Post-apartheid Racial Integration in Grahamstown:

A Time-geographical Perspective

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Philippa Margaret Irvine

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Abstract

This research is situated within the context of the post-apartheid era in South Africa, which includes the dominant ideologies and policies that have shaped the urban landscape of the past and present. It investigates the extent and patterns of integration that exist twenty years after the country's political transition and it uses Grahamstown, a small education and cultural centre in the Eastern Cape Province, as its case study. The investigation incorporates the traditional geographical focus of residential and educational integration, using conventional means of investigation such as segregation indices, dissimilarity indices, percentages and maps. However, in identifying the broader nature of 'segregation' and 'integration', the study moves beyond these foci and approaches. It adopts the time-geographical framework to reveal the dynamic use of urban space that reflects the lived space of selected individuals from the community of Grahamstown: the extent and patterns of their behavioural integration or spatial linkages. Together, these approaches reveal that Grahamstown is still a city divided by race and, now, class. Schools and residential areas remain tied to the apartheid divisions of race and the white community exists almost entirely within the bounds of apartheid's blueprint of urban space. Rhodes University, which is located within Grahamstown, has experienced admirable levels of integration within the student body and within the staff as a whole, but not within the staff's different levels. In essence, where integration has occurred it has been unidirectional with the black community moving into the spaces and institutions formerly reserved for whites. The limited behavioural integration or spatial linkages are shown to be tied to city structure and, within the white group, to perceptions of 'otherness' held by the individuals interviewed. While the study shows limited differences in the time-spatial movements between members of different races who are resident in the former white group area, it highlights the differences between those more permanently resident in the city and the temporary educational migrants or students. The study argues that the slow pace of change is related to the nature of South Africa's democratic transition and its attending political and economic policies.

Key words: Grahamstown, integration, segregation, race, South Africa, time-geography

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List of Abbreviations

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
AsgiSA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
CBD	Central Business District
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CoGTA	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
DSG	Diocesan School for Girls
EMIS	Education Management Information System
GADRA	Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Organisation
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
HEMIS	Higher Education Management Information System
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
ID	Index of Dissimilarity
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IGU	International Geographical Union
IS	Index of Segregation
LQ	Location Quotient
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NP	National Party
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme of South Africa
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
R-GDP	Real Gross Domestic Product
RSA	Republic of South Africa
RSC	Regional Service Councils

SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNISA	University of South Africa
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background, Context and Motivation

> South Africa has been the scene of a number of momentous social engineering projects from colonialism and segregationism to apartheid and, currently, the democratic transformation. All of these had profound spatial implications and left significant legacies in the geography of the country.
>
> (Christopher, 2001a: 1)

This research finds its motivation within the historical and political context of the post-apartheid South African city and the 'momentous social engineering projects', which Christopher (2001a: 1) argues to have defined the nature of this space. It is a study of spatial change, from a political climate of segregation to one of integration. It seeks new frameworks through which to study this change and reveal aspects of it that are often left concealed.

Since the settler-colonial era, many forms of segregation have been characteristic of South Africa's urban landscape and society. The most recent and well known of these eras of segregation, *apartheid* (Afrikaans: 'apartness' or 'separateness'), spanned the decades from 1948 to the early 1990s and enforced the racial divisions with strict and oppressive legislation. Apartheid, like the eras before it, was a period of minority rule, in which white South Africans took illegitimate power and with it caused the economic, social and political oppression on those whom they classed as 'non-white'. With entrenched inequality and a lack of respect for human rights, the apartheid era plagued South African society. Policy played a role in the formation of the urban landscape: the result was fragmented urban space where residential areas; public, private and commercial amenities and facilities; schools; and universities were racially segregated. This history has been explored by many South African geographers. Issues surrounding various aspects of inclusion and exclusion, including political, social, spatial and economic facets, also dominated this period. Individuals' movements in their everyday lives were limited in space and time, legally and socially. As a result of this, South African society was divided and segregated along racial lines.

This year, 2011, marks the 20th anniversary of the repeal of some of the most influential apartheid legislation relating to racial segregation. In addition to the repeal of these laws, post-apartheid South Africa has embraced new philosophies and ideologies in the hope of transforming its society for the better. The state adopted a progressive constitution in 1996, which serves to guide legislators and other authorities towards the goals of unifying and integrating the peoples of the country and bringing them into unrestricted and equal association. Former South African Archbishop and Nobel Peace Prize Winner of 1984, Desmond Tutu, is said to have coined the term 'rainbow nation' in celebrating the diversity of South Africa in the post-apartheid era. This concept also calls for unity and integration, reflecting the philosophies of the 'new' South Africa and has come to be a motto of this era. In addition, one cannot disregard the issues of social justice and of equality of opportunity and access that go hand-in-hand with this motto in an attempt to reverse the serious inequalities of the preceding periods.

Taking the legacy of racial segregation and the political attempts at repairing these divisions into account, this case study seeks to reveal the patterns of racial integration within Grahamstown during the post-apartheid era. This is not a new topic within South African urban geography and, indeed, the legacy of segregation is a feature of the agenda of urban planning within the country. This study seeks to explore the divisions in institutions of education and residential neighbourhoods through the traditional means of segregation indices, dissimilarity indices and maps, which will build on existing data and allow for comparison with similar case studies. Furthermore, the study will focus on segregation levels in existence in the workplace, which has not had much attention in post-apartheid geographical studies. Ultimately, however, the primary focus of this case study is to synthesise the more traditional examinations of segregation and integration with an investigation of 'everyday life' within the post-apartheid city. It seeks to bring-together conventional approaches to studies of segregation and integration to provide a context, but it also seeks a new perspective on studies of integration with the use of the time-geographical approach. It takes cognisance of the fact that segregation affected the way in which people went about their lives and interacted with and within space. In doing this, it seeks new ways to explore how this may or may not have changed in the contemporary era. The time-geographical approach is not a new one and attempts to broaden understandings of everyday life in many contexts. It has experienced limited application within the South African experience and has not, as yet, been applied to a study relating to segregation within urban

space. The approach has the ability to provide an in-depth, detailed, and individual image of the everyday lives, patterns of movement and experiences of those living in integrating communities. The spatio-temporal framework allows one to get a better understanding of the effects of resources and constraints (such as time, modes of travel, institutional and socio-economic factors) which influence people's choices and movements.

Grahamstown, a small education and cultural centre in the Eastern Cape Province, provides a perfect laboratory for this case study. It possesses the typical apartheid city layout and with a good cross-section of schools and the presence of Rhodes University, the usual studies of residential and educational segregation have some application. The work already done concerning segregation and integration within residential areas and schools will be built on.

1.2 Research Question

What are the patterns of racial integration in post-apartheid Grahamstown?

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 Objective 1

To discover and map the levels of spatial residential integration in contemporary Grahamstown

1.3.2 Objective 2

To discover and map the levels of racial integration of staff and students/learners within educational institutions in contemporary Grahamstown

1.3.3 Objective 3

To delineate and map the patterns of time-spatial integration which exist at the individual level in Grahamstown and explore the individual agency, and political and socio-economic structures and constraints that influence them.

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

Contextualisation of the research through the examination of the national, regional and local circumstances that have led up to and characterise the post-apartheid era will follow on directly from this chapter. 'Segregation and Integration within South African History and National Policy' will delineate the political and social roots of the post-apartheid city. Relevant literature will be explored concerning, first, the phenomena of segregation and integration and, second, the approach chosen for the research. The chapter will explore the approaches and findings of other literature on the subject of post-apartheid integration. It will argue that a gap in the literature exists as the data produced in much of the literature does not cover the full spectrum of the chosen definitions. In response, the chapter will explore an alternative approach, the time-geographical framework, and will explore how the approach can be operationalised, its data analysed and the understandings it can provide. The 'Methodology and Methods' chapter will discuss the way in which the objectives of the study were tackled and how the analysis and presentation of the findings were approached. The 'Grahamstown' chapter will introduce the reader to the site of the case study and will discuss the various aspects of this city which will form the foundation of the investigation. The findings are presented in the 'Results' chapter and this is following by the interpretation and concluding discussion, which re-contextualises the findings within their greater research and geographical context.

Chapter 2: Segregation and Integration within South African History and National Policy

Segregation has been and still is a feature of many states worldwide and has appeared in many forms and through many origins. It is not just racial in nature, with class-, gender-, ethnicity-, and religion-based segregation being evident within societies the world over. Examples include: Northern Ireland's segregation of Catholics and Protestants, immigrants and residents in Norway (Sjøholt, 1996), Israeli and Palestinian divisions, the gendered nature of many working environments, and the class-based segregation that exists within neo-capitalist states like Canada (Bourne, 1996).

Apartheid South Africa is one of the most well-known examples of a segregated state and the post-apartheid city has been cited by Parnell (1996: 42) as the perfect laboratory for research into segregation because it was the worst case scenario of socio-economic inequality. In fact, Lemon (1996: 62) contends that no other country has reorganised its space towards the end of segregation to the degree that South Africa has in its past. This section of the dissertation focuses on urban segregation – its roots and the policies which entrenched its presence - within South Africa's history. It will also explore the 'new' South Africa of the last two decades since the political transformation of the early 1990s. This section is intended to explore the nature of the divisions of space and society so that a definition of segregation can be chosen, one which most accurately encompasses the South African urban experience. The discussion here is not intended to be an exhaustive history or encyclopaedic account of segregation. Instead, the aim is to paint a picture of the presence of segregation in urban South Africa; to create an idea of the forms and extent of the constraints limiting human movement and interaction, and an idea of what the lived space in urban areas might have been like.

The relationship between the social and spatial in segregated South Africa is very important. Davies (1972: 804) argues that the apartheid planners thought of each group area as a distinct community which would gradually become completely self-sufficient and separate. Therefore, a complicated relationship exists between the social and the spatial. It appears that the two are interlinked: the dominant social ideology promoting entrenched spatial segregation and this, in its turn, further widening the social gap between race groups. In the discussion that follows these linkages will be further clarified.

Western (1981: 5) asserts that "human social relation may be *both* space forming *and* space contingent". Beavon (1989: 61) explains that Gray (1975) introduced an important idea in his paper 'Non-explanation in urban geography'. This idea was a challenge to the commonly-held belief that people possess freedom of choice and power over their lives (Beavon, 1989: 61). Gray contended that the actions of individuals living in urban areas are controlled by urban gatekeepers or urban managers (urban authorities) through social and financial means (Beavon, 1989: 61). Beavon (1989: 61) contends that this is all too clear within the apartheid city.

Before the reader proceeds to the following discussion it is important to understand the definitions and meanings of 'race' as well as the use of racial terms and concepts. Race, in sociological terms, is a means of categorising humans into 'biologically different' groups (Giddens, 2006: 485). Lester *et al.* (2000: 62) argue that racist ideology arose in the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Secular categories of humanity developed, which resulted in the scientific classification of people in line with what was believed to be a natural hierarchy – the 'Great Chain of Being' (Lester *et al.*, 2000: 62). As such, differences in the pigmentation of the human skin were thought to be indicators of cultural significance (Lester *et al.*, 2000: 62). By dividing people and essentialising them, power and inequalities within a given society can be created and maintained (Giddens, 2006: 486). De Gobineau, often believed to be the father of racism, believed that humans could be divided into three races: white (Caucasian), black (Negroid) and yellow (Mongoloid) (Giddens, 2006: 485). White individuals were seen as the superior race with great intelligence and morality (Giddens, 2006: 485). Blacks, however, were seen to be the opposite of this: possessing an animal nature, immorality and emotional instability (Giddens, 2006: 485).

In South Africa people were divided into racial categories: white, coloured, Asiatic/Indian and Native (Bantu, African or black) (Worden, 2000: 108). These categories have embodied much the same assumptions as those attributed by de Gobineau. They were imposed by the settlers of European origin (Adam & Moodley, 1986: 13). At the time of European settlement, therefore, there was no room for self-identification although this may have developed to some extent as time went on. There is a great deal of debate on the origins of racism in South Africa (Maylam, 2001; Guelke, 2005; Worden, 2000). Maylam (2001: 23) sums up this debate as between proponents who believe the origins were in Europe and those who contend that racism arose in the settler and colonial situation. Maylam (2001: 23) argues that both of these theories have merit and are both applicable in the South African situation.

While race used to be an accepted means of categorising people its biological basis has since been disproved and 'race', as a defining characteristic, has been abandoned within science. However, social scientists still find the concept to be meaningful in sociological analysis (Giddens, 2006: 486). Butler (2004: 29) uses this idea to explain its continued use in South African discourse. He contends that the use of racial categories in post-apartheid South Africa is related to the fact that they are useful in investigating and understanding of the impacts and trends of, for example, equity policies. (Butler, 2004: 29). The use of race and racial categories in this dissertation is explained in the same way. In the sections which follow, the categories 'white', 'African', 'coloured' and 'Indian' will be used to distinguish between the different race groups. The term, 'black' is used to denote a larger grouping of Africans, coloureds and Indians; all those who were previously defined as 'non-white'. This is in line with the terminology used in much of the literature.

