

# The Levels and Patterns of Racial Residential Desegregation in Cape Town.

by

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## **Abstract**

The first aim of this study was to assess the levels of desegregation in Cape Town's southern suburbs. The characteristics of desegregated areas in terms of tenure, socio economic status of residents, and type of housing were explored to identify possible patterns of desegregation. Thereafter a qualitative examination of the processes and emerging patterns of residential desegregation in a case study approach of three different patterns of desegregation evident in Rondebosch East, Mowbray and Kenilworth was conducted. In-depth interviews were conducted with black households in these areas. The 1996 Census was used to assess the levels of desegregation and explore the characteristics of desegregation emerging in Cape Town.

The gradual movement of black households to the former white group areas was found as twenty-one of the areas in the Cape Town, Simon's Town and Wynberg magisterial districts were significantly desegregated. Areas in which 15% or more of the households were black were considered desegregated in this study. Desegregation was mainly characterised by Coloured households as opposed to African or Indian households moving to former White areas. This is in part as a result of their higher socio economic status compared to African households. The lower and middle class suburbs were more likely to be desegregated than the more affluent upper class areas. One of the main ways in which black households are moving to formerly white areas was by renting property rather than home ownership. In addition, in many desegregated areas, black households were renting flats, which was the most affordable option.

The second aim of this study was to identify patterns of desegregation in Cape Town's southern suburbs. Three patterns of racial residential desegregation were identified. The first pattern was associated with middle class homeownership, while the other two patterns were associated with rental flat accommodation. These three patterns and the dynamics involved were explored in a case study of three areas in Cape Town, namely Mowbray, Rondebosch East and Kenilworth.

The first pattern was characterised by young black middle class families purchasing houses in Rondebosch East. The second pattern in Mowbray was characterised by students and African foreigners seeking cheap rental accommodation. A complex interplay of factors including a decline in property prices, unscrupulous landlords who charged high rentals, resulted in some black households overcrowding apartments, to be able to afford the rents and slum-like characteristics due to a lack of maintenance on the part of landlords. The third pattern identified "respectable rental accommodation" contrasted with the findings in Mowbray with young black middle class households renting flats in the area in the absence of decline or overcrowding.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

South African neighbourhoods were transformed after the Group Areas Act was abolished in 1991 as African, Coloured and Indian people were then legally free to reside in an area of their choosing and in the former white residential areas.

It is this process of racial residential desegregation that is the subject of this study, i.e. the movement of black people (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) into residential areas formerly reserved for White people, through ownership or rental of property.

However, it is important to note at the outset that prior to the abolition of the Group Areas Act in 1991 and as early as the late 1970's, there were cases of substantial contravention of the Act whereby blacks were moving into areas<sup>2</sup> designated for white occupation only (de facto desegregation). For example, in Hillbrow, Johannesburg large numbers of Coloured and Indian people began moving to inner city Johannesburg for work opportunities during the late 1970's and 1980's. They chose to live illegally in a White area where there was an abundance of accommodation, in contrast to the persistent shortage of housing in areas declared for their racial group. These racially mixed neighbourhoods such as Hillbrow, were termed 'grey areas' and were later recognised by the government and declared Free Settlement Areas under the Free Settlement Areas Act of 1988. This was an attempt by the government to control the cases of residential racial mixing by declaring specific areas exempt from the Group Areas Act where all races could live.<sup>1</sup> De facto desegregation was therefore well under way by the time the Group Areas Act was abolished in 1991.

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<sup>1</sup> Morris, A. The Desegregation of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 1978-1982, *Urban Studies* 31 (6), 1994, pp821-834.

The Group Areas Act, the cornerstone of apartheid policies, legally enforced segregation between races and here lies the importance of racial residential desegregation for the new South Africa. As Lemon noted, "*desegregation is a necessary although not a sufficient prerequisite for social integration and important in establishing a non-racial society*".<sup>2</sup>

Race relations and social integration between different racial groups living in neighbourhoods formerly reserved for White people only, is not within the scope of this paper. However, this study not only seeks to ascertain the levels of racial residential desegregation in Cape Town but also to gain an understanding of the processes, emerging patterns and driving forces behind residential desegregation.

### **1.1 Aims of the study**

The first aim of this study was to assess the levels of racial residential desegregation in Cape Town's southern suburbs.<sup>3</sup> The characteristics of desegregated areas in terms of tenure, the socio-economic status of residents, and type of housing were explored to identify possible patterns of desegregation. Thereafter a qualitative examination of the processes and emerging patterns of residential desegregation in a case study approach of three different patterns of desegregation evident in Rondebosch East, Mowbray and Kenilworth was conducted.

### **1.2 Findings**

The first desegregation pattern of desegregation identified was characterised by the movement of middle class black residents to former White group areas through homeownership. A second identified pattern of desegregation in rental accommodation was characterised by physical deterioration, overcrowding and the poor management of property by landlords. For example a number of studies of residential desegregation in inner city areas

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<sup>2</sup> Lemon, A. (ed). *Homes Apart: South Africa's segregated cities*. David Philip: Cape Town, 1991.

<sup>3</sup> The southern suburbs refers to the Simons Town, Cape Town and Wynberg magisterial districts.

has found that due to complex interactions between landlords and tenants, the influx of large numbers of black residents to former White areas has been associated with the physical deterioration of property and overcrowding.<sup>4</sup> A third and contrasting pattern of desegregation in rental accommodation was associated with young upwardly mobile black professionals renting flats in former White group areas.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In the first section below, an overview of pre-apartheid racial residential patterns identified by Western is provided.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter legally enforced segregation as it affected African, Coloured and Indian people in Cape Town is discussed. The breakdown of the Group Areas Act beginning in the 1970's and the emerging patterns of residential desegregation, evident in case studies and literature on desegregation in South African cities are then identified.

### 2.1 Pre-apartheid racial residential patterns

Prior to the proclamation of the Group Areas Act in 1950, there was a high level of segregation in South African cities due to the market mechanism, where affluent white people were able to 'buy' segregation.<sup>6</sup> However, there were some racially mixed residential areas particularly between Coloureds, Indians and Whites.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.;  
Crankshaw, O. and White, C. 1995. Racial desegregation and inner city decay in Johannesburg *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research* 19, pp622-638;  
Jurgens, U and Gnad, M and Bahr, J. New forms of class and racial segregation: ghettos or ethnic enclaves. In Tomlinson, R Beauregard, L, Bremmer and Mangcu. (eds) *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Post-apartheid City*, pp56-60. London: Routledge

<sup>5</sup> Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996

<sup>6</sup> Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996

<sup>7</sup> Saff, G. *Changing Cape Town: Urban Dynamics, policy and planning during the political transition in South Africa*. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg, 1989.

Cape Town was noted as less segregated than other South African cities prior to the Group Areas Act. According to a document prepared by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1958, concerning group areas in Cape Town, White and Coloured people lived side by side for generations in many parts of Cape Town. The Group Areas Act therefore affected Coloureds and Indians more than Africans, with large-scale removals of mainly Coloured and Indian people beginning in the 1950's and continuing through the 1970's.<sup>8</sup>

Western identified three racial residential patterns, related to socio-economic status, which were evident in pre-apartheid Cape Town. These are integration, interdigitation and segregation:

Integration was found in older working class neighbourhoods such as lower Woodstock and Salt River where White and Coloured households lived side by side. Here the socio-economic levels of Whites and Coloureds overlapped.

Another multi-racial residential pattern, interdigitation, was found in the more affluent neighbourhoods such as Protea village, Claremont, Newlands, Rondebosch and Mowbray where Coloured households occupied the property in a few streets or blocks while the surrounding property was mainly occupied by Whites. The Coloured households were in fact Coloured labourers' and servants homes in these neighbourhoods forming Coloured pockets in particular streets. In this case the socio-economic levels of most of the Whites and Coloureds were different.

The third pattern identified by Western was segregation. White segregation was found in the affluent neighbourhoods such as Fresnaye, Sea Point, Clifton and Bishops Court. Black segregation on the other hand was found in low income areas such as District Six, where most households were black.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Group Areas in Cape Town*. South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1958.

<sup>9</sup> Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town*. University of California Press. Berkley, 1996.



## 2.2 Legally enforced segregation and the Group Areas Act

Apartheid legislation, which aimed at controlling the urbanisation and residence of black people affected Africans, Coloureds and Indians differently. The segregation of African people is dealt with separately from Coloureds and Indians as different legislation related to residence affected different race groups. An important point here is that African people were regarded as temporary sojourners in South African cities and their movement into urban areas was restricted and regulated by legislation such as the pass laws.<sup>10 3</sup>

### 2.2.1 Legislation affecting African residential areas

Before the Group Areas Act was promulgated, legislation regarding the urbanisation and home ownership choices of Africans was long in effect, with the Natives Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, preventing African people from owning land outside scheduled reserves.<sup>11</sup>

Legislation related to hygiene was also used to forcibly remove African people from the Cape Town city center and suburbs, to Ndabeni on the periphery of the city in the early 1900's with the Slums Clearance Act of 1934. Later the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 provided for segregated urban residential areas for Africans. African people were then forcibly removed from mixed residential areas to areas on the urban fringes.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Maylam, P. The Rise and Decline of Urban Apartheid in South Africa. *African Affairs* 89 (354), 1990, pp.57-84.

<sup>11</sup> Bickford-Smith, V. South African Urban History, Racial Segregation and the 'Unique' Case of Cape Town, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 121 (1), 1995, pp63-78.

<sup>12</sup> Saunders, C. The creation of Ndabeni: urban segregation and African resistance in Cape Town. *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 1 (1979), pp.165-193.

The 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act prohibited African people from buying property in urban areas and finally, the 1945 Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act consolidated the laws relating to the control of Africans in urban areas.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore as Maylam comments “By the time the National Party came to power in 1948, a whole apparatus for regulating and controlling the movement and daily lives of urban Africans had already been constructed.”<sup>14</sup>

### 2.2.1.1 Proclaimed African areas in Cape Town

The location, Ndabeni was established in the early 1900's to house the African people forcibly removed from the city under the Slums Clearance Act of 1913. However, after World War One, there was an influx of Africans to Cape Town. Ndabeni become too small to accommodate the influx of Africans and the new location of Langa was established in 1927, further from the city center, to which the Ndabeni residents were moved.<sup>15</sup>

During and after the Second World War there was another influx of Africans to Cape Town and by the early 1960's Langa had been expanded to house over 25 000.<sup>16</sup> New locations for African people were later built at Nyanga, Guguletu and Khayelitsha.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Saunders, C. The creation of Ndabeni: urban segregation and African resistance in Cape Town. *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 1 (1979), pp.165-193.

<sup>14</sup> Maylam, P. The Rise and Decline of Urban Apartheid in South Africa. *African Affairs* 89 (354), 1990, pp.57-84.

<sup>15</sup> Saunders, C. The creation of Ndabeni: urban segregation and African resistance in Cape Town. *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 1 (1979), pp.165-193.

<sup>16</sup> Saunders, C. The creation of Ndabeni: urban segregation and African resistance in Cape Town. *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 1 (1979), pp.165-193.

<sup>17</sup> Saff, G. *Changing Cape Town: Urban Dynamics, policy and planning during the political transition in South Africa*. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg, 1989.

## **2.2.2 The Group Areas Act and Coloured segregation**

### **2.2.2.1 Introduction of the Group Areas Act**

Although the Group Areas Act was passed in 1950, it was not until the mid 1960's that the state enforced it in Cape Town. In some cases it was only implemented in 1980. There was wide spread resistance to the Group Areas Act, as twenty-four organisations representing Malay, Coloured and Indian groups combined to form the Group Areas Coordinating Committee to oppose the implementation of the Act in Cape Town. The Cape Town Municipality also refused to cooperate with the government in demarcating group areas by refusing to provide maps showing ownership by race and drawing up zoning plans.<sup>18</sup>

The first phase of legal residential segregation began with the permit system. Coloured peoples' right to buy property and occupy premises of their choice was constrained by a proclamation issued under the Group Areas Act in March 1951, which required a permit in all instances where properties were transferred from one race group to another. After the Group Areas Act was passed as law, all interracial transfers of property were frozen in order to maintain the status quo until the group areas were declared.<sup>19</sup>

### **2.2.2.2 Proclaimed Group Areas in Cape Town**

The first group areas were proclaimed in July 1957 and January 1958. The Atlantic coast suburbs of Three Anchor Bay, Sea Point, Clifton, Camps Bay, Green Point and Bakoven and the central city areas of Tamboerskloof, the Gardens, Oranjezicht and District Six were proclaimed for White occupation. The area of Schotsche Kloof located in Cape Town city centre was allocated to Malays.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Group Areas in Cape Town*. South Africa Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg. 1958.

<sup>19</sup> Mesthrie, U. No place in the world to go - control by permit: the first phase of the Group Areas Act in Cape Town in the 1950's. *Studies in the history of Cape Town*, 7 (1994), 187.

<sup>20</sup> *Group Areas in Cape Town*. South Africa Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg. 1958.

Woodstock and Salt River, were proclaimed White in January 1963.<sup>21</sup> These areas were extensively mixed and various proclamations after 1963 affected Woodstock and Salt River with the effect that the areas remained largely racially mixed.<sup>22</sup>

Pinelands and Thornton, which were already exclusively White, were proclaimed for White occupation in July 1958. Milnerton was proclaimed a White group area from January 1959. Brooklyn, Rugby and Ysterplaat were also proclaimed White, for occupation by January 1963.<sup>23</sup>

The suburbs of Rosebank, Mowbray, Observatory, Rondebosch, Newlands, Claremont, Rondebosch East, Harfield Village, Kenilworth, Wynberg, Plumstead, Retreat, Lakeside, Ottery and Wetton were all declared for White occupation.<sup>24</sup> In Wynberg however, the area east of the railway line, was proclaimed a Coloured area. Similarly in Lansdowne, the section of the area east of the railway line was proclaimed Coloured.<sup>25</sup>

### **2.2.2.3 The breakdown of the Group Areas Act - de facto desegregation.**

The Group Areas Act began breaking down in the late 1970's as black people moved into areas proclaimed White in defiance of the Act. For example by 1986 there were more than 20 000 black people living in the Johannesburg inner city areas of Berea and Hillbrow.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Group Areas in Cape Town*. South Africa Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg. 1958.

<sup>22</sup> Conerly, C. Woodstock: Ratepayers reactions to the Group Areas and the municipal elections of 1988. pp 1-26. 1988.

<sup>23</sup> Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town*. University of California Press. Berkley, 1996.

<sup>24</sup> *Group Areas in Cape Town*. South Africa Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg. 1958.

<sup>25</sup> *Group Areas in Cape Town*. South Africa Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg. 1958.

<sup>26</sup> Rule, S. Racial Residential Integration in Bertrams, Johannesburg, *South African Geographical Journal* 70, 1998.

The government made many changes and relaxations in apartheid legislation in the 1980's due to social and economic problems in implementing the Act. One of the key problems in implementing the Act was the government's fiscal inability to adequately house the large black population. As a result there was a shortage of housing for black people. In contrast there was an abundance of accommodation in White areas. This precipitated the movement of blacks to former White areas in contravention of the Group Areas Act.<sup>27</sup> For example, in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, large numbers of Coloureds and Indians began moving to the inner city area in contravention of the Group Areas Act. There was a surplus of accommodation in this area due to the lifting of rent control<sup>28</sup> and the out migration of young white residents buying property in the suburbs in response to low property prices and state housing subsidies. On the other hand many Coloured and Indian residents faced long waiting lists for accommodation in Coloured and Indian group areas because of the housing shortage for black people.<sup>29</sup>

There was a restrained response from government to the movement of Coloureds and Indians into White areas. Most notably due to the Govender case in the Transvaal Supreme Court in 1982, no further evictions under the Group Areas Act were permitted unless alternative accommodation could be provided. This resulted in a reduction in the number of evictions under the Group Areas Act, because alternative accommodation could not be provided given the shortage of housing for black people in areas proclaimed for blacks.<sup>30</sup> Another factor influencing the limited response from the government to contraventions of the Group Areas Act was increasing pressure from the

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<sup>27</sup> Morris, A. The Desegregation of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 1978-1982, *Urban Studies* 31 (6), 1994, pp821-834

<sup>28</sup> Morris, A. The Desegregation of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 1978-1982, *Urban Studies* 31 (6), 1994, pp821-834

<sup>29</sup> Crankshaw, O. and White, C. 1995. Racial desegregation and inner city decay in Johannesburg. *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research* 19, pp622-638

<sup>30</sup> Morris, A. The Desegregation of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 1978-1982, *Urban Studies* 31 (6), 1994, pp821-834

media, business and political parties for the relaxation or abolition of the Group Areas Act.<sup>31</sup>

In response to the emergence of 'grey areas' the government attempted to control and restrict the areas where racial mixing was allowed by enacting the Free Settlement Areas Act of 1988, which allowed for the proclamation of areas free from the provisions of the Group Areas Act.<sup>32</sup>

By the 1990's, the increasing use of the permit system, which exempted people from the provisions of the Group Areas Act, was also evident. For example, Pirie found that in 1985, 90% of the applications for exemptions from the Group Areas Act restrictions were granted.<sup>33</sup> Another manner in which blacks defied the Group Areas Act and moved into White areas was via close corporations, whereby a Close Corporation was allowed to purchase land in white Group Areas despite a black majority share in the corporation.<sup>34</sup>

One of the major changes, in the 1980's, to legislation related to residential segregation was the abolition of the pass laws, designed to prevent the migration of Africans from rural to urban areas. The scrapping of the pass laws was in part as a result of the large-scale rural-urban migration of Africans that resulted in overcrowding in African townships.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Christopher, A. The final phase of Urban Apartheid Zoning in South Africa 1990/1. *South African Geographical Journal*, 74, 1992, pp.29-34.

<sup>32</sup> Morris, A. Continuity and Rupture: The city, post apartheid, *Social Research* 65 (4), 1998, pp759-775.

<sup>33</sup> Pirie, G. More of a Blush than a Rash: Changes in urban race zoning, *South African Review* 3 Raven Press, Johannesburg, 1986.

<sup>34</sup> Saff, G. *Changing Cape Town: Urban Dynamics, policy and planning during the political transition in South Africa*. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg, 1989.

<sup>35</sup> Morris, A. Continuity and Rupture: The city, post apartheid, *Social Research* 65 (4), 1998 pp 759-775

### 2.3 Emerging patterns of desegregation.

Broad patterns of residential desegregation can be discerned from the various studies conducted on desegregation in South Africa. This literature review attempts to identify some possible patterns of residential desegregation by reviewing studies of desegregation in South Africa and identifying the common social dynamics involved in the emergence of these patterns.

Although these residential desegregation patterns are influenced by the specific context of the neighbourhood in question, three broad patterns of desegregation evident in the literature are explored in this study. One pattern is associated with physical deterioration as a result of overcrowding, most commonly in inner city areas with large numbers of rental flat accommodation. This is not simply a matter of poor black residents moving into overcrowded rental accommodation, resulting in physical deterioration of property and slum-like characteristics. The complex interplay of factors such as the needs of the population, property prices, age of the housing stock and interactions between landlords and tenants can explain the emergence of this pattern.

In other areas or buildings where most property consisted of rental stock, a different pattern of desegregation, respectable rental accommodation, was found with no evidence of slum conditions, as landlords dealt with tenants concerns and maintained the property.

There is also an entirely different residential desegregation pattern of middle class black homeownership in the literature. Examples include Mayfair, Johannesburg<sup>36</sup> and Akasia, Pretoria<sup>37</sup> where the movement of black people into former white middle class areas occurred in the absence of decay and in some cases gentrification occurred.

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<sup>36</sup> Fick, J, de Coning, C. and Olivier, N. Ethnicity and Residential Patterning in a Divided Society: A case study of Mayfair in Johannesburg, *South Africa International* 19(1), 1988, pp1-27

<sup>37</sup> Horn, A and Ngcobo, J. The Suburban Challenge: (De)segregation, opportunity and community in Akasia, City of Tshwane. *Urban Forum* 14(4), pp320-346. 2003.

These three patterns of residential desegregation are not comprehensive. There are in all likelihood other patterns of desegregation, which may emerge as the level of residential desegregation in South African cities increases. One possible fourth pattern of residential desegregation is areas of greenfield development in previous White Group Areas or new residential developments, where black residents purchase land to build new housing rather than purchase existing property. For example, in a recent study by Lemon and Clifford, of residential desegregation in Margate, KwaZulu-Natal, it emerged that desegregation was mainly as a result of black residents purchasing land and building houses. In this particular case of desegregation, however, many of the black residents could not afford the costs of homeownership and in many cases financial institutions repossessed property.<sup>38</sup>

While there may be many different patterns of residential desegregation, this study focuses on only three patterns of residential desegregation, namely, middle class homeownership in the suburbs, inner city rental accommodation, physical decay and overcrowding and 'respectable rental accommodation

### **2.3.1 Middle class homeownership in the suburbs**

The first pattern of residential desegregation, identified in the literature was associated with owner occupied housing in middle class suburbs. As those occupying the premises own the property, which requires a substantial amount of capital, the residents moving in were of the same or higher socio-economic status as the white residents, earning relatively high to middle incomes and working in skilled occupations. For example in Mayfair, Johannesburg, younger middle class Indian residents moved in, replacing older white residents. These residents were earning higher incomes than the white residents they were replacing. There was no evidence of white flight, as younger, white households earning similarly high incomes to the Indian households were also moving into the neighbourhood, despite the increasing number of Indian residents. This neighbourhood pattern of desegregation was

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<sup>38</sup> Lemon, A and Clifford, D. Post-apartheid Transition in a Small South African Town: Interracial Property Transfer in Margate, KwaZulu-Natal. *Urban Studies*, Vol 42, No 1, 7-30, 2005.

associated with gentrification.<sup>39</sup> Other examples of this pattern of desegregation are Pietersburg and Bloemfontein where middle class, young economically mobile blacks showed a preference for middle class 'White' housing.<sup>40</sup>

In a study of desegregation in Akasia, Pretoria, a similar pattern of desegregation can be identified. Most of the black households (95%) in Akasia were property owners and were working in professional highly skilled occupations, with 37% working as practitioners, businessmen or managers of industry, and 60% were educators or were employed in the service sector.<sup>41</sup>

One of the major factors influencing the in migration of black middle class households to former White areas was the perceived quality of education in former White schools located in these suburbs.

For example, most of the children of black families living in Akasia, attended former white schools in Akasia rather than schools in the black townships.<sup>42</sup>

Similarly a study by Myburgh in the Tygerberg area of Cape Town found schools in former white areas played a pivotal role in Coloured families decisions regarding where to live.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Fick, J, de Coning, C. and Olivier, N. Ethnicity and Residential Patterning in a Divided Society: A case study of Mayfair in Johannesburg, *South Africa International* 19(1), 1988, pp1-27.

<sup>40</sup> Kotze, N. and Donaldson, S. Residential Desegregation in Two South African Cities: A comparative study of Bloemfontein and Pietersburg. *Urban Studies* 31, 1997, pp 467-477

<sup>41</sup> Horn, A and Ngcobo, J. The Suburban Challenge: (De)segregation, opportunity and community in Akasia, City of Tshwane. *Urban Forum* 14(4), pp 320-346. 2003.

<sup>42</sup> Horn, A and Ngcobo, J. The Suburban Challenge: (De)segregation, opportunity and community in Akasia, City of Tshwane. *Urban Forum* 14 (4), pp 320-346, 2003.

<sup>43</sup> Myberg, D. The Transformation of Social Space in Tygerberg, Cape Town. Davies, R. (ed) *Contemporary City Structuring: International Geographical insights*. Society of South African Geographers, Cape Town, 1996, pp200-209.

### 2.3.2 Inner city rental accommodation and decay

Various studies of racial residential desegregation, by Morris,<sup>44</sup> Jurgens, U, Gnad, M and Bahr, J.<sup>45</sup> and Crankshaw and White,<sup>46</sup> have focused on the physical decay and overcrowding of rental accommodation in inner city areas in South Africa.

In a study of Yeoville, Johannesburg, an area consisting of high-density flatland, Jurgens et al found that when black residents began moving into Yeoville, certain sections of the neighbourhood showed signs of physical deterioration as a result of overcrowding and slum lording. The reasons therefore include a drop in property values in the area. As a result white property owners wanting to sell their property could only do so at a loss if at all. They therefore divided their houses and rented out rooms and flats for fairly high rentals. Many black residents could not afford the high rentals charged and had to overcrowd the flats and rooms to afford the rent. These landlords did not feel the need to invest in the maintenance of their property and were not concerned about overcrowding. Although the initial black residents in the early 1990s were similar to the existing residents in terms of socio-economic status, later black households moving in were found to have lower income and educational levels in comparison to white residents.<sup>47</sup>

The authors also noted a large number of black people from neighbouring countries, Western and Central Africa, moving into the inner city, as 14% of the residents were from other African countries. Most of these immigrant residents were unemployed or employed in the informal sector. Due to their

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<sup>44</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.

