. People help people they know well, who can be relied on to repay or to reciprocate; they do not help people on whom they cannot rely.

> *People willing to help each other without any expectations are very few. I will have to know you very well before I... before I will help you. If I do not know you, I will not help you. It does not matter how small your problem may be. ... When it is my turn, I will borrow maybe a one rand, two rand, and five rand and then she will give it and that is how we help each other. Tomorrow I will need it again. I helped her; therefore she will help me too. That is how it works. I cannot see why I would not help you if I have and you do not have and need help.* (DS#20)

> *[If] I don't have food, I go out: "I don't have food can you please give me?" They give me. Or [if] I don't have money, [and] I need to go to church: "my neighbour please give me some money." She gives me ... I give it back when I have it. (DS#30)*

> *We will borrow sugar and money from each other … In my case, I know that we will have money on Friday, and I did not have for the week, I will ask my neighbour: "Borrow me a hundred rand until Friday", or something like that. We borrow everything from each other. Especially perishables for the household …, electricity money ….* (DS#21)

Delft South residents complained that few neighbours would do something for nothing.

> *They will help each other out to a certain extent. They will charge you interest on money lend. They must get something out of the deal. Nothing is for free here. It sounds terrible. … One evening, my mother was in an accident. It was three years ago. A car drove over her. She had broken ribs and some other kinds of fractures. We had to ask the neighbour to take her to the day hospital, because one of her lungs … I do not know whether her lung collapsed, but she could not breathe. … My mother had turned blue in her face and then we were looking for a lift to take her. The man wanted to charge us R200 to take her to the day hospital, from here. My father gave it. … Did he help us? Yes! He helped us and saved my mother's life, but… that was not really help. And it was an emergency. It was life or death, so. I don't know if that is help*. (DL#3)

Sometimes people whom you have helped will not reciprocate. '*You will help them when they need something, but even though they will have, they will not help you'*, said one; '*there are many people who you cannot trust'* (TS#33's neighbour). Another woman said that people only help each other out with 'small things' (DS#25).

Despite this wariness on the part of most Delft South residents, some indicated that they made major claims on their neighbours. One left her 12- and 14-year-old children with her neighbour when she visited the Eastern Cape, and the neighbours left their keys with her when they went out during the day (DL#5). Another man has neighbours who look after his house when he is away (DS#23).

People tend to rely on specific individuals for assistance: a friend (DS#21), '*my neighbour opposite'* (DS#23), '*my neighbours there at the back, and the other one on the corner*' (DS#28).

In Delft North, some neighbours assist each other with loans or gifts of food (such as sugar, rice, potatoes, onions, lentils, tea bags, and coffee) or money (often for pre-paid electricity or *boksiekrag*). One woman told us about one neighbour, who was also a close friend:

> *She will always, when she makes something nice or makes potjiekos, she will send to me. Or she will always or I ask her, don't you have a R5 for bread for me? She will give, if she has. She only has a daughter. And she does not have an income. She also struggles. But the little that she has, she will give.* (DN#17)

Many residents, however, spoke of the limits to such generosity. One interviewee says he lends out his tools to a friend he trusts with them. Others mention that some people charge

interest on the money they lend to their neighbours. Some residents seem hesitant to borrow from a neighbour in case the neighbour tells other people. We were told that sometimes a person would give the little he or she had to someone else, but when they themselves were in need of a favour the neighbour would not reciprocate. Faced with financial problems, people prefer to ask kin (or a close friend). A single mother says that

> *we do not do anything for each other in the community, everyone is to themselves, tak[ing] care of their own houses and children. ... Really, if I have to answer you... The coloureds only care for themselves here.* (DN#15)

A woman from Rosendal says:

> *No, sir, they do not help. They will not help you. You have to get out of your need by yourself.* (DN#13)

Another woman suggested that borrowing from each other unifies the people as a community. She added, however, that she gets angry when someone spends money on alcohol and then asks neighbours for money for food:

> *Do you know what grieves me the most about people in Delft? I am also a resident in Delft. But you mustn't buy a beer and then ask me for two slices of bread for your children. Because it makes me very sad. Because a beer costs R10. If you take that R10 and go to Score, you could have bought two breads for that R10. Understand? Five beers cost R50. I could have bought a big pack of sugar. Do you understand? It is mostly alcohol. Alcohol is actually the hell in this place. Truly.* (DN#16)

Another woman goes to her daughters if she needs help. Asked why she does not approach her neighbours, she explains:

> *These people they live for themselves. They don't like sharing. They want you to give them, but they don't want to give you anything.* (DN#9)

5.3. Crime and collective organization and action

Crime features centrally in most residents' accounts of their neighbourhoods. Residents express clear anxiety about the everyday risk of crime, during the day as well as at night. Given the evident failure of the police to prevent or even contain crime, people recognize the value in collective organization or action. In most neighbourhoods, however, residents are rarely able to overcome their individual vulnerability to act effectively together with their neighbours. Whilst crime has the potential to bring neighbours together through a 'community' response, in practice its debilitating and atomizing effects almost always predominate, undermining the quality of community.

When we asked about social cohesion, most people answered with respect to crime. In Weltevreden Valley, some residents told us that there was strong cohesion, rooted in addressing together collective 'problems'.

> *[Cohesion] is strong because ... when there's a problem we all get up. For example, if there's a problem, maybe in that flat, ..., if it's a woman being abused ..., we go and fight the abuse of a woman. We all go as women from these flats. There is another place which sold the drugs. And the mothers are complained that their children are smoking there tik ... We stood up, all of us ... We went to break the windows in that house and call the police to go and investigate and they did that. ... We work together like that. We are one because if you complain about your child being problematic ... we do solve that as women.* (WV#50)

> *Yeah, here we love each other, this is the first thing, we love each other ... Since I was here I didn't saw any ... person who [was] beaten by the other person. These person here they love each other.* (WV#42)

> *They care ... For example, if a person cries [i.e. screams] at night and we are asleep ..., we get out and help that person. We shout out of our windows and the thugs will run away. We scream here because we don't have men. We scream on the windows then the nearest men would step out.* (WV#50)

> *They rescue ... If it was a thug ..., they beat the thug. There's a lady who screamed the other morning ... They rob her bag. It was on Sunday morning. The residents rescue that lady. They chase the thug and he threw the bag.* (WV#49)

Weltevreden Valley does seem to be the neighbourhood with the most collective action, perhaps rooted in a shared history (not only in Cape Town, but in the Eastern Cape before that). When asked to say what keeps their 'community' together, residents mentioned that they hold meetings whenever there is a problem. '*We also attend meetings and I think that keep us together*', said one (WV#43); '*the residents are working together, by trying to fight crime*', said another, adding that they '*call [a] meeting ... when there's something wrong*' (WV#45). It is unclear how many residents participate: Most interviewees referred to other people doing things, i.e. they used 'they' rather than 'we'.

Residents agreed that neighbours come out of their houses to help whenever one of their neighbours needs them. Several interviewees talked about neighbours calling ambulances when someone needed to be taken to hospital, whether as a result of a criminal attack or poor health.

> *What happens to people ... they get out at the same moment. And mostly when they hear a scream. You get out and find out there's lot of people. We look at the person ... perhaps he was being robbed. If they can't find the perpetrator they ... they help the person. And maybe he was robbed and stabbed ... They*

> *also call an ambulance and all that, giving help to that person ... There was a child who was in my house ..., someone called her, and she answered the phone not knowing that there are people who are coming behind her. Those people came closer and stab her and left. I was called in my house and there were residents already standing by her trying to help her. Because of the delay of ambulance, I was helped by two cars that were going to Mitchell's plain. I took her... but the residents were there trying everything.* (WV#48)

Others talked about calling the police: '*People are very helpful, they call the police ... to come, [when] a person gets injured'* (WV#45).

> *We just call the police. ... Somebody was stabbed over [by] that toilet, stabbed at the front. I just call the police. Somebody who is taking something that not belonged to him, I just call the police.* (WV#43)

In the same way, people help in the event of fire, by calling the fire brigade and helping to put out the fire:

> *Everybody gets out here ... They go and help … If it's fire, others are calling fire brigades, others try to stop the fire ... Everybody helps ... There was fire in another lady's house… People went there ... Others kicked the door and opened. Others try with water. Others called fire brigade. When she got there the fire was already gone*. (WV#47)

Residents are not always active, however:

> *When we got there ... a man was shot. And people just stand there and no one said, "I know this person, let us help him." We just looked at him lying down. Nothing done until the police came.* (WV#44)

Some residents said that the sense of togetherness was weak. One said that neighbours merely pretended to be nice to each other. Another told us that she had not been invited to a meeting. A third complained that 'community' projects were not inclusive.

In Weltevreden Valley, most people help to look after their neighbours' houses and respond in the event of attacks, but the residents do not seem to organize collectively in ways that contain crime. Crime was said to be pervasive. As one man told us, '*there's no safety everywhere'* (WV#45). '*Even here in front of your house you can be robbed, so it's not safe'*, a woman added; '*I cannot say I'm safe*' (WV#46). Residents warn against being too active:

> *Nobody's going to follow on the footsteps of that thing, because why, when they search for that particular person, then that person is going to come back to that body. Example, if [a neighbour] come and rescue my cousin, then that particular person is going to notice [my neighbour], then after three weeks or*

> *two months, then he's going back to [my neighbour]. Then that is why they ignore things, because it's like it never ends*. (WV#43)

Several residents commented that neighbours no longer did some of the things that they used to do together. One resident explained this in terms of the political divisions within the African National Congress that led to the formation of a new opposition party (the Congress of the People, COPE):

> *It is weak ... The reason why it is weak ... I'm going to start with our leaders. It is weak because our councillors first show us their fights. So when you are guided by a person who is fighting you are also going to be like him. So it starts there ...* (WV#47)

The absence of dynamic local leaders seems to be an important constraint on what residents can achieve together.

In the southern part of Tambo Square, there was a period of marked cohesion when people first moved in, because they united around the collective demand to build a protective wall around the neighbourhood. The wall would, especially, separate the coloured residents of the neighbourhood from the African township of Guguletu, on the other side of the railway tracks.

> *At first, the community stood strong together. But with time, it all disappeared. Look, I have an example. Look, the community stood together and decided that they had to build a wall by the railway. Right around until here. There is only one entrance here. And the same entrance is the exit. … Each week, everyone gave a R5 for a big wall to be build. Probably about 2.4m height, like here. ... That is how strong the bond was here. But it was the only bond. After that, the people wanted their money back. Then we dropped everything.* (TSS#34)

Residents also joined together to form a 'neighbourhood watch' group. It, too, proved short-lived.

> *That time also we started a neighbourhood watch for this area, I came to know the people. ... No one comes together now, it's finished now and people are always busy with something. And like I said now all the people is just for themselves now, not like before when people used to help each other, you see ... The meetings stop I think at that time, I was working in the night, so I couldn't attend the meetings, coz of working at night … So some of the guys also they work at night so they couldn't attend meetings and so on. So this is how it came ah, slowly slowly no one can attend meetings, so this one stay away and that one stay away. So it just went away slowly slowly.* (TSS#33)

Residents are not entirely inactive in the face of crime, but their responses are limited:

> *We only phone each other at night to say there is a thief in your yard, or one on your roof or by your car, and then we will all come out ... When we hear that someone from the flats is jumping over, then we phone each other. Then we come out simultaneously and there they go!* (TS#34)

> *Mostly it is at night. We only have a few neighbours' numbers. Let's say that the one will alert the other. The one opposite the road will maybe phone me. Then we will be awake and go knock next door. 'Get up quickly, there are problems outside.' Until the police comes. But firstly, we will inform the police*. (TS#35's wife)

> *There will be of the few that will come. The other will say that they did not hear. They will come out when everything is over. Out of curiosity ...* (TS#36)

> *We know when there is a problem, we must stand together. Especially, when the residents from Manenberg comes to steal here. Then the whole community will chase them away. Or when our children here have a problem with those children there. Like last time, they stabbed my son. Children whom I call glue heads. Then they come from the opposite side and look for trouble with the children here. ... They are not actually allowed here.* (TS#37)

The small cluster in Tambo Square to the north of the hospital, made up of four streets and with predominantly coloured residents, also seems to have a united reaction to crime;

> *When there is crime here, ... if a crime has been committed against me, my neighbour will come and listen, then the other neighbours will come out and that is how we all get together. We are quick and inform the police. You know that the police have their own time. The police, I could say, ... when the crime is happening, they will maybe come when the crime is over. But you could maybe help the person.* (TS#38)

In the northern part of Tambo Square, some residents discussed positively collective responses to crime, but others emphasised the passivity of neighbours. '*They would just walk past, they saw people breaking in and they did nothing*' – whilst the house was emptied (TSN#33's wife). In at least one case this was related to the absence of men in the street:

> *I won't lie, my dear, because each person protects themselves. I would not go intervene when I see a knife fight or guns blazing out there. ... So we just let it continue until the police arrive after two hours or so.*
>
> Interviewer: So the neighbours do absolutely nothing?
>
> *Nothing ... And here in my area it's even worse, because here in this street from here to there – the men who could come and help when something is wrong – there are only two of us. Just two. The one whom I said is my friend would*

> *probably come and assist but he has his health issue – knee problems, arthritis – so there's nothing he can do. And then also here – the man is an old man. And then the rest of this section has no men. So I wouldn't go out and say I am going to help knowing that there is no one to back me up.* (TS#39)

On another instance, however, residents caught an alleged rapist and beat him up before turning him over to the police. In the southern part of Tambo Square, women did patrol the neighbourhood. It would seem that the threat was posed by gang members from Manenberg, because our interviewees in Tambo Square said that, when they were faced with trouble-makers with weapons, they complained to 'their leader' (presumably in Manenberg) who dealt with his troublesome subordinates (see TSS#34).

In southern Tambo Square, there is a formal soccer and netball club for children. Neighbours hold a street party at least once a year, usually in summer. Residents used to join together to clean the field and streets, but it is reported that now '*no one cares, no one will volunteer*' (TSS#34).

In Delft South, residents complained that neighbours would not step in if a crime was being committed.

> *No one responds ... No one goes out and helps, no. They only get out when the thug has already gone, and start asking what happened. And the thug would be long gone.* (DS#29)
>
> *Even if it happens in the night, you won't get any help from people.* (DS#27)
>
> *Oh no. ... I just get up and call the police, "police, can you please come, something is happening here." ... Even when a person is robbed [in the street], people stand by the corners. ... No one is responding.* (DS#30)
>
> .
>
> *Not here, not here anymore. Here you stand. If you've got a problem of a crime here, you gonna stand alone here. Nobody can help you here. .. [I]n the past, there's somebody who robbed somebody here around the corner here, you see. The guy who was robbed there, [he] was crying a long long time there. Nobody come out and go and help that guy, you see. ... The police [came and found] that guy dead there, you see. ...* (DL#2)

This last person was asked, 'why didn't you intervene?' He replied:

> *My friend, it's very risky, because I don't know that person who robbed that guy, what they carried, you see. Sometimes they carry guns, sometimes they carry knives, you see, so I can't go out alone.* (DL#2)

Some of the criminals are local. '*If you respond, ... you are going to be hated by those children*' (DS#30). Another resident told us that when 'children' from a different neighbourhood robbed a neighbour of his cell-phone, '*there was nothing we could do*

because they carried big knives' so no one even opened their mouths (DS#25). In another incident, a man was woken up in the middle of the night by his neighbour banging on their shared wall: thieves were stealing the television and DVD-player and other things from the house opposite. When they went outside, the thieves ran off with their acquisitions. The man and his neighbour recognized the thieves, and the next day a large group of neighbours went to their house and retrieved the goods – but were sure to do so together with the police! (DL#1). Delft South residents explain that '*there is no committee in this area, you see, that is why most of the people, when something happens, they go to the police station*' (although, she added, the police often say it's not their problem) (DS#19's wife).

In Delft Leiden, a Neighbourhood Watch operated intermittently, and as an adjunct to the police rather than independently. According to one resident:

> *Yeah, it does function, very very weak, because they always go with the police. You can't find the neighbourhood watch walking around the area alone or look after the people. ... You are going to find the neighbourhood watch in the police vans. They can't patrol the area with themselves.* (DL#2)

Another resident said that the Neighbourhood Watch operated '*now and then'* (DS#18), and another said that it had been more active in the past (DS#19's wife). None of our interviewees participated in the Neighbourhood Watch, and the ones we asked said they did not even know anyone who did.

There was also a more active 'committee' that helped to settle disputes, at least among African residents of the neighbourhood. This committee operated in much the same way as many similar extra-system popular courts (including the 'people's courts' of the 1980s). A large number of residents would collectively hear from complainants and from their accused. The decisions would, ideally and in practice generally, be intended to maintain order in the neighbourhood, although the conception of order varies between different courts. One resident told us of a case in which a Xhosa-speaking landlord and his Kenyan or Somali backyard tenant fought over the tenant paying for electricity. It seems that the tenant stabbed his landlord, who was hospitalized. The committee was reportedly angry that the dispute had not been brought to them to settle, and ordered one of the parties – it is unclear which, but probably the tenant – to move off the premises within three months (DL#2). This is the only account we have of this committee, but it resonates with previous work on similar institutions in other parts of Cape Town. Typically, their field of competence is limited to cases involving people who live together, in the same or neighbouring houses. They rarely have power over gangs, and none over outsiders. Their jurisdiction thus covers disputes rather than crime. Although our informant said that as many as one or even two hundred people might participate, none of our other interviewees mentioned participating themselves, and only some of our other interviewees in Delft South mentioned the committee (see DS#27).

Another resident (DS#24) told us that one of the local councillors also helped to settle disputes. In one case, the resident's pastor had a dispute with two of his own sons, who

lived in his backyard but refused to pay, even for electricity. The pastor took the dispute to the councilor.

This kind of committee might be involved in one collective action in Delft Eindhoven that was related to us separately by several residents. A family had rented a house for a long time – eight or even ten years – when the owner announced "*out of the blue one day*" that he wanted his house back. He evicted the tenants. But when he brought his own possessions, and began to unload them, the neighbours gathered around and loaded them back into the truck. '*The owner had to go'*. That '*is what the community does, amongst each other, they support each other'* (DS#21; see also DL#5). (This was apparently reported in the Cape Town tabloid newspaper, *Die Son*, which might explain why it is well known).

One woman (DS#22) also referred to meetings held at the local rent office by 'SANCO' – meaning the local civic organization or 'branch' of the South African National Civic Organisation. Again, there was no mention of participation. In general, residents might mention organizations in the neighbourhood, but not participating in them. The impression we get is of uneven or intermittent activity in which few people actually participate.

Delft Leiden and Delft North seem to have an especially acute problem with drug-dealing gangs, living in 'drug houses' in the neighbourhood. These gangsters, mostly young, break into houses and attack people. '*Here you have to sleep with one eye open*', said one resident (DL#4). Residents are fearful, and intimidated: '*We are not allowed to talk, we just keep quiet*' (DL#4's neighbour). Neither the Neighbourhood Watch nor the committees or councillors are able to deal with this pressing problem.

Delft North has a particularly bad reputation for crime, although many of its residents object to media descriptions about their neighbourhood. In general, however, residents concur that drug-taking is a severe probe, and that the need for money for tik or other drugs is a major motivation for theft and mugging. Residents point to the many items that are stolen: car parts, any iron railings or gates or burglar bars, steel poles that hold up washing lines, outside taps and hosepipes, electric cabling. Residents largely concur that there is no collective or organized response, and that many if not most residents cannot be relied on to come to your aid in the event of an attack. Fortunately, most local crime is property crime, with local perpetrators who want goods to resell, but who do not want to have to employ violence. Nonetheless, people do not like to walk after dark.

Home owners do not give a good report when asked about efforts from the residents to improve conditions in their neighbourhood. One respondent argues that the community needs to mobilize and drive out 'bad elements', but it seems it will not be accomplished, because they never come together to hear others' opinions or do any planning. Another resident points out that every family has someone who is addicted to tik. Many point out that the offenders are often known to the victims. Someone suggests that everybody is waiting for everybody else to show initiative. Although there is lots of talk, no action is taken. Others say that there is little support and even if meetings are set up, that attendance

will be poor. One resident says that although some efforts had been made, support is low due to fear. Some view improving the community as the job of the community workers.

Some residents say that there is a neighbourhood watch in Delft North, but most residents say either that it exists intermittently, it used to exist but does not exist now, or that they are unaware of any organisation. One interviewee and her husband used to participate, but no longer do so.

5.4. Trust

Crime is so omnipresent that 'trust' is understood primarily in terms of crime: Can you trust your neighbours to look after your house, in your absence, and can you trust people (even your neighbours) not to steal from you? In a neighbourhood like Weltevreden Valley, where many people leave Cape Town over Christmas (and at other times also) to return to the Eastern Cape, it is important to have a neighbour who can keep an eye on a house. '*When I go out, the neighbours look after the house*', said one woman in Weltevreden Valley (WV#43). And, according to a man:

> *Even when I go home [to the Eastern Cape] I leave my stuff in the house, I don't take my things to keep them at someone's house ... I leave my things like this. No one sleeping here ... I just let the neighbours know that I'll be away for a certain time.* (WV#45)

Some interviewees were more skeptical about trusting neighbours to intervene. According to one woman, when '*a criminal broke in the house, not even one neighbour came out, only the people from other places came to rescue'* (WV#44).

Although most interviewees felt that they could trust their neighbours, the extent of that trust generally only extended as far as taking care of their house – and not their children. Even for the house, they would not allow the neighbour to sleep in the house alone when they are away. One woman said she trusted her neighbours '*because when I go I leave them to look after my house*', but added '*I can't say I trust them in a way that I can put them in my house – no*'. When we asked her whether she would leave her children in her neighbour's care, she answered '*No, perhaps I can do that with my friend not a neighbour*' (WV#47). Another resident was more positive, telling us, '*if ever my child was crying, the neighbours ... come out and look what's happening'* (WV#43).