2.1 History of Racial Segregation and Segregation-related Policies

This section seeks to contextualise the contemporary period, its policies and legislation within the structures of the past. Maylam (1995: 34) contends that there exists a strain of thought that drastically separates apartheid era policy from its predecessors, but that this is liberal mythology. This dissertation recognises that the history of segregation in South Africa spans centuries and can be traced to the presence of the first settler communities in the Cape. Accordingly, this section will discuss the development of the urban landscape in South Africa, starting with the era of colonisation. This will be followed by an exploration of the segregation era, the apartheid era and the late apartheid era. It is important that, during the discussion that follows, the reader is aware of the many facets of control that strengthened and protected settler minority interests. Lemon (1991a: 2) explains that:

> Forces of control, imposed to maintain relations of dominance, depended crucially on control of access to political power, but also included control of access to means of production and levels of employment, and to the means (education, training and opportunity) of upward social mobility; control over land resources, their ownership, use and distribution, and over access to services and amenities; and control over spatial relations through segregation and urban containment.

This quotation succinctly highlights the levels of control and spatial and social division within the South African urban landscape. In essence, South Africa experienced a tightening of control over time from the settler-colonial phase until the late apartheid era. The subsections below discuss this and the ways in which control has shaped the urban landscape and society of the present.

2.1.1 The Settler-colonial Phase of South African Urban Settlements

The social context of the emerging urban areas in this period is important to understand. Davies (1981: 63) argues that, as the cities which evolved within South Africa did so within a region with no developed urban tradition, the European settlers became an 'urban host society'. As a result, those defined as 'non-white' were subject to the urban planning notions of the colonisers (Davies, 1981: 63). Those who arrived in the republics and colonies after the European groups, such the Indian communities from who were brought in as indentured labourers or slaves brought to South Africa from other continents, were subject to the existing 'urban host society' too.

2.1.1.1 Dutch Influence on Urban Segregation

South Africa was colonized by European communities from the seventeenth century. The first of these colonizers were the Dutch East India Company who settled in the Cape and established Cape Town as a refreshment point for merchant ships in their trade with the east (Christopher, 2001a: 13). One of the earliest forms of segregation was a boundary hedge of bitter almonds planted by the Dutch to limit the conflict between the settler and indigenous groups in the Cape (Christopher, 2001a: 13).

After the Dutch East India Company arrived in the Cape in 1652 they created a hierarchy of four status groups: company servants (employees of the Company), freeburghers (white individuals not employed by the company), slaves and 'Hottentots' (Khoisan individuals) (Maylam, 2001: 37). Maylam (2001: 37) contends that, although these categories and the hierarchy were not necessarily race-based, they led to racial segregation. South African History Online (n.d. 2) agrees with this assertion to some degree, contending that these types of categories stemmed more from cultural difference than racism.

In terms of segregation, Van Riebeeck, head of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape, issued a proclamation in 1652 regulating interactions amongst races (Maylam, 2001: 32). Following this, an anti-miscegenation regulation was introduced in the Cape in 1685 (Maylam, 2001: 36). Despite this regulation, however, Maylam (2001: 41) reports around 1000 cases of racial intermarriage between 1652 and 1795. In addition, freed slaves could be arrested if they were seen without a lantern on Cape Town streets at night (Worden, 2000: 75). During the 1760s, slaves and Khoisan servants were forced to carry a kind of pass in order to prove that they were not runaways (Worden, 2000: 75). By 1755, hospitals had been racially segregated and from 1780 black police officers could no longer arrest white citizens (Maylam, 2001: 37). Residential segregation, however, was not a major feature of these early settlements with European settlers living in close proximity to slaves, servants and their workers (Elphick and Giliomee, 1979 in Christopher, 1983: 146). However, from early on slaves were housed in a Slave Lodge, separately from their 'owners' and company employees (South African History Online, n.d. 2).

Those who are now designated as the 'coloured' population in South Africa are a combination of many of these groups present at this time in the Cape. Khoisan peoples, the descendants of Malay slaves brought to the Cape by the Dutch and those of mixed European ancestry were incorporated in this racial category as they did not clearly 'fit' within other categories (Christopher, 2001: 21).

2.1.1.2 Urban Segregation from 1806 to 1902

With time the settlements in the Cape expanded into the interior and other European groups joined these settlers, most notably the British who settled in the Cape (Davies, 1981: 59). With the settlement of the British came British colonial rule in the Cape from 1806 and in Natal in 1843 (Davies, 1981: 59). The Transvaal and Orange Free State were established about this time as independent 'Boer' (rurally-oriented Afrikaans-speaking) republics within the interior (Davies, 1981: 59).

Reflecting the attitudes of the British during this era is the comment by the Principal of the Lovedale Missionary School in the Cape made in 1884 who declared that Africans were more than 2000 years behind Europeans on the evolutionary scale (Lester *et al.*, 2000: 136). Continuing with this social Darwinist thread of thought, during this time children considered to be of a mixed racial background were seen as a dilution of races, which led to racial

degeneration (Lester *et al.*, 2000: 133). Races were, therefore, seen as separate and distinct and this would, undoubtedly, influence the thoughts of the interaction of races in the spatial and social realms.

In 1809 in the Cape the British instituted the Caledon Code (the Hottentot Proclamation), which introduced pass laws for the Khoikhoi (South African History Online, n.d. 2). In 1828, Ordinance 49 was passed to introduce pass laws for the African population that was slowly filtering into the Cape in search of work (South African History Online, n.d. 2). The pass laws for the Khoikhoi were repealed in the same year (South African History Online, n.d. 2). The Kaffir Pass Act of 1857 introduced influx control of Africans to the Cape and meant that permanent settlement of Africans who were unemployed was discouraged (South African History Online, n.d. 2).

Formal urban residential segregation was established after the abolition of slavery in 1834, which coincided with high levels of African urbanisation (Christopher, 2001a: 33). The precedent for South Africa regarding 'location' communities which were spatially isolated from the rest of town was set at this time (Christopher, 2001a: 33). Following this, the Cape colonial government introduced regulations to support the establishment of locations for Africans and coloureds who neither owned property elsewhere nor were living on the property of their employers (Christopher, 2001a: 33). This was in line with the practices of British urban planning in other colonies at the time (Simon, 1984: 61; Christopher, 1983: 147). These same patterns of residential segregation were adopted in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, but to differing degrees during the late 19th Century (Maylam, 1995: 23). In the Cape and Natal, however, there were no legal racial restrictions on African and coloured land ownership and occupation until the turn of the century (Christopher, 2001a: 33). In Natal, even so, influx controls were placed on Africans to keep them as non-permanent migratory labour circulating to and from urban centres (Christopher, 2001a: 33).

In 1868 diamond deposits were found in Kimberly, northeast of the Cape (Lester *et al.*, 2000: 104). This marked the beginning of the mining era of the South African economy. Gold was discovered just less than 20 years later on the Witwatersrand and led to the development of Johannesburg (Beavon, 2004: 6). These discoveries required the extension of the pre-existing migrant labour system (Lester *et al.*, 2000: 104). Seen as an alien and unwelcome element within urban areas, migrant labourers working in mines were recipients of passes, which would be issued later to the wider African population (Lester *et al.*, 2000: 104). Racially

segregated compounds housing African labourers were developed by mine owners. Here, labourers were housed in prison-like dorms which allowed for heightened control and surveillance by their employers as well as the regulation of their food and alcohol consumption, credit and recreational activities (Lester *et al.*, 2000: 105-106). Mabin (1986 in Maylam, 1995: 23), in fact, argues that the compound system was the precursor to the formation of townships.

'Sanitation syndrome', which racialised urban disease and infection and laid the blame for outbreaks and epidemics on black groups, encouraged urban residential segregation. The sanitation syndrome produced racial segregation through what Swanson (1977: 387) describes as "a dramatic and compelling opportunity for those who were promoting segregationist solutions to social problems".

During this period, Indian indentured labour was brought to South Africa to work on sugar plantations in Natal and was joined by 'passenger Indians' who were traders and professionals (Christopher, 2001a: 20). Huttenback (1976 in Christopher, 1983: 146) argues that the economic success of Indian traders was a very real threat to white economic power. In the 1890s, the Transvaal government tried to place limitations on the commercial activities of the Indian community (Christopher, 2001a: 36). This resulted in the establishment of 'bazaars' on the edge of towns where Indians were forced to live and work, but these experienced different application in different places (Christopher, 2001a: 36). In Durban, Natal, the movement of Indians into the CBD led to the introduction of legislation to control the extent of their occupation from 1897 (Davies & Rajah, 1965: 48). The Orange Free State reacted to Indian presence by totally excluding Indians from the republic from 1891 (Lemon, 1991a: 3). The Colonial Act of 1897 allowed authorities to restrict the issue of new trading licences to their discretion and this controlled the growth of Indian trade (Davies & Rajah, 1965: 48). In addition to Indian immigrants, a small number of Chinese also began to enter South Africa from 1890 and engaged primarily in trade (Yap and Man, 1996 in Christopher, 2001a: 20).

2.1.1.3 British Influence on Urban Segregation: 1902 to 1910

After the end Anglo-Boer War (South African War) in 1902, the British took control of the Transvaal and Orange Free State republics. In 1910 the Union of South Africa was established and the country became a British dominion. Milner, the British High

Commissioner for South Africa until 1905 is described by Maylam (2001: 144) as a white supremacist who believed that whites had a duty to act as the trustees of Africans. These views were shared by Milner's successor, Selborne (Maylam, 2001: 144). Rapid, uncontrolled urbanisation occurred during this period connected to the boom in mining (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.). Local authorities could not keep up with this influx of people and in major centres living conditions declined (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.). In 1904 the Natal Parliament passed the Native Locations Act and this enabled municipalities to establish segregated locations for Africans (Maylam, 1995: 620).

The South African Native Affairs Commission was formed in 1903 and produced a report, which was to become the foundation of an overarching set of policies regarding African administration and control (Maylam, 2001: 144-145). The report was essentially racist, proposing separate political representation on a race basis, territorial separation in the form of residential segregation and the establishment of reserves for Africans (Maylam, 2001: 144-145). The 'retribalization' that the commission advocated used reformulated traditional authority to 'represent' Africans (Lester *et al.,* 2000: 147). In addition, the report suggested pass laws to regulate African presence in urban areas, racial discrimination in terms of wage levels and mission education for Africans (Worden, 2000: 83). The recommendations of the Commission were enacted after 1910.

2.1.1.4 Local Authorities in Urban Areas

The first local authority in South Africa was established in Stellenbosch in the 1680s and the council consisted of a magistrate and four local farmers who were appointed as councillors (Cloete, 1986: 11). These Dutch local authorities spread throughout the Cape until they were abolished by the British when they took over control of the colony in the nineteenth century (Cloete, 1986: 13). Municipal Ordinance 9 of 1836 was enacted by the British to establish elected municipal councils with all rate-payers eligible for election (Cloete, 1986: 13). This model was used in Natal, the Tansvaal and the Orange Free State when they established their own local authorities later in the century (Cloete, 1986: 14).

2.1.1.5 Segregation in Institutions of Education

The first school in the Cape was established for the children of slaves and in 1663 a school was opened with a multi-racial student body of four slaves, one 'Hottentot' and twelve white

children (McKerron, 1934: 57). Racial mixing in schools occurred until the twentieth century when legal segregation in schools began, but mixing was higher in smaller urban centres (McKerron, 1934: 57, 81).

Education in South Africa was largely established by the church and run by these organisations until the state took over the administration of education in 1839 (McKerron, 1934: 11). The first missionary school was established in the Cape in 1737 and educated 'Hottentot' children (McKerron, 1934: 156). After 1800, mission education became firmly established and many black schools were a part of this system (McKerron, 1934: 159). Missionary schools for African pupils were set up in places like Lovedale, Mount Coke and Butterworth in what is now the Eastern Cape Province (McKerron, 1934: 159).

After the Cape government established an Education Department in 1939, the government provided funding for mission schools from 1841 (McKerron, 1934: 161-162). Industrial education was granted by the government to African individuals after 1857 (McKerron, 1934: 161-162). In 1865, the Cape education system of government-funded schools was established with the passing of the Education Act (McKerron, 1934: 26). This system split schools into four main types: 'A' schools, for white learners; 'B' schools, attended by coloured and poor white learners; 'C' schools for African students and 'D' schools for white boarders (McKerron, 1934: 26). All of these were recipients of different funding schemes (McKerron, 1934: 26).

In the Orange Free State education was made part of the provisions of the constitution in 1863 (South African History Online, n.d. 3). In this republic missionary education was the only source of black education, but this was not encouraged by the government (McKerron, 1934: 163). Only in 1878 did government funding of black mission schools begin (McKerron, 1934: 163). In the Transvaal, education became a provision of the constitution in 1858 (South African History Online, n.d. 3) and the mission schools were also the only source of black education (McKerron, 1934: 164). However, the Smuts Act of 1907 recognised black education as an integral part of the education system (McKerron, 1934: 164). In Natal, mission schools were funded by the government. Indian students, however, on being refused admission to white mission schools, found an education in private- and government- funded schools (McKerron, 1934: 164). The development of a formal structure for education was attempted in 1943, but this stable structure was only achieved in 1958 (South African History

Online, n.d. 3). A Native Education Department was established in Natal in 1885 (McKerron, 1934: 167).

Educational segregation occurred in 1905 with the passing of the School Board Act (Worden, 2000: 79). This was just one of the recommendations the South African Native Affairs Commission.

The earliest universities established in South Africa were the University of Cape Town (1829), Stellenbosch University (1866), the University of the Witwatersrand (1896), the University of the Free State (1904) and Rhodes University (1904) (University of Cape Town, 2011; Stellenbosch University, 2011; University of the Witwatersrand, 2011; University of the Free State, 2011). During the settler-colonial era universities were not legally segregated, but segregation practised.