<sup>45</sup> Jurgens, U and Gnad, M and Bahr, J. New forms of class and racial segregation: ghettos or ethnic enclaves. In Tomlinson, R Beauregard, L, Bremmer and Mangcu. (eds) *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*, pp56-60. London: Routledge

<sup>46</sup> Crankshaw, O. and White, C.1995. Racial desegregation and inner city decay in Johannesburg. *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research* 19, pp622-638

<sup>47</sup> Jurgens, U and Gnad, M and Bahr, J. New forms of class and racial segregation: ghettos or ethnic enclaves. In Tomlinson, R Beauregard, L, Bremmer and Mangcu. (eds) *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*, pp56-60. London: Routledge

foreign citizenship status and low-income levels, they were even more vulnerable to unscrupulous landlords' charging high rentals. The authors conclude that ghetto-like elements were evident in Yeoville although only in certain houses or blocks of flats.<sup>48</sup>

It should be noted that the deterioration of inner city areas was not as a result of poor blacks moving into the area and overcrowding flats. Racial desegregation is not necessarily associated with decay and overcrowding. In studies conducted of Berea, in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, by Morris<sup>49</sup> as well as Crankshaw and White<sup>50</sup> the authors argue against the assumption of a black underclass leading to the deterioration of Hillbrow. Many of the blacks moving into Hillbrow were of the same or higher occupational and socio-economic profile as the white residents and most could afford to rent accommodation in the inner city. However there was also a number of poorer black residents who moved to the area and an association arose between overcrowded apartments and low income. The relationships between tenants and landlords and the age of buildings are factors explaining why the desegregation in Berea, Hillbrow was accompanied by physical deterioration of the neighbourhood.<sup>51</sup>

There was a strong association between overcrowding and lack of maintenance and services. For example, Crankshaw and White found that 20% of overcrowded apartments had no caretaker. According to landlords, black tenants were not paying their rentals which impacted on their ability to maintain the property. However the black tenants complained that landlords were charging very high rentals. This forced them to overcrowd their flats to

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<sup>48</sup> Jurgens, U and Gnad, M and Bahr, J. New forms of class and racial segregation: ghettos or ethnic enclaves. In Tomlinson, R Beauregard, L, Bremmer and Mangcu. (eds) *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*, pp56-60. London: Routledge

<sup>49</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.

<sup>50</sup> Crankshaw, O. and White, C.1995. Racial desegregation and inner city decay in Johannesburg. *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research* 19, pp622-638

<sup>51</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.

afford the rent. However the emerging pattern of deterioration is not simply as a result of poor black residents overcrowding the flats. For example Crankshaw and White found that not all low-income tenants were living in overcrowded apartments. Therefore the causes of overcrowding and decay were more complex than simply the movement of poorer African and Coloured residents to the neighbourhood.<sup>52</sup>

Morris discusses the role of landlords and other factors involved in the physical deterioration of some of the buildings in Berea, Johannesburg. According to Morris, landlords can be differentiated in terms of amount of capital at their disposal, number of dwellings owned, legal status and the different reasons for owning property. A crucial factor determining whether or not racial desegregation was accompanied by the physical decline of buildings was the resources and managerial style of the landlords. Where landlords had good relationships with their tenants and had the resources to maintain their buildings, there was no deterioration in their buildings.<sup>53</sup>

On the other hand, where landlords did not have the financial resources necessary to maintain their buildings, which resulted in strained relationships with their tenants, deterioration and physical decline was more likely to occur. Landlords who lacked financial resources to maintain their buildings usually charged high rentals and to afford the rental tenants had to overcrowd, creating a cycle in which more pressure was placed on the services of the building.<sup>54</sup>

Crankshaw and White found that it was mostly the older buildings, in need of renovation, were more likely to be overcrowded.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Crankshaw, O. and White, C.1995. Racial desegregation and inner city decay in Johannesburg. *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research* 19, pp622-638

<sup>53</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.

<sup>54</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.

<sup>55</sup> Crankshaw, O. and White, C.1995. Racial desegregation and inner city decay in Johannesburg.

These older buildings were most likely bought by landlords who were not aware of the high costs of maintenance and were located in areas where property values were low and which banks had redlined. Many of the owners of these blocks of flats did not have a lot of capital at their disposal. They were also not able to get loans from financial institutions for renovations. Some landlords were only interested in making a profit. As a result the property was not well maintained.<sup>56</sup>

These landlords, unable to obtain money for renovations and with many only interested in making a profit, raised the rent and sub-divided the flats to rent out rooms and cut back on maintenance to increase their income.<sup>57</sup>

The demand for low cost accommodation by low-income African and Coloured tenants also contributed to overcrowding. According to Morris, landlords were able to increase rents, as most Black tenants were willing to pay higher rents, owing to overcrowding and violence in Black townships.

Many of the Black residents moved into Hillbrow illegally, prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act. They were therefore more vulnerable with less bargaining power and landlords could ignore tenants' complaints as well as charge higher rent.<sup>58</sup>

In summary, the key factor influencing overcrowding, deterioration and poor maintenance was high rentals, as many tenants had moderate incomes and to afford the high rental had to share accommodation with others. Other reasons contributing to neighbourhood decline and deterioration included the drop in property prices and the difficulty facing property owners trying to sell flats

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*International Journal for Urban and Regional Research 19, pp622-638*

<sup>56</sup> Crankshaw, O. and White, C.1995. Racial desegregation and inner city decay in Johannesburg. *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research 19, pp622-638*

<sup>57</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.

<sup>58</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999

because of redlining. This encouraged some landlords to charge as much rent as possible without investing in the maintenance of their property. Another key factor was overall bad management of property and a lack of capital by smaller landlords to maintain the upkeep of buildings especially older housing stock.<sup>59</sup>

### **2.3.3 Respectable rental accommodation**

Reviewing the literature on desegregation in South Africa, the movement of black residents to former white areas was not necessarily accompanied by decay and overcrowding in rental or flatland areas. This pattern of 'respectable rental desegregation' was characterised by young middle class black residents' renting property. Most were well paid and working in professional or skilled occupations, with no need to share accommodation in order to afford rents. In these instances there was little or no evidence of the movement of black residents associated with physical deterioration of buildings and overcrowding. For example, Ownhouse and Nel in a study of desegregation in Central, Port Elizabeth conducted in 1991 and 1992, found younger middle class black residents moving into the former white area. Most of those surveyed (87%) were renting property and were young and upwardly mobile seeking improved accommodation and lifestyle. Rental was an attractive option for young couples or single professionals who did not have the capital required to purchase property. In terms of income some of the Black residents earned relatively low incomes while others earned relatively high incomes. There was no evidence of overcrowding, decay and dilapidation of housing stock.<sup>60</sup>

Similarly in Harare, Zimbabwe, rental accommodation in areas close to the central business district appealed to younger, black professionals who wanted

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<sup>59</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow*, Johannesburg. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999

<sup>60</sup> Ownhouse, S. and Nel, E. The Greying of Central: A Case study of racial residential desegregation in Port Elizabeth. *Urban Forum* 4(1) 1993.

to be closer to their place of work. There was little evidence of overcrowding, decay and diminishing property prices in any of the areas surveyed, with only a few cases of overcrowding and decay reported which was brought under control by the authorities.<sup>61</sup>

Another example of this pattern is a study of desegregation in Bertrams, Johannesburg, where most black residents' were found to be young families renting property. The resident's occupations were varied with some working in professional occupations, routine white collar and skilled manual work. The residents' occupations included technicians, a lawyer, university lecturer, geophysicist, café owner, driver, builder, carpenter, clerks and shop assistants. There was no clear evidence of physical deterioration or slum-like characteristics associated with desegregation.<sup>62</sup>

This pattern of respectable rental accommodation was also evident in Hillbrow together with the pattern of desegregation characterised by physical deterioration. As noted by Morris, physical deterioration, overcrowding and slum-like features were not evident in all buildings in Hillbrow. According to Morris only a minority of the black residents was poor or overcrowded the flats. Most black residents were service-sector workers who found it convenient to live in Hillbrow and most were employed with only 12% unemployed.<sup>63</sup> The two patterns of desegregation, physical decay and respectable rental accommodation could be found in the same area. Factors such as relations between landlords and tenants, the managerial capacity and financial situation of landlords, the age of buildings and whether or not residents can afford the rentals charged, are factors influencing whether the movement of black residents to rental accommodation is associated with physical decay and slum-like characteristics or not.

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61 Pickard-Cambridge, C. *Sharing the Cities*. South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg. 1988.

62 Rule, S. The Emergence of a racially mixed residential suburb in Johannesburg: Demise of the apartheid city?. *The Geographical Journal*, Vol 155, No 2. July 1989, pp. 196-203.

63 Morris, A. The Desegregation of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 1978-1982, *Urban Studies* 31 (6), 1994, pp821-834

### 3. METHOD

#### 3.1 Quantitative analysis of the levels of residential desegregation in Cape Towns southern suburbs

The definition of desegregation, i.e. **the movement of Black people through ownership or rental to neighbourhoods formerly reserved for the occupation of Whites during apartheid**, guided the method to ascertain the levels of desegregation.

In order to assess the levels of racial residential desegregation, the following problems had to be addressed:

- Only those areas, which were set aside for White occupation during apartheid, could be included in the analysis. During apartheid some neighbourhoods had a White and a Coloured section, but shared the same name. For example, one section of Lansdowne was White while another section was Coloured with only a railway line separating the two. The 1996 Census however only provides data for each 'placename', which refers to a township or suburb name. It does not distinguish which sections of the placename were previously White or black group areas. As a result data was only available for the whole of Lansdowne and further research had to be conducted to establish which enumeration areas in Lansdowne were previously White and which were previously Coloured. The same applied to the neighbourhood Wynberg.
- Only those black residents who owned or were renting property could be included in the analysis. Domestic servants and gardeners living on their employer's property had to be excluded.
- Only residential areas were included in the analysis and areas such as military bases and institutions had to be excluded.

# MAP A - PROCLAIMED WHITE GROUP AREAS



## Determining the areas to be included in the analysis

### *Previously White group areas only*

In assessing the levels of desegregation in the Wynberg, Simons Town and Cape Town magisterial districts in Cape Town, only those areas proclaimed for **white occupation exclusively during apartheid** were included in the analysis.

The 1996 Community Profile Database does not distinguish which area had been previously White, Coloured or African group areas. The first step was therefore to determine which areas were proclaimed White group areas during apartheid. (Map A –Proclaimed White Group Areas). Different sources of information and data were used to ensure that only previously White group areas were included in the analysis. These sources included the Race Relations Surveys, historical articles and studies of Cape Town as well as literature about segregation in Cape Town. The 1996 Census and 1981 published Census data were also used.

In the literature, the areas Woodstock and Salt River, were identified as racially mixed during apartheid. These areas were therefore excluded in the analysis. Woodstock was always a mixed racial area as a result of thirty years of non-violent resistance to both the Group Areas Act and attempts to proclaim the area either white or coloured or free settlement area with various government Group Areas proclamations affecting the area since 1958. The same applies to Salt River, part of which remained unproclaimed some thirty years after the Group Areas Act became law.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Conerly, C. Woodstock: Ratepayers reactions to the Group Areas and the municipal elections of 1988. pp.1-26. 1988.

A related problem in ensuring only previously White areas were included in the analysis was the fact that the areas, Lansdowne and Wynberg, although they shared the same name, had a Coloured and a White section during apartheid, but the 1996 Census Community Profile database only provides data for the area as a whole. From the literature it was possible to identify the exact borders of the Coloured and White sections in Wynberg and Lansdowne on a map. The enumeration areas for Lansdowne and Wynberg were mapped according to race and those enumeration areas in the previously Coloured section were excluded. Data was only collected for the enumeration areas that corresponded with the previously White section of the area.

### *Wynberg*

The eastern section of Wynberg, bordered by the railway line, Prince George Drive and Wetton Road, was proclaimed a Coloured area (Map B- - Wynberg).<sup>65</sup> The enumeration areas, that fall in the previously Coloured section of Wynberg were excluded from the analysis (Table 1).

Table 1 Enumeration Areas of previously 'Coloured' Wynberg by Race

<b>Enumeration area</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>
1050143	131	45
1050144	117	51
1050145	1	29
1050146	7	122
1050147	5	169
1050148	161	7
1050149	4	106
1050150	0	43
1050152	11	127
1050155	0	153
1050158	1	109
1050161	5	159
1050162	2	128
1050164	6	170
1050167	1	118
1050170	0	7
1050171	3	120
1050172	0	69
1050173	0	18

<sup>65</sup> Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996.



## Lansdowne

In Lansdowne, the section east of the railway line bordered by Wetton Road, the M17 Jan Smuts Drive and Kendall road was a Coloured group area<sup>66</sup> (See Map C- Lansdowne). The enumeration areas corresponding with this section were excluded from the analysis (Table 2)

Table 2 Enumeration areas of previously 'Coloured' Lansdowne by race

Enumeration area	White	Black
1050491	7	154
1050494	3	145
1050495	1	166
1050497	1	122
1050498	0	128
1050499	2	177
1050501	1	172
1050502	0	257
1050503	2	123
1050504	2	200
1050505	0	231
1050506	2	181

### *Only residents renting or owning property*

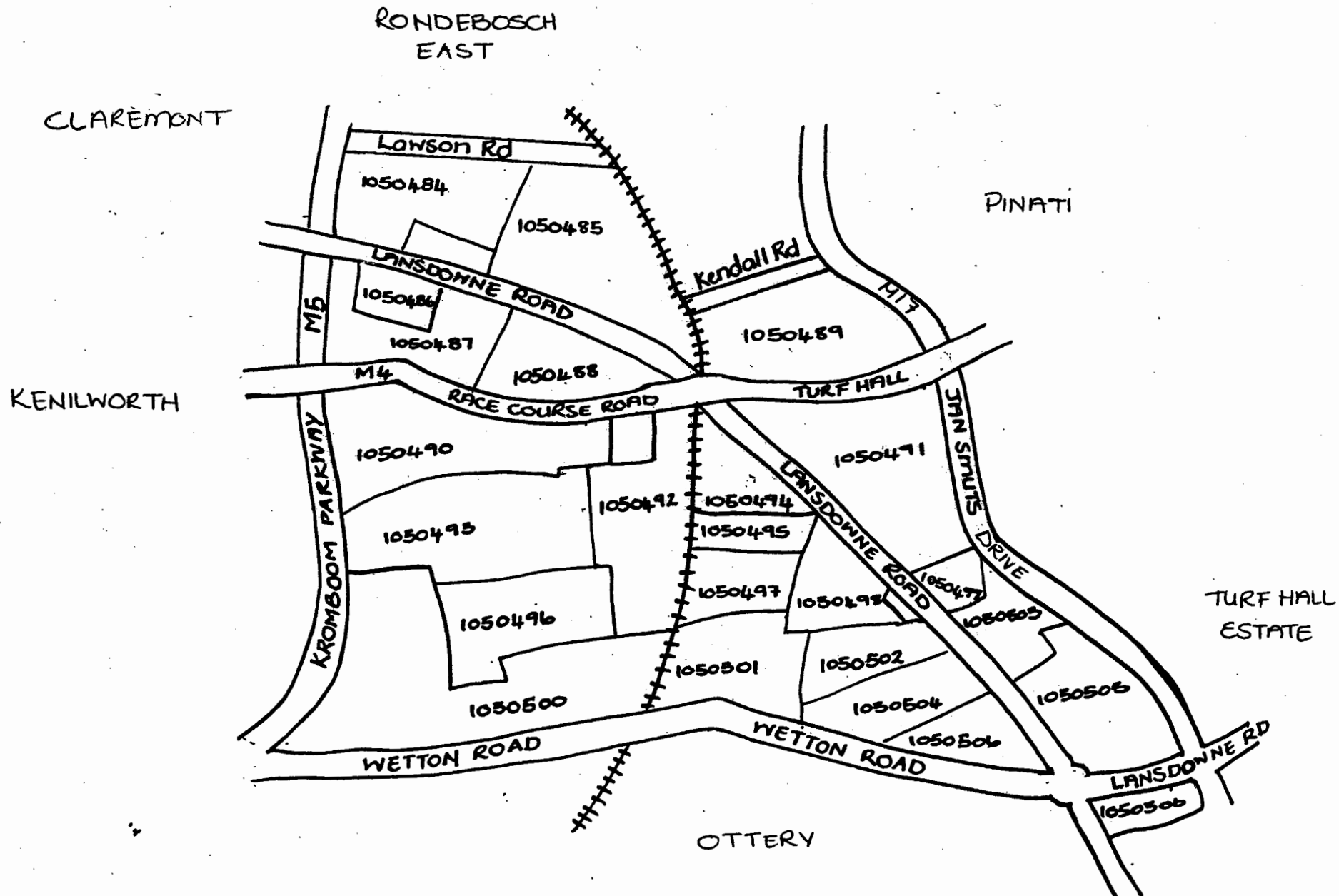
The 1996 Census counted domestic workers living on the same premises as their employers as separate households, apart from the households in which they were employed. These temporary residents had to be excluded in the analysis as they do not fall into the definition of residential desegregation because they do not own or rent the property in question.

It was not possible simply to exclude those working in occupations such as domestic work or gardening from the analysis. The Super TABLE software programme used to generate cross tabulations of the 1996 Census data only allows for cross tabulations of a limited combination of variables. This is to protect the identity of those who participated in the Census. It was therefore not possible to generate tables of occupation by the variables of interest such as type of dwelling, tenure and household income and then exclude those working in the occupational grouping that would include domestic workers.

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<sup>66</sup> Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996.

MAP C LANSDOWNE



A variable other than occupation therefore had to be used to exclude domestic workers. The variable 'type of dwelling' was used. All those living in "backyard rooms" as defined in the Census were excluded and only households living in the main dwelling i.e. "a house on a separate stand", those living a "flat in block of flats" or "Town/cluster/semi-detached house" were included in the analysis. In this way an attempt was made to ensure that only those renting or owning homes in the area were considered in the analysis of desegregation levels, type of dwelling, tenure and household income. It is important to point out that instead of over-estimating the level of desegregation, this study might well under-estimate the levels of desegregation, because all households living in "backyard rooms" were excluded. It would be an under-estimation of the levels of desegregation because of the assumption that all those living in backyard rooms are domestic workers or gardeners employed by those living in the main house, when in fact many people rent backyard rooms, such as single professionals and students. They would then have been excluded from the analysis.

The other variable of interest was occupation. In this case it was not possible to use the variable 'type of dwelling' to exclude domestic workers, because the 1996 Census community profile database does not allow a cross tabulation of dwelling type by occupation. It was also not possible simply to exclude 'domestic workers' in the variable occupation, as the 1996 Census community profile database does not specify individual occupations, but occupation groupings such as "professionals", "service and market related trade and elementary workers." Gardeners and domestic workers would have been included in the grouping "elementary workers."

Instead of excluding all those working in elementary occupations, which would also have excluded many other occupations such as mining and construction workers, messengers and street vendors, the variable 'industry' was used to exclude domestic workers. Domestic workers in private households were included in the industry category 'private households' in the 1996 Census. Therefore all those working in private households were excluded.

### *Residential neighbourhoods only*

The analysis was limited to the operation of the housing market. Therefore only residential areas where accommodation was rented or bought on the open market were included in the analysis. The small population of Pollsmoor was excluded, as residents were most likely employees in official accommodation at Pollsmoor prison. Youngsfield was also excluded because it is a former military base.

### **Analysis**

The 1996 Census community profile database was used to generate tables. Each area identified as a previously White group area was first analysed according to racial composition, which was taken as a measure of desegregation, i.e. the percentage of the suburbs' population who were black. A three-way table of race by area by dwelling type was generated.

All those living in backyard rooms were excluded and a percentage distribution calculated for each area according to race. It was decided that areas with more than 15% of the population black would be considered evidence of significant desegregation.

The areas that were significantly desegregated were further analysed to identify preliminary patterns of desegregation that could be further explored qualitatively.

The following tables were generated for each of the suburbs that were considered significantly desegregated:

- The Type of dwelling by Race
- Property tenure by Race by Type of dwelling
- Annual household income by Race by Type of dwelling
- Occupation by Race by Industry

### **3.2 A qualitative exploration of patterns of desegregation in Cape Town**

The quantitative analysis informed the areas chosen for an in-depth qualitative exploration of the social dynamics of emerging desegregation. The qualitative interviews were a means of exploring the social dynamics and process involved in three different types of residential desegregation emerging in three residential neighbourhoods in the Cape Town and Wynberg magisterial districts, namely Mowbray, Kenilworth and Rondebosch East.

#### **Data collection**

To explore the patterns of desegregation, in-depth interviews were conducted among residents in Mowbray, Rondebosch East and Kenilworth. In total 13 in depth interviews were conducted.

#### *Mowbray*

Two interviews were conducted with black residents of Mowbray living in blocks of flats and one group interview/discussion was conducted with African immigrants sharing a house in which they were renting single rooms. The group interview was conducted with a French translator. In addition, a secondary data source of interviews was used.<sup>67</sup> Background and historical information on Mowbray was gained from newspaper articles<sup>68</sup> and *Outcast Cape Town*.<sup>69</sup>

#### *Kenilworth*

In Kenilworth four interviews were conducted with black residents living in flats, two who owned property and two who were renting. There was no background information regarding Kenilworth in the literature. This information was gained from one of the interviewees who has lived in the area for many

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<sup>67</sup> Dale Jackson, *Third year Sociology Research study*. 2003.

<sup>68</sup> The Southern Suburbs Tatler, August 1989. Liesbeek tenants get extension; The Southern Suburbs Tatler, August 1989. University's purchase of Mowbray flats come as a shock to tenants.

<sup>69</sup> Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town*. University of California Press. Berkley, 1996.

years in contravention of the Group Areas Act and could therefore comment on the changes in the neighbourhood since the early 1980's.

### *Rondebosch East*

Overall six interviews were conducted with residents of Rondebosch East, four with black residents who moved to the area in the last 10 years. There is very little available in the literature with regard to Rondebosch East specifically. In order to get an accurate picture of how the areas have changed over the years, two White respondents who have lived in the area for a considerable length of time (between 26-30 years) were also interviewed. As they have lived most of their lives in Rondebosch East they could provide some valuable information on the ways in which the area has changed over the years and to map out the history of the area. Very few questions were put to these respondents, as the purpose of the interview was to gain general understanding of how the neighbourhood may have changed.

The following information was gathered on black households:

- The number of people in the household
- Their ages
- Education levels
- Occupations
- Schools which children were attending
- Brief residential history
- Reasons for moving to the area

### **Sampling method**

A snowball method of sampling was used. In most cases known respondents were contacted and interviewed. Thereafter, these respondents enabled contact with other respondents in the area. In other cases houses were chosen arbitrarily and if the households were not black they were asked who their nearest black neighbours were. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed.

## **4. RESULTS**

### **4.1 The extent and reasons for post apartheid desegregation**

The aim of this study was to explore the levels of desegregation in Cape Town's southern Suburbs as well as the dynamics involved in desegregation.

The questions that this study attempts to answer include:

- Which areas were significantly desegregated?
- What were the reasons and characteristics of desegregation?