Interviewees were clear that they could not trust people who live outside of the immediate neighbourhood, generally because they could only trust people whom they knew well. According to one man:

> *You cannot trust someone you don't know most definitely. So I can't say they are all trusted ... You trust someone you know. I don't want to lie. Even my neighbour who is [from] far, whom I never chat with or sit with him, I won't trust him … Maybe he lives far from me. I leave my phone on the charger, ...*

> *maybe if he can take that phone ... I don't think I can never get it again. But the neighbour from next door cannot do that.* (WV#45)

We asked whether most people in the neighbourhood could be trusted. '*Oh no*', said a woman, laughing; '*you only trust yourself here*' (WV#47). Another woman agreed that you could '*not [trust] all of them, because the others are tsotsis'* [thieves] (WV#43).

> *People from here ..., no, no, no. It is rough here ... I cannot trust them ... If they are drunk they can't behave you see. And there's a lot of violence in our area ... House breaking and kicking of people's doors etc ... I'm not the person who uses to walk on the street; I only go to church and come back home.* (WV#49)

Similarly, in Delft Leiden, according to one African woman:

> *No, we cannot leave our keys with them [neighbours]. One day, on our return, the DVD was unplugged. Tell me how that happened? And we left it with someone we trusted. With a woman that has been living close to us for years. ... If you, like most people, leave a mop outside, the neighbours will not look after it for you. It is only a mop or a broom. None of us has outside taps anymore. It is stolen! Show me one house with a copper tap on the outside. [Laughing] You cannot trust your neighbours.* (DL#3)

Some people are distrustful of people in general. According to one woman, '*I cannot say they are trusted ... I cannot trust anyone*' (WV#46).

Mistrust is especially pervasive in Delft North. One woman trusted one of her neighbours, but not the others:

> *When she is not at her house, then I will keep an eye on her place. But the other neighbours, I will not watch for them ... I won't bother them with such things here.* (DN#17)

Another neighbour laughed when asked whether he trusted his neighbours, and replied 'Can we ignore that question?' (DN#14). Another resident initially said she trusted one of her neighbours, but when pressed, said that she would not trust her to look after her children or the house (DN#17). Another complained that his house had been burgled 'something like eight to ten times', and his neighbours had done nothing, and perhaps had even been party to the crimes (DN#10). Only one resident related a story of neighbours helping to prevent crime, in this case apprehending thieves who had stolen someone's television (DN#16).

> *I've been through a lot of stuff so I actually don't trust anyone besides my family ja. Especially when it comes to my kids.* (DN#8)

> *These days you can't trust nobody. You can't trust your own family, your children – you can't trust them. And especially in this place, because here most*

> *of the children they [take] drugs and all those things. Tik and all. You can't trust them.* (DN#9)

In contrast to neighbourhoods with mostly African populations, neighbours in Delft North are apparently reluctant to intervene in domestic disputes, even if they become violent. A young man who used tik confronted his mother and smashed up the house. No neighbour intervened, and the mother had to go to the police station to seek redress (DN#15).

Residents in various neighbourhoods do sometimes refer to other dimensions of trust, especially elating to mutual assistance between neighbours.

> *They are trusted... They came to wake me up some day my house was burning. I was fast asleep… My twin brother came from his places and cooked. I was sleeping at the time. So my neighbours came to waken me up ... That's why I say they are trusted.* (WV#45)

In Delft North, residents were divided over whether they could trust their neighbours even to do this. One resident insisted that neighbours would intervene in the event of fire (DN#15), but another related a case where neighbours merely phoned the fire brigade, which arrived before any neighbours actually appeared on the scene (DN#17).

> *They are trusted. ... Maybe it's because they are women, because there's no men here, they are few ... I trust them ... When you have a problem they go in and out your house, they advise you what to do. ... I trust them because they cannot disappoint me.* (WV#50)

> *I trust her to look after my children. So I don't have a problem with her. I can only depend on her and her on me.* (DN#17)

Overall, residents' discussion of trust seems to conform with what they say about their neighbours in the context of poverty and crime. Neighbours can and do play a part in addressing the challenges of poverty and crime: they will lend you things, including even small sums of money, and they will usually assist in containing crime. But the challenges of poverty and crime are too enormous. There are limits to how far you can trust your neighbours, either to protect you and your house, or to respect your property – just as there are limits to how far you can trust your neighbours (and friends) by sharing intimacies.

5.5. Pride in and identification with the community

One measure of the quality of community is the extent to which residents identify with it (and hence with one another), or feel pride in it. We asked interviewees whether they were proud of their neighbourhood. Some seem to have understood this as asking whether they *liked* it or not, but their answers are nonetheless revealing about their pride or lack of pride.

Respondents who said or implied that they were proud of Weltevreden Valley gave a mix of reasons. Some spoke of being proud of things, i.e. the houses that they own, and perhaps also their proximity to amenities.

> *Since [I] am a person who grew in a poor family, you see, so there are a lot of things that make me proud since I have a house first of all, you see.* (WV#42)

> *I'm proud of Weltevreden because I have my own house ... I'm saying ... firstly is having my own house, because it is difficult to get a house. Schools are nearer –when I have children. Police stations ... I mean the government is trying. Clinics are there. Trains, busses and taxes when I'm travelling. ... It is clean ... this place, compared to where I lived before. ... Even at night is very quiet as compared to Gugulethu where people would be going up and down while you are sleeping. ... The taxi rank is not too far, we have water, the toilet. If I want to stay inside and don't want to get out, I just close the door and go there on top [the house is two stories] and I just light the heater then make me hot.* (WV#45)

Others spoke of the community: of their affection for it, their feelings of belonging here, and their happiness here.

> *I just like it. It is OK here. My children are happy and I'm also happy.* (WV#50)

> *[I] am proud, I ... am proud of this community because they talk my language, they are rich or poor like me, you see because everybody they wake up in the morning to go and find a job, you see, what I like, coz no place in here where people are having a lot of cars and it's me alone, I should be proud because they are fighting like me, yeah to have a better life.* (WV#42)

One person says that he likes the neighbourhood because this is where he 'met God' and his life changed.

Although our Weltevreden Valley interviewees were proud of their 'community', most of them were primarily loyal to their place of birth, in different parts of the Eastern Cape:

> *Hmmm. I'm not sure because I'm here for a few years I would say I identify with ... Qumbu.* (WV#45)

> *I'm proud of Matatiele. I was born there. I can't spend my whole life here when I think for myself. I'm just here to work and educate my children and go back home.* (WV#47)

> *OK, no, no it's at Eastern Cape, it's at Eastern Cape my friend,... I grow up in rural areas. Life of urban areas is very very different. Because here in the township if you go out, [if] you are not in your yard, anything can happen*

> *anytime, you are not protected, you are not safe. Anything can happen, it's too far to go to the station, you see anything can happen any time. But in rural areas you are safe, your neighbour is really your neighbour, because it's easy to say to you, come buy something [for] me … … Here in town, … you become a guy or a lady who is naughty, you see. … It's better to stay here but … I feel at home when [I] am at Eastern Cape, yeah. Because I know there are a lot of peoples who knows me when I was young, you see, and even now. Here I don't know these peoples when they were young, even they didn't know me, we just know now, you see.* (WV#42)

Some interviewees said that they were *not* proud of Weltevreden Valley, pointing to things that they did *not* like, especially the poor quality of the houses, crime, and poor access to socio-economic opportunities:

> *No, I'm sorry ... I don't like this place ... I don't like it ... Our houses are not good. Firstly, I think you also see the difference in our houses ... They are not right. They are not in good condition. … If it's raining the water goes through. These ones are sweating a lot. They have cracks. If it is raining water goes through the walls. Here are the stairs and we are falling a lot here ... We have children but we cannot extend this because there's no space. And first of all we are old ... how long are we going to walk up these steps? If the white people when they built these flats said they were for young people ... it would be better. Because it's them who still have this energy of going up and down. Now we are old and have to go up these stairs ... that only makes me want to decide to leave Samora. And again this place is too huge there should be a police station. There no police station. Another thing ... we supposed to have a supermarket not that Spar only. And that Spar kills us ... they built Spar for us a very expensive supermarket. We supposed to have churches as well. These fields that suppose to be churches are the ones full of shacks – you see. There are no churches here. If you want to go to church you need to catch a taxi ... travel to another location but there are many open spaces ...* (WV#49)

> *I don't like Weltevreden but because my plot is here...I cannot change to another place ... No, I'm not feeling right ... I must say I don't feel all right because I cannot go somewhere else my house is here. And cannot exchange with someone ... most people don't like flats. But I'm hanging in there ...* (WV#46)

This woman started to talk about crime – '*the thugs came and take everything'* – which was so distressing that she started crying, during the interview. Again and again, the fear of crime intrudes into our interviews.

One of the few residents who discussed pride in other terms referred explicitly to her neighbours:

> *I'm feeling proud of this community ... very proud because there's nothing I can say wrong about my neighbour. When we have a [not clear] we say I know I was wrong, I apologise. That's why I say don't be cross with each other and pass each other and don't say anything.* (DL#6)

The bad reputation of Delft North makes it difficult for residents to have much pride in their neighbourhood. A young single mother tells us that she can identify someone from Delft by looking at his attitude and the way he walks

> *... like a skollie. Someone will say: 'He is from Delft, his manners say so!' His appearance, the way he is. And maybe they will break into houses: 'That is people from Delft!'* (DN#12)

A woman from The Hague elaborates on the image of Delft as presented in tabloid papers:

> *If you read the Son and Voice, then you will read about children one or two years old being raped by their uncle. Children who are killed, one or two years old, then it are the uncle who killed them. It is either the uncle or the father. Everything is, only Delft. That is why I say, the rapist and the murders put Delft on the map. Because, Delft was never really on a map. But now Delft is on the map, because when people open the newspaper they only read about Delft. Oh, did you hear? They found a child in a drain. Delft! It stays like that. Last week, a father beat the child to death with an electrical cord. Dead! The child was tortured for seven hours. It is things like that. The child, Abrahams, whose own father raped and killed her. That is Delft!* (DN#16)

> *Yes, they think very badly of Delft. They think very badly. There are many things happening in Delft. ... My brother said he read in the newspaper. It is only about Delft, Delft, Delft.* (DN#12's spouse)

A man in Rosendal who prides himself on being debt free, says that he sometimes gets upset when people at work who themselves go to loan sharks ask him why he lives in Delft, implying that it is an awful area (DN#14). A single mother suggests that living in Delft compromises her career:

> *In general, you will hear in the taxis, if you are in a discussion with someone and they ask you from where you area and you say from Delft, their reaction would be: 'Oh, you are from that place?!' People will always say that the place is dangerous. I am at the point already, when I apply for a position; I do not say where I am from. When they ask which area, because it causes me not to get a position. The other day a person asked me in which area I lived and I said the Belhar region.* (DN#16)

Delft North is not a good place to try to bring up your children. Parents of daughters are especially anxious. It is also a filthy place, in part because people simply empty their rubbish outside (DN#16).

Whilst most interviewees feel at home in Delft North, some emphasise that they do not:

> *I will tell you sir I am not happy with ... I do not want to be here. But according to my circumstances, I must be here. But life here, is not a good life … And the people who you have to live amongst are very nasty.*

But, she continued, '*I have a roof over my head and I must just stay here, that is all*' (DN#13).

5.6. The quality of community

Residents forge a 'community' in new housing projects through both everyday and exceptional interactions. Most residents have regular interactions with most of neighbours, at least at the level of greetings. Greetings are often supplemented with occasional conversations in the street. Residents will also often borrow minor items from each other – especially food items, or tools, or money for their electricity meters. But it is rare for interactions between neighbours to be more substantive than this. Most residents seem wary of intimacy with neighbours whom they instinctively mistrust: trust is earned, through familiarity and reciprocity, rather than assumed. Residents acknowledge that even apparently friendly neighbours can turn against you, gossiping, perhaps out of jealousy. Most residents have only one close friend in their neighbourhood, and some have none. Sustained visits and conversations inside each other's houses are limited to these exceptionally close friends.

There is little evidence in these neighbourhoods of robust, sustained 'community' organization, or of regular collective action. Most – if not all – of our interviewees seemed to be distant from whatever collective organization might exist at the local level. Weltevreden Valley is a partial exception to this generalization, and there is some evidence of weak collective action among African residents in some parts of Delft.

The social landscape is clearly dominated by crime, the fear of crime, and people's efforts to make themselves less vulnerable. In some neighbourhoods, residents will come to each other's assistance when their houses are burgled – whether in the day or night – or if someone is attacked in the street. But in most cases, residents fear criminals, who they see as being well-armed and dangerous. Residents will therefore call the police, and avoid confronting gangsters. Crime fosters mistrust, renders interactions difficult after dark, and undermines collective organization.

Residents often emphasise their involvement in church and their families. Because many people attend church outside of their neighbourhood, and many people have families in other neighbourhoods, involvement with church and family is rarely community-strengthening.

Overall, it is hard to identify much of a 'community' in these neighbourhoods. The quality of community seems to be almost uniformly low (which does not mean that there is no community at all, nor that the relationships that do exist are unimportant). Poverty and crime make it difficult to build community. In interview after interview, in every neighbourhood, residents drew our attention to the limits to social relationships in their immediate neighbourhood. People take care not to give neighbours the opportunity to steal from them. They avoid intimate relationships and excessive conversation for fear of gossip and betrayal. Greetings might be routine, and short conversations in the street commonplace, but people only visit others' houses socially in the cases of close friends (and family). Many people assist each other, but there are also many people who fail to reciprocate, or who charge for assistance even during emergencies. One cannot rely on neighbours to intervene in the event of a crime. Trust is scarce, and mistrust widespread. Very few people participate in collective organization or action. Few people spoke of their neighbourhood with pride (although many were proud of their houses). Perhaps intimate relationships between neighbours will grow over time, and 'communities' will steadily form despite poverty and crime. The evidence of the first few years in these new neighbourhoods is not promising.

Chapter 6: Racialised Multi-Culturalism and Its Limits in "Mixed" Neighbourhoods in Cape Town

All of the Cape Town neighbourhoods selected in this study are 'mixed' in some sense: Residents come from disparate backgrounds, outside as well as inside Cape Town. But some are 'mixed' in ways that require particular attention, because of the country and city's past. This chapter examines social relationships in neighbourhoods that are mixed racially, or which have significant populations of people from outside South Africa. The first two sections of this chapter examine aspects of race in these neighbourhoods: the persistence of racial stereotypes or generalizations in the post-apartheid context, what residents say about their experiences of learning about race and cultural diversity, the general quality of relationships between people of different 'races', and finally the racialised differences that seem to endure. We show that racial differences are now, in part but not entirely, a matter of cultural diversity: we find many positive signs of increased inter-racial toleration and neighbourliness, and little evidence of racial tension. The third section turns to residents' attitudes towards non-South Africans. These are worrying, with many (but certainly not all) residents expressing misgivings about the presence of foreigners. Multi-cultural accommodation does not extend to non-citizens from the rest of Africa. The final section situates this analysis of attitudes towards racial or foreign 'others' in the social context analysed in Chapter 5, i.e. of a generally low quality of community, characterized by considerable wariness of neighbours even of the same race and citizenship, and an almost overwhelming concern with crime and insecurity. For some people, the 'bad elements' in their neighbourhoods are racialised. For most, however, the dangerous and threatening 'other' can be either coloured or African, and conversely respectability is not the preserve of any racial or cultural group.

6.1. Racial generalization in the 'new' South Africa

Apartheid largely eliminated racially-mixed residential areas. At the end of apartheid, there were some opportunities for mixed-race co-residence in higher income neighbourhoods, and since the end of apartheid such opportunities have expanded. But few poor South Africans have had much experience of racially-mixed neighbourhoods – except in the handful of cases where one or other part of the state has explicitly created mixed-race public housing projects. (The informal settlement in Cape Town studied by Fiona Ross is an exception to the general picture). Under apartheid, racial prejudice and stereotyping was probably widespread, even among low-income people. Indeed, there is evidence that poor coloured people are, in general, more prejudiced against African people than are richer coloured (or white) people. In the 1990s, most poor coloured neighbourhoods were strongholds of the National Party, whilst the 'liberal' opposition and the African National Congress drew more support in middle-class coloured neighbourhoods.

It would hardly be surprising if we found evidence of persistent prejudice and stereotyping in mixed neighbourhoods such as Delft South, Leiden and Tambo Square, in 2009. We certainly did find some evidence of this sort. In general, however, we found much more evidence that reflected a discourse of multi-cultural toleration, of inclusion in the 'new', democratic South Africa.

Enduring stereotypes and generalizations often revolve around crime. In our interviews, blunt generalizations were voiced only by African interviewees. According to one African woman in Delft South, "*I can't trust coloureds, they steal, they steal everything*", whereas "*black people, I trust them, they can't steal*" (DS#25). Another African woman in the same neighbourhoods told us that "*I don't feel good, because ... coloureds are messing up a lot, I don't feel good about them*" (DS#29). Some African interviewees in northern Tambo Square associate coloured people with gangs and violence.

Coloured interviewees expressed racialised views in more subtle ways. Racialised views might be linked to neighbourhoods. Some coloured interviewees in the southern part of Tambo Square, associate a lack of security with the more racially-mixed area to the north.

> *I feel that it is safer here than on the other side ... It does not look right on the other side to me ... Friday and Saturday evenings*. (TS#34)

> *We have this bond, because we are more together on this side.* (TS#38)

Several residents told us that they thought that the other racial group disliked their racial group. This seems to reveal a group-based fear or sense of vulnerability. According to a coloured woman in Delft South:

> *Black people don't want coloured people. Most of the black people don't want coloured people. About two years ago we were reading [in] the paper [about] that guy [in] Khayelitsha, he buy a house that side but people don't want him that side.* (DS#18)

This seems to be a reference to an incident in which a coloured man acquired a house in Khayelitsha, but was prevented from moving in by local activists who insisted that housing there was for African people only (see Chapter 1). This woman, however, immediately qualified her generalisation, by saying '*that is why I say most of the black people is alright and other people is not alright*' (DS#18).

A coloured woman in Delft North told us how crime was racialised, especially in racially-mixed neighbourhoods (which Delft North is not):

> *The problem is the mixture of the different racial groups. I cannot say that they understand each other. An African will not easily hijack another African or his house…or rob with a firearm. But the opposite, an African will a Coloured and a Coloured an African. In general, the Coloureds will target each other, but it is exactly the opposite with the Africans. Africans will not*

> *target Africans. They will see Coloureds as targets where Coloureds will see each other as targets. It is the mixture of the different races that causes the problems, because there are many more different races living there.* (DN#13)

Against these generalisations and stereotypes, we found lots of evidence of residents embracing a discourse of multi-cultural toleration. The coloured woman in Delft South quoted above elaborated:

> *You know mos that time in apartheid the coloured people stay that side and the black people stay that side but it's not like that anymore, we must love black people and the black people must love us also. But we cannot stay there in Khayelitsha.* (DS#18)

Similarly, according to another coloured woman in Delft South:

> *You see the other people like to say "No, [I] don't like blacks". I say no, it's a new generation now and you must understand. … In those days you didn't used to live like this. I say, no, you are wrong, in this day we must learn to live together, you see.* (DS#19's wife).

This was echoed by an African woman in Delft South:

> *We need to be people. To become one. If we can be separated and say this one must go and live there alone ... that can create hatred and a war; because when it comes that your child go and mess there ... everybody there will come and fight here. I like mixing a lot.* (DS#31)

And an African man in Delft Leiden:

> *… years ago, the coloureds were live alone, the blacks were live alone, in the apartheid time, you see. Now it's a new South Africa now. We are living together as one, you see. Nobody can say now I am a kaffir, if he say [that I] am a kaffir, I have a right to lay a charge against him there, because [I] am not a kaffir anymore. … So it's possible to live together, so that they must understand that we are all in one here in South Africa, nothing higher than somebody. Nobody is higher than somebody, yeah we are equally now, yeah (DL#2)*

In the mixed neighbourhoods we studied, we found little evidence of racial animosity, or of pronounced and explicit racial prejudice. Rather, we found a positive attitude towards co-residence. In Tambo Square, for example, informants insisted that neighbours get on well with each other. According to one coloured woman: '*There are Africans and coloureds and … Malawian people and so on, actually it is a mix now, … but we get along well, and they get along well with us*' (TS#38). This seems to be rooted in a very strong commitment, at least rhetorically, to non-racialism. This commitment is widespread. According to an African woman:

> *I don't see any difference. Because colour makes no difference. So if a person is black or white is the same.* (TS#39)

Crucially, many residents emphasise that there are good and bad people in any racial group. According to one African man:

> *Not all the coloureds ... use the drugs. There's a right coloureds, there is a wrong coloureds, you see. Some of the coloureds use the drugs and they are silly. Some of coloureds, they don't use the drugs. They are human being like me, you see. ... I don't trust coloureds, you see, because coloureds, some of them are corrupt, some of them are good, that's why am saying to you.* (DL#2)

Both coloured and African interviewees criticised their own racial group. According to one coloured woman in Delft South:

> *I can say I have a problem with coloured people because they steal our things. My toilet seat was stolen. I have put [in] a bath, a new bath, they took out that pipe ... While we are sleeping at night they are not sleeping.* (DS#28)

An African woman in Delft South described coloured people as 'people with respect', and told us that, when she returned at night from church in Khayelitsha, coloured men would often enquire why she was walking at night; when she explained she was coming from church, they would escort her back to her house, whereas '*black [i.e. African] people, they only want money'* (she had earlier been mugged by African adolescents, who took her bag). '*I like coloureds because they are also people. I like them because they are not dangerous ... and more over they are not people who make troubles. They know how to communicate with people'* (DS#31).