2.1.2 The Segregation City and the Union of South Africa

After the Union of South Africa in 1910 the country became a dominion, meaning it remained closely linked to Britain, but a South African government was formed and it was granted autonomy. The 'Segregation city' emerged during this period of South Africa's history and, during this era, the urban landscape combined both voluntary and imposed forms of segregation (Davies, 1981: 63). For instance, segregation was enforced in law through the establishment of 'locations' or peripheral townships to house Africans and coloureds, but also through the introduction of restrictive clauses in title deeds within the private housing market (Christopher, 2001a: 33,40). During this era, racial segregation was often achieved through the use of hidden agendas or indirect means. One of these motivations was the sanitation syndrome. In Johannesburg in 1904, for example, an outbreak of bubonic plague caused the burning of African slum areas and the creation of the first separate location at Klipspruit (Maude, 1938 in Swanson, 1977: 388). Klipspruit was established on the outskirts of Johannesburg, far from work in the centre of the city (South African History Online, n.d.: 1). A total of 1 358 individuals were forcibly removed to this settlement, which ironically, was located a mere 300 meters from the City Council Sewerage Works, meaning that human health was still at risk (South African History Online, n.d.: 1).

In addition to these features of the segregation city, Davies (1981: 63) argues that, during this period of South Africa's history, legislation and political intervention had differential and

sometimes lenient application, and that spatial planning projects were largely unfinished. Maylam (2001: 150) argues that segregation policy suffered from a lack of implementation because of a politically and administratively weak Native Affairs Department. Likewise, Christopher (2001a: 35) argues that, though there were many urban policies regarding the black population, the push for uniformity in these was only attempted in the 1920s when African urbanisation accelerated.

2.1.2.1 Urban Segregation

By the time of Union, the majority of towns in South Africa included separate African locations as a feature of the urban landscape (Christopher, 2001a: 36). In the western Cape, where the coloured population outnumbered the African population, these locations housed the coloured population (Christopher, 2001a: 36). The period which followed saw the segregation levels in South African cities increase. The residential choice of all race groups were gradually restricted, but none so much as that of the African community (Kuper *et al.*, 1958 in Christopher, 2001a: 40).

The 1913 Natives Land Act prohibited Africans from buying or leasing land from white individuals outside of designated reserves (Thompson, 1990: 163). In addition the Act designated the land for these African reserves, demarcating 22 million acres of land or seven percent of South Africa's land area for this purpose (Thompson, 1990: 163). Ultimately, the white population was left with much of the best land (Thompson, 1990: 164).

At the Union Public Health Conference held in 1918 the provincial governments sought the granting of new powers to deal with slum clearance, housing and town planning (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.). Following this, the Public Health Act of 1919 led to the establishment of the Department of Health and utilized zoning of urban areas to protect the interests of white communities (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.).

From the 1920s onwards the chosen method of control was through central government legislation. Reflecting the attitudes of policy makers and urban planners of this period towards the African population, the Transvaal Local Government Commission declared urban areas as "the domain of the White Man" where "there was no place for the redundant Native" (Transvaal, 1922: 42 in Christopher, 2001a: 36). Worden (2000: 49) discusses some of the reasons for an attempted tightening of segregation. First, the Spanish influenza spread

through the world around the time of World War I and this renewed fears of the sanitation syndrome. Second, protests by Africans over political and labour issues made the government feel insecure. Third, the increase in African urbanisation alarmed authorities.

Many acts contributed to urban racial segregation during this period. The 1920 Housing Act, which allowed for funds to build houses for the poor, also gave local authorities the power to locate the urban poor in areas of a given authority's choosing (Christopher, 2001a: 36). The Native Affairs Commission of 1921 and the 1922 Stallard Commission concluded that the presence of Africans in urban areas was undesirable (Beavon, 1989: 71). In response the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 was passed and, together with its amendments, it formed the foundation of subsequent apartheid legislation and design (Christopher, 2001a: 36). It mandated local authorities to create locations or separate residential areas for the African people in urban areas and gave them the power to control the migration of Africans into urban areas (Christopher, 2001a: 36). Maylam (2001: 149) contends, however, that few municipalities actually established these locations, set up advisory boards and introduced influx controls, in part, due to financial constraints. Despite this, between 1924 and 1937 a total of 234 locations were established (Hindson, 1987 in Lester *et al.,* 2000: 158).

In 1934, the National Party and United Party, two primary political opponents, merged to form the United Party and, together, they promoted segregationist policy (Greyling, 2007: 25). As a result, the segregationist 'Native Bills' were passed in 1936 and segregation had become a consensus ideology and extra-parliamentary resistance to segregationist policy had declined (Greyling, 2007: 25). The Slums Act of 1934 supported the Natives (Urban Areas) Act through granting local authorities the power to clear slums and relocate the communities to places within the spatial design (Christopher, 2001a: 36). Beavon (1989: 71) notes that controls such as pass laws and curfews were also standardised by this point in time. In 1937, the Native Laws Amendment Act was adopted and gave the central government the power to direct local authorities to establish townships and develop housing (Beavon, 1989: 72). This Act prevented Africans in urban areas from purchasing property from individuals of other race-groups and, therefore, maintained the pre-existing racial character of neighbourhoods. The 1946 census showed that Africans made up the majority in cities (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.).

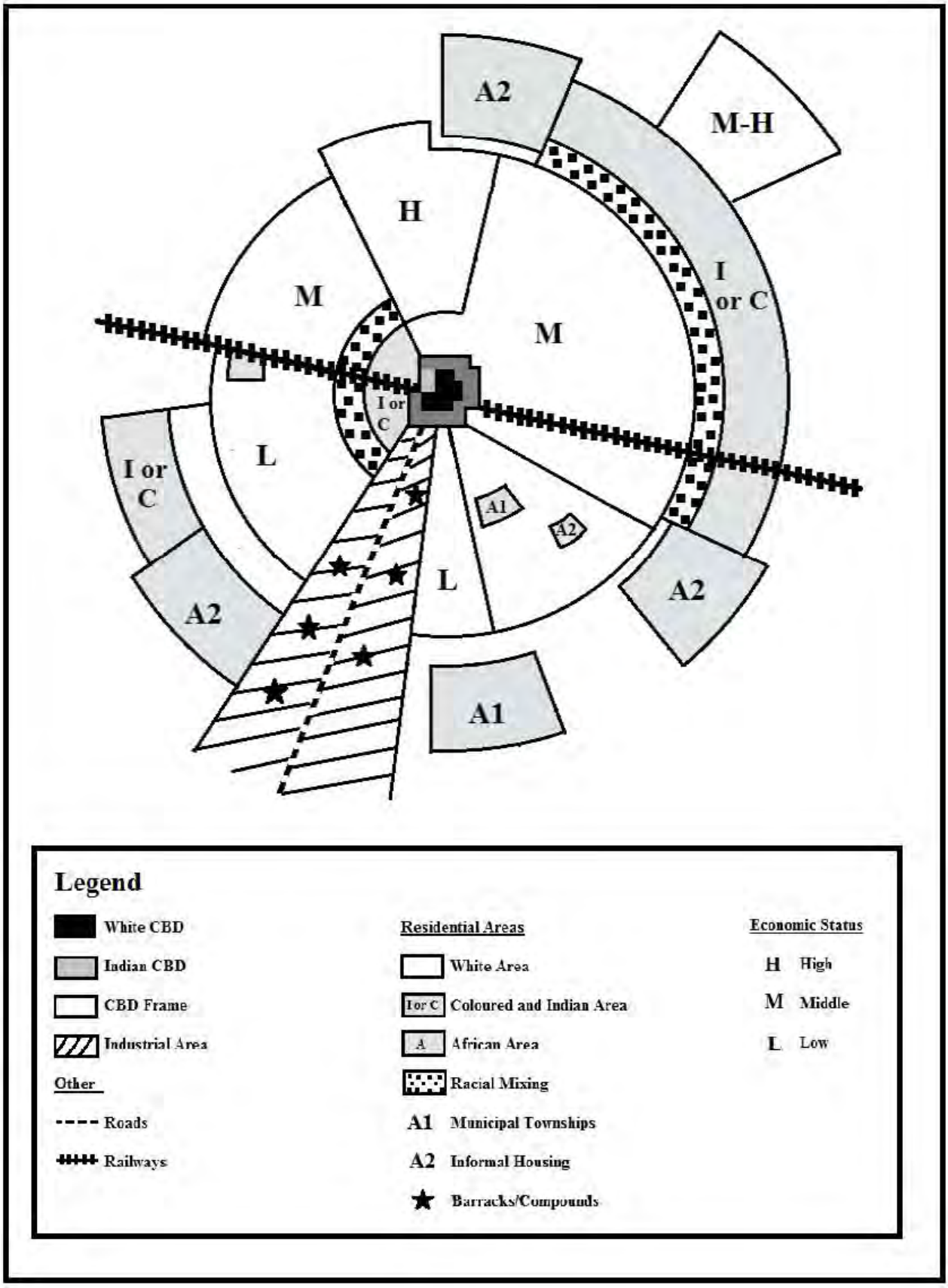

Figure 2.1: The Segregation City Model (Adapted from Davies, 1981: 64)

The Indian community was increasingly restricted throughout the period following Union (Christopher, 2001a: 37). In 1922, an ordinance was passed by the Natal Provincial Council and it allowed Asians to be banned from white suburbs (Christopher, 2001a: 37). Further legislation, intended to enforce similar ideas on a national scale, never came into play because of pressure from the Indian government in 1924 (Christopher, 2001a: 39). The Transvaal attempted to control Asian presence in the 1930s, acquisition of land was restricted, Indians moved into bazaars and the Housing Act was applied to them (Christopher, 2001a: 39). By the 1940s there were complaints about Indian presence in white residential areas in Durban and this resulted in the promulgation of two pieces of legislation: the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Act of 1943 and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946 (Christopher, 2001a: 39). Both Acts intended to confine Asian ownership and occupation property to designated areas in towns and did this through preventing inter-racial property transfers and creating a Land Tenure Advisory Board to permanently segregate white and Indian communities in towns (Christopher, 2001a: 39-40).

Davies (1981: 64) delimited the spatial consequences of these policies in his model of the segregation city (Figure 2.1). In terms of commercial space, there was a dominant white CBD (Central Business District), with an Indian or Chinese CBD on its periphery and the industrial areas were white-owned, but employed members of all race groups. Residential space was largely segregated on both a class and a race basis. The white areas formed the residential core and had a few suburban extensions. African, Indian, and coloured groups were generally housed in areas on the urban periphery. Alternatively, Indian and coloured, as well as Chinese, families were found in older, central residential enclaves. Africans could gain access to urban areas by living in barracks and compounds if they worked in the industrial zone or they were housed in residential areas as domestic workers. Despite this seemingly radical zoning, racial mixing did occur and can be seen in Figure 2.1 adjacent to the CDB frame and is a feature of Grahamstown at this time. This racial mixing reflects, in part, the existence of mixed marriages.

2.1.2.2 Local Authorities in Urban Areas

With increasing urban migration of both Africans and whites after the First World War the white municipal councils could not manage the needs of the African population (Cloete, 1986: 15). The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 ensured that in municipalities with large

numbers of African inhabitants an African Advisory Board was established (Cloete, 1986: 15). Members of the board were either elected by African residents or appointed by white authorities and they functioned to provide advice to the local authority on the subject of the administration of the African community (Cloete, 1986: 16). The Natives (Urban Areas) Act was repealed in 1945 when the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act was passed, but provision was made for the continuance of the African Advisory Boards (Cloete, 1986: 16). These had the same functions as the earlier boards, but coloured communities living in African locations were now eligible for election onto the boards (Cloete, 1986: 16). Indian and coloured communities were administered by the white municipal councils (Cloete, 1986: 18).

2.1.2.3 Segregation in the Workplace

During this era, labour was also affected by segregationist policy. First, the Mines and Works Acts of 1911 introduced a colour bar into industry (Worden, 2000: 83). This meant that certain jobs were reserved for members of specified races and was introduced to protect white workers. In accordance with this, the earning power of blacks was severely limited. Skilled trades were accessible to whites only from 1922 and the 1924 Industrial Conciliation Act created collective bargaining machinery that was reserved for white and coloured members of unions (Maylam, 2001: 150). The colour bar was further restricted by the 1926 Mines and Works Amendment Act (Maylam, 2001: 150). This amendment allowed government to introduce the colour bar within private industry (Worden, 2000: 84).

Related to this segregation in the workplace, was the different access to levels of education that made some individuals more employable than others. At the time of Union, white and black curricula were the same, however, many believed that Africans could not cope with the European curriculum (McKerron, 1934: 168). In fact, from about 1920 school curricula were racially differentiated (Maylam, 2001: 165).

What is important about the work environments created by these circumstances is that, while people of all races could work together, they were not equals in the working environment. There existed a relationship which perpetuated and deepened the racial divide and, quite conceivably, led to further social segregation.

2.1.2.4 Segregation in Institutions of Education

Education continued to be largely segregated during the segregation era in South Africa, including at the tertiary level (Maylam, 2001: 165). At the level of school education, by 1923, provincial government had separate administrative departments for African education (Maylam, 2001: 165). Government funding for white schools outweighed that of black schools (McKerron, 1934: 172).