#### **4.1.1 Which areas were significantly desegregated?**

Overall there seemed to be a gradual movement of black people to the middle to low class residential areas in Cape Town's southern Suburbs, as twenty two areas in the Cape Town, Wynberg and Simons Town magisterial districts were significantly desegregated (Table 3)

The neighbourhoods Ottery, Ferness, Mowbray and Rondebosch East were highly desegregated as more than half of the households, between 50% and 63%, were black. In Ndabeni, Zonnebloem and Summer Greens more than a third of the households were black. In the areas of Cape Central, Royal Cape, Ysterplaat, Kalk Bay, Da Gama Park, Observatory, Southfield, Rosebank and Phoenix between 21% and 28% of the households were black. Lower levels of desegregation were found in Blouberg Strand, Kenilworth, Muizenberg, Brooklyn and Rugby as between 15% and 17% of the households were black. (Table 3)

This gradual movement to the former white areas is similar to the findings of other studies on desegregation in South Africa where most reported a general decline in segregation levels since 1991 and the gradual movement of black people into former whites areas. According to Christopher, in an analysis of the 1996 Census moderate levels of desegregation were found.<sup>70</sup> This

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<sup>70</sup> Christopher, A. Apartheid and Segregation Levels in South Africa, *Urban Studies* 27 (3), 1990, pp 421-440

gradual racial transformation of neighbourhoods is similar to other Southern African cities as well. For example, in Harare, Zimbabwe there was a gradual movement of black households to former white areas with less than a quarter (23%) of the black households owning homes in the low density former white suburbs by 1985 even though 25% of the whites had moved from these areas between 1979 and 1985.<sup>71</sup>

Table 3 Levels of desegregation by suburb (1996)

<b>Suburbs with 30% or more of households African, Coloured and Indian (percentage distribution).</b>							
Suburb	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified	Total	Percentage of households that are black.
Ottery	3	<b>56</b>	4	33	3	100	<b>63</b>
Mowbray	<b>52</b>	10	1	35	2	100	<b>63</b>
Ferness	0	<b>56</b>	2	40	1	100	<b>58</b>
Lansdowne	6	<b>45</b>	7	42	0	100	<b>58</b>
Rondebosch East	7	<b>31</b>	<b>12</b>	45	5	100	<b>50</b>
Ndabeni	1	<b>36</b>	2	61	0	100	<b>39</b>
Zonnebloem	8	<b>28</b>	3	48	13	100	<b>39</b>
Summer Greens	10	<b>26</b>	1	53	10	100	<b>37</b>
Cape Central	<b>11</b>	<b>21</b>	3	57	9	100	<b>35</b>
<b>Suburbs with 20%-29% of households African, Coloured or Indian (percentage distribution).</b>							
Suburb	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified	Total	Percentage of households that are black.
Royal Cape	3	<b>23</b>	2	71	1	100	<b>28</b>
Ysterplaat	<b>9</b>	<b>17</b>	1	73	1	100	<b>27</b>
Kalk Bay	2	<b>24</b>	0	73	1	100	<b>26</b>
Da Gama Park	4	<b>14</b>	6	75	2	100	<b>24</b>
Observatory	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	1	73	3	100	<b>24</b>
Southfield	2	<b>21</b>	1	68	8	100	<b>24</b>
Rosebank	<b>14</b>	6	4	73	3	100	<b>24</b>
Phoenix	<b>14</b>	6	1	78	2	100	<b>21</b>

<sup>71</sup> Saff, G. The Changing Face of the South African City: From urban apartheid to the deracialization of space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 18(3), 1990, pp155-165

**Suburbs with 15%-17% of households African, Coloured or Indian (percentage distribution)**

Suburb	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified	Total	Percentage of households that are black.
Blouberg Strand	11	6	0	82	0	100	<b>17</b>
Kenilworth	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	2	79	4	100	<b>17</b>
Muizenberg	5	<b>11</b>	1	79	3	100	<b>17</b>
Brooklyn	2	<b>13</b>	1	84	1	100	<b>16</b>
Rugby	1	<b>13</b>	1	84	1	100	<b>15</b>

**Suburbs with less than 15% of households African, Coloured or Indian (percentage distribution).**

Suburb	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified	Total	% of households that are black.
Green Point	4	8	2	85	1	100	14
Sea Point	7	5	1	87	1	100	13
St James	7	5	1	86	1	100	13
Clifton	3	9	0	87	0	100	12
Gardens	5	6	1	82	7	100	12
Plumstead	2	9	1	85	3	100	12
Rondebosch	6	3	3	85	3	100	12
Wynberg	3	8	1	80	8	100	12
Marina Da Gama	2	8	1	85	4	100	11
Claremont	3	5	2	86	3	100	10
Diep River	1	8	1	86	4	100	10
Constantia	3	5	1	89	1	100	9
Three Anchor Bay	4	4	1	90	0	100	9
Mouille point	4	4	1	89	2	100	9
Vredehoek	3	4	1	90	3	100	8
Oranjezicht	3	4	1	91	2	100	8
Retreat	2	6	0	85	6	100	8
Bishops Court	3	4	1	89	3	100	8
Llandudno	6	1	1	89	2	100	8
Bantry Bay	3	3	1	93	1	100	7
Fresnaye	2	4	1	94	0	100	7
Tijgerhof/Sandrift	1	4	1	94	1	100	6
Tamboerskloof	2	3	1	93	2	100	6
Newlands	2	3	1	90	4	100	6
Lakeside	1	4	0	92	3	100	5
Simons Town	1	2	2	94	1	100	5
Sunnydale	2	3	0	93	2	100	5
Noordhoek	2	2	0	94	2	100	4
Hout Bay	2	2	0	94	2	100	4
Blouberg Rise	2	1	1	95	1	100	4
Blouberg Sands	2	1	1	95	1	100	4

**Suburbs with less than 15% of households African, Coloured or Indian (percentage distribution) continued..**

Suburb	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified	Total	% of households that are black.
Bloubergstrand	2	1	0	97	1	100	3
Camps Bay	2	1	0	96	1	100	3
Sunset Beach	0	3	0	92	5	100	3
Milnerton	1	1	1	94	2	100	3
Tokai	2	1	0	96	0	100	3
Kirstenhof	1	2	0	95	2	100	3
Bergvliet	1	2	0	95	25	100	3
Masiphumelele	1	2	0	96	0	100	3
Sun Valley	1	2	0	97	1	100	3
Clovelly	2	0	0	96	2	100	2
Kommetjie	1	1	0	97	1	100	2
Scarborough	1	1	0	98	0	100	2
Milnerton Ridge	1	1	0	98	0	100	2
Table View	1	1	0	97	1	100	2
Woodbridge Island	1	0	0	99	1	100	1
Fish Hoek	0	1	0	98	1	100	1
Westlake	0	1	0	96	0	100	1

*Author's own analysis generated from the Community Profile Database*

#### **4.1.2 What were the reasons and characteristics of desegregation?**

##### **Socio economic constraints to desegregation**

The lower and middle class suburbs were more desegregated than the more affluent upper class areas. Very low levels of desegregation were found in more affluent areas such as Camps Bay, Bantry Bay and Bishops Court in which most households earned very high incomes (Table 3) For example, most of the residents in Camps Bay (56%) were earning household incomes above R 96 000 per month. The lack of black households in more affluent areas can be explained as a result of the lower incomes of Blacks in comparison to Whites. Therefore not many can afford to move to wealthier residential areas.

Similarly in a study conducted by Harvey as cited in Rule (1989) of desegregation in Zimbabwe, it was found that the city central residential areas were more desegregated and the upper income suburbs on the other hand had a lower proportion of black households.<sup>72</sup>

### **The gradual movement to the former White low to middle class neighbourhoods**

Most of the significantly desegregated areas could be described as low to middle class areas, as most residents irrespective of race were earning middle to relatively high incomes and were working in skilled occupations.

For example, in area such as Ferness, Lansdowne, Ottery, Rondebosch East, Royal Cape, Southfield and Summer Greens, most residents were earning middle to relatively high incomes and were working in professional and highly skilled occupations (Table 5).

In other areas such as Cape Central, Brooklyn Da Gama Park, Kenilworth, Muizenberg, Observatory, Zonnebloem, Ndabeni and Rugby, most residents were earning low to middle incomes and were working in routine white collar occupations as clerks, service, shop and market sales workers and skilled and semi skilled manual workers, with some working in more skilled professional occupations (Table 4 and Table 5).

There were however exceptions in areas such as Rosebank, Mowbray, Phoenix, Kalk Bay and Ysterplaat where most black residents were low-income earners. In Rosebank and Mowbray many of the black residents were students or in the case of Mowbray, foreigners, some of whom were unemployed. In Kalk Bay there was some evidence to suggest desegregation has been influenced by the black fishing community as many were working in elementary occupations, which included fishery workers.

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<sup>72</sup> Rule, S. The emergence of a racially mixed residential suburb in Johannesburg: demise of the apartheid city? *Geographical Journal*, 155, pp196-203.

In Ysterplaat, desegregation was likely to have been driven by black people moving into council flatland accommodation, as there are a number of council blocks of flats (Table 4).

Desegregation was therefore more prevalent among the middle class black households, as most moving into the former White areas could be described as middle class. Similar findings have been found in other studies of desegregation in Southern Africa. For example, in a study of desegregation in Harare, Zimbabwe Pickard-Cambridge found that the neighbourhoods which desegregated first and faster were the lower and lower middle income White suburbs.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, Rule found that with the greying of areas in the late 1980's, the main areas which were racially mixed were the older, lower and middle class White residential areas.<sup>74</sup>

The trend of black households moving to the low to middle class former white areas is likely to continue as the black middle class grows. However property prices are increasing substantially which may curtail people's choices and former Coloured and African townships may be more attractive financially for the middle class.

### ***Coloured desegregation***

Where desegregation was evident it was **characterised by mainly Coloured households** moving into the neighbourhood, as opposed to African or Indian households. In almost all cases of desegregation it was Coloured people moving to the former White residential areas rather than African people driving desegregation. The reasons are likely to be economic as African people's choices are more limited in comparison to Coloured people's residential options because of historical reasons and limited employment opportunities.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, C. *Sharing the Cities*. South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1988.

<sup>74</sup> Rule, S. The emergence of a racially mixed residential suburb in Johannesburg: demise of the apartheid city? *Geographical Journal*, 155, pp196-203.

<sup>75</sup> Donaldson, S. Urban Black Home Ownership Patterns in the Northern Province, South Africa.

This is similar to Christopher's finding that the greatest changes in desegregation were evident amongst Indians and Coloureds due to their comparatively better economic and social status in relation to Africans, whose residential options were more constrained as a result of poverty.<sup>76</sup>

### ***Rental vs. ownership and cheap accommodation***

There were exceptions to Coloured driven desegregation with predominantly African as opposed to Coloured or Indian households in the neighbourhoods of Mowbray, Rosebank, Phoenix and Blouberg Strand. In most of these cases, African households were renting flats rather than owning property. As African people's residential options are more constrained, many of those who have moved to former White areas have done so in more affordable areas, in flats or through renting property.

Overall flats and rental property was popular among black households, not only African households. In most cases, 12 out of the 21 desegregation areas were characterised by households renting property rather than homeownership. In addition, in 8 out of the 12 cases of rental accommodation, households were renting flats rather than houses (Table 4).

Rental flats was the most affordable and popular option for many black households. Property for rent is cheaper than property for sale not only in terms of capital needed to purchase property, but the monthly rental payments are also cheaper than bond repayments would be for the same property whether it be a house or flat. Flats for sale or rent are also cheaper because they are smaller and often do not have any garden space. Therefore, areas with rental flats are more desegregated because renting flats is the most affordable option for the majority of black residents.

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In Davies, R. (ed). *Contemporary City Structuring: International Geographical Insights*, Society of South African Geographers, Cape Town. 1996, pp189-199

<sup>76</sup> Christopher, A. Urban Segregation in Post-apartheid South Africa. *Urban Studies* 38(3). 2001, pp449-466

In areas such as Mowbray, Rosebank, Ysterplaat, Kalk Bay, Muizenburg, Cape Central and Kenilworth, where most of the residential property consists of flatland and rental property, the higher desegregation levels in these neighbourhoods can be explained by the fact that rental and flats are more affordable options. In most cases, the households could be described as middle class, as most black households were earning middle to high incomes and most black residents were working in skilled professional or service related occupations (Table 4).

However in other areas, such as parts of Mowbray, there were indications of slum like characteristics of some blocks of flats such as overcrowding and physical decay, where most households earned little or no income.

Another likely reason for the higher levels of desegregation in rental property is that rental is associated with high turnover of residents. Therefore those looking to move to formerly White areas may be more likely to find accommodation in the form of renting.

Table 4. Summary analysis of Suburbs in which most black households were renting property

Suburbs in which most black households were renting property					
Suburb	% of households that were black	Dwelling Type	Tenure of black households	Annual income of black households	Occupation of black residents
Brooklyn	16% black: 13% Coloured 2% African 1% Indian	Houses, townhouses and flats	half were renting and half owned property	Middle to low incomes <sup>77</sup>	Routine white-collar <sup>78</sup> workers, semi and skilled manual workers. <sup>79</sup>
Cape Central	33% black: 20% Coloured 10% African 3% Indian	Flats	Renting	Middle to low incomes	Routine white collar workers. Professionals and managers <sup>80</sup>
Da Gama Park	24% Black 14% Coloured 6% Indian 4% African	Houses	Renting	Middle to low incomes	Routine white collar workers
Kalk Bay	26% black: 24% Coloured 2% African 0% Indian	Flats	Renting	Low incomes Some earned middle incomes.	Routine white collar workers as well as skilled agricultural and fishery workers
Kenilworth	17% black: 9% Coloured 6% African 5% Indian	Flats	Renting	Middle to high incomes	Routine white collar workers as well as professionals and managers
Mowbray	63% black: 52 % African 10% Coloured 1% Indian	Flats	Renting	No income and low incomes	Many African residents were students. Of those who were employed, most were working as professionals and managers, but some were working in routine white-collar occupations.

<sup>77</sup> Low incomes refers to annual household incomes below R42, 000 which includes additional income and remittances; Middle incomes refers to incomes between R42, 001 and R96 000; High Incomes refers to incomes above R96, 001

<sup>78</sup> Routine white-collar workers refer to service workers, shop and market sales workers.

<sup>79</sup> Semi skilled manual workers refers to plant and machine operators and assemblers; skilled manual workers refers to craft and related trade workers.

<sup>80</sup> Professional and managers includes those working as legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals, technicians and associate professionals.

Suburbs in which most black households were renting property continued...					
Suburb	% of households that were black	Dwelling Type	Tenure of black households	Annual income of black households	Occupation of black residents
Muizenberg	18% black: 11% Coloured 5% African 2% Indian	Flats	Renting	Some no income. Relatively low incomes	Routine white-collar occupations skilled manual workers, unskilled labourers <sup>81</sup> , professionals and managers.
Observatory	24% black: 11% African 12% Coloured 1% Indian	Houses and townhouses	Renting	Middle to low incomes	Professionals and managers and routine white collar occupations
Phoenix	21% black 14% African 6% Coloured 1% Indian	Houses	Renting	Low incomes	Elementary occupations, skilled manual workers  Routine white collar workers Skilled agricultural and fishery workers, clerks
Rosebank	23% black: 14% African 6% Coloured 4% Indian	Flats	Renting	Some no income Middle to low incomes.	Many African students. Most black residents were working as professionals and managers and some in routine white-collar occupations.
Ysterplaat	26% black: 17% Coloured 8% African 1% Indian	Flats	Renting	Middle to low incomes.	Routine white collar workers or as professionals and managers
Zonnebloem	39% black: 28% Coloured 8% African 3% Indian	Houses and flats	Renting	Middle to low incomes	Routine white collar workers Some Africans in elementary occupations

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

<sup>81</sup> Unskilled labourers refers to those working in elementary occupations, for example mining and construction workers, messengers and street vendors

## Middle class homeownership

While many areas, which were desegregated, were characterised by flatland accommodation and rental property, there was evidence of middle-class home ownership, for example, in the areas of Ottery, Ferness, Rondebosch East, Ndabeni, Summer Greens, Southfield, Royal Cape and Rugby (Table 5). These black residents have been able to afford to buy property in formerly White areas and reasons centre on concerns of schooling for children, safety and wanting a better standard of living. Most of these households were earning relatively high incomes and working in skilled occupations.

Table 5 – Summary analysis of Suburbs in which most black households had bought property

Suburbs in which most black households had bought property					
Suburb	% of households that were black	Dwelling Type	Tenure of black households	Annual income of black households	Occupation of black residents
Ferness	58% black: 56% Coloured 2% Indian 0% African	Houses	Ownership	Middle to high incomes	Professionals and managers, routine white collar workers and skilled manual workers
Lansdowne	58% black: 45% Coloured 7% Indian 6% African	Houses	Ownership	Middle to high incomes	Professionals and managers Routine white collar workers
Ndabeni	39% black: 36% Coloured 2% Indian 1% African	Houses	Ownership	Middle to low incomes	Routine white collar workers, skilled manual workers and unskilled workers
Ottery	63% black: 56% Coloured 4% Indian 3% African	Houses, semi detached houses & Townhouses	Ownership	Middle to high incomes	Professionals and managers and routine white collar workers

Suburbs in which most black households had bought property continued...					
Suburb	% of households that were black	Dwelling Type	Tenure of black households	Annual income of black households	Occupation of black residents
Rondebosch East	50% black: 31 % Coloured 12% Indian 7% African	Houses	Ownership	Middle to high incomes	Professionals and managers
Royal Cape	28% black: 23% Coloured 3% African 2% Indian	Houses	Ownership	Middle to high incomes	Professionals, and managers Routine white collar workers
Rugby	16% black 13% Coloured 1% African 1% Indian	Houses	Ownership	Middle to low incomes	Professionals managers Routine white collar workers Semi skilled and skilled manual workers
Southfield	24% black 21% Coloured 2% African 1% Indian	Houses	Ownership	Middle to high incomes	Professionals and managers, Routine white collar workers
Summer Greens	37% black: 26% Coloured 10% African 1% Indian	Houses	Ownership	Middle to high incomes.	Professionals and managers, Routine white collar workers, skilled manual workers

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

## 4.2 Patterns of desegregation

Three distinct patterns of residential desegregation had been identified in the literature from the numerous case studies on desegregation in South Africa. These patterns correspond with the type of housing, i.e. flatland versus houses and rental versus home ownership of property. In the following section these patterns of desegregation emerging in the Cape Town southern suburbs of Mowbray, Rondebosch East and Kenilworth are explored in a case study approach.

The first pattern of desegregation relating to the movement of black middle class people into the suburbs by purchasing property, mostly houses, found in areas such as Mayfair, Johannesburg,<sup>82</sup> Pietersburg and Akasia, Pretoria<sup>83</sup> is explored in Rondebosch East.

A second pattern in flatland and rental accommodation has been associated with decay as a result a number of factors such as landlord- tenant relations, the age of buildings, overcrowding, decreasing property prices and demand for rental accommodation. The case study of Mowbray explores this pattern. The dynamics involved in rental accommodation and relations between landlords and tenants, many of whom are vulnerable, leading to overcrowding, decay and deterioration in certain parts of Mowbray is discussed.

There are however cases of flatland accommodation and rental accommodation which have not displayed these characteristics. In contrast to the example of Mowbray, a totally different case of rental flatland accommodation without any evidence of deterioration is the case of Kenilworth where mainly middle class young mobile black residents have been moving in.

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<sup>82</sup> Fick, J, de Coning, C. and Olivier, N. Ethnicity and Residential Patterning in a Divided Society: A case study of Mayfair in Johannesburg, *South Africa International* 19(1), 1988, pp1-27.

<sup>83</sup> Horn, A and Ngcobo, J. The Suburban Challenge: (De)segregation, opportunity and community in Akasia, City of Tshwane. *Urban Forum* 14 (4), pp 320-346, 2003.

#### 4.2.1 Rondebosch East

The emerging pattern of desegregation in Rondebosch East was characterised by middle class, professional black families purchasing houses in the areas. What has emerged in Rondebosch East was that large numbers of black, especially Coloured and Indian middle class professionals, many with young families, have moved in by purchasing houses, replacing the older white residents who were moving out. The reasons for moving to the neighbourhood reflected the middle class and family status of the black households moving in. One of the main reasons Rondebosch East has mainly attracted middle class families was concern for the education of children and the integral role the proximity of schools in the area played. Other reasons centred on security, safety and close proximity to major transport routes, public transport and shopping centres. In particular, many Muslim families have been attracted to Rondebosch East, as the majority of new black households were Indian and Coloured Muslims. The presence of a mosque and Muslim school seems to have influenced large numbers of Muslim residents to move to the neighbourhood. Many of these new middle class homeowners embarked on extensive renovations to their property, with the result, the market values of homes have increased and there is evidence of gentrification. The pattern of residential desegregation in Rondebosch East was similar to the pattern evident in other case studies of desegregation such as Mayfair in Johannesburg<sup>84</sup>, Harare, Zimbabwe<sup>85</sup> and Akasia, Pretoria.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Fick, J, de Coning, C. and Olivier, N. Ethnicity and Residential Patterning in a Divided Society: A case study of Mayfair in Johannesburg, *South Africa International* 19(1), 1988, pp1-27.

<sup>85</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, C. *Sharing the Cities*. South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg. 1988.

<sup>86</sup> Horn, A and Ngcobo, J. The Suburban Challenge: (De)segregation, opportunity and community in Akasia, City of Tshwane. *Urban Forum* 14 (4), pp 320-346, 2003.

### **Background of desegregation in Rondebosch East**

Rondebosch East was established as a residential area approximately 60 years ago (1942), at which time the area was little more than sand roads with only about seven houses according to interviews. Rondebosch East borders Crawford, Lansdowne and Claremont (Map D). The residents were at first largely White but according to interviews the population became somewhat multi-racial prior to the Group Areas Act. According to one interviewee, in certain sections of the area the residents were predominantly white and in other sections residents were more mixed in terms of race. However according to one interviewee the area has always been a White area and was never mixed. The contradictory viewpoints however can be explained because the 'avenues' section of Rondebosch East, located off Kromboom road, was predominately White, while the section bordering Lansdowne (corresponding with enumeration area 1050456, Map D) was more mixed.

*'I remember from small when my grandmother lived in Rondebosch East, the avenues were mainly European [White] at the time.'*<sup>87</sup>

According to interviews with residents when they first came to the area between the 1940's and early 1950's, it was multi-racial, with lots of Coloured and Muslim families living there: *"this part of Rondebosch East there was mostly White families at the time, at the end of the road were Muslims and closer to the mosque."*

One of the interviewees mentioned a Muslim woman who lives in the road next to hers, who has resided in the area for the past 30 years in defiance of the Group Areas Act.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Margret Beck, May 2002, Rondebosch East, Chantel le Fleur

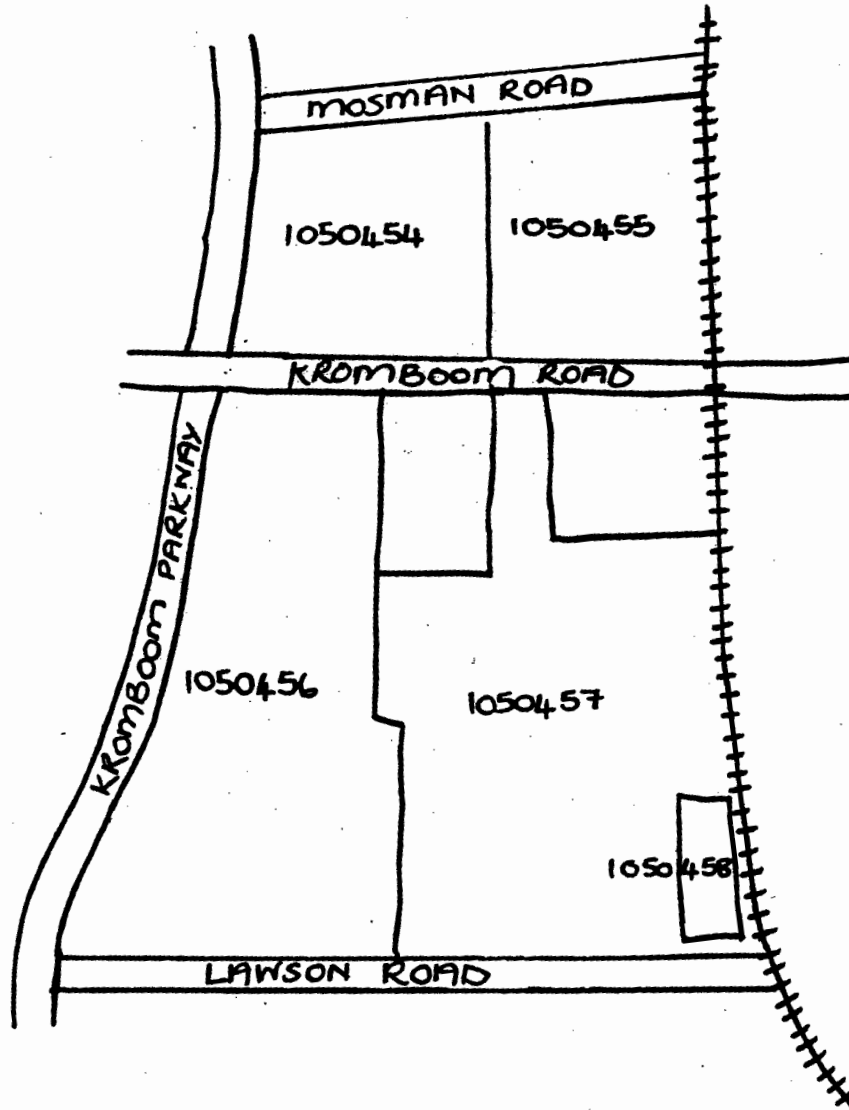
<sup>88</sup> Margret Beck, May 2002, Rondebosch East, Chantel le Fleur

MAP D RONDEBOSCH EAST

RONDEBOSCH

ATHLONE

CLAREMONT



CRAWFORD

This lends support to the fact that Rondebosch East was a mixed area to a certain extent prior to the Group Areas Act. This conforms to the description of mixed areas prior to the Group Areas Act termed by Western as interdigitation; where in the moderate affluent white residential areas there were 'Coloured pockets'. i.e. certain streets or sections of the area where mostly Coloured people lived.<sup>89</sup>

The residents at the time the area was sprouting up and growing were mostly railway workers according to interviews, as the South African Railways, as it was known then, built houses there for their employees. The majority of the White residents were Afrikaans speaking at the time. One of the interviewees gives an interesting description of the houses:

*'The houses with asbestos roofs they are the original homes the scheme houses for the railway – the railway workers bought these. The ones with tiled roofs were privately built. Residents in the area then were railway workers, army and those coming back from the war and they built houses here for them.'*<sup>90</sup>

There were therefore distinctions between the residents within the area in terms of working class white residents and middle class White residents. According to interviews, the area later become more mixed in terms of English and Afrikaans speaking residents and which is evident in the local politics in the area. The area was originally a National Party (NP) stronghold gaining much support from the residents who worked on the railways. In Cape Town railway employees were almost always Afrikaans speaking Whites, who usually supported the NP while more liberal English speaking whites supported the progressive party (now the Democratic Alliance (DA)).

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<sup>89</sup> Western, J. (1980). *Outcast Cape Town*. University of California Press: Berkley.

<sup>90</sup> Shannon, May 2002, Rondebosch East, Chantel le Fleur

*'Rondebosch East has always been progressive and most people supported the then progressive party and is still mainly DA. In the early days it was a National Party stronghold. Many of the railways workers who were predominantly Afrikaners who lived here support the National Party. In terms of wards for voting, Rondebosch East, Crawford and Tygervalley were together. After that the wards changed with Rondebosch East, and Pinelands that was the end of the Nationalists within this area since then its been DA.'*<sup>91</sup>

### **De Facto Desegregation**

The neighbourhood was significantly desegregated when the Group Areas Act was abolished in 1991 due to de facto desegregation. In fact Rondebosch East was one of the initial areas of de facto desegregation in Cape Town as well as Ottery, Wetton, Zonnebloem according to Lemon.<sup>92</sup>

The fact that the residents were more liberal could in part explain why African, Coloured and Indian households felt comfortable moving into the area prior to 1991. According to Donaldson, the more liberal areas were more likely to be desegregated, as initially there would have been less opposition by white residents and animosity towards black residents moving in to the area.<sup>93</sup>

At the time that black residents began moving in, large numbers of White residents moved out of the area. According to interviews with residents, when Coloured people began moving into the area, there appeared to be an exodus of Whites, mostly Afrikaners, who moved to other areas such as Goodwood and Vasco in the Northern Suburbs, where most residents were Afrikaans speaking. *"In a way its obvious that to an extent it was because the areas were opening up that some whites sold their houses."*<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Shannon, May 2002, Rondebosch East, Chantel le Fleur

<sup>92</sup> Lemon, A. ed. (1991). *Homes Apart: South Africa's segregated cities*. David Philip: Cape Town.