Overall, a recognition of intra-racial diversity seems to us to be decisive in rooting a 'new' and inclusive South African discourse in racially-mixed neighbourhoods.

6.2. Learning multi-cultural co-existence

Several residents – especially coloured residents – spoke about how they had learnt to be more accommodating or tolerant. One coloured woman related how, unusually, she had lived in Khayelitsha – when "*it was small, not [like] now*" – where she got used to living with African people, "*that's why it is not a problem for me, but for the other people it is a problem*" because they are "*not used to the other people*" (DS#19's wife). A coloured woman in Delft Leiden recalls:

> *At the beginning it was not nice. Everyone thinks "this is my territory", they just want to do anything. Okay, then you get people from Polokwane, fresh*

> *from the bush, now they want to come and take their bush manner out here! Broil their sheep's head in their back yards! That is not right! (DL#3)*

In some cases, the experience of living in more diverse neighbourhoods and of inter-racial interactions challenged people's preconceptions. 'Yes', one coloured man told us, '*I must say that some of the Xhosas living here are very decent people; we greet each other, we ask one another how things are, we have no problems with them'* (TS#35). A coloured woman in Delft described her black ('Xhosa') neighbours as 'very respectful' (probably meaning, or even saying but mistranslated, respectable) (DL#3). Two interviewees in Delft North related how they had met African neighbours when they heard that the latter had suffered personal lose, and so they went to express their condolences (DN#13 and DN#13's son).

Children are, perhaps, better placed to learn attitudes. One coloured man told us '*I think the most togetherness of races is all about kids, they don't see it as we see it as big people … It's kids who can make a difference'*. He told us of a time when he gave his children some biscuits, and they happily shared them with other African boys from the street, without any hesitation (DL#1).

These statements about learning occur more often in our interviews with coloured residents, but there are cases of African interviewees voicing the same sentiments. An African woman highlighted the fact that all her neighbours were coloured and seemed to have no choice but to get to know people of a different population group. '*Now that we are a mix I see it's nice ... We get along, we borrow [from] each other'* (DS#26).

This commitment to non-racialism sits alongside multi-culturalism. Most residents recognise that there are cultural differences between coloured and African people, but do not associate these with any normative hierarchy. In Delft South, one resident told us about her neighbours' diverse customs:

> *We sometimes brew beer like in Eastern Cape. But we are always together, we are united. In such a way that ... we don't even worry about living with coloured people, we take them as our people. If they have a problem ... or things like funerals ..., we go. …Ever since I came here, we as neighbours are living in peace. Sometimes you cannot live the way we do with your own family – I must put it that way. Because if you live with your family there are times where you don't get along ... But as we are staying mixing with different people from different places, we are like a family. If you find us staying as neighbours, chatting ... you would be sure that we are brothers and sisters. From that corner to that one [pointing] you won't really differentiate where a person came from ... we are like we came from one village and one family.* (DS#23)

Language can be an impediment to interaction. A coloured couple, who have several African neighbours, said that '*sometime the one says "no man, [I] am sick with Afrikaans", then I say "no, you can speak English".'* The wife says that her husband

'understands a little bit of Xhosa, … not so good but he can understand when the people is talking to him you see, and he's got Xhosa friends' (DS#19's wife). Asked whether she would prefer to live in an all-African neighbourhood, one African woman said '*there would be more communication; it happens sometimes that as we are living with coloureds ..., perhaps you want to say something but you can't because you can't speak Afrikaans, their language; if we were all black people I think it would be very nice'* (DS#29).

In interview after interview, however, residents emphasise that relationships are good with neighbours from different racial or cultural groups. According to a coloured man in Delft Leiden:

> *My neighbours like you know they have got all kinds of races, … all kind of people: black, staying around me is muslims, my next door neighbour is muslim, my other next door neighbour is coloured and the opposite is black and the one next to them is white. So I have got four kind of race people here. But the communication with us is very good. I don't got a problem with them at all. Yah, I think [relationships] are good, I think they are good, there's no complaints about that. … That house the other house the other house [to the far left, across the road] there staying, not this one there where the tyres is, there's a white lady and a coloured staying together there. Then there after the tyres in the zone there there is a black man and a white woman staying together. And the togetherness, they are staying together so but they are going maybe to the shebben and sitting together and such things, walking past here. And there's a muslim there staying with a white woman, yah. There's plenty of white people from outside coming here to see the family here.* (DL#1)

A coloured woman in Delft South went so far as to say:

> *We stay amongst Africans. There are Africans living opposite us. The majority here are Africans too. It is actually much better living amongst them.* (DS#21)

Some people, she said, still held onto past attitudes and thought they were better than other people – meaning that some coloured people thought they were better than African people. Her retort to such racial arrogance was:

> *We stay in an under privilege neighbourhood. Do not think that you are better then the rest, because you are not! What are you doing in Delft? … If you were better, then you do not belong in Delft.* (DS#21)

An African woman in Delft South:

> *I don't have a problem with them. … I even live with them here in my yard [at the back of the house], I don't have a problem.* (DS#30)

When people encounter some unpleasant people in the other group, this can affect their view of the group as a whole. Above we quoted one African man who said that he did not trust coloured people because *some*, but not all, of them were untrustworthy.

> *Some of the coloureds … think they are richer than us. … They don't take us as a human being like them. You see, they took us as just nonsenses. … The coloureds are rude … Some of them are rude, some of them are not rude, but the most of them in the area here are very, very rude. They are using drugs, they are drinking ah liquor, so they are rude.* (DL#2)

One coloured man drew a distinction between different African people in his immediate neighbourhood:

> *There's only these black people over there, my communication is more tight with them. The black people opposite me it's more tight. It's not that I make a exclusive … What I am trying to tell you is I am more intimate with the black people over there in the street and around here because they all know me. There's plenty of black people … here, the people who are here is black people, and they know me, they know me very well, and we are very intimate … That's one thing I can tell you.* (DL#1)

The experience of living together is not uniformly positive. Other people say '*I cannot live with these people'* (DL#3's friend), or '*I cannot, we have been trying for years'* (DL#3). A coloured man complained that other people are resentful of inter-racial or inter-cultural interactions:

> *Jealousy, it's very much here. Not jealousy of races, jealousy of cultures together. [I] am a coloured, you are a coloured, and I don't like you, you as a coloured to go and talk too much to that white girl or white lady, white men or Muslim or whatever. Jealousy is the one thing I don't like.* (DL#1)

Many people, however, seem to have learnt to live together.

Even in Delft North, where coloured residents have less experience with African neighbours, there is evidence of accommodation. Churches provide one opportunity for inter-racial interaction. A churchgoer in The Hague explains that African and even a few White people attend the same church as him, especially during 'All-Delft' church events:

> *We all belong to one association. There are coloured …, hmm …, black people, people on top there that also belongs to our association. … Also in Delft, Delft South … We do not always get together, when we do get together, it is for a big praise and worship, where the whole Delft gets together. Maybe, our children and the black children will sing together, it is, actually, we are one nation. One association. There is no separation in the church … I have white brothers and sisters too.* (DN#9)

Although Delft North is predominantly a Coloured area, there is racial integration in the schools. A parent elaborates:

> *It is mixed. Both high school and primary school. And I don't find a problem with that. ... You get [some] parents [who will say] I don't want your child in my child's class, and I don't want a Rastafarian's child with my child. You know, [you] get people like that. But today it is a rainbow nation. I mean, we have to live with it, accept it.* (DN#17)

Some African people are moving into Delft North. Coloured residents there say tha they do exchange greetings. A man in Rosendal says "*They are a part of the road; in my opinion, they are okay*" (DN#14).

One enduring difference is the perception, among some coloured people, that African people are more willing to act collectively against criminals. Many coloured people say that the presence of African people makes the neighbourhood safer. "*Mostly the black people here they are standing together like as a community, they are standing together*" (DS#18). A man who used to live in Bonteheuwel, where (he said) crime was out of control, talked at length of the benefits of living in a mixed neighbourhood:

> *Staying here in Delft, it is very nice ... The one thing that I'm very pleased with ... to live with Africans is very good. Because if you stay in a coloured community there's always bad elements is gonna come up, you see, breaking [into] the houses. Now they don't do that here because they ... are afraid. ... If they catch them, then they hit them like everything; then the people they are afraid of coming here, because they know.* (DS#24)

A single mother in Delft North condones kangaroo courts:

> *When I read the news paper and those things, then I think they stand together. Because, now I read about the burglary or theft, I think it was in Crossroads or somewhere, the community stood tighter and beat the young people to death. And I think it teaches them a lesson, because why, you will not steal again, the people will not burgle, steal or whatever again.* (DN#15)

Other people are less enthusiastic. In Delft Voorbrug, a mother voiced ambivalence about the 'community' taking the law into their own hands:

> *Especially [in] the African culture, [if] you steal, they catch you stealing, and they come in. The community. Not still the police or whatever. The community takes over there. But now here there is nobody to get them. ... It is only the Xhosas. She had an incident where they accused her son of stealing. So they, it was mostly Africans that came for him, you know. I would say the Africans are mostly for them ...* (DN#17)

The Delft North resident who spoke positively about inter-racial contact in church also expressed reservations about raising her children amongst African people because of their way of resolving problems:

> *In today's times with our children, we would not have been able to live amongst black people because they don't allow people to mess with them. Understand. I have a brother, he lives in Delft-Leiden. He lives amongst black people. If my bother's child and a black boy fight next door, then the parents come out with sticks and pangas. It is, it is their way of resolving things.* (DN#16)

Some other interviewees have misgivings about this willingness to employ violence against criminals (e.g. DL#3).

Contrarily, one resident also said that African people are better at solving problems through discussion:

> *Africans are not like Coloureds. Some Coloureds, ... they are violent. When there's Africans in the community, then we can talk to one another ... and see how can we end this problem?* (DS#24)

(He also thought that African people are more sociable than coloured people).

6.3. Attitudes towards foreigners

Out interviews include several revealing exchanges in response to the question 'What population groups live here?' One coloured woman answered:

> *Amakwerekwere*
>
> And what are the other racial groups? Is it only Makwerekwere?
>
> *And those people ... what do they call those white people? There are also those white people, I don't know how do they call them ... but they are not Makwerekwere.* (DS#22)

What strikes us about this is not that she mentions white people – as several other informants refer to the occasional white person living in one or other part of Delft – but rather that foreigners are seen as a distinct social group, similar to the racial groups of the apartheid era or perhaps the more culturally-distinguished groups of the present. A (South African) African man made similar distinctions:

> Are there people from other racial population groups who live in this neighbourhood?

> *Yes ... I don't know how they call them; we call them Somalis*.
>
> I mean racial population groups ... as you are a Hlubi ...
>
> *Yes, there are Sothos, Xhosas and as I'm a Hlubi ... I'm also a Xhosa because we are speaking [the] same language.*
>
> Is it Hlubis, Sothos and Xhosas only? You've mentioned coloured people earlier on. What about them?
>
> *Yes them, I forgot about them. And there are amakwerekwere, those people from other countries*. (DS#23)

Like many people in the various neighbourhoods, this man seems concerned with non-citizens from other parts of Africa, i.e. amakewerekwere, out of all proportion to their actual numbers.

Tolerance of multi-culturalism does not extend so readily to foreigners. Interviewees are able to indentify which people from other countries lived in the neighbourhood. Foreigners are typically identified as a discrete 'race', perhaps reflecting the increasingly culturalist understanding of race in South Africa. If people are not from the Western or Eastern Cape, and speak neither Afrikaans nor Xhosa, they are culturally and hence 'racially' distinct.

We asked interviewees in Weltevreden Valley who else lived in the neighbourhood:

> *Amakwerekwere and Somalis, that run the shops.* (WV#45)
>
> *These here, and these and these ... Malawi ... There are Somalis, Somalia.* (WV43)
>
> *They are from places like Nigeria ... They rent in these flats ... Yes ... Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Congolese.* (WV#46)
>
> *I don't know these, maybe each one can come, maybe Zimbabwe, Uganda. I don't know but we have a lot of African guys here.* (WV#42)

Similarly, in Delft South:

> *From Angola, they from Mozambique, there's Nigerian...a lot of them got a lot of businesses. May be some people is very cross about that. For people who staying here in South Africa...they don't have businesses, but those people they come here...all they got is businesses...* (DS#24)

In Delft North, there are Nigerians, Somalis, and Sesotho.

African residents in Delft say that they can distinguish between "Xhosa" and African people from outside South Africa.

> *Yes, I know! I smell them! You look different. Your walk, your attitude, everything is different and that tells me no, you do not belong here.* (DL#3)

> *I only notice their faces ... Others I don't know if they are Somalis. There are those who have small faces ..., they are all alike. When you look at the Chinese, they have round faces and small eyes, they are also alike ... For example, there are black people here ... like the father of my children, he's navy black, but you can see that he is a Xhosa from here ...* (DL#5)

> *You can see that this one is not from here ... They are too dark, and their hair is different from ours.* (DS#27)

> *Yes, I differentiate them ... When you look at ... I mean ... I know but I don't know how to put it. A Xhosa, when I look them in their faces I can differentiate them, not when they are walking there ... If I can go with them I can say, this one is some kind, an outsider. I don't know how to explain it because they are also black like us.* (DS#29)

> *I am able because they are different ... We are black, but they are not like us. As they are black but they are not like us. Their colour is different from us, and the way they dress is also different ... Their clothing ... We also wear trousers, but their shirts and trousers are not exactly the same as ours ... Their pants come over the waist and ours go below the waist.* (DS#23)

Coloured residents are less sure of visual cues.

> *No, unless I talk with them and, so I listen to their language...but looking at them no, I can't differentiate.* (DS#22; see also DS#28)

Some interviewees say that they do not object to the presence of foreigners in the neighbourhood, but even these also express concerns over, especially, foreigners' commercial success and monopoly over their shops:

> *I don't have a problem with them; I see them as my brothers because they don't affect me with anything... They are taking our shops. Most of shops here are operated by the Somali's. I don't know ... you find out the shop belong to a black person ... but [is] run by a Somali. Even businesses here ... are these racial groups, so I don't know why... If I also had a shop and maybe I have to lose my shop because of them, [then] I would feel something. But now I don't feel anything ... What can I say? I mean like ... just because we are this mix, we supposed to...we people are not together. Others are going to these people's side others are not. These people [amakwerekwere] if your phone is stolen they are able to open it ... if you blocked it. Those are the things I don't*

> *like. Because if we were alone ... and don't know what to do when a phone is blocked, we would be happy ... I don't know ... should they are here, surely they have a right. Where do they come from? If they didn't have they wouldn't be here ... definitely they have.* (WV#44)

> *Myself, I like them, the others don't like them, they call them funny names like makwerekwere.* (WV#43)

> *No, I don't have a problem ... I have nothing with them. I take them as I. Even the Somali's ..., they have businesses, they are selling. ... I'm also selling ... They are selling their own stuff; I'm also selling my own ... Things like...we were just living and knows nothing about the business, but they arrived ... having many containers you see ... making business. We didn't care about that ... we were just selling in our houses and didn't know that you can sell on the street as well ... but now these people has shown us that in the streets we can sell. You can put a container and do whatever you need to do.* (WV#46)

> *You know ... for example they are foreigners. Maybe you are going to show me how you live in your country, and I will show you how we do things ... I never lived with them but I like them.* (WV#50)

> *No ... they live with permits here in SA ... They don't have rights at all, and they will never. They must stay and do what they came to do and go back to where they came from. Because we don't get along ... They say we treat them badly.* (WV#47)

> *They don't have a right to belong here... They are not from South Africa ... ever since they were welcomed by Tat'u Mandela and Tabo Mbeki ... we are also going to welcome them.* (WV#46)

> *Yes. And secondly these people from other nations who come to live here are the ones who leave locals in need for places to live. I don't see it as alright. Because they have their own places that they've left behind at their homes, that needs them. And now here we get the ones who have the right to this nation, not benefitting or qualifying.* (WV#43)

One of the experiences noted was that the differences in languages between foreign nationals and South Africans causes a nuisance with regard to their participation in community activities such as meetings;

> *It is because we would be speaking the same language. We get along. Now, even if we are talking in the meetings ... we need an interpreter for them and they don't behave as they can't understand the language. They will make noise and we even don't concentrate. We are in the meeting ... and we need to shut them up – because they can't understand what we are saying.* (WV#44)

The strongest views were expressed by coloured residents of Delft North. Residents say that foreigners (mainly Nigerians or Somalis) sell foods and other goods cheaper than in the house shops operated by Coloured people. Some cash strapped residents praise the lower prices: '*Yes! I often buy from them! Good prices … They give us a good deal, if I pay R6 for a packet of cigarettes next door, and then they will give it to me for R4,50. Understand?'* (DN#16). But most residents comment on the adverse effects on coloured shop owners and legal citizens who were able to make a living in the past.

This has caused physical conflict. It also poses dilemmas to individuals, forced to choose between lower prices and supporting coloured shop owners who might be personal friends. According to one resident in Delft Hague:

> *There was a protest here already, because the Nigerians will try and be cheaper than, for example, the man next door to me, a coloured. Since the Somalians came here, … the people will go where it is the cheapest. He will charge, for a bottle of fish oil, for example R15. Many times you do not want to walk to Score or you desperately need it, then you will go next door. But the children prefers going to the Nigerians or the Somalians to buy something. And it is cheaper. Then we protested*. (DN#16)

Residents feel that these foreigners do not legally belong there, but on the other hand they sympathize with their problems and feel that the government expect of them to welcome these outsiders (even if the foreigners are not able to make a proper living).

> *You know what? For instance — we used to sell our things. Business was very good when we were all coloureds here. Never mind that you do a business here, you do a business here, but we were all — business was business. But since these people move here you know what did they do? They selling everything, they selling, at a very low cost, but then you see them at the same place where you are. You can't even make a five rand on a bail, like lentils or stuff like that. They charging less and less. The reason for that — I'm straight — is because they selling drugs too. You know drugs is the thing, because they keep the people there, they keep the youngsters there at night time or during the day — and they — like for instance they are bribing, something like a bribing them and things. They doing that. They doing nothing on selling shop things because they are doing other businesses.* (DN#11)

One resident discussed at length foreigners' selling inferior produce:

> *And you know they also selling fake things! They selling fake things! And that's something that I can't understand. Why they can't be lifted out? But they selling it during the days – they selling it to the people every day. … For instance their cigarettes too are fake. For instance if you pay — I don't want to say bread — but that's also a thing that they are doing. I don't understand how they do it, because bread is not a cheap thing. But they charge five rand*

> *or six. You know? But for cigarettes — most of their things they are old. You see expiry dates. Because sometimes when you buy by them expiry dates is being wiped, washed off. You see now that is things we must look at. They are not selling healthy things. … Now they come in and they take our money out. … [At] the bank, then I can see them with crates and crates of money sending it to their people that side. It's not staying in South Africa, it's going out. Now we [are] the people that is struggling because now we people don't get work. Now we running out of work. You know? There's no work, not even for husbands, not even for kids. [Even if] they've completed [school], like my daughters is finished matric and thing, there's no work for them. But these people [the foreigners], they just came in charging the people below cost price and things. Very very low. Selling fake things. You attract everybody. I can't say to you 'you are coloured …, you can't go buy there', because it's your right where you pay less, it's like Shoprite Checkers but these people really! I'm not cross with them, but I'm not happy with them too. You see that's the main thing. We must speak out how we feel about them. I'm not feeling happy about them because why? They've got rights that we don't have. You know for instance when we bought this house — we was renting it — we can't just come up and put a container or things — now they are doing everything of that. … Look, in point of view, I see it as a positive aspect, but if I think of my friend's shop here, then it actually is not a positive aspect. It is a benefit to me, but not for him. Many times I feel sorry for him, because it is his bread and butter. If the foreigner's shops are not here, then his shop will make twice as much money. People will not come every half an hour but every five minutes.* (DN#11)

Foreign nationals seem to be the target for theft in the community:

> *They stole the things of the Malawians and the Somalians, they steal the things, their things, yes. Like if she leave the house opened, then this one go straight to the shop, when somebody sees that door is not closed, she come here enter maybe in that shop, then take maybe kettle or stove, he go out to sell the other ones, or take the DVD, but if inside there's no one, it's only the neighbour who has opened. If I see that there it's gone they'll enter inside to take the DVD …* (WV#43)

6.4. The diversity of diversity

All of our study sites in Cape Town have diverse populations, and most residents came from other places which were also diverse, in one or other respect. No one has entirely homogamous neighbours. People's present or former neighbourhoods may have been mono-racial, there may have been fewer foreigners or non-citizens in the past, and neighbourhoods might even have been homogeneous in terms of occupation or class. Nonetheless, 'communities' comprised people of diverse status. In neighbourhoods long characterized by violence as well as activities such as drinking, residents divided

themselves and others into more and less respectable categories. In neighbourhoods with many immigrants from other parts of the country – notably, the Eastern Cape – residents might also distinguish between people on the basis of birthplace or clan.

In new public housing neighbourhoods in post-apartheid South Africa, people have come into contact with people of different 'racial' or national origin. Their interactions with the former and potential 'other' remain framed by notions of respectability and threat that largely cut across racial lines. It is the persistence or worsening of crime, violence and insecurity that helps neighbours to reach across former racial divides. Many residents in each of our neighbourhoods recognized that 'bad elements' included both coloured and African people (usually men in their teens or twenties). And many recognized that their coloured and African neighbours alike included respectable people who were the victims rather than the perpetrators of crime.