The South African Native College (now Fort Hare) was established in 1915 as the first African higher education institution (McKerron, 1934: 169). The Sastri College for Indian students was started in Durban in 1930 (McKerron, 1934: 171). Hertzog's Pact Government came to power in 1924 and, in line with National Party policy at this time, they promoted racial segregation in universities (Maylam, 2005: 16). Segregation was not imposed on universities, however, and they were left to decide on their own policy in this regard (Maylam, 2005: 16). In the 1930s, the University of the Witwatersand (Wits) and the University of Cape Town (UCT) began to admit black students in limited numbers, but practised social segregation (Greyling, 2007: 14, 19). In 1937, in a poll among the students of UCT, opposition to black students' involvement in social activities was high (Greyling, 2007: 27). In fact, some parents were reluctant to send their children to UCT because of the presence of students of different races (Greyling, 2007: 27). The University of Natal admitted black students, but was still academically segregated as students of different races were educated on separate campuses (Greyling, 2007: 15).

2.1.2.5 Social Segregation

Social segregation was achieved in many ways. Obviously the residential, labour, and educational segregation of the era contributed to social segregation. At this time sport and recreation also became segregated, for instance, cinemas were racially segregated (Maylam, 2001: 165). The passing of the 1927 Immorality Act prohibited extra-marital relations between African and white individuals and further entrenched social segregation (Maylam, 2001: 151).

2.1.3 Apartheid and the Apartheid City

In 1946, the South African government appointed the Fagan Commission to investigate the laws relating to African mobility and settlement (Beavon, 1989: 73). In 1948, the Commission found that the migration of Africans to urban areas was a natural economic process that should not be interfered with and that the Native Reserves in rural areas had reached their carrying capacity (Beavon, 1989: 73). These findings were similar to those of the Young-Barret Committee of 1935 (Maylam, 1995: 65). However, by this time South Africa had experienced a political shift in the form of the election of the National Party (NP) into government and this meant that the Commission's recommendations fell on deaf ears (Beavon, 1989: 73). Instead, the NP chose to further the ideology of the Stallard Commission and, thus, the apartheid era commenced (Beavon, 1989: 73). This was the same view that was found within the 1947 Sauer Committee report which came to define NP policy regarding the 'colour question' (Pirie & Hart, 1985 in Maylam, 1995: 68).

As already mentioned in the introduction to this section there was a great degree of continuity between apartheid and its predecessors. Davies (1972: 801; 1981: 63) argues that the segregation city and apartheid city differ in the degree to which formal political control played a role in their formation. Building on the pre-existing form of the segregation city, the apartheid city's divisions were further entrenched through far-reaching state legislation and the widespread racism of individuals and authorities. While the segregation city was a product of pragmatism and compromise and both voluntary and legal segregation apartheid introduced an 'uncompromising framework of controls' (Davies, 1972: 801). Lester *et al.,* (2000: 182) describe the apartheid city as a more interventionist, inflexible and modernised version of the segregation city. As a result, segregation became far more radical in form and permeated almost every aspect of the everyday lives of individuals. The ideology behind apartheid saw racial difference in terms of conflict (Davies, 1981: 69). In essence, racial differences were seen as incompatible and a cause of friction, which could be reduced by limiting contact between the groups. Lester *et al.* (2000: 171) contend that the NP leadership were also convinced by theological ideology that held that race and ethnicity contained divinely-ordained essences.

Lester *et al.* (2000: 155-164) outline two reasons for the tightening of racial segregation during apartheid. First, the existing segregationist policies were unable to control and curb African urbanisation. This weakness was uncovered when, in 1946, over 100 000 Zulu

squatters, led by Jakes Mpanza, invaded unused land owned by mines in Johannesburg. In addition to this, pass laws were not extended to African women who were, therefore, able to urbanise. Second, formally-organised resistance developed, most notably the African mineworkers strike of 1946.

Key pieces of NP legislation included the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 (Boddy-Evans, 2010), which formed the foundation for segregation legislation. The former classified individual citizens according to the abstract and predetermined categories of race. This gave South Africa the status of the only country in the world to have legalised racial categorisation (Adam and Moodley, 1986: 15). The latter forced Africans to carry a pass ('dompass') with them at all times (Boddy-Evans, 2010). Passes were used to identify individuals and detailed their place of origin, police record, and employment history. Failure to produce one's pass on request was a criminal offence. In essence, the 'Pass Law' allowed the government to monitor individuals' movements and helped to enforce further segregation legislation. Beavon (1989: 73) notes that one of this Act's provisions limited the presence of Africans in urban areas to 72 hours unless they possessed special permission. Between 1916 and 1984, the breaking of pass laws and influx control regulations resulted in the arrest of almost 18 million Africans (Savage, 1986: 181).

2.1.3.1 Segregation of City Space

The segregation of space occurred both within and between urban and rural areas. Within urban areas, the Group Areas Act of 1950 enforced racial residential segregation, the Bantu Education Act (1953) and Extension of University Education Act (1959) compounded the idea of segregated schools and universities, and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) segregated amenities such as benches, golf courses, beaches, public open spaces, swimming pools, movie theatres, restaurants, transport and parks (Christopher, 2001a: 142). Two people of different races could not share a meal in a restaurant without securing a permit to do so (Christopher, 2001a: 142). Transport was segregated with separate sections of trains for different race groups and train stations had segregated platforms, ticket offices and waiting rooms (Christopher, 2001a: 148). At first, buses had separate sections for different races, but by the 1960s there were totally separate buses for each race group (Pirie, 1990 in

Christopher, 2001a: 148). In addition, canteens, toilets, change rooms and recreation facilities in individual workplaces were segregated during this period (Crankshaw, 1996: 655).

The Land Tenure Advisory Board (later the Group Areas Board) was responsible for the design of apartheid cities, but the administrative systems intended to concretise these plans were only put into place after the Group Areas Development Act (1955) was passed (Christopher, 2001a: 103). In addition, the Group Areas Act (1950) was supported by various acts that allowed the state to conduct forced removals and these included the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1951), the Natives Resettlement Act (1954), the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956 (Boddy-Evans, 2010) and the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 (Thompson, 1990: 199). Sophiatown in Johannesburg and District 6 in Cape Town are famous examples of forced removals of blacks from mixed-race residential areas (Lester *et al.,* 2000: 180-181). Forced removals involved the seizure of property by the state, demolition of houses and the resettlement of residents to new locations (Lester *et al.,* 2000: 181). The Surplus People Project estimated that between 1960 and 1983 more than 3.5 million individuals were forcibly removed in South Africa (Thompson, 1990: 194). This figure includes forced removals within urban and rural areas.

The increase of segregation is displayed in Table 2.1, where segregation indices for all race groups increased over time from the segregation era to the late apartheid era. These show the evenness of distribution of a population group across various units, in this case the distribution of race groups across the residential areas within Port Elizabeth. The values calculated fall between zero and one hundred representing complete integration and complete segregation, respectively. These figures provided for 1970 tally with Davies' (1972: 802) claim that by 1970 total residential segregation was very nearly achieved.

Table 2.1: Segregation Indices for Port Elizabeth, 1911-1985 (Adapted from Christopher, 1989: 257)

Index	1911	1921	1936	1951	1960	1970	1985
white	57.67	61.25	72.13	78.61	88.90	94.11	97.32
coloured	56.16	48.67	56.10	68.02	83.85	91.68	95.97
Asian		47.82	57.01	61.35	75.42	83.40	88.29
African	71.81	73.58	72.08	75.25	87.80	92.43	96.08

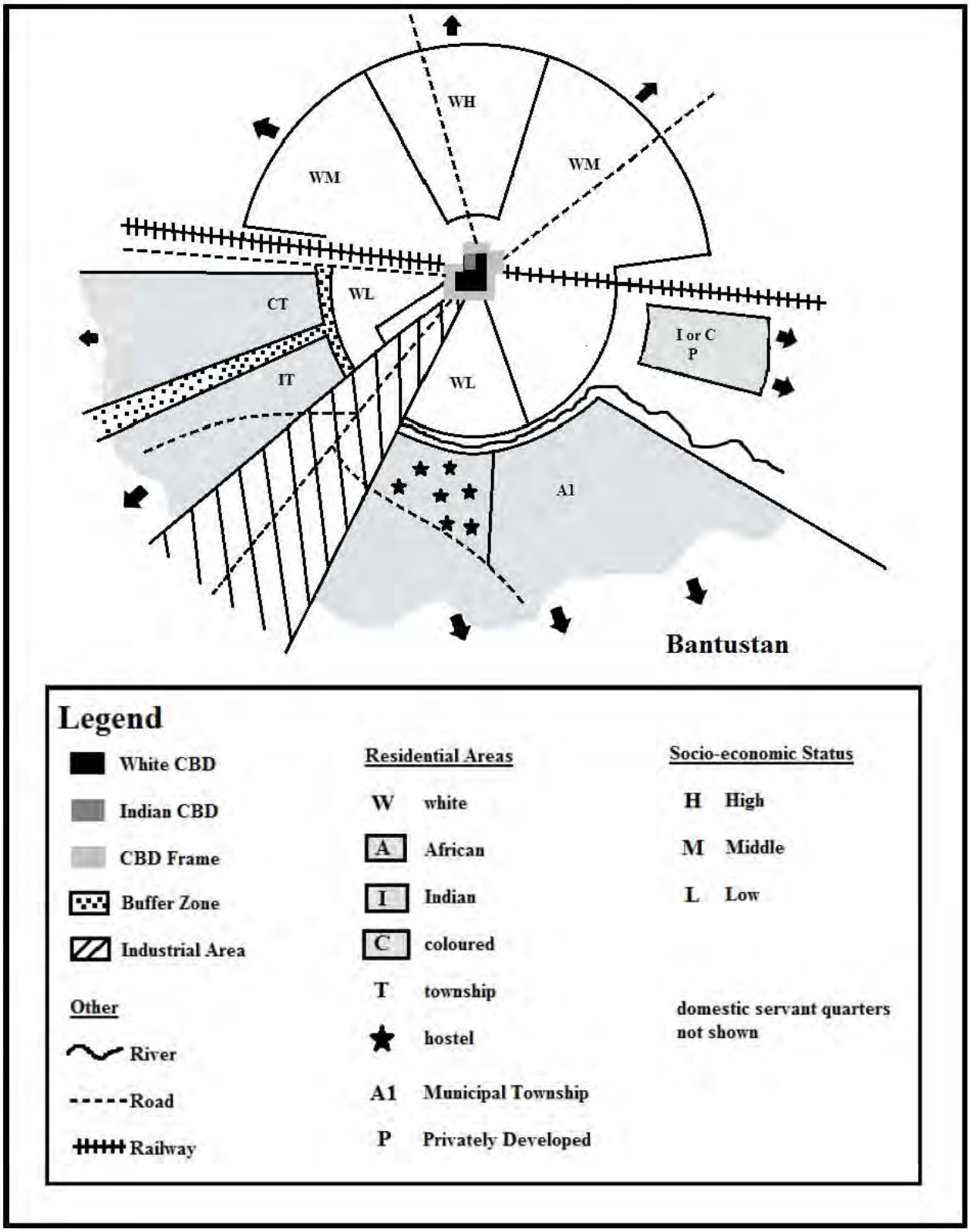

Figure 2.2: The Apartheid City Model (Adapted from Davies, 1981)

This legislation and, in particular, the Group Areas Act resulted in the creation of the apartheid city, which has been modelled by Davies and others. Extreme racial zoning is definitive of the apartheid city and is what sets it apart from the, otherwise similar, Western capitalist city model (Davies, 1981: 62). Jurgens, Gnad and Bahr (2003: 56) argue that this model departs from that of the Chicago School, which produced a dominant theory of city form and structure and argued that demographic and ethnic segregation and invasion and succession are based on the free choice of individuals. Only white individuals in apartheid South Africa had this freedom (Jürgens, Gnad and Bähr, 2003: 56). The apartheid city model, Figure 2.2, segregated race groups into distinct residential areas and divided these by use of buffer zones: railway lines, open land, highways, physical distance, natural landforms or industrial areas. Part of the design ensured that direct access was available from group areas and townships to places of work so that, even in their daily commute, races did not mix (Davies, 1981: 69). Another element of the design aligned expansion of the African residential areas to nearby Bantustans or Homelands, where they existed, so that the creation of islands of isolation was avoided (Davies, 1972: 804).

The CBD was zoned as part of the white group area (Christopher, 2001a: 104). Work areas were multi-racial in terms of employment, but purchase of property and establishment of businesses in these areas was racially zoned (Davies, 1981: 69). The apartheid city model intended to create a 'proportionally divided sectoral design' allowing for equitable access to the CBD and industrial areas, however, in practice this did not occur (Davies, 1981: 69-70). African locations were usually developed on the urban periphery where land was relatively inexpensive and this meant that high transport costs and lengthy travel times occurred (Davies, 1981: 70). The presence of domestic servants residing in white group areas is not shown in the model (Christopher, 2001a: 105).

It is important to note that group areas divisions were not complete in many small centres like Grahamstown which forms the case study of this dissertation. In small urban settlements, minority groups of Indians or coloureds were often considered too insignificant to necessitate the proclamation of a group area for them (Lemon, 1991a: 11).

2.1.3.2 Temporal Segregation

At this point it is pertinent to mention that there is a temporal aspect to this model that was ignored by Davies and other scholars. Daily curfews existed for African individuals who lived in the locations. For instance, Mayer (1971: 44) reports that in East London no resident from the location was allowed within the white part of town between 11pm and 5am without a special pass. In addition, as part of the influx control of Africa individuals into urban areas, pass laws controlled the length of time a non-permanent resident could reside in town (Mayer, 1971). This relates to the conception of African individuals as alien in the urban context and the idea that their presence in town was only justified if they formed part of the largely unskilled labour force. 'Permanent residents' were defined by either having lived in the urban area all their life, having been employed at one place of work in town for 10 consecutive years or 15 consecutive years at multiple workplaces (Mayer, 1971: 57). However, this status could be revoked if a person was convicted of an offence, remained consistently unemployed or left town for a long period of time (Mayer, 1971: 57). Temporary residential permits included work-seeking permits which lasted for a length of 14 days and only when a person found work was their residence in town endorsed for as long as they remained at that employer (Mayer, 1971: 57). A temporary visitor's permit was valid for only 72 hours (Mayer, 1971: 58). Those without valid permits faced arrest and had to conceal themselves during raids (Mayer, 1971: 58). This is related to the time-geographical approach that is introduced in Chapter 3 and forms part of the temporal constraints that are placed on individual's movements.