<sup>93</sup> Donaldson, S. (1996). Urban Black Home Ownership Patterns in the Northern Province, South Africa. In Davies (ed.) *Contemporary City Structuring: International Geographical Insights*. Society of South African Geographers: Cape Town.

<sup>94</sup> Shannon, May 2002, Rondebosch East, Chantel le Fleur

According to interviews one of the reasons for the residents moving was the high demand for houses in the area with the result that residents could sell their homes at a healthy profit.

*"Lots of Whites sold up. At the time it was more for money, the area was in demand. An estate agent came over and asked me if I was willing to sell my house – I could have gotten about R200 000 for it at that time, but this is my home - we are settled here and wouldn't move."*<sup>95</sup>

Without the movement of people out of the area there could be no resultant movement of blacks into the area. By 1996 most White residents had been living in the area for many years, as 25% of the White households moved to the area before 1979 and 15% had always lived there, which indicates that most were older residents (Table 6.) In comparison, most African (84%), Coloured (74%) and Indian residents (69%) settled in Rondebosch East in recent years, between 1991 and 1996. (Table 6).

However there was no evidence of White flight taking place, as white residents were still moving into Rondebosch East despite the fact that Coloured and Indian households were increasingly moving into the area. This is evident from the fact that almost a quarter (25%) of White households had moved in the last six years from 1991 and 1996 (Table 6). There was high turnover in the area as most residents irrespective of race had moved to Rondebosch East after 1991.

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<sup>95</sup> Shannon, May 2002, Rondebosch East, Chantel le Fleur

Table 6 – Year moved to usual residence by Race –Rondebosch East

Year moved to usual residence	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Before 1979	3	0	1	25
1980 - 1985	4	1	1	14
1986-1990	7	16	17	20
1991-1996	84	74	69	26
Never moved	3	7	10	15
Unspecified	0	0	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	255	1363	486	1264

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

Many of the black residents that initially moved into the neighbourhood prior to 1991 were likely to have done so via Close Corporation property deals, which allowed a Close Corporation to purchase land in white Group Areas despite a black majority share in the corporation. This is similar to Pietermaritzburg prior to the abolition of the Group Areas Act. According to Wills as cited in Saff, in his account of the changes in Pietermaritzburg in the late 1980's, this was exploited with the result of the emergence of 'grey areas', although the exact quantification would be difficult, as these transactions were kept quiet.<sup>96</sup>

The fact that there was an element of secrecy involved in such transactions is interesting in light of the research findings as one of the respondents neglected to mention that she had acquired her current home in Rondebosch East through a Close Corporation, which was verified by her neighbour. She said that they had moved into the area in 1991 but went on to say that they 'Moved from Northpine about 13 years ago', which would have been in 1989, before the Group Areas were abolished. It would therefore be difficult to establish just how prevalent this was.

<sup>96</sup> Saff, G. The Changing Face of the South African City: From urban apartheid to the deracialization of space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 18(3), 1990 pp155-165.

## **The changing profile of Rondebosch East residents: young Black Muslim families**

Rondebosch East is an interesting case study as it was one of the most desegregated areas in the Cape Town, Simons Town and Wynberg magisterial districts by 1996. Almost half of the households in Rondebosch East were black as desegregation was mainly characterised by Coloured (31%) and Indian people (12%) purchasing houses in Rondebosch East.

Black households began moving to Rondebosch East in the early 1990's, adding to the de facto desegregation, which in part explains the high level of desegregation by 1996. Mainly Coloured and Indian people were moving to the neighbourhood and interestingly religion played a role in the high level of desegregation, as new residents were predominantly Muslim. When trying to understand the reasons for residents settling in Rondebosch East it is important to look at religion as what emerged in interviews with residents was that the area has become known as 'Rondebosch Far East' referring to the perception that a large number of Muslim residents have moved into the area in recent years. However, when looking at the racial composition of the households only 12% of the residents classified themselves as Indian. However the term Muslim is a religious distinction and not racial one. The assumption that most Muslims are Indian is incorrect. In Cape Town Muslim is not necessary synonymous with the racial grouping Indian. Muslims in particular, irrespective of race, seem to have been attracted to Rondebosch East.

Over a third of the Coloured residents (37%), over two thirds of the Indian residents (67%) and 10% of the African residents were Muslim. This is in comparison to only 1% of Africans and 17% of Coloureds who are Muslim in the whole of Cape Town (Table 7). There are two mosques located close to the area as well as an Islamic School in Lansdowne not far from Rondebosch East, which could in part explain the attraction of Rondebosch East to Muslim families.

Table 7 Religions by Race - Rondebosch East

Religion	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Christian	66	51	7	63
Islam	<b>10</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>67</b>	1
Hinduism	0	0	13	0
Judaism	0	0	0	1
African traditional belief	0	0	0	0
Other non-Christian churches	1	0	2	1
No religion	9	1	1	12
Refused, Other, Unspecified	10	9	10	15
NA: Institution	5	2	0	7
Total	100	100	100	100
N	270	1391	488	1367

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

A Muslim interviewee when asked whether the fact that there is a mosque in close proximity to their home played role a in their decision to move to Rondebosch East said, *“Yes, having the mosque here has been very convenient.”*<sup>97</sup>

Another interviewee said that that area was popular among Muslims because of the convenience of having a mosque close to their homes *“I know the neighbours next door has mentioned how convenient the mosque is especially during Ramadan (the fast) as they need to go to mosque very early when the sun rises.”*<sup>98</sup>

While the racial composition of Rondebosch East had changed dramatically in recent years, so too did the age composition. Most of the new residents were young families with children, replacing older white residents.

Most of the White residents were older than the Black residents. Almost a quarter (23%) of White residents were older than 54 years in comparison to only 5% of African and 6% of Coloured and Indian residents older than 54 years. Most of the Coloured and Indian residents were in their thirties and early forties. Just under a third of the Coloured (32%) and Indian (31%) were

<sup>97</sup> Shamiela, June 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur.

<sup>98</sup> Clifford Marks, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur.

between the ages of 30 and 44 years (Table 8). In addition, most of these black residents were younger families with children, as between 30-32% of the black residents were under the age of 15 years. (Table 8).

Table 8 Ages by Race – Rondebosch East

Age	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Under 15 years	<b>30</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>32</b>	18
15 – 29 yrs	55	22	20	22
30 - 44 yrs	34	<b>32</b>	<b>31</b>	22
45 - 54yrs	5	8	9	12
Over 54 yrs	5	6	6	<b>23</b>
Unspecified	0	0	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	96	466	151	728

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

Young black families purchasing homes in the area therefore drove desegregation. As one respondent who has lived in Rondebosch East for over 30 years described the neighbourhood as becoming younger whereas before the abolition of the Group Areas Act most of the residents were older. The area seems to have undergone a complete cycle, the younger residents who moved into the area 30 years ago, established homes and families, their children grew up in the area and left home. Now the area has “ *become what it was 30 years ago – a family suburb.*”<sup>99</sup>

When asked to describe her neighbours in the area in terms of age one interviewee mentioned that, ‘*Most families moving in that I know of, I would say are about our age about 39 or in their mid 30’s or younger and there are a few older residents White – 75 years old or so.*’<sup>100</sup>

A similar pattern of residential movement and settlement occurred in Mayfair in Johannesburg. According to Fick, de Coning and Olivier, in Mayfair there was a high mobility among white residents leaving the area, which suggested white flight, after a tipping point when 21% Indian settlement had occurred. Younger Indian residents replaced these older white residents. However there

<sup>99</sup> Shannon, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel le Fleur

<sup>100</sup> Margret Beck, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

was also evidence of younger white households moving into the area.<sup>101</sup> Similarly in the study of Akasia, there was no evidence of white flight as the number of black residents increased.<sup>102</sup>

### **Middle class professional black residents purchasing houses**

Most of these younger black households were purchasing houses in Rondebosch East, as 74% of African, 91% of Coloured, 95% of Indian and White households were living in houses (Table 9).

Table 9 – Type of dwelling by Race - Rondebosch East

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White
House on separate stand	<b>74</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>95</b>
Traditional dwelling	0	0	0	0
Flat in block of flats	12	1	2	0
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	14	8	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100
N	69	330	122	473

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

In terms of homeownership most of the black households were homeowners, as almost two-thirds of African households (65%), 80% of Coloured households, 78% of Indian households owned homes (Table 10). These point to a high degree of permanence. Similarly a study by Horn and Ngcobo of desegregation patterns in Akasia found that most black residents were moving into the area by purchasing single detached dwellings, of which 95% were sole owned or co-owned by residents.<sup>103</sup>

Table 10 Home ownership by Race - Rondebosch East

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	<b>65</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>86</b>
No	<b>35</b>	20	22	14
Total	100	100	100	100
N	69	330	122	473

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

<sup>101</sup> Fick, J.; de Coning, C. and Olivier, N. (1988). Ethnicity and Residential Patterning in a divided Society: A case study of Mayfair in Johannesburg. *South Africa International* 19 (1)pp 1-27.

<sup>102</sup> Horn, A and Ngcobo, J. The Suburban Challenge: (De)segregation, opportunity and community in Akasia, City of Tshwane. *Urban Forum* 14 (4), pp 320-346, 2003..

<sup>103</sup> Horn, A and Ngcobo, J. The Suburban Challenge: (De)segregation, opportunity and community in Akasia, City of Tshwane. *Urban Forum* 14 (4), pp 320-346, 2003.

Based on the socio-economic status with regard to household income and occupation, the Coloured, African and Indian households who have moved into Rondebosch East were of a higher income level than those who were residing in the area previously. This is evident from the analysis of the incomes of the different races in the area with whites falling into a slightly lower income bracket than the Coloureds, Africans and Indians. To afford to purchase homes in the neighbourhood would require capital and a relatively high income. In addition as property prices in the area are perceived to have increased the residents moving in would have to be in a higher income bracket to afford to buy in the area. This is similar to a study of desegregation in Pietersburg/Polokwane by Donaldson in 1995, which found more affluent blacks to be moving into former middle and high socio-economic residential areas.<sup>104</sup>

Black households were earning slightly higher incomes in comparison to White households (Table 11). Of the White households, 27% were earning household incomes above R96, 001 in comparison to 34% of the African households, 45% of the Coloured households and 47% of the Indian households earning an income above R96, 001 (Table 11). In addition, 38% of African households, 39% of Coloured and a third of the Indian households were earning middle range incomes between R42, 001 and R96, 000. This is similar to Mayfair where the White residents who initially moved out were of lower economic status and Indian residents moving in were wealthier.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, Horn and Ngcobo found higher income black people were attracted to middle to upper middle class areas in a study of Akasia in Pretoria.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Donaldson, S. (1996). Urban Black Home Ownership Patterns in the Northern Province, South Africa. In Davies (ed.) *Contemporary City Structuring: International Geographical Insights*. Society of South African Geographers: Cape Town.

<sup>105</sup> Fick, J, de Coning, C. and Olivier, N. Ethnicity and Residential Patterning in a Divided Society: A case study of Mayfair in Johannesburg, *South Africa International* 19(1), 1988, pp1-27

<sup>106</sup> Horn, A and Ngcobo, J. The Suburban Challenge: (De)segregation, opportunity and community in Akasia, City of Tshwane. *Urban Forum* 14 (4), pp 320-346, 2003.

Table 11 Annual household Income by Race - Rondebosch East

Annual household Income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	3	1	0	1
R1-2400	0	1	0	0
R2401-6000	3	4	1	2
R6001-12000	4	2	3	3
R12001-18000	1	1	0	6
R18001-30000	4	3	7	6
R30001-42000	7	4	5	11
R42001-54000	6	10	9	9
R54001-72000	20	14	9	20
Above R72000	<b>46</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>39</b>
Unspecified/dummy	4	2	4	4
NA: Institution/hostel	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	69	330	122	473

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

The socio-economic status of the Coloured and Indian residents who moved into Rondebosch East, in terms of household income and occupation was therefore clearly middle class. With regard to occupations the majority of all residents are employed in occupations that require a high level of skill and education. Almost two thirds (65%) of the African residents, 42% of the Coloured residents, 59% of the Indian residents and 44% of the White residents were working in high skilled occupations, such as legislators, managers or professionals (Table 12).

Table 12 Occupation of economically active residents by Race - Rondebosch East

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	<b>13</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>11</b>
Professionals	<b>52</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>33</b>
Technicians and associate professionals	<b>9</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>17</b>
Clerks	6	17	6	15
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	8	4	9	10
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	1	0	1
Craft and related trades workers	8	11	2	9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	3	0	2
Elementary occupations	2	6	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	95	581	213	580

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

## **Schools attracting the black middle class**

One of the major factors influencing the movement of specifically middle class households to the neighbourhood was the role of schools influencing families' decisions. The fact that most of the Coloured and Indian interviewees were between the ages of 35 and 55 years old, with children between the ages of 10 years and 21 years old is reflected in the reasons for interviewees moving to the area. Most were concerned with the quality of education their children were receiving at schools in formerly Coloured areas. It is usually the case that when admitting children to schools, the child has to come from within the area, thereafter when the children in the area have been catered for, the number of places left can be allocated to children from outside the area. Therefore moving to a formerly White area may help parents in enrolling their children in former Model C schools in the area. Travelling distances to and from work and school also played a part in relocation and the choice of the area. As respondent three said, "*The initial reason was because of the kids. This area is central they don't need to travel far to attend good schools, it is safe and clean.*"<sup>107</sup>

When interviewees were asked whether or not the schools in and close to Rondebosch East had any bearing on their decision to move, most said that it had played a major role. One interviewee who moved from the Northern suburbs said one of the reasons for moving to Rondebosch East was the schools in the vicinity.

*"There aren't many choices of schools in the Northern suburbs, while here there is a greater choice. And at that time the schools were just opening up and were changing to Model C so the quality of education was high. We didn't send them to Rondebosch Primary because at the time it was predominately Afrikaans. Now it seems to be more English medium. They went to the Golden Grove, which is English medium. They started at the school the first year the schools opened up for all races that was in 1992. That was to our advantage*

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<sup>107</sup> Clifford Marks, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

*because the numbers were very small then, about 16 in a class and they were given individual attention”.*<sup>108</sup>

This respondent has two sons, one in grade 9 and the other in matric. They attended the Golden Grove primary school and then Groote Schuur High School, both in Claremont. As can be seen on the map of Rondebosch East and its surrounding areas, Golden Grove Primary School is on the border of Rondebosch East in close proximity to where the respondents are living. Now however the children are attending Islamia College in Lansdowne, as their parents wanted them to mix more with children of their own religion and learn Arabic. As the interviewee said:

*“We wanted them to mix more with their own religion and learn Arabic. Also it is more convenient because now they can have religious education at school so there is no need to go to religious education classes at the mosque in the afternoon after school again.”*<sup>109</sup>

Similarly in a study conducted in the Tygerberg area of Cape Town, it was found that educational facilities played a major role in the movement of Coloured people to former white areas.<sup>110</sup> Another interviewee remarked on the outstanding quality of education she felt her children were receiving at Rondebosch East Primary school in comparison to the school they previously attended in Mitchells Plain: *“I could notice the difference in quality of education at Rondebosch East primary and the school in Mitchells Plain when the teachers at Rondebosch East primary would call me in to look at the children’s reports. You could see the vast difference in education in the different schools. The educators are more committed and dedicated. They would always offer extra mural activities. They would always spend time doing*

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<sup>108</sup> Marieldiyah, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>109</sup> Marieldiyah, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>110</sup> Myberg, D. The Transformation of Social Space in Tygerberg, Cape Town. Davies, R. (ed) *Contemporary City Structuring: International Geographical insights*. Society of South African Geographers, Cape Town, 1996, pp200-209.

*extra lessons for children who are not doing too well, whereas in Mitchells Plain the situation was totally different. There when the school bell rings, teachers are in their cars and off they go. That is the major difference.*<sup>111</sup>

### **Reasons for moving to Rondebosch East**

There was a range of reasons given for moving to Rondebosch East from previous areas and a number of factors seemed to impact on the interviewees' reasons for moving to Rondebosch East. Other reasons centred on the area being neat and quiet and relatively crime free in comparison to other areas and the areas the respondents were moving from.

Reasons for moving to Rondebosch East centered on the centrality of the area in comparison to the areas from which the respondents moved. The respondents came from the areas Mandalay and Northpine, which are located far from the city centre, and one could say on the periphery of Cape Town. One of the interviewees who previously lived in Mandalay said one of the main reasons for moving was the long travelling distances his children had to travel to get to school. His daughter attended Belgravia Senior Secondary School in Athlone, which is far from Mandalay.

### **Declining property values in former Coloured Group Areas**

In particular, the effects of desegregation on property values in the formerly Coloured areas seem to have precipitated a movement of Coloured residents to other areas. One interviewee said that they sold their house in Surrey Estate, a former Coloured area and bought property in Rondebosch East because the market value of their property decreased when the group areas opened.

*"It was a better investment to buy in a previously White area like Rondebosch East. The former White areas were in the best location, more central and seen as safer with the result that the property values are higher in White areas.*

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<sup>111</sup> Veronica, June 2002, Rondebosch East, , interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur.

*When the group areas had opened to all races and there was the opportunity to move into formerly White areas the house prices in Coloured areas declined.”<sup>112</sup>*

Besides the location and safety of former White areas, one of the reasons for the decline in some Coloured areas was as a direct result of the movement of lower income residents into the area who were unable to keep up with the costs associated with buying and maintaining property. One of the interviewees lived in the former Coloured area of Mandalay before moving to Rondebosch East. He battled to sell his home, because many Africans had moved to Mandalay but with increasing interests rates were unable to pay their bond payments. As a result banks redlined the area.

*“Khayelitsha was established next to Mandalay which grew in the 1990’s with people moving from the former homelands /urbanizations and the area (Khayelitsha.) changed. There were lots of business people and professionals living there who worked in the area or had businesses there. When the Group Areas Act was dropped some moved out but still wanted to be close to their work and business and Mandalay was the closest area to purchase. Now I would say the area is about 60-70 % African. It was fine but with the interest rates hiking up there was difficulty in paying bonds with some refusing to pay rates at a time. Banks redlined the area. They refused to give bonds. The only bank who did was Community Bank at the time, only they were prepared to give home loans for the area. We weren’t even really aware of all of this at the time but become aware when we wanted to sell and we battled to sell. It took us a year to get out. The person who bought our house battled to get a bond. He was a Telkom employee but still battled – he met the requirements but banks were not prepared to give home loans in the area. We were lucky”<sup>113</sup>*

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<sup>112</sup> Shamiela, June 2002. Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur.

<sup>113</sup> Clifford Marks, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

## Increasing property prices and gentrification

The pattern of desegregation in Rondebosch East therefore mainly comprised the movement of middle class Coloured and Indian homeowners with young families purchasing houses in an area of older White residents. In contrast to other studies of the movement of black residents into formerly White areas, there was no evidence of deterioration, decay or overcrowding in Rondebosch East. On the contrary and similar to the findings in Mayfair, Johannesburg, the movement of Black, Coloured and Indian households into Rondebosch East was associated with increasing prices and gentrification.<sup>114</sup>

Among interviewees, in terms of property values there seemed to be a general perception that the property values in the area have increased since Black, Coloured and Indian residents started moving in:

*"The prices of the houses has escalated – I would say it's a sellers market not a buyers market – there is a great demand here. At the time we moved the prices ranged from about R130 000 to R150 000 that was about 14 years ago. Now the houses are about R230 000 to R430 000."*<sup>115</sup>

*"For what we bought this house for then we could get three to four times that amount today."*<sup>116</sup>

Most of the interviewees have either had extensive renovations done to their own homes or their neighbours had:

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<sup>114</sup> Fick, J.; de Coning, C. and Olivier, N. (1988). Ethnicity and Residential Patterning in a Divided Society: A case study of Mayfair in Johannesburg. *South Africa International* 19 (1) pp 1-27.

<sup>115</sup> Marieldiyah, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>116</sup> Clifford Marks, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

*“Most people moving in have improved their houses dramatically. Many bought single storey houses and built them up into double storey houses.”<sup>117</sup>*

*“I would say that before the people living here were in a lower income bracket now the people moving are in a higher income bracket and they are improving their homes.”<sup>118</sup>*

*“When we first moved here there were many old, quite plain houses. Some of the prices when we were looking to buy I think were overpriced for the small houses. People who have moved in have upgraded and modernised the houses. The area has totally changed. Its not the same.”<sup>119</sup>*

An interesting aspect of the changes in the neighbourhood was the emergence of more business activity in the area. The medical centre, Willowmead has also been established and grown in recent years, as well as a security company. Business in area has proliferated to an extent especially with doctors and dentists (mostly Muslim), opening businesses as well as working from home. This points to the neighbourhood changing to suit the residents moving in who were black middle class.

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<sup>117</sup> Shannon, May 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>118</sup> Veronica, June 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>119</sup> Shamiela, June 2002, Rondebosch East, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

#### **4.2.2 Mowbray**

Both patterns of desegregation, i.e. middle class homeownership and slum rental accommodation were evident in Mowbray, but in different parts of the neighbourhood. Little Mowbray, the area that mainly consists of detached houses, is similar to the pattern of desegregation in Rondebosch East with limited number of middle class, black residents purchasing houses. On the other hand, the emerging pattern of desegregation between the Liesbeek Parkway and Rhodes Drive, specifically the section between the railway line and the Liesbeek Parkway (See Map E) where residential property is mainly rental flatland accommodation, was characterised by black students and low income Black foreigners from African countries renting flats or rooms in houses. Overcrowding and resultant decay and slum-like characteristics in some buildings and houses has been the outcome of high rentals charged by unscrupulous landlords in response to falling property prices.

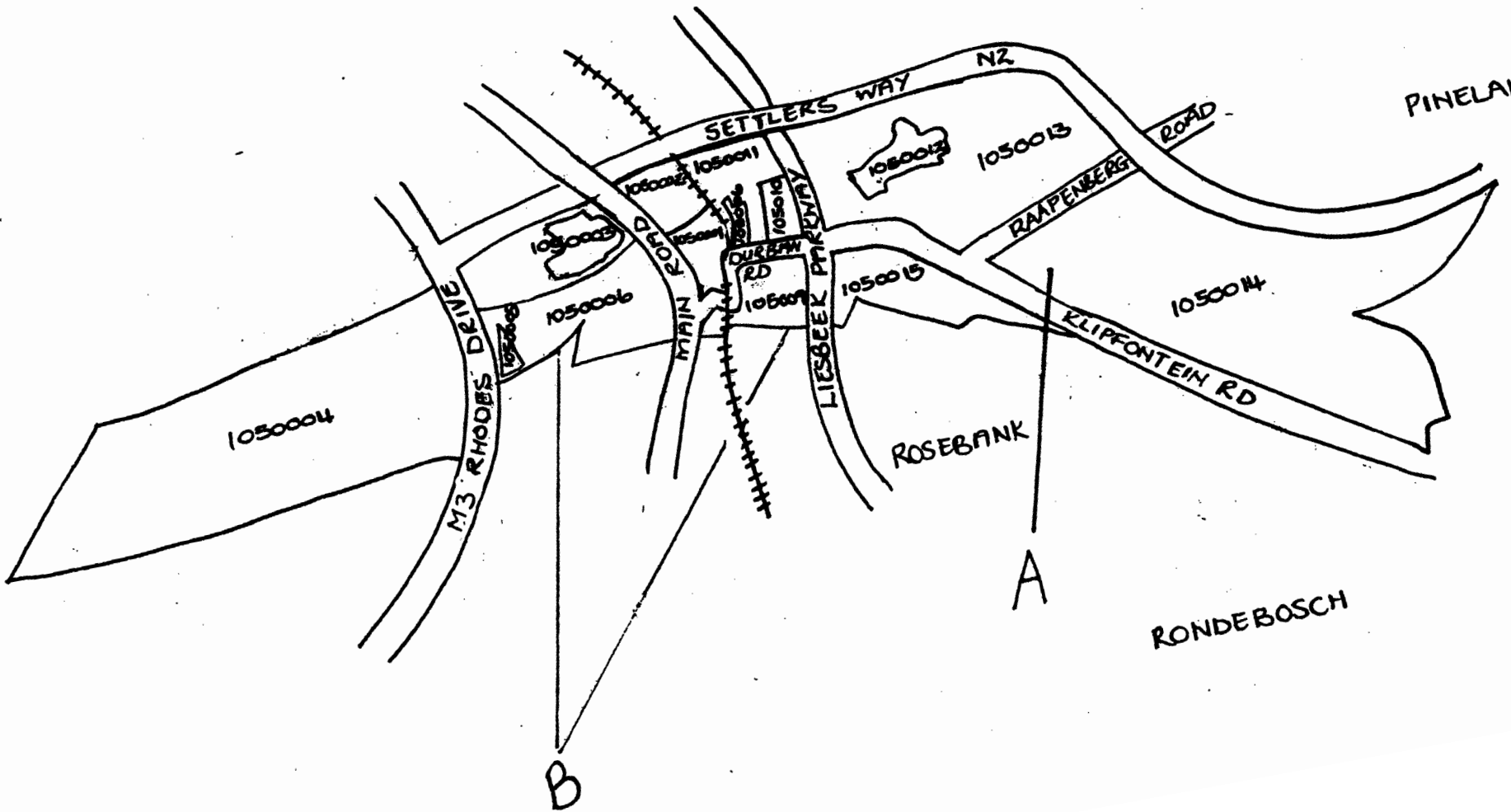
#### **Background of Desegregation in Mowbray**

Originally Mowbray was a racially mixed area, with 'pockets' of Coloured households alternated with White homes. After the Group Areas Act of 1950 was passed, Mowbray was declared a white group area and the Coloured, Indian and black families living there were forcibly removed. There is evidence that in Mowbray as in many other areas in Cape Town, black residents began moving into the neighbourhood in defiance of the Group Areas Act, in defiance of the Group Areas Act beginning in the late 1980's and early 1990's, 2% of the African households, 5% of the Coloured households and 15% of the Indian households moved to Mowbray before 1991 (Table 13). Indian people particularly began moving into Mowbray in defiance of the Group Areas Act between 1988 and 1990, as 14% of Indian households moved into Mowbray between 1988 and 1990 (Table 13). This is related to the fact that the University of Cape Town (UCT) bought a number of blocks of flats for students during this time. In 1989 UCT bought a large block of flats, Liesbeek Gardens, which can accommodate 350 students.