A few people suggested that racial mixing was conducive to crime. A more prevalent view seems to be that crime is ubiquitous, and no one is to be trusted. According to an African man in Delft Leiden:

> *I don't trust anyone. ... I won't leave my house alone here, because if ever I leave my house alone here, they are going to break my house. That's what I know. ... When [I] am going to my home in [the] Eastern Cape, [I] am supposed to find someone to sleep in my house. Otherwise when I leave my house alone here, they are going to break my house ... Because there are a lot of thieves here. There are a lot of thieves here, yeah. Because we are a mix here, coloureds and blacks, yeah ... Generally the whole of Delft is the same, it's the same. Nobody can leave the house alone here. Because when you leave the house alone here, you leave your house under risk, yeah ... People don't trust each other, people don't trust each other.* (DL#2)

For many of our interviewees, the experience of living alongside the racial 'other' had been a learning experience. What we did not probe sufficiently systematically was what were the limits of that experience. Most people had some neighbours whom they trusted, or helped (and were in turn helped by). But how many of these favoured neighbours were from the other racial or cultural group? We don't know how far inter-racial toleration extends to mutual assistance and intimate friendship.

We do know that there was a disjuncture between how most of our interviewees spoke about coloured-African differences, and how they spoke about immigrants from outside South Africa. Stated attitudes towards the coloured or African 'other' were usually couched in terms of accommodation, toleration and learning. In contrast, many of our interviewees spoke harshly and critically about immigrants.

In general, negative inter-racial distinctions seems less pronounced than negative intra-racial ones. Interviewees in each study site, including both coloured and African men and women, distinguished between respectable and dangerous or deviant people within their

own ‘racial group’. Some of our African interviewees pointed to the enduring importance of birthplace and clan:

> *Yes, yes ... because sometimes there is apartheid. A person will ask where you come from? When you say, “I’m from Engcobo”. And you will see that even if he was going to ask something he will withdraw. Maybe he was going to help you and will ask “Where are you from? What is your clan name?” and all that ... Once you say the clan name he doesn’t know ..., he won’t help you. You don’t get any help.* (WV#47)

(As we shall see in Chapter 8, this differentiation seems more pronounced in the smaller towns outside Cape Town).

Chapter 7: Are differences in the quality of community between neighbourhoods in Cape Town linked to the mechanism for allocating houses?

7.1. Introduction

This research was prompted by the concern that the adoption of new mechanisms for allocating state-subsidised houses might have undesirable social consequences. The change in allocative mechanism entails moving away from the allocation of houses to groups of people, who (in most cases) constitute a group through living together in a designated informal settlement (usually close to the site of the new housing) or (more rarely) do so through living in the same overcrowded formal area, to the allocation of houses to individuals selected from a composite waiting list using appropriate individually-specific criteria and data. The possible consequences include, especially, violent conflict between diverse beneficiaries in newly 'mixed' neighbourhoods ('division through inclusion', i.e. the difficulties posed by living next or near to strangers or people who are seen to be different in some way) or conflicts between resentful non-beneficiaries and some or all of the beneficiaries ('division through exclusion'). Other possible and undesirable social consequences include a lower quality of community, including lower levels of social capital, which might undermine economic opportunities and collective political efficacy as well as the quality of social interaction. Figure 7.1 represents these concerns.

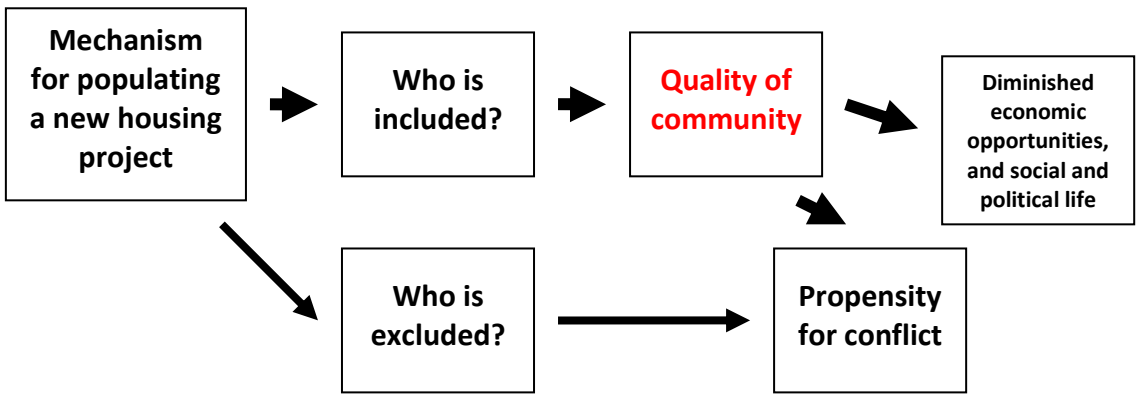

Figure 7.1: Paths from house-allocation to conflict

As we discussed in detail in Chapter 1, we were unable to adopt either a classic social scientific approach to this problem, or a classic ethnographic approach. Instead, we utilized what we called the 'under-resourced detective' approach, making maximum use of existing resources (data, literature) as well as full use of the scarce new resources, and trying to interpret the 'clues' provided by fragmentary evidence. The research thus comprised a literature review (Chapter 2), the reanalysis of existing survey data (Chapter 3) and a set of new semi-structured interviews conducted in selected neighbourhoods (Chapters 4 through 6).

The main focus of our research was the 'quality of community'. Through examining the quality of community we hoped to find clues as to the possibilities of conflict, or of other undesirable social, economic or political outcomes ensuing from the mix of residents that in turn resulted from the choice of mechanisms for allocating houses. As explained in Chapter 1, we could not observe many neighbourhoods in Cape Town where houses had been allocated using individual- and list-based mechanisms rather than by 'community' (i.e. informal settlement), and see what were the consequences, simply because there are too few such cases. Nor could we examine why conflict occurs, because there are also too few such cases. The objective of the research was to understand better what *would* happen *if* a different mechanism was used to allocate houses in future. The 'quality of community' was where we anticipated finding the clues that would enable us to answer this question.

The review of the literature in Chapter 2 identified several racially-mixed neighbourhoods with apparently very different outcomes in terms of inter-racial relationships, at least according to the existing studies of these cases. Westlake Village (as analysed by Lemanski) and The Park/Village (as analysed by Ross) seemed to have a high quality of community in terms of the quality of social relationships between poor African and poor coloured neighbours. Delft South (as analysed by Oldfield, soon after the initial settlement) seemed to have poor inter-racial relationships. Fisantekraal (as analysed by Burgoyne) had bad inter-racial relationships. The literature comprises case-studies (of single cases) rather than comparative analyses, but the authors' explanations of their particular cases are suggestive. In each case, specific local factors seem to have been important. In the case of Westlake Village and The Park, proximity to the place of immediate origin, and pre-existing local social relationships and networks, seem to have been important factors. In Delft South, and perhaps Fisantekraal, details of the local allocative processes seem to have generated different outcomes. Delft South was settled by people who came from diverse places of origin, almost always some distance away. Possible tensions were, however, mitigated by the (multi-racial) Door Kickers' shared experience of occupying houses in Delft. Comparing these neighbourhoods with a mono-racial, relatively unmixed neighbourhood, such as New Crossroads (studied by Ramphele, see Chapter 1), does *not* indicate that there is any *necessary* reason why mixing, in racial or other senses, results in an eroded quality of community. The consequences of mixing depend on details of each case. Unfortunately there are few case-studies of mono-racial, new poor or public housing neighbourhoods, for comparison with the new mixed neighbourhoods. Benit's case-study of Diepsloot, north of Johannesburg, suggests that mono-racial neighbourhoods can be as if not more divided as even the most divided multi-racial ones (such as Fisantekraal).

The reanalysis of existing quantitative data, reported in Chapter 3, provided little direct evidence on our research concern, but did provide further important background information. Our re-analysis of data from the 2005 Cape Area Study revealed that the quality of community, as reported by residents, is lower in poor neighbourhoods than in richer ones, but is also significantly higher in African neighbourhoods. Most of the neighbourhoods in our sample where residents reported that the quality of community was low, are populated primarily by coloured people. The facts that younger people and people who have recently moved into a neighbourhood report that the quality of community is lower give us reason to have some confidence in the data. Unfortunately, the sample design for CAS2005 meant that too few interviews were conducted in new housing projects, and far too few in racially-mixed neighbourhoods, ruling out direct

investigation of the consequences of allocative mechanism and the ensuing mix of residents.

The main burden of our research therefore fell on the original qualitative research conducted in three areas of central Cape Town (the different parts of Delft, Weltevreden Valley and Tambo Square). Our qualitative research was informed by the literature review and quantitative analysis. We selected sites in Cape Town that, we anticipated, combined different combinations of racial mixing, on the one hand, and mixing in terms of 'community' of origin, on the other. It turned out that our expectations of the different study sites were not entirely correct, and the final categorization of our case-studies differed from what we had anticipated. Figure 7.2 shows the differing case-studies.

		Racial mixing	
		Mixed	**Unmixed**
Mix by community of origin	**More mixed**	**Delft South and Leyden**	**Delft North (C)** **Tambo Square (South) (C)**
	Less mixed	**Tambo Square (North)**	**Weltevreden Valley (A)**

Figure 7.2: Revised categorisation of selected neighbourhoods in Cape Town

Our research revolved around the similarities and differences with respect to the quality of community between the four quadrants in Figure 7.2. If we found differences in the quality of community in the cases in each of the four shaded quadrants, we would need to try to establish whether these differences really were due to the mix of residents (and hence the allocative mechanism), or whether there were some other pertinent factors, perhaps specific to these particular cases. (The specificities of each case are, of course, much more important when there are so few cases).

This research was necessarily inconclusive. In the absence of a substantial number of cases using different allocative mechanisms and cases where conflict or other undesirable outcomes had ensued, it is simply not possible to reach strong conclusions about the relationship between mechanisms, the mix of residents, the quality of community, and the actual outcomes. In short, without the benefit of hindsight, we can at best make informed estimates of the likelihood of certain outcomes, based on the limited evidence and clues that can be scrutinized.

Finally, it should be noted that the available resources and the design of the study precluded consideration of division through exclusion, as well as of the range of possible consequences of differences in the quality of community. As we shall see below, there are good reasons for concluding that the likelihood of division through exclusion is higher than the likelihood of division through inclusion. It is also not clear

precisely how the quality of community is related to important social, political and economic outcomes. These are topics that would require dedicated research projects of their own.

7.2. Low levels of social cohesion

The most striking thing from our qualitative research in different new neighbourhoods in central Cape Town was that the quality of community, whilst uneven, was generally not high, i.e. that there were low levels of social cohesion. This was the case across all of our sites, in all of the quadrants shown in Figure 7.2 above.

In all sites we found strong evidence that there is a real social basis to community in that neighbours interact with each other and assist each other with loans of tools, basic foods, assistance with transport, and even money for electricity and other needs. But this social interaction is 'thin' rather than 'thick': neighbours greet each other, but rarely have long discussions; they are wary of visiting each other; in all of our sites, residents complained of pervasive jealousy and gossip. Even close friends could turn on you. We were told many times that 'my family are my friends', although other research in Cape Town suggests that the ties between extended and even close kin have become strained in the face of high unemployment and widespread ill health (Seekings, 2009; Harper and Seekings, 2010). Church – which is rarely local – is another important alternative source of friendship.

Some of our interviews suggested a measure of neighbourliness that we wish we had included explicitly in our interview guidelines and thus raised in every one of our interviews: Can you trust your neighbours to look after your house if you go away? This measure is especially useful among Xhosa-speaking immigrants from the Eastern Cape, most of whom regularly or irregularly return to the Eastern Cape. Given high crime rates, leaving a house unoccupied entails a serious risk. Some people told us that they could rely on neighbours, others said they could not.

In the 2005 Cape Area Study we asked our respondents whether 'people in this area are alert and will generally look out for each other's security'. This was a rather encompassing question, since it could presumably refer to either personal safety or the security of one's property. Almost two-thirds of our respondents agreed or agreed strongly that their neighbours could be relied on to do this, with only one in six disagreeing (or disagreeing strongly). In poor coloured neighbourhoods, however, there was considerable disagreement, with almost as many respondents saying that they could not rely on their neighbours as saying that they could do so.

Few people participate in collective organization or action. This is consistent with data from CAS2005, which found that only 9 percent of respondents across Cape Town as a whole said that they had participated in a demonstration in the past year, and 13 percent said that they were members of a community-based group – although 31 percent said that they had attended a community meeting in the past year. [1]

[1] These data are weighted for differential non-response in the survey. This takes into account the under-representation of men in this sample. It might not take into account adequately, however, the under-representation of adult male household heads. If such men are both the main participants in this kind of

One reason for the limited quality of community in most neighbourhoods is that many residents maintain and invest in extra-neighbourhood links, through churches, or with kin or old friends. The neighbourhood is just one of the social spaces which people occupy, and for many people it is perhaps not even the primary space. This no doubt reflects, in part, time: the longer that people live in a neighbourhood, the more important their neighbours are likely to become. Many people attend churches outside of their neighbourhood because there are no or few churches in the new neighbourhood itself. The exception to this seems to be Delft North, which is the longest-settled of our sites, and where many residents attend local churches. The persistence of extra-neighbourhood relationships also reflects, however, the continuing importance of kin (even if the extent of the extended family is much less extended than in the past). Again, Delft North seems to be unusual among our sites, in that residents mentioned kin living in the same neighbourhood.

The marked importance of church – and of church-based networks – in the lives of many people also militates against moving from one church to another on the grounds of convenience. Indeed, the importance of church to people often seems to be a response to the low quality of community: An ethic and practice of discipline and austerity is sometimes explicitly contrasted with the apparently alcohol- or drug-fuelled 'lawlessness' that corrupts public spaces in many areas, especially at night, and perhaps also with the jealousy and gossip that are widespread). Cape Town's is a highly mobile society, with people criss-crossing across the city for work, to go to school, to go to church. High rates of mobility seem to militate against the emergence of strong community.

7.3. Differences between study sites

Not only was the quality of community generally low, but the differences between the study sites were generally muted. Our research question could have been formulated as a hypothesis that could be tested: *The use of a mechanism for allocating houses that produces neighbourhoods that are 'mixed' in one or other respect will result in a lower quality of community*. Whilst our primarily qualitative research did not generate 'precise' findings (as might arise from a large-scale, quantitative enquiry), we can state clearly that we found only weak evidence to support this hypothesis. Whilst the quality of community in mono-racial Weltevreden Valley and the southern part of Tambo Square ("Tambo Square South") might, in some but not all respects, be higher than in some of the more racially-mixed neighbourhoods, the differences are modest and uneven, and are not consistent across all study sites. Moreover, extent of 'mix' in terms of the places of immediate origin of residents does not seem to make any consistent difference to the quality of community.

Weltevreden Valley and Tambo Square South do seem to be distinctive in that there is a more pronounced sense of collective organization and action. In Tambo Square South there had been discussion of building a wall around the neighbourhood, to create a quasi-gated 'community'. A range of 'community' social activities are held. But this

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collective action and are under-represented in the sample, then it is likely that research such as ours underestimates the level of participation in collective organization and action of this sort.

collective organization seems to have peaked in the past in Tambo Square South (and did not result in a wall being built), and involves *other* people in Weltevreden Valley. In both cases, nonetheless, there seems to be a strong sense of the *possibility* of collective organization and action, to an extent that is not matched in the other study sites.

In other respects, however, it is difficult to detect any clear pattern to the quality of community in these neighbourhoods relative to the more racially-mixed ones (Delft South, Delft Leiden and Tambo Square North). Weltevreden Valley and Tambo Square South seem to have stronger histories of collective action and organization, which are reflected in a stronger sense of community at a broad level. Delft North does not appear to have any such history, however. In Tambo Square South, there seemed to be more interaction between neighbours than there was in Tambo Square North, and residents said they could rely on neighbours to look after children and so on. In the more mixed neighbourhoods of Delft South and Leiden, however, almost all of our respondents said that they knew their neighbours well, and were able to point out who lived where and tell us what they did or where they came from. At the same time, they were often disparaging about the general sense of neighbourliness in the neighbourhood as a whole. In the *less* mixed neighbourhood of Weltevreden Valley, people said that they could trust but could not rely on their neighbours. Whilst there is little clear pattern between sites in terms of knowledge or interaction with neighbours, it is possible that there is more in the mixed neighbourhoods of Delft South and Leiden than in the mixed neighbourhood of Tambo Square North or the less mixed one of Delft North! In Delft South and Leiden, residents take pride in their homes, and seem to recognize this in their immediate neighbours, but not in the neighbourhood as a whole. This might be because their ownership of their homes is not matched by a high quality of communal facilities in the neighbourhood. In Weltevreden Valley, pride in the urban ‘community’ seem to be held in check by the enduring importance of allegiances to and identities rooted in the rural Eastern Cape.

The location of the neighbourhood relative to other neighbourhoods is surely consequential. Proximity to one’s former place of residence might be a factor that influences the extent to which people invest in strong social relationships in their own neighbourhood (as we suggested in Chapter 2). In Tambo Square, some residents came only the short distance from Manenberg, where they had lived for years and where close family and friends continued to live. In these circumstances, it is perhaps unsurprising that people are slow to forge strong, intimate relationships with their new neighbours. In the case of Delft North, it is possible that people moved from further away. The ease with which people can get to and fro using public transport is also likely to shape their ability to maintain pre-existing relationships. Conversely, proximity to other neighbourhoods where there are strong gangs, and deep-rooted drug-dealing and consumption, surely has spillover effects. Proximity to Manenberg shapes all parts of Tambo Square in this respect.

CAS2005 found that the quality of community in poor coloured neighbourhoods was much lower than in similarly poor (or poorer) African neighbourhoods. In some respects, the quality of community in Weltevreden Valley (where almost everyone is African) seemed higher than in Delft North (where most residents are coloured). It is likely that the measures of quality of community used in Chapter 3, if used in these two neighbourhoods, would result in a higher measured quality of community in

Weltevreden Valley than in Delft North. But other dimensions of the quality of community might not generate precisely the same picture.

The datasets analysed in Chapter 3 did not allow for the analysis of intra-neighbourhood and inter-racial differences, because there were simply too few cases in mixed neighbourhoods. Our qualitative research in racially-mixed neighbourhoods suggests that such differences are minor or absent. We did not get the impression in any of our neighbourhoods that coloured residents experienced a lower quality of community than their African neighbours. The 'racial' differences between neighbourhoods, as demonstrated in studies such as CAS2005, are not reflected in differences between individuals within the same neighbourhood. It is likely that these reflect qualities of the neighbourhood, not of the individuals who live there.

Overall, no clear picture emerges. By some criteria, some sites seem more cohesive than others. In other respects, these same sites seem to have a lower quality of community. There are differences between the sites, but these do not seem to cohere into any clear and systematic pattern of differences. The absence of any systematic differences between sites suggests that the mechanism of allocating houses and the ensuing mix of residents is not evidently decisive in determining the quality of community.

7.4. The effects of shared histories and current interaction

Our study of the quality of community was not limited to general questions about neighbours and the neighbourhood. In addition, we asked a series of explicit questions about inter-racial relationships in the new neighbourhood. This enabled us to examine what people say about their new experiences of interaction with people of a different 'racial group' (in terms of apartheid and post-apartheid classifications). We can also compare what people say about inter-racial interactions, and current interactions generally, compared to what they have to say about other neighbourhoods where they lived previously. This gives us some clues towards understanding the relative importance of *shared histories* and *current interactions* among neighbours.

Even in our 'less mixed' study sites, we found little evidence of shared histories. Even in Weltevreden Valley, where almost all of our respondents came through Samora Machel informal settlement, most residents had not moved with close friends. Close friends from their previous place of residence moved to different parts of the new neighbourhood, whilst the close neighbours in the new neighbourhood were almost always strangers. If a shared history means pre-existing social relationships, then few people even in Weltevreden Valley seem to share any history with their immediate neighbours. A shared history might mean something more general, however: for example, a shared history of rural origins, migration to the city, and subsequent mobility within the city; or of growing up in an apartheid-era 'coloured' township, in overcrowded accommodation with close family, and waiting many years on a waiting list before finally getting a house. This kind of diffuse shared history does seem important. But people can share this kind of history with neighbours from very different places of origin – and even, to some extent, across racial boundaries.

We did collect lots of evidence about current interactions. Most, but not all, of our respondents reported positively about their interactions in their current neighbourhood

with people who were classified differently under apartheid. In Chapter 5 we saw that racialised discourses remained widespread, and people distinguished between 'coloured' and 'African' residents. No one explicitly celebrated diversity, through pointing to specific benefits from increased inter-racial interactions. And some people spoke against 'the mixture of the different races' (which 'causes the problems'), or employed possible racist generalizations about the 'other'. At the same time, however, there was a widespread endorsement of the importance of racial integration, as part of the 'new' and egalitarian South Africa: people *should* interact, and be more open-minded about cultural difference. And, when people discussed their interactions, a very common theme was the experience of learning that 'other' people were not so different after all. Respondents remarked that the experience of getting to know people from other racial groups was a learning experience, as the rigid, apartheid-era representations were replaced by new, nuanced ones. The one respect in which some people were seen as different was crime: young coloured men were seen as especially delinquent and dangerous – but both coloured and African men and women reported this.

The influential 'contact hypothesis' suggests that interactions lead to toleration and accommodation, at least if the interactions are not hierarchical. Inter-racial interactions in neighbourhoods such as Delft South and Leyden are certainly not hierarchical: almost everyone is very poor, and they are interacting as neighbours, not as employers to employees, or powerholders to the powerless. Indeed, one of the discourses reported in Chapter 6 is an explicitly anti-hierarchical discourse: now, no one is better than someone else. Overall, the evidence reported in Chapter 6 suggests that the contact hypothesis is valid in cases such as Delft South and Leyden. Whilst we don't have longitudinal data, many residents themselves comment on how their attitudes have changed over time, to become more accepting of people whom they regarded as 'other' at the outset.