2.1.3.3 Urban-Rural Segregation

The creation of homelands or Bantustans complemented the developments in the cities of South Africa, supporting the idea that Africans should have no permanent presence in urban areas. Butler (2004: 31) remarks that "Africans were systematically 'retribalized', stripped of South African citizenship, their civil and political rights trampled in accordance with the ambitions of the architects of the Bantustans". The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 set up African ethnic homelands in rural areas with their own regional authorities (Boddy-Evans, 2010) and this resulted in the segregation of space between urban and rural areas. Following this, the Bantu Homelands Citizen Act of 1970 removed the South African citizenship of African individuals and gave them citizenship in their ethnic 'homeland' (Boddy-Evans, 2010). Butler (2004: 20) reports that between 1960 and 1989 there were 3.5 million forced

removals on the basis of ethnicity. In other words, those forcibly removed were found to be the incorrect ethnicity for the area in which they resided. Together with this act, the Native Laws Amendment Act (1952), sought to curb African urbanisation (Boddy-Evans, 2010). An example of the results of this legislation is the development of Mdantsane, outside of East London (Nel, 1991). This township was developed in 1963 on a piece of farmland which was cleverly situated within the Ciskei, a homeland, but within such proximity to East London as to provide African labour to the city. Within 14 years Mdantsane had a larger population than that of East London. Such 'dormitory townships' provided labour for urban areas (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.), but removed African presence from urban areas on a temporal basis.

2.1.3.4 Segregation in Education Institutions

As mentioned above, the Bantu Education Act (1953) and Extension of University Education Act (1959) played a role in racially segregating education. In terms of school-level education, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2008: 37) state that apartheid "systematically reinforced decades of racially and geographically segregated and financially segregated and financially neglected schooling". The Native Education Act of 1954 designated African schooling under the control of the Department of Native Affairs (Christopher, 2001a: 149). Indian and coloured schools were provided by government and between 1984 and 1994 these came under the administration of Indian and Coloured houses of the Tricameral parliament respectively (Christopher, 2001a: 150). In some centres Chinese schools were established (Christopher, 2001a: 150). In cities, the schools for each race group fell within the designated group area for that group (Christopher, 2001a: 151). Only private or independent schools did not fall under the complete control of the government and government legislation, but these remained largely segregated in order to garner the recognition and accreditation they needed from the state (Christopher, 2001a: 150). Interestingly, the independent schools have been able to admit black students since 1972 (Lemon, 2004: 279). Christopher (2001a: 150), however, argues that it was only in the 1980s that they started to desegregate (Christopher, 2001a: 150).

The education provided by the state for African children in particular was inferior to that of white learners (South African History Online, n.d.: 4). There was also a shortage in the provision of schools for the African community (South African History Online, n.d.: 4). The

government subsidies given to African schools were also lower than those of other race groups (South African History Online, n.d.: 4). As a result of all of these factors the education levels of African students were poor (South African History Online, n.d.: 4). In addition, the number of African children in school was low (South African History Online, n.d.: 4). Teaching staff in black schools were often under-qualified and learner-teacher ratios were high (Thornton & Byrnes, 1996).

In terms of tertiary education, the Extension of University Education Act (1959) established separate universities for each race group and different ethnic groups (Christopher, 2001a: 150). In terms of South Africa's universities, this marked the introduction of the first state legislation enforcing segregation (Maylam, 2005: 17). Fort Hare, the only pre-existing black university, was taken over by the government as an institution for the Xhosa ethnic group (Christopher, 2001a: 150). Black students were only admitted to white universities on special request to the government and only for a course that was not offered at their designated racial university (Greyling, 2007: 123). UNISA (University of South Africa), as a correspondence institution, was able to admit students of all races (Christopher, 2001a: 150).

In 1972 only two percent of students at universities were registered at an institution other than that designated to them through racial classification (Christopher, 2001a: 150). In the 1970s, however, national policy began to ease up with regard to the admission of black students to white universities (Greyling, 2007: 123). By 1977, there were over 2000 black students registered at white universities and by the following year only the University of Pretoria had declined to admit black students (Greyling, 2007: 123). In 1985, the system of racial segregation in universities was abolished (Christopher, 2001a: 150).

The OECD (2008: 37) argues that the government reforms in education that occurred in the 1970s in South Africa were a case of too little too late. The damage had been done. Schools and universities, for those who were not part of the privileged white minority, had inadequate infrastructure, unqualified educators, high educator-learner ratios and a biased curriculum which resulted in under-education (OECD, 2008: 37). According to Lemon (2004: 270), in 1994 the South African state funding for white school pupils was almost four times that given to their African counterparts.

2.1.3.5 Segregation in the Workplace and Business

The Natives Building Workers Act (1951), the Job Reservation Act of 1954, the Industrial Conciliations Acts of 1956 and 1959 allowed for job reservation for certain race groups (Lester *et al.,* 2000: 181; Urban Development Timeline, n.d.). As a result, white individuals, in particular, received favourable, skilled positions. Within the racial hierarchy in the workplace Indians, coloureds and then Africans were ordered from top to bottom (Adam & Moodley, 1986: 176). Related to this was a high gross income disparity between the race groups. In addition, Adam & Moodley (1986: 177) argue that these divisions in the workplace encouraged resentment between race groups and reinforced the social divisions that already existed. Furthermore, the drawing of the Eiselen Line in 1955 set up a coloured labour preference area in the western Cape region (Christopher, 2001a: 121). It was then extended further east within the Cape Province and became known as the Coloured Labour Preference Area (Christopher, 2001a: 121). This meant that job reservation for coloureds in this area was enforced and Africans could only be employed in the region if no coloureds met the job criteria or were available (Christopher, 2001a: 121).

Crankshaw (1996: 655) shows that by 1990 Africans were still employed to an extremely limited extent in managerial and professional occupations. However, there was 'extensive advancement' of Africans into semi-professional (mainly teachers and nurses) and routine white-collar employment (Crankshaw, 1996: 655). However, the employment of Africans in skilled trades was still low and to a large extent Africans were still employed in the least skilled and worst paid occupations (Crankshaw, 1996: 356). In all, the racial hierarchy in occupations was maintained as late as 1990 (Crankshaw, 1996: 356).

Despite no formal legislation preventing it, white universities did not make a habit of employing black individuals to lecturing positions till the 1970s. Even then, they remained a small minority. There was no law against white universities employing black lecturers, however, the government made it clear that this was not acceptable practice (Greyling, 2007: 91). Ironically, academic staff at black universities were, for the most part, white (Christopher, 2001a: 150). In 1968, UCT had attempted to appoint a black individual to the position of senior lecturer and the government had responded by threatening the introduction of a colour bar on teaching staff at white universities (Greyling, 2007: 91). It was only in the 1970s that black permanent lecturing staff were appointed to positions in white universities

(Greyling, 2007: 123). Black teachers were not allowed to teach in white schools, however, in schools reserved for black education, white teachers were not unheard of.

Furthermore, restrictions were placed on business ownership to certain race groups and this was related not only where to trade, but in what and with whom. As seen in the apartheid city model (Figure 2.2), the white and Indian trading areas within the CBD continued to be spatially segregated (Davies & Rajah, 1965). In addition to this, African urban business ownership was severely limited and they were disallowed from trading within the CBD. African business owners were restricted to one trading site per enterprise and these had to be established within the township in which they were resident (Adam & Moodley, 1986: 175). In other words, Africans were only allowed to trade with Africans. Furthermore, business owners had to manage their own stores and the goods they were allowed to stock were limited to specified essentials (Adam & Moodley, 1986: 175). African entrepreneurs were also often unable to expand their businesses because of land ownership restrictions, a lack of capital and little collateral (Adam & Moodley, 1986: 175). This accounts for the lack of major shops and shopping centres in most townships even today. Adam & Moodley (1986: 175) comment that even after CBDs were opened to African traders, this made little difference to their opportunities because there had been a decentralisation of many businesses in major centres by this time and high rental costs acted as a deterrent.

2.1.3.6 Social Segregation

Lemon (1991a: 9) aptly calls apartheid a 'world of strangers'. All of the above-mentioned acts have social as well as spatial effects. Using these pieces of legislation, the Government attempted to control the social interactions between race groups. People of different races could not be neighbours, attend the same education institutions, and could not interact easily within public space. Later sections will examine how this has or has not changed. This promoted social divisions – 'us' and 'them'. Two pieces of legislation specifically enforced social segregation. First, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) disallowed inter-racial marriage (Boddy-Evans, 2010). Second, the Immorality Amendment Act (1950) declared extra-marital sexual relationships between white and black individuals to be illegal (Boddy-Evans, 2010).

Individuals' everyday experiences of social segregation within urban areas during the apartheid era form an important foundation to this study and these experiences will now be discussed. A quote from Bank (2011: 31) sums up these urban experiences:

> [apartheid] transformed the place into a 'complex and dense' settlement of a variety of socio-spatial communities, with different settlement histories, dynamics and trajectories, all displaying a slightly different level of access to urban infrastructure, social services and livelihood opportunities…

The quote highlights the spatial divisions, social fractures, economic inequalities, and differential access to services and infrastructure. The work of Mayer, *Tribesmen or Townsmen*, first published in 1961, is an anthropological study of Xhosa in the Eastern Cape and East London during the height of apartheid. Although it is not the work's primary aim, it provides a good account of the everyday lives of people living in urban areas during this period. Mayer (1971: 43) states that "segregation drastically limits the effectiveness of East London as a milieu for culture contact". Social integration was limited, to the extent that Mayer (1971: 44) argues that even those working as 'live-in' domestic workers in white residential areas saw the location community as the context of their personal ties, including: kinship, marriage and friendship. The fact that no white person could enter a location without a permit (Mayer, 1971: 44) meant that cross-community ties were further minimised. In addition, Mayer (1971: 43) explains that no common associations existed between African and white residents of East London. There were no multi-racial churches or schools and since inter-racial marriage was outlawed there were no kinship bonds (Mayer, 1971: 44). He describes inter-racial social mixing as 'customarily discouraged' (Mayer, 1971: 44).

One of Mayer's (1971: 64-65) Xhosa interviewees expresses the African experience of East London:

> Here the laws erect barriers for us on every hand. There are laws that forbid us to send our children to the schools we might prefer: laws that confine us to places which we do not like, and which perhaps are detrimental to our health: laws which prevent us from prospering like other nations e.g. in trade and commerce: laws that control our choice of residence.

Mayer (1971: 2) adds that "[i]n the White world the Black man can hardly act but as the employee of a White employer or the subject of White authorities". He explains that when African and white individuals did interact they acted as in opposite roles (Mayer, 1971: 2). Mayer (1971: 43) elaborates:

> One can think of two linked unequal towns, the White town owning and controlling the Black one, which it has called into being largely for its own convenience. Except for the narrowly limited relations of employment and administration – which are intrinsically unequal, and foster a sense of opposed rather than common interests – each half lives mainly in and for itself.

2.1.3.7 The Economic Inequalities of the Apartheid System

At this point, it is important to explore the economics of apartheid in South Africa as it seems to be an important factor in the slow rate of integration within the post-apartheid era. By 1946, the white minority held nearly three-quarters of the personal income in South Africa (Adam and Giliomee, 1979 in Christopher, 2001a: 2). Christopher (2001a: 2) explains that this disparity only started to change around the 1980s, but by 1999, five years into the post-apartheid era, the white minority (of around 10% of the total population) still controlled 40% of personal income. Brookfield & Tatham (1957: 49) show that, in Durban in the early 1950s, the per capita income of each race group was very different. Whites earned vastly more than the other race groups. Coloured, Indian and African incomes were then ordered from higher to lowest. Crankshaw (1996: 645) notes that even when individuals of different races were employed in the same jobs, for instance in teaching, a racial hierarchy existed in remuneration up until the late 1970s. These differences correspond with Brookfield & Tatham's (1957: 48) description of the whites in Durban: "[e]conomically and politically privileged, they occupy the more favoured areas, dominate the commercial and industrial activities, control the administration, and set the cultural standards to which most ambitious non-Europeans aspire". Davies (1981: 59-70) provides a further discussion of the economics of segregation. He explains that class and race coincided within the system of segregation and that class differences served to increase social distance. He contends that, along with all the social effects of segregation, the apartheid city served to 'predispose a large fraction of the African population to positions of continuing sub-servience and un[d]er-development' (Davies, 1981: 71).

Land seizure by white settlers and the colonial government meant Africans were deprived of land and 'native reserves' housed the majority of the population on a small fraction of the total land area. Further dispossession of property due to forced removals affected all black groups. In addition, industrial legislation favoured white labourers through the protection of white jobs, higher wages for white labour and the prohibition of African labour unions. Control over African migration and urbanisation and restricted access to education, training and other services severely limited work opportunities for Africans (Davies, 1981). Legal restrictions on business ownership for all black groups, especially Africans, also affected their economic strength.

