

**Segregation, desegregation, and re-segregation and the
return to Black Townships: A case study of Chesterville
Township, Durban.**

By

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ABSTRACT

Residential segregation and desegregation continues to be a major theme in South African scholarship. However the study of re-segregation, characterised by people returning to legacy apartheid townships after having moved to desegregated suburbs has not received much attention. This study is a geographical investigation of the key influences that have contributed to the process of residential re-segregation, with specific reference to the township of Chesterville in Durban. More specifically, the objectives of this thesis were to: determine why people moved out of Chesterville; ascertain the challenges experienced in adjusting to their new environments; investigate the key factors that led to people moving back to Chesterville; analyse how people were received upon returning to Chesterville; and assess if people would consider moving away from Chesterville again should the opportunity arise.

This study was theoretically and conceptually influenced by human agency, *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, Ubuntu, culture shock, drawing from the philosophy of humanistic geography. Methodologically, a qualitative approach was adopted in this investigation. In-depth semi-structured interviews and focus groups were utilized to collect the primary data. Purposive and snowball sampling methods were employed to select the participants.

The study revealed that people decide to move out of the township in pursuit of safety and security, personal privacy and status. The various challenges experienced in the new areas included social isolation, failure to socially integrate in the new communities, and culture shock. People maintained strong ties with Chesterville through frequent visits to carry out activities such as religious worship and socializing. Financial problems, nostalgia and child rearing challenges were the main issues that were presented as a trigger for the return to the township. The reception encountered by people upon returning to Chesterville ranged from disappointment, judgemental, condemnation, while others were welcomed pleasantly. There were mixed responses to feelings about the prospect of moving out of Chesterville again.

There is a clear sign of the post-apartheid government's failure to eradicate the socio-spatial patterns of apartheid. The repeal of the Group Areas Act (GAA) has not been mirrored by aggressive attempts by the post-apartheid government to create new urban spaces of integration.

DECLARATION

I hereby affirm that the following study is a product of my own work under the supervision of Professor Brij Maharaj at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and has never been submitted for fulfilment of any degree elsewhere. Where the work of other authors has been utilised in this study, acknowledgements have been made in text and within the final reference list.

Miss Mbalenhle Roxanne Masinga

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DATE

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GOD IS GOOD, ALL THE TIME.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
GAA	Group Areas Act
UDS	Urban Development Strategy
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
CBD	Central Business District

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 PREAMBLE

The South African built environment is one of the most fragmented and unequal human settlements in the world, nearly a century's worth of segregation and apartheid has shaped the socio-spatial configuration of human settlements in the country (Etzo, 2010). Aguilera and Ugalde (2007) identify residential segregation as the degree that groups of people live in divided fragments of places within an urban space. Segregation within the South African historical context meant the division of people according to racial classification and preferentiality. Among some of the most disparaging legacies of apartheid in South Africa are separation, discrimination, and inequality (Popke, 2000). Schensul and Heller (2011) argue that post-apartheid South Africa serves as a useful and influential lens for the analysis and understanding of the relationship that exists between space and inequality.

A principal distinguishing factor of the social, economic and spatial organisation of urban South Africa over the years has been historical racial discrimination. Segregation has held an extensive history in South Africa from the colonial times and was fast-tracked during the apartheid era (Davies, 1981). According to Carter and May (2002) the apartheid system had the impact of depriving Black people the capacity to acquire, gather and utilise assets. The ethos of separate development resulted in South Africa being one of the most socio-economically fragmented countries in the 21st century. The fragmented nature of the South African residential geography was a major challenge. Thus this study is a humanist geographical investigation of the key factors that may have contributed to this process of residential desegregation and re-segregation in the post-apartheid era. The study used Chesterville Township, situated in Durban, as a case study. Chesterville is a historically apartheid township where people moved out to desegregated areas and returned. This study, therefore, seeks to understand the rationale that prompted the move by certain individuals from a segregated township environment, to a desegregated suburban environment, and back to the township environment.

The South African racial segregation was achieved through the introduction of various laws and acts. The Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 has been identified in the academy (Kitchen,

2006; Houssay- Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Muyeba and Seekings, 2011) as the most influential law that promoted urban residential segregation. The GAA of 1950 is one of the main engines that piloted the process of separation (Maharaj, 1997). The GAA insured that every portion of the city was earmarked for the sole occupation of a specific race, a tool used by the government to 'cleanse' racially mixed areas (Morris, 2004). The GAA was, to a large degree, successful in fulfilling the apartheid regime's vision of racial separation, more specifically at a residential level. The rezoning of an entire population not only influenced the physical urban residential geography, it also resulted in the racial fragmentation (Maharaj, 1997). Segregation in a racial form continues to be the main symbol of inequality, influences associations between people of different races, as well socio-spatial patterns between different groups (Charles, 2003).

According to Popke and Ballard (2003) the dismantling of apartheid resulted in South African urban areas being exposed to intensified levels of exposure to systems and patterns of globalisation. Furthermore, South African urban spaces have become the spaces in which historical social constructs such as race have come to be interrogated (Popke, 2000). Segregated, disproportional, inequitable, and many other adjectives which typify a situation where there is a lack of equality, have been used (Morris, 2004; Christopher, 2005a; Lemanski, 2006 b; Dodson, 2013) to describe urban South Africa. According to Viljoen (2013) the sub-standard value of most of the Black urban housing stands in blunt difference to the prosperity of white suburbia. South Africa's residential geography continues to be deeply reflective of the apartheid regime's ethos of separation. However, it seems twenty years into the democratic era according to Muyeba and Seekings (2011), the dismantling of apartheid laws has failed dismally to inculcate integration, as the impacts of apartheid seem to have deep and lasting effect on the South African society. The Socio-spatial patterns characteristic of apartheid planning model continue to dominate. The racially fragmented nature of the South African social structures is arguably most evident in the cities.

1.2 MOTIVATION

The body of knowledge relating to residential segregation and more recently, desegregation, indicates the complexity and wide ranging nature of the forces that are at play in these processes. The general consensus among scholars such as (Bremner, 2000; Popke and

Ballard, 2003; Lemanski, 2007) allude to the lack of success of the post-apartheid government to foster integration and desegregation.

Residential segregation and desegregation has long been a theme in urban geography research (Christopher, 2001; Lemanski, 2006b; and Durheim and Dixon, 2010). However, the phenomenon of residential re-segregation characterised by people moving back to apartheid legacy areas has not been studied. There is a strong need for additional knowledge production that stems from the view of urban citizens who have experienced residential re-segregation. The process of desegregation spans beyond the boundaries of racially mixed areas and apartheid legacy townships. The intermediate process of people moving back and forth between these spaces is an area worthy of research. The study therefore examines the various dynamics of post-apartheid desegregation, with specific focus on racial residential re-segregation at an urban scale.

This study investigates the residential re-segregation process. Chesterville Township, located in Durban, was selected as the case study area for this thesis. This study aims to examine the current factors that influence the South African residential geography. This study pays particular attention into seeking to understand what led to people relocating out of Chesterville, the key challenges that were encountered in trying to adjust in the new environments, factors that influenced the decision to relocate back to Chesterville, the reception that was experienced upon returning to the township, and whether or not individuals would move out of the township again, should the opportunity arise. This study is based on five key objectives which are, to determine why people moved out of Chesterville, to ascertain the challenges experienced in adjusting to the new environments, to investigate the key factors that led to e

According to Schensul (2008), the city of Durban where the case study area of Chesterville Township is located, continues to be one of the most extremely segregated cities. Maharaj (1996) argues that the level of desegregation and integration at the city scale is where it can be profoundly scrutinised.

Residential segregation is a phenomenon not unique to South Africa alone. Segregation can take on many forms and contexts. However, in the South African context, the distribution of the population was altered in a manner that ensured that cities consisted of pockets of micro-societies or racial communities namely Indian, Black, White and Coloured. The decision to move from one place to another depends on an individual choice made by the one who is

moving from one place to another (Oishi, 2010). The reciprocal and interlinked relationship that exists between space, location and opportunity make the phenomenon of residential re-segregation a powerful indicator of how socio-spatial patterns occur in the post-apartheid era. However, this has not been pursued within the academy with rigour. Thus, the aim of this study is centred on the issue of understanding the process of re-segregation.

The study of segregation and desegregation continues to hold relevance as urban landscapes illustrate a tale of inequality, fragmentation, and dissimilarity. This study is grounded on understanding that the above mentioned relationships through soliciting information from people who have experienced the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. According to Baewarld (2010) the search connected to place and space, in a borderless manner allows geographers to study residential desegregation. It can be argued that the very same can be said for understanding residential re-segregation. The stubborn persistence of apartheid influenced socio-spatial patterns that span across urban places and spaces validate the continued significance of scholarly enquiry and research on this theme. The multidisciplinary nature of the discipline of geography provides an opening for understanding post-apartheid realities such as residential desegregation and re-segregation during desegregation, which is the focus of this study.

1.3 CHAPTER STRUCTURE

The study is comprised of five chapters.

- This first chapter consists of an overall summary of the research and outlines the rationale and motivation for the study.
- Chapter two presents the theoretical framework along with the literature review.
- Chapter three explains the background of the study area and the methodology adopted for this study.
- The fourth chapter presents the data analysis in which key findings of the study will be discussed.
- Chapter five will evaluate the findings and conclude the study.

1.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented some initial reflections on the relevance of the study. Even though post-apartheid urban studies have put much emphasis and focus on the various processes of the desegregation process, the subject of residential re-segregation has generally been under researched. The movement in and out of townships is an on-going process that has, to a large degree, gone unnoticed or unaddressed within the academy. This study thus focuses on investigating the various factors that have contributed to the movement of urban dwellers out of and back into, this township. The study uses the case study approach, with Chesterville Township in Durban being the site of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the theoretical framework and literature review. It is divided into three sections. The various theoretical approaches that were adopted for the study are presented and discussed in the first section. The second section presents, the literature review from an international perspective, the third section focuses on residential segregation in South Africa. This section also discusses the historical processes of apartheid segregation; as well as the policy reforms that ensued with the advent of democracy. Finally the focus is on post-apartheid desegregation.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.2.1 Introduction

The multi-disciplinary nature of geography as a discipline allowed for the study to draw from many concepts, epistemologies and philosophies that facilitate the process of understanding. The theoretical concepts adopted for the study provided lenses through which the process of desegregation and re-segregation could be understood. This section discusses the theoretical framework on which the study was based.

2.2.2 Humanistic Geography

The process of residential desegregation and re-segregation is one that comprises of many layers. It includes the social, economic, and political layers. Bearing in mind the need for authenticity, a humanistic approach was viewed as the most appropriate foundation on which this study's theoretical framework would be built on, as the guiding philosophy that would frame the entire process of understanding. According to Entrikin (1976) humanist geographers contend that their approach is justified in being called 'humanistic' in that humanist geographers study the facets of man such as values, meanings, goals and purpose. Humanistic geography is centred on the move away from the dichotomisation of humans and

the environment. People in this approach are viewed as part and parcel of the environment, and as a significant component of study which is viewed to foster a more holistic form of geography.

According to Tuan (1976) humanistic geography focuses on examining geographic processes to foster an understanding of humans, their circumstances and experiences. The process of moving from one location, within the city, to another is complex with various factors that work in collaboration, stemming from within and around the individual. Thus humanistic geography is centred on the understanding of people's values, behaviours and perceptions. Communicating directly with individuals who had taken part in the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation was the most effective method through which the process could be understood. Johnston and Sidaway (2004) argued that humanistic geography acknowledges the individuality of each person who interacts with the environment. Sidaway adds that within the individual interaction it is acknowledged that the interaction of individuals within communities result in regular changing and varying of the self and the surroundings. Humanism created a platform to understand the key factors that influenced processes of residential desegregation and re-segregation. Phenomenology was also subscribed to as a vital component of the theoretical framework for the study.

Phenomenology as one of the philosophies that informed the study allowed for people who had moved out of the township at one point or another to provide descriptions of how they interacted with the environments to which they moved. According to Johnston and Sidaway (2004) phenomenology argues for the acknowledgement of the individual as a capable choice maker who can make independent decisions, with the principal objective of appreciation and comprehension of the individual occurrence. According to Holt-Jensen (1990) phenomenology attempts to understand the world as it would exist in the human mind before any form of technical study can be carried out. The incorporation of phenomenology as part of the theoretical framework was based on its ability to enable the researcher to approach the study by seeking to understand, as opposed to making generalisations. Humanism combined with phenomenology gave precedence to understanding the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation, from the view point of individuals who had actively engaged in the process. The selection of humanistic geography and phenomenology as the philosophies which inform the direction the study would take, which falls in line with the qualitative nature of the study.

The adoption of humanism and phenomenology allowed for the acknowledgement that people are not homogenous. People have different life experiences and values among other factors, the meanings that people attach to places are never the same. According to Willis (2001) the phenomenological position looks at approaching actions and activities with an analytical mind intentionally open, and determinedly trying to 'bracket out' conventions and remain observant of what is current. Thus the manner in which people are likely to react to place and the level of attachment that they have to the place will never be the same and cannot be predicted by an outsider looking in. Approaching this study from a humanistic perspective set the stage for organic interpretation of the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation, free of any predeterminations and hypothesis. In this way the study was centred on understanding the process as it occurred in reality based on the real experiences of participants.

2.2.3 Human Agency

The concept of human agency was also adopted as part of the theoretical framework. According to Pile (1993) humanistic geographers purposefully intended to embrace a model that was based on viewing humans as the centre, acknowledging humans as both the 'producer and product', self-instinctive, self-aware and active. The concept of human agency was selected based on its complementary relationship with the humanistic philosophical foundation of the study. The process of residential desegregation and re-segregation occurs on a local, regional or national level. It was important to understand that active thinking humans are the direct and indirect drivers of this process. According to Bandura (2006) humans are not passive bystanders looking into their behaviour and lives. Human beings are active thinkers that have the capacity to influence their lived experiences, and this is crucial. The act of engaging in socio-spatial mobility by moving from one location to another could not be separated from the ability of man to make informed independent choices and decisions.

According to Gillespie (2012) the entity that does not have agency is obliged to act by provocations in a direct situation, and those that have a level of agency stand disconnected to the situation and can be influenced by concerns that surpass the situation. The concerns mentioned range from long or short term goals, principle, and worry for somebody else. The concept of human agency added value to the study, as it allowed for information to be

sourced via understanding the experiences and perceptions of individuals, who had actively engaged in the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation.

According to Buss (2008) someone who acts is an agent, and in order for one to be an agent, there has to be an initiation of action. Furthermore, one cannot initiate any form of action, without exercising some level of power. With the repeal of the GAA and the abolishment of apartheid, socio-spatial mobility at a residential scale has come to rest on people's willingness and ability to move, as opposed to the forced removals that occurred during the apartheid era. According to Brockmeier (2009) by virtue of living in a world made up of cultural meanings, we all have no choice but to make various choices. Furthermore, as people we must understand meanings, evaluate them, and make decisions accordingly. Based on the understanding derived from assessment of various meanings of societal processes, it could be argued that the action of moving from one place to another is based on intention.

The concept of human agency in the context of intentionality provides structure to observation of human behaviour as it permits the observer to notice structure in humans' complicated flow of movement (Malle *et al.*, 2001). In adopting intentionality as part of the theoretical framework one was able to separate generalised meanings attached to socio-spatial patterns and mobility. By adopting the concepts of human agency and intentionality one was able to focus on the various circumstances and intensions of individuals who have moved to desegregated areas and returned to the apartheid legacy area of Chesterville Township.

Human agency acknowledges that although humans are active agents they must compromise accommodate and adapt to the environment. Human agency thus enhanced the authenticity of the study by viewing the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation from the perspectives of experienced people. The concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* also formed the theoretical framework of the study.

2.2.4 Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

According to Brint, (2001) as a symbol, the idea of community perseveres in the public discourse. Although communities are not similar they are a crucial component of how people as individuals are socialised and the style in which they interrelate with people around them. The social differences that characterise various races within the South African context,

subscribes to the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* which influenced the theoretical framework of this study.

Gemeinschaft, (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) is a useful concept to analyse the social topology of South Africa. According to De Cindio *et al.* (2003) the difference between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* lies in the fact that the former refers to a scenario whereby community is best understood as a network of social relations based on common values, norms, and overlapping interconnections. In South Africa, the former can be linked to Indian and Black apartheid legacy townships. The social terms and rules found in the *Gesellschaft* environments are characterised by civil distance and contractual existence epitomised by the respect for personal space. This can be linked to suburban Whites only legacy areas. According to Wellam and Leighton (1976) a very large percentage of urban dwellers understand neighbourhood within the context of social associations and linkages as well as a common sense of community. The importance to some is the feeling that they are part of a whole unit. “*Gesellschaftliche* relationships are rationalistic in structure, in structural in form, individualistic in structure, instrumental in form, individualistic in motivation, and exploitive in consequence. Social interactions are a construct stimulated by modern industrial production and a money economy” (Christenson, 1984: 162).

Social connections and bonds can be said to be one of the key factors that contribute to a better quality of life. Moving from one place of “communal interconnectedness” (Township) to spaces of contractual existence is characterised by civil distance which can be challenging. Muyeba and Seekings (2011) concludes in one of his writings that once residents of a particular neighbour make the decision to be reserved, the consequent result limits community interactions and interconnections. Creating bonds and networks in a new *gesellescharft* community may prove to be more difficult in some communities than others. In adopting the concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* the researcher gained an understanding of the social challenges people experienced in the desegregated *gesellescharft* areas to which they moved. The concept of Ubuntu was also utilised in understanding why differences in patterns of social interactions can result in residential re-segregation or a return to townships within South African cities.

2.2.5 Ubuntu

According to Nussbaum (2003) Ubuntu is a Nguni word from South Africa, which refers to people's interconnectedness and shared humanity. Ubuntu is also expressed as the shared accountability to one another as human beings. The concept of Ubuntu refers to the interaction between humans which is based on the foundation of caring for one another. Marx (2002) also states that Ubuntu is a short version of an isiXhosa proverb better known as 'Umntu ngumntu ngabantu' which translates as a person is a person because of people. The basis of Ubuntu stems from the belief that a person is a person through other people, and that reciprocity between people is one which governs the terms of social interaction between human beings.

It can be argued to a large extent that the concept of Ubuntu was one that had the most profound significance during the apartheid era, a time where Black people had to rally together to combat the gross injustices of the apartheid government. Ubuntu was initially used to encourage unity among people in order to combat difficult times and situations (Marx, 2002). Twenty years since the advent of democracy, progress in attempts to eradicate the mental and socio-spatial shackles of the past have been slow. Race as a marker of identity, still thrives as the lens through which people view one another.

There is a view that the notion of the spirit of Ubuntu and how people relate to one another is exaggerated and romanticised in South Africa, (Votmer and Wasserman, 2014). According to Swartz and Davies (1997) there is a negative side to Ubuntu that is often overlooked, where people have to sacrifice their personal needs for the benefit of the group, and undesirable behaviours and outlooks are swept under the rug. Furthermore, Nkondo (2007) has argued that the complex dynamics of the post-apartheid challenges has consequently led to failure to translate the philosophy of Ubuntu togetherness as it was during the apartheid era. Many policies in South Africa convey an interest in nurturing and promoting humanity, but do not explicitly include the philosophy of Ubuntu.

The spirit of Ubuntu, regardless of its level of influence and significance, can be compared to *Gemeinschaft* township settings in the city. According to Horn (2004) the survival strategy in African townships areas during the apartheid era, was fundamentally rooted in the culturally established custom of Ubuntu. The lack of a tangible change in the socio-economic fabric of the South African society, an ever growing gap perpetuated by the neo-liberal policies, has meant that the struggles and challenges of Black people persist in the post-

apartheid era. Some upwardly mobile Blacks experience a culture shock when they move into formerly segregated white residential areas.

2.2.6 Culture Shock

According to Bochner (2003) more often than not people live and work in environments that are familiar to them, usually areas in which they were raised. The close link to the socio-spatial environment, result in people going to school, working and socializing with those that have similar values, languages and shared ways of doing things. The decision to move from one area to another can present challenges of learning a new way of life and social behaviour, and some people experience a culture shock. According to Taft (1997) culture shock can be understood as encompassing six distinctive features, comprising the stress of adjusting to the new culture, a feeling of loss, misunderstanding in expected roles and self-identity, anxiety and feeling of unimportance as a result of failing to adapt to the new environment, and sense of refusal to be accepted by stakeholder members of the new environment. In this study culture shock fostered understanding personal struggles of failing to adapt and connect with people in the new areas, and thus was identified as one of the factors that can contribute to people moving back to the township.