In general, however, the speed at which contact leads to good relationships is not fast. The social bonds of 'community' seem to have emerged slowly in every site that we studied, whether the population was mixed or not.

Specific events, especially ones involving collective action, seem to play an important role in reshaping social identities, relationships, and place attachment. Oldfield emphasises the interactions and solidarity between, and shared identity among coloured and African 'Door Kickers' in Delft South. In Tambo Square South, discussion of building a perimeter wall in order to enhance security had not culminated in any actual construction, but the collective experience seems to have helped to forge a sense of community. Such events might have an effect even after people have forgotten about the event itself. In Tambo Square South, where crime continues to be a worry, people did refer to the earlier wall-discussion, but in Delft South, only one resident referred explicitly to the Door Kickers. Over time, consciousness of the Door Kickers experience itself seems to have dissipated, but it seems likely that it did contribute to the more relaxed inter-racial interactions.

The passage of time is clearly important. Shared histories might be important because they represent time spent together. Current interactions might become important as time passes, and they become a shared history. In some respects, Delft North is an old neighbourhood: most residents have lived there long enough that they view their neighbours as *old* neighbours, not new ones. This does not mean that the quality of

community necessarily rises with time: Delft North has many characteristics that undermine the quality of community. But place attachment, familiarity with neighbours and trust in neighbours surely deepens over time, at least in the absence of sharply negative experiences.

7.5. Confounding factors: poverty, flux and crime

Time matters, but it is not the case that the longer-settled neighbourhoods have strikingly higher qualities of community. The analysis of survey data in Chapter 3 found that there is a statistically significant relationship between recency of residence and the perceived quality of community, but the size of the effect is modest compared to other factors. Overall, our qualitative research suggested, social cohesion remains constrained in many neighbourhoods. Contact is not enough to generate a cohesive, close community.

Four factors seem to explain the generally low level of social cohesion in new public housing neighbourhoods, regardless of the degree of mix of the population. Poverty, flux in the composition of the population, violent crime and the resilience of extra-neighbourhoods links all have leveling effects on the quality of community in new neighbourhoods.

Shared experiences of poverty seem to be a social leveler in the neighbourhoods where we conducted research. Residents see that their neighbours share their own economic difficulties. As one resident in Delft South told us: '*Do not think that you are better than the rest, because you are not? What are you doing in Delft? If you were better, then you do not belong in Delft*' (DS#21). To be eligible for a state-subsidised house in any of our research sites, applicants had to have an income of less than R3,500 per month. A small number of residents had experienced improved standard of living since occupying the house. Some, more affluent residents had moved into the neighbourhood, buying or renting properties from the original beneficiary. Most residents, however, remained poor at the time of our interviews. Residents relied heavily on grants – the old age pension, disability grant or child support grants – and/or on casual or part-time employment. Unemployment is widespread. Most interviewees insisted that they had enough to feed themselves, but most also complained about their inability to afford much more. In the much longer-settled neighbourhoods of Delft North we found more evidence of working men and women with moderate earnings (and also of owners renting out backyard rooms or 'wendy houses' to tenants). Some people try to make extra money out of informal business, including running spaza shops out of their homes – which gives rise to tension between them and immigrant, mostly Somali, competitors, who seem to prosper at the expense of South African shopkeepers.

Residents not only see that economic hardship respects no racial boundaries, but neighbours' responses to economic and social challenges also transcend racial lines. Among large numbers of both African and coloured people in our study sites, respectability is an important quality: Respectable people do not get drunk or abusive, attend church, and strive to keep their children under control. In mixed neighbourhoods, most residents not only see that neighbours with different 'racial' or geographical origins not only share their economic circumstances, but also strive to be respectable.

Conversely, jealousy occurred within as much as, and perhaps more than, across racial boundaries, undermining the possible emergence of racially-segregated communities.

This does not mean, of course, that there are no racial tensions. Some African residents did complain about coloured people who thought they were superior, and visa-versa. But we heard many fewer such complaints than we heard positive testimony. Nor does it mean that are no persistent markers of cultural difference. On the contrary, most of our interviewees in mixed neighbourhoods were aware of difference, especially (but not only) racialised cultural differences. Residents are aware of linguistic differences, most obviously, but also other cultural differences. In the face of economic and social similarities, however, such cultural differences are insufficient to give rise to a strong sense of the 'other'. The result, as we discussed in Chapter 6, was that multi-cultural toleration and accommodation prevailed over racialised hostility.

In our sites, poverty appears as a leveler. In the case of Diepsloot, in Johannesburg, it seemed to exacerbate tension. The difference there is that the provision of differentiated housing fuelled competition for resources and collective resentments. In our study sites in Cape Town, there are cases of differentiated housing. The first 'RDP' houses in Delft South were very small, whilst subsequent houses have been larger. Both Weltevreden Valley and the newest phases in Delft comprise a mix of one- and two-storey buildings. Residents are certainly aware of these differences, and some people are evidently unhappy that their RDP houses are so small or their two-storey houses are difficult (especially) for older people. But there is no suggestion that such individual grievances have led to collective antagonisms.

Flux in the composition of the population is another leveler, in that the emergence of strong social ties and cohesions is constantly undermined by to-ing and fro-ing in and out of the neighbourhood. We have described some neighbourhoods as 'mixed' in that houses were allocated to people from a mix of racial or geographical backgrounds. But all neighbourhoods are mixed to some extent, in that in none of the neighbourhoods did the entire population come from some pre-existing 'community'. Even in our least mixed case – Weltevreden Valley, which is mono-racial and where a significant minority of residents came through the Samora Machel informal settlement – the population is quite mixed in that few residents seem to have known their neighbours for very long. Here and elsewhere, houses change hands, and households change as kin come and go. Even a shared origin in Samora Machel need not mean much of a shared history, in that many people lived in Samora Machel for a very short time before acquiring a new house, so that people who had lived in Samora Machel often did not know each other. Some informal settlements might be cohesive and integrated communities, but in others there is little social cohesion, and little in the way of community that could be transplanted into a new neighbourhood when residents are relocated.

Perhaps the most important leveler of all is the threat (and reality) of violent crime. For most people, certain public spaces are dangerous at all times, and after dark even the immediate neighbourhood might cease to be safe. Most residents are aware of their vulnerabilities. This constrains the range of interactions that are safe, and thereby erodes the possibility of building community. In that everyone is a possible victim, and there are both coloured and African perpetrators, crime is only somewhat racialised. What does seem to be racialised are perceived responses to crime, in that African people are

seen to be more effective at collective action and organization to suppress or control violence in their neighbourhoods. More precisely, there is some evidence to suggest that African people, whether in mono- or multi-racial neighbourhoods, are more successful at ensuring that adolescent men from within the neighbourhood do not victimize or terrorise other residents within the neighbourhood. It is certainly *not* the case that individual and collective action in Weltevreden Valley has resulted in an absence of crime. What is contained, to some extent, is crime by identifiable members of the 'community' who are resident in the neighbourhood. Even in Weltevreden Valley, residents have little control over the actions of intruders into the neighbourhood from the outside.

In areas such as Delft North and Tambo Square, the demand for 'tik' (i.e. crystal methamphetamine) is seen as a very important contributing factor to crime and gang activity, which undermine directly and indirectly the quality of community. It is widely believed that tik is both consumed and provided more by young coloured men than young African men.

7.6. Social cleavages and faultlines, and the possibility of conflict

The historical literature on conflict over housing in South Africa suggests that conflict is most pronounced when there is real competition for resources, i.e. *prior* to the allocation of houses. In (mono-racial) Crossroads, for example, chronic tension and intermittent conflict have revolved around the perception that some other group of people are getting unfair access to housing, whilst one's own group is discriminated against. Managing such tensions and conflict is a challenge to the state and civil society, but is beyond the scope of the present study. Our research focused on the possibility of 'division through inclusion', rather than on division through (perceived) exclusion.

This is perhaps the major reason why we have found so little evidence that inter-racial conflict, or conflict between people according to their place of origin, is likely. Once new public housing projects have been populated, the struggle for resources diminishes: the resources have already been allocated, and you are neighbours to your neighbours precisely because you all have houses. In none of our study sites was there any hint of inter-racial resentment, or resentment of people from different places of origin, on account of their access to public resources.

Struggles over resources are not the only possible source of division. Without struggles over resources, division and conflict are much less likely, but they can have independent roots in identity politics. Evidence is ubiquitous that racialised identities matter: people see themselves and others as coloured or African. People's place or 'community' of origin (in Cape Town, immediately prior to the move to the new public housing project) seems much less important, especially as time passes, and certainly does not endure in the way in which place attachment to the rural Eastern Cape matters for many African immigrants into Cape Town. The persistence of racialised identities does not seem to lead to racial divisions in the racially-mixed neighbourhoods where we conducted research: neighbours interact, positively, and describe their neighbourhoods in terms of multi-racial accommodation and toleration.

In short, despite the persistence of distinct racialised identities (and, among African immigrants, identities related to place of origin in the Eastern Cape), we found only weak and inconsistent evidence that mixing people by either race or immediate place of origin has any effects on the quality of community, and no evidence of any consequences in terms of the likelihood of violent conflict. We conclude that the adoption of mechanisms for allocating houses that result in more 'integrated' new neighbouorhoods are unlikely to have adverse social consequences.

We did find, however, abundant evidence of the potency of xenophobia. Almost everywhere we found animosity towards 'amakwerekwere', often focused on Somali shopkeepers in particular. In some cases, notably Delft North, this animosity is clearly linked to competition over resources: former spaza-shopekeeprs resent the competition from Somali and other shopkeepers, who somehow manage to sell at lower prices and thus crowd out the previous, South African-owned shops. (Xenophobic attacks in places like Masiphumelele, in the southern part of Cape Town, have also been attributed to competition between shopkeepers, who in the case of Masiphumelele were African). It seems likely that perceptions of foreigners are also rooted in identity politics and a deep-rooted discourse of difference. Somalis, especially, are routlinely identified as constituting a distinct 'race', and this may be true of other nationalities also. Race seems to have become ethnicised. This xenophobia might not affect the choice of mechanism for allocating houses, but should surely be of concern to the state and civil society.

Chapter 8: Are Small Towns Different?

The city of Cape Town dominates the Western Cape, but one-third of the province's population live in small towns and rural areas outside of Cape Town. It would be a mistake to assume that our research in selected neighbourhoods in Cape Town rendered unnecessary further research outside of Cape Town. New low-income public housing projects in small towns might display the same dynamics as ones in Cape Town, but they might also display quite different dynamics.

There are many good reasons for thinking that small towns might be different. The *economies* of most small towns differ from that of metropolitan Cape Town, in terms of both sectors of employment and the occupational structure. *Socially*, scale matters, in that small towns often comprise populations of people who are not complete strangers to each other. People might not know most other residents, but they may know people who know them, and may know something about them, to an extent not matched in the larger cities. Economic opportunities and social interactions may explain why a disproportionate number of protests against service delivery and political representation in both the 1980s and 2000s occurred in small towns rather than metropolitan areas. In the case of the 1980s, small towns seem to have featured prominently in the early stages of what became a general 'township revolt' in part because there was a much stronger sense of community, and fewer opportunities for individual self-advancement through work, than in the larger townships. The evidence is less clear for the current period of service delivery protests against the democratic state, but it is not unlikely that the different social dynamics of small towns continue to have real consequences. *Politically*, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the African National Congress tended to attract more support among coloured voters in small towns than in Cape Town, reflecting slightly different patterns of inter-racial relationships. Coloured people in small towns seem to have experienced far more sharply discrimination by white people, and been less anxious about competition from African people, than their counterparts in Cape Town. In consequence, in many small towns, the racial cleavage between white and coloured people has been at least as important as the cleavage between coloured and African people.

The 2001 Population Census allows us some insight into social and economic differences between small towns and Cape Town (see Table 8.1). The populations of small towns in the Western Cape have, in aggregate, a different racial composition to Cape Town. In aggregate, the proportion of white residents in small towns is larger, and the proportion of African residents is smaller, than in Cape Town. Malmesbury and Robertson are atypical of small towns in that in each the white population is relatively smaller than in the average small town, and about the same as in Cape Town. These two towns are predominantly coloured towns. Robertson and Malmesbury are also somewhat atypical of small towns generally in that the proportion of the population living in backyard shacks or informal settlements in 2001 was smaller than than in the average small town. Incomes were much the same as in most small towns, except that in Robertson the unemployment rate was higher. In Robertson and Malmesbury, a larger proportion of working people are in the agricultural sector, compared to Cape Town, but both towns have significant manufacturing also (mostly agro-industry). Mobility rates, as measured by the proportion of people living in the same place five years earlier, were much the same in these small towns as in Cape Town (although, as we saw above and discuss further below, what people understand as the 'same place' varies).

Table 8.1: Selected characteristics of Cape Town, small towns in the Western Cape, Robertson and Malmesbury, 2001

		Cape Town	Small towns	Robert-son	Malmes-bury
Racial composition	African (%)	32	20	19	17
	Coloured (%)	48	51	67	62
	White (%)	19	29	17	21
Lived in the same place five years ago (%)		78	83	78	83
Unemployment rate (%)		33	30	40	29
Housing type	Backyard shack (%)	4	4	3	2
	Informal settlement (%)	14	10	7	3
Distribution of the labour force	Agriculture (%)	3	Not available	16	9
	Industry (%)	27		20	27
	Services (%)	70		64	64
Total population: Individuals (households)		2.9m (767,000)	Not available	21,600 (5,500)	22,900 (5,600)

Source: 2001 Population Census. Data for small towns is from the 10% sample.

Further data on the similarities and differences are available from the 2008 Western Cape Occupancy Study (WCOS; see Chapter 4 above). The WCOS data focuses specifically on the beneficiaries of public-subsidised housing, and omits entirely better-off or non-beneficiary households. The WCOS Report suggests that there are significant differences among various non-metropolitan areas, but overall, beneficiaries of housing projects outside of Cape Town are broadly similar in many respects to beneficiaries inside Cape Town. Employment rates, incomes, household size and composition, and how long beneficiaries had been on municipal waiting-lists prior to receiving houses, are all much the same in and outside Cape Town. One difference is where beneficiaries lived prior to receiving public housing. A much smaller proportion of beneficiaries outside of Cape Town came from shack settlements (about one-third, compared to two-thirds in Cape Town). In comparison to Cape Town, larger proportions came from farms and from formal housing areas. Unfortunately, we are unable to compare the beneficiaries' assessments of their previous and new neighbourhoods because (as we discussed in Chapter 4), the questions were only asked of residents who said that they had previously lived in a different area. Outside of Cape Town, it seems that people generally understood this as meaning a different town. Of about 1,500 respondents outside of Cape Town, only 10% said that they had previously lived in a different area (and more than half of these then specified that they had come from the Eastern Cape). In other words, people who moved within the same town or even magisterial district, for example from overcrowded accommodation in an old apartheid-era neighbourhood or even a neighbouring farm to a new public housing project, did *not* say that they had previously lived in a different area and therefore did not answer further questions comparing their new and former neighbourhoods.

8.1. Robertson and Malmesbury

In order to get some sense of social dynamics around new public housing in small, non-metropolitan towns, we conducted some research in Malmesbury, 60 km north of Cape Town in the Swartland, and Robertson, approximately 150 km east of Cape Town in the Breede River Valley. Both towns have had major low-income housing projects since 1994. A team of researchers interviewed a range of residents in new housing projects as well as municipal officers in charge of housing. One caveat that must be noted is that the researchers who visited Malmesbury spoke English and Xhosa only, and could conduct research in these languages but not in Afrikaans. This meant that we were unable to interview Malmesbury residents who spoke only Afrikaans. In Robertson, research was conducted in all three languages.

The 2001 Population Census recorded the populations of Malmesbury and Robertson at between 5,500 and 6,000 households, or between 21,000 and 23,000 individuals. The populations of the two towns had broadly similar racial compositions, in that a majority of the population in each town was coloured (see Table 8.1). In Malmesbury, the Census recorded 5 percent of the population as living in backyard shacks or informal settlements. In Robertson, about 10 percent were living in such informal housing. Most African people in informal housing were in informal settlements, whilst coloured people were more likely to be in backyard shacks. These figures do not include the large numbers of coloured people living in over-crowded formal dwellings, who seem to have accounted for the majority of names on housing waiting-lists both before and after the construction of new housing.

In both towns, one is struck by the very obvious persistence of the spatial inequalities produced by apartheid. In the case of Malmesbury, on the eastern side of the N7 road lie green and leafy former white residential areas, the town's small agro-industry, and the major shops and restaurants along Voortrekker Street. On the west side of the N7 lie the former apartheid-era coloured residential areas, and the new low-income housing projects built in the 1990s and 2000s, as well as informal settlements awaiting formal housing. White and non-white residents continue to live on opposite sides of town. On the north-west edge of town, a new gated estate on the old golf-course represents the first expansion westward across the N7 of high-income housing. In the case of Robertson, coloured and African residential areas are similarly located on the outskirts of the town, furthest from the main shops. In contrast to Malmesbury, however, coloured and African residential areas are located on opposite sides of town: most coloured people live in Robertson North whilst most African people live in Nkqubela to the south-east of town. Pronounced spatial inequalities persist in Cape Town also, of course, but the proximity and racial composition of different neighbourhoods in towns like Malmesbury seem to make the contrasts starker.

The differences between the geographies of Robertson and Malmesbury have grown since the end of apartheid. In Robertson, post-apartheid housing projects have largely reproduced the geography of segregation, separating coloured, African and white populations. New housing for coloured residents has been built in Robertson North itself, and in the new suburbs of Droëheuwel and Moreson, also both on the northern side of Robertson. New housing for African people has been built in extensions to Nkqubela. The most significant 'desegregation' seems to have entailed growing numbers of coloured families moving into houses in what used to be white areas closest to the coloured parts of Robertson North. In Malmesbury, by contrast, there has been some further erosion of segregation, at least between coloured and African people, although not between white and non-white people. In both

Robertson and Malmesbury, a few poorer white people have moved out of formerly white neighbourhoods, either into formerly coloured neighbourhoods where housing is cheaper (including along the north side of the Darling Road in Malmesbury) or even into new, state-subsidised housing (as we shall see below).

Both Malmesbury and Robertson have expanded considerably through the construction of state-subsidized housing. Table 8.2 summarises the most important phases in housing construction in each town.

Table 8.2: Major public housing schemes in Malmesbury and Robertson

Malmesbury	West Bank extension	late 1990s	222
	Saamstaan/Ilinge Lethu Phase I	late 1990s	778
	Saamstaan/Ilinge Lethu Phase I	early 2000s	1553
	Pholla Park	2007-08	245 sites, no houses
Robertson	Droëheuwel and Moreson	circa 1998	816
	Infill in Robertson North	early 2000s	28
	Nkqubela 'phase I'	1997-98	184
	Nkqubela 'phase II' (in situ upgrade)	early 2000s	30
	Nkqubela 'phase III'	2006-07	180
	Nkqubela 'phase IV' (UISP)	current	444

Compiled from data provided by provincial and municipal officials.
Note that the successive phases of Nkqubela were not, as far as we know, ever labeled as successive phases.

On the northern side of Robertson, 816 'RDP' houses were built in Droëheuwel and Moreson around 1998 (see map). A small number of additional houses were built in the early 2000s, including 28 houses to replace supposedly temporary 'igloo' houses and approximately 50 'infill' houses. On the southern side of the town, Nkqubela has been extended in four phases: First, 184 'RDP' houses (22 square metres each) were built in 1997-98; about 30 houses were self-built on serviced sites, using building materials provided through the municipality; 180 larger houses (36 square metres) were built in 2006-07; and 444 houses are currently being built under the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) programme (these are 40 square metre houses).[1]

The western side of Malmesbury, by contrast, has always been somewhat mixed. It comprises four distinct areas (shown in the map).[2] The oldest area comprises old West Bank, constructed under apartheid to accommodate, first, coloured residents removed forcibly from

[1] This information was compiled using information from Mr Wilson Nel of the Boland District Council, as well as documents from the provincial government.
[2] This and the following paragraph are based primarily on information from Melvin Harmse of the Swartland District Council.

the eastern side of Malmesbury under the Group Areas Act. The victims of forced removals were moved into modest but not small houses, many of which are now surrounded by well-tended gardens. In the mid-1970s, the state built six sets of multi-storey blocks of flats, comprising almost 700 units. A seventh complex was built in the late 1970s. It is likely that these accommodated families moving off surrounding farms as well as people who could no longer fit into the now over-crowded, existing houses. On the northern side of the road to Darling lies a string of richer neighbourhoods: these were areas set aside in the 1980s for higher-income, middle-class coloured families to build their own, larger houses.

Stretching away to the west lie the massive new low-income housing projects, comprising first an extension to West Bank (comprising 200+ houses), and then Saamstaan/Ilinge Lethu Phases I (comprising 778 "RDP" houses) and II (comprising 1553 houses, in the early 2000s). These neighbourhoods, built since the mid-1990s, are the focus of our research. To the north-west of them lie the prospective new housing projects that are known as Pholla Park, and might be considered as Phase III of the Saamstaan/Ilinge Lethu project. At present these comprise a site-and-service scheme: the neighbourhood has some infrastructure, including concrete toilets and running water on each plot, but residents are responsible for constructing their own shack on their plots. The scheme initially (2003-04) comprised 245 sites, but there has been continued immigration of new residents. At present no funds have been allocated to the construction of houses, i.e. the "top structure".