This economic oppression meant that standards of living differed greatly, especially between white and African communities. Townships were isolated from the economy and society in South Africa during apartheid (CoGTA, 2009: 6). They were characterised by racial segregation, exclusion and a poor provision of services and economic opportunities (CoGTA, 2009: 6). Mayer (1971: 45) describes the situation for African families in the locations of East London where overcrowding, poor housing and slum conditions characterised the settlements of municipal provision. In fact, African individuals did not even enjoy freehold rights to the land they occupied in urban locations (Mayer, 1971: 46). Municipal authorities reserved the right to change the location boundaries or move the entire location at any time (Mayer, 1971: 46). In addition, there were great inequalities in terms of public services, facilities and infrastructure (Thompson, 1990: 200-201). Mayer (1971:47) describes the location environment as being predominantly without waterborne sanitation, without electrical lighting inside homes, with few street lights and streets being mostly unpaved. This was in complete contrast to white suburbia. White families, through the effects of favourable economic circumstances, could afford a comfortable life and for those that could not afford these lifestyles, the government had sympathy and support for them that far outweighed that for individuals of other races.

2.1.3.8 Local Authorities in Urban Areas

During the apartheid era, and connected to the different group areas and townships established within urban areas, there existed the intention to established separate, self-sufficient local authorities for each race group (Cloete, 1986: 16). This was promoted by the pre-existing Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 and the Group Areas Acts of

1950, 1957 and 1966 (Cloete, 1986: 16). The Urban Black Councils Act of 1961 established Urban African Councils, which would replace the Native Advisory Boards (Cloete, 1986: 16). These councils would be made up of more than six members who would be elected by the local African community (Cloete, 1986: 16). These councils were still, however, under the control of the white municipal authorities (Cloete, 1986: 16). The African Affairs Administration Act of 1971 established Administration Boards to take on the provision of services to African townships from 1973 onwards (Cloete, 1986: 16). Fourteen Administration Boards were established throughout South Africa. Each of these boards administered an area within which a number of African townships were located and Urban African Councils could be established to represent each of these townships (Cloete, 1986: 17). These boards were funded through rents, levies on employers and liquor monopolies within townships (Lemon, 1991a: 18). The Community Councils Act of 1977 established African Community Councils for each African township and these were able to take over some of the responsibilities of Administration Boards (Cloete, 1986: 17). Maylam (1995: 82) notes, however, that the division of power between the two authorities was uncertain.

The African Local Authorities Act of 1982 was enacted with the intention of creating independent municipal authorities for each African township (Cloete, 1986: 17). Community Councils were not, however, replaced in this new system (Maylam, 1995: 83). The new authorities were made up of elected members (Cloete, 1986: 17). The powers and functions of the Administration Boards were gradually handed over to these authorities (Cloete, 1986: 17). While the powers of these new authorities had larger scope they were still subject to central government (Maylam, 1995: 83). The African Communities Development Act of 1984 enabled the transformation of Administration Boards into Development Boards, which would work together with Community Councils to build the parallel municipal authorities to those of the white population (Cloete, 1986: 17). In Grahamstown, dual authorities in the city resulted in it having the dual name ‘Grahamstown’ and ‘Rhini’. These African local authorities lacked legitimacy among their communities (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.). In the 1980s the police and military became increasingly involved in the management of African townships (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.).

For coloured and Indian communities, which were formerly administered by white authorities, the Group Areas Act of 1950 allowed for the creation of governing bodies for these communities in urban areas (Cloete, 1986: 18). The amendment to the Group Areas Act

of 1957 which occurred in 1962 created consultative or management committees to advise the white municipal councils, which still acted as the service providers for the coloured and Indian communities (Cloete, 1986: 18). Some powers could be delegated to the management committees, which subsequently had more power than consultative committees (Cloete, 1986: 18). These management committees could, in time, be replaced by independent municipal councils (Cloete, 1986: 18). After 1962 some of these committees in South Africa transformed into independent municipal councils, parallel to those for white urban areas (Cloete, 1986: 18). In 1984, a new national constitution was adopted and this split parliament into three racially-based constituent bodies (Worger, 1996). These were the House of Assembly (white), the House of Representatives (coloured) and the House of Delegates (Indian) (Worger, 1996). These Houses had power over the 'own affairs' of their communities and these powers included: health, education and housing (South African History Online, n.d. 5). However, the new constituents of Parliament were rejected by the majority of blacks as illegitimate as the coloured and Indian houses had limited power and the white minority was still in control (Worger, 1996). In addition, Africans were left unrepresented (South African History Online, n.d. 5).

In essence, the discussion of the history of local authorities in South Africa reveals that the black population was treated in a paternalistic manner. All the councils and committees existed to 'train' the various black communities for self-governance while limiting their power during this process. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the question of their legitimacy arose amongst the communities they represented. In addition to this issue, there existed a multitude of different authorities in charge of what appeared to be a single urban area or region. Urban planning, therefore, lacked a unified approach and vision. In addition, the task of African housing provision in urban areas was assumed by the central government and not local government (Urban Development Timeline, n.d.). This meant that planning was also occurring at multiple levels of government. Furthermore, conflict over the implementation of policy occurred between the levels of government (Urban Development Timeline, n.d).

2.1.4 The Late Apartheid City: the beginning of the 'end' to segregation

Adam & Moodley (1986: 9) argue that by the 1980s the racial policies of the apartheid era were beginning to be dismantled and reforms were underway. The Riekert Commission was established in 1977 and eventually recommended that the idea that Africans had no place in

urban areas was defunct (Beavon, 2004: 199). As a result, the 1986 White Paper on Urbanisation was drawn up and Africans individuals who were living in urban areas were granted permanent residence (Mabin & Smit, 1997: 212). Of course this recommendation echoed those of the Fagan Commission nearly 30 years before, which were ignored by the apartheid government (Beavon, 2004: 199). Other changes included the fact that leasehold and freehold rights for Africans were recognised outside of the bantustans (Adam & Moodley, 1986: 11). The Coloured Labour Preference Area was repealed in 1983 (Adam & Moodley, 1986: 11). Furthermore, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act were repealed in 1985, allowing for people of different racial groupings from cohabiting (Christopher, 2001a: 135). Despite this change in legislation, the Group Areas Act still largely prevented people of different races to cohabit (Christopher, 2001a: 135). Cohabitation could only be achieved through the racial reclassification of one of the partners (Christopher, 2001a: 135). The pass system was abolished in 1986 (Christopher, 2001a: 52).

In addition, the process of the 'greying' or racial integration of white group areas also began around this time. Beavon (2004: 213) argues that in the case of Johannesburg this greying was due to the ideological changes in South Africa after the Soweto Uprising in 1976, the economic slump the country found itself in and the movement of a large group of Indian and coloured individuals to Johannesburg at the same time. These individuals were employed in the centre of Johannesburg far from the coloured and Indian group areas, which were already experiencing housing shortages (Beavon, 2004: 213-214). As a result many of these individuals moved into the whites-only areas of Hillbrow and Mayfair as landlords in these areas had trouble renting properties during the economic slump of the 1970s in South Africa (Beavon, 2004: 216). At first, the government did not intervene in this process, but by 1979 they were charging and convicting people based on the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Beavon, 2004: 217). The Govender case in 1982 was a landmark in this regard. Govender had been charged and convicted for living in Mayfair, but on appeal the judge overruled the judgement on the grounds that the government could not provide her with alternative accommodation (Beavon, 2004: 218-219). Alternative accommodation was rarely available and, therefore, evictions nearly ceased (Christopher, 2001a: 132). Despite these changes, Christopher (1991: 50) reports that in 1988 in Port Elizabeth only 3.8% of people lived outside of their designated group area. This figure is distorted by fact that domestic workers lived on white

properties and multiracial prisons and hospitals fell within white group areas (Christopher, 1991: 50).

In 1984 the Group Areas Act was amended to allow for mixed-race business areas and these became known as free trade areas, allowing for freer enterprise (Simon, 1989: 194). In addition to the greying of the CBD, Christopher (2001a: 133-134) explains the establishment of free settlement areas in 1988 with the Free Settlement Areas Act. This Act was the government's response to the greying process, which they viewed as undesirable. In essence, it meant the establishment of areas where anyone of any race could reside. Only 14 free settlement areas were established before 1991 when political reform occurred and the Free Settlement Areas Board stop functioning. Various proposals were put forward to apply the Act. In some cities it was proposed that the entire city area become a free settlement area. In others it was suggested that new suburbs were created and Christopher (2001a: 134) asserts that these plans assumed that "'grey' represented another 'colour' on the group areas map'. Many of the plans that were approved took this form, with free settlement areas developed in the urban periphery allowing for the voluntary residential integration of communities residing in them. Mabin and Smit (1997: 213) note that it was the middle and upper income black people that started to enter white areas in general, while the rest remained in townships and their group areas. Other residential changes included the granting of leasehold rights for Africans from the late 1970s onwards, which meant that they could own their houses and not their land (Smith, 1982 in Simon, 1989: 198). In mid-1986, freehold rights were fully awarded to Africans (Simon, 1989: 198).

Amenities were beginning to become desegregated in the 1980s. In 1985, cinemas and drive in cinemas in CBDs were desegregated (Simon, 1989: 195). Many cities had desegregated beaches, public swimming pools and busses around 1986 (Simon, 1989: 195). At the same time race-based restrictions on hotels, restaurants and accommodation businesses were repealed with the amendment to the 1977 Liquor Act (Simon, 1989: 195).

The late apartheid city model (Figure 2.3) shows the changes to the apartheid city during this period. There were free trade areas in the CBD and free settlement residential areas that were free from the race-based restrictions (Simon, 1989: 193). Suburban shopping centres had begun to crop up as a form of decentralisation of business (Simon, 1989: 193). Black residential areas had begun to diversify in terms of the types of housing (Simon, 1989: 193).

In African townships, site and service housing schemes and squatting were evident on the urban periphery (Simon, 1989: 193).

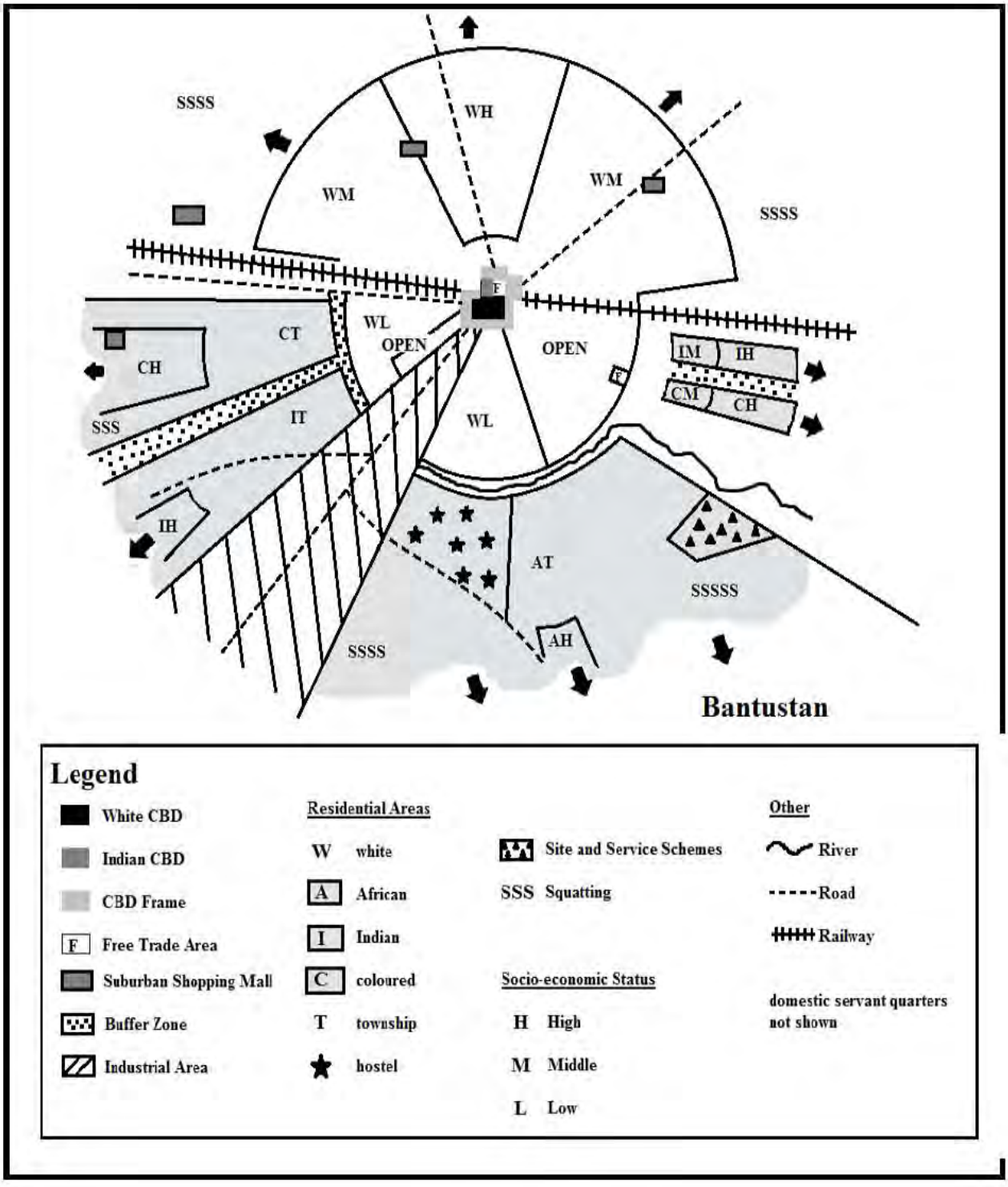

Figure 2.3: The Late Apartheid City Model (Adapted from Simon, 1989)

During this period, the Regional Service Councils Act of 1985 was passed and established RSCs or Regional Service Councils (Simon, 1989: 201). These were managed by representatives of primary local authorities that were racially exclusive and management boards within the boundaries of the RSCs (Simon, 1989: 201). In other words, RSCs were regional bodies under which others fell and local government had two tiers (Simon, 1989: 201). They were intended to redistribute funds (through cross-subsidisation) for the upgrading of infrastructure and services in black areas (Simon, 1989: 201). Simon (1989: 202) argues that RSCs were rejected by conservative whites who felt the system took away their power, capitalists who were heavily taxed, and by political liberals the who found fault in the continued racial exclusivity of local authorities and the lack of coherence in RSC strategy.