MAP E MOWBRAY

OBSERVATORY

PINELANDS



According to reports in the community newspaper, *The Southern Suburbs Tatler*, the tenants of the flats who were mostly elderly pensioners who had been living there for many years, were evicted to make place for university students and from 1990 it was used as a university residence.<sup>120</sup>

However, desegregation gained impetus between 1994 and 1996 when most of the black households moved to the area. There was also evidence of high turnover among all races, as most households irrespective of race have moved to Mowbray between 1994 and 1996, as 77% of the African, 71% of Coloured households and 53% of the Indian households and 45% of the white household moved to the neighbourhood after 1994 (Table 13). This high turnover is owing to short-term students and the large amounts of flat rental accommodation available.

Table 13 Year moved to usual residence by Race - Mowbray

Year moved to residence	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Before 1979	0	0	0	12
1980 - 1990	2	5	15	18
1991-1996	92	90	74	62
1991	2	1	1	4
1992	5	5	13	5
1993	8	13	7	8
1994 – 1996	77	71	53	45
Never moved	5	3	1	9
Unspecified	1	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1801	629	104	2058

### **The changing profile of Mowbray’s residents: Young black students and foreign African immigrants.**

Beginning in the late 1980’s the racial composition of Mowbray has changed quite dramatically and by 1996 Mowbray was highly desegregated, as 63% of the population was black. Mowbray is one of the few previously white group areas where more African people were moving in comparison to Coloureds and Indians, as more than half (52%) of the households were African, in

<sup>120</sup> The Southern Suburbs Tatler, August 1989. *Liesbeck tenants get extension*  
The Southern Suburbs Tatler, August 1989. *University’s purchase of Mowbray flats come as a shock to tenants.*

comparison to 10% Coloured and 1% Indian households. Here desegregation has largely been driven by the movement of young black students seeking cheaper rental accommodation in close proximity to tertiary institutions such as the University of Cape Town. According to the 1996 Census two thirds of the African residents and 20% of the Coloured residents were full time students as were more than a third of the Indian residents (Table 14). There are several university residences which cater for UCT students in Lower Mowbray. The residences include Clarendon House, Carinus, Forest Hill and Liesbeek Gardens. The university student residences are located in the section of Mowbray, between the Liesbeek Parkway and Rhodes Drive that has experienced higher levels of desegregation.

Table 14 Employment status by Race - Mowbray

Employment status	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Employed	14	<b>45</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>50</b>
Unemployed, looking for work	1	3	0	2
Housewife/home-maker	0	3	10	5
Scholar/full-time student	<b>66</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>36</b>	11
Pensioner/retired person	1	3	3	10
Disabled person	0	1	0	1
Not working - not wishing to work	0	0	1	0
Not working - none of the above	1	0	0	1
NA: Aged <15	4	14	14	12
NA: Institution	13	11	6	8
Total	100	100	100	100
N	2073	709	108	2256

Author's own analysis using the community profile database

The age of the head of the household provides some indication of whether the residents were students. When looking at the age of the head of the households over half of the African households (53%) were between the ages of 20-24 years and over a quarter (27%) were between 25-29 years, suggesting that most African residents were students (Table 15).

**Table 15 Age of head of household by Race - Mowbray**

Age of head of the household	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Under 15 years	0	0	0	0
15 - 19 yrs	7	2	2	1
20 - 24 yrs	<b>53</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>36</b>	11
25 - 29 yrs	<b>27</b>	24	2	12
30 - 34 yrs	7	21	10	11
35 - 39 yrs	3	12	14	9
40 - 49 yrs	1	12	10	17
50 - 59 yrs	0	3	8	16
Above 60 years	0	5	12	22
Unspecified	1	1	6	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	133	178	36	1013

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

There is also evidence that movement of black households in Mowbray can be attributed to the large number of black immigrants from African countries as well as students.

Mowbray is one of the areas, which African immigrants seem to favour. Of the African residents in Mowbray, 7% were African immigrants, in comparison; to the Cape Town, Simons Town and Wynberg magisterial districts as a whole where only 4% of the African population was from other African countries (Table 16). According to interviews there are large numbers of black residents from other African countries who have moved into Mowbray in recent years.

**Table 16 Citizenship by Race - Mowbray**

Citizenship	African	Coloured	Indian	White
South Africa	93	99	66	93
SADC countries	6	0	9	1
Rest of Africa	1	0	2	0
Europe	0	0	0	4
Asia	0	0	23	0
North America	0	1	0	0
Central and South America	0	0	0	0
Australia and New Zealand	0	0	0	0
Unspecified	0	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	2071	709	111	2259

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

According to interviews with foreign African immigrants and refugees reasons for choosing to live in Mowbray include the fact that it is central, that relatively cheap accommodation is available and there are black immigrants already living there. Most immigrants interviewed were from Francophone countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo and one interviewee was from Nigeria. This is similar to inner city areas in Johannesburg such as Hillbrow where large numbers of foreign black Africans, from francophone countries as well as Nigeria, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have settled.<sup>121</sup>

One of the reasons African immigrants gave for settling in Mowbray was directly related to incidence of xenophobia they experienced among Coloured and African South Africans, due to the perception of African immigrants as criminals. As one of the interviewees said,

*"People think we Congolese are into dealing drugs. Generally people confuse us with Nigerians. They put Nigerians, Burundians, and Tanzanians all in one boat. They don't distinguish between different foreigners and see us as all the same."*<sup>122</sup>

*"We are called cockroaches – people don't care if crimes are committed against foreigners. There is lots of xenophobia even among the police."*<sup>123</sup>

The immigrants interviewed said they felt safer in Mowbray than in areas such as Salt River where some had previously lived, because they felt safer living amongst White South Africans rather than black South Africans. Most felt that White South Africans were less hostile towards African immigrants than African and Coloured South Africans. They also felt that those who are more educated were less hostile to black immigrants. They therefore felt safer living

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<sup>121</sup> Morris, A. Our Fellow Africans make our lives hell: the Lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(6), 1998, pp1116-1136

<sup>122</sup> Alain, December 2003, Mowbray, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>123</sup> Phillipe, December 2003, Mowbray, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

in a former white area, which was mixed, rather than living in Coloured or African townships.

*"Whites are more subtle, they don't necessarily judge us as well as the more educated Coloured people. The working class coloureds don't like us much. In general the black South Africans don't like foreigners because they think we take their jobs and don't like the good relationship between foreign blacks and white South Africans."*<sup>124</sup>

Crime levels in former Coloured areas also influenced decisions to move to former White areas, as one interviewee moved from Salt River to Mowbray after gangs in Salt River killed his brother.

*"The reason I moved from Salt River to Mowbray was because the area is dangerous. There are lots of gangs and brother was killed in Salt River last year."*<sup>125</sup>

The fact that there are already a number of black immigrants especially Congolese and Nigerians living in the area helped them feel safe and provided a social network. For example the Congolese immigrants interviewed preferred to live with fellow Congolese for safety reasons and the sense of belonging and community it brought them. It was also cheaper to share the rent and meals when living together.

*"We live together and eat together and help one another."*<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Patrice, Mowbray, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>125</sup> Alain, Mowbray, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>126</sup>

### **Demands for flatland rental accommodation**

Desegregation in Lower Mowbray (section B in Map E) has largely been driven by the demand and availability of rental accommodation by students and African foreigners. Most of the blocks of flats in Mowbray are located between the Liesbeek Parkway, the railway line and the main road, while most houses are located in “Little Mowbray” to the east of the Liesbeek Parkway (Section A, Map E).

According to interviews as well as secondary data source, in this area between the Liesbeek parkway and the train station there is a number of blocks of flats, as well as houses being sub let, as landlords rent out rooms (Section B Map E).<sup>127</sup> These are sections of Mowbray into which most black households have been moving, which coincides with blocks of flats and cheaper rental accommodation. Most of the households living in section B, were living in blocks of flats with 80% of households in this particular section of Mowbray living in flats and only 16% in houses and 4% in semi –detached, cluster or townhouses. In addition most of the households living in section B were black as 72% of households living in this section of Mowbray were black in comparison to section A of Mowbray where 17% of the households were black (Map E).

The majority of black households were living in flats, with 95% of the African households, 84% of the Coloured households and 66% of the Indian households living in flats (Table 17).

Table 17 Type of dwelling by Race - Mowbray

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White
House on separate stand	5	13	32	<b>67</b>
Flat in block of flats	<b>95</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>66</b>	24
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	0	3	3	8
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1378	271	38	930

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

<sup>127</sup> Dale Jackson. *Third Year Sociology Research Study*. 2003.

The majority of black households was, i.e 97% of the African households, 79% of the Coloured and 74% of the Indian households were renting accommodation in Mowbray (Table 18).

Table 18 Home Ownership by Race - Mowbray

Home Ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	2	21	26	<b>59</b>
No	<b>97</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>74</b>	40
Unspecified	1	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1378	271	38	930

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

It is the section between the Liesbeek Parkway and Rhodes Drive most property consists of flatland or rental accommodation, which has deteriorated in recent years (Section B Map E). Some blocks of flats and houses in this area are clearly not well maintained, but this is limited to certain sections or blocks of flats and houses. On the other side of the Liesbeek Parkway, is Little Mowbray, which is a more quiet area where most houses are well maintained, Victorian and Edwardian houses, which have a higher market value and the pattern of desegregation can be described as middle class homeownership (Section A Map E).

### **Declining property prices and rental accommodation**

The establishment of the bus terminal and taxi rank at the railway station, in the area between the Liesbeek Parkway and the main road resulted in an increase in traffic, congestion and noise in this area, with a resultant decline the market value of property. According to an interview with an estate agent in the area, there has been an average decrease of 5.8% of the asking price for property in that particular area. White property owners wanting to sell their property have had to sell at lower prices than they initially wanted as the property stays on the market for relatively long periods. Some owners have responded by subdividing apartments and houses and letting individual rooms for which there has been a demand from students and foreigners. Landlords do not feel there is any benefit in maintaining property, because of the decrease in property prices. It is therefore cheaper for them not to renovate.

<sup>128</sup> This is similar to Yeoville, in Johannesburg where the property prices were falling and white property owners who wanted to sell their property had to do so at a loss. Therefore many owners divided their houses into units and charged fairly high rentals per room in order to earn more money than if they rented the house to a single tenant, which allowed them to pay off the property in a shorter period of time.<sup>129</sup>

### Low income residents and overcrowding

Most of the African residents were earning very low incomes or no incomes, which provides further need for sharing accommodation. Of the African households living in flats specifically, most of whom were renting, 40% reported earning no income and almost a third (32%) earned an income between R2401 and R12000 (Table 19). Of the African households living in houses as well, most were earning comparatively lower incomes than other races, with over a quarter (26%) earning between R2401 and R12000 and a quarter earning between R12 001 and R30 000 (Table 19).

Table 19 Annual household income by Type of dwelling and Race - Mowbray

Household income	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	House	Flats	House	Flats	House	Flats	House	Flats
None	22	40	3	3	0	12	1	2
R1-2400	0	7	0	3	8	0	1	0
R2401 – R12000	26	32	6	14	17	8	5	16
R12001-R30000	25	11	25	35	0	56	10	34
R30001- 54000	5	4	12	27	8	12	16	22
R54001-96000	4	3	25	12	34	8	21	13
R96001-R192000	4	1	17	3	17	0	29	7
Above R192000	7	0	6	0	8	4	11	2
Unspecified	4	2	8	2	8	0	8	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	68	1305	36	228	12	25	627	226

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

According to interviews with residents in Mowbray who were renting rooms in the area, the rent landlords were charging was between R1, 000 and R1, 200 for one room per month. The rent charged was relatively high for most

<sup>128</sup> Dale Jackson, *Third year Sociology Research study*. 2003

<sup>129</sup> Jurgens, U and Gnad, M and Bahr, J. New forms of class and racial segregation: ghettos or ethnic enclaves. In Tomlinson, R Beauregard, L, Bremmer and Mangcu. (eds) *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*, pp56-60. London: Routledge

interviewees especially foreign immigrants and students, as most were earning very low incomes or no incomes. As a result most had to share a room in order to afford the rent. In some cases there were three occupants per bedroom.

While some of the interviewees were employed, most were working in the informal sector; for example, a number of the foreign immigrants interviewed were working as car guards. Others were working as waiters or security guards. Many immigrants found it very difficult to obtain employment especially legal employment and the necessary working permits. Even though many were earning low or no incomes, most were well educated, with tertiary education but had difficulty finding employment in their respective fields. For example, one had a degree in mechanical engineering from the university of Kinshasa, but the only work he could find was as a waiter at a restaurant at the V & A Waterfront. Similarly in a study of desegregation in Mowbray just under a quarter of tenants were unemployed and most could not afford the rent of between R1000 and R1200 for a single room, on their own which meant they needed to share. In a study of black African migration to inner city areas in Johannesburg, it was found that most African immigrants were forced to share accommodation with two or more people in order to afford the rent as most were unemployed or employed in the informal sector.<sup>130</sup>

### **Landlord tenant relations, decay and slum like characteristics**

There have been reports in the community newspaper *The Southern Suburbs Tatler*, of unscrupulous landlords, overcrowding and decay in certain sections of Mowbray as residents have complained to the police and municipality. According to police reports in the *Tatler*, the situation is as a result of “flats being let and sub let a number of times until four or five people sleep in one room.”<sup>131</sup> The situation in one block of flats has resulted in a court case

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<sup>130</sup> Morris, A. Our Fellow Africans make our lives hell: the Lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21. 1998, pp1116-1136

<sup>131</sup> The Southern Suburbs Tatler. October 2002.

against the owner, as the City's building inspectorate and health department jointly charged the owner for health nuisance and dilapidated state of buildings. The block of flats was described as ramshackle, overcrowded with broken water pipes, gutters, mildew and damp, flaking paint and strewn with rubbish.<sup>132</sup>

There are clear signs of decay in certain blocks of flats such as no caretaker, broken windowpanes and damaged intercoms. Their landlords were not interested in maintaining the property and most interviewees complained about broken toilets, missing windows and unsanitary conditions.

*"The kitchen also needs attention. The backdoor is broken. There are missing windows in places"*<sup>133</sup>

One tenant interviewed was clearly not satisfied with the condition of the flat, which included a cracked toilet, which the landlord glued himself rather than paying a plumber to fix professionally.

*"The toilet was broken and we called him [the landlord] to change it – the toilet cracked. Instead of changing it, he comes here with his own glue to fix it."*<sup>134</sup>

Another interviewee described relations with his landlord: *"The landlord just comes to collect the money every month, he does not maintain the house. The toilet and bathroom needs repairs, but he hasn't bothered."*<sup>135</sup>

In a study of Mowbray in one case seven people were sharing one bathroom and one kitchen and 6 out of 13 households interviewed had no hot water and one at least one toilet not working. In cases where buildings were showing

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<sup>132</sup> *The Southern Suburbs Tatler*, October 2002

<sup>133</sup> Tony, December 2003, Mowbray, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>134</sup> Tony, December 2003, Mowbray, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>135</sup> Patrice, December 2003, Mowbray, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

signs of physical deterioration and decay, the tenants interviewed were not satisfied with the condition of the property, but had little choice as their housing options were constrained by poverty.<sup>136</sup> This is compounded by the fact that some may not be legal or knows of South Africans who could stand surety for them if they wanted to let property from rental agencies or other landlords. For example, one interviewee, when he first arrived in Cape Town the rented a flat with a friend and another white South African who put the lease on her name. However the friend he was sharing with was asked to leave the flat by the lessee, owing to personal disagreement between himself and the lessee. As a result, he also had to move out, as he could not afford the rent on his own. Unfortunately all he could find relatively quickly was a flat in Mowbray, which is not well maintained and which forced him to share a room with another tenant for R1 000. However he only plans to live there temporarily as he has plans to move to a better flat in Observatory with his pregnant girlfriend once she gives birth, along with two of her friends while she completes her studies at the University of Cape Town. Thereafter they plan to move to Amsterdam, where she originates.

One could speculate that landlords prefer to rent to immigrants and those desperately looking for accommodation in a central and comparatively safer area such as Mowbray. Illegal immigrants are also more vulnerable and landlords feel confident that they will not complain about living conditions. According to the ward councillor for the area, Owen Kinahan, *"there is a high demand for accommodation by university and Technikon students, people who are desperate to live anywhere or people who would rather live where no questions are asked about their citizenship."*<sup>137</sup> According to Simone in a study of African migration to inner city Johannesburg some landlords prefer foreign Africans, as their stay might be shorter allowing them to charge increasing rentals. In addition he found that as foreign Africans are more vulnerable they are likely to pay the rent charged as well as experience abuse

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<sup>136</sup> Dale Jackson, *Third year Sociology Research study*. 2003.

<sup>137</sup> Dale Jackson, *Third year Sociology Research study*. 2003.

by landlords, for example being asked to pay special service fees.<sup>138</sup> Therefore owing to the high demand for accommodation in the area as well as the vulnerability of foreign African immigrants, in some blocks of flats tenants live in appalling conditions without complaining. According to the foreign African immigrants interviewed they have little choice and prefer to living where they are, as the area is more central, comprises relatively safe accommodation and they are able to share without any questions, which helps them afford rent.

### **Lack of finances and managerial capacity**

According to Morris, in cases where physical deterioration and decay was found, landlords often did not have the financial resources to ensure the upkeep of the building especially smaller landlords or if the building were old.<sup>139</sup> The expense of maintaining the property was just not worth the cost or they did not have the finances. There have been in *the Southern Suburbs Tatler*, reports of one of the landlords who owns a dilapidated block of flats in Mowbray having a court case brought against him by the health department for the unhygienic condition of the apartment block and municipality for arrears for services<sup>140</sup> There is therefore evidence that in some instances in Mowbray landlords lack the financial capacity to keep up with the costs associated with owning an apartment block.

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<sup>138</sup> Simone, AbdouMaliq. (2001). African Migration and the Remaking of Inner City Johannesburg In A. Morris & A. Bouillon. (eds.) *African Immigration to South Africa: Francophone Migration of the 1990s*. Pretoria: Protea & IFAS.

<sup>139</sup> Morris, A. *Bleakness and Light: Inner-city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1999.

<sup>140</sup> The Southern Suburbs Tatler, October 2002.

### **4.2.3. Kenilworth**

A third pattern of residential desegregation 'respectable rental accommodation' is explored in this case study of Kenilworth. The interest in this neighbourhood lies in the different pattern of desegregation in rental flatland accommodation in comparison with Mowbray that was found in many blocks of flats in Kenilworth. It is important to note that the two patterns of desegregation in rental accommodation, i.e. 'respectable rental accommodation' and rental accommodation associated with overcrowding and physical deterioration, explored in this study are not mutually exclusive. In some blocks of flats or streets one can find contrasting rental accommodation patterns. As such in Mowbray, some blocks of flats were well maintained and showed no evidence of physical decay. However in other blocks of flats there were signs of decay and slum like characteristics. Similarly, in Kenilworth there was evidence of one block of flats that was less well maintained and with suggestions of overcrowding. However the main pattern of desegregation in Kenilworth was characterised by the movement of young middle class black professionals to the neighbourhood. The dynamics here between tenants, landlords and buildings resulted in a very different pattern of respectable rental accommodation in contrast to Mowbray. This is partly as a result of the socio economic status of the residents as reflected in the household income and occupation of residents. Other factors, which play a role in the pattern of desegregation emerging, relates to landlord-tenant relations, and the needs of residents and their reasons for moving to the area. This pattern can be described as the opposite of the process of physical deterioration and slum like characteristics in Mowbray.

#### **De facto desegregation**

According to interviews Kenilworth was a racially mixed area before the Group Areas Act was enacted, after which the area was proclaimed for White occupation. The Coloured and Indian families who were living there were forcibly removed during apartheid. However, there is some evidence that a

few Coloured and Indian families were allowed to stay in cases where they owned the property.

*“There is an Indian gentleman who lives across close to Harfield village side of Kenilworth who has always lived in Kenilworth. His neighbours turned a blind eye and he was allowed to stay as he owned the house.”<sup>141</sup>*

Desegregation began prior to the abolition of the Group Areas Act, as in many neighbourhoods in Cape Town. Of the African residents 3% moved into Kenilworth before 1979 and 12% between 1980 and 1990 (Table 20). Of the Coloured residents 6% moved to Kenilworth between 1980 and 1990. There is evidence of high turnover in the area as most residents irrespective of race moved there in the past six years (Table 20). Most residents moved to the area in recent years as 76% of African, 86% of Coloured and 87% of Indian residents moved to Kenilworth after the Group Areas Act was abolished, between 1991 and 1996 (Table 20).

In addition one of the interviewees moved to Kenilworth in contravention of the Group Areas Act in 1986.

*“We just didn’t worry about the Group Areas Act. I just saw an ad in the paper and applied. My husband is quite dark so we got a friend of ours who is fair with green eyes to sign the lease for us at the agency that was managing the property. That’s how we got in... I had to go the back way to get the flat. The person who owned the flat said it didn’t matter to him, he wanted good people, it didn’t matter what race”.<sup>142</sup>*

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<sup>141</sup> Catherine, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>142</sup> Catherine, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

Table 20 Year moved to usual residence by Race -Kenilworth

Year moved to usual residence	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Before 1979	3	1	0	7
1980-1990	12	6	2	21
1991-1996	76	86	87	64
Never moved	7	7	10	8
Unspecified	3	0	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	578	962	165	6230

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

### **Changing profile of Kenilworth's residents – young black middle class professionals renting property**

Kenilworth could be described as fairly desegregated as 17% of the households were black, with 6% of households African, 9% Coloured and 2% Indian. Desegregation in Kenilworth was characterised by young black residents, renting flatland accommodation. Most of the new black residents were younger than the White residents. More than a third of the African residents (34%) and nearly a third of the Coloured residents (31%) were between the ages of 25 years and 34 years old, in comparison to 22% of White residents between the ages of 25 years and 34 years (Table 21). While 17% of White residents were older than 65 years, only 3% of African residents, 4% of the Coloured and 2% of the Indian residents were over 65 years of age (Table 21). There is also evidence of young black families moving to Kenilworth, as 16% of the African residents, 18% of the Coloured residents and 20% of the Indian residents were children younger than 15 years old (Table 21).

Table 21 Age by Race - Kenilworth

Age	African	Coloured	Indian	White
0-14 years	<b>16</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>20</b>	14
15 – 24 years	18	19	22	15
25 – 34 years	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	22
35 - 44 years	12	14	18	13
45 - 54 years	11	9	8	11
55 - 64 years	6	6	3	9
Above 65 years	3	4	2	<b>17</b>
Total	100	100	100	100
N	587	987	170	6399

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

The desegregation of Kenilworth was therefore associated with younger black families moving into the area. One of the interviewees who has lived in Kenilworth since the mid 1980's was able to comment on the changes she has witnessed in the neighbourhood. One of the key changes she mentioned was the perceived change in of residents in terms of age.

*"When we moving in here there were also a lot more older people in most of the blocks and also in the houses...Perhaps a lot of the people have died or moved on and younger people have bought and are moving into the flats."*<sup>143</sup>

When she first moved to Kenilworth the residents were older and in recent years she has noticed more young Coloured and African people in the neighbourhood.

*"There are also children around now. You will see children in the roads. You even find children standing on street corners, which you never had before, probably the white children in the area who were here when we moved in where kept more inside. Now as we have all races, so you find a lot of Coloureds and Blacks (Africans) and they seem to like to stand outside on the corners. You know sit on the pavement and walk around at night. Before you would go outside at night and you wouldn't see a soul. Now there are people walking around. Lots of young people."*<sup>144</sup>

### **Demand for flatland and rental accommodation**

Most of the black households were moving into flatland, mainly rental accommodation. The specific enumeration areas that were the most desegregated in Kenilworth were found to correspond with sections of Kenilworth where there are many blocks of flats. Kenilworth could be described as consisting of two sections that correspond with the predominate type of housing in the section.