Saamstaan has been widely described as an integrated low-income housing project. This is accurate in two senses: first, low-income housing was allocated in the same general area, to the south-west of the town, for coloured and African people; and, secondly, some of the parts of Saamstaan/Linge Lethu have somewhat mixed African and coloured populations. Saamstaan is far from fully integrated, however. The northern parts of the development, or what is known as Ilinge Lehtu and Pholla Park, are overwhelmingly African, whilst the southern parts of the development are predominantly coloured. Whilst this is an integrated housing scheme at the overall level, few African people have immediate neighbours who are coloured, and visa-versa also.

We cannot say whether Robertson and Malmesbury are 'typical' of small towns in the Western Cape. They face challenges that seem general: overcrowded existing formal housing in 'coloured' areas, manifested in part in backyard shacks, as well as informal settlements of African people, many of whom are immigrants from the Eastern Cape. We suspect that the patterns of inherited racial segregation and the two towns' different efforts to reshape these do reflect more general experiences of towns across the province.

The WCOS allows us to offer cautious assessment of whether the beneficiaries of low-income public housing in one of our two research sites were broadly typical of beneficiaries in small towns in the province as a whole. The WCOS sample included a significant number of beneficiaries (129) in Malmesbury, but none in Robertson. A smaller proportion of these respondents in Malmesbury had household incomes that put them below the poverty line than in either other non-metropolitan towns or in Cape Town. They were more typical in other respects, such as where they had lived previously.

It is important to note that the beneficiaries of state-subsidised housing projects are drawn from the poorest section of these towns' populations. In small towns such as Robertson and Malmesbury, data from the 2001 Population Census and elsewhere tell us that coloured households are, on average, better off than African households. In both Robertson and

Malmesbury, the unemployment rate among African heads of households was much higher in 2001 than among coloured heads of households. The difference was especially pronounced in Malmesbury. This has the consequence that African households are, on average, poorer. In Robertson, one in three African households reported no income, compared to only one in ten coloured households. The data on unemployment and average incomes for coloured households in these small towns mask inequality within these coloured populations: many coloured households are somewhat better off, with stable employment. But there is also a very poor section of the coloured population, as poor as their African counterparts.

Residents in both Robertson and Malmesbury themselves described their incomes as '*very low*'. Residents reminded us that many people are not working, and those who do have work are generally in low-paid occupations.

> *Most of the people here they work in farms, in construction. People who are professionals are very few. If it wasn't for the prison ..., we wouldn't be having sort of lower middle class. We've got that lower middle class, composed of people working in the prison. Well one or two policemen, one or two are clerks in the banks, ..., and then at the college, then some at the hospital, they are clerks. Some are municipal police. So most of the people are in a very, very low income bracket. If you work in the farm, you are working for a minimum of R250 a week to a maximum of R350, but most of them they are earning R250.* (MB 52)

> *Actually my income here is from R0 – R1000 a month, because the work here in Malmesbury is very scarce. Even here I'm a labourer, on the building industry I'm a labourer. So even now and then I got work from the subcontractors, and now and then I don't get work.* (MB 53)

Overall, Malmesbury and Robertson are probably broadly representative of small towns in the Western Cape. They have large numbers of poor coloured and African residents, including rising numbers of African immigrants from the Eastern Cape. They even have small numbers of poor white residents. Both towns were racially segregated under apartheid. Post-apartheid housing projects thus present an opportunity for transforming the geography of the towns. In neither case was there an urgent need to rehouse residents of a large informal settlement (although there were small shack settlements, housing a mix of long-term residents and recent immigrants, in each town). The municipal administrations thus had more space in which to move than their counterparts in metropolitan Cape Town.

8.2. Mechanisms for allocating houses

In neither Malmesbury nor Robertson were state-subsidised houses allocated through market mechanisms. In both cases, house allocation entailed two stages. The first stage entailed the allocation of quotas of houses to specific groups of beneficiaries. This required negotiation and compromise. The second stage entailed the allocation of specific houses to specific beneficiaries, by officials working together with committees representing each of the local 'communities'. Residents complained to us that this second process was flawed in the late 1990s due to corruption or other abuses of power by members of the committees responsible for the allocation. We heard no complaints about similar flaws in the allocation of houses in more recent phases.

In the mid- and late 1990s, in both Malmesbury and Robertson, there seems to have been dual, parallel procedures for the planning and construction of new housing. This seems to have been due to the institutional fragmentation of the late apartheid period, when different municipalities or authorities had been responsible for African and coloured housing. In Robertson, housing officials are clear that there were two separate housing waiting-lists for people in the coloured and African parts of town. In 1995-96, the racially-fragmented municipal structures of the apartheid era were replaced by integrated municipalities, but the integration remained qualified until 2000. In the small towns of the Western Cape, formerly African neighbourhoods were over-represented on new councils, with the result that disproportionate attention was paid to the housing needs of people in those neighbourhoods. Also, the process of actually integrating administrative structures and procedures was slow, so separate housing processes were maintained for some time.

Malmesbury

In the case of Malmesbury, the first phase of Saamstaan/Ilinge Lethu was an example of a low-income housing project to accommodate residents of an informal settlement, with an overwhelmingly African population. Under apartheid, African people were only allowed to live in Malmesbury if they were working, and they were housed in a compound just to the west of the N7 (and north of Darling Road) or in other employer-provided accommodation on farms and elsewhere. In the mid-1990s, probably 1996, workers from the compound, their families, and new immigrants from elsewhere were permitted to occupy land to the west of West Bank, where serviced sites were provided. In the late 1990s, small, unplastered, concrete block houses, each 20 square meters, were built on the plots. Phase I entailed the construction of these small houses.

The councillor for Ilinge Lethu, who was not living in Malmesbury at that time, summarises the process as he understands it. African people, he said, had been living in *'a hostel, in an area behind the coloured area, … [on] the other side of Wesbank.'*

> *There used to be a hostel there, a compound hostel. And people lived there ..., people who worked for the companies, then they had their small hostels inside … Due to people wanting a place to establish themselves they went into negotiations with the local council, until they were granted this place. Now what happened is, when they agreed to build them, to take them here, then they pitched up shacks. Then after 1994, then the process started. Then what they did is, the people who had shacks, were owning shacks, then those people were written up [registered] in order to get houses. I believe that is what's the first list. … The first phase [was for] people who came directly from the compound hostel.* (MB52)

An African man was one of the people who had been living in the hostels:

> *We were still staying there in a place called Nkomponi that was made for people who work in the farms. Yes, Nkomponi is a place of hostels. And then from there they found this place. The township was then moved to here ... They registered [us] while we lived there [in Nkomponi]. When we came here we already had house numbers. It was not me who registered: I lived with my aunt. Because of illness my aunt went back to Eastern Cape, and then she looked for someone to look after the house just because she didn't want to sell it. There were no brick houses yet by then, it was still shacks. When the houses were built, she was not*

> *here. I went to [the] Eastern Cape, I asked for her ID because they wanted IDs before they build. She told me she won't be coming back here, she wants to reside in [the] Eastern Cape for good, and that I should use my own ID for the house. The house became mine that way. ... As a result it has lots of problems as the time passes, things like water bills, because they are still in my aunt's name ...* (MB55)

A coloured man was also staying in the old hostels, and was therefore treated in the same way as the African residents of the hostels:

> *We still staying there ... down there in the old Kompon [Hostels]. ... So the housing department, they come there so my mother filled in the papers and forms there. So from that time 1996 we [moved] here, ... we did stay here in the hokkies [shacks] from 1996 till 1999, then we got these houses here, we got the houses in 1999.* (MB53).

Phase II (in the early 2000s) was a green-field development, with formal 28 square-meter houses built on serviced plots. By the time that the Phase II houses were built, the 'transitional local councils' inherited from the apartheid-era had been amalgamated into a new, supposedly integrated municipality. Initially two waiting-lists were presented by two separate, representative committees: one for the predominantly coloured population of West Bank, the other for the predominantly African population living in, but which had outgrown, Phase I. After many meetings, the two committees were combined into a single committee, and the two lists were integrated into a single waiting-list. About two-thirds of the people who were selected for housing were coloured, and about one-third were African.[3] Once someone was selected, he or she could go to the municipal offices and select one of the remaining untaken houses. This meant that there was some clustering in the new neighbourhoods, as people tended to choose to live with other people who have similar views and interests.

According to the African councillor again:

> *Then there was a second list before I was here, and [there] was a second phase of housing. When I arrived here, the second phase was in process of being granted houses. ... Now, with the second phase, ... I believe that some people came from the farms ..., they came and [were] part of the list. There is some policy here that whenever we compose a list, I don't know when it started, that twenty percent at least can be [allocated] to the surrounding farms. ... And on top of everything then there [are] people who come from the homelands, ... they were part of it, whether it was done properly or not I don't know, but I had heard of some problems and complaints about people who were not here who got houses before the people that were here. And people who are in the committee, you would find that some would, would call their relatives from the homelands to come up and make applications and sign all the necessary documents and all that, and then they leave, then don't come back again when the key is issued to the owner. Now the relative that is here, that may be part of the committee, would end up owning those houses indirectly. There was such a case here, I think it was [during] my*

[3] It is not clear how this ratio was arrived at. Was it an agreed division, or was there some other formula that produced these results? If it was an agreed division, on what basis as this division agreed? What was the relationship between the Council and these committees?

> *early years of involvement with the community. There was such a case that people were trying to address, but we didn't do anything because the guy would just say "No, these are not my houses". People said "How can this guy own about five houses?" But he's actually not owning five houses, he's owning one house, but the other four belong to [his] relatives. And then what he's doing he's renting them out, he is benefiting from that. And really, there was no policy, and I believe there's still no policy to take care of that* ... (MB52).

The allocation of houses in Phase II between the informal Ilinge Lethu population and the old 'coloured' waiting-list was a matter for negotiation and compromise. The precise details of this negotiation and of the subsequent allocation of Phase II houses remain unclear.

As of early 2010, the waiting-list in Malmesbury for houses for any further phases reportedly had over 7,000 names on it. New houses being built elsewhere in the district are larger than in Phases I or II, at about 40 square meters. The councillor describes the process for allocating any further houses:

> *And then there is the third list that was compiled in 2002, is the one that I was part of it in compiling, but such houses have not been built yet. But that list ever since it was compiled then it is still with the municipality. Now what will happen is ..., once there's a promise to build houses, then we will revisit the list with the community, coming with their ID books to look up their names and see who's still there, who is not, who has left, or who has passed away or something like that. That is the way that's going to be done. But what is happening currently is that, if a person says "I want a house and all that", ... they can be written on the list. ... It's a matter of "first come, first served": When the list comes out, the people who were written up first will still be on top of the list, and the people who are just written up now will be at the bottom of the list. So even when the time comes that the houses must be built ... when that list has been reassessed people who were on top will still remain there. All those that have fallen off will just fall off and then the others will go up. ... Once there is a promise for a housing project, then there will be a committee that would be established, composing the beneficiaries, plus the councillor and an official from the department of housing, from the housing office and Municipality to assist the committee and to oversee that things are going well. And then such committee then will make sure that things are going fine.*

It is unclear how this new list will be used in the allocation of any future housing.

These various procedures determine *who* gets houses, and to some extent where (i.e. they govern who is de facto eligible for housing in Ilinge Lethu or Pholla Park), but not precisely *where*, i.e. they do not determine which house in any project is allocated to which beneficiary. The allocation of particular houses to particular beneficiaries is, we understand, the consequence of a primarily administrative process. Our observations suggest that the minority of African people allocated houses in Saamstaan, especially under Phase 2, are not scattered uniformly across the area, but rather tend to be concentrated in the northern side, closest to Ilinge Lethu and Pholla Park. Whether this is the result of administrative allocation or residents' preferences is unclear.

There is also a much smaller, but newer, waiting-list for 'gap-housing', that is for people whose incomes exceed the income limit for low-income housing, but who cannot really afford housing on the private market financed through the private financial sector.

Robertson

In Robertson, the new housing projects to the north and south-east of the city were developed almost entirely independently of each other. Whereas in Malmesbury, the separate housing waiting-lists were combined through a political process, in Robertson they are still two separate lists in 2010, one for mostly coloured people, and the other for mostly African people. (The lists are not entirely racialised, in that some African families moving to town from farms along with coloured co-workers seem to go onto the Robertson North list, whilst at least some of the coloured families living in Nkqumbela presumably were on the Nkqumbela list). We are told that there has been an in principle decision that, in future, new housing will be allocated on a 50:50 basis between the two waiting-lists. This division does not seem to accord with the relative length of the two waiting-lists, nor with the length of time that people have been waiting.

Racial mixing in Malmesbury and Robertson

In neither Malmesbury nor Robertson has the municipality demonstrated any great determination to integrate, racially, the populations of their respective towns. The priority seems to have been on tackling the housing shortage: Building houses has been viewed as more important than integrating neighbourhoods. Officials might rightly point out that they have allowed people to live where they choose, i.e. they have not enforced any apartheid-style legal residential segregation. But the list and allocation processes have combined with the apparent preferences of most housing beneficiaries to reproduce the racialised status quo, resulting in largely mono-racial new neighbourhoods. Even in Malmesbury, where there has been some mixing in parts of Saamstaan, the underlying geography of apartheid has been moderated but not transformed. In Robertson, municipal officials told us that 'you must understand that we are dealing here with totally different groups of people'.

The underlying planning process remains racially-dualised in practice, and there remains an acute awareness of the racial distribution of new housing. The Robertson municipality, clearly feeling some pressure, has recently decided that any further public housing should be allocated on a quota system, 'fifty/fifty', between the (overwhelmingly coloured) waiting list for Robertson North and the (overwhelmingly African) waiting list for Nkqubela.[4] There seems to be no urgency about merging waiting lists into a composite list. We were told: 'Each had its own waiting list, the system couldn't get rid of them; the lists are not yet properly integrated; we need technical help'. The difficulties are surely political rather than 'technical': the current allocation of housing tends to advantage African people, many of whom are recent immigrants to the towns and who are more likely to be living in shacks, over coloured people, who may have lived in the area for a long time but are living in overcrowded formal housing or perhaps backyard shacks. Officials can defend their practices by pointing out that the division is not entirely racial. In Robertson, for example, rehoused farm-workers seem to go onto the Robertson North list, regardless of race. Officials say that nowadays 'people choose which area they want to live in'. But the application form does not

[4] We imagine that this means that houses will be built in equal numbers in new parts of Robertson North and in the extensions to Nkqubela, and that any infill or in situ upgrading will be counted towards the racialised totals.

have any such question, and there is no evidence that coloured families on the waiting list can make serious claims on new housing in Nkqubela. It would seem that key decisions are made in the Housing Office when application forms are submitted.

Both planning and allocation systems are thus, in practice, racialised. The funding and aggregate allocation of new housing is racialised, the application procedures are de facto racialised, and little or no importance is attached to allocating individual houses to individual beneficiaries with the objective of creating more racially-mixed neighbourhoods.

The consequence is that there is almost no racial mixing in either Robertson or Malmesbury. In Malmesbury, we found one coloured person living in the otherwise African Ilinge Lethu. It took us a long time, driving and walking around the coloured parts of Saamstaan, before we found any apparently African people. Eventually we found two young men, who assured us that there were some African people in the otherwise coloured sections. They added, however, that they were mostly living in the area closest to Ilinge Lethu and Pholla Park. The official account is that one quarter or even one-third of the houses in Saamstaan Phase 2 were allocated to African people, but this is hard to square with our observations.

In Robertson, also, there are some white and African people living in the mostly coloured areas of Moreson and Droeheuwel, and some coloured and white people living in Nkqubela. In Moreson, we were told that there are '*many black families*' and five white families in the neighbourhood. The precision attached to 'five' white families suggests that these have been noted and counted carefully, whilst 'many' (black families) presumably means 'many more than five'. We found and spoke to some of these families (see below). In Nkqubela we found coloured families, and coloured people living with African people. The latter is more widely acknowledged than the former. A local coloured teacher (at Langeberg School, in Robertson North) told us that '*There's no coloured family as such in Nkqubela; the only coloureds there are living with black partners, most often coloured women with black men'*. This is not what we found. The same teacher told us also that '*some few coloureds send their children to school there to acquire Xhosa which they think will be good for future jobs; and there are some half-black kids in Langeberg School*'. A policeman told us that there is one white family living in the old part of Nkqubela. A coloured woman who herself used to live in Nkqubela, but now lives outside Robertson, says that there are '*lots of coloureds there, [and] even whites*'. We did not look for white residents in Nkqubela, but there is no reason to disbelieve that they are there.

These cases are, however, exceptions. Almost all new houses in Robertson North have been allocated to coloured people, and almost all houses in Nkqubela to African people. Conversely, almost all coloured beneficiaries have been given houses in Robertson North, and almost all African beneficiaries have been given houses in Nkqubela.

In Malmesbury, there seemed to be a general recognition that the Saamstaan/Ilinge Lethu neighbourhoods were, in practice, quite segregated. According to the councillor for the local government ward that included most of Ilinge Lethu:

> *Oh well, by arrangement, I think the municipality make sure that we don't have that [integration], it's just a few people who you ... I don't think there are more than ten houses that belong to coloured people in this ward. Because, by design, it's coloured that side [Wesbank], next to N7 [Saamstaan] it's coloureds. And then we are here in the middle [Ilinge Lethu]. It's not a matter of this is a*

> *coloured house and then one, two then there's a black house and then ... I think that starts from the housing list. Actually it comes … even from the time they were in the hostels ...* (MB52)

8.3. The quality of community

We get the impression that the quality of community is higher in the new housing areas of both Malmesbury and Robertson North than in the Cape Town neighbourhoods where we conducted research (see previous chapters). Relationships between neighbours vary, as they do in Cape Town: most residents report good relationships with their neighbours, but some describe their neighbours more guardedly. Overall, however, we get the impression that relationships tend to be closer than in Cape Town.

This seemed most pronounced among the coloured residents of the Wesbank extension and Saamstaan Phase 2 in Malmesbury. People here share not only their neighbourhood, but also a long history in Malmesbury or the Malmesbury area. Two middle-aged men separately told us:

> *I lived in the railway hostel in Malmesbury. I moved to Wesbank about ten years ago. It is a good area, safe, there is no crime. Everyone knows their neighbours. My problems are your problems; your problems are my problems.*
>
> *I have always lived in Malmesbury. I moved into this house about then years ago. We are very happy here. We have known everyone for ever; all our neighbours are local, from here. …*

This second man immediately added, however, "I wouldn't like to live in Ilinge Lethu, it is too noisy."

In Ilinge Lethu, relationships with neighbours are generally good but do not have the long shared history experienced by people in Saastaan.

> *My neighbours are very good. We never quarrelled. You won't hear that we fight with each other, we don't do that. My neighbours are very good ... We are like the children of the same person, … we are one family. She is here in next door, the one I spend time with. We sit and chat. We visit each other very often. We sit, .we sometimes sit the whole day, chatting. We get along.* (MB 54)
>
> *Here I just talk to anybody. I would stop and talk to anybody. … Maybe we just meet in the street. That's the nice thing about staying in the township. If I think that I need to just talk to people, I won't finish five minutes standing there … because there will be somebody who will just be passing and then I will talk with that person. It is good, we respect each other. You know, Xhosa's are social people …* (MB 52)
>
> *I get on with all of them [i.e. the neighbours], ... but there's always one you really get along with, and can ask anything from her.* (MB 54)

> *I know my neighbours, though some of them just arrived ... The ones I came with here, some of them are no longer here now, they went back home. Like the neighbour in that house. He was an old man we live with in this street ... he went to homelands because of illness ... Some arrived here, they just came and I don't know where they came from ... We [were] all coming from the hostels; we were taken from there to come and live here. ... [The people who] I knew the most ... were my close neighbours from the hostels. We were deployed to different places here. Some of them here are new to me. Like this guy in front; he was working on the plaas. He then bought that house from another lady.* (MB 55)

A coloured man in Ilinge Lethu told us that some of his neighbours had moved in one and a half years before. He said that he did not know where his former neighbours had gone (MB 53).

Neighbours do have issues with each other. One common issue in the older part of Ilinge Lethu (Phase 1) is the problem of flies from stagnant water left after someone washes. People wash up and do their laundry outside because the houses themselves have no plumbing.

> *When you are, [or] your kids are ... washing dishes, ... and you end up having some overflow of water ... then it ends up in your [neighbour's] yard, and then there's issue of flies and all that. ... But it was never a quarrel, it's a matter of just telling the neighbour, "this is what is happening". And at the same time even advise your neighbours that "this is what you do, ... you must make sure that it goes right down into the drainage system, so that there's no overflow ..." ... The other challenge is people are going through your property to try and go to the other street ...* (MB 52)

One African resident pointed to tensions between old residents and new arrivals:

> *... people who lived here for [a] long time, [they] find out that when you arrive and [are] coming from another place, and you become something, ... people don't like that because they were here before you. We were here but because ... we are not educated, we can't do nothing. Now you find out that when there's someone who comes from another place, [who] arrives, maybe to help us, on things that can enlighten us, but you find out that people do not want that person. That's the problem here in the township.* (MB55)

Neighbours come from diverse places:

> *You know, as Xhosa's when you meet somebody for the first time, especially your neighbour, you greet each other, you do introductions and ... when you introduce yourself, you go back to the homelands, "This is where I come from, this is the clan I belong to". ... I would like to believe that I know where [my neighbours] come from ... This one [*pointing to neighbour*] comes from the Eastern Cape, former Transkei, ... he comes from Butterworth. ... [They] are from the area called Qumbu ... Then there's Maluti on the other side, ... they are Xhosa's, but ... where they come from they [are] close to the Sotho's, so they understand Sotho, and Sotho culture, as well as Xhosa. At my back they come from Mount Fletcher ... yeah, yeah just purely Sotho's, they are from Mount Fletcher, but in Mount Fletcher there are also Xhosa's, so they understand both the cultures. And*

> *this side as well, ... the father passed away, [they] came from Mount Fletcher. That one there comes from Qumbu, like this one. ... I don't know where this one comes from, because they come from the farms, they just arrived recently. It's one of those people who ... never stays in the house they own, he keeps renting the house, and the people are changing, now is the brother that is staying there. But at the back there's one coming from Idutywa – yeah, where Mbeki's family come – yeah.* (MB 52)

As in the other areas of Cape Town where we conducted research, most people's closest friends are not their immediate neighbours, but people living further away. In contrast to Cape Town, however, these close friends are likely to live within walking distance, not in a distant suburb or township. An African man told us that his '*closest friends live by the shack houses on the other side ... We met in church, ... that's how we met.*' He only has one neighbour with whom he sits and chats, and considers to be a friend; the other neighbours, he says, '*they take me as they know me and I know them*', but they don't sit and talk (MB55). Another man told us that he spent most of his time with his family, with members of his church, or with other political activists (MB52). A young coloured Rasta told us that his friends were his Rasta brothers, as well as his family:

> *Yeah, actually me I'm a Rasta, as you can see, me I'm a Rasta. So, actually, me, I'm communicating mostly with my brothers, with my Rasta brothers. ... I don't worry much about ... to sit with other people, or hang out with them. Me, I'm not the guy [to be] doing those things. And mostly I'm by my house, and spending my time with my family: my wife and my kids.* (MB53)

More unusually, an African woman told us that her *'neighbour next door, yes, she is also my friend; we met because she lived here ... We do make our small braais on Christmas, cook and eat nicely'* (MB54).