Ballard (2004) argues that although human beings constantly try to shape the world in a manner that is suitable to individualities, the environment in which we live has the ability to test and pressure us. When selecting an area to live in; individuals expect the consequences that follow (Entwisle, 2007). The decision to move from one residential area to the other is based on choice, preference and expectations which suit individual aspirations. However, failure to adapt or connect to the new area can result in some people seeking to return to an environment best suited to their individual needs. According to Christenson (1984) values work as criteria to categorise arrangements of action and affect the appeal of different kinds of social relations within an area.

The presence or absence of trust can also be one of the influencing factors that determine the level of culture shock experienced by people in a new residential area. According to Heidarabadi *et al.* (2012) trust as a form of social capital is essential for the functioning of a society. However, the nature of trust that characterises different societies, whether at a macro or micro level, differs. South Africans are faced with the challenge of letting go of the past

ideas and embracing the concept of a multicultural rainbow nation. The transition from separateness to integration has proven to be a major challenge in post-apartheid South Africa (Gibson, 2004).

Garza-Guerrero (1974) states that sadness and solitude can be experienced by a person who is removed from a familiar environment and thrust into a new and unfamiliar area, as the person laments over the loss of culture and family. The historical context of South Africa has resulted in irregular, fragmented processes of assimilation and cross-cultural interactions at residential level. There has been a general failure by the post-apartheid government to foster understanding among various races. People have the tendency to find zones or areas in which they feel comfortable (Ballard, 2004). The logical process for people who find it difficult to adjust in a new area is to return to residential zones of comfort.

2.2.7 Conclusion

This section has presented the theoretical framework of the study. The section has presented the various theories and concepts that were employed for the purpose of this study. It was also conveyed how various concepts and theories illustrated the various lenses through which the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation could be understood. This section demonstrated how human beings are competent entities that have the ability to influence and be influenced by their surroundings. The role of location and the socialisation that occurs within a location has also been discussed in terms of how it can influence the process transition from one residential area to another.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Johnston *et al.* (2007) discrimination, disadvantage and personal choice are the most influential causes of the segregation of urban ethnic groups within the residential geography of any city. Although residential division occurs in all urban spaces, contextually it varies in form (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2014). Residential segregation of ethnic minorities thrives as one of the most comprehensively studied themes within urban geography in both North America and Western Europe (Leetmaa *et al.*, 2014).

While there are local and regional variations, the capitalist environment under which most urban processes operate has had far reaching influences on the levels of desegregation and integration. According to Bolt *et al.* (2008) residential mobility is directly related to the availability of resources, which has the ability to make some spaces better than others. This section presents the literature review for the study. This review of the published and unpublished literature provides an account of some of the diverse ideas and findings that have been provided by other scholars, which shed light on the issue of segregation, and the historical factors that set the stage for the current challenges in South Africa. This section also highlights the significance of contemporary dynamics in understanding residential desegregation and re-segregation.

2.3.1 Residential segregation and desegregation: International Trends

Racial residential segregation and desegregation is not unique to South Africa, it is an internationally occurring phenomenon. The American experience of residential segregation dates back to the twentieth century. According to Gotham (2000) American scholars have been fixated on scrutinizing the connection between race and segregation in cities. Hence, residential segregation along racial lines within cities in the United States of America (USA) has been a major theme in research (Emerson *et al.*, 2001; Quillian, 2002; Watson, 2009).

This can be attributed to the impacts of American apartheid which took place during the early twentieth century (Massey and Denton, 1993). However, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 saw the abolishment of racial segregation; this act illegalised all forms of racial discrimination in schools, this work environment and federal funding schemes (Massey and Denton, 1993). The Act supported integration, which saw the demise of American Apartheid.

According to Johnston (1984) prior to the 1960s the aim of American policies was centred on isolating people of colour, primarily African-Americans, from certain parts of residential areas by limiting them within sub-standard housing zones. An example of such schemes was the school bussing system which was utilised to transport children to schools that were earmarked for specific races (Goodman, 1972; Raynolds and Taeuber; 1974). The key strategies through which residential segregation was achieved in the USA were the historical redlining spearheaded by the Federal Housing Commission (Kimble, 2007) and Jim Crow Laws (Kennedy, 2011). According to Kousser (2003) Jim Crow Laws were a series of statutes to control socio-economic, spatial and political associations between African-Americans and Whites.

These statutes and practises orchestrated the division of an entire population in relation to race, which permeated all spheres of urban existence and more specifically, resulted in residential segregation. Massey and Denton (1993) argue that historically racial separation was primarily founded on the division of Whites from Blacks, with the former being situated in superior urban spaces than the latter. However, over the years the USA has come to host a diversity of ethnic groups such as Latinos and Asians among others, yet African-Americans remain the most segregated and isolated ethnic group well into the 21st century (Hartman and Squires, 2010).

The historical events that contributed to racial segregation resulted in the USA being known for inequality and fragmentation in the world today. However, in the contemporary era it is not race that primarily determines where one will live within urban America, but rather financial or class status. Although racial discrimination has been illegalised, the capitalist political economy has cultivated fresh grounds on which a new form of segregation along fiscal lines has flourished (Massey *et al.*, 2009). This is how socioeconomic influences came to the fore front as the influential factor which perpetuated segregation at a residential scale.

Wilkes and Iceland (2004) analysed the results of the 2000 census tract level data which revealed that Black people remain segregated from whites in 29 major urban areas in the USA. According to Culter and Glaeser (1997) American Black-white segregation has been connected to poorer levels of high school completion, greater unemployment, increases prevalence of single parenthood and inferior earning levels for African-Americans. The reality is that the African-American poor remain locked in segregated urban spaces. They

cannot afford to relocate to suburban areas, which are of a better socio-economic, environmental and infrastructural quality.

The dynamics of the capitalist system which governs the American political economy has led to the widening gap in income status of Americans, and has manifested itself spatially, as houses increasingly cluster together according to revenue and affluence (Massey *et al.*, 2009). The American built environment has come to host segregated fragments of affluence and poverty, which justifies why the country remains labelled as one of the most unequal in the world today.

Access to economic opportunities and residential mobility is not accessible to all. Massey (2007) argues that although some middle-class African-Americans have managed to gain entry into suburban areas, there continues to be a persistence of poverty that prevents the majority of Africa-Americans from upward residential mobility, and they are confined to the ghettos.

Friedman and Rosenbaum (2001) argue that those in the minority groups with higher levels of education and earning potentials, to a certain degree can pick where to live, those who are poor with inferior levels of education and income are bound in locations that are far from idyllic. However, it can be argued that even the well-educated minority encounter obstacles which limit their movement within the residential geography of urban America. This can be attributed to the phenomenon of racial redlining and steering which has increased significantly over the years (Ross and Turner, 2005). Newman and Wyly (2004) add that historical redlining facilitated the creation of racially fragmented residential enclaves. African-Americans were also disadvantaged in the mortgage market.

According to Gramlich (2007) the brunt of the increased rates in the housing market, through subprime lending, has been carried by households that are within the lower-income category. Certain neighbourhoods in urban America are viewed as financial high risks, which influences the struggle the Black minorities encounter in accessing financial loans in order to buy homes. Powell and Reece (2009) argue that the increase in subprime lending to minorities is a direct result of historical redlining, prejudice and oversight by the state, which has contributed greatly to the foreclosure of many Black owned homes. Thus, “ the racial and geographic concentration of subprime loans suggests that contemporary lending patterns may be repeating the punitive mortgage redlining practices of past years that aided the decline of many inner cities throughout the US” (Hernandez, 2009: 291). American desegregation is

governed by the private sector, and has proved to be weak as Black minorities struggle to sustain themselves in these desegregated areas due to economic difficulties. Racial steering also influences the slow pace of American desegregation.

Through racial steering real estate agents have been able to channel potential Black home owners into residential areas that are predominantly Black, which in turn undermines any processes of desegregation. A study conducted by Turner et al (2002) revealed that racial steering was increasing at disturbing high rates. Furthermore, the issue of racial tipping also frustrates the process of American desegregation. According to Wolf (1963) racial tipping refers to the point whereby increased representation of African-Americans within a neighbourhood results in white flight. This has been identified as one of the key factors influencing racial change in urban residential areas. Crowder (2000) revealed that the probability of whites relocating from an area is related to increasing inward movement of ethnic groups within that area. Hence, racial desegregation is often followed by re-segregation as whites move out of areas where the tipping scale is reached.

Residential desegregation endures as a feature in the American urban morphology. Although there are many debates currently taking place about the causes of continued residential segregation, general consensus has reported among academics that segregation at a residential scale continues and that Blacks remain the most isolated. Although the American situation is not a carbon copy of the South African experience of residential desegregation and re-segregation, it does provide a very useful platform for the understanding of socio-spatial integration dynamics.

2.3.2 South African Trends

This section focuses on residential segregation dynamics in South Africa, and is divided into three sections. The apartheid history of South Africa is discussed first and provides the historical context for residential segregation. This section focuses on the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the forced removals that followed the introduction of this policy, and the rise of grey areas and the Free Settlements Act of 1989. This is followed by a discussion of the policy reforms that have taken place in the post-apartheid era. More specifically the Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994, the Urban Development Strategy of 1995 and the Growth, Empowerment and Redistribution policy of 1996 are sequentially

discussed. Thereafter, a review of the published literature on the issue of post-apartheid desegregation is provided.

2.3.2.1 Apartheid Segregation

Segregation, within a historical South African context, was a direct result of the apartheid government's goal to entrench white domination over the Black majority. Furthermore, apartheid segregation had far reaching influences on the physical structure of South African urban spaces (Christopher, 2001; Lemanski, 2006a.). Hence, the apartheid system shaped the socio-spatial configuration of South African urban spaces in an unequal manner that continues to be visible almost two decades after democracy. The apartheid government contended that any form of functional coexistence between people of different races would only be possible on physical and social separation at all spatial and social scales (Saul and Gelb, 1981). It was through this justification that the apartheid government began to pursue the construction of the urban environment in a manner that would politically, socially, economically and environmentally reflect the principle of racial stratification.

In order to entrench the process of separate development and apartheid planning a sequence of laws were passed, to ensure that people were geographically divided according to race. The segregation laws were passed in a manner that disadvantaged the Black majority. The term Black during the apartheid era meant African, Indian and Coloured people, who lived separately from each other and from the white minority group. This fragmentation ensured that South Africa was one of the most racially divided countries in the world. What emerged from urban planning informed by human intentions was a series of interweaved spaces that facilitated the realisation of social aims (Hillie, 2008).

The Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 can be identified as the most influential law that saw advancement of the South African apartheid segregation policy at an urban scale: "It served as a powerful tool for state intervention in controlling the use, occupation, and ownership of land and buildings on a racial basis, and emphasised separate residential areas, educational services, and other amenities for the different race groups" (Maharaj; 1992: 135). Disjointed spatiality was the crux of racial classification, actual lines were drawn on maps, and the population was reshuffled and relocated according to these apartheid partitions (Lemanski, 2006a).

The impacts of the GAA have endured twenty years after democracy. Apartheid has resulted in interlinked urban environments branded by spatial partitions along racial lines, which could not be eradicated by a simple “stroke of a presidential pen,” (Dodson, 2013:2). For example, in Soweto almost all of its estimated 1.5 million occupants are people who throughout the apartheid era were categorised as African (Morris, 2004). The greater portion of South African urban dwellers continues to reside in apartheid legacy townships almost two decades into the democratic era. Furthermore, the impacts of forced removals and socio-spatial racial fragmentation persisted in the contemporary South African urban landscape.

Muyeba and Seekings (2012) point out that during the apartheid era, disadvantaged communities experienced the disintegration of neighbourly relations as a result of the policies of forced removals, influx control and African urbanisation. Between 1950 and 1991 more than 1 million hectares of urban space was rezoned on racial basis (Christopher, 1997). The fragmented distribution of land and opportunity that resulted from forced removals left Black South Africans being cramped into remote locations at the periphery of the city.

The GAA had the influence of not only dictating the demographic characteristics of the urban residential geography, but rather also influenced the physical characteristics of the locations that were associated with particular racial groups. According to Houssay- Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) mention that in Cape Town, the GAA resulted in whites living in pleasant green suburbs and Coloureds as well as Africans in desolate townships. The GAA was instrumental in orchestrating the disproportional access to resources and land that has been inherited in the post-apartheid era. In Cape Town, low cost areas are solely residential, with strict zoning of spatial functioning forcing people to commute for long hours to distant places of employment. These areas continue to be inhabited by predominantly African and Coloured groups (Houssay-Holzchuch and Teppo, 2009).

Despite the rigorous approach that was adopted by the apartheid government in creating divided residential habitats, grey areas of mixed racial living did illegally occur in some areas and resulted in the introduction of the Free Settlements Act of 1989. Despite the rigorous and determined aims of the apartheid government to create urban spaces that were racially divided, the apartheid government did not achieve its goals of total segregation (Maharaj, 1999). According to Glen (1990) the mixed racial residences which came to be known as grey areas had frustrated apartheid laws for a long time, more so during the period of the late eighties. Rule (1989) provided evidence that in Bertrams in Johannesburg, for example,

census information of 1970 revealed that only 82% of the population was white and the rest was Black, Indian and Coloured, despite being marked as a white area. Popular grey areas of the time included Hillbrow and May Fair located in Johannesburg, Woodstock in Cape Town and Albert Park situated in Durban (Maharaj, 1994), which to some degree revealed how gradual integration was occurring on a national scale.

The success of the grey areas of racial mixing at the end of the apartheid era was as a result of white landlords renting out flats and housing to non-whites. The reason being Whites were leaving most city areas for the suburbs and vacant flats meant a loss in profits (Maharaj, 1999). The occurrence of grey spaces of inter-racial coexistence can be identified as one of the ways in which Black people resisted the laws of apartheid. In this study Maharaj (1994) found that 90% of the respondents who lived in Albert Park were fully aware that they were dwelling in the area in breach the GAA. Furthermore, it was approximated that half of the respondents had experienced a run in with the law through previous eviction and fining. The persistence of mixed racial living in areas such as Albert Park resulted in the introduction of the Free Settlements Areas Act (FSAA) of 1989.

The FSAA provided grey areas with the status of 'free settlement' areas, in which all classified racial groups could reside, whilst the GAA would be enforced more strictly in other areas (Glen, 1990). In measuring the pace of post-apartheid desegregation it ought to be considered that some areas had begun to desegregate well before the advent of democracy. Maharaj (1994) reports that the allowance of mixed racial living (for an example) within Albert Park was not met with general acceptance by the white residents for whom the area had been earmarked. There was resistance and lack of support for the area to be labelled as free settlement areas. It was made apparent that the social construct of race became more than a policy agenda but also a marker for association between interactions among people within urban spaces.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the process of intra-racial segregation among the upper-middle income Blacks and the lower income Blacks also began occurring well before the post-apartheid era. For example, Portfolio (1991) described Albert Park as a congested multicultural society comprised of 'Black upwardly-mobile professional people,' and shop keepers among other types of people. It is evident that the issue of class based access to residential mobility determined by economic status, dates back to the post-apartheid period.

In assessing the dynamics of urban socio-spatial patterns it is important to take cognisance of economic segregation not only between races but within races.

2.3.2.2 Post-apartheid Policy Reforms

This section is an analysis of the post-apartheid urban governance strategies; South Africa has witnessed two waves of urban governance (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998). The initial period when the ANC came into power, it was guided by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The Urban Development Strategy (1995) attempted to translate some of the egalitarian principles of the RDP in cities. The introduction of the neoliberal Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) policy ultimately annihilated the RDP as the core strategy, with unprecedented impacts on cities and urban governance. The city would evolve into a marketable product, urban spaces were soon transformed into the significantly divided centres hosting both third world and first world characteristics, where riches would exist in the midst of great poverty.

2.3.2.2.1 Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994)

The year 1994 saw the new democratic government of the ANC being faced with a mammoth challenge of levelling the playing field for South African citizens (Christopher, 2005b). The post-apartheid government was faced with the challenge of reconstructing urban spaces in a way that would foster racial coexistence. This coexistence would be coupled by equal and equitable access to services and resources so as to fit the context of the “New South Africa”. The RDP of 1994 was introduced as a cohesive socio-economic agenda which tried to assimilate development, redistribution, rebuilding and reunification into a single programme (Comeron, 1996). According to Chapter One No. 1.1 of Republic of South Africa (1994):

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is a policy framework for integrated and coherent socio-economic progress. It seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of the results of apartheid. Its goal is to build a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future and it represents a vision for the fundamental transformation of South Africa by: developing strong and stable democratic institutions ensuring representivity and participation ensuring that our country becomes a fully democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society, creating a sustainable and environmentally friendly growth and development path

The RDP recognised the inefficiency, inequity and inequalities of South African cities, and intended to foster sustainable urban development in a style that would safeguard the quality of life of city inhabitants and re-establish development and promote fairness (Republic of South Africa, 1994). The RDP sought to engage a bottom up approach towards eradicating the deeply rooted inequalities of apartheid. According to Turrok (2001) employment, housing and transport networks formed the basis of a functioning and equitable city. Furthermore, segregation and dispossession contributed to social inequality (Bolt *et al.*, 2010). Cognisant of the far reaching implications of the apartheid system on uneven distribution of wealth, resources and land the RDP strived towards proactive urban development.

The RDP adopted the basic needs approach and focused on targets such as providing education, state-funded housing, national access to electricity and water, and distribution of land among other goods (Peterson, 1998). The people centred approach of the RDP was reflected by the state's commitment to transparency and accountability in the process of socio-economic development. Redistributing the economic benefits of the country was acknowledged as the, "the RDP is committed to reversing the distortions of the economy" (Republic of South Africa, 1994: 10). Bond (2003) adds that the RDP viewed access to urban goods and services as a right, this justified grants which were identified as mandatory for areas in which services and goods were not available. The State was explicitly identified as being responsible for the well-being of urban resident, and was committed to reshaping urban areas in the early post-apartheid period.

It can be argued that economic development spear headed by the state was the most logical route to be taken, as the inherited challenges had been orchestrated within the same entity, that being the apartheid government. The RDP, as conveyed by Republic of South A (1994), had aspirations towards urban economic development that would tackle the issues of inequality from the sources of the problems, as opposed to expecting a trickle-down effect from the top down. However, aspirations to reinter the global market contradicted the aims of the RDP.

According to Blumenfeld (1997) the ANC government worked hard to convey an image that it was an economically responsible organisation serious about creating opportunities conducive to foreign investment and fiscal growth. It was as a result of such fiscal agendas that the post-1994 period saw the ANC requiring more explicit and solid economic proposals (Habib and Padayachee, 2000). Although the RDP listed urban areas as being hubs of

development and the need for economic growth, the RDP's place within macro-economic development continued to be imprecise (Blumenfeld, 1997). The undefined role of the RDP in conveying how urban areas would be developed so as to encourage economic development influenced the shift away from the core values of the RDP. The introduction of Urban Development Strategy of 1995 can be identified as one of the key indicators that signalled the shift towards liberal policy agendas that would follow.

2.3.2.2 Urban Development Strategy (1995)

Bond (2003) posits that the UDS was the most explicit document issued by the government detailing how post-apartheid urban development was to be achieved. The ambitions mapped out in the RDP which were perceived as “over ambitious and utopian,” led to the UDS being viewed as the official “vehicle to realise the goals of RDP” (Maharaj, 2002:1). The USD presented itself as a plan to integrate cities, oversee urban growth, and channel funds into infrastructural development (Maharaj, 2002). In the Foreword of Republic of South Africa (1995) President Nelson Mandela stated:

Urban areas are the productive heart of the economy, but the majority of the urban population live in appalling conditions far from their places of work. Urban areas are extremely inequitable and inefficient due to decades of apartheid mismanagement. We need to massively improve the quality of life of our people, through creating jobs and deracialising the cities. By mobilising the resources of urban communities, government and the private sector we can make our cities centres of opportunity for all South Africans, and competitive within the world economy. The success of this will depend on the initiative taken by urban residents to build their local authorities and promote local economic development

The UDS document emphasised the importance of urban areas as centres of development, in which desegregation and integration could be achieved simultaneously with economic development. According to Section 5 no.5.1 of Republic of South Africa (1995) the aim of the strategy was to foster effective urban reconstruction and development that was said to operate within a consistent policy framework. Furthermore, it would focus on transformation of townships, job creation, housing and urban facilities via cohesive development designs; decrease of travelling distances between work spaces and residential spaces; and improve public passenger transport (Republic of South Africa, 1995).