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<sup>143</sup> Catherine, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>144</sup> Catherine, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

There is a small section of Kenilworth, Kenilworth upper between the main road and Newlands Walk (See Map F) where most properties are houses. Another section between the main road, the Kromboom Parkway and Wetton Road consists of many blocks of flats mainly along the main road and along Rosemead Avenue. There is also a fairly recent development, Kenilworth Park that consists of security complexes of flats, duplexes, simplexes and townhouses interspersed with freestanding houses. It is these areas, along the main road, Kenilworth Park and east of Rosemead Avenue where more black households were living, where most property consists of blocks flats. In addition when analysing the type of dwelling black households were living in, most are living in flats. According to the 1996 Census, most black households were living in flats and most were renting property. Over two thirds of the African households (69%), 72% of the Coloured households and 56% of the Indian households were living in flats (Table 22).

Table 22 Type of dwelling by race - Kenilworth

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White
House on separate stand	23	14	13	26
Traditional dwelling	0	1	0	0
Flat in block of flats	69	72	56	51
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	7	13	31	22
Total	100	100	100	100
N	231	358	68	3079

*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

With regard to the type of tenure, most of the black households were renting property. Just under two-thirds of the Indian households, 75% of the African households and 71% of the Coloured households were renting accommodation (Table 23).

Table 23 Home ownership by Race - Kenilworth

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	25	29	35	55
No	75	71	65	44
Unspecified	0	1	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	231	358	68	3079

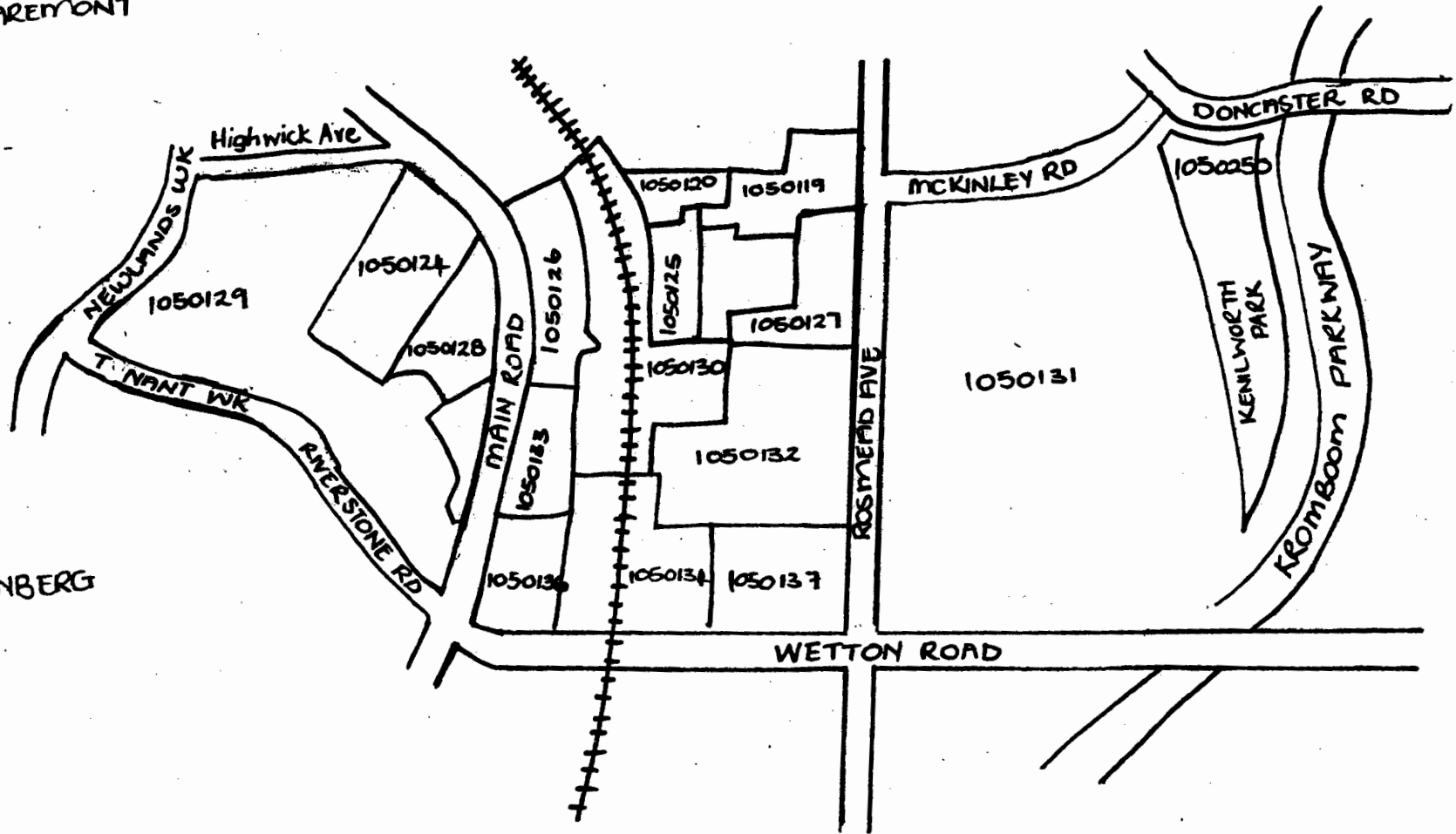
*Author's own analysis using the community profile database*

MAP F KENILWORTH

CLAREMONT

WYNBERG

WYNBERG



### **Respectable rental accommodation**

The emerging pattern of residential desegregation in Kenilworth rental flatland accommodation contrasts to the pattern of rental accommodation in Mowbray. The emerging pattern is characterised by the absence of negative structural physical changes, decay and overcrowding. The pattern of residential desegregation was associated with well-maintained flats and the movement into the area of young black middle class households, most of who were renting flats.

### **Black middle class residents**

The socio-economic status of black residents is key in explaining the emerging pattern in Kenilworth as compared to Mowbray. The profile of residents is very different to Mowbray and plays a role in the pattern of desegregation emerging. Most of the residents were young employed professionals and managers and routine white-collar workers earning relatively middle range incomes while in Mowbray there were many students and immigrants with little or no reported income. Most of the African and Coloured households were earning middle to relatively high incomes with 41% of African households' and over half of the Coloured households' (55%) annual household incomes above R42 000 (Table 24).

Table 24 Annual household income by Race - Kenilworth

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	3	3	6	2
R1-2400	1	0	0	1
R2, 401-6000	3	4	0	1
R6, 001-12000	14	6	1	2
R1, 2001-18000	7	2	4	4
R1, 8001-30000	10	8	6	8
R30, 001-42000	11	13	9	11
R42, 001-54000	10	14	13	10
R54, 001-72000	8	15	19	15
R72001-96000	5	10	13	11
R96, 001-132000	9	10	7	10
R132, 001-192000	5	3	9	8
R192001-360000	3	3	3	6
R360001 or more	1	0	1	2
Unspecified	9	9	7	9
Total	100	100	100	100
N	231	358	68	3079

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

In terms of occupation, most of the black residents in Kenilworth were working in highly skilled occupations as professionals and managers or in skilled routine white-collar occupations. Over half of the African residents (54%), 45% of the Coloured residents and 58% of the Indian residents were working as legislators, senior officials and managers, professionals or as technicians and associate professionals (Table 25). Nearly a quarter of African residents (22%), 40% of the Coloured residents and 28% of the Indian residents were working in routine white-collar jobs as clerks or service workers, shop and market sales workers (Table 25). All of the interviewees were employed in skilled occupations for example two were teachers, one a market research interviewer, human resource manager and a ground flight attendant.

Table 25 Occupation by Race - Kenilworth

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	7	11	9	15
Professionals	36	21	28	32
Technicians and associate professionals	11	13	21	17
Clerks	13	26	14	16
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	9	14	14	13
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	2	0	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	4	7	1	4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2	3	0	1
Elementary occupations	15	5	12	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	246	480	76	3087

*Authors own analysis using the community profile database*

### **Home ownership and the body corporate**

The fact that the area has not undergone negative neighbourhood changes such as deteriorating buildings associated with overcrowding, as was the case in Mowbray is in part related to the socio economic status of the households. Simply put, residents are able to afford the rental charged and therefore do not overcrowd their apartments.

The two interviewees who rented property and found the rents reasonable in contrast to Mowbray were those interviewed who felt that their landlords overcharged them. However as in the case of Mowbray, the socio-economic status of residents is only one of many factors involved in the emerging

pattern. One of the factors that may explain the pattern emerging in Kenilworth was the fact that many of the residents in Kenilworth were homeowners.

A quarter of the African households, 29% of the Coloured households, over a third of the Indian households (35%) and over half of the White households (55%) owned property (Table 23). In comparison, only 2% of African households in Mowbray owned property (Table 18). It could be argued that the fact that there are residents who own flats makes it more likely that the block of flats is well maintained. The owners have a personal stake in the upkeep of the property because should the block of flats decline so would their investment. They were also more likely to report cases of overcrowding. As a result landlords renting out single apartments in the block of flats would have a harder time with overcrowding and not maintaining their property. In the case of Mowbray neighbours have complained about the state of blocks of flats close to their property, as they are concerned that it will affect the value of their property.

However, they have little recourse but to report the owner to the local authority. In sectional title flats on the other hand owners have more direct influence, as they are members of the body corporate. They therefore would report cases of overcrowding, lack of maintenance to body corporate because their flats are an investment.

A very interesting case of overcrowding that was swiftly dealt with was related by one of the interviewees:

*"We had some foreigners living next door. My neighbour was renting the place out to a couple. She was South African and he was from another African country. They seemed fine. But then he started getting all his friends coming here. She didn't like it apparently and moved out. She had the lease. I phoned the owner and told her [that the lessee had moved out of the premises]. She managed to track her down, but she continued to let him rent the place. The problem was that he was hardly here. There were so many other people living*

*here that I didn't know anymore who my neighbours were. They would ring the buzzer and my son would answer and the person would say its Neil from next door and we would let him in but we didn't know. Then women would come here who they were entertaining here overnight and would ring the buzzer and say I am coming to room 11. That type of thing. It drove us mad. You don't know how safe you are because you don't know who your neighbours are and they would sit outside here and the girls would sit and pick their ears with cotton buds, sitting with their nighties on the stairs and the guys would have a lead coming out the window or door and they're shaving their hair. To crown it they would bring live chickens and slaughter it in the kitchen and you can hear how the chickens cry. It was a bad experience. Eventually I phoned the owner and she got them out. Once she got rid of them we had cockroaches all over the place. They just appeared and they had to fumigate the flat next door and our flat as well free of charge because they said they would end up coming in here. It took a while though. The guy who came to fumigate the place said it was bad, he came running out and says it's very bad and when they cleared out the garage they found dead rats."<sup>145</sup>*

In blocks of flats where a landlord owns the whole block, he is largely not answerable to anyone but himself should he overcrowd the flats and not maintain the property. Although with regard to hygiene he could be held accountable. However in sectional title blocks of flats with the presence of a body corporate with adequate management skills there are less likely to be problems of overcrowding and lack of maintenance. "Weak trustees as well as body corporate members who refused to pay their levy regularly led to insufficient cash flows etc. In the one block there was evidence of a strong body corporate with good management skills running smoothly. A number of properties in Kenilworth, most of which consist of flats, were owner occupied, with a quarter of the African households, 29% of the Coloured, 35% of the Indian and 55% of the White households owning property.

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<sup>145</sup> Catherine, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

## Reasons for moving to Kenilworth

The reasons and motivations of black residents for moving to the area also impact on the pattern of desegregation emerging. Rather than seeking cheap accommodation where no questions are asked in a central neighbourhood as is the case in Mowbray, residents were middle class and seeking decent, secure centrally located property to rent. The attraction of the area is the fact that residents are able to rent decent, safe accommodation in a neighbourhood, which is centrally located, close to major shopping centres, and transport routes. Many residents were young professionals looking for safe, conveniently accessible neighbourhoods. Kenilworth is close to major shopping centres and transport routes including public transport. Safety and security played a role in decisions as well.

*"The shops and banks are close by, you don't even need a car. We are close to the bus routes."*<sup>146</sup>

One of the interviewees said that they felt safer in a flat. *"We have been living in a flat for so many years now I don't think I could live in a house again. I feel safe in a flat the way crime is going at the moment."*<sup>147</sup>

Another mentioned the security complex. The fact that there were many secure flats attracted another to look for accommodation in this particular area. *"Its very safe. The block is a security block. There is only one street in Kenilworth Park, Punters Way. There is only one entrance and exit."*<sup>148</sup>

*"One of the reasons for moving here [Kenilworth] is that it is a safe area...the area [where he was living before moving to Kenilworth] wasn't very safe. There were problems with gangs and burglaries."*<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Heidi, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>147</sup> Catherine, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>148</sup> Heidi, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

<sup>149</sup> Riaad, June 2003, Kenilworth, interviewed by Chantel Le Fleur

The pattern of young upwardly middle class black households moving into formerly White areas is similar to other studies such as that of Morris of early desegregation in Hillbrow between 1979 and 1982, who found young blacks renting flats in the inner city to be closer to work with little evidence of overcrowding or physical desegregation at that time.<sup>150</sup> Rule in a study of Bertrams also found a middle class rental pattern of desegregation among fairly middle class black residents and no evidence of slum lording<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Morris, A. The Desegregation of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 1978-1982, *Urban Studies* 31 (6), 1994, pp821-834

<sup>151</sup> Rule, S. Racial Residential Integration in Bertrams, Johannesburg, *South African Geographical Journal* 70, 1988, pp196 -203.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The first aim of this study was to provide a general overview of the extent of racial residential desegregation in Cape Town as well as the characteristics of desegregated areas and reasons for desegregation. The second aim was to explore emerging patterns of residential desegregation in a case study approach.

With regard to the extent of residential desegregation in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs, there was a gradual movement of black residents to former white middle and lower class areas. In total, 21 of the former white areas in Cape Town's southern suburbs were significantly desegregated, which means that more than 15% of the households in these areas were black.

The lower and middle class suburbs were more likely to be desegregated than the higher income areas. The reasons for this centre on the high cost of property (ownership and rental) in areas such as Bishops Court, Camps Bay and Mouille Point, which had very low levels of desegregation. In most cases black residents moving to these former White areas were middle class as most were earning relatively high incomes and working in skilled occupations. The more affluent areas showed lower levels of desegregation, i.e. less than 15% of the households were black. In many cases desegregation in affluent areas was as low as 2%.

In addition, where residential desegregation was significant, it was predominately driven by Coloured households moving to the area. The reasons for the low levels of desegregation in affluent areas and the predominance of Coloured households in former White middle and lower class areas are mainly economic as Coloured households earn relatively high incomes in comparison with African households and it is more affordable to move to the middle and lower class areas.

In most cases African and Coloured households in desegregated areas were renting rather than owning property and were moving to flats rather than houses.

One of the main ways in which black households are moving to formerly white areas is by **renting property** rather than through home ownership. The reasons for this is simple as renting is generally cheaper than buying property, which requires a substantial amount of capital. In addition rents charged are generally less than the costs of a bond.

**Flats** were found to be an attractive option in terms of rental as well as ownership for many black households. Flats are more affordable to purchase or rent than free standing houses and townhouses as they are generally smaller often with only a communal garden, if any garden space. The most affordable option for many black people to move to an area which affords them many benefits such as easy access to transport, shopping centres and good schools, was to rent a flat. The high turnover of rental accommodation also plays a role, as there is usually a greater supply of rental accommodation than property for sale.

This points to affordability as being a key factor in a decision to move to a former white area. Therefore areas in mainly rental or flatland accommodation were more desegregated. However, there was also a trend of middle class homeownership, in areas such as Ottery, Ferness and Rondebosch East.

Many studies of residential desegregation have explored the type of desegregation emerging in certain neighbourhoods, such as the occurrence of slum-like characteristics. However almost none of the literature on residential desegregation in South Africa has attempted to identify the range of patterns of residential desegregation emerging in South African cities. This study has attempted to typify some patterns of residential desegregation.

The second aim of this study was to identify **patterns of desegregation** in Cape Town's southern suburbs. Three patterns of racial residential

desegregation were identified. One pattern explores middle class homeownership and the other two patterns are associated with rental flat accommodation with very different processes involved. These three patterns and the dynamics involved were explored in a case study of three areas in Cape Town, namely Mowbray, Rondebosch East and Kenilworth.

The first pattern of desegregation identified characterised by **middle class homeownership** was found in areas such as Rondebosch East in Cape Town and Mayfair in Johannesburg. These were mainly middle class professionals earning relatively high incomes able to afford to purchase houses in a middle class formerly white area. In Rondebosch East most of the households consisted of families with children. These were upwardly mobile blacks that want the best education for their children. The reasons for moving to the area centred mainly on safety, accessibility and the close proximity to good private schools.

The second pattern, found in Mowbray, was characterised by **slum conditions, physical deterioration and poor maintenance of buildings** in rental, mainly flat accommodation. Here landlords were renting out rooms or flats and charging fairly high rents in relation to what some of the residents were earning. This was in response a drop in property prices and the difficulty facing property owners trying to sell flats because of redlining. This further encouraged some landlords to get as much rent as possible without worrying about maintenance. One of the key factors was overall poor management of property and a lack of capital by smaller landlords to maintain the upkeep of buildings. In many cases there are no caretakers at the flats. There were also many foreign African immigrants living in Mowbray renting flats or houses where the rental was fairly high forcing them to overcrowd the flats or house.

The third pattern of residential desegregation can be described as “**respectable’ rental accommodation**”. Here the needs of the residents are different to both Mowbray and Rondebosch. Most residents were found to be young professional middle class families. Most were found to be professionals moving up the social ladder earning relatively high incomes. The pattern is

associated with rental accommodation without overcrowding and slum conditions as found in some areas of Mowbray. While most residents were renting property there were a number who also owned some of the flats within the same block. This is key in explaining the good condition of the property, as there is more incentive among residents to ensure the upkeep of the building as well as the fact that some residents would belong to the body corporate. They therefore had an interest in maintaining their property as an asset. Another important factor was the socio economic status of residents, as most black households could be described as middle class earning relatively middle range incomes and working in professional and skilled occupations. As a result there was no need to overcrowd flats as they could afford the rentals charged.

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## APPENDIX A

### Suburbs in which most black households were renting property

#### 1. Brooklyn

Table 1 – Type of dwelling by Race - Brooklyn

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	24	39	67	53	76
Flat in block of flats	35	36	17	34	12
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	41	25	17	13	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	34	280	18	1890	17

Brooklyn was fairly desegregated, as 12% of the households were black. Desegregation was mainly characterized by Coloured households moving into the area, as 8% of the households were Coloured in comparison to 2% African and 1% Indian households. Most of the households in Brooklyn were living in either houses, semi detached houses, townhouses or cluster housing as nearly two thirds of the African (65%) and Coloured households (64%), 84% of the Indian households and two-thirds (66%) of the White households were living in these types of housing. However, there were some households living in flats as well. Over a third of the African (35%), Coloured (36%) and White households (34%) and 17% of the Indian households were living in flats.

Table 2 – Home ownership by Race - Brooklyn

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	47	48	67	45
No	53	52	28	55
Unspecified	0	0	6	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	34	280	18	1888

With regard to home ownership, half of the African, Coloured and White households owned property while half were renting. Just over half (53%) of the African, Coloured (52%) and White (55%) households, were renting accommodation, while 47% of African, 48% of Coloured and 45% of White households were home owners. Indian households on the other hand were more likely to be homeowners as over two thirds (67%) owned property.

Table 3 – Annual household income by Race - Brooklyn

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	1	0	1
R1-2400	0	1	0	0
R2401-6000	15	3	6	18
R6001-12000	6	5	11	14
R12001-18000	9	8	6	10
R18001-30000	6	13	0	13
R30001-42000	9	9	6	10
R42001-54000	12	15	11	8
R54001-72000	12	18	11	10
R72001-96000	12	8	22	5
R96001-132000	6	6	0	3
R132001-192000	3	1	0	1
R192001-360000	0	0	0	0
R360001 or more	3	0	0	0
Unspecified	9	12	28	6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	34	280	18	1888

Most of the African and Coloured households earned relatively low to middle incomes, as 45% of the African households and 40% of the Coloured households earned relatively low incomes less than R42, 000 per annum and just over third of African households (36%) and 41% of the Coloured households were earning relatively middle incomes between R42, 001 and R96 000. Most of the Indian households were earning relatively middle incomes between R42, 001 and R96 000. The majority of White households were earning very low incomes with almost two thirds (65%) earning less than R42 000.

Table 4 - Occupation by Race - Brooklyn

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	7	5	6	5
Professionals	23	7	12	8
Technicians and associate professionals	11	9	9	12
Clerks	20	23	21	22
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	9	15	15	20
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	1	0	2
Craft and related trades workers	11	16	21	18
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	7	13	9	7
Elementary occupations	13	11	9	5
Total	100	100	100	100
N	56	512	34	1694

Most of the residents irrespective of race were working in routine white-collar occupations such as clerks or as service workers, shop and market sales workers, with 29% of African residents, 38% of Coloured residents, 36% of Indian residents and 42% of White residents working in these occupations. In addition a quarter of the White residents, 30% of the Indian, 29% of the Coloured residents and 18% of the African residents were skilled manual workers working as craft and related trade workers or semi skilled manual workers working as plant and machine operators and assemblers.

## 2. Cape Central

Table 5 – Type of dwelling by race – Cape Central

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	1	1	17	9	5
Flat in block of flats	99	69	78	78	67
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	0	30	6	13	29
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	73	140	18	392	63

Over two thirds of the households in Cape Central were black. Desegregation was characterised by Coloured households moving to the area as 21% were Coloured, while 11% of households were African and only 3% of the households were Indian. Most of the households in Cape Central irrespective of race were living in flats, as nearly all African households (99%), over two thirds of Coloured households (69%) and 78% of the Indian and White households were living in flats. However Coloured households were more likely to be living in semi detached, cluster or townhouses in comparison to other households with 30% living in semi-detached, cluster or townhouses.

Table 6 – Home ownership by Race – Cape Central

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	27	25	28	23
No	73	73	72	77
Total	100	100	100	100
N	73	140	18	392

Most of the households irrespective of race were renting accommodation, with 73% of the African and Coloured households, 72% of Indian and 77% of White households renting accommodation.

Table 7 – Annual household income by Race – Cape Central

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	10	1	6	6
R1-2400	0	1	0	1
R2401-6000	5	3	11	3
R6001-12000	14	4	0	5
R12001-18000	5	13	0	8
R18001-30000	5	21	11	11
R30001-42000	12	11	39	11
R42001-54000	15	20	0	15
R54001-72000	15	8	11	12
R72001-96000	5	14	0	6
R96001-132000	8	1	11	10
R132001-192000	0	0	11	3
R192001-360000	4	1	0	4
R360001 or more	0	0	0	1
Unspecified	0	4	0	5
Total	100	100	100	100
N	73	140	18	392

Most African and Coloured households were earning middle to low incomes, with 41% of African households and over half of Coloured households (53%) earning relatively low incomes less than R42 000 per annum and over a third (35%) of African households and 42% of Coloured households earning middle range incomes between R42, 001 and R96 000 per annum. The majority (61%) of Indian households earned relatively low incomes of less than R42 000 per annum. However some Indian households were earning relatively high incomes, with almost a quarter (22%) earning more than R96 000 per annum. White households were earning low to middle incomes with 44% of White households earning less than R42 000 per annum and a third earned incomes between R42, 001 and R96 000.

**Table 8 - Occupation by Race – Cape Central**

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	9	4	41	16
Professionals	28	9	5	25
Technicians and associate professionals	12	9	5	11
Clerks	13	21	18	19
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	25	29	18	20
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	3	11	0	4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	9	0	1
Elementary occupations	9	8	14	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	76	204	22	387

African and White residents were very similar in terms of occupational profile. Most of the African residents (40%) reported occupying highly skilled occupations such as professionals or technicians and associate professionals and over a third (36%) of White residents were professionals or technicians and associate professionals. In addition, 38% of African residents and 39% of White residents were working in routine white-collar occupations such as clerks, service, shop and market sales workers. Half of the Coloured residents were also employed in routine collar work and 20% were working as skilled and semi skilled manual workers as craft and related trade workers or plant and machine operators and assemblers.

### **3. Da Gama Park**

**Table 9 – Type of dwelling by Race – Da Gama Park**

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	78	71	70	86	100
Flat in block of flats	22	22	26	11	0
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	0	7	0	3	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	18	58	23	311	7

A quarter of the households in Da Gama Park were black. Most of the desegregation in Da Gama Park was as a result of Coloured households moving to the area, as 14% of households were Coloured, 6% Indian and 4% African. Most of the households irrespective of race were living in houses, with 78% of African, 71% of Coloured, 70% of Indian and 86% of White households living in houses on separate stands. However black households were more likely to be living in flats in comparison to White residents. In fact African and Coloured residents were twice as likely to be living in flats in comparison to White residents, with 22% of African and Coloured households living in flats in comparison to only 11% of White households living in flats.

**Table 10 – Home ownership by Race – Da Gama Park**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	0	5	0	25
No	100	95	100	75
Total	100	100	100	100
N	18	58	23	311

Most of the households in Da Gama Park were renting their property irrespective of race, as all of the African and Indian households and 95% of Coloured households were renting accommodation. White households were more likely to be homeowners in comparison to other races, with a quarter owning property in comparison to only 5% of Coloured owning property and none of the African or Indian households were homeowners.