As in Cape Town, most people turn to one of their neighbours if they need something small.

> *The first person is my neighbour, next door, the one I get along with ... Others I'm not used ..., I don't normally go and ask anything from them. Yes, we borrow each other things: Irons, kettles, washing basins, .we borrow ... (MB54)*

> *Yes, I think we [are] still keeping that part of our culture. Even though some of us are not going as far as borrowing sugar and salt, but ... if you want to paint your house, [you need] a spade or fork or something, ... we still do that. Let's say you [are] plastering your house and then you run out of cement, you can go and borrow. But you must make sure that you give back whatever you borrowed. ... But sometimes you get people who will only do that if you come from their homelands. If you come from Idutywa you borrow from people who come from Idutywa. One from Mount Fletcher will not give you ... But I've not experienced that.* (MB 52)

> *Sometimes I borrow some sugar [from] them. Not me, that is, .actually my wife [is] doing that. [There] is no bad feeling, sometimes they have they give you, if they don't have then they don't have.* (MB 53)

Borrowing money is a different matter:

> *There are some people who borrow [i.e. lend] money, [to] the people. But then they ask R1 upon R1, if you take R50 then you must return R100, if you take R100 you must return R200.* (MB 53)

Among African people, you might be able to turn to other people from the same part of the Eastern Cape for financial help. For example, if someone dies, '*and he didn't belong to any burial society*', and '*if you don't have any relatives here, you make relatives for yourself ... I go to other guys who are from Gatyane, who live in the other side, I normally go to them. I also go to other people I know.* (MB 55)

Neighbours will generally help out in an emergency:

> *The thing that forces to be done by neighbours is when someone is crying here in the house ... Neighbours do go to where that thing is happening. They try to stop that or they call the police. They try to stop it if it's something that does not need police. Perhaps it's people you know: [you] talk to that person and [try] to stop that.* (MB 55)

But there are limits to this. People's concern for neighbours is mitigated by the limits to their relationships with them, and a concern for safety in the neighbourhood, especially at night:

> *Now it may happen that it is people you don't know and you can't even stop them. Perhaps you just call the police and the police come to sort out the problem ... Togetherness is there but it's not strong, it's not strong ... What happens here [is that] a person lives in her house, yeah. The problem is that I'm going to lock my gate, I only go out when something's happening at my neighbour's house.* (MB 55)

Other residents agreed:

> *Actually we call the police, because we don't want to interfere ... because we can also get hurt, because people is rough here, these youth who [are] attacking the people here. We call the police, and then the police [are] coming to sort out the problem. (MB53)*
>
> *People call the police.*
> Interviewer: Do they call police and [do] nothing else?
> *Yes.*

African people in Ilinge Lethu seem very conscious of their different places of origin in the Eastern Cape. This serves as both a bond and a source of division:

> *We've got amaHlubi, ... from the Eastern Cape. ... They gather together, and they drink together, and they sing together, there is that cohesion ... Last year, their chief came to visit them, ... they went to Langa. ... Wherever they are, they are working together, and they are united. And you get the other group from Mount Fletcher, that's the Sotho's, ... they like to associate with each other closely, ... each and every weekend they must have some type of a gathering, where they drin, and dance and play their Sotho songs.* (MB 52)

> *It's not same as [in]the hostels, [where] we lived in one place, knowing each other very well ... Now we don't know each other that much. One stays in his house ... we only meet just because we are neighbours ... They help each other here in my street, but it's not something that is normal yet to people ... when someone is in trouble, how can he be helped? It's not a normal thing yet ... I think it's because we come from different backgrounds, different places. ... There are people who come from a certain place, ... they can't help you if they don't know you, you have to be from their place back home. But if I have a problem I go to my brothers who are in Cape Town I know they always help me.* (MB 54)

Residents referred to specific organisations and activities:

> *... the food kitchens, for the poor and needy. ... So they cook some food, and then at 2 o'clock during the day then they call all the people, they give ... the food to the people, disabled and all those people ... Yeah, actually what I'm proud of here is ... the football clubs, ... they keep the youth away from the streets and all those things. Actually the soccer is ... keeping most of the people actually busy here ...* (MB53)

> *It is cooperation ... How can I put it? ... We just cooperate, all of us in this community. When someone is in trouble, people cooperate with that person, visiting her, like that ... We do societies, savings clubs ... We only did it [cleaning together] once: We cleaned, but only in our street. We were also stopping people from throwing food on the drains.* (MB54)

As in Cape Town, insecurity was a source of fragmentation and isolation, but might be something that could bring residents together in a collective response.

> *These boys [were] attacking the people. So, for me actually, what this community ... needs [is] a neighbourhood watch. During the night there must be a neighbourhood watch. .... Because [at boys aged] sixteen, seventeen, fifteen years, they sit at the taverns [until] late. ... That is not good in the community.* (MB53)

Some neighbours look after each other's houses. But others emphasise that you can trust your neighbours only so far: they might keep an eye on your house, but you shouldn't rely on them to lock the doors and turn out the lights (MB52). One woman told us she could leave her child with her neighbours if necessary (MB54).

One of the local councillors emphasises that '*the more you interact with people the more you build the trust, and the [more] things that you do for the street'*. He therefore urges people to form street committees where neighbours can discuss issues and learn to trust each other and work together. (MB52)

Safety is a major concern. If you don't drink, you are usually safe, '*there is no problem, you still can walk around carrying your cell phone here, answer your phone at any time, you still can walk at night, ..., even if you are a woman you can still walk.'* But, he added, *'there are those that will take chances, ... house-breaking is on the rise, ... so much that we are trying to*

form a neighbourhood watch now.' It was much worse in about 2002, when Malmesbury '*was infested by gangs from Cape Town', who 'would come here and look at how many shebeens and shops are here, then they will target them in different times, on different weekends, and they will shoot to kill and take money.'* At that time, people solved the problem by together forking a neighbourhood watch. *'People patrol[led] the area at night, and those people were arrested through the help of the community.'* Two people were killed, and it turned out that *'they were not even from here, because they were from Cape Town'*. Those criminals who *'were from here, since they left then they never came back, and I don't think they will ever come back*' (MB52).

> *I don't know these people actually by name, but [it] is mostly the youngsters who are still attending school, who do these things, assault the people here on weekends, [on] Friday night. People who [are] working on the farms come here to buy groceries and all these things. They rob these people here, ... So even in the community there's no neighbourhood watch who can look [out] here in the evening, so, really it's bad here. ... Just two weeks ago they shot the other youth in the face, there by another shop. Just come in and they shot these youth, and ... they run away. ... On Friday night, [thre was] a big man here, that is a man is nearly sixty. [It was] these youth [aged] thirteen, fourteen, fifteen years, who beat [up] this old man. So this man is lying in Groote Schuur hospital now, ... even his family is suffering now because of that, because he was the breadwinner in the house. This man is in hospital now, and these youth is still here in the streets! These youth is still in the street because the parents want to know nothing about them. ... Here in Ilinge Lethu they must try to build a neighbourhood watch, who can look after the people here on weekends* .. (MB53)

> *It happened right in front of our houses. They raped a coloured woman. We heard the sound of a gunshot ... When we got out [we found] it was a coloured woman [who] was raped by small children, our children who live in this township* (MB54).

Not only in Malmesbury but also in the rural areas there was now a problem of young people committing theft and assault. Before, *'you could even leave your house opened and go to another street; I can't do that anymore; but in the hostels you could do that'* (MB55).

Some residents have deep attachment to the area. A coloured person living in Ilinge Lethu told us:

> *I grew up here, I was born here in Malmesbury, so I'm feeling [that I] .belong here in Malmesbury, I belong here in Ilinge Lethu. ... Actually I'm proud of the community ... sometimes they do things good, sometimes they don't do things good.* (MB53)

Other people emphasise their roots elsewhere – mostly in the Eastern Cape – and the fact that it is primarily work which brings them to Malmesbury. Others still point to their new houses: home-ownership strengthens local ties and commitments. The local councillors spoke about the crime rate being lower than in many places, and the successful delivery of services.

In Moreson, in Robertson, residents provided a broadly consistent image of a generally peaceful and friendly neighbourhood. We spoke to an elderly widow who had lived in the

area for 13 years after living on farms for most of her life. When she came to Robertson, she lived in other people's backyards, whilst waiting for housing (for four years). She now shares her house with an astounding five grandchildren and three great grandchildren, supported by various government grants. Asked to name how many people she knew in the area she laughed, then said '*a nice little bunch ('n lekker klompie), about sixty of them*'. Her neighbours were '*all right*'. They were all poor, although she heard there were a few people around who only pretended they were poor in order to qualify for free houses: *'Some people got their own big houses. Now they got more houses. Now they sell*'. There was nobody like this in her part of Moreson, she added.

Overall, most of the characteristics of 'community' that we found in different parts of Cape Town can be found in Malmesbury (and Robertson): people have good relationships with some neighbours, but not with others, and rarely have close relationships with more than one neighbour; neighbours help each other, and may watch out for each other's houses, although you need to be careful not to trust too much your neighbours; people's close friends are spread out over the neighbourhood; they have some pride in their neighbourhood, but this is constrained by the disenchantment that accompanies crime and insecurity, and, for some people, by continuing identities rooted in the rural Eastern Cape; crime and the fear of crime are major impediments to the strengthening of community; and 'community' organization is uneven or intermittent. The general shape of 'community' is much the same in the small towns, and does not seem to differ significantly between mostly coloured and mostly African neighbourhoods.

At the same time, we get the impression that there is more community in these small towns than in the neighbourhoods of Cape Town where we previously conducted research. It is hard to be precise about this, or to point to specific evidence. Nonetheless, our sense is that there is more identification with and attachment to place in these small towns than in the massive city of Cape Town. One contributing factor is that people seem less anxious about crime and insecurity than in Cape Town. People do complain about young men (or 'boys'), especially in Ilinge Lethu (the preoccupation with African adolescents there contrasts with the preoccupation with coloured adolescents in Delft). Their main concern, however, seems to be with outsiders, who come (from Cape Town, perhaps) for the easy pickings outside bars or shebeens at night on the weekends. Another contributing factor does seem to be the shared history of life in the small town. In this sense, mechanisms for allocating houses that site people near to other people who have all lived together in the same small town for decades or generations might be conducive to a higher quality of community. The fact that the quality of community appears high also in Phase II of Ilinge Lethu (in Malmesbury) and the new sections of Nkqubela suggests, however, that it is not shared histories that are the crucial factor, given that these neighbourhoods are populated by people with quite diverse histories. It would seem more likely that it is the lower prevalence of crime, or something else about small towns, that explains the higher quality of community.

8.4. Inter-racial relationships: 'We are all poor: white, brown and black'

The new, low-income public housing neighbourhoods in these two small towns seem to have a higher quality of community – at least in comparison with Cape Town – but remain highly segregated, in racial terms. What would happen if they were more integrated, racially? Would mechanisms for allocating houses that resulted in more racially-mixed neighbourhoods result in neighbourhoods with compromised community?

It is impossible to answer definitively this hypothetical question, but we can examine the experiences of the exceptional cases of people who deviate from the general pattern of racial homogeneity. In each of Robertson and Malmesbury, where the persistence of de facto racial segregation limits the prevalence of inter-racial relationships in residential neighbourhoods, we sought out the few exceptions of people living in predominantly 'other' neighbourhoods to learn about their experiences. We spoke to coloured residents in Nkqubela and Ilinge Lethu, together with some of their African neighbours, and to African and white residents in Robertson North, together with some of their coloured neighbours.

In Robertson, in the approximately ten-year-old neighbourhood of Moreson, we found an area where a handful of African and white people lived alongside their many coloured neighbours. We spoke (in a mixture of Afrikaans and English) with three White, two Black and two Coloured women, all living close to one another - so close, in fact, that some were able to listen, over the fence, to each others' remarks. Husbands too were present or within earshot, in three instances. This undoubtedly affected what was said, but how and in what direction it is difficult to guess. Privacy is minimal in Moreson, whether in the house or outside it. This impacts directly on neighbourly relations: there is no avoiding one another. Knowledge of one another's circumstances, movements, visitors and behaviour is inevitable.

One middle-aged coloured woman moved to Moreson from a farm in Goree (some six kilometres from Robertson). She moved with other farm workers, including an African family who are now her immediate neighbours. '*We get on well. We have known each other for a long time*'. Three of the five white families said to live in Moreson are her immediate neighbours. '*There's no problem with them*', she said. We spoke to some of these white neighbours. One woman had moved to Moreson from the caravan park in Robertson. She was '*very happy*' to have moved to Moreson, which was '*the best place I have ever lived in*'. Relationships within the 'community' were '*good*', she said.

It turned out that it was not a coincidence that these women's neighbours included two other white households. These two further white households comprised the white woman's parents together with her aunt and uncle. The woman's parents had been on the waiting list for housing for three years. Previously they had lived with the woman's grandparent in the 'white' part of Robertson, but the grandparent had died, leaving the house to someone else. The woman's parents then moved into a caravan in her backyard in Moreson. They were offered a municipal house in the older coloured area of Dorpsig (part of Robertson North), but even before they moved in they experienced racial hostility from prospective neighbours: '*They saw us at the house with the keys and they complained, they didn't want whites getting houses*'. They were no happier with the allocation than their new neighbours: The neighbourhood was, they said, '*rough*' and '*full of drugs*'. So, without taking occupancy, they privately arranged to swap houses with their daughter's coloured neighbours in Moreson, whom they knew from living in the daughter's backyard. They went to a lawyer to ensure that the swap was formally recognised by the municipality. The woman's parents were then joined by the mother's sister and brother-in-law, who moved into the caravan in their backyard. There are thus in effect three closely-related white families living on two merged back-to-back plots.

Like most of their neighbours in Moreson, these white families are poor. They supplement their state pensions ('*it's a little but we get by*') with proceeds of selling from home fresh fish

which they collect from 'the Cape' every few weeks. They describe this business venture as '*very good*'. Two blackboards in the front garden advertise what fish is available.

Although they were previously living amongst white people ('*tussen blankes*'), these white residents of Moreson say that they are '*better off now*'. They describe the people of Moreson as '*very pleasant*' (*baie gaaf*), very peaceful, friendly, respectable, not '*funny towards you*' (*nie snaaks*), and easy to get to know. There are limits to intimacy, however: '*They go their way, we go ours; we mustn't get in each other's way*'. Their closest relationships in the neighbourhood are with their relatives; in addition to the people next door, two of their nephews also have houses in Moreson. They also claim, selectively, to know '*the other two*' (unrelated) white families in the area, both of whom run small '*huiswinkels*' (i.e. 'spaza' shops). They say they would never borrow anything from their other neighbours, though these neighbours sometimes ask them for things, like money, which they don't give '*because they will just spend it on drink*'. '*But when the children ask for bread we give it to them*'. Their one complaint is the presence of '*smokkelhuise*' (i.e. informal bars or shebeens): '*There are two just close by. They are a bit noisy but they don't trouble us*'. The reference to noise seems ironic: on the day we visited their music system was belting out popular Afrikaans hymns at full volume, audible streets away.

Their African neighbours are a middle-aged couple, without children, who have been in the area since it was built 12 years earlier. They had previously lived on a farm in Goree. Although they speak Xhosa at home they grew up also talking Afrikaans with the other farm people. They told us that they are very happy now to have some of these same people as immediate neighbours in Moreson. Indeed, they chose to leave their bigger house on the farm in part because there were some people there they couldn't get along with. '*These people were very jealous, like if you had something new*'. Jealousy is thought to lead easily to witchcraft and misfortune, and is therefore a common cause of relocation in some parts of Southern Africa. They also wanted to become independent of their farmer landlord. '*The farmers put pressure on you [druk jou] to work on the farm but here you don't have to work if you don't want to, you do what you like each day.*' The man now works on a horse stud farm outside Robertson. With several other men in the neighbourhood, he is collected for work each morning by his employers in a bakkie, and returned home each evening. The woman sells cigarettes, singly, at a substantial mark up, from her house – a brisk trade as observed on a Saturday in March. This African couple describe their coloured and white neighbours as having '*absolutely no problem with blacks; the whites around here are good people; we are all poor, white, brown and black'*. If they need something urgently, they turn to one of two coloured families in Moreson whom they have known for a long time, although they are not immediate neighbours.

Just as there are a few African and white families in the new parts of Robertson North, so there are a few coloured families and individuals in Nkqubela. One street seems to have mostly coloured residents. Indeed, it seems that knowing someone who already lived in the street was an important stage in the process whereby people moved there. In some cases, the 'pioneer' seems to have been a coloured person living with an African person.

We asked one coloured couple about their experiences living in Nkqubela. The couple were living with a friend of hers, who was Africa (or 'Xhosa', as the women put it). The woman insisted that there were '*a lot*' of inter-racial friendships: '*You don't see the differences, their colours, they are one*', she explained. It was better to live with 'Xhosas', she said, because '*they stand by each other, and they help each other a lot, that's why*'. She interacted closely

with one of her African neighbours: '*Sometimes on weekends we go [there], or she's come to here and we braai vleis or portjiekos, or me and my husband is going to their house and then we make something, braais'* Racial mixing, she says, '*is good*' (RB3).

In Malmesbury, a small number of coloured people live in Ilinge Lethu. Asked about relationships, the local African councillors described them as 'fine':

> *It's fine, you know, we are not that close, we are not far from each other. I think the interaction is casual. Others befriend them, others are just neighbours. ... I think work brings people together, they work in the same places, they work for [the] same construction companies, they work in the farms, ... and it's coloureds and blacks, they work together, and even Zimbabweans also they work with them.* (MB52)

One of the coloured residents concurred that there was not a lot of inter-racial interaction, but it was relaxed:

> *So actually now and then we communicate, but most of the time we don't even communicate with each other ... Some of them they don't understand Afrikaans and we, we don't understand the language they speak. So that is may be difficult for us sometimes to communicate with each other ... [It] doesn't actually cause bad feelings between us ... No, the relation between them is good, it's only these bad boys is coming to spoil everything here in the community.* (M53)

We were unfortunately unable to conduct further research in the areas of Saamstaan which are more mixed, with coloured and African people living together. In the more mono-racial areas of Saamstaan where we did conduct research, however, we found little evidence of any deep racial antipathy.

Schools provide a measure of the extent and experience of desegregation. In both Malmesbury and Robertson, schools were segregated under apartheid, with separate primary and secondary schools for coloured and white students, and in Robertson for African students also. (It is unclear at what point African children were permitted in Malmesbury, prior to the removal to Ilinge Lethu). New schools have been built in new neighbourhoods, or in older neighbourhoods to accommodate the rising populations of school-age children. Our information on schools in the two towns remains incomplete, but our understanding is that some schools in each town have integrated significantly, and others not. In both towns, the older, more established schools have seen influxes of children previously denied access. Thus the formerly 'white' schools now have many coloured and African pupils, whilst the older secondary schools for coloured pupils now attract many African pupils, despite teaching in Afrikaans. The new primary and secondary schools in Ilinge Lethu, teaching in Xhosa, attract only African children (and were the site of violent student protests in April 2010). In Robertson, the segregated geography means that children from Nkqubela are unable to travel easily to Robertson North, so mixing occurs only in the formerly white schools in the centre of town. Otherwise, pupils remain in their own, largely segregated neighbourhoods. Whilst Saamstaan/Ilinge Lethu remain largely (but not entirely) segregated at a micro-level, the fact that Saamstaan and Ilinge Lethu are adjacent means that there is more opportunity for integration in schools – as well as in other respects – than is the case in Robertson (although we were told that some coloured families sent their children to school in Nkqubela, so that they would learn Xhosa).

It is difficult to form a clear picture of inter-racial interactions in these small towns without a more comprehensive and systematic programme of research. Our strategy entailed focusing on exceptional cases of individuals living in racially-'other' neighbourhoods. These individuals are very likely to be exceptional in terms of their motivations and backgrounds: some made a conscious choice to live apart from their own 'racial group', usually because of prior relationships, in some cases because they came from farms together. We should not simply extrapolate from their experiences to the population as a whole, to infer what would or might happen if there was more racial integration.

That said, our research does suggest some cautious findings. We found evidence in the small towns, as in Cape Town, that racial stereotyping is not uncommon, and that there is some hostility to racial mixing. For example, one white family in Robertson North reported strong antipathy from prospective neighbours when they were allocated a house. (They circumvented this hostility by swapping houses with another family). When people move into a neighbourhood, however, the salience of race seems to diminish rapidly, as we found in Cape Town. As in Cape Town, shared poverty seems to be a great social leveler. Unlike in Cape Town, shared histories in or identification with the small town serves as a further cement in social relationships.