On the surface the UDS, much like the RDP, was centred on addressing issues of uneven socio-spatial patterns and access to opportunities. However, much like the RDP White Paper of 1994, the UDS document presented a contradiction from the initial egalitarian. Within the document the retreat of the state in its core role as the driver of economic and social development, became even more evident. According to Bond *et al.* (1996) the UDS document demonstrated how there had been growing view that the government was not best suited to steer the process of restructuring urban space. It also advocated for the private sector to be placed as the driver of service delivery and in so doing overlooked several ways in which the government could facilitate the restructuring of apartheid cities (Bond, 2003). Furthermore the issue of residential desegregation and increased socio-spatial mobility for urban dwellers, in order to foster racial coexistence in shared spaces, equity and equality, was not covered explicitly.

The issue of residential desegregation was not covered extensively within the UDS discussion document. However, the UDS did allude to the importance of creating opportunities for increased urban integration at a residential scale. The UDS aimed at providing inexpensive housing and tenure security for the urban population despite the financial constrictions that plagued the country (Republic of South Africa, 1995). What the document did not define though was the role the state would play in the provision of housing and tenure security for urban dwellers. Rather, the USD favoured full cost recovery; in cases where this would not be achievable the document encouraged significantly lower levels of provision (Bond, 2003). This further unveiled the staunch case of neo-liberalism that had manifested in the post-apartheid era. However, the final policy that saw to the absolute infiltration of neo-liberalism was the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy of 1996.

2.3.2.2.3 Growth Employment and Redistribution (1996)

According to Narisiah (2010) western neoliberal ideas have materialised as influences of socio-economic practises in numerous newly liberated countries, such as South Africa. The 1996 period saw the ANC government gravitating away from people centred strategies of development. The ANC moved to a strong case of neoliberalism and market orientation through the introduction of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy of

1996. The neo-liberal policy of GEAR replaced the RDP and became recognised as the overarching and guiding policy for South African development.

Neoliberalism describes an approach that is deeply rooted in market-driven methods of policy formulation, which are fixed in neoclassical fiscal philosophies that put emphasis on private enterprise, relaxed trade and open markets (Roy *et al.*, 2007). It had been an enduring ambition of the ANC to re-enter the worldwide economy and accommodate globalisation (Rogerson, 2000). True to the desires of the government's macro-economic strategy, in February 1996 Thabo Mbeki, who was then deputy president, affirmed GEAR as the approved innovative approach for the country's economy (William and Taylor, 2000). It was due to this change that South African policies became more conformist to those of the western world, as opposed to being socially orientated (Adelzadeh, 1996). It was through GEAR that the South African economy would be forced to conform to international economic standardisation. Republic of South Africa (1996: 1):

As South Africa moves toward the next century, we seek:

- a competitive fast-growing economy which creates sufficient jobs for all work seekers,
- a redistribution of income and opportunities in favour of the poor,
- a society in which sound health education and other services are available to all; and
- an environment in which homes are secure and places of work are productive

GEAR was presented as an extension of RDP; however what was witnessed was a move from a proactive strategy that would address development from the bottom up, to a passive strategy that hoped for a trickledown effect of wealth and development. The promises that were brought forward with GEAR were that socio-economic and socio-spatial development would be achieved 'via a surge in economic growth' (Streak, 2004: 272). More focus was channelled at developing the upper-income realm of society with the hopes that wealth and development would infiltrate to the grassroots. Moreover, GEAR was more focused on holding international investors' interests and was inclined towards depicting the ANC's "economic orthodoxy" (Carmody, 2002: 58). GEAR was the boldest stance taken by the post-apartheid government in solidifying its prioritisation of macro-economic development which saw the business sector dominating the development agenda.

According to Turrok and Watson (2001) GEAR is a congested agenda which almost completely override the need to reshape cities in a racially, equitably and equally integrated manner. The shifts in policy focus have perpetuated and re-established the societal fragmentations of apartheid. The shift in policies has resulted in the government focus shifting from socio-spatial and socio-economic cohesion, to market orientated agendas and has resulted in the slow pace of residential desegregation and integration (Lemanski, 2007). Furthermore, the level of success that one has access to desegregated areas and resources dictates the ability one will have in contending in the housing market (Johnston *et al.*, 2007). Financial benefits have only been enjoyed by the middle-income Black minority group, which has resulted in the majority of the Black people being denied access to increased socio-spatial mobility in a way that is similar to that of the apartheid era.

According to Maharaj (2002:7) the most effective form of economic development does not only stem from business growth; rather the development should put emphasis on bettering the “material” and “social well-being” of an entire population. Neo-liberal strategies such as GEAR have not only been understood as contributing to residential segregation but have also hindered overall spatial mobility of the Black majority within urban spaces, and residential integration. The transfer from RDP and UDS to GEAR has resulted in the process of urban residential desegregation being driven by market forces.

2.3.2.3 Post-Apartheid Desegregation

Turrok and Waston (2001) argue that the process of spatial integration has come to be much more multifaceted and contentious than what was estimated throughout the period of the mid-90s. There are those within the academy who contend that race has diminished in its significance of understanding urban processes and societies (Parnell and Mabin, 1995). However, there is a large body of research which contends that the issue of race and space continues to be reciprocal and of significance in understanding urban processes of desegregation.

Academics have contended that the impacts of apartheid residential segregation still persist and will continue to frustrate the process of desegregation for many years to come (Schensul, 2008; Houssay- Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Muyeba and Seekings, 2012). The unrelenting

racially fragmented nature of the urban morphology warrants the continued significance of studies centred on the issue of race and space. According to Christopher (2005a) desegregation has been significantly sluggish, with census evidence from 1996 and 2001 demonstrating no key alterations being accomplished, as levels of racial separation mostly linger in close likeness to that of the apartheid era. Other studies (Maharaj, 1992; Christopher, 2001) suggest that although slow, spatial transformations have been unfolding. However, they have been unique to each space as a result of spatial and historical contingency, like in the case observed between Bloemfontein and Pietersburg (Kotze and Donaldson, 1998). The multifaceted nature of the process of segregation further legitimises the need for continued scholastic enquiry centred on the issue of socio-spatial racial desegregation.

In the post-apartheid era, racial segregation has been perpetuated, if not been replaced, by economic segregation, which in many ways, reinforces the spatial disparities and fragmentations of apartheid (Bremner, 2000; Popke and Ballard, 2003; Lemanski, 2007; Durrheim and Dixon, 2010). The transition from racial apartheid to economic segregation has been identified as a direct result of structural adjustment processes that ensued after democracy (Turrok and Watson, 2001; Watson, 2002). Urban geographers such as Render (2005) contend that South African urban spaces have not transformed into non-racial utopias, for the most part and have remained unchanged and residential segregation along class and racial lines persist.

Evidence provided by Kitchen (2006) demonstrates the failures of the post-apartheid government to produce new spaces of integration. In the post-apartheid era only the middle income Blacks have upward to residential mobility resulting in more desegregated suburbs and homogenous townships. In the post-apartheid era it is perceived that financial status plays a role in determining where people live in the city, which in many ways reinforces socio-spatial patterns reminiscent of those of the apartheid era. Another example is provided by Schensul, (2008) who contended that Durban, similar to many developing and middle-income cities globally, has forces which work to limit spatial transformation, social and fiscal in nature. Wilson (2012) argues that the post-apartheid city has gravitated in many ways towards being similar to cities in the United States of America (USA), in that class is quickly becoming the primary determinant of where one lives.

Holloway (2000) argues that Black people in America are finding it difficult to gain entrance in middle to high income suburbs as they struggle to acquire loans. Such trends have resulted in the majority of American Blacks being found in low income desegregated neighbourhoods. Similar trends are emerging in the South African context where the residential desegregation process was heavily reliant upon the accessibility of finance through bank loans (Christopher, 2005b). Although some Blacks have been able to move out of townships, the length and breadth of their movement has been, to a large extent, limited to low to middle-income desegregated areas.

According to observations made by Prinsloo and Cloete (2002), much like in the USA, in both Johannesburg and Cape Town, it is in lower priced areas that Black procurements of houses and flats has occurred. The consequence is that class is progressively becoming a noteworthy a division as race not only in terms of spatial location but also in terms of all spheres of urban existence such as leisure and consumption (Morris, 2004). Findings by Prinsloo and Cloete (2002) suggest that desegregation was occurring at a higher concentration in low income areas while segregation endured in middle to high income areas. However, Horn and Ngcobo (2003) contend that if any form of durable socio-economic spatial integration should be realised, this would be perused within the middle-income group in suburban areas. What both studies have lacked, however, is an account of the level of racial integration that has ensued in these low income and middle-income areas in which desegregation has been reported to be occurring. There is a gap in literature which addresses the issue of racial integration within suburban neighbourhoods. Hoogendoorn and Visser (2007) argue that urban neighbourhoods remain under investigated and state that scholarship has generally ignored the suburbs in preference for townships, inner-city and edge city research.

What has emerged from literature has been a focus on racial integration patterns in state-led low cost housing areas (Muyeba and Seekings, 2011; Oldfield, 2004). Studies suggest that, in those areas, racial integration has remained limited with people living racially segregated lives within desegregated spaces. For example, Oldfield (2004) found that in Delft South, habits of racial separation lingered in occupiers' dependency on social networks created from long family, friendship, and social histories. Physical relocation had been reported to have failed in reducing the significance of racial identities. There is continued segregation even in areas where people's financial profiles are, to a large degree, homogenous as people associate and interact with people of the same race (Durrheim and Dixon, 2010).

A study by Muyebeba (2011) at Delft Leiden and Tambo Square in Cape Town found that the city failed to inculcate racial integration in both places. After almost a decade of democracy, the study found that the quality and strength community spirit and togetherness in both Delft Leiden and Tambo Square had been sharply low. It was found that there was lack of social interconnection as home proprietors in the areas did not actively attempt to engage at a community level (Muyebeba, 2011). Desegregation in low cost housing areas has not been synonymous to racial integration. Another feature that has characterised desegregation processes both internationally and within the South African context has been racial tipping.

According to Zhang (2011) racial tipping can occur and sustain racial separation irrespective of individual's wishing to reside in areas that have some level of racial mixing. In the USA Quillian (2002) found that white people who evaded neighbourhoods that were racially mixed have played a significant role in sustaining segregation at a macro-scale. Such trends of racial tipping and white evasion have been observed in South African cities as well. For example, Morris (2001) found that in certain high-density urban centres, which during the apartheid era were earmarked as white areas, a sizable inward movement of Blacks into such spaces had been witnessed. Simultaneously white dwellers took flight from the areas which had been transformed into Black zones. This would suggest that where integration is resisted through fragmented racial interaction in low income state funded housing areas, it comes to be characterised by 'tipping' through white flight and avoidance in the middle to high income neighbourhoods, contributing to re-segregation.

Horn and Ngcobo (2003) claim that racial tipping has not been characteristic of all experiencing desegregation. In the case of Nina Park and The Orchards, which are middle-income suburbs, there had been sizable inflow of Blacks (47 %), and no indications of white flight. The claim made by Horn and Ngcobo (2003) of racial integration being achievable within middle to high-income suburbs, however, is flawed as their findings also reveal that whites and Blacks within these suburbs demonstrated no interest integrating with one another. It is argued that although physical relocation has led to mixed racial living in these suburbs, it has not meant racial integration, resulting in a shallow form of desegregation. The findings furthermore authenticate the significance of spatial and historical contingency, which make the desegregation process area specific and contextual. Although tipping has not been reported to be occurring, avoidance has been demonstrated in the reluctance of whites to interact and assimilate with Blacks in the areas. In addition, the rapid increase of gated

communities in the post-apartheid era has also influenced the nuance of desegregation and re-segregation.

The rapid increase in gated communities is a phenomenon that is occurring internationally, in countries like the USA (Vesselinov, 2008) and The United Kingdom (Atkinson and Flint, 2004) have been identified as perpetuating patterns of residential segregation on an international scale. In the context of South Africa, Ballard (2004) argues that some whites have resorted to developing gated communities to resist desegregation and integration although the ostensible reason is to protect themselves from high levels of crime. Some affluent whites have, in some ways, re-segregated since the advent of democracy through the erection of high fences and boom gates, isolating themselves from the micro and macro-level process of desegregation and integration. In Johannesburg, for example, the “Africanisation” of space has resulted in whites gating parts of the city so as to mitigate the impacts of spatial transformation and to preserve white exclusivity and in so doing increasing “ghettoisation” and socio-economic segregation (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2014: 2). In some ways it is evident that it is possible for individuals to “opt out” of the desegregation process by purposefully encapsulating themselves from society and living within residential silos where preferred socio-spatial structures can be retained.

Advocates of gated communities argue that they provide increased levels of security and a sense of community, yet in both the USA and South Africa gated communities have been stated to disturb urban planning, management and desegregation processes (Lemanski, 2004). Furthermore, gated communities have been identified as producing new spaces of exclusion and isolation through which the affluent minority has been able to control who has entry and benefits from to certain spaces (Lemanski, 2006 a; 2006 b). Moreover, isolation between races continues to exist as a result of historically racially fragmented residential zoning patterns. These patterns have persisted well into the post-apartheid era and have seen to the continued occurrence of spatial pockets of single race dominated existence which has undermined the desegregation process.

Christopher (2005b) reports that KwaZulu-Natal, for instance, the dissimilarity index for Blacks and whites remains high, much like in the apartheid era, which indicates, to some extent, the slow progress of desegregation at a national scale. This validates the argument presented by Durrheim and Dixon (2010) that there is a persistent trend occurring of Blacks

within urban townships being secluded from processes of desegregation and integration. A research done by Bremner (2000) further suggests that Black isolation from other races and processes of integration, has also been as a result of state funded housing schemes which produce solely Black housing settlements, next to apartheid legacy townships. These findings were authenticated Parnell and Pieterse (2010) who argued that there is a lack of political commitment to provide third generation urban dwellers their rights to residential mobility and integration.

Seekings (2008) observed that class reigns supreme in limiting the mobility of Blacks, which is intensified by poor education, low level positions in the work environment and lack of access to loans. Watson (2002) adds that the unfortunate decision taken by the ANC has been the removal of public transport appropriations for historically disadvantaged persons, who remain locked within their residential spaces and are also deprived of employment opportunities. The isolation of Blacks within the townships reinforces the disadvantages of the apartheid era as the democratic government has largely failed to address socio-economic challenges and legacies of the apartheid era.

South African cities exist within a paradox of the aspirations to be globally competitive while restructuring urban spaces so as to deal with the disparities of apartheid (Benit and Gervais-Lambony, 2005). The transformations that have taken place with the advent of democracy have seen to urban areas being structured into fragmented spaces that host different status groups. According to Coquery-Vidrovitch (2014) the poor attempt to position themselves as close to their places of employment, resulting in racially homogenous and congested areas, while the middle income group resides in much tranquil suburbs connected to the city centres by highways. The post-apartheid 'reality' is that residential movement has not been available to the entire population. People continue to be trapped in residential localities as determined by their economic status. It can be argued that spatial fragmentation along class lines results in people having access to spaces that provide highly inequitable and unequal opportunities for a better quality of life (Houssay-Holzchuch and Teppo, 2009). Apartheid inherited socio-spatial inequalities and fragmentation has been perpetuated in the post-apartheid era, resulting in change being shallow and ineffective in building a "new South Africa" as was envisioned by the post-apartheid government.

According to Lemanski (2007) the precise distinction of division varies from one urban space to the next, and the context of Global South urban areas differs from Northern spaces due to historical segregation. Saff (2002) warns against the association of South African urban spaces to international urban spaces, and draws attention to the continued need for studies that illustrate awareness of the various impacts of the country's history. Saff further adds that while the USA and other international urban spaces can be useful in understating processes of urban segregation and desegregation, caution must be exercised in using these experiences to understand the South African realities.

2.4 CONCLUSION

It is evident from various policy reforms since 1994 that historical and contemporary forces have reinforced racial residential segregation in South Africa. The apartheid system has had long lasting impacts on South African cities. The review of South African published literature has demonstrated how desegregation is occurring at a local, regional and national levels and the significance of spatial and historic contingencies was apparent. International trends of residential segregation and desegregation have conveyed the global nature of the phenomenon. Although western experiences of segregation and desegregation do not necessarily resonate with the South African experience, they have added value to the understanding of the various dimensions of segregation and desegregation at a residential scale.

CHAPTER THREE: THE METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The pattern of re-segregation within a period of desegregation can be understood as the emergent. Although the study of residential re-segregation is new and has not been covered widely in literature, it can be viewed as a crucial component of post-apartheid processes. This chapter explains the methodology adopted in this study. An outline of this research aim, objectives and a brief background to the study area is discussed. There after the chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the various research methods and techniques used in the study, including their weaknesses and strengths. This chapter then discusses the types of sampling techniques used for data collection, namely the purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. The data collection methods, interviews and focus group, are then discussed, followed by the approach to data analysis.

3.2 AIM, OBJECTIVES AND KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of the study is to examine the current dynamics influencing the residential geography of South African cities. More specifically, the process of re-segregation or return to Black townships within an era of desegregation is the focus of this study. The intention is to investigate the key factors that influence the process of residential re-segregation. More specifically, the objectives of the study are:

- i) To determine why people moved out of Chesterville.
- ii) To ascertain the challenges experienced in adjusting to the new environments.
- iii) To investigate the key factors that led to people moving back to Chesterville.
- iv) To analyse how people were received upon returning to Chesterville.
- v) To assess if people would consider relocating from Chesterville, should the opportunity arise.

The study was based on the following three key research questions:

- a) Why did people relocate out of Chesterville?

- b) What are the challenges experienced by the people in the environment?
- c) Why did the people return to Chesterville?

3.3 THE RESERCH SITE: CHESTERVILLE TOWNSHIP

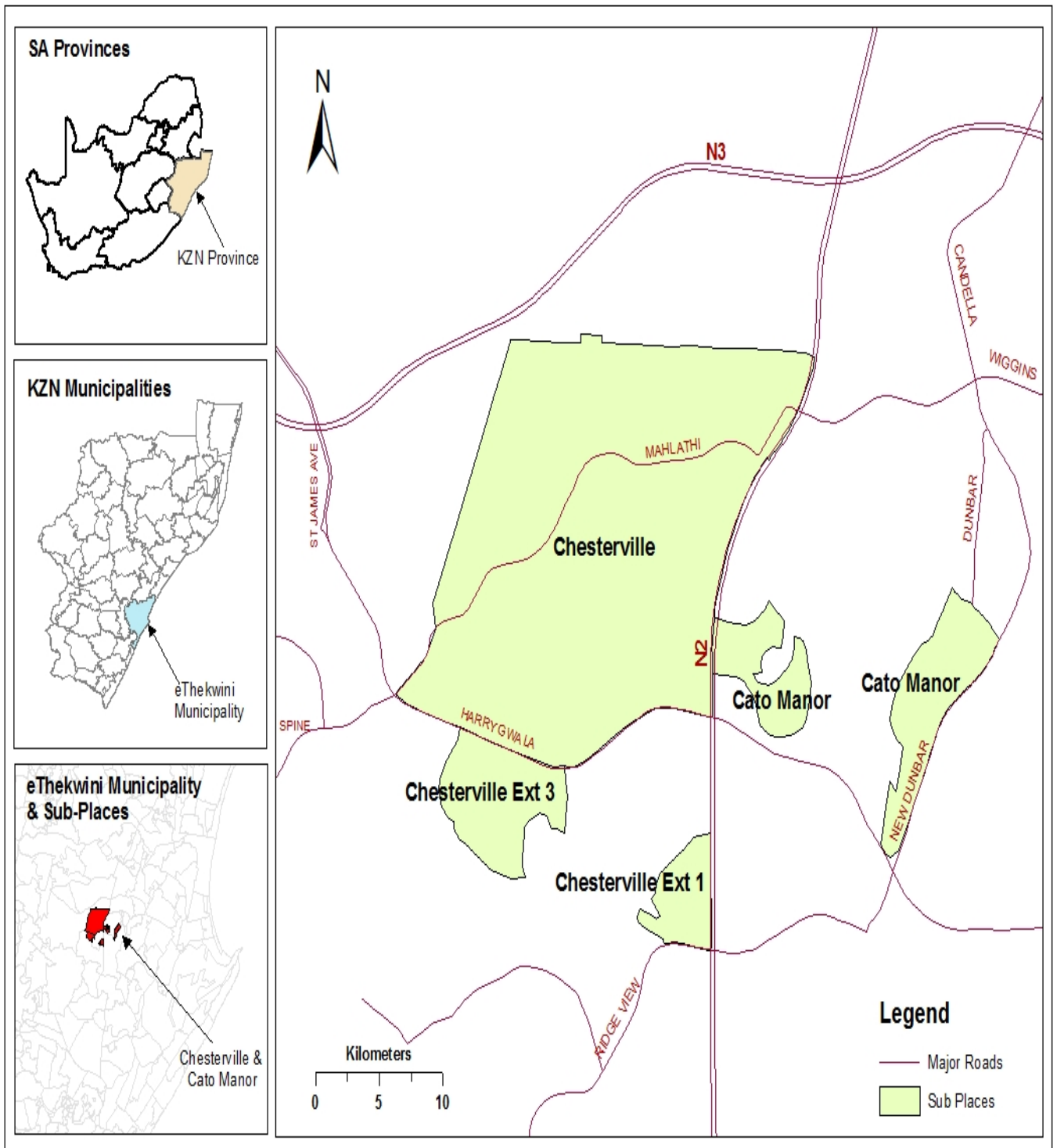


Figure 3.1 Map Showing Location of Chesterville in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal

Source: Researcher's own.