**Table 11 – Annual household income by Race – Da Gama Park**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	2	0	3
R1-2400	0	2	0	0
R2401-6000	0	0	0	0
R6001-12000	0	0	0	2
R12001-18000	17	0	0	1
R18001-30000	6	19	4	6
R30001-42000	28	16	13	8
R42001-54000	17	21	17	7
R54001-72000	22	17	43	26
R72001-96000	6	9	9	20
R96001-132000	6	9	13	16
R132001-192000	0	2	0	2
R192001-360000	0	0	0	2
R360001 or more	0	0	0	1
Unspecified	0	5	0	6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	18	58	23	311

Most African and Coloured households were earning relatively low to middle incomes annual incomes. Just over half of the African households (51%) were earning relatively low annual incomes between R12, 001 and R42, 000. More than a third of Coloured households (37%) were earning low incomes of less than R42, 000 per annum. Of the African households, 45% earned relatively middle range incomes between R42, 001 and R96, 000 per annum and almost half of the Coloured households (47%) earned an income in this range. Indian households were more likely to be earning middle range incomes in comparison to the African and Coloured households, as over two thirds of Indian households (69%) earned annual incomes between R42, 000 and R96, 000. White households were mainly earning middle range incomes with 46% earning between R54, 001 and R96, 000 per annum. White households were more likely to be earning relatively high incomes above R96, 000 than other races, as 21%

earned more than R96, 000 per annum, in comparison to only 6% of African households, 11% of Coloured and 13% of Indian households earning relatively high incomes above R96, 000 per annum.

Table 12 - Occupation by Race - Da Gama Park

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	5	3	6	4
Professionals	14	11	0	14
Technicians and associate professionals	0	4	9	12
Clerks	10	29	32	24
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	67	36	41	28
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	5	0	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	0	7	6	13
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	6	3	3
Elementary occupations	0	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	21	96	34	526

Most of the residents of Da Gama Park were working as clerks, service workers, shop and market sales workers, with 70% of African residents, 65% of Coloured residents, 73% of Indian residents and 52% of White residents working in these occupations.

#### 4. Kalk Bay

Table 13 – Type of dwelling by Race – Kalk Bay

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	43	20	0	61	25
Flat in block of flats	57	73	0	24	75
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	0	7	0	15	0
Total	100	100	0	100	100
N	7	84	0	252	4

Over a quarter of the households (26%) in Kalk Bay were black. Desegregation was mainly as a result of Coloured households moving to the area, as 24% of the households were Coloured. Most of the Coloured households were living in flats, with 73% of Coloured living in flats and only 20% living in houses, semi detached houses or townhouses.

**Table 14 – Home ownership by Race – Kalk Bay**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	0	11	0	49
No	100	89	0	50
Unspecified	0	0	0	1
Total	100	100	0	100
N	7	84	0	252

The majority of black households were renting property, with 89% of Coloured households and all African households renting accommodation.

**Table 15 – Annual household income by race – Kalk Bay**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	1	0	4
R1-2400	0	0	0	0
R2401-6000	0	2	0	1
R6001-12000	14	8	0	1
R12001-18000	0	12	0	4
R18001-30000	14	32	0	12
R30001-42000	29	7	0	8
R42001-54000	0	8	0	8
R54001-72000	0	7	0	14
R72001-96000	29	4	0	6
R96001-132000	0	2	0	8
R132001-192000	0	0	0	8
R192001-360000	0	0	0	4
R360001 or more	0	0	0	2
Unspecified	14	15	0	21
Total	100	100	0	100
N	7	84	0	252

Most of the Coloured and African households were earning relatively low incomes, with 61% of Coloured households and 57% of the African households earning less than R42 000 per annum. White households' incomes were varied, with 26% earning relatively low incomes of less than R42 000 per annum, 28% earning middle range incomes between R42 001 and R96 000 and 22% earning high incomes above R96 000 per annum.

Table 16 – Occupation by race – Kalk Bay

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	8	3	0	16
Professionals	17	6	0	35
Technicians and associate professionals	0	8	0	17
Clerks	0	13	0	8
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	25	13	100	11
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	25	27	0	3
Craft and related trades workers	17	13	0	8
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	8	6	0	0
Elementary occupations	0	11	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	12	158	1	309

Most of the Coloured residents in the Kalk bay area were working as skilled agricultural and fishery workers, with 27% working in these occupations. Nearly a quarter (23%) of the Coloured residents and half of the African residents were working in routine white-collar jobs as clerks, service, shop and market sales workers. There were also a number of Coloured residents and African residents working as craft and related trade workers and plant and machine operators and assemblers. Just over a quarter of the African residents and 19% of the Coloured residents were working in these semi-skilled and skilled manual occupations. White residents on the other hand were employed in higher skilled occupations such as professionals, technicians and associate professionals, with over half (52%) working in these occupations.

## 5. Kenilworth

Table 17 – Type of dwelling by race - Kenilworth

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	23	14	13	26	24
Flat in block of flats	69	72	56	51	60
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	7	13	31	22	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	231	358	68	3079	166

Desegregation was mainly characterized by Coloured and then African residents moving into the area, as 9% of the households in Kenilworth were Coloured and 6% African with only 2% of households Indian. Most households in Kenilworth were living in flats with 69% of the African households, 72% of the Coloured households, 56% of the Indian households and 51% of White households living in flats. However White and Indian households were more likely to be living in houses or semi detached houses/townhouses than African, Coloured or Indian households. Almost half of the White households (48%) and 44% of Indian households were living in houses or semi detached/townhouses in comparison to only 27% of Coloured households, and 30% of African households living in these types of accommodation.

**Table 18 – Home ownership by race - Kenilworth**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	25	29	35	55
No	75	71	65	44
Unspecified	0	1	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	231	358	68	3079

Most of the black households were renting property, with 75% of African, 71% of the Coloured households and 65% of the Indian households renting property. White households on the other hand were more likely to be homeowners in comparison to black households, with over half of the White households (55%) owning property in comparison to only a quarter of the African households, 29% of the Coloured and 35% of the Indian households owning property in the area.

**Table 19 – Annual household income by race - Kenilworth**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	3	3	6	2
R1-2400	1	0	0	1
R2401-6000	3	4	0	1
R6001-12000	14	6	1	2
R12001-18000	7	2	4	4
R18001-30000	10	8	6	8
R30001-42000	11	13	9	11
R42001-54000	10	14	13	10
R54001-72000	8	15	19	15
R72001-96000	5	10	13	11
R96001-132000	9	10	7	10
R132001-192000	5	3	9	8
R192001-360000	3	3	3	6
R360001 or more	1	0	1	2
Unspecified	9	9	7	9
Total	100	100	100	100
N	231	358	68	3079

Most of the African and Coloured households were earning middle to relatively high incomes with 41% of African households' and over half of the Coloured households' (55%) annual household incomes above R42 000. White and Indian households were more likely than African and Coloured households to be earning relatively higher incomes of more than R96 000. More than a quarter of the White households (26%) and 20% of the Indian households earned more than R96 000 per annum in comparison to only 16% of Coloured and 18% of African households earning annual incomes above R96 000.

Table 20 - Occupation by Race - Kenilworth

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	7	11	9	15
Professionals	36	21	28	32
Technicians and associate professionals	11	13	21	17
Clerks	13	26	14	16
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	9	14	14	13
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	2	0	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	4	7	1	4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2	3	0	1
Elementary occupations	15	5	12	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	246	480	76	3087

Most of the residents irrespective of race were working in higher skilled occupations such as Legislators, senior officials and managers, Professionals or as Technicians and associate professionals, with over half (54%) of the black residents, 45% of the Coloured residents, 58% of the Indian residents and 64% of the White residents working in these occupations. Most of the other residents were working as clerks or service workers, shop and market sales workers, with between 22% and 40% of all residents working in these occupations. However, Coloured residents were more likely to be working as clerks or service, shop and market sales workers than other races with 40% of Coloureds working in these occupations in comparison to 22% of black residents, 28% of Indian residents and 29% of White residents working in these occupations. A number of the African (15%) and Indian residents (12%) were working in unskilled elementary occupations.

## 6. Mowbray

Table 21- Type of dwelling by race - Mowbray

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	5	13	32	67	31
Flat in block of flats	95	84	66	24	67
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	0	2	3	8	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	1378	271	38	930	51

Mowbray was fairly desegregated, as 63% of the households were black. Desegregation in Mowbray was characterised by African households moving into the area as 52% of the households were African, 10% Coloured and only 1% Indian. The majority of black households in Mowbray were living in flats, with 95% of the African households, 84% of the Coloured households and 66% of the Indian households living in flats. However, Indian households were more likely than African and Coloured households to be living in houses on separate stands with almost a third living in houses compared to only 5% of African and 13% of Coloured households living in houses. Most of the White households were living

in houses on separate stands, with over two thirds (67%) living in houses and almost a quarter (24%) living in flats.

**Table 22 – Home ownership by Race - Mowbray**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	2	21	26	59
No	97	79	74	40
Unspecified	1	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1378	271	38	930

The majority of black households were renting housing in Mowbray, with 97% of the African households, 79% of the Coloured and 74% of the Indian households renting property. Most White households were homeowners, with 59% owning property. Coloured and Indian households were more likely to own property in comparison to African households as over a quarter of the Indian households and 21% of the Coloured households owned property in the area in comparison to only 2% of the African households.

**Table 23 – Annual household income by Race - Mowbray**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	39	3	8	2
R1-2400	7	3	3	1
R2401-6000	21	5	5	2
R6001-12000	11	7	5	5
R12001-18000	6	14	39	7
R18001-30000	5	20	0	10
R30001-42000	2	16	5	8
R42001-54000	2	8	5	10
R54001-72000	2	9	11	9
R72001-96000	1	5	5	9
R96001-132000	1	4	5	13
R132001-192000	0	1	0	9
R192001-360000	1	1	3	7
R360001 or more	0	0	3	1
Unspecified	2	3	3	7
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1378	271	38	930

A large percentage of African households, 39%, reported earning no household income. Of the African households who reported a household income most were earning relatively low incomes with over half (52%) earning less than R42 000 per annum. Similarly almost two thirds (65%) of Coloured households reported very low household incomes of less than R42 000 per annum. It should be noted that most of the African residents could be students and therefore reported no household income or very low incomes. White households' incomes were more variable, but overall were in higher income brackets than the other races,

especially in comparison to African households, with 39% of White households earning an income above R72 001 in comparison to only 16% of Indian residents, 11% of Coloured households and only 3% of African households earning an income above R72 001.

**Table 24 –Occupation by Race - Mowbray**

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	10	8	6	12
Professionals	36	16	44	40
Technicians and associate professionals	21	17	13	22
Clerks	13	15	13	9
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	10	17	6	8
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	2	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	2	11	3	5
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	8	0	1
Elementary occupations	6	6	16	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	256	284	32	1007

The majority of the residents, irrespective of race, were professionals, technicians or associate professionals, with 57% of the African and Indian residents, a third of the Coloured and 62% of the White residents working in these higher skilled occupations. However almost a third (32%) of the Coloured residents and almost a quarter (23%) of the African residents were working in routine white collar jobs as clerks, service or market sales workers.

## **7. Muizenberg**

**Table 25 – Type of dwelling by race - Muizenberg**

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	41	29	44	63	50
Flat in block of flats	58	63	32	23	37
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	1	8	24	13	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	96	209	25	1447	54

Desegregation in Muizenberg was mainly as a result of Coloured households moving into the area, as 11% of the households were Coloured, 5% African and 2% Indian. Most of the African and Coloured households were living in flats, with 58% of the African residents and 63% of the Coloured residents living in flats. Most Indian and White households on the other hand were living in houses on separate stands, semi-detached, cluster housing or townhouses, with over two thirds of Indian households (68%) and 76% of White households living in these types of housing.

**Table 26 – Home ownership by Race - Muizenberg**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	22	29	35	63
No	77	70	62	37
Unspecified	1	1	4	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	96	209	26	1447

Most of the black households were renting property, with 77% of African households, 70% of Coloured households and 62% of Indian households renting accommodation. White households on the other hand were more likely to be homeowners; as almost two thirds (63%) of the White households were homeowners.

**Table 27 – Annual household income by race - Muizenberg**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	13	2	19	2
R1-2400	4	0	0	1
R2401-6000	3	2	0	2
R6001-12000	8	7	4	4
R12001-18000	17	8	0	5
R18001-30000	15	17	0	10
R30001-42000	8	12	4	9
R42001-54000	9	7	0	9
R54001-72000	7	6	12	13
R72001-96000	4	11	0	11
R96001-132000	6	7	27	12
R132001-192000	2	7	23	7
R192001-360000	0	2	8	6
R360001 or more	1	0	0	1
Unspecified	2	11	4	7
Total	100	100	100	100
N	96	209	26	1447

Most of the African and Coloured households were earning relatively low household incomes below R42 000 per annum. Over half of the African households (55%) and 46% of the Coloured households were earning household incomes below R42 000 per annum. Most of the Indian households were earning relatively high incomes with 58% earning an annual household income above R96 000. There were a number of black and White households that reported earning no income, with 13% of African households, 2% of the Coloured households, 19% of the Indian households and 2% of the White households earning no income.

**Table 28- Occupation by Race - Muizenberg**

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	9	10	18	15
Professionals	9	12	23	25
Technicians and associate professionals	6	8	26	20
Clerks	9	16	10	15
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	40	17	15	13
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1	2	0	1
Craft and related trades workers	13	14	2	8
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	4	5	6	2
Elementary occupations	10	14	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	156	379		1718

Most of the African and Coloured residents were working in routine white collar occupations with 40% of the African residents and over two thirds of the Coloured residents (67%) working as service workers, shop and market sales workers. Most of the Indian and White residents on the other hand were working as professionals and managers with over two thirds of Indian residents and 60% of the White residents working in professional highly skilled occupations.

## 8. Observatory

**Table 29 – Type of dwelling by race - Observatory**

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	49	28	38	55	54
Flat in block of flats	26	22	31	7	6
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	25	50	31	38	41
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	238	258	29	1604	69

Desegregation in Observatory was mainly characterized by African and Coloured households moving into the area, as 12% of the households were Coloured and 11% African with only 1% Indian households. Most of the residents of Observatory were living in either houses or semi detached or townhouses, with 74% of the African households, 78% of the Coloured households, 69% of the Indian and 93% of the White households living in these housing types. Black households were more likely to be living in flats compared to White households, with over a quarter of the African households, 22% of the Coloured households and 31% of the Indian living in flats in comparison to only 7% of the white residents living in flats.

**Table 30 – Home ownership by Race - Observatory**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	14	31	72	53
No	85	69	28	47
Unspecified	1	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	238	258	29	1604

The majority of the African and Coloured households were renting accommodation in Observatory with 85% of African households and 69% of Coloured households renting in comparison to only 28% of the Indian households and 47% of the White households renting accommodation. The majority of Indian and White households were homeowners with 72% of Indian households and over half of White households (53%) owning property.

**Table 31 – Annual household income by Race - Observatory**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	3	2	7	1
R1-2400	4	1	0	1
R2401-6000	12	2	3	2
R6001-12000	11	5	7	7
R12001-18000	13	5	3	7
R18001-30000	13	15	3	11
R30001-42000	5	10	0	7
R42001-54000	9	12	17	10
R54001-72000	10	17	7	13
R72001-96000	5	9	0	11
R96001-132000	5	5	7	11
R132001-192000	2	5	17	7
R192001-360000	1	3	14	5
R360001 or more	0	0	0	1
Unspecified	7	9	14	6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	238	258	29	1604

The majority of African households were earning relatively low annual household incomes as over half the African households (58%) earned less than R42 000 per annum. A quarter of the African households earned middle range household income between R42 001 and R96 000 per annum. Coloured households were earning low to middle incomes, with 38% earning less than R42 000 per annum and 38% between R42 001 and R96000 per annum. White and Indian residents were earning comparatively higher household incomes than Coloured and African households, with 35% of the White households and 38% of the Indian households earning more than R72 000 per annum, in comparison to 22% of the Coloured households and only 13% of the African households.

Table 32 - Occupation by Race - Observatory

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	9	11	36	13
Professionals	34	16	23	37
Technicians and associate professionals	12	15	3	19
Clerks	10	23	21	9
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	16	10	5	11
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0	0	1
Craft and related trades workers	5	9	5	6
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	7	0	2
Elementary occupations	13	9	8	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	264	415	39	1794

Most of the residents in Observatory were in higher skilled occupations, with 69% of the White residents, 62% of Indian residents, 42% of the Coloured residents and 55% of the African residents working as legislators, senior officials, managers or professionals or technicians and associate professionals.

## 9. Phoenix

Table 33 - Type of dwelling by race - Phoenix

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	72	63	0	10	0
Flat in block of flats	17	38	100	50	0
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	11	0	0	40	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	18	8	1	101	2

Desegregation in Phoenix was characterized by African households moving into the area, as 14% of the households were African, 6% Coloured and only 1% Indian. African households were more likely to be living in houses or semi detached houses or townhouses than White households, with 83% of African households in comparison to 50% of the White residents living in similar housing. Only 17% of the African households were living in flats in comparison to half of the White households living in flats.

**Table 34 – Home ownership by Race - Phoenix**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	28	13	0	49
No	72	88	100	50
Unspecified	0	0	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	18	8	1	101

The majority of African and Coloured residents in Phoenix were renting their property with 72% of Africans and 88% of Coloured renting property. White households were more likely to own property in comparison to other races, as 49% were homeowners in comparison to only 13% of Coloured households and 28% of African households owning property.

**Table 35 – Annual household income by Race - Phoenix**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	6	0	0	1
R1-2400	0	0	0	3
R2401-6000	22	0	0	1
R6001-12000	17	63	0	1
R12001-18000	17	0	0	1
R18001-30000	11	0	0	3
R30001-42000	0	13	0	7
R42001-54000	0	0	0	6
R54001-72000	0	13	0	17
R72001-96000	6	0	0	9
R96001-132000	0	0	0	7
R132001-192000	0	0	0	13
R192001-360000	11	0	0	17
R360001 or more	0	0	0	7
Unspecified	11	13	100	8
Total	100	100	100	100
N	18	8	1	101

Most of the African and Coloured households were earning relatively low incomes. Almost two thirds of the African households (65%) were earning between R2401 and R30000 per annum. Of the Coloured households 76% earned a household income of less than R42 000 per annum and the majority of Coloured households (63%) had an annual income between R2401 and R18 000. There were some African households earning very high incomes as 11% of the African households earned between R192 001 and R360000 per annum. Most of the White households were earning middle to high annual incomes with just over a third of White households (32%) earning between R42 001 and R96 000 and 44% earning more than R96 000 per annum.

Table 36 - Occupation by Race - Phoenix

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	0	0	100	19
Professionals	0	3	0	24
Technicians and associate professionals	2	0	0	22
Clerks	2	8	0	14
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	3	12	0	9
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	6	12	0	2
Craft and related trades workers	13	20	0	3
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	8	15	0	6
Elementary occupations	66	30	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	288	60	1	119

Most White residents were in higher skilled occupations such as professionals or technicians and associate professionals while most African and Coloured residents were working in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. Almost two thirds of the White residents (65%) were employed in professional occupations in comparison to only 3% of the Coloured residents and 2% of the African residents working in professional occupations. Most African residents and almost a third of the Coloured residents were working in unskilled occupations. Two thirds of the African residents were employed in elementary occupations and 30% of the Coloured residents were also working in elementary occupations. Of the African residents 19% were working as skilled agricultural and fishery workers or craft and related trade workers and almost a third of the Coloured residents were working in these occupations.

## 10. Rosebank

Table 37 – Type of dwelling by race - Rosebank

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	7	5	8	27	12
Flat in block of flats	92	95	79	67	84
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	1	0	13	6	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	216	96	53	1141	50

A quarter of the households in Rosebank were black. Desegregation in Rosebank was characterized by African households moving into the area, followed by Coloured households, as 14% of the households were African, 6% were Coloured and only 4% were Indian. The majority of all households irrespective of race were living in flats, as 92% of the African households, 95% of the Coloured households, 79% of the Indian and 67% of the White households living were living in flats. However White households were more likely to be living in other types of housing in comparison to black households, as a third of White households were living in houses, semi detached housing, cluster or townhouses

in comparison to only 5% of the Coloured households, 21% of the Indian households and 8% of the African households.

**Table 38 – Home ownership by Race - Rosebank**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	18	19	28	44
No	81	81	72	55
Unspecified	1	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	216	96	53	1141

Most of the households in Rosebank irrespective of race were renting accommodation, as 81% of the African and Coloured households, 72% of the Indian households and over half of the White households (55%) were renting property. However, White households were more likely to own property in Rosebank than other races, with 44% of White households owning property in comparison to only 18% of African households, 19% of the Coloured households and 28% of the Indian households owning property in the area.

**Table 39 – Annual household income by Race - Rosebank**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	16	2	2	4
R1-2400	8	0	0	1
R2401-6000	8	4	0	5
R6001-12000	6	4	9	7
R12001-18000	2	8	11	6
R18001-30000	7	16	21	10
R30001-42000	8	11	4	11
R42001-54000	9	13	11	11
R54001-72000	9	7	6	13
R72001-96000	6	9	9	7
R96001-132000	8	11	2	10
R132001-192000	2	4	6	7
R192001-360000	0	3	6	5
R360001 or more	0	0	6	2
Unspecified	8	6	8	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	216	96	53	1141

Of the African households 16% reported earning no income. As in the case of Mowbray most of these households may be students living in the area while studying and therefore they reported earning no income. Most of the African households that reported an income, earned relatively low incomes, with 39% of the African households, 44% of Coloured households and 45% of Indian households earning an annual household income of less than R42 000. Some of the black households were earning relatively middle range incomes as well. A

quarter of African households, 29% of Coloured and 26% of Indian households were earning household incomes between R42 001 and R96 000 per annum. White households were earning relatively similar household incomes to the black households with 40% earning low incomes of less than R42 000, 30% earning middle range incomes between R42 001 and R96 000 and a quarter earning high household incomes of more than R96 000 per annum.

Table 40 - Occupation by Race - Rosebank

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	10	13	13	14
Professionals	41	26	37	42
Technicians and associate professionals	13	10	29	20
Clerks	12	16	11	8
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	11	15	3	10
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1	0	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	3	5	0	3
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	1	0	1
Elementary occupations	8	13	8	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	154	136	38	1015

Most of the residents in Rosebank were working in skilled professional occupations. Nearly two thirds of the African residents (64%), 49% of the Coloured residents, 79% of Indian residents and 76% of White residents were working in occupations such as legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals, technicians and associate professionals. A number of the African and Coloured residents were working in routine white-collar jobs as nearly a quarter (23%) of African residents and 31% of Coloured residents were working as clerks, service workers, shop and market sales workers.

## 11. Ysterplaat

Table 41 – Type of dwelling by race - Ysterplaat

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	0	0	0	39	0
Flat in block of flats	73	95	0	44	100
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	27	5	100	17	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	11	22	1	94	1

Desegregation in Ysterplaat was as a result of Coloured people moving into the area, as 17% of the households were Coloured, 9% African and only 1 Indian. The majority of the Coloured and African households were living in flats. White households on the other hand were more likely to be living in houses, semi detached houses, cluster houses or townhouses, with over half of the White households (56%) living in houses, semi detached, cluster housing or townhouses

in comparison to only 5% of the Coloured and 27% of the African households living in these types of housing.

Table 42 – Home ownership by Race - Ysterplaat

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	0	0	0	0
No	100	100	100	100
Total	100	100	100	100
N	11	22	1	94

None of the households in Ysterplaat were homeowners as all were renting housing in the area.

Table 43 – Annual household income by Race - Ysterplaat

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	0	0	2
R1-2400	0	0	0	0
R2401-6000	0	0	0	0
R6001-12000	0	0	0	0
R12001-18000	18	0	0	0
R18001-30000	18	9	0	1
R30001-42000	9	32	0	1
R42001-54000	9	32	0	10
R54001-72000	36	9	0	34
R72001-96000	0	18	0	19
R96001-132000	9	0	100	23
R132001-192000	0	0	0	6
R192001-360000	0	0	0	1
R360001 or more	0	0	0	0
Unspecified	0	0	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	11	22	1	94

White residents were earning comparatively higher household incomes than African and Coloured households. Over half of the white households were earning an income between R54 001 and R96 000 in comparison to only 27% of Coloureds earning a similar income, the majority (64%) of which were earning a household income between R30 001 and R54 000. Most of the African households were earning very low incomes in comparison to other races, with over a third (36%) earning a household income between R12 001 and R30 000.

Table 44 - Occupation by Race - Ysterplaat

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	9	2	0	4
Professionals	4	5	0	9
Technicians and associate professionals	26	14	63	43
Clerks	17	22	0	18
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	39	48	25	8
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	4	7	13	12
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	2	0	7
Elementary occupations	0	1	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	23	88	8	244

Most of the White residents were technicians and associate professionals or clerks (61%) with 12% working as craft and related trade workers. Most of the Coloured and African residents in Ysterplaat on the other hand were service workers, shop and market sales workers, 48% of coloured and 39% of black residents. However over a quarter (26%) of the African residents were working as technicians and associate professionals.

## 12. Zonnebloem

Table 45 – Type of dwelling - Zonnebloem

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	9	27	35	5	5
Flat in block of flats	57	31	13	69	59
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	34	42	52	26	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	99	327	31	551	146

Overall 39% of the households in Zonnebloem were black. Desegregation in Zonnebloem was mainly the result of Coloured people moving into the area, as 28% of the households were Coloured, 8% Black and only 1% White. The majority of Coloured and Indian households in Zonnebloem were living in houses on separate stands or semi detached houses/townhouses, with 69% of Coloured residents, 87% of the Indian residents living in houses, semi detached or townhouses. On the other hand most African and White households were living in flats, with over half of the African households (52%) and 69% of the White households living in flats.