Under the pressure of the opposition generated over many centuries, the apartheid regime gave way in the late 1980s. The leader of the NP at this time was FW De Klerk, who proved to be relatively liberal and open to negotiation (Butler, 2004: 23). As a result, in 1991, CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) was formed, comprising of eighteen political groups (Butler, 2004: 25). This group had the goal of an undivided South Africa and had the job of creating the country's first colour-blind Bill of Rights (Butler, 2004: 25). This paved the way to a successful political transition.

2.1.5 Conclusion

This section sought to illustrate the history of racial segregation in South Africa from the colonial era through to the period of apartheid. From the arrival of the initial European settler communities what is evident is that perceived racial groupings were used to segregate and fragment the people of South Africa both socially and spatially. This segregation was gradually entrenched in urban areas over the centuries and climaxed during the apartheid era. Just before the political transition in the early 1990s, and despite some positive change in the form of 'greying', South African society was in a state of extreme racial segregation.

Importantly, the discussion above has shown that segregation in South Africa took on many different forms and affected the everyday lives of people of different races. Most important, in terms of this study, were the many forms of spatial segregation, for example: in residential neighbourhoods, in education institutions, in public and private spaces, and even between rural and urban space. The temporal dimension of spatial segregation, enforced through pass laws and curfews, is also clear. Social segregation, which has been linked to spatial

segregation in this discussion, also existed between the different race groups in South Africa. The result was that the activities which formed part of the everyday lives of the individuals of different race groups within South Africa were limited in their spatial and temporal dimensions. Movement and activity, in time and space, was restricted by legislation and by the many social, economic and political divisions in existence. In essence, the lived space of the urban landscape was not shared space.

2.2 Racial Integration and Integration-related Policies

With the repeal of apartheid legislation, the legal and political barriers to racial integration were removed. South Africa experienced a political transition in the early 1990s. In essence, this was an ideological change that would see policies change from racial segregation to racial integration. In 1991 the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act was passed and this meant that residential segregation and the 1913 Land Act were no longer legally enforced (Christopher, 2005a: 2305). In addition, the Population Registration Act was repealed in the same year, which meant an end to racial classification (Worger, 1996). Following this, South Africa made the transition into a period of democracy, holding its first fully democratic elections in 1994. Related to this change, a progressive constitution was adopted in 1996. It served to guide the country into the era of integration. The Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 2009) is of particular interest in understanding the ideological transition that took place. Most important of these principles in terms of this change is the principle of equality. Each citizen in the country is now seen as equal in the eyes of the law and has the right not to be unfairly discriminated against in any manner. This is important because it eliminates racial inequalities and discrimination from the political, legislative and administrative structures in South Africa. Integration is also promoted through the freedom of association; the freedom of movement and residence; and the freedom of trade, occupation and profession; the freedom to own property and the right not to be deprived of it unlawfully; the right to housing, including the right not to be unjustly evicted; the right to education, which does not discriminate racially; and every citizen has equal labour relations rights. These rights and freedoms directly contradict the legislation of segregation. However, Freund (2010: 288) argues that the constitution was a result of race and class compromise and that, as a result, South Africa has experienced "*adaptability* and *change* by accretion rather than a dramatic shift".

It would also be fair to say that the ideology of integration has captured the popular imagination to a great extent. The humanist philosophy of *ubuntu*, meaning 'I am because we

are and because we are I am' or 'a person is a person through other persons', is a traditional African philosophy guiding the interactions between individuals and community. The philosophy has been invoked in many political speeches and is used to call for the unity of all peoples and integration within South Africa. Desmond Tutu's 'Rainbow Nation' ideology supports these same ideas and has come to be associated with the 'New' South Africa.

The ideology of integration has permeated the sphere of dominant political discourse within South Africa. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), adopted early in the post-apartheid era to rebuild South Africa, highlights the need to overcome the country's history of racism and the segregation in education, health, welfare, transport, employment and urban settlements in general (Republic of South Africa, 1994: 7). Essentially, therefore, the RDP attempted to bridge the gap between rich and poor and raise living standards (Clark, 1996). It aimed at growth through redistribution (Terreblanche, 2003 in Visser, 2004: 6). Mabin and Smit (1997: 217) contend that many believed the RDP to be mere political discourse and that the state had no means by which to implement it. This is supported by the fact that in 1996 the national RDP Office was closed and what was left of it became a small Development Planning Branch (Visser, 2004: 8). Christopher (2005a: 2306) argues that the government's adoption of the neo-liberal GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) strategy put an end to the government's attempt to "implement far-reaching state-funded schemes to undo the *apartheid* city comparable in scale to the state enterprise which had been necessary for its creation". This idea is supported by Padayachee (1998 in Freund, 2010: 288). GEAR, which followed the RDP, amounted to the privatisation of state-owned industry, the curbing of government spending, a decrease in government regulation of the economy and less value being placed on redistribution (Visser, 2004: 9). Redistribution was left to the trickle-down effect (Visser, 2004: 9).

AsgiSA (Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative South Africa) was introduced by the South African government in 2004 and aims at job creation alongside economic growth (Republic of South Africa, 2007). The initiative includes components such as skills development, public infrastructure development, private investment programmes, and institutional reform (Republic of South Africa, 2007). In this way the initiative is a middle ground between the RDP and GEAR. However, the initiative can be considered a compromise between neo-liberal economic growth and real social transformation.

In essence, while implementation of apartheid legislation was an active process, the repeal of discriminatory legislation was passive in nature (Lemon, 1991b: 207). The new Constitution and Bill of Rights are just as passive. Both allow the market to correct the divisions and inequalities in post-apartheid South Africa (Lemon, 1991b: 207). As Christopher (2005a: 2305) correctly questions, however: is this enough for freedom of choice or must other, enabling factors be present in order for peoples choices of where to live or go to school to be truly free? In other words, are there still barriers to integration? After 1994 the South African Government began the reconstruction process through the implementation of policy (CoGTA, 2009: 56). In fact, ninety new Acts of legislation were published every year between 1994 and 2004 (CoGTA, 2009: 56). The task of the next section is to explore this legislation. It will do so my dividing the legislation of this era into subsections, including: spatial integration, integration in education and integration in the workplace.

2.2.1 National Policy on Spatial Integration within Urban Areas

One of the first things that were tackled, in terms of integration, was the multitude of local authorities which were divided by race during apartheid. The interim government period from 1990 to 1993 saw the existing local authorities doing very little while waiting for a new system of government to be formed (Freund, 2010: 284). The first democratic municipal elections occurred in 1995 and Transitional Local Councils, combining all former local authorities in the area, were formed (CoGTA, 2009: 56). Between 1995 and 2000 the boundaries of municipalities were also re-demarcated so as to incorporate and integrate the areas that were divided during apartheid (CoGTA, 2009: 56). Makana Municipality, therefore, incorporates Grahamstown and Rhini as well as the surrounding small towns and rural areas. This had the result of reducing the number of municipalities in the country to 284, just over a third of their original number (CoGTA, 2009: 56). *The White Paper on Local Government* (1998) encouraged a new system of developmental local government (CoGTA, 2009: 57). In addition, *The Local Government*, *Municipal Systems* and *Municipal Structures Acts* of 2000 led to the structuring of Local Government (CoGTA, 2009: 58).

The Restitution of Land Act of 1994 created a Commission of the Restitution of Land Rights which functioned to deal with claims lodged by those forcibly removed from land after 1913 (CoGTA, 2009: 58).

Emdon (2003: 226) discusses the impact of the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) of 1995. The act includes integration of residential urban areas as one of its principles of development and requires local authorities to draw up land development objectives which show how they will facilitate integration within their area. Emdon (2003: 226) argues that this is important for two reasons. First, integration is highlighted as an important part of planning and development. Second, local government is mandated with the responsibility of promoting integration within cities and, therefore, promoting integration is not optional. In addition, the Act obliged municipalities to develop Land Development Objectives (CoGTA, 2009: 58).

The *Urban Development Framework* of 1997 identifies 'The Urban Vision: towards 2020' (Department of Housing, 1997: 7). Two parts of this vision are related to racial integration (Department of Housing, 1997: 7). First, they envisage urban space to be "[s]patially and socio-economically integrated, free of racial and gender discrimination and segregation, enabling people to make residential and employment choices to pursue their ideals". Second, it is stated that urban space ought to have "integrated industrial, commercial, residential, information and educational centres, which provide easy access to a range of urban resources". Linked to this vision the framework identifies four key programmes, the first of which is integrating the city with the goal of negating the segregation, fragmentation and inequality which are a legacy of apartheid (Department of Housing, 1997: v). The other three programmes relate to the promotion of urban areas with greater density, improved housing and infrastructure, and urban economic activities (CoGTA, 2009: 58). The framework links spatial integration to social integration, hoping to achieve social and cultural integration through planning, land, transport and environmental management (Department of Housing, 1997: 11).

The *White Paper for Local Government* (Republic of South Africa, 1998: 27) states that:

> The spatial integration of our settlements is critical. It will enhance economic efficiency, facilitate the provision of affordable services, reduce the costs households incur through commuting, and enable social development. Spatial integration is also central to nation building, to addressing the locational disadvantages which apartheid imposed on the black population, and to building an integrated society and nation.

It continues, discussing the paths to the achievement of integration within urban areas. First, it states that integration must increase mobility between recreation, work and home. Second, the

paper says that it should encourage the disadvantaged to participate in both the social and economic life of the city. Third, it argues that it is the job of municipalities to promote mixed-income development. Perhaps, this last aim is due to the recognition of the overlap of class and race mentioned above.

Recognising that integration has been incorporated within legal documents, Emdon (2003: 221) questions if this has any real impact on people's lives or if these provisions are only formal in nature. Lemon (1996: 69) shares this worry, saying that the formal provisions for access to amenities and facilities are a necessary step in the right direction, but that it will take much more to eradicate the spatial inequalities in South Africa. The CoGTA (2009: 63) also argues that South Africa reflects a dual economy of black vs. white and that it is in townships that the poverty is at its most concentrated. The CoGTA (2009: 64) argues that interventions in urban areas have no overall vision of spatial integration. In addition, funding for implementation and enforcement of policy has limited the extent, scope and impact of government interventions in urban areas and particularly townships (CoGTA, 2009: 64). Townships remain the less desirable and poorer parts of cities with little access to urban economies (CoGTA, 2009: 73). In reply to this concern, this research will attempt an answer and reveal some of the patterns of racial integration that exist in practice.

2.2.3 National Integration Policy in Institutions of Education

Section 29 of South Africa's Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 2009) states that:

1. Everyone has the right
    a. to a basic education, including adult basic education: and
    b. to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.

The constitution, therefore, de-racialised education in making education a human right. This subsection will begin with a discussion of integration policies in South Africa's schools and then move on to a discussion of similar policies in universities. In the short discussion that follows it is important to remember the inequalities in education, at both of these levels, which were inherited at the political transition in the early 1990s, were related both to the level of education provided and the degree of state support given to education institutions.

In the 1990s education was legally desegregated and re-organised (Thornton & Byrnes, 1996). The Education Co-ordination Service was set up at this time to unite the divided administrative system of education (Thornton & Byrnes, 1996). In 1993, the government set up the National Education and Training Forum to work on education policy for the new South Africa (Thornton & Byrnes, 1996). The National Education Policy Act of 1995 introduced an integrated education system (Chisholm, 2005: 205).

2.2.3.1 School Education

The South African Schools Act of 1996 aimed at eliminating racial disparities in access to good quality education (Chisholm, 2005: 216). However, evidence suggests that a large majority of schools in South Africa still provide education to only one race group and these are most often the poorest of schools (Chisholm, 2005: 216-217). This state of affairs persists and is especially of concern in the Eastern Cape Province where the national government has intervened in the running of the Province's Department of Education (Republic of South Africa, 2011).

In the early 1990s, government gave control of formerly white schools (Model C schools) to their governing bodies (Lemon, 2004: 270). Existing physical assets were given to these schools and they were expected to foot the bill for their maintenance (Lemon, 2004: 270). In return, government funding to these schools was limited and they had to operate within a market-driven system, essentially becoming semi-privatised (Lemon, 2004: 270). In addition to this, these schools opened their doors for the first time to black pupils (Lemon, 2004: 270).

Funding for schools is directed towards the achievement of equality of outcomes and the levelling of the playing field for all race groups (Chisholm, 2005: 205). Formerly disadvantaged black schools, therefore, receive higher amounts of government funding (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2011: 105-106). However, school fees can be levied by schools based on their target community (Chisholm, 2005: 207). This has meant that richer public schools (often ex-Model C schools) have been able to retain their privileged position, while those which were impoverished by the apartheid system remain so (Chisholm, 2005: 211). Former-Model C schools generally have good reputations, better facilities and a greater number of them, better geographical locations and low staff-student ratios (Lemon, 2004: 272). The opposite of all these factors seems to be true of former black schools. With this privilege comes quality of education (Chisholm, 2005: 212) and inequality of outcomes in

terms of pass rates and university admissions between schools (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2011: 106). Access to these privileged schools is limited by the levying of high school fees (Chisholm, 2005: 211).