Chesterville is located 7 kilometres away from the Central business district (CBD) of the Durban Area. It is a previously disadvantaged township located adjacent to the Cato Manor area of the eThekweni Metropolitan region (figure 3.1), in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (Vukukhanye Community Upliftment Initiative, 2009). Chesterville Township was not developed as a result of forced removals and relocations like most legacy apartheid South African townships which have a legacy of apartheid. It was initially part of the Blackhurst Estate, which was meant to be used for agricultural purposes, but through abandonment later developed into a large squatter settlement (Mkhize, 2004). Chesterville was largely created to accommodate increased numbers of urban shack-dwellers within Durban, specifically the Cato Manor region.

According to Maylam (1983) Chesterville Township was completely constructed in 1946. The cumulative figures of shack-dwellers inside the Cato Manor region resulted in the region being viewed as a problematic space, and was initially brought to authorities' awareness by Dr Gunn, who was Durban's Medical Officer of Health in 1934. The growing shack population that arose in Cato Manor was seen to have grave health repercussions as the area came to be considered as a disease hot spot. The intention of the Durban city council was Chesterville Township would offer formal housing for the Cato Manor shack-dweller. It was also seen as an area that could profit industry through providing a cheap labour pool (Maylam, 1983). Chesterville is seven kilometres from the CBD in comparison to other apartheid legacy townships which are situated in the urban periphery. Although comparatively different from other townships in terms of spatial location within the city, houses in Chesterville continue to be an apartheid architectural image of four-roomed houses, which are made of brick walls, asbestos rooftops, two bedrooms, and kitchen with a water tap and sitting room (Motsemme, 2011).

As a resident of Chesterville one found it important to share that, there has been some level of development within the township. The housing structures within the township are no longer homogenous as some households have been extended and renovated their dwellings. It is not all houses that fit the description of legacy apartheid four roomed houses. However, the majority of the township population continues to live in such housing structures

3.4 RESEARCH APPROACH

3.4.1 The Qualitative Research Approach

The aim and objectives of this study were to engage in an in-depth understanding of the key factors that prompt people to engage in the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. This meant having to understand the experiences of individuals who had actively been involved in such processes. This required the researcher to be mindful of the significance of peoples' experiences, hence the selection of the qualitative approach for the study. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011:4) opines that "the social meaning people attribute to their experiences, circumstances and situations...are the focus of qualitative research."

According to Fossey (2002) qualitative research is based on an intention to produce and comprehend various connotations and knowledge spheres of the social and lived worlds of people. This study sought to understand South Africa's changing urban socio-spatial patterns. The qualitative approach provided an opportunity to understand the lived experiences of people who had been involved in the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. What is at the core of good qualitative research is whether the production of understanding of a phenomenon reflects people personal meanings, social circumstances and behavioural choices (Fossey *et al.*, 2002). Factors that influence the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation are not generic; the experience of desegregation and re-segregation has been personal and individual.

A qualitative approach also enhanced the study as it allows the researcher to understand the phenomenon under study and to obtain data on the experiences of people without omitting interesting points of departure. Qualitative researchers do not change observations into numbers or separate aspects of the interaction from the entire data set (Nueman, 2006). The qualitative method provides a holistic account of the various dimensions and factors that can be attributed to residential desegregation and re-segregation.

3.4.2 The Case Study Approach

According to du Pooily-Cilliers *et al.* (2014) a case study is a bulky and comprehensive description of a particular social phenomenon which occurs within a real world setting. A

case study approach was adopted for the purposes of the study, with the focus on Chesterville Township. As Flyvbjerg (2006) explained, a case study has the unique thoroughness which has the benefit of allowing the researcher to focus on conditions and examine interpretations in relation to occurrences directly, as they develop in practice, hence the selection of a case study approach for this dissertation.

Yin (1981) states that the utilisation of case study research does not suggest the usage of any specific evidence or data collection methods. Best suited methods of research can be combined and used in a manner that optimises the quality of the knowledge that is to be produced from any particular study. Case studies normally comprise of a combination of data collection methods such as interviews, among others, and usually are presented in either a qualitative or quantitative manner, and at times through both methods (Eisenhardt, 1989). It was based on the flexible and all inclusive nature of the case study approach that one could utilise various research methods and techniques which optimised knowledge production surrounding the issue of residential re-segregation within a period of desegregation.

According to George and Bennett (2005) a case study approach gives the researcher the opportunity to measure the indicators that best characterise the theoretical concepts the researcher aims to measure. This study sought to investigate the key influencing factors that act as triggers and contributors to the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. A holistic theoretical framework which provided a platform for recognizing people as key actors in the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation was required. The case study approach has the capacity to allow for the “unique voice of those whose experience in, and perspective on, the world are unknown, neglected or suppressed” (Gomm *et al.*; 2000:6-7). Furthermore, the theoretical framework for the study had to be one that set a stage for the understanding of various factors that influence human behaviour and decision making.

The case study approach authenticated the outcomes of the study as the findings were case specific and resonated with the various personal lived experiences of participants. Case studies are centred on ‘lived reality’ and strongly have the capacity to communicate the experiences of individuals and small groups (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001). The use of the case study approach allowed for an in-depth discussion of contextual factors that influence re-segregation processes.

The strength of the case study approach which enhanced this study was the manner in which it worked collaboratively with the qualitative research methods. Focusing on one township,

various individual experiences of people could be understood against the background of a shared background in terms of location within the city of Durban.

According to Noor (2008) a case study approach has been critiqued as being short of scientific rigidity and reliability. This identified weakness became strength in this study as human experiences, perceptions and values cannot be quantified or standardised. The flexible nature of the case study approach optimised the nature in which participants could fully express themselves. People's lived experiences are not homogeneous and the challenges encountered by people are not generic. With reference to residential desegregation and re-segregation, approaching the subject from a case study point of view assisted in insuring that misplaced generalisations were avoided and context specific knowledge was produced.

This study made use of Chesterville Township. The township was selected due to its convenient location and the researcher is a local resident of the township. Hence, the researcher had access to individuals who could provide an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of residential desegregation and re-segregation. The case study approach also added value in providing a platform to understand the relationship between the township and desegregated areas and how these spaces jointly influence the individual experiences of desegregation and re-segregation.

3.5 SAMPLING

The process of sampling involves the selection of a portion that represents a whole (Onwuegbuzie and Collins, 2007). The investigation was based on non-random or non-probability sampling, using purposive and snowballing techniques. The nature of the topic of the study required for a sample to be selected based on the knowledge that the people had actively been involved in the process of moving out of Chesterville, to desegregated areas, later relocating to Chesterville. The study was based on a sample of twenty participants which the qualitative approach permits as the study sought to understand a specific phenomenon as opposed to making generalisations.

The selection of the sample relied on the researcher knowing some individuals who had left the township and returned, and their willingness to participate. The final sample comprised of six men and fourteen females. Upon reflection, one concluded that a possible reason for the

lack of male participation was due to masculinity and how men viewed themselves. As Erden (2009: 410) explains that ‘society assigns abilities and characteristics to individuals on the basis of their gender.’ For instance, in most societies men are identified as responsible, strong, independent, self- confident, aggressive, and successful.” Therefore, the return to the township could have been viewed by them as failing to meet the expectations, leading to unwillingness to discuss the issue.

Another possible contributing factor could have been that the researcher was female and part of the community. Given the patriarchal background under which most males are socialised within the African township context, it can be understood why males were more reluctant to allow a female, from within the township, to have information about their personal struggles. The ages of the participants ranged from thirty to sixty one. The advantage of the difference in the ages of participants provided the researcher with an opportunity to view the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation through the views and perceptions of different generations of urban dwellers.

In having a sample size of twenty, the researcher was able to gain in-depth insight and understanding of each individual’s experiences. The small sample insured that the researcher was able to acknowledge every facet of the circumstances and not downplay certain issues as a result of seeking to have broad understanding for the sake of generalizing.

Mckenzie and Crouch (2006) state that the strength of a study based on a small sample lies in its ability to allow the researcher to wholly submerge him or herself in the research field, have close associations with the participants, and directly engage with life issues as they occur. Hence, it was possible for the researcher to understand the various aspects of the experiences shared by participants, when it came to their experiences of residential desegregation and re-segregation.

3.5.1 Purposive Sampling

According to Tansey (2007) purposive sampling as one of the non-random non-probability techniques, is based on researcher’s understanding of the population within the case study area. The intention of this study was to investigate what are the key factors influencing the process of residential re-segregation within an era of desegregation in Chesterville. Residential desegregation and re-segregation could not be treated as a common occurrence in

which all members of the population had been directly involved. The process of residential desegregation and re-segregation is a phenomenon that has characterised the lived experiences of certain individuals in Chesterville as opposed to the entire community.

The initial sample was obtained through the researcher purposively approaching individuals based on the knowledge that they had at one point or another moved out of Chesterville, to desegregated areas, and had returned. As stated by Teddlie and Yu (2007), purposive sampling is a technique which involves the selection of certain units or cases on the grounds of a specific purpose rather than it being random. Purposive sampling is a non-probability technique which does not require underlying theories or a set number of participants (Benard, 2002). This was well suited to the study as it has already been mentioned that it is certain individuals within Chesterville who have been involved in moving out to desegregated areas and returning, as opposed to the entire community.

The nature of purposive sampling complemented this study as it was not based on large statistical outcomes, but rather case specific understanding of a process. The strength of purposive sampling, in the context of this study was how it validated the significance of a small sample size of twenty. As argued by du Pooiy-Cilliers *et al.* (2014) the results gathered from this method cannot be used to generalise a larger population.

According to Tangco (2007) one of the weaknesses or disadvantages of purposive sampling as a tool for data collection is the fact that the researcher has to apply a great level of judgment with regards to the participants' trustworthiness and competency. However, being part of the community allowed the researcher to readily have an understanding as to who to overlook, based on their potential to provide untrustworthy accounts of their experiences. The purposive sampling technique allowed the researcher to decide what characteristics of the population were vital for the research, select a sample from the population that adheres to the study's needs, and ignore those who don't have the desired characteristics (du Pooiy-Cilliers *et al.*, 2014). Furthermore, the sensitive nature of the study meant that one needed to assure the participants that what had been communicated to the researcher would remain confidential.

3.5.2 Snowball Sampling Technique

The snowball technique was selected as the second non-random method of sampling. According to Tansey (2007) the snowball technique also known as the chain referral method requires the researcher to identify a group of participants that can initially take part in the study. Once this set of participants has been interviewed, the researcher then has the opportunity to request recommendation of other possible participants with similar characteristics. The snowball technique proved useful to the study as the researcher was made aware of possible participants that had initially been unknown. Upon completing the interviews the participant would either spontaneously suggest someone or be willing to direct the researcher to potential participants.

In addition the use of the snowball technique assisted in gaining credibility with some of the participants, who agreed to participate based on the knowledge that the researcher had been referred to them by someone who had gone through the same process and whom they knew and to some degree, trusted.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION

The data for this study was collected over a period of three months, between February and April in the year 2014. Initially the researcher had intended to carry out the data collection over a period of two months, but had to adjust the schedule around their participant's availability. Furthermore, in some instances the researcher followed up on referrals made by participants which prolonged the process of data collection. During the month of February the first eight in-depth interviews were conducted. It was during the month of March that a further twelve interviews were conducted. The focus group session was carried out during the month of April. For purposes of this study, semi structured interviews and a focus group was utilised as research methods. These are further discussed in the followings section.

3.6.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

According to King and Horrocks (2010) the interviewing method of collecting primary data in qualitative research, more specifically within the social sciences has gained much prominence over the years. Clifford *et al.* (2010) contended that interviews are made up of a

verbal conversation between an interviewer and an interviewee. Furthermore, within the framework of qualitative research, interviews often aim to pierce into the crux of social life that transcends apparent meanings and forms of understanding (Mckenzie and Crouch, 2006). The participants of the study were provided with a platform to communicate the key factors that had influenced their experiences of residential desegregation and re-segregation. It was through the use of individual semi-structured interviews that information was solicited from the participants.

The power of in-depth face-to-face interviews lies in the fact that they are able to provide the interviewer with the space in which they can go into the private and delicate subjects that participants may be nervous about discussing in a cluster (Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). One of the many advantages that come with the utilisation of semi-structured interviews is that it is not as rigid as structured interviews. Cohen and Crouch (2006) state that a researcher when making use of the semi-structured interviews develops an interview schedule or guide beforehand. The flexible nature of semi-structured interviews, however, allowed for the researcher to pursue interesting areas of discussion which arose as the interviews were occurring. The information that was gained from the discussions that occurred during the face-to-face one-on-one interviews produced rich and authentic knowledge, as communicated by the participants with reference to their individual experiences.

3.6.2 Focus Group

The study also used the focus group to collect data. According to du Pooley-Cilliers *et al.* (2014) a focus group is simply a group interview utilised to gather understanding about the outlooks, perceptions, preferences and behaviours of people who are interviewed instantaneously by an interviewer. Furthermore, the focus group can play a profound role as a primary method of data collection (Bloor *et al.*, 2001). The focus group was utilised to gain more information and insight that emerged from the face-to-face individual, semi-structured interviews.

According to Seale (2004) this group method plays a very significant methodological role in the sense that discussions carried out within a cluster of participants provides the researcher

with the opportunity to explore the various dimensions of a social process. The session also added texture to information that had emerged from the semi-structured interviews. It added value to the study as it created an environment in which individual perceptions and ideas of participants could be challenged and questioned by other people.

The sample that was used for the focus group consisted of participants that were used in the face-to-face, semi-structured individual interviews. It must be mentioned however that eight of the participants who had taken part in the interview sessions opted out of the focus group discussion. Hence, there were only twelve participants contributing to the group discussion.

The intention of the focus group was to explore how people related to and expressed their views and lived experiences once immersed into a group environment. Parshall and Kidd (2000) point out that participants may change or moderate their experiences and responses to issues and subjects when they are in an environment that consists of people, with whom they might, to a certain extent, share common experiences. The data that was generated from the individual interviews served as a reference point for the researcher to make comparisons. The candidness of expressing oneself in a secure one-on-one situation was challenged within the group environment of the focus group. Tritter and Parker (2006) state that while the focus group is running its course many participants may change their minds about certain issues or experience or shift in their position with reference to particular matter. The focus group thus provided the researcher with some insight about the collective meanings people attached to residential desegregation and re-segregation. Furthermore, the focus group produced significant issues that could have been overlooked initially, but came to serve as interesting points of departure in the data analysis phase of the study.

According to Tritter and Parker (2006) one of the weaknesses of focus groups comes in the form of failure to address the problem between sampling and representation, leading to the failure to produce influential findings that uncover something about social processes. This weakness was mitigated in this study by involving participants from the interview sessions as the focus group sample. The issues that were discussed during the focus group became more than a mere dialogue of individual circumstances; it became an extension of in-depth face-to-face accounts provided by participants.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

In order for the qualitative research to make sense and produce meaningful and significant results, it is paramount that the material under investigation be analysed in sound organisational fashion (Attride-Stirking, 2001). The qualitative nature of the study called for a thematic approach to data analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) state that thematic analysis can be understood as a method for identifying patterns within data for more detailed and in-depth interpretation, and this was important for this study.

According to Aronson (1994) thematic analysis requires the researcher to recognise all the data which relates to patterns already classified. After transcriptions had been completed the five research objectives on which the study was based served as broad themes to structure the analysis. The research objectives were: to investigate why people left Chesterville; the key challenges that were experienced in the new environments; why people moved back to Chesterville; how they were received upon return; and if people would consider relocating from Chesterville again should the opportunity arise.

The qualitative nature of the study demanded that the data analysis be done in a manner that would communicate the various views, perspectives and experience of participants coherently. The thematic data analysis method served as most practicable, as “a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 10).

According to Taylor and Bogdan (1984) a step that follows in thematic data analysis is the combination and cataloguing of connected patterns into sub-headings, which are units obtained from various attitudes, views and perceptions, among other factors, communicated by participants. Pseudonyms were used when reference was made to an interview or group discussion. In this study the various issues and topics of discussion that transpired from the individual face-to-face interviews and the focus group session were discussed thoroughly and coherently through the use of sub-themes within the broader themes of the thesis. An example of such an approach would be within the first broad theme: why did people move out of Chesterville? The key patterns within responses led to sub-themes such as Personal Safety and Security, Personal Privacy, and Affordability among others being utilised.

According to Thorne (2000) a qualitative study, is dependent on inductive reasoning processes in order to understand and interpret the various meanings obtained from data analysis. The data analysis in this study was based on inductive reasoning, as it was the various views, thoughts and perceptions of the participants that generated the ideas and contentions that emanated. Inductive reasoning ensured that the ideas and contentions presented stemmed authentically from the lived experiences of participants. The manner in which inductive reasoning complimented the premises on which both humanism and the qualitative research methods are based included focusing on interpreting real world processes with the human being at the centre of understanding added much value to the analysis. The aim of the study was to understand the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation from the experiences of individuals. It was thusly necessary to approach data analysis from an angle that did not predetermine or pre-empt key influences that have contributed to the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented a detailed explanation of the various methods that were utilised for this study. The flexible nature of the qualitative research approach allowed for the researcher to select a range of methods and techniques which were deemed as most suitable for the study. This chapter provided a detailed account of all the various research methods and techniques, giving justification for their selection. The chapter also presented the research methods and techniques and on how elucidated each of the methods and techniques shaped the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a nation that has been branded by racial separation for decades because of the apartheid policy. The socio-spatial impact of apartheid was most intensely apparent in the residential areas. Separation endures as a theme that typifies South African cities, particularly when it comes to their housing morphology. The post-apartheid government inherited this legacy across social, political, and economic spheres; housing separation was one of them. The aim of this study was to examine the current dynamics influencing the residential geography of South African cities, more specifically, the process of re-segregation or return to Black townships, with Chesterville as the case study. The intention was to investigate the key factors that influence the process of re-segregation and a return to Chesterville. The intention of this study was to examine the present practice of people moving back to apartheid legacy townships, after having relocated to formerly white residential areas. This study examines the key influencing factors that have resulted in residential re-segregation, in the post-apartheid era.

This chapter contains the data analysis, which is grounded on the primary information obtained through semi-structured interviews and a focus group discussion. The study was based on three key research questions which were:

- a) Why did people move out of Chesterville?
- b) What are the Challenges experienced by the people in the new environment?
- c) Why did the people move back to Chesterville?

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section focuses on the key reasons on why people left the township. The key challenges that were experienced by the participants in the new environments is the theme of the second section. Thereafter, the focus is on the key reasons that led to the participants moving back to the township, followed by an assessment of the reception upon returning to the township. The final section discusses whether people would consider moving away from the township again should the opportunity arise.