8.5. Xenophobia

In the neighbourhoods in Cape Town where we conducted research, we found abundant evidence of antipathy towards foreigners. This antipathy was not monolithic: some people insisted that foreigners had the right to live there, and should be treated equally. But there was a pervasive resentment against immigrants, especially Somalis, who were successful shopkeepers or who acquired houses.

Somali shopkeepers are highly visible in Malmesbury. There are also said to be Chinese shopkeepers, although we did not see them. As in Cape Town, people in Malmesbury seem to be divided in their views about immigrants such as these. On the one hand, some residents professed to accept immigrants, who were simply looking for work just as they themselves were:

'*I get along with them*', an African woman in Ilinge Lethu told us, '*I get along with them, I chat with them when I have to, they are just like any other people, … they are here to seek bread, as we are also here for that*' (M54). A coloured man concurred:

> *Yeah, there's many people from Somalia, people from Uganda, people from Angola ... [There are] many of them here who stay here in the community. But we are going along well with them. There's no problem with them because they don't do any problems here in the community actually. Their aim is just come for work, and ... just for a good living. That is why ... they don't actually create problems here in the community … I don't have a problem, I think they got fully right to stay with ... other people in the community. They are the people who don't disturb other people, or be nasty with other people, always they are friendly …* (M53)

On the other hand, other residents said that foreigners had no right to take away houses or jobs from local people.

> *No, no, they don't have [a right to live here in the 'community'] ... They are here now. And we can't go to their countries, we can't go there, but here they are welcomed, they live nicely, but I think if you can go to their countries you won't be treated nicely, living nicely ... But they live nicely here, we welcomed them. But I sometimes feel that these people have no right of coming to live here. Because there are many things sometimes that need to be done, those things were supposed to be made for us. ... For example, they can get a house and stay, you see. They … end up not wanting to go back home and saying that [they] belong here. You see now, one of us would have received that house. There are people who don't have houses ... We also have people who live under the bridge, who live in bad places because they don't have houses. Now them [the foreigners] end up having houses to stay in the township, …, and they are there, [they have] filled those places [meant] for us. ... Our people … need to be the first to get houses. We don't say other people must not come, because all the country is full of all races. Even our people are on that side that are able to go to that side. … [But the Government] should first prepare for our people here*. (M55)

Foreigners should rent accommodation, he continued, and not be allowed to have houses. Also, when the Chinese and Somalis open up businesses, '*here in the township people's businesses were closed down, people closed down their businesses because of them, when they arrived here people stopped everything.*' This is what *'causes fights*'. These foreigners' businesses have unfair advantages also because the Government is not taxing them. Residents insist that they are not against foreigners coming to live in South Africa; their objection is to their taking houses and businesses away from local people.

> *I don't have a problem with them because there's nothing I can do about that. It is the same thing ... I came from Eastern Cape to seek work here, the only difference with them is that this is not their country and this is my country*. (M55)

Residents admit that the foreigners have skills that they lack, and this makes them jealous: '*I take it as if they came to take the job that was supposed to be done by me ... But I don't know how to do it. It's just jealousy*' (M55).

In mid-2008, in the midst of xenophobic attacks across much of the country, some of the foreign-owned shops were attacked. The African woman quoted above, who insisted that she herself got on well with foreigners, had seen '*what happened to them at that time, people taking their belongings.*' Now, she continued, she wasn't sure whether foreigners and South Africans could '*live in harmony'* (M53).

We were told that no foreign shopkeepers in Malmesbury were actually hurt during the xenophobic attacks in mid-2008. Their shops were attacked, but they themselves were not hurt. The local councillor blamed television for the attacks:

> *Nobody was ever hurt here. But you see when something is on TV [it] becomes fashion. Because TV has a way of spreading what is happening all over in a day or two. And then everybody ... You know there's a problem of the young people, young people do not want to be left out; whatever they see on TV is cool, they want to do it ... If they don't do it they see themselves as being left out. Same as with the protest issue ... for local government, there's an element of fashion. So*

> *yeah, they tried here to break [into Somalis' shops], that's what they were interested in here, not hurting anybody, but breaking into Somali's shops and tak[ing] the groceries and stuff, because it's what they see on TV.* (M52)

The councillor praised the quick response from the police, and he called a meeting where (he says) these attacks were *'not acceptable here*'. Nobody was hurt, and even the Zimbabweans and Somalis who left came back the following day.

Foreigners were less conspicuous in the new low-income neighbourhoods in Robertson. There also, however, we found this mix of antipathy and toleration. A coloured person in Droëheuwel told us that:

> *Blacks are all right but Somalis are a problem for us. They come and buy up houses and open up shops and the owners have to go and live at the back. They make us sick. We want to have our own shops.*

A coloured woman who actually lived next door to a Somali's shop said that she had no problem with her Somali neighbours, although she added that she had no relationship (*verhouding*) with them. '*They are moslems'* (*slamaaiers*) she said, by way of explanation.

> *Other people don't want them here. They exploit people's economic need by buying their houses. Then people find themselves living in their own backyards.*

In both Malmesbury and Robertson, Somali-owned shops are evidently better stocked than the numerous other informal shops that pepper poor neighbourhoods. They are also better protected, with iron grids separating customers from the shopkeeper and his stock. They are the focus of resentment precisely because they do a brisk local trade. In Droëheuwel, one such shop – incongruously named 'Millies Mobile' – looks like an integral part of the neighbourhood, and even has dreadlocked local youths lounging comfortably on its stoep.

The position of Somali shopkeepers and other immigrants in small towns appears to be very similar to that of their counterparts in low-income neighbourhoods in Cape Town. Immigrant shopkeepers' commercial success and some immigrants' access to housing, causes some resentment. There is little evidence that immigrants integrate into small town 'community' life any more smoothly or successfully than they do into 'community' life in Cape Town. They therefore remain an obvious target for opportunistic looting, or perhaps worse.

8.6. Conclusion: The social consequences of alternative mechanisms of allocating houses in small towns

We went to Malmesbury expecting to find a racially-integrated neighbourhood. We went to Robertson without expectations, although we knew that there had been substantial construction there of housing for low-income families. In terms of the schema used in previous chapters, we expected that the Malmesbury project – tellingly known as "Saamstaan" – would fall into the category of mixed by race but less mixed by 'community' of origin, in that residents would have been drawn from the different hitherto segregated populations of Malmesbury, but not from outside the town or at least district. (This is indicated in italics in Figure 8.1). What we found was rather different. The first phase of Ilinge Lethu in Malmesbury is best described as unmixed both racially (almost entirely

African) and by 'community' of origin (most residents coming from the old hostels or compound). Phase 2 was unmixed racially but more mixed by origin, in that many of the new residents came immediately or recently from the Eastern Cape. Robertson Nkqubela is probably in much the same position as Ilinge Lethu in Malmesbury: very little racial mixing, and more mixing by origin as time passes.

		Racial mixing	
		Mixed	**Unmixed**
Mix by community of origin	**More mixed**	Delft South and Leyden	Delft North (C) Tambo Square (South) (C) **Malmesbury IL Ph II** **Robertson Nkqubela**
	Less mixed	Tambo Square (North) ***Malmesbury Saamstaan/IL (expected)***	Weltevreden Valley (A) **Robertson North** **Malmesbury IL Ph I** **Malmesbury Saamstaan Ph I**
		Malmesbury Saamstaan Ph II	

Figure 8.1: Categorisation of selected neighbourhoods in Robertson and Malmesbury (and Cape Town)

Robertson North (i.e. Moreson and Droëheuwel) and Phase 1 of Saamstaan in Malmesbury can be described as unmixed racially (they are almost entirely coloured) and less mixed by origin (in that most residents came from nearby, i.e. elsewhere in Robertson North, Wesbank in Malmesbury or neighbouring farms). Only Phase II of Saamstaan has moved out of the racially unmixed column, into a position that straddles the boundary between racially mixed and racially unmixed. Racial segregation seems as persistent in small towns as it is in Cape Town. None of the areas we visited in Malmesbury or Robertson are mixed in the way that Delft South and Leyden (in Cape Town) are mixed. These parts of Delft seem truly exceptional.

The neighbourhoods in these two small towns where we conducted research thus encompassed much of the range of Cape Town neighbourhoods where we conducted research, except that we found nowhere as integrated as Delft South and Delft Leyden. The general perception of inter-racial relationships in these two small towns seemed, however, more like those we found in Delft South and Leyden than those we found in the less integrated parts of Cape Town. In other words, there seems to be something about small towns that results in relatively better inter-racial relationships, even if the actual extent of racial residential integration is very limited.

We think that this difference is probably rooted in other respects in which small towns are different to Cape Town. In Malmesbury, we were struck by the distinction between long-term residents and more recent immigrants, especially from the Eastern Cape. This distinction

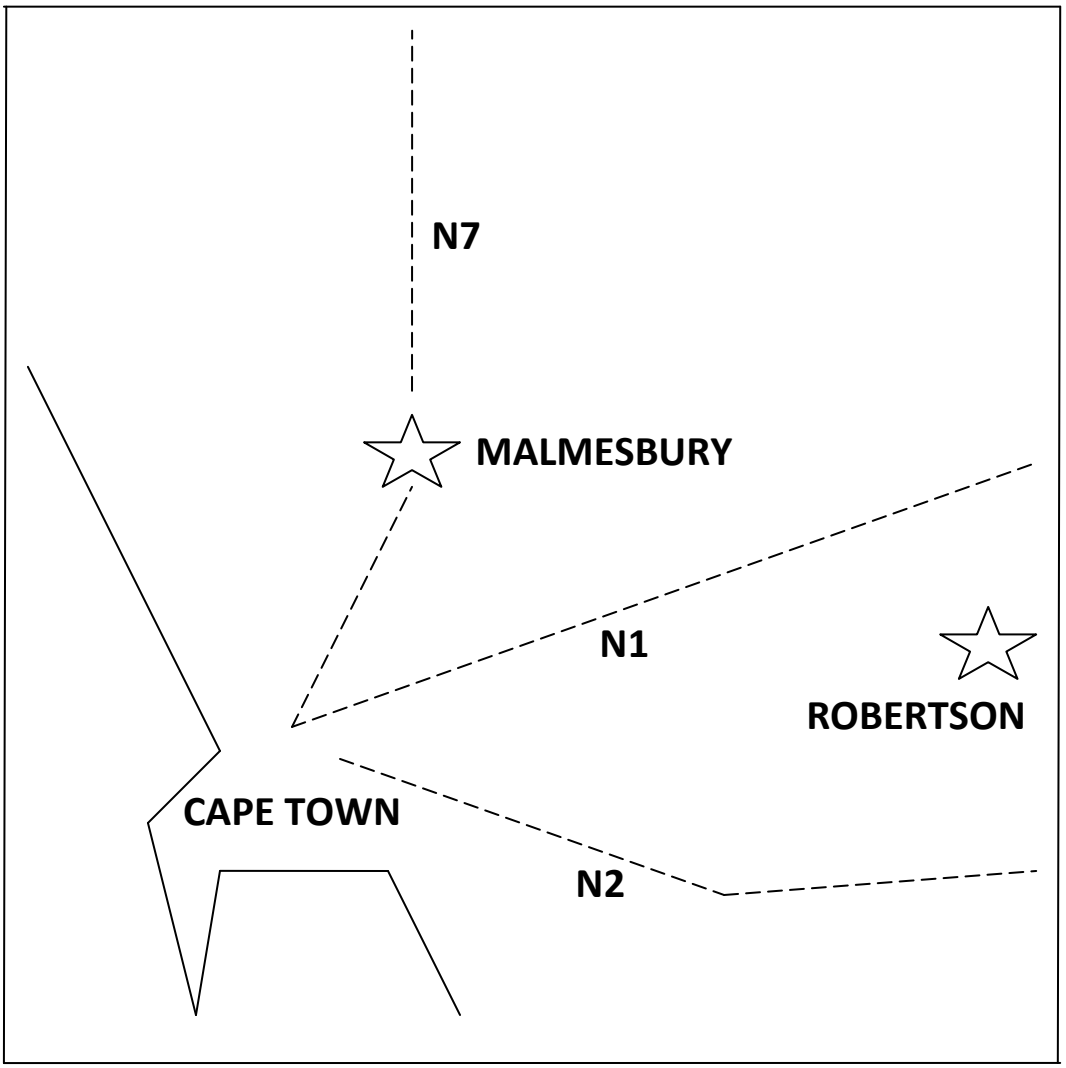
seemed to us to be more important than in the sites we studied in metropolitan Cape Town. The effect is not to cause conflict, at least not that we observed, but rather to limit social cohesion. For some people, their place of origin (in the Eastern Cape) remains important, not least because some people anticipate returning there. This impedes the development of identification with Malmesbury. More generally, we speculate, it serves to relocate a social cleavage from being inter-racial to being between people who identify themselves as local as opposed to people who see themselves as temporary sojourners. Long-term Malmesbury residents have deeper social networks and a stronger identification with Malmesbury. We imagine that the high degree of persisting (de facto) racial segregation in Robertson means that the racial cleavage is more resilient there than in Malmesbury. These are things that we would like to have been able to research further.

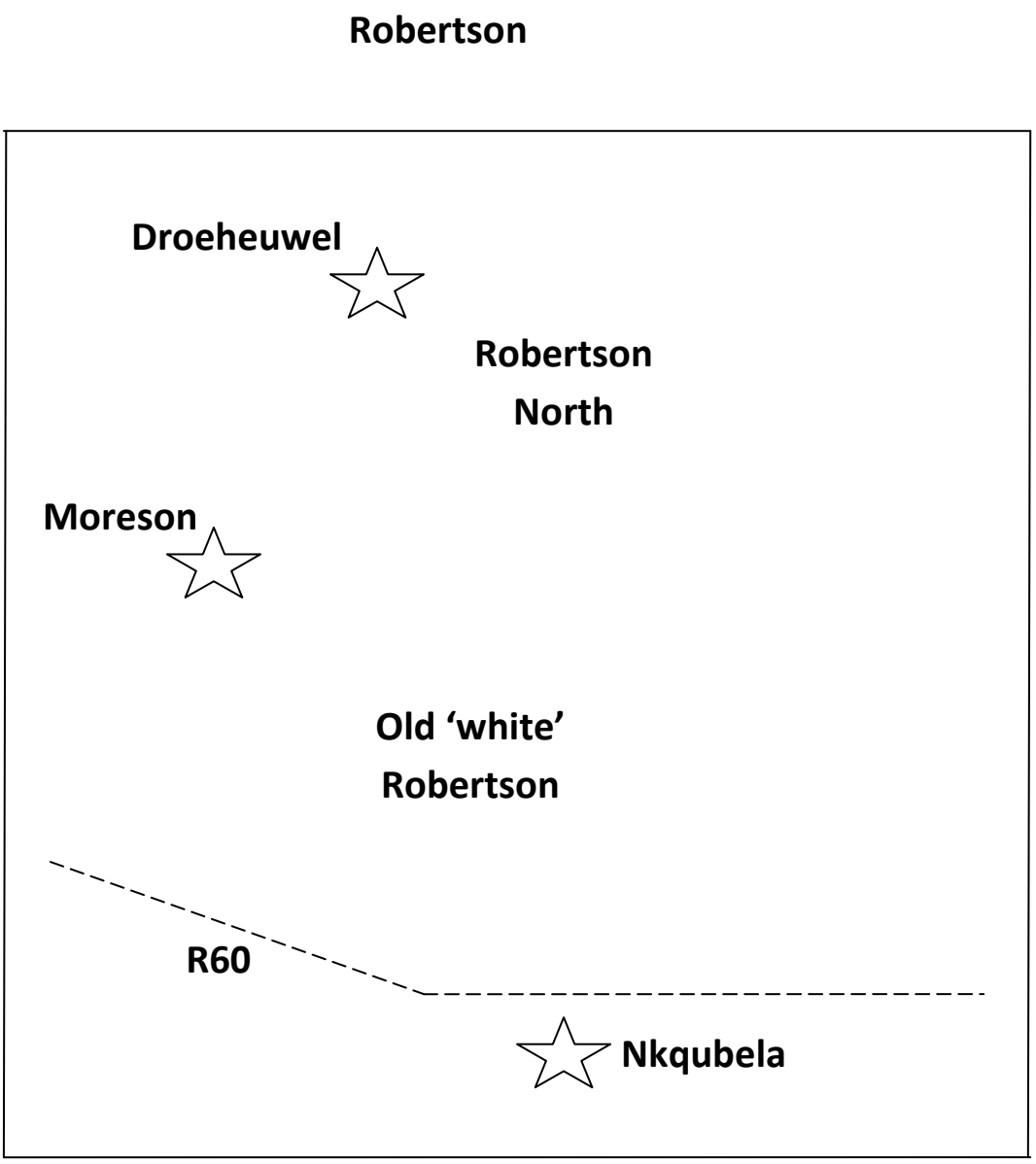
We can say that we found no evidence to suggest that increased inter-racial interaction has led (or would lead) to tension or conflict. We heard little that suggests that popular discourse is sharply racialised beyond an acknowledgement of (qualified) cultural difference.

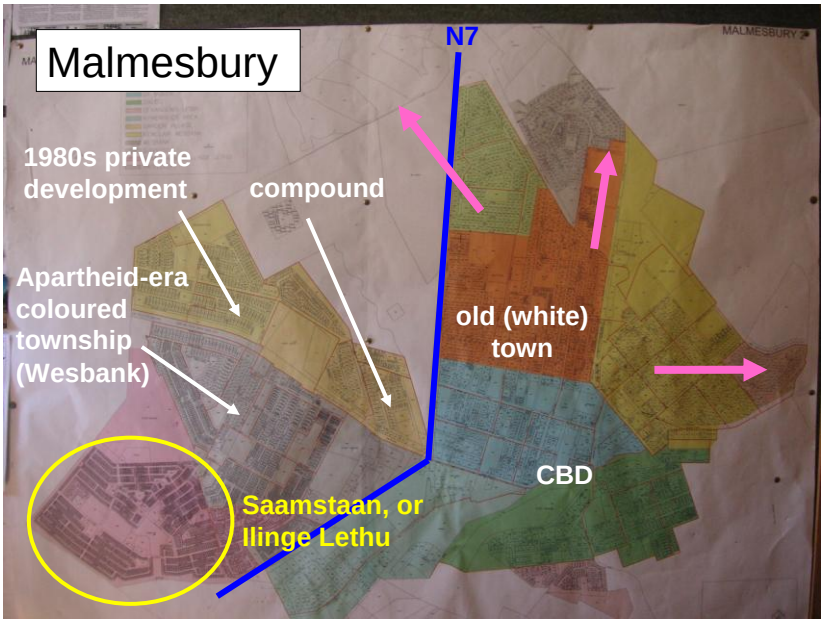
Overall, the quality of community seems higher in these small towns. Whilst we should avoid exaggerating the quality of social relationships, it does seem that a reduced threat of crime and perhaps other factors also has contributed to more relaxed interactions, including inter-racial ones.

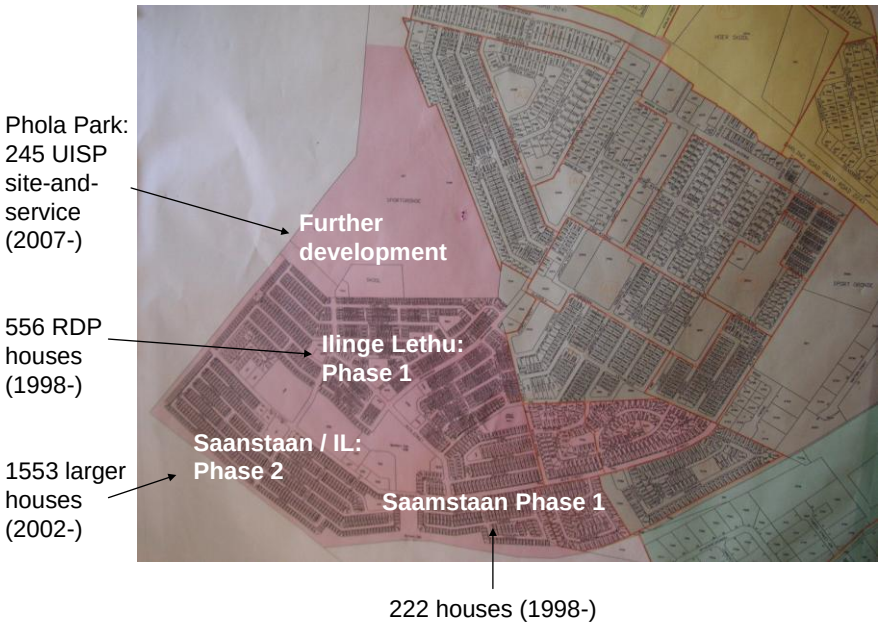
We did, however, find evident tensions around the success of Somali (and perhaps other immigrant) shopkeepers. As in Cape Town, we must worry about the prospects for xenophobic violence, perhaps fuelled by opportunism.

Location of Malmesbury and Robertson




Robertson
Droeheuwel
Robertson
North
Moreson
Old 'white'
Robertson
R60
Nkqubela


Malmesbury
N7
1980s private development
compound
Apartheid-era coloured township (Wesbank)
old (white) town
CBD
Saamstaan, or Ilinge Lethu


Phola Park: 245 UISP site-and-service (2007-)
Further development
556 RDP houses (1998-)
Ilinge Lethu: Phase 1
Saanstaan / IL: Phase 2
1553 larger houses (2002-)
Saamstaan Phase 1
222 houses (1998-)

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