**Table 46 – Home ownership by Race - Zonnebloem**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	44	46	48	38
No	54	54	52	62
Unspecified	2	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	99	327	31	551

Most of the households were renting accommodation in the area irrespective of race. However black households were slightly more likely to be homeowners than White households, as 44% of the African households, 46% of the Coloured and 48% of the Indian households owned property as compared to 38% of the White households owning property in the area.

**Table 47 – Annual household income by Race - Zonnebloem**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	3	1	3	14
R1-2400	2	1	0	1
R2401-6000	7	2	6	3
R6001-12000	6	6	0	4
R12001-18000	10	6	6	7
R18001-30000	7	12	6	12
R30001-42000	12	10	0	9
R42001-54000	8	13	3	8
R54001-72000	5	13	19	10
R72001-96000	8	10	6	9
R96001-132000	9	4	10	9
R132001-192000	4	1	6	6
R192001-360000	1	1	0	2
R360001 or more	0	0	3	0
Unspecified	17	21	29	8
Total	100	100	100	100
N	11	22	1	94

Overall household incomes were varied. Of the White households, 27% were earning incomes below R30 000, 27% were earning incomes between R30 001 and R72 000 per annum and 26% were earning household incomes above R72 000 per annum. Of the Coloured households 27% were earning incomes below R30 000 per annum, over a third (36%) were earning incomes between R30 001 and R72 000 and 16% were earning incomes above R72 000 per annum. Of the African households almost a third (32%) were earning incomes below R30 000, a quarter were earning incomes between R30 001 and R72 000 and 22% were earning more than R72 000 per annum.

Table 48 - Occupation by Race - Zonnebloem

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	7	5	18	14
Professionals	10	9	21	18
Technicians and associate professionals	10	13	10	20
Clerks	15	18	13	15
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	12	15	23	19
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	2	0	0	2
Craft and related trades workers	6	17	10	7
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2	10	3	2
Elementary occupations	38	14	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	189	571	39	562

The occupations of African and Coloured residents were fairly varied, with some residents working in higher skilled occupations and others in skilled and semi skilled occupations. Of the Coloured resident's a third were working as clerks, service or market sales workers and 27% were working in more skilled occupations such as legislators, managers, professionals or technicians and associate professionals. Similarly of the African residents, 27% were working as clerks, service or market sale workers and 27% as legislators, managers, professionals or technicians and associate professionals. In addition 38% of the African residents were in elementary occupations. On the other hand, the majority of White residents (52%) were working in more skilled occupations as legislators, managers, professionals or technicians and associate professionals.

**Suburbs in which most black households had bought property**

**1. Ferness**

**Table 49 – Type of dwelling by race - Ferness**

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	100	91	100	100	100
Flat in block of flats	0	0	0	0	0
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	0	9	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	1	153	5	109	4

Over half of the households in Ferness were black (58%), with most desegregation as a result of Coloured households moving into the area, as 56% of the households were Coloured and 2% Indian. The majority of all residents in Ferness were living in houses on separate stands. All of the African, Indian and White households and 91% of the Coloured households were living in houses on separate stands.

**Table 50 – Home ownership by Race - Ferness**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	100	69	100	89
No	0	30	0	11
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1	153	5	109

The majority of the Coloured households in Ferness owned property, as more than two thirds (69%) of Coloured residents, all Indian and African households and 9% of the White households were homeowners. However Coloured households were more likely to be renting property in comparison to White households, with almost a third of the Coloured households (30%) renting property in comparison to only 11% of the White households renting property.

Table 51 – Annual household income by Race - Ferness

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	3	0	0
R1-2400	0	0	0	0
R2401-6000	0	2	0	0
R6001-12000	0	0	0	5
R12001-18000	0	3	0	2
R18001-30000	0	8	0	10
R30001-42000	0	6	0	12
R42001-54000	0	8	0	22
R54001-72000	0	21	60	17
R72001-96000	0	20	0	11
R96001-132000	0	14	0	11
R132001-192000	0	5	20	3
R192001-360000	0	2	0	1
R360001 or more	0	1	0	0
Unspecified	100	8	20	7
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1	153	5	109

Coloured households were earning a comparatively higher income than White households, with 42% of the Coloured households earning more than R72 000 compared to only 26% of the White households earning an income above R72 000 per annum. White household income was much more variable than Coloured household income. Of the Coloured households 41% were earning between R54001 and R96 000 per annum, while just over a third (34%) of the white households were earning an income between R30 001 and R54 000 per annum. Over half of the White households (51%), were earning household incomes between R30001 and R72000 per annum.

Table 52 - Occupation by Race - Ferness

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	25	8	44	9
Professionals	0	20	11	13
Technicians and associate professionals	0	14	0	7
Clerks	25	27	33	23
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	0	13	11	19
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0	0	1
Craft and related trades workers	13	10	0	16
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	2	0	7
Elementary occupations	38	7	0	4
Total	100	100	100	100
N	8	245	9	135

Overall most White residents (42%) were clerks, service or market sales workers and 40% of the Coloured residents were also working in these occupations. However 42% of the Coloured residents were working in more skilled

occupations as legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals or technicians and associate professionals in comparison to 29% of the White residents working in similar occupations. Coloured residents were therefore slightly more likely to be in higher skilled occupations than white residents.

## 2. Lansdowne

Table 53 Type of dwelling by race - Lansdowne

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White
House on separate stand	72	87	93	92
Flat in block of flats	4	3	2	1
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	23	10	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100
N	134	1038	160	950

Lansdowne was considerably desegregated as over half of the households (58%) were black. Desegregation was mainly as a result of Coloured households moving to the area, as 45% of the households were Coloured and only 7% Indian and 6% African. Most of the households irrespective of race were living in houses on separate stands, as 72 % of African households, 87% of Coloured households, 93% of Indian and 92% of White households were living in houses on separate stands. African households were more likely to be living in flats than other races as nearly a quarter of the African households (23%) were living in flats in comparison to only 10% of Coloured, 6% of Indian and 7% of White households living in flats.

Table 54 – Home ownership by race - Lansdowne

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	68	77	85	81
No	31	22	11	17
Unspecified	1	1	4	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	141	946	157	980

Most of the black households owned property in Lansdowne, with more than two thirds of African households (68%), 77% of Coloured households, 85% of Indian households and 81% of White households owning property. African and Coloured households were more likely to be renting property than Indian and White households. Nearly a third of African households (31%) and 22% of Coloured households were renting in comparison to only 11% of Indian and 17% of White households renting property.

**Table 55 Annual household income by Race – Lansdowne**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	4	1	4	1
R1-2400	1	0	0	0
R2401-6000	6	5	2	4
R6001-12000	6	2	1	4
R12001-18000	2	3	1	5
R18001-30000	1	5	7	10
R30001-42000	4	8	6	9
R42001-54000	4	8	6	9
R54001-72000	9	15	14	15
R72001-96000	14	12	7	7
R96001-132000	14	16	18	12
R132001-192000	15	7	13	4
R192001-360000	4	4	6	1
R360001 or more	1	1	0	0
Unspecified	15	13	16	18
Total	100	100	100	100
N	140	930	160	966

Most black households were earning middle to high incomes. Over a quarter of the African households, a third of the Coloured households (35%) and 27% of the Indian households earned middle incomes between R42 001 and R96 000. Over third of the African and Coloured households were earning high incomes of more than R96 000 per annum.

Table 56 Occupation by race - Lansdowne

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	10	10	13	9
Professionals	35	20	27	17
Technicians and associate professionals	20	19	28	18
Clerks	13	21	11	23
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	10	7	12	11
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1	0	0	1
Craft and related trades workers	7	14	9	14
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	3	1	3
Elementary occupations	4	5	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	191	1329	199	1058

Most black residents were working as professionals and managers with nearly half of the Coloured residents, 65% of the African residents and over two thirds of the Indian residents (68%) working as legislators, senior officials and managers, professionals or technicians and associate professionals.

### 3. Ndabeni

Table 57 – Type of dwelling by race - Ndabeni

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White
House on separate stand	0	64	100	72
Traditional dwelling	0	0	0	0
Flat in block of flats	0	0	0	2
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	100	36	0	26
Total	100	100	100	100
N	6	74	4	97

More than a third of the households (36%) in Ndabeni were Coloured. All of the black households were living in houses on separate stands, semi detached houses or townhouses with only 2% of the White households living in flats.

Table 58 – Home ownership by Race - Ndabeni

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	100	69	100	64
No	0	31	0	36
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1	36	2	61

Most of the households in Ndabeni, irrespective of race, owned property, as 69% of the Coloured households and 64% of the White households owned property in the area.

Table 59 - Annual household income by Race - Ndabeni

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	0	0	3
R1-2400	0	0	0	0
R2401-6000	0	0	0	3
R6001-12000	0	6	0	10
R12001-18000	0	6	0	7
R18001-30000	0	11	0	11
R30001-42000	0	14	50	15
R42001-54000	0	28	0	21
R54001-72000	100	11	0	15
R72001-96000	0	17	0	8
R96001-132000	0	6	50	2
R132001-192000	0	0	0	5
R192001-360000	0	0	0	0
R360001 or more	0	0	0	0
Unspecified	0	3	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1	36	2	61

Most of the black households were earning low to middle incomes. Almost a third of the Coloured households were earning middle incomes between R42 001 and R96 000 per annum and over a third earned low incomes of less than R42 000 per annum

Table 60 - Occupation by Race - Ndabeni

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	30	1	0	2
Professionals	0	4	0	10
Technicians and associate professionals	20	5	25	7
Clerks	20	32	0	17
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	20	19	25	26
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0	0	2
Craft and related trades workers	10	15	50	10
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	8	0	13
Elementary occupations	0	16	0	12
Total	100	100	100	100
N	10	85	4	89

Most residents were working in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, while some were employed in unskilled elementary occupations. Most of the residents in Ndabeni were working as clerks, service, shop or market sales workers, with just over half of the Coloured residents and 43% of the White residents were working in these occupations. However 16% of the Coloured residents and 12% of the White residents were working in elementary occupations. In addition 15% of the Coloured residents and 10% of the White residents were working as craft and related trade workers

#### 4. Ottery

Table 61 - Type of dwelling by race - Ottery

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	57	85	88	87	94
Flat in block of flats	10	1	0	1	0
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	33	14	13	11	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	58	943	72	559	49

Almost two thirds (63%) of the households in Ottery were black. However desegregation was mainly as a result of Coloured households moving into the area as 56% of the households were Coloured. The majority of all households in Ottery was living in houses on separate stands, semi detached houses or townhouses, with 90% of the African households, 99% of the Coloured, 91% of the Indian and 98% of the White households living in these types of housing. Although the majority of the African households was living in houses, 10% of African households were living in flats in comparison to only 1% of Coloured, 1% of Whites living in flats, therefore African households were ten times more likely to be living in flats than other races in Ottery.

Table 62 - Home ownership by Race - Ottery

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	79	90	88	87
No	21	9	13	13
Total	100	100	100	100
N	58	943	72	559

The majority of households irrespective of race owned property in the area, with 79% of the African households, 90% of the Coloured households, 88% of the Indian and 87% of the White households owning property. However African households were more likely to be renting property, as 21% of the African households were renting property in comparison to only 9% of the Coloured households and 13% of the Indian and White households renting property in the area.

Table 63 – Annual household income by Race - Ottery

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	2	1	3
R1-2400	0	0	3	0
R2401-6000	0	2	0	3
R6001-12000	0	1	0	2
R12001-18000	0	3	3	4
R18001-30000	3	5	6	9
R30001-42000	9	8	6	8
R42001-54000	3	6	10	11
R54001-72000	12	17	22	18
R72001-96000	22	16	22	16
R96001-132000	21	24	6	14
R132001-192000	16	10	15	5
R192001-360000	3	4	3	2
R360001 or more	5	0	0	1
Unspecified/dummy	5	4	4	6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	58	943	72	559

Most of the black households in Ottery were earning middle to high incomes. Over half of the Indian households (54%), 37% of the African households and 39% of the Coloured households earned annual household incomes between R42 001 and R96 000. A quarter of the Indian households, 38% of Coloured households and 45% of African households earned relatively high incomes above R96 000 per annum.

Table 64 - Occupation by Race - Ottery

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	6	10	20	11
Professionals	29	22	25	11
Technicians and associate professionals	12	15	22	16
Clerks	10	23	14	23
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	9	9	8	15
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0	0	1
Craft and related trades workers	7	14	9	16
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	4	1	5
Elementary occupations	26	4	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	98	1570	110	750

Most of the residents were working in skilled occupations irrespective of race. However black residents were slightly more likely to be working in highly skilled occupations in comparison to White residents as almost half (47%) of the African and Coloured residents and two thirds (67%) of the Indian residents were working as legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals or technicians and associate professionals in comparison to 38% of the White residents working

in similar occupations. Almost a third of Coloured residents were working in routine white-collar jobs such as clerks, service workers, shop and market sales workers. Moreover a quarter of the African residents (26%) were in unskilled elementary occupations.

## 5. Rondebosch East

Table 65 – Type of dwelling by race - Rondebosch East

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	74	91	95	95	96
Flat in block of flats	12	1	2	0	0
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	14	8	3	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	69	330	122	473	57

Rondebosch East was fairly desegregated, as half of the households were black. Desegregation in Rondebosch East was characterised by Coloured and Indian households moving to the area, as 31% of the households were Coloured and 12% were Indian. The majority of all households in Rondebosch East were living in houses on separate stands, with 74% of African, 91% of Coloured, 95% of Indian and White households living in houses. However African households were more likely to be living in flats in comparison to other races, as 12% of the African households were living in flats in comparison to only 1% of the Coloured and 2% of the Indian households living in flats.

Table 66 – Home ownership by Race - Rondebosch East

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	65	80	78	86
No	35	20	22	14
Total	100	100	100	100
N	69	330	122	473

The majority of all households were home owners, with almost a third of African households (65%), 80% of Coloured households, 78% of Indian households and 86% of White households owning property in the area. However, African households were more likely to be renting property in comparison to other races, with over a third (35%) renting property in comparison to 20% of the Coloured households and 22% of the Indian households renting property.

**Table 67 – Annual household income by Race - Rondebosch East**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	3	1	0	1
R1-2400	0	1	0	0
R2401-6000	3	4	1	2
R6001-12000	4	2	3	3
R12001-18000	1	1	0	6
R18001-30000	4	3	7	6
R30001-42000	7	4	5	11
R42001-54000	6	10	9	9
R54001-72000	20	14	9	20
R72001-96000	12	15	15	12
R96001-132000	20	25	19	16
R132001-192000	7	14	19	8
R192001-360000	6	5	7	3
R360001 or more	1	1	2	0
Unspecified	4	2	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100
N	69	330	122	473

Overall most residents were earning high household incomes above R72 000 per annum. However black households were earning slightly higher incomes in comparison to White households. Of the White households, 39% were earning household incomes above R72 000 in comparison to 46% of the African households, 60% of the Coloured households and 62% of the Indian households earning an income above R72 000 per annum.

**Table 68 - Occupation by Race - Rondebosch East**

Occupation	Africans	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	13	18	20	11
Professionals	52	24	39	33
Technicians and associate professionals	9	17	19	17
Clerks	6	17	6	15
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	8	4	9	10
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	1	0	1
Craft and related trades workers	8	11	2	9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	3	0	2
Elementary occupations	2	6	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	95	581	213	580

Most of the residents were in higher skilled occupations such as legislators, managers and professionals. Almost two thirds (65%) of the African residents, 42% of the Coloured residents, 59% of the Indian residents and 44% of the White residents were working in higher skilled occupations, such as legislators, managers or professionals.

## 6. Royal Cape

Table 69 Type of dwelling by race - Royal Cape

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	100	98	100	98	100
Traditional dwelling	0	0	0	0	0
Flat in block of flats	0	0	0	0	0
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	5	40	3	119	2

Desegregation in Royal Cape was mostly due to Coloured households moving into the area, as 23% of the households were Coloured. All the households in Royal Cape were living in houses on separate stands.

Table 70 – Home ownership by Race – Royal Cape

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	40	85	67	91
No	60	15	33	9
Total	100	100	100	100
N	5	39	3	117

Most of the Coloured and White households owned property, with 85% of Coloured households and 91% of the White households owning property in the area. However Coloured households were slightly more likely to be renting property in comparison to White households, as 15% of the Coloured households were renting property and only 9% of the White households were renting property in the area.

Table 71 - Annual household income by Race – Royal Cape

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	3	0	1
R1-2400	0	0	0	1
R2401-6000	0	0	0	0
R6001-12000	20	0	0	3
R12001-18000	0	3	0	3
R18001-30000	40	8	0	8
R30001-42000	0	5	0	11
R42001-54000	0	5	0	9
R54001-72000	0	21	0	20
R72001-96000	0	18	67	15
R96001-132000	0	31	0	18
R132001-192000	20	5	33	5
R192001-360000	0	3	0	3
R360001 or more	0	0	0	2
Unspecified	20	0	0	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	5	39	3	117

Coloured households were earning slightly higher incomes than White households, with over half of the Coloured households earning annual household incomes above R72 000 in comparison to 43% of the White households earning a similar income.

Table 72 - Occupation by Race – Royal Cape

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	0	5	0	16
Professionals	63	38	9	18
Technicians and associate professionals	0	17	0	16
Clerks	0	21	73	28
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	0	7	0	6
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	38	0	0	1
Craft and related trades workers	0	12	18	15
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	0	0	0
Elementary occupations	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	8	58	11	131

Over half of the Coloured residents (55%) were in higher skilled occupations such as professionals, technicians or associate professionals in comparison to just over a third of the White residents in similar occupations. Of the coloured residents, 21% were clerks and 28% of the White residents were working as clerks as well. Some residents were working as craft or related trade workers, with 12% of the Coloured residents and 15% of the White residents working in these occupations.

## 7. Rugby

Table 73 – Type of dwelling by race

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	85	53	60	57	71
Flat in block of flats	15	43	40	38	29
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	0	4	0	5	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	13	119	5	772	7

Desegregation in Rugby was mostly as a result of Coloured households moving into the area, as 13% of the households were Coloured households and only 1% African or Indian. Most of the households were living in houses or semi detached/townhouses irrespective of race, with 85% of black households, 57% of Coloured households, 60% of Indian households and 62% of White households living in these types of housing.

Table 74 – Annual household income by race - Rugby

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	0	0	2
R1-2400	0	0	0	1
R2401-6000	15	3	20	8
R6001-12000	0	3	20	10
R12001-18000	0	10	0	8
R18001-30000	15	10	20	10
R30001-42000	15	11	0	9
R42001-54000	23	6	40	7
R54001-72000	0	18	0	10
R72001-96000	8	7	0	7
R96001-132000	0	3	0	5
R132001-192000	0	3	0	3
R192001-360000	0	0	0	1
R360001 or more	0	0	0	0
Unspecified	23	28	0	20
Total	100	100	100	100
N	13	120	5	842

Most of the black households were earning relatively middle to low incomes with nearly a quarter of the African households, 31% of the Coloured households and 40% of the Indian households earning middle range incomes between R42 001 and R96 000. Over two thirds of the African households (68%) and 37% of the Coloured households were earning low incomes of less than R42 000 per annum.

Table 75 – Occupation by Race - Rugby

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	8	7	17	9
Professionals	8	17	0	9
Technicians and associate professionals	8	14	17	17
Clerks	8	17	0	22
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	0	10	50	16
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0	0	3
Craft and related trades workers	52	12	0	16
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	8	12	0	5
Elementary occupations	8	11	17	4
Total	100	100	100	100
N	25	241	6	928

Most of the African residents were working as craft and related trade workers as over half (52%) were working in these occupations. Of the Coloured residents over a third were working as professionals and managers, 27% in routine white collar occupations such as clerks, services and shop and market sales workers and a quarter were working as craft and related trade workers or plant and machine operators and assemblers.

## 8. Southfield

Table 76 – Type of dwelling by race - Southfield

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	76	92	100	89	93
Flat in block of flats	0	4	0	5	1
Town/cluster/semi-detached houses.	24	4	0	6	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	18	212	13	688	81

A quarter of the households in Southfield were black. Desegregation was the result of Coloured households moving into the area, as 21% the households were Coloured and 2 % African and 1% Indian. Most of the households in Southfield were living in houses on separate stands as 76% of African households, 92% of Coloured households, 89% of White households and all the Indian households were living in houses on separate stands. African households

were more likely to be living in townhouses, semi detached or cluster houses than other races. A quarter of the African households were living in these types of accommodation in comparison to only 4% of Coloured, 6% of the White households and none of the Indian households were living in townhouses, semi detached or cluster housing.

Table77 - Home ownership by Race - Southfield

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	56	81	100	86
No	44	19	0	14
Total	100	100	100	100
N	18	205	11	681

Most of the residents in Southfield irrespective of race were property owners with over half of the African households, 81% of the Coloured households, 86% of the White households and all of the Indian households homeowners. However African households were more likely to be renting property in comparison to other races, as 44% of the African households were renting property in the area in comparison to only 19% of the Coloured households, 14% of the White households and none of the Indian households renting property in the area.

Table 78 – Annual household income by Race - Southfield

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	0	0	0	0
R1-2400	0	0	0	0
R2401-6000	28	3	0	2
R6001-12000	0	2	0	3
R12001-18000	0	1	0	4
R18001-30000	11	4	0	8
R30001-42000	0	6	15	8
R42001-54000	11	2	0	10
R54001-72000	28	18	15	14
R72001-96000	11	12	0	14
R96001-132000	11	24	31	10
R132001-192000	0	10	0	4
R192001-360000	0	3	0	3
R360001 or more	0	0	0	1
Unspecified	0	17	38	19
Total	100	100	100	100
N	18	212	13	688

The Coloured households in Southfield were earning higher annual household incomes than the White households, with almost half of the Coloured households (49%) earning an income above R72 001 per annum compared to 32% of the White households earning a similar annual household income.

Table 79 – Occupation by race – Southfield

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	
Legislators, senior officials and managers	15	10	19	10
Professionals	26	23	29	15
Technicians and associate professionals	15	12	14	14
Clerks	22	26	24	26
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	0	9	5	13
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	4	0	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	7	14	10	15
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	3	0	4
Elementary occupations	11	3	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	27	360	21	896

Most of the residents were working in highly skilled occupations as professionals and managers. Over half of the African residents (56%), 45% of the Coloured residents, 62% of the Indian and 39% of the White residents were working as legislators, managers, senior officials or professionals and technicians and associate professionals. Over a third of the Coloured, 22% of the African residents, 29% of the Indian and 39% of the White residents were working in skilled white-collar occupations such as clerks, service workers, shop and market sales workers.

## 9. Summer Greens

Table 80 – Type of dwelling by race - Summer Greens

Type of dwelling	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified
House on separate stand	93	97	73	90	91
Flat in block of flats	0	0	0	0	0
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	7	3	27	10	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	115	303	15	620	119

Summer Greens was fairly desegregated, as more than a third of the households (37%) were black. Desegregation was mainly as a result of Coloured households moving to the area as over a quarter of the households (26%) were Coloured, 10% African and 1% Indian. All of the households in Summer Greens irrespective of race were living in houses on separate stands, semi detached or townhouses. Most households were living in houses on separate stands with 93% of the African households, 97% of the Coloured households, 73% of the Indian and 90% of the White households living in houses.

**Table 81 –1 Home ownership by Race - Summer Greens**

Home ownership	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	98	93	93	86
No	2	6	7	13
Total	100	100	100	100
N	115	303	15	620

Most of the households irrespective of race owned property in Summer Greens as 98% of the African households, 93% of the Coloured and Indian households and 86% of the White households were homeowners.

**Table 82 - Annual household income by Race - Summer Greens**

Annual household income	African	Coloured	Indian	White
None	2	0	0	2
R1-2400	0	0	0	1
R2401-6000	0	1	7	1
R6001-12000	1	1	0	2
R12001-18000	2	1	0	2
R18001-30000	2	6	20	6
R30001-42000	4	5	7	11
R42001-54000	4	11	7	15
R54001-72000	12	22	13	18
R72001-96000	16	16	20	16
R96001-132000	23	12	7	10
R132001-192000	10	5	0	2
R192001-360000	3	2	0	1
R360001 or more	0	1	0	0
Unspecified	22	17	20	14
Total	100	100	100	100
N	115	303	15	620

Most of the African and Coloured households were earning middle to high incomes, with almost a third of the African households (32%) and almost half of the Coloured households (49%) earning middle range incomes between R42 001 and R96 000. More than a third of the African households (36%) and the Coloured households (37%) earned relatively high household incomes above R96 000 per annum

**Table 83 - Occupation by Race - Summer Greens**

Occupation	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	15	6	28	10
Professionals	36	16	10	10
Technicians and associate professionals	24	19	14	19
Clerks	10	22	21	28
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	5	9	17	13
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	1	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	4	14	7	13
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5	8	3	4
Elementary occupations	1	4	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	185	526	29	970

Most of the African and Coloured residents were working in skilled occupations such as professionals and managers or as routine white-collar workers. Over a third of Coloured residents and 60% of African residents were working as professionals or technicians, associate professionals. Of the Coloured households 40% were working in routine white-collar jobs such as clerks, service workers, shop and market sales workers.