4.2 WHY DID PEOPLE MOVE OUT OF CHESTERVILLE?

This section analyses the various motives that prompted the move out of Chesterville to desegregated areas. The explanations provided by the participants, for leaving the township, cut across personal, social, and economic spheres. The rationale for the move shared by participants is discussed within the context of personal safety and security, privacy, affordability, location in relation to workplace, status, and kinship linkages.

4.2.1 Personal Safety and Security

Safety and security has been identified in Maslow's hierarchy of needs as a basic need for all human beings. The need to be safe and secure is innate in all living beings. The absence of this feeling of security evokes a sense of fear. A home primarily represents a space where safety and security are a prerequisite. When that sense of security is threatened, people react instinctively in eradicating the problem. It is this anxiety that became a contributing factor, as expressed by participants of this study, which prompted the move out of Chesterville.

Participant One who moved out of the township in 1987 to Umbilo Flats reported that fear induced by the then political state of the country. The participant explained that:

"I was scared that I was going to get killed. There were many riots; people were turning on each other, killing each other, burning houses and all of those things. It was scary, I got my three kids" (February, 2014).

The state of unrest even in the township turned what was familiar and safe into anxiety, loss of trust and fear for one's life. Another contributing factor to fear was that of children worrying about parents, who found themselves alone. Such was the case with Participant Twelve who moved out of the township in 2008 to Phoenix a predominantly Indian area to live with his son. The parent explained that:

"I left Chesterville with my son to live with him and his family because my wife she died you see. Chesterville is a township, it's rough and my boy was scared for me"

saying because now I'm alone the tsotsis would target my house and want to break in and steal my things. I know he was just still sad about his mother” (March, 2014).

Within the African cultural practice, parents become the responsibility of the children in their old age. As the roles become reversed, and it is complicated when the children are no longer living with the parents or even within the township. This leads to fear of the widowed parent who is on their own, resulting to the child taking the parent.

There is a twenty-one year gap existing amid these two participants' relocation period, which would explicate the difference in the kinds of violence to which they were exposed. As one speaks to the period of riots, resulting as mentioned, from the political turbulence that characterised urban South Africa during the apartheid era. While the other mentions a general type of violence through acts of crime. Irrespective of the altered nature of violence experienced by participants, in terms of its source, the result is fear has persisted and its power to influence socio-spatial patterns and processes sustained. Moreover, what has also persisted over the twenty-one year period, as confirmed by participants, is the general perception that suburbs are safer than townships.

Participant Three who moved out of the township in 2007 to Hillary, described another form of fear, resulting from a sense of not belonging and not being accepted into the cultural and social norms based on gender identity. This resulted in her experiencing a sense of fear of another form as she explained:

“I moved because I felt that living in Chesterville, I couldn't live the way that I wanted, couldn't be free, because I am a lesbian and felt that I was being discriminated against, living in fear for my life” (February, 2014).

Hillary promised a sense of anonymity and an opportunity to be free to live her authentic self, free of fear and judgement. Embarking on the pursuit of personal emancipation, from the general definitions of sexual identity as defined through cultural norms. As stated again by Maslow's hierarchy, love and belonging within a sexual context is also a basic need that we seek. Hence, justifying the fear of being shunned over one's sexual preference would have far reaching effects on a person to a point of them deciding to physically relocate.

Drawing from the information obtained from the participants, one can deduce that fear was a trigger for action. People over the years have based some of their decisions to relocate from one residential area to another based on the sense of safety and security. The new environments had the appeal to provide them with a feeling of safety. As exhibited in the contributions by participant one and twelve, the township has remained as a space within the city that is characterised by crime and violence in the apartheid and post-apartheid eras.

What was interesting within the group discussion was that some participants felt differently about the issue of safety:

Participant Two: *“I don’t think this issue of feeling unsafe in Chesterville is for everyone...”*

Participant Ten: *“I agree, I mean when I was staying in Montclair believe me I felt unsafe there, my house was broken into so many times...but here in Chesterville yes there is crime but I have my family and neighbours surrounding me and watching over my home when no one is there”* (Group Discussion, April, 2014).

In some cases people know that there is crime in the township, but because the violence is happening within a familiar environment it is not a significant source of fear. The presence of social networks comprising family and friends, to some degree, serves as a coping mechanism for some within the township spaces to respond to crime and violence. Such contributions indicated that the issue of fear cannot be generalised, but rather must be understood within the context of individual perceptions and experiences. The need for personal privacy also came to the surface as a contributing factor to the move out of the township.

4.2.2 Personal Privacy

To understand this phenomenon of personal privacy one needs to comprehend how a person living in a community with cultural influences and practices may feel pressured as a result of constant surveillance. It is this evident surveillance within Chesterville that makes any living space outside this setting alluring, and prompts a move. Such scrutiny prompted the move from the township to suburban areas for some of the participants. As the suburbs held the promise of individuality and privacy, since they held no familiar cultural practices and

expectations. Some of the participants saw suburbs as an opening to personal emancipation, without any restrictions. The collective social processes in the township appeared smothering and stifling for their personal development as they were under continuous surveillance in Chesterville.

This is indicative of the heterogeneity that characterises individuals regardless of the shared space and social norms, values they are exposed to. The prospect of moving to the suburbs was encountered with great anticipation by some of the participants. Participant Eighteen echoed this view:

“I really love my privacy, I don’t really care what is happening at my neighbour’s house and I don’t want them to care about mine either. So, that is why Sherwood became appealing to me” (March, 2014).

Furthermore, the consequence of physical location in the city is not only understood with reference to the advantages, but also the social practices that permeate these spaces. Upon being asked what made the participant to expect privacy in the suburb of Sherwood that they felt they could not get in Chesterville Participant Eighteen stated:

“I knew I was going to have privacy there because suburbs are places where people focus on themselves and their property. They stay behind their gates and mind their business...in the township because people are close and communicate, nothing is left to be private” (March, 2014).

It appears that people were mindful of the variances that exemplify different residential locations within the city, in terms of the level of privacy they would experience upon moving from the township to the suburbs.

Another factor that impeded privacy was the issue of the architectural design of township houses, and this was evident in the case of Participant Two:

“It was one of those decisions I made because of the nature of the houses that we have in Chesterville. As the family was growing and I was feeling a bit congested and I just needed my own space, I needed my kind of freedom” (February, 2014).

The issue of space was echoed by Participant Eleven:

“I left because I had just married my wife...we had to move to start our family. We wanted a place to call our own ... and our small house at home was just not adequate” (March, 2014).

The infrastructural and space dissimilarities between houses in the suburbs, compared to those of the townships, continue to be very dissimilar and unequal. The nature of the houses in apartheid townships, continue to be small and basic and was not conducive to growing families. The decision to move, in this case, appears was not based on the material enticements that the desegregated areas could deliver, but rather the opportunity of gaining access to personal privacy was what triggered the move out of the township for some. Another factor that influenced the move out of the township was economics.

4.2.3 Affordability

The need to be able to afford to move out of the township was implicit for some of the participants of the study. Affordability reigns supreme in determining who has access to socio-spatial mobility in the post-apartheid era. This can be observed from what the participants had to share on this issue:

“Well I think it’s because of the promotion that I got, I felt like I need to move upwards so I wanted to live in a much safer and comfortable area so ja I moved away” (Participant Four, February, 2014).

“When things got better, better job, I felt like I need to change you know, to upgrade my life....” (Participant Five, February, 2014).

“It was more of an affordability situation; obviously I had to choose the best I could get from the amount of money I was able to afford at that time” (Participant Two, February, 2014).

The issue of employment and financial stability, as indicated through lived experiences of participants, can be viewed as two sides of the same coin. On the one hand would be the acquisition of “better jobs” and promotions, and the other hand would be their newly found ability to relocate from the township, as a result of getting favourable employment.

Hence, what was communicated by participants indicated that, in their view, increased financial muscle provided a gateway to “better” residential areas. The amount of money participants also determined the kind of tenure they would hold in the desegregated areas upon their relocation from the township.

Another layer to the discussion on affordability was added by the participants who were not in sharing relationships. Single individuals who moved out of the township indicated that their main option was flats. Economics dictated that sharing was inevitable.

Participant Seven said that:

“Well in the short run I had to find people or let me say some girls that I had to share with in order for me to be comfortable... and to be able to afford things, I had to share my space” (February, 2014).

What this meant was for them to afford the move; they had to seek others as roommates who were in the same situation. They would then work as a team to cover money for rent and other services. Sharing facilitated possibilities for affording other necessary needs that each may have to make life comfortable within the desegregated area. The participants also mentioned that they needed additional income sources to sustain themselves in the desegregated area, and to afford the lifestyle that came with it:

“Life in the flats is expensive and fast. We are surrounded by everything and it all needs money. So, my job for one cannot sustain that life, so I had to get an additional part-time job to balance my budget” (Participant Seven, February, 2014).

It was evident from the experiences provided by these participants that desegregation was not a process that came without its financial challenges. The prospect of moving out of the township to desegregated areas required additional income through either sharing the cost of occupying a flat or by finding second jobs.

Some participants argued that access to money was not synonymous with residential desegregation. Participant Twenty said

“What do you make of the rich people that still live in Chesterville, why then are they not out there in the suburbs enjoying being rich and the high life? The issue of money doesn’t automatically mean moving away from the township...” (Group Discussion, April, 2014).

Participant Eighteen added:

“That is just personal choice to stay here and not leave the township, but also think of everyone else who wishes to be out there living high like you say, but they are stuck here because their pockets are empty...” (Group Discussion, April, 2014).

The issue of the economic influence that led to people moving out of the township became a topic of debate during the group discussion. Some stated that some people have remained in the township despite being financially capable of moving. The issue of moving out of the township, through this source of contention, highlighted that the decision to move out of the township remains to some degree an individualistic decision. The issue of location in relation to where people worked also contributed in determining the places to which participants moved.

4.2.4 Location in Relation to Workplace

The decision of where to locate was an important one. For some of the participants of this study it was based on the need to be closer to their places of employment as this influenced the journey to work costs. Participants Twenty said that:

“... The move to Phoenix was a practical move to make. I worked there, and travelling there every day from the township was expensive and took so much time, I ended up working for petrol money and that didn’t make sense because life is expensive at it is” (March, 2014).

Participant Seven also alluded to the significance of location in relation to the workplace:

“I had gotten a job and I wanted freedom so I just decided to move away. I moved to Glenwood because it was closer to my job... to me it looked like a peaceful area where I could be free and be myself” (February, 2014).

The information provided by the participants alluded to the costly nature of living in an urban environment, and the importance of employment within the urban setting. They cited that the proximity of the new residence to the place of employment was the reason why they moved. In this instance it became apparent that the issue of employment played a role in determining the area the participant would relocate to. The want to acquire elevated levels of status also emerged as a trigger for relocation.

4.2.5 Status

The desire for achievement, self-esteem and respect by others has been identified in Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. Some of the reasons cited by the participants were based on the attempt to actualise these needs. Status and personal image was communicated by some as one of the reasons why they decided to move away from the township:

“Well, I think its cause of the area, I felt that it fits the standard that I wanted to live in at that point in time, and it was a lot safer and nicer compared to where I lived previously” (Participant Four, February, 2014).

“... I felt like I needed the change you know, to upgrade my life you know most people when you grow up you like you think that you need a bigger job, bigger house, fancy cars and fancy stuff you see, so that’s why I also moved from Chesterville...yeah it is big houses, with fancy things around, yeah, that’s what I was looking for” (Participant Five, February, 2014).

It appears that the meanings that people attach to both the township and suburban areas remain similar to the general ideas of the past, whereby the township is judged as a poor quality space to be avoided, and the suburb celebrated as the superior space. The township continues to be shunned in its importance, when it comes to issues of class and status.

An interesting aspect on the issue of status is one that participants did not agree on for example was how status could influence one's move outside of the township, as highlighted in the group discussion:

Participant Twelve: *"There are still people with status living in Chesterville, who have very much money, nice homes, nice cars; we see them all the time in the township..."*

Participant One: *"That is true but when someone from outside the township comes to visit they are viewed as the better one because people get used to seeing the ones that live in the township, they no longer fascinate people..."*

Participant Twenty: *"It would be more practical and make more sense to stay in the township and have people that you grew up with see you develop. What is the point of going to a place where nobody knows you"* (Group Discussion, April, 2014).

It appeared that not everyone viewed the issue of status as an influential key factor that contributes to move to the suburbs. Not everyone viewed the move to desegregated areas as gaining elevated status. Some of the participants reported that it was possible to remain in the township and still enjoy elevated status. It is was evident that the meanings people attach to their movement out and back into the township stem from personal views beliefs and circumstances. The role of family linkages also emerged as possible avenues through which a person can gain access to desegregated areas.

4.2.6 Kinship Linkages

The findings of the study highlighted the family orientated nature of African culture systems. For example Participant Sixteen who moved to the suburb of Westville to stay with her aunt:

"I moved out of the township to Westville to live with my aunt, she offered to take me when I was having family problems and my one uncle was chasing me out of my grandparents' house... I couldn't afford to leave home because I have a son and my work didn't pay enough, so I rented in a backroom somewhere here in the township and my aunt didn't like that and told me to come stay in her house with her family..." (February, 2014).

The experiences of participant sixteen shows the way in which kinship linkages can play a role in influencing access to desegregated areas. It was possible for the participant to move outside of the township through her kinship. In this case, moving out of the township was not based on personal dissatisfaction with living in the township. However upon being asked how she felt about the move from Chesterville the participant stated that:

“I was excited, nobody wants to live in a backroom when they have a home, but my uncle did me a favour by kicking me out because I got a chance to go live in a much better place with my aunt” (February, 2014).

The fact that suburban areas were viewed as residential utopias, even by those who did not particularly have a problem with being in the township in some way shows how the township has remained substandard to suburban areas.

4.3 WHAT KEY CHALLENGES WERE FACED IN NEW ENVIROMENTS? (IN THEIR DESTINATIONS)

The prospect of moving out of the township and into areas that had previously been beyond their reach was met with great expectations. However, the saying ‘the grass is not always greener on the other side’ resonated with the experiences of the participants of this study. The reasons to move out of the township articulated by participants were heterogeneous in terms of context and motive. However what appeared to be homogeneous was the expectation that the desegregated areas would provide a better quality of life and experience. Although some of the participants were aware of the challenges that came with being in the new areas of residence they however remained indifferent. The reality as experienced by most of the participants proved to be challenging and filled with unexpected challenges. Culture shock was one of the challenges encountered in the new environments.

4.3.1 Culture Shock

The influential power of socialisation largely defines and shapes peoples’ perceptions and outlook on life. Given the fragmented nature of South African urban spaces as a result of apartheid, socialisation has been both place and race specific, with very little assimilation occurring to date. The difference in socialisation that underpins townships and suburbs was most glaring to some of the participants and resulted in various challenges in adapting to the new areas. Culture shock emerged as one of the key factor that presented a challenge to adjusting in desegregated areas. Upon being asked to state some of the similarities and differences that characterised the areas to which they moved and Chesterville, they alluded to the culture shock they experienced:

“I don’t think anything was the same. Chesterville and Glenwood were like oil and water to me. What was very different to me was the way Glenwood was so high in racism, In Chesterville not so much, people don’t even talk about racism, and we are just living our lives and dealing with our problems...” (Participant Eleven, March, 2014).

He elaborated on what was meant by racism in terms of his experiences, by saying:

“The first time I got to meet my neighbour was when I apparently cut down parts of a tree that was mainly his. The way he spoke to me was unexpected, he was rude and racist, even called me you people” (March, 2014).

It seems the change from residing in an area dominated by one race to areas of mixed racial living could have resulted in some level of culture shock for participant eleven. Post-apartheid desegregation is characterised by people moving out of the townships into suburbs. Townships remain dominated by Black people. The reality that, it is very rare to discuss race in the township as there is little or no interaction with people from other races within the township.

Another source of culture shock was the manner in which the spirit of Ubuntu was lacking in desegregated residential areas, as reported by some of the participants. The distribution of racial demographics, norms and values, and general social values, in a South African context has been fragmented owing to the apartheid era. The intrinsic variance in acceptable ways of human interaction that characterise different residential spaces within city was as a source of culture shock. Participant Nineteen who moved to a block of flats in the CBD reported that:

“There was an incident when I wanted to borrow a cup of sugar from my neighbour, mind you who was an Indian lady, who I thought as a fellow single mother would have understood and that sometimes things run out. I came out with a cup of sugar, but the reception said don’t do it again” (March, 2014).

It is apparent that for some who moved to desegregated areas the day to day interaction that would provide participants with the platform to create or establish relations with people already living in the desegregated spaces was not available to them. The reality, as shared by participant nineteen, shows that desegregated areas operate on sharply different rules of interaction.

Another interesting point that emerged was that although there were some black people already residing in the new areas they were viewed as extremely distant. Participant Thirteen commented that:

“There was nothing that was the same. For town the people are divided and talk to only their friends and race. Even making friends with blacks wasn’t easy... For Chesterville people are too friendly and greet each other and can live together as one...” (March, 2014).

This can be explained as the “negative assimilation”, whereby some black people in suburban areas, as conveyed by the participant, adopt new ways of interaction once in desegregated spaces. It could be argued that black people adopted this manner of polite distance so as to fit into the context of the areas they too had moved to in the post-apartheid period. An example of this experience emerged in the group discussion:

Participant Six: *“An experience that I can remember was when I had my house warming party. Family and friends came and we enjoyed ourselves, then my black neighbour that doesn’t even greet they just look the other way when you walk by, came over and complained that we were making too much noise we were too loud and the music too. That was the last person I expected to see at my door calling me and my family loud”*

Participant One: *“But you know how these coconuts are...”*

Participant Nine: *“Yes they do that...it just makes me mad...”* (Group Discussion, April, 2014).

The discussions from the focus group highlighted that the participants found that different races operate on different social rules which was another culture shock. The way in which blacks already existing in these desegregated areas operate on social rules different from what the participants had expected of them also served as a source of culture shock. The way in which Participant One referred to such people as “coconuts” seemed to signify how people who do not conform to the “normal” rules of interaction among black people separated from the collective racial group; and viewed as the “other.” This could also be attributed to the assimilation of middle-class values which are largely individualistic. What also emerged was a lack of a sense of being safe that participants felt in the new areas.

4.3.2 Safety and Security

To reiterate, one of the main reasons that led to some participants moving out of the township was the pursuit of safer living environments as discussed earlier. In discussions, participants gave reasons as to why suburban areas were safer. However, some of the responses provided by participants, in struggling to adjust to the new neighbourhoods presented a challenge as they felt as if they were immediately perceived as possible perpetrators. This feeling was highlighted by some of the participants:

Participant One: *“When blacks move into suburbs whites move away. Look at Westville, the houses near the township used to be whites only and now that black people are full there many of the whites are gone. That a place is like BB now (a section in Umlazi Township known for having big fancy houses and high fences).*

Participant Eleven: *“Yes of course they will run away because when you black and move in you can even feel how tense the other races are and you even start to feel guilty like you really did something wrong. When I moved to Glenwood with ex-wife we would even joke when we leave the house that the neighbours were looking at us through the windows just in case we steal their post letters (laughs)”* (Group Discussion, April, 2014).

Such dynamics could be attributed to the struggle to adjust in a new area. Although the participants did not provide any direct incidents where they were made to feel like criminals, the perceptions that they had about how other races viewed them could have hindered their attempts to interact with neighbours.

All the participants agreed that there was a need for social networks that served also as security networks. It should be noted that in townships the cultural practice was that the security of my neighbour is equally important as mine. It is this communal act that they also expected in the new residential environment. However, they were met with high fences and rapid response security systems, with which they were unfamiliar. Thus the lack of neighbourly contact in the desegregated areas resulted in participants missing what was left behind and feeling vulnerable. It emerged that although participants had left Chesterville due

to heavy neighbourly surveillance that sense of being watched over was missed. This was resounded in the discussion:

Participant Three: *“I know I said I wanted privacy when I left Chesterville but I didn’t want to be totally left on my own. I also wanted to know I was looked out for, to know that if there is danger people will be available to help”*

Participant Sixteen: *“So you wanted to have the best of both places that is so unrealistic because you knew no one would care in Hillary”*

Participant Nine: *“If I may say, it was unreasonable to expect to be protected more by people you met in your older age than people who have known you since birth...”*

(Group Discussion, April, 2014).

It appeared that participants, regardless of their reasons for leaving the township, they did not generally understand the full implications of what they were giving up, or leaving behind in Chesterville. By leaving the township, it became clear that the participants had to defend themselves from danger. A general lack of trust also arose as a challenge experienced in the new locations.

4.3.3 Lack of Trust

The sentiments expressed by post-apartheid slogans such as “New South Africa” and “Rainbow Nation” have not been mirrored by mental shifts occurring whereby South Africans relate to one another in a way that is free of prejudice. There appears to be a cloud of mistrust and reservations amongst the various racial groups which undermines integration.

What was apparent in some of the participant responses was that although they moved at separate moments in South Africa’s history, the issue of trust remains the same:

Participant One who moved in 1987 - *“I don’t know the trust it was not there, we didn’t trust each other, we have a perception about each other. For instance... when perceiving us they thought we were thieves, rough and all that and like we have this animalistic thing or what...”* (February, 2014).

Participant Nine who moved out in 2003 - *“A bit tense because now you get some wrong activities happening like crime and people getting robbed, houses being burgled so obviously there’s this stereotype that its Black people that are stealing so when you come around and they see you, they think it’s your brothers and sisters, so it’s that kind of tense relationship”* (March, 2014).

Participant One left in 1987 and moved into a grey area, while participants nine moved in the post-apartheid era in the year 2003. There is a seventeen year gap between the participants’ move out of the township, yet there is a strong indication of how mistrust among races has persisted. In case of Participant One moved out of the township during the apartheid era, the level of mistrust mentioned fitted well in the context of the apartheid. The sentiments of the participant that moved out post-apartheid, however, point to failure to inculcate a mental shift in terms of historical prejudice. Apartheid was not only a law it was also a state of mind which had far a reaching impact in the way people of different races identified with one another. Apartheid had far reaching consequences on the Black population. The consequences of apartheid, has also resulted in people doubting the genuineness of other races in desegregated areas. According to Participant Ten:

“...even the Whites they pretended to like us they will give that smile that is a plastered smile...they produce a façade of understanding. Like they liked us being there, but they didn’t” (March, 2014).

In situations where coexistence among races is required due to sharing the same residential space, the way in which people interact is burdened with suspicion and mistrust. The issue of trust is not only based on issues of criminality and danger, but also in how people treat each other in desegregated areas. There continues to be an undercurrent prejudice between races where they still view each other through the lens of the past. Furthermore, what appeared to be an issue which contributed to the lack of trust among people in the desegregated areas was the fact that family backgrounds and history were not known compared to their previous location in Chesterville:

“Oh well the manner that people treated each other was very different, In Chesterville we were all Black so we know where we come from, we know everyone’s mothers, grandmothers and everything, so in Hillary you know the person not their background

and so it was difficult at first to warm up to the place because people didn't trust or know me" (Participant Three, February, 2014).

It was clear that there was little social trust in the new areas. This frustrates and undermines the process of racial integration within desegregated spaces and results in limited Social interaction. The lack in the level of social interaction that was experienced by some also presented challenges in adjusting to the new environments.

4.3.4 Lack of Social Interaction

Another challenge that was expressed by participants was the lack of social interaction in the new residential environments. Participants twelve and seven made reference to the lack of social interaction as they attempted to adjust during their transition from the township to desegregated areas:

"I was very bored there, I'm an old man, yes I don't have to be dancing and walking in the street, I did miss just the sounds of children playing that taxi with the crazy music going through the street. The location is just the location you know you are not really alone..." (Participant Twelve, March, 2014).

"Well number one it would be loneliness, you know having neighbours or people I could just go to, a house I could go to if I'm bored... I missed having that freedom..." (Participant Seven, February, 2014).

Loneliness as a result of the polite yet distant way of living that is practised in desegregated areas emerged as one of the factors that presented a challenge in adapting to a new area of residence governed by different social norms. The casual freedom to go to someone's house unannounced when bored, which was acceptable in the township, was not so in the desegregated areas. In the case of Participant Twelve, although he did not wish to actively go to people's houses, he implied a longing for indirectly benefitting from other social interactions such as the sound of children playing. For this participant such interactions made him feel like he was part of a community and not alone, despite being at home and not physically in the streets or at social gatherings.

The challenge of not having friends or family in new spaces presented a challenge in the adjustment process:

“It wasn’t easy at first because I was finding that I was making home visits quite a lot. I think it was more of the fact that I didn’t have relatives and friends around me, so I would actually want to go, but eventually I kind of got used to it because I started having friends within the flats and people around the place. I had less reason to go home” (Participant Two, February, 2014).

The frustrations that challenged the process of adapting to the new areas of residence at a social level, prolonging the process of adjustment, were explained by Participant Two:

“I think for one just not taking the time to get to know each other and obviously not finding something that is similar to your way of living. And, there was obviously a lack of understanding of each other and this lack of understanding of each other’s way of living...” (February, 2014).

Participant Two alluded to the lack of assimilation and understanding that characterise South Africa in the post-apartheid era. It is evident that different racial groups have not taken initiatives in attempting to understand and accommodate other races. The lack of understanding of the life styles that characterise different races can be seen as what resulted in a breakdown of communication and interaction.

An interesting aspect of the issue of socializing, however, emanated from the response offered by Participant Eight, who pointed that arriving in a desegregated area within which he already had friends made the adjustment easier:

“It’s having friends there, because I had friends so they introduced me to different kinds of people and I adapted to it very quickly” (February, 2014).

Participant Eight’s experiences suggest that the process of adapting to a new environment within a desegregated area can be made more desirable and achievable by having an already set of social networks with people who already live in that area. Friends, who already live in the area, in this case acted as doorways to further relationships. This implies that the

transition and adaptation into an area of desegregation is easier when people who can serve as character witnesses are available. The notion of “my friend’s friend is my friend” was given life by the experience of Participant Eight.

Participant Fourteen’s experience were similar to participant eight in conveying the significance of having friends already living in the new environment, and how this made the process of adapting easier:

“It was easy, my friends were there...we stuck together... our parents knew we were all protecting each other...” (March, 2014).

It emerged that being around people who also came from Chesterville living in Sydenham made the process of adjustment easier for him. However, having friends within the area appeared to have limited racial interaction, as the participant made reference to ‘sticking’ to people he already knew from Chesterville.

4.3.5 Regular Activity Patterns

Another aspect that was taken into consideration in the study was the nature in which participants interacted with the new spaces upon becoming residents of those areas. Participants were requested to indicate where they carried out various activities during their stay in their respective new areas of residence. Table 4.1 provides a brief summary of the activity patterns and connections made by participants between Chesterville and new locations.

Table 4.1 Activity patterns and connections between Chesterville and new locations

CHESTERVILLE	NEW LOCATION	OTHER LOCATION
WORSHIP	MEDICAL	MEDICAL
RECREATION	SHOPPING	SHOPPING
SOCIALIZING		HAIRDRESSER
PUBS		

Contact and interaction between people within a community is intrinsic. The way people form bonds and ties depend on the level of interaction that exists within the communities in which they live. The participants were asked to indicate where they carried out various activities such as worship, hairdresser, shopping, medical, recreation, socializing, and pubs once they had moved out of the township. This was done so as to gauge the level to which participants immersed themselves into the areas to which they moved.

Worship

The findings of this study indicate that the religious worship was the prominent activity that allowed people to have strong links with Chesterville. The majority of the people went back to the township to their old places of worship:

“I did go to the Malvern once and I was lost, I didn’t feel welcome, I didn’t feel like people recognised me” (Participant Five, February, 2014).

Participant Two further expressed the issue of not being able to worship in the new area:

“I went back to my old church. I am a Roman Catholic and there is one specific church in town the Cathedral, but I found the environment there wasn’t as personal as my own church. I tried it once and I didn’t quite feel like I was at church so I kind of moved back to my old church, which was quite difficult because I ended up not going to church as much as I did when I was still in the township” (February, 2014).

A joint strand that plaited itself through most of the responses provided by participants was the issue of not being able to relate to the style of worship that was carried out in churches within the areas to which they moved. This does not mean that there may have been something wrong with the churches. It was the participants own inability to adapt to a new style of worship that resulted in frustration.

The issue of belonging was a basic need for participants which saw them continue worshipping in the township, even after relocation. The explanation provided by Participant Four echoed this need of belonging:

“I went to my old church, I believe in being loyal, not changing my church, fitting in and since I was baptised there I don’t think it would be easy to start another life in another church” (February, 2014).

The activity of worship could have been utilised as an avenue through which participants gained familiarity with residents of the community and could have functioned as a gateway to making new friends and networks. However, it is evident that there was very little effort made by participants to assimilate and adapt to a new style of worship, as the ties that the people had with their old places of worship were of significant personal value to them. This could have contributed to the lack of connection to the new areas through the activity of worship.

Hairdresser

Participants indicated that they went back to Chesterville or went to the Durban Central to do their hair. People touched on the subject of hair salons within the new areas not being able to

handle the texture of African hair, or not having the skills to put in a weave in Black hair. As one of participants stated:

“There was no way I could go to the Salon there, I had to go back to the township or when my budget is looking good go to town to have my hair done. The first time I walked into a White salon I felt like an alien, they told me straight forward they didn’t know how to do my hair or stitch in my bonding (weave)” (Participant Sixteen, March, 2014).

Participant Eighteen also made reference to this issue:

“...I had to go back to Chesterville to get my hair braided or relaxed. When I didn’t have time or money I would just relax my own hair at home. I couldn’t find a salon there where I could braid my hair. I would sometimes even end up going to town because there are many salons there that can do braids. It’s just that in town it’s more expensive to do braids than in Chesterville” (March, 2014).

Some facilities in the desegregated areas have not adapted to cater for culturally and racially changing communities. The client base at the salons remains, as communicated by the participant’s response both place and race specific. Some of the participants also indicated that they did their own hair at home further limiting the amount of connection people had with new areas through going to the hairdresser:

“I can do my own hair cutting it with my machine, so even at the new place I would just do it myself” (Participant Fourteen, March, 2014).

“I did my own hair, I plait my hair, I buy my own relaxer and do it at home” (Participant One, February, 2014).

Going to the hairdresser was also a missed opportunity in forming new ties with new areas of residence. A visit to the local salons and barbers, could have given the participants an opportunity to meet and get to know people within the new community. The process of interaction and assimilation could have begun with these very casual encounters and activities.

Shopping

With regards to shopping all participants went to either the new areas or the CBD. None of the participants went back to Chesterville because it did not have such facilities. This indicates to some level the manner in which development has remained closely alike with that which was available to township dwellers during the apartheid era. Twenty years into the post-apartheid era township residents in Chesterville have to travel out of the township to access tertiary services. As alluded to by Participant Two:

“That was the best one obviously because you are located within the shopping district, CBD; even to go to Musgrave didn’t take much time and money. The Shopping part of it was much better than when I was in the township” (February, 2014).

A superficial type of desegregation was apparent in the shopping patterns of the participants. Due to the fact that participants had been travelling to desegregated areas even during their residence in the township, shopping in the new area, or other desegregated areas was not an active attempt at integrating with other races. Thus it could be easy for them to shop in desegregated areas without the intention to attempt to assimilate or interact with people of a different race.

Medical

In terms of medical services most of the participants went the new location or other desegregated areas. None went back to the township because Chesterville does not have a hospital or private doctors. There is only the local clinic and most of the participants indicated that it is not up to standard. This view highlighted that services and facilities in the township were inferior compare to those in the suburbs.

Recreation

Participants had different perceptions and interpretations of what was considered to be recreation activities. This was conveyed by participants' responses:

"I would go back to the township, I felt there were a lot of activities, stokvels, parties... my kids missed their friends so we would go there for recreation, because during the day it was not as dangerous as at night..." (Participant One, February, 2014).

"More going back home again, like I said my friends were still in the township...unless I hosted something in my flat then they would come. But obviously in the flat I can't have any kind of noise so I had to go out to the township" (Participant Two, February, 2014).

Where recreation did not involve going to the township, it would involve some other activity that did not see to participants connecting to the new areas:

"I seldom have spare time, so when I do have a day off from work I just wanted to stay at home and relax" (Participant Three, February, 2014).

"When I would have time I would just go to the Workshop or the Pavilion because to be at home was boring and there were no people I could visit there, when I wanted to be around people I would have to go and visit home (Chesterville)" (Participant Eighteen, March, 2014).

It was significant that none of the activities mentioned included connecting to the new residential location to which they had moved. Whether one remained at home, disconnected for the neighbours, or went back to the township, it was apparent that the activity of recreation was a missed opportunity to integrate and adapt to the new areas of residence.

Socializing

Most of the participants indicated they opted to either go back to Chesterville or go to other areas to socialise because it is easy to socialize with people sharing the same culture. What can be deduced from this trend is the fact that participants were unable to create friendships and bonds within the areas to which they had relocated:

“Everybody is living their own lives. If I wanted to socialise I would get out of that place I would only go back there because I have a home and work that’s close to my place” (Participant Eight, February, 2014).

“I went back to the township, what happened here when I moved to Umbilo I never made any friends, because everyone was minding his or her business so I turned out to be like them” (Participant One, February, 2014).

It was evident that people moved back to the township whenever they had time to socialise. This was also seen with regard to the activity of going to pubs.

Some of the participants did not drink thus this activity did not relate to them but for those who indulged the majority of them went back to the township. The issue of human place attachment came into the picture as one of the forces that have undermined the process of racial integration. Most participants indicated that it was back in the township where most of their friends were and that is where they felt safest to get drunk and care free. As related by Participant Twenty:

“When I go out to drink I want to relax, laugh and be happy. The township is the only place that can give me that. Most of my friends are here, even the ones who left the township; I would always get to see them back at the township on weekends” (March, 2014).

The participants reported that the process of going to pubs was closely linked to social practises of socializing. Participants socialised at the pubs and got updates on people’s lives and current issues like politics, sports and entertainment. It is apparent that this resulted in participants being drawn more to the township as opposed to the new areas, as it was in the

townships that they had long standing social relationships. Socializing was not utilised by people to form friendships and connections in the new spaces.

4.4 WHY DID PEOPLE MOVE BACK TO CHESTERVILLE?

The decision to move back to the township came as a result of various factors, all of which were interconnected. The issues that were described by participants ranged from child rearing, nostalgia, and economic survival.

4.4.1 Child Rearing

Child rearing was one of the factors that influenced people's choices to move back to the township. The financial strain that comes with having a child was expressed by various participants as one of the factors that ultimately drove them to making the decision to move back to the township:

"I was pregnant and had to focus and save money to raise my baby ...you know to raise a child is expensive I couldn't share my salary between rent, bills, social life and petrol. I had to go home as soon as possible because there I don't pay anything I just help my parents where I can" (Participant Thirteen, March, 2014).

"I had a baby so my life was changing, I had to think carefully about my child and the things I wanted her to grow up knowing and living here she was not going to get it, so I had to move home and in order for me to afford her I had to move back home" (Participant Seven, February, 2014).

The challenge of financially sustaining oneself in a desegregated area and raising a child proved difficult as some of the participants could not afford the suburban lifestyle. In order to be able to provide for their children with a better life, it was necessary for the participants to move back to the township. There is an indication in this trend that people are mindful of the socio-spatial differences that occur in the urban setting at a residential scale. The reality was that the township was a cheaper area to live in than the suburb, thus raising a child would be easier in the township. Upon making the decision to move out of the township, these women had been single and childless. Sustaining themselves in the desegregated areas was not a challenge at a time when all their finances were channelled towards providing for themselves.

What is evident is that for some women, the unexpected development of added responsibility of child bearing meant that they could no longer be able to sustain themselves in desegregated areas. As single female parents, it became evident that moving back to the family home, in order to be assisted by family or parents, became the only option. The communal task of raising a child within the African culture was echoed:

“I made up my mind after two years of living that no should things get better I would move back to the location because I won’t lie and say the financial part of living there didn’t give an impact on me. Living there I had to pay for my children’s nursery school fee, where as in the township there were people” (Participant One, February, 2014).

The saying that it takes a village to raise a child came to be given life through the responses provided by some of the participants. The closely knit nature of townships life built on strong family and community networks is well known. The private and individualistic life in the suburbs was not conducive to raise a child. Some of the participants had moved away from the township as a result of feeling suffocated in the township. However, once in the desegregated areas participants discovered that the grass is not always greener on the other side.

The spirit of Ubuntu and togetherness that characterises the township, was indicated, to some degree, by the participants acknowledgement that child rearing is communal in the township. The fact that the participants could find neighbours and family members to take care of their children while they went to work, indicates the manner in which the task of child rearing is a generally shared one among township dwellers. Ultimately, it can then be deduced that the decision to move to the township would have a double barrel impact whereby participants would save economically and gain assistance in the day to day tasks of bringing up a child.

4.4.2 Nostalgia

Nostalgia was another factor that influenced the decision to move back to the township. A longing to be in an environment that was familiar and filled with memories was one of the factors that led to the relocation back to the township. Participant twelve who had moved to

Phoenix after the death of his wife to live with his son and rented out his house in Chesterville stated that:

“I missed my house and my wife’s memory. If I leave the house where will my wife’s spirit find me if the house is empty with strangers? I could see my son was sad but now he was better (after the death of his mother) so I told him I want to go take care of his mother’s house and garden. I missed home” (Participant Twelve, March, 2014).

It appeared that the issue of human place attachment influenced the participant’s decision to move back to the township. Although he was living with his son in Phoenix he still missed being in an environment that held personal meaning and value for him. Hence, the process of residential re-segregation can also be influenced by a person’s failure to embrace a new community as he/she laments about what was left behind. Nostalgia can be deeply felt so much that it results in challenges in adjusting to new areas of residence being amplified to a point of deciding to return to the area that has emotional value for an individual. Nostalgia not only had the ability to influence the decision to return to the township, it also had the ability to make the process appealing to participants:

“It wasn’t easy for me to get the process of going to move back home, no one wants to lose a house and a life they worked hard to get. But I must say a small part of me was excited to move back to the location because it is home, I was born here, I went to school here, and my family is here this is home. I can even say I missed this place more than I knew...” (Participant Ten, March, 2014).

Although participant ten expressed that it was the economic struggles of living in Montclair that resulted in her ultimate decision to move back to the township, the way in which she had missed her childhood home and friends made the transition back to the township a bitter sweet venture.

4.4.3 Economic Survival

Financial challenges played a key role in influencing the decision to move back to Chesterville. The relocation back to the township, for some, was a strategic move for survival. It has already been established that life in the township is generally cheaper than life

in the suburbs. Participant nine's reported the financial challenges he had which influenced his decision to move back to Chesterville:

"I moved back to the family home as a start, to regroup, and get myself together after I divorced with my wife... due to me and my wife having financial problems, we divorced in 2007, so it was kind of a bit tough to maintain the house cause life there is a very expensive life" (Participant Nine, March, 2014).

Participant nine indicated that, in some cases, there is the need for two incomes in order to sustain a living in the suburbs. Once this financial tag team no longer exists, as a result of matters that were unforeseeable upon deciding to leave the township, living in the suburb became difficult if not impossible. It is evident that the difference in the cost of living between the suburbs and the township exists and as such participants use the township as a safety net when things do not work out.

The financial influence that led to the move back to the township was echoed by other participants:

"One of the reasons was that the rates sky rocketed, it wasn't funny anymore and the rate of crime. Every crime was targeted at you if you were staying in the suburb; our house was broken into all the time..." (Participant Nine, March, 2014).

"I moved back to the family home, my reason was that I lost my job and I couldn't afford to pay rent, so I had to move back home" (Participant Three, February, 2014).

The participants indicated that they moved back to their family homes once the decision to move back to the township was made. The information provided by the participants alluded to the African culture of going "back to the nest" as readily available in times of strife. This is usually a result of the close knit nature of African homes.

Participant Fourteen stated that he went back to the township area so as to take care and support his family at home:

"Well when I made the decision to move back to my home it was because my family was struggling too much to pay bills and buy food and everything else that needed"

money. They would always come to the flat to ask for help and I gave it to them because I am the only working male at home... I saw that no if I am going to be able to help my family I must move home and leave renting because it's expensive. Plus I was budgeting for two groceries..." (February, 2014).

Participant fourteen found life in a desegregated challenging as he had family back in the township that depended solely on him for support. Participant fourteen's decision to move back to Chesterville was influenced by the expensive situation he found himself in where he had to support himself and the family in the township.

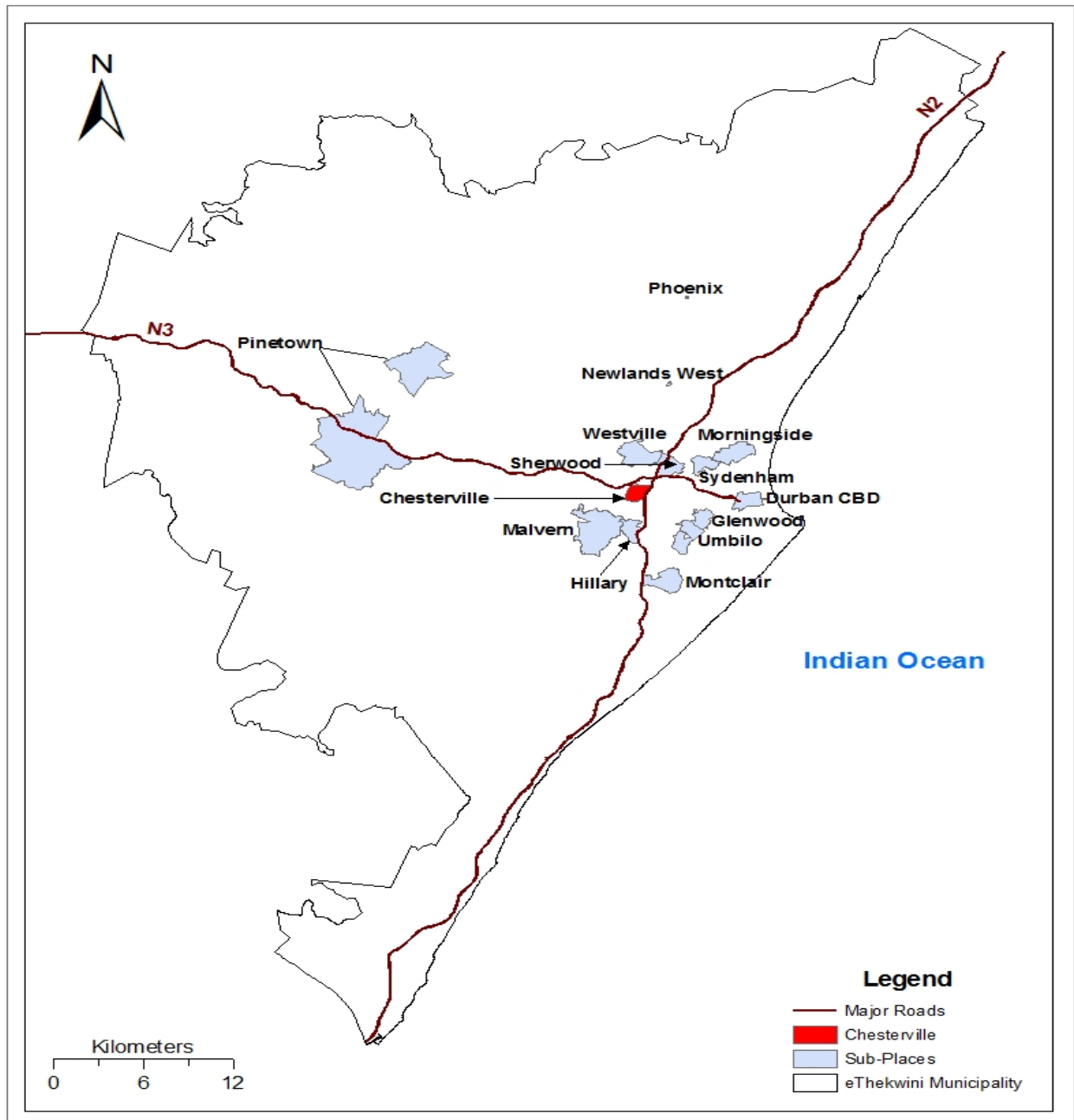


Figure 4.1 Location of new areas in relation to Chesterville

Source: Researcher's own

The power of the above map lies in its ability to convey the nature of the close proximity of the places to which participants moved (sub places) in relation to the township. It is evident that in choosing new areas of residence, participants did not stray too far from Chesterville. The only seemingly far areas were Phoenix and Pinetown. Furthermore, when looking at the map, it is evident how two major transport routes namely the N2 and N3 converge towards

the township. Furthermore the map illustrates, how the two major transport routes, to a great extent, connect the sub places, to Chesterville. The map shows how it was possible for participants to move away from the township and yet remain constant commuters between these places and the township.

The connections which people maintained with the township through engaging in various activities were made possible by the accessibility of Chesterville from their new locations. The convenient accessibility of Chesterville, during the time when participants did not live there, to a greater degree, made it possible for people to rely on the township, as a safety net of familiarity once the process of assimilation and adjustment proved to be challenging.

4.5 RECEPTION UPON RETURN

The fact that there is very little privacy in the township, owing to its overtly communal and interconnected way of life meant those participants' decisions to move out and to return is one that was witnessed by many in the township. The reception upon returning to the township was characterised by different, yet overlapping, responses from township residents. The reception that people received ranged from judgement and mockery, disappointment, condemnation to being welcomed back warmly.

4.5.1 Judgement and Mockery

Some participants encountered hostility and ridicule upon returning to the township. This included mockery and gossip by people who had been viewed upon their return to the township as having a fall from grace:

“I expected a big hug, a big welcome back home. But it wasn't like that. Well, you know to some people it felt like when things got better for me I abandoned them. So it wasn't easy for them to bring back that relationship that we had before” (Participant Five, February, 2014).

The experience shared by participant five indicated that although none of the local residents approached him and expressed negative opinions there were subliminal messages. Reconnecting with the people of the township proved to be difficult as the relationship that had been shared between him and the residents during his stay in the township became estranged, once he had relocated and then returned. There was however, mention of direct negative experiences reported by Participant Ten.

“The reality was people were like ‘what did you think you were when you moved away from us, you said you were going to change to be a better person or you thought you were better than us, look where you are now’ I think coming back home was worse than moving and living in Montclair” (March, 2014).

Some participants reported that they received a unfriendly reception. This indicated that for some who had remained in Chesterville, moving out was a betrayal and a display of superiority which was shunned on. Such mentality explained why returning to Chesterville was perceived by some as a failure and as a source of ridicule. It was evident that some people struggled to gain acceptance and relate to the township residents. For the participants, the transition from the suburbs to the township was not an easy one and furthermore disappointment was also encountered by some of them.

4.5.2 Disappointment

An interesting aspect that came up was how returning to the township disappointed family and friends who had celebrated their success vicariously:

“I expected my township friends to welcome me back the usual way they would do when I came to visit during the weekends sometimes... instead I was confronted by questions about why I would leave the flats and come back to be to the township ...I didn't know how to answer that as I couldn't share with them my family situation, but I definitely felt that they were not happy with my return” Participant Fourteen, March, 2014).

It was evident that when he came back to the township for weekend visits he was welcomed. However, returning to the township on a permanent basis he experienced a different reception as people viewed the permanent return as a let-down and an inability to sustain his new lifestyle outside Chesterville.

The experience of disappointment was echoed in the group discussion:

Participant Three: *“I think when you leave people look up to you and live through you because even when I visited my nephews and nieces would always ask me questions about living with other races... I never understood that because they go to Indian and Coloured schools...”*

Participant Ten: *“It's not the same to go to school with another race and to live with them. I can relate to what you are saying because for me I found that extended family*

didn't understand my decision to return it was like they wondered why I would downgrade, they never said this to my face, but in a Black home a story always gets back to the owner" (Group discussion, April, 2014).

It became apparent through discussions that in some cases those who moved out of the township were seen as a symbol of success and hope. The perception of those left behind was that when a person returns to the township they are 'downgrading' and perhaps taking a few steps backwards. The return to the township served as a source of disappointment for some, and resulted in people becoming topics of gossip.

4.5.3 Condemnation

The return to the township was met with disapproval and condemnation for some of the participants. What was interesting was that it was predominantly females who had moved to the CBD who faced public condemnation:

"I expected so much of gossip. I mean, I was pregnant, no husband, going back to family house and everything. I knew when I was away people were talking saying maybe I'm a prostitute and live with a foreigner so I knew I was going to have a lot of drama at home... when I came back they received me the way that I knew they would... judging me ..." (Participant Thirteen, March, 2014).

Participant Two had a similar experience:

"...as much as they didn't know my reasons for moving out and coming back...as a female there's also rumour that there may have been a man involved since I moved to town and a flat" (February, 2014).

It seems the move to the CBD was believed to have been perceived by local township residents as a gateway to living a promiscuous lifestyles which went against what is the accepted norm in the township. Female participants who ventured out into the "unknown" by themselves out of wedlock were confronted with suspicion and condemnation. The perception held by community members that are referred to by participants; appear to demonstrate how surveillance remains a common practise in the township especially for

females. This consequently resulted participants who went outside of the “surveillance zone” to be labelled as promiscuous.

4.5.4 Welcomed

It is important to highlight that the issue of disappointment cannot be generalised for the entire community. Some of the participants expressed how life in the township went on normally upon their return, as shared by Participant One:

“I think I was surprised by the way that we were received because we came back at night, I didn’t want anyone to see us move our luggage. I just wanted us to wake up and say good morning to my neighbours. The reception we got was pleasant, everyone welcomed us back. I’m not going to talk about the ones who were gossiping behind closed doors, but the reception that we got was welcome home” (February, 2014).

In this instance, instead of being condemned, the participant received a warm welcome back into the community. Although mention was made of gossip, it did not impact heavily on the participant as she was welcomed in a pleasant manner.

Participant Sixteen also referred to a welcoming reception:

“When I came back I was happy to be home, my friends and neighbours were happy to see me too, they all knew why I left home and felt sorry for me when I was kicked out of home...it was nice to be home again” (March, 2014).

In the case where a participant’s reason for leaving was public knowledge, what emerged was, the return was easy to adjust to, as people knew the context of their movement, and there was no condemnatory judgement or gossip.

4.6 WOULD PEOPLE MOVE SHOULD THE OPPORTUNITY ARISE?

After having gone through the process of moving out of the township to desegregated areas and returning to Chesterville, an attempt was made to determine if people would ever reconsider moving out again. Varied responses were received from the participants, with some stating that they would move again if circumstances permitted. Others reported that one time was enough and that they would not consider leaving Chesterville again.

4.6.1 Willingness to Relocate

The prospect of moving out of the township again for some of the participants should the opportunity arise was met with much enthusiasm. Despite the various challenges that had been experienced within desegregated areas, there was continued admiration for the suburbs as the ultimate destination:

“Yes, if financially fit I would move back, I would move back tomorrow... the life there is just better. You mind your business and you do your own thing. You get to avoid a lot of things that you can’t avoid in the township; life there is nice and quiet”
(Participant Nine, March, 2014).

“If I could afford it yes, why not, it’s a good thing to have your own property. I would love to have a nice house in a nice area like a suburb again. As much as I’ve said people in the suburbs are not genuine but the peace and quiet ... I really miss it”
(Participant Ten, March, 2014).

The idea of moving out of the township again was not separated from the reality of needing to be financially stable in order to be able to do so. Even after moving to desegregated areas and returning, it was evident that some people continue to view suburban areas as better places to live in:

“I would move, but I don’t think it’s because being in Chesterville is a bad thing, but for the sake of growth it is a good thing. Any place that is not a township, except for central town.” (Participant Two, February, 2014).

“Yes of course, I would move to the suburb for development and progress. I would love to buy a house and take my family to live the good life...” (Participant Fourteen, March, 2014).

For some the idea of moving out of the township was welcomed, as the suburbs continue to be considered as superior, and the ultimate symbol of upward socio-economic mobility.

An interesting, family-orientated response was provided by Participant Thirteen:

“Yes... I would move to the suburbs to buy a house, I am never renting again it’s too much, plus now I have a child so when I die she must be stable in her mother’s house not a family house in the township” (March 2014).

For Participant Thirteen being a parent became the factor for wanting a secure tenure status. This emanated from a need for a nurturing environment for a parent to provide a sense of security and stability for their child.

While Participant Five indicated that he would move, however, only to an area with more Black people than there were in Malvern:

“I would move to a suburb with a lot of Black people around, including other races, because I think we can learn from each other and can build a good community” (February, 2014).

The response provided by the participant implies that he did not have a problem with living among other races. The participant acknowledged the significance of racial integration and community building. However, he longed for having contact with people of his own race nearby.

4.6.2 Unlikely to Relocate Again

The challenges for some of the participants were a once-off experience. They were unlikely to relocate from the township. Although the sentiment of remaining in the township was shared by many of the participants, the reasons for their choices were different. One of the issues that emerged was the issue of attachment and familiarity:

“No I will not move again, I’m fine here... I found that it’s better to live in a place that you already know and comfortable with ... I will not move even to another township” (Participant Eleven, March, 2014).

For this particular participant the refusal to relocate was not restricted to the idea of moving out to desegregated areas. Relocation even to another township, which is more similar to what they were used to than the suburbs, was not an option. Therefore, it appears that the issue of familiarity and attachment to place and location was important. The benefits of the communal, extended family system in the township were also appreciated:

“At this point no...life has been easy since I’m living at home, I’m not paying rent, and my child is taken care of. I know when she comes home from school someone is there to watch her” (Participant Seven, February).

It appeared that having moved out of the family home and the township gave some of the participants a greater appreciation of what they had left behind in Chesterville. Participant seven’s response implied that living in the township offered her not only the opportunity to save money, but also support for taking care of her child.

Another participant commented on the convenience of living in Chesterville, and commented that on hindsight moving out was not the best decision:

“I will never ever move out of Chesterville again, first of all my age, I just cannot start all over again. My church is here, my children were born here. Everything, my relatives live here, there’s the Pavilion near, going to town takes me 20 minutes, everything is just around the corner and everyone knows each other” (Participant One, February 2014).

The unyielding stance taken by Participant One shows how people can be content with living in the township after having experienced life in the suburbs. This was because of the issue of attachment to place which holds sentimental meanings and values, and hence the reluctance to consider relocating again.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Economic, social and personal factors have influenced the relocation from and the return to Chesterville. It was evident from the participants', experiences that the decision to move out and return to the township was influenced by overlapping various factors. Socio-economic factors have the power to influence who has the ability to move. In deciding to move out of the township people indicated that they were in pursuit of safety and security, personal privacy and status.

However, in the new residential suburbs numerous challenges were encountered, which included social isolation, failure to integrate socially in the new community, and culture shock. Also, the participants did not make active attempts to connect to their new social spaces. Activity patterns revealed that people returned frequently to Chesterville for worship and recreation purposes. The various challenges encountered in the new areas played significant roles in influencing the decision to move back to the township.

The decision to move back to Chesterville was a conscious decision, and primarily centred on the issue of economic survival, child rearing and nostalgia. The economic aspect had the influence of triggering a move back to the township as people no longer had the financial capacity to sustain themselves in desegregated spaces. The loss of a financial partnership through sharing relationships, the loss of employment and the inability to support family in the township while living in desegregated spaces, all contributed to the decision to move back to Chesterville.

The reception that was encountered by individuals returning to Chesterville spanned across disappointment, condemnation, and judgement, while some reported being welcomed back in a pleasant manner. Some people indicated that having gone through the process of desegregation and re-segregation they would still consider moving out of the township again should they be presented with an opportunity. The challenges that were encountered in the

desegregated areas did not discourage some participants from thinking about moving to the suburbs again because of the improved quality of life.

Some of the participants, however, appeared to have found a greater appreciation for the township after having experienced life in the suburbs. The familiarity and hospitality of the township was presented as a reason for an unwillingness to relocate again. The findings authenticate the notion that desegregation and re-segregation is driven by active thinking beings, and that the process cannot be generalised but rather understood within the context of people who are moving and returning.

CHAPTER FIVE: THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS AND EVALUATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The issue of urban residential segregation and desegregation has been of major scholastic interest in South Africa, owing to the history of apartheid. There has been general agreement, among various scholars (Christopher, 2001; Dodson, 2013) that the South African urban residential topology continues to tell the tale of segregation, inequality, and inequity. Despite the existence of what was coined as 'grey areas' in the eighties, where mixed residential living was permitted, there has been consensus (Maharaj, 1992; Morris, 2004) that the impact of the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 have been far reaching. The residential geography of South African cities, to date, continues to be highly uneven. Post-apartheid research (Houssay- Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009) has indicated that the infrastructural differences that characterise townships and suburbs have endured. The gap that exists between the rich and the poor persists in the post-apartheid era, ensuring that the inequalities of the past remain intact, and in some instances being perpetuated. The post-apartheid government, through the adoption of passive post-apartheid strategies such as GEAR has, to a large extent, failed to eradicate the socio-spatial inequalities of the past.

The impacts of the apartheid system of racial division and prejudice have continued to influence the manner in which different ethnic groups interact with the urban built environment and with each other. There is a steady process of residential desegregation and re-segregation, while integration is presented as one the post-apartheid priorities. To reiterate, the aim of this study was to understand some of the key factors that have contributed to the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. The Chesterville Township was used as a case study. The focus was on why people moved out of Chesterville, what challenges were experienced in the new environments and finally why they moved back to the township? This chapter presents the theoretical reflections, overall evaluation and conclusion to the study. To reiterate, the key objectives of this study were to:

- i) Identify why people moved out of Chesterville.
- ii) Identify the challenges experienced in adjusting to the new environments.
- iii) Investigate the key factors that led to people moving back to Chesterville.
- iv) Investigate how people were received upon returning to Chesterville.

- v) Assess if people would consider moving away from Chesterville again should the opportunity arise.

This chapter is divided into two sections. This first section presents the theoretical reflections of the study. The evaluation to the study then follows, and focus is on why people left the township, the challenges that were experienced in the new areas, why they decided to move back to Chesterville and the reception they received upon returning.

5.2 THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS

5.2.1 Humanistic Geography and Phenomenology

As a human geographer the value of appreciating the worth of peoples' lived experiences, in seeking to understand worldly phenomena, influenced the manner in which this study was approached. Entrikin (1976) human geographers are warranted the title of 'humanist' as we seek to study the facets of humans that are intrinsically human, such as values, beliefs and purpose.

In seeking to understand the socio-spatial movement patterns of participants, in all three stages (segregated, desegregated, and re-segregated), it was necessary to remain detached from the views of the outside world. In doing so, it became possible to appreciate the authenticity of each individual's experience of the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. As Taun (1976) once argued, humanistic geography puts importance on the issue of understanding geographic processes synonymously with human beings and their various situations and experiences. The study found that although participants had relocated from Chesterville and later returned; the meanings that they attached to the movement were different and revealed how each experience was personal to the individual. It was through approaching the study from a humanistic approach that enabled the researcher to fully appreciate the complexity of the process. Such a revelation corroborated the argument presented by Johnston and Sidaway (2004) that humanistic geography recognises people as individuals even in circumstances when they are interrelating with the same situation.

Johnston and Sidaway (2004) argue that humanism accepts that individuals may alter their conduct according to their surroundings and the communities within which they find

themselves. This study also witnessed such tendencies. The various experiences of participants indicated that there was a need to adjust social interaction patterns according to the communities in which they were located. Looking back on the study it became clear just how multi-layered human behaviour can be. One would say that this multi-layered complexity of human behaviour, in this study, was addressed through employing phenomenology as a second guiding philosophy. According to Holt-Jensen (1990) phenomenology tries to comprehend the world through the human mind as it would occur to each individual. In this study it was relevant to recognise the variances that characterised the way participants viewed the world and the processes that characterised the lived world.

As presented by Johnston and Sidaway (2004) phenomenology advocates for the appreciation and acceptance of the competence of humans as decision makers that are driven by autonomous determination and understanding. The findings confirmed the significance of acknowledging people's views, beliefs and experiences as it was through understanding these facets of human existence enables one to fully comprehend the dynamics of the desegregation and re-segregation. This was further enhanced by the acknowledgement of the role of human agency.

5.2.2 Human Agency

This study revealed that participants played the role of assessor and decision maker throughout the process of moving out of Chesterville and returning. The level of awareness that was demonstrated by participants in explaining the various factors that prompted the move out of, and back to, the township confirmed their capacity to be active agents. It was possible for one to identify this through being mindful of the significance of humans as rational entities. As Bandura (2006) observed, one also found that human beings were not inert spectators who were looking onto their conduct and existence. Rather, participants of this study remained aware of their circumstance, carried out assessments, made decisions and acted accordingly.

The value of the concept of human agency primarily played itself out within the context of participants' decisions to move out of the township and later return. The findings revealed that the process was not carried out without careful thought and planning. The reasons for leaving the township, for instance, included the need for increased levels of privacy, status

and security. The variety of factors that triggered the move out of the township in terms of motive confirmed the individuality that characterised each participant, despite the fact that they were engaging in a similar process.

However, it also emerged that affordability through getting 'better jobs' or promotions was what gave participants the power to be able to act, and move out of Chesterville. Hence, it can be argued that human agency is not absolute in its ability to influence the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. It is the availability of resources, which give one the power to act, i.e. to relocate. The significance of human agency was also validated through the reasons presented by participants in terms of their relocation back to Chesterville.

It was evident that three major factors, specifically economic survival, child rearing and nostalgia, influenced the decision to move back. It was under the context of child rearing where the influence of human agency was explicitly demonstrated to be dynamic. As Gillespie (2012) has contended, the entity that has agency is also able to make decisions which are influenced by concern for someone else besides the immediate self. Based on the assessment of the benefits that would result from moving back to the township, and how the move would provide them with a better opportunity to provide for their children, participants decided to move back to Chesterville. Upon reflection, the same could be said for the participants who moved back to Chesterville for the purpose of regaining financial stability.

At face value it appeared that those who returned to the township after encountering financial problems, did so purely to regain financial stability. However, it could be that the knowledge of the closely knit family orientated nature of Chesterville always presented a safety net. Thus, the decision to return to Chesterville was utilised as a coping strategy.

The findings indicated how human agency played itself out in the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. The various challenges that were encountered in the new areas played a major role in influencing the decision to move back to Chesterville and can be understood through the lens of *Gemeinscharft* and *Gesellschaft*.

5.2.3 Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

The most suitable lens through which the South African urban morphology could really be appreciated was through comprehension of the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*

(De Cindio *et al.*, 2003). It was evident in this study that townships which are more *Gemeinschaft* and suburbs that are *Gesellschaft* function on very different social rules. This was informed by the lived experiences of participants who have lived in both areas, and thus can make comparisons. The unfamiliarity of the new spaces and the task of learning a new way of living, so as to fit the context of the new areas, presented a challenge that in many ways frustrated residential and social mobility expectations.

Although participants anticipated the social differences that would come with moving out of Chesterville, they struggled to adhere to the social expectations of their new environments. The limited social interaction in their new environments in many ways undermined the process of desegregation and integration within the new environments.

The study found that participants maintained very strong ties with Chesterville through various activities in the township such as socializing, getting their hair done, and worshipping among other activities. Looking back at the various justifications provided by participants for their continued commute to Chesterville (see Chapter four), it could be argued that the participants were in search of a sense of belonging and relating, that they were not experiencing in the new areas. The full appreciation of the challenges that prohibited swift adjustment in the desegregated areas can only be appreciated by understanding the key differences that set Chesterville apart from the new areas. Wellam and Leighton (1976) posit that, urbanites do in fact understand neighbourhood with reference to social links and the attached meaning of familiarity. Participants of the study struggled to identify the new communal spaces as the areas were unfamiliar to them, and were unable to forge social ties with the new neighbours.

The impacts of not relating to a community can result in feelings of isolation and loneliness, and participants yearned for a place where this void could be filled. Coming from a communal area in Chesterville where social interaction and interconnection is a common way of life, it is easy to understand why desegregated areas could evoke withdrawn behaviour that would see participants hankering for the old. As Muyeba (2011) argued, the decision to be aloof within any community diminishes any hopes of interconnection and integration. The civil distance characterised by mutual respect for personal space and privacy consequently led to disconnected neighbourly relations. Such breakdown in interconnection within the new areas would inevitably undermine and frustrate the process of residential desegregation and

integration. An interesting interpretation of the desegregation experience draws from the African philosophy of Ubuntu.

5.2.4 Ubuntu

As argued by Nussbaum (2003) Ubuntu describes people's shared sense of oneness and connectedness. It was evident that participants didn't feel embraced and welcomed by people in their new residential environments. There was general lack of a shared sense of responsibility for the safety and well-being of one's neighbour in the new areas, which left people experiencing a sense of vulnerability, solitude and lament for what was left behind in Chesterville. Participants also valued the casual gestures such as greeting each other, borrowing a cup of sugar, or even visiting a neighbour. The differences in terms of acceptable way of existence in desegregated areas, and the lack of Ubuntu can be understood as one which significantly contributed to the experience of culture shock that was encountered by participants.

5.2.5 Culture Shock

The apartheid era was instrumental in producing an urban structure that is characterised by disjointed spatial crypts which host distinct racial groups that are disconnected from each other in almost all social aspects of urban existence (Maharaj, 1992; Lemanski, 2006a). The experiences of the participants, although very personal, shared a common link between them which came in the form of experiencing a culture shock upon moving to their new areas. Although the notion of culture shock may have come across as homogenizing the experience, one found that it was various aspects of being introduced to new environments that served as a source of culture shock. Bochner (2003) suggested that people become socialised by the places in which they have lived for most of their lives which influences how they view the world. Although participants moved out of the township, it was not easy for them to adjust to a new social context in the new environments.

Participants experienced a culture shock in their new spaces of residence, and this included a failure to grasp the ethos of privacy and contractual existence, feelings of isolation and alienation. As Taft (1997) states that identifying culture shock as a combination of mourning

what has been lost and not feeling significant in the new spaces among other factors. The suburbs provided the material and personal benefits of relocation, however, the suburbs failed to provide emotional and social benefits, the participants physically went to the township to fulfil that need. It was argued by Entwisle (2007) that people expect the consequences of choosing a particular area in which to live, however it is also arguable that the consequences of that move can never be accurately anticipated up until one literally resides in the area. This would explain why even though participants knew the challenges in adapting to a new way of life, the reality of the extent of change that came with moving resulted in anxiety, seclusion and estrangement in unfamiliar spaces.

5.3 EVALUATION

5.3.1 Reasons for leaving Chesterville

5.3.1.1 Economic Aspect

This study identified several reasons that influenced the decision to move out of Chesterville. However, the influence of access to monetary funds was a common influence in people's decision to move out of Chesterville. This study identified that getting better employment promotions, marital status where both spouses are economically active and extra part time employment, were the key factors that made the prospect of relocation possible.

This study identified trends where participants indicated that the level to which they were financially capable determined the areas to which they had moved, and the tenure status that they held in these new areas. The findings revealed that the majority of the participants moved to rented flats. The playing field has not been levelled by the post-apartheid government in a manner that provides urban dwellers with equal and equitable residential opportunities and tenure security. Similar trends were also demonstrated by Prinsloo and Cloete (2002) who found that in Johannesburg and Pretoria Black procurements of flats have been in low-income areas. The political setting in South Africa has indeed improved from what it was during the years of apartheid, however economic apartheid associated with race segregation still occurs (Schneider, 2003). The results serve as a testimony to the validity of the general agreement that South African cities have become defined by class exclusion

(Bremner, 2002; Durheim and Dixon, 2010). This trend is also evident in western capitalist cities (Holloway, 2000). Economic segregation is a phenomenon that is occurring on an international scale. The majority of Blacks continue to be trapped in townships with an inferior quality of life compared to those who have managed to move into desegregated areas (Kitchen, 2006).

5.3.1.2 Safety and Security

The study found that the issue of safety and security acted as a trigger which led to people moving out of Chesterville. The post-apartheid government has steered away from socially rebuilding a “new South Africa” and has focused more on the global economic standing of the country (Adelzadeh, 1996; Blumenfeld, 1997). The post-apartheid South African government has, to some level, failed to realise the goals of post-apartheid policies such as the RDP and the Bill of Rights, providing all South Africans with safe living environments. The apprehension demonstrated by participants that almost two decades later the township space continues to be marked by crime and violence and that suburbs are safer, illustrates how inequality and inequity continue to define the South African urban residential geography.

5.3.1.3 Status

The need to acquire status and to live in areas that were understood to be “better” than Chesterville also played a role in influencing some peoples’ decisions to move out of the township. The residential terrain of urban South Africa continues to be uneven and inequitable (Houssay- Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009). Township space continues to be viewed as inferior to suburbs, owing to the continued disproportional distribution and access to infrastructural development and service delivery. The post-apartheid government has, to a certain degree, been ineffectual in constructing functionally equitable residential environments for all urban citizens 20 years after democracy. The physical qualities of the built environments and the various services brought to these environments remain inadequate and incoherent and have emerged as one of the factors that led to participants wanting to move away from Chesterville.

5.3.2 Challenges experienced in the new environments

5.3.2.1 Lack of Social Interaction

The findings of this study have shown that a lack of social contact and interaction was one of the key challenges encountered by participants who were coming from an interconnected social township background into an isolated suburban environment. It was found that participants utilised frequent home visits back to Chesterville when the transition in the new areas proved to be socially challenging. Participants carried out activities such as worship, having their hair done, socializing and recreation back in the township, which also undermined the process of desegregation and integration.

Similar findings were demonstrated by Oldfield (2004) who found that people in Delft South continued to depend on historical economic and social networks even within the desegregated area. The activity patterns of participants revealed a very fickle form of desegregation, whereby people relocate to desegregated areas with little to no interest in taking advantage of the social possibilities the new areas can offer. The process of desegregation has thus also been undermined by participants' lack of enthusiasm and motivation to assimilate and learn a new way of life. Muyebe and Seekings (2012) have argued that neighbourhoods do not only change through policy interventions, but also through the influence of the active human agents that live in these spaces. Although this is true, the diminished role of the state in reconstructing the social foundation can be identified as weak link. Historical social constructs remain an opiate that hinders people from being able to view each other through non-racial and non-stereotypical lenses.

5.3.3.2 Stereotyping

Participants indicated that they felt criminalised, judged, and misunderstood in new areas as a result of being viewed as potential perpetrators of various crimes. Such trends could have influenced the transition into new areas as participants expressed a lack of authentic and genuine acceptance by established community members already residing in the new areas. Garza-Guerrero (1974) asserts that when a person is put into an unbalanced and alternative environment than what they are familiar with, sadness and lament for what has been lost can be experienced. The findings of the study showed that moving from a familiar single race

area, into multi-racial areas within which they were the minority and were misunderstood, resulted in participants feeling a sense of isolation and resentment, and the response was to retreat back to the township through home visits. Hard wearing social barriers and constructs resulted in participants experiencing a form of discrimination, which led to disaffection towards the new areas.

5.3.3.3 Lack of trust

Another factor that presented a challenge for participants was the general lack of trust that characterised the manner in which people in the desegregated interacted with, and viewed, each other. This can be attributed to the history of apartheid separation. This lack of trust within desegregated areas manifested itself in many ways and contributed to the tension that existed between people of different races in the new areas. Heidarabadi *et al.* (2012) argued that trust was a social resource which was imperative for communities to function.

Participants have not been able to do away with social constructs of the past, which have seen to people of different races keeping one another at arm's length. Participants come from a close knit community, in which family histories were known. In the new areas people did not know each other and mistrust became a pronounced reality which was not experienced in Chesterville. Furthermore, some participants also carried mistrust and preconceived ideas about other races into the desegregated areas.

The social fabric of the post-apartheid era continues to be ridden with tension and racial silos, with very little efforts being made by people and the government alike, to embrace and change the "new South Africa." Similarly Muyeba (2011) also identified a lack of effort from residents of Delft Leiden and Tambo square to proactively foster community building activities and gestures that would nurture a sense of oneness as a community. The general lack of care demonstrated in getting to know people of other races was one of the main factors that ensured that lack of trust and tolerance between races endures.

5.3.4 Reasons for returning to Chesterville

The findings of this study showed that residential re-segregation has been influenced by participants experiencing socio-economic challenges. Both historical and contemporary factors have either directly or indirectly contributed to the phenomenon of residential re-segregation within an economic context. The move back to the township, for some, was a consequence of participants falling short in some way to sustain themselves in desegregated areas. Desegregation spearheaded by the private sector has resulted in a fragile form of desegregation which is only as strong as the level to which people have access to money.

Participants indicated that the loss of employment, domestic problems like divorce and the challenge of maintaining two households in the desegregated areas and the township, influenced their decisions to move back to Chesterville. The findings of the study validated the argument that, the process of residential desegregation has come to depend on individual's potential and capability to compete in the housing market (Parnell and Pieterse, 2010). The political setting in South Africa has indeed improved from what it was during the years of apartheid. However, economic apartheid associated with racial segregation still occurs (Schneider, 2003).

Furthermore, the study found that single female parents moved back to Chesterville in order to adequately provide for their children and to get assistance from family members in terms of child support. The trend of Black single parenthood is also occurring in western capital cities (Culter and Glaeser, 1997). It was evident that nostalgia had the power to influence people's decision to move back to the township. The wish to be within an environment that held personal and sentimental meaning triggered the decision to move back to Chesterville. Such a trend validated the notion that people utilise what they value to determine the level of appeal that an area and the people within it have for individuals (Christenson, 1984).

5.3.5 Reception upon return

The participants were received primarily with judgement, condemnation and disappointment, apart from the few who mentioned they were welcomed back. The study found that leaving the township and returning was viewed by some of the locals as a sign of failure which resulted in people experiencing subliminal and direct judgement. Contemporary South Africa is still characterised by people living in apartheid legacy areas. Intra-racial inequality steadily

increased in the contemporary South Africa (Christopher, 2005a). The continued fragmented nature of South African urban spaces has resulted in those who have remained locked in the townships viewing participants who have moved with resentment, which would lead to their return being a source of mockery.

Some people experienced disappointment from close friends and loved one upon their return. As stated by Christopher (2001) the main concern which has defined the process of desegregation has been the return of historically excluded groups to areas that have been previously demarcated and classified as White group areas. One of the main sources of tension and the generally slow desegregation process is due to what Seekings (2008) describes as the persistent race and class overlap. This can explain why having a friend or relative that resides in the suburbs could be a source of pride, which can result in disappointment when that person returns to the 'sub-standard' township.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The process of residential desegregation and re-segregation has been influenced by historical and contemporary social, economic, political and personal factors. The findings of the study have illustrated the usefulness and relevance of the various theories and concepts that were employed as part of the theoretical framework which guided this study. The theoretical reflection has demonstrated how human beings are indeed active participants in the process of desegregation and re-segregation. The value of personal identity, belonging, familiarity and human interconnection resonated with the socialisation theories. Residential desegregation and re-segregation is both a geographic and social phenomenon that has not only influenced the manner in which different races relate to each other, but also how they relate to different residential environments.

The repeal of apartheid laws, namely the GAA has not resulted in the spontaneous movement of people into previously restricted areas. Racial classification determined where people live in the past; however, in present day South Africa monetary status determines where people live. Goebel (2007) argues that although elite and middle class Black people have enjoyed elevated levels of socio-spatial mobility, the areas to which they moved remain select and "often gated," with interracial social interactions being inadequate and tense. A superficial type of desegregation has come to characterise urban South Africa. Racial discrimination has

come to be replaced by socio-economic segregation perpetuated by post-apartheid policies. There is a clear indication of the post-apartheid government's failure to eradicate the socio-spatial patterns of apartheid. The repeal of the GAA has not been mirrored by aggressive attempts by the post-apartheid government to create new urban spaces of integration.

For those who have been able to desegregate, historical social constructs have proven to be so hard wearing that the process of desegregation has been rendered artificial. The findings of this study have revealed that in many ways desegregation and integration has not been complete in space and time, well into almost two decades of democracy. Segregation has not been eradicated in post-apartheid South Africa.

Residential re-segregation during a period of desegregation is a clear indication of tensions that still exist in South Africa. The post-apartheid era has seen economic inequality being perpetuated and financial capacity as opposed to racial classification becoming the dominant instrument through which people can negotiate their socio-spatial residential mobility. The stride towards equality and equity that dispels the social-economic and socio-spatial constructs of the apartheid era has been poorly facilitated by the post-apartheid government. People continue to be shackled in apartheid legacy areas through economic forces.

One of the most pressing issues that continue to plague the social fabric of South Africa is the manner in which people view one another in a racial and disconnected manner. There is a need for political commitment to the process of true racial reconciliation and integration. Cultural workshops and exhibitions need to be considered a priority where people of different races come together with the purpose of learning about each other. The celebration of cultural and racial diversity should be a continuous process, as opposed to an annual event like national heritage day.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Consent Form

Appendix 2: Schedule of Questions

Appendix 3: Group discussion topics

Appendix 1: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

The topic of the study is, “Desegregation, re-segregation and the return to Black Townships, A case study of Chesterville Township,” The aim of this study is to examine the current processes influencing the residential geography of South African cities. More specifically the process of re-segregation or return to black townships within an era of desegregation is the focus of the study. The intention is to investigate the key factors that are influencing the process of re-segregation. The research is being conducted for a Master’s Degree in Geography and Environmental Management by Mbalenhle Roxanne Masinga (Who can be reached on 0734942605), a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, under The School of Agriculture, Earth and Environmental Science.

The subject of the study is identified and based on the knowledge that they have been actively involved in the process of moving away from Chesterville to multiracial areas and moving back a later stage. Some of the subjects have been identified through referrals made by other subjects, who initially were not known to the researcher. Consent to participate in the study will entail the subjects taking part in face-to-face, one-on-one, interviews during which various questions will be posed with regards to why the participant moved away from Chesterville, the main challenges faced in the new environment to which they moved, and why the participants moved back to Chesterville. The interview sessions are estimated to be an hour long per session and each subject will only be required to take part in one interview session. A focus group discussion is also to be conducted; in this case the subject will be required to engage in a group discussion with other subjects for the discussion of various topics which relate to the study. Only one Focus group session will be conducted and anticipated last for at least two hours. The total time per subject dedicated to the study would thus be three hours spread over a certain period of time. It is brought to the attention of each subject that there will be usage of a recorder during both the interview and focus group session which means all that is to be discussed during the interview and focus group session will be on record and used in the data analysis of the study.

A copy of the interview question, and a focus group questions and all other research material, which includes the data collected during the interview and focus group discussion will be held by the School of Agricultural, Earth and Environmental Sciences, the Supervisor of this

project and the researcher. Anonymity is guaranteed to each subject as personal information and identity will be playing a role in facilitating knowledge production and understating of the process of residential desegregation and re-segregation. However, it must be stated that there will be on disadvantages faced by subjects none, participation be chosen. For the subjects who agree to participate in the research, it must be pointed out that freedom to withdraw for the research is well within your rights.

If you wish to obtain information on your rights as a participant, please contact Ms Ximba, Research office, UKZN, on 031 360 3587.

I.....(please provide full names and surname)
hereby confirm that I am fully aware and understand the nature of the research project, and give consent to take part in the research project.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any given time, should I wish to do so.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

Appendix 2: Schedule of Questions

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Section A

1. What is your race?
2. What is your gender?
3. How old are you?
4. Are you employed?
5. What is your monthly income?

Section B

6. What is your understanding of segregation?
7. What is your understanding of desegregation?
8. What is your understand of re-segregation?

Section C

9. In what year did you leave Chesterville?
10. Why did you move away from Chesterville?
11. To which area did you move?
12. What attracted you to the area to which you moved?
13. What were the key challenges experienced in the new areas?
14. How did you adapt to the new area?

Section D

15. Areas of participation and justifications

Activity	Chesterville	New area
worship		
hairdresser		
Shopping		
drinking		
medical		
Recreation		
Socializing		

16. Levels of racial integration

- a. How would you describe the state of racial integration in the area to which you moved?
- b. How would you describe the relationship between different races in the area to which you moved?
- c. What are some of the reasons, identified by you, that led to the relationship described above?
- d. Were there any similarities or differences between Chesterville and the new areas in terms of how people interacted and related to each other?

Section E

17. In what year did you move back to Chesterville?
18. Upon returning to Chesterville did you rent, buy or return to your family home?
19. What were the reasons for your decision to move back to Chesterville?
20. How did you expect to be received by the community upon deciding to move back to Chesterville?
21. How were you received by the community upon returning, did the reception match your expectation?
22. What challenges did you experience upon your return and how did you adapt?
23. Should the opportunity arise, would you consider moving away from Chesterville again and why?

Appendix 3: Group discussion topics

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION TOPICS

- The movement of people out of the township to multiracial areas.
- Challenges of adjusting in multiracial areas as a black person.
- The nature of status differences within multiracial areas.
- The significance of community.
- Movement of people back to the township.