In terms of basic education, Lemon (2004: 170) identifies the need for a major redistribution policy to build a unitary education system in the country. He argues that the RDP started along this road, but the introduction of GEAR in 1996 has meant a departure from this direction. This departure has meant that policy has had no lasting practical application and exists purely in the region of good intentions and the education system is anything, but unitary (Lemon, 2004: 170).

2.2.3.2 University Education

The Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 identifies redress as one of its values and this is the redressing of historical discrimination with the aim to 'ensure representivity and equal access' (Republic of South Africa, 1997). This Act established the Council on Higher Education (CHE) to deal with the process of transformation of South Africa's higher education system (Republic of South Africa, 1997). The 2001 National Plan for Higher Education set participation targets and initiated the mergers of the 36 public higher education institutions to form 23 institutions (Badat, 2004: 15). This served, amongst other things, to link together previously disadvantaged institutions with those which were more advantaged in the past. Rhodes University was not merged with any other university within this process, but ceded its East London campus to the University of Fort Hare.

The Higher Education Act of 2000, the 1997 White Paper on Education and the National Plan for Higher Education of 2001 all require that universities tackle equity through student enrolment, throughput and output, and student equity (Rhodes University, 2003: 2).

NSFAS (National Student Financial Aid Scheme) is one of the organisations in South Africa that aims to tackle racial integration in education institutions. It was established through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme Act No. 56 of 1999 (Republic of South Africa, 1999). Its mission is to "impact on South Africa's racially skewed student, diplomate and graduate population" through providing funding to students who are financially needy (NSFAS, n.d.). This funding financial aid scheme and others like it have sought to tackle equity issues in

universities. In addition to this measure, the Cabinet has very recently (November 2011) approved the release of the Green Paper on Higher Education and Training to the public for their comments (Republic of South Africa, 2011). The paper aims at broadening and improving access to higher education through the promotion of equity and affordability (Republic of South Africa, 2011).

2.2.4 National Integration Policy in the Workplace

The Employment Equity Act of 1998 acknowledged the effects of apartheid and other discriminatory legislation on the disparities within the workforce related to occupation, employment and income (The South African Department of Labour, 2004: 1). In addition, it recognised that a simple repeal of the discriminatory legislation will not lead to a sufficient level of redress (The South African Department of Labour, 2004: 1). The Act, therefore, sought to redress, the elimination of discrimination in the working arena and a representative national workforce (The South African Department of Labour, 2004: 1). One of the areas of discrimination that the Act outlaws is racial discrimination (The South African Department of Labour, 2004: 7). Redress is intended to be achieved through a programme of Affirmative Action (The South African Department of Labour, 2004: 9). Freund (2010: 294) discusses the economic policy of BEE (Black Economic Empowerment), which promotes the creation of a black bourgeoisie through integrating black individuals within the white-dominated business world. There has been a lot of doubt surrounding the impact that this and related policies have on the majority of black South Africans.

The Department of Education (2001: 14) recognises the need for the integration of teachers or educators in schools. This is supported by the Employment of Educators Act of 1998 (Department of Education, 2001: 14). This act says that the appointment of an individual to a post must take into cognisance the principles of the Constitution as well as equity and equality (Department of Education, 2001: 14). In addition to this, the Funza Lushaka Bursary programme was introduced by the Department to encourage the youth to enter the teaching profession (Republic of South Africa, 2011).

Rhodes University has, in accordance with the Employment Equity Act, The Higher Education Act of 2000, the 1997 White Paper on Education and the National Plan for Higher Education drawn up an Equity Policy (Rhodes University, 2003: 2). This policy proposes that:

> [t]he University's African identity will be affirmed through: its commitment to the social and economic transformation of South Africa; its acknowledgement of the problems created by the legacy of apartheid; its undertaking to reject all forms of unfair discrimination; its dedication to the implementation of appropriate corrective measures to redress past imbalances; and its success in realising diversity amongst students and staff (Rhodes University, 2003: 2)

In essence, therefore, Rhodes University has acknowledged the need for transformation of the demographics of its staff. Rhodes has many measures in place to encourage this. Mtumtum (2011), Rhodes University's Industrial Relations and Employment Equity Specialist, lists the Institutional Culture Committee as one such measure. The university has also held various Imbizos to discuss these policies and the future of the university. In addition, study subsidies and skills training are made available to staff, and ABET (Adult Basic Education and Training) is supported. For those interested in occupations within academe there exists a Mellon Foundation Grant for Academic Staff Development and the university affords study leave to staff that are furthering their studies.

In addition to these measures, the Skills Development Act No. 97 of 1998 and its amendments provided a framework to develop the skills of the South African population (Department of Labour, 2004: 1). One of the purposes of this Act was "to improve the employment prospects of persons previously disadvantaged by unfair discrimination and to redress those disadvantages through training and education" (Department of Labour, 2004: 5). In this way, this Act promotes the racial integration in the workplace through functioning alongside the Employment Equity Act to promote racial integration in the workplace.

Chapter 3: Approaching Integration: A Review of the Literature

3.1 Introduction

Christopher (2001a: 215-216) maintains that the post-apartheid city is constrained by the physical remnants of segregation. This is clearly visible to anyone familiar with contemporary South African cities. Far beyond this simple observation, however, is the need to understand the extent and forms of the integration that have arisen in this period. It is important to build an understanding of South African cities and most importantly, the way in which South Africans live out their daily lives in these cities.

This chapter aims to explore and review the existing literature concerning racial integration in post-apartheid South Africa to construct a foundation for the research at hand. First, it will explore the scope or focus, findings, approaches and methods of existing literature concerned with racial integration in South Africa. It will be argued that new approaches and perspectives would enhance the knowledge and understanding of racial integration. Time-geography will be proposed as a viable alternative approach and the application of the approach to studies of integration will be examined.

3.2 Geographical Studies of Integration: Focus and Findings of Existing Research

This aim of this section is to construct a picture of the post-apartheid urban situation in South Africa while considering the focus and findings of existing research on the topic. This exploration will be used to inform this case study of Grahamstown. This section is divided into four subsections or focus areas that deal with residential integration, integration within education institutions, segregation in the workplace and integration through spatial linkages, respectively.

3.2.1 Residential Desegregation/integration

Rex & Visser (2009: 339) and Donaldson & Kotze (2006) assert that the geographical study of residential desegregation in post-apartheid South Africa is surprisingly limited with only a few researchers involved in the exploration of this phenomenon. Maylam (1995: 21) and Donaldson & Kotze (2006: 569-570) note that the studies that have been conducted have given focus to secondary and metropolitan cities and few have paid attention to small urban settlements. It is within this climate of geographical research into integration that this dissertation falls and, importantly, the case study of Grahamstown fills a necessary gap.

In terms of nationwide levels of post-apartheid segregation, Christopher (2001a: 215) reports that urban residential segregation levels declined between the 1991 and 1996 censuses. The 2001 census showed that, though segregation has declined, South Africa remains highly residentially segregated (Christopher, 2005a: 2309). In fact, Christopher (2005a: 2317) reports that the rate of desegregation was lower between 1996 and 2001 than between the 1991 and 1996. This suggests that, now that the desegregation process has experienced some inertia. The findings of Beavon (2000 in Tomlinson *et al.*, 2003: 13) agree with the idea that the process is a slow one, showing that by 1999 only one to two percent of properties in former whites-only suburbs in Johannesburg had been sold to Africans. Horn (2005: 63) shows that by 1996 Pretoria had desegregated relatively little. The combined findings of Kotze & Donaldson (1998) and Rex & Visser (2009) show that this has been the experience in the city of Bloemfontein. Greater levels of desegregation were, however, found in Kotze & Donaldson's (1998) research into Pietersburg. Christopher (2001a: 215) also notes that small towns, like Grahamstown, remain highly segregated because of their lack of economic strength, which seems to be the main driver of change. Christopher (1991: 56) reported that studies of racial integration in the United States of America show the same pace and limitations of desegregation (see Massey & Denton, 1988; Darden, 1989). Simon (1991) conducted a study of Windhoek, Namibia, which began to desegregate in 1977 after years of apartheid influenced by the fact that the country was a mandated territory of South Africa for decades. He also reports a slow rate of desegregation (Simon, 1991: 181).

Research has identified many factors that appear to impede the achievement of high levels of residential integration. First, economic obstacles to integration in residential areas exist because of the common overlap of race and class (Beavon, 2000; Beavon, 2004: 265; Lemon and Clifford, 2005: 26; Bwalya, 2011: 288). Historically, the colonial and apartheid

governments economically subjugated black South Africans and this remains a prominent legacy. Christopher (2001a: 233) explains that, according to the South African Survey of 1998, African households' average annual income was 75% less than that of white households. Rule (1996: 217) looked at the north-south divisions of African households and other races in Bertrams, Johannesburg and noted that these were due to economic factors such as housing types and prices. The same kinds of patterns were found in Bloemfontein (Kotze and Donaldson, 1998; Rex & Visser, 2009). Myburgh (1996: 206) and Lemon and Battersby-Lennard (2009) agree and argue that; in Cape Town and the Western Cape respectively, socioeconomic barriers exist for those wanting to move. Wood (2000), in a study of desegregating Pietermaritzburg, found that in terms of integration in former whites-only areas, lower income areas in central suburbs and on the periphery of the African group area were the most integrated in 1997. Durban has shared this post-apartheid experience (Freund, 2010: 292). More recently, Bwalya's (2011: 288) research in East London has reiterated Wood (2000) and Freund's (2010) findings. Outside of South Africa's borders, Windhoek, Namibia, had similar experiences of desegregation (Simon, 1991: 182).

Second, Beavon (2004: 267), Lemon and Clifford (2005: 27) and Freund (2010: 293) report white flight from integrating suburbs in Johannesburg, Margate and Durban, respectively. They claim this to be counteracting integration and promoting resegregation in former white suburbs. Third, Donaldson (1996: 197) investigated the reasons for a lack of integration in the Northern (now Limpopo) Province of South Africa and found that historically conservative communities have influence on ongoing segregation if this conservatism is connected with ideological intolerance. In these places fear and stigmatism of areas and closed communities are some of the factors that Donaldson (1996: 198) names as contributing factors to on-going segregation. This was true of Naboomspruit where integration stood at zero in 1995; a full four years after the apartheid structures were scrapped (Donaldson, 1996: 195).

Fourth, Donaldson (2001: 7) notes that with the South African urban landscape segregation in African townships persists because no other race groups have moved to those areas. Donaldson (2001: 7) argues residential integration is most prominent within former white suburbs. Wood's (2000) findings in Pietermaritzburg agree and are also mirrored in the desegregation of Windhoek, Namibia (Simon, 1991: 182). This has been encouraged by Government-driven housing developments that have merely extended townships instead of breaking away from the apartheid city model (Christopher, 2005a: 2306; Lemon and Clifford, 2005a: 26; Tomlinson *et al.,* 2003: 14; Lanegran & Lanegran, 2001: 682). In addition to

counter-acting integration policy, this has done nothing to alleviate the costs of long distance travel between home and work (Tomlinson *et al.,* 2003: 14). Some officials in George in the Western Cape admitted to prioritising housing delivery over integration (Lanegran & Lanegran, 2001: 682). Tomlinson *et al.* (2003: 14) show that while housing is developed in the southern areas of Johannesburg, new job opportunities are predominantly located in the northern regions.

Fifth, despite the dominance of integrationist philosophies, recent development of walled housing estates and suburbs within urban areas contributes to resegregation (Donaldson, 2001: 7). This is related to the overlap of race and class, but also to the phenomenon of white flight. These developments can be seen in South African cities such as Cape Town (Lemanski, 2006; Lemanski *et al.*, 2008), Johannesburg (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Beall, 2002; Landman, 2004; Lemanski *et al.*, 2008), Pretoria (Landman, 2004) and Durban (Lemanski *et al.*, 2008). These types of developments have made an appearance in Grahamstown in the last ten years.

As seen in the proposed model of the post-apartheid city (Figure 3.1) the effects of pro-segregation planning over centuries are still evident (Christopher, 2001a: 216). The inner city and old CBD are shown to have integrated significantly whilst outer suburbs remain racially segregated to a large degree (Christopher, 2001a: 216). The economics of integration are made clear in the connections between high-density affordable housing and integration, and low-density, less affordable forms of property and continued segregation (Christopher, 2001a: 216). The city is no longer centralised, with a new CBD or new CBDs and shopping centres having developed in outer suburbs (Christopher, 2001a: 216). The post-apartheid city becomes more compact with the achievement of higher densities of housing (Christopher, 2001a: 216).

This model, like the model of the segregation city, the apartheid city and the late apartheid city, is limited in its scope. It must be remembered that it is a model of the urban layout or aggregates of land use, conforming to conventional geometric spatial diagrams. The model does not include any of the finer details or dynamics of life in the city. In other words, it does not depict networked activity. While residential segregation or integration is made very evident, other effects of apartheid legislation like divisions of schools, universities, separate amenities, social divisions or connections and behavioural segregation are not illustrated. In

addition, the temporal aspect (discussed in Chapter 2) of the racial segregation during the segregation and apartheid eras is not included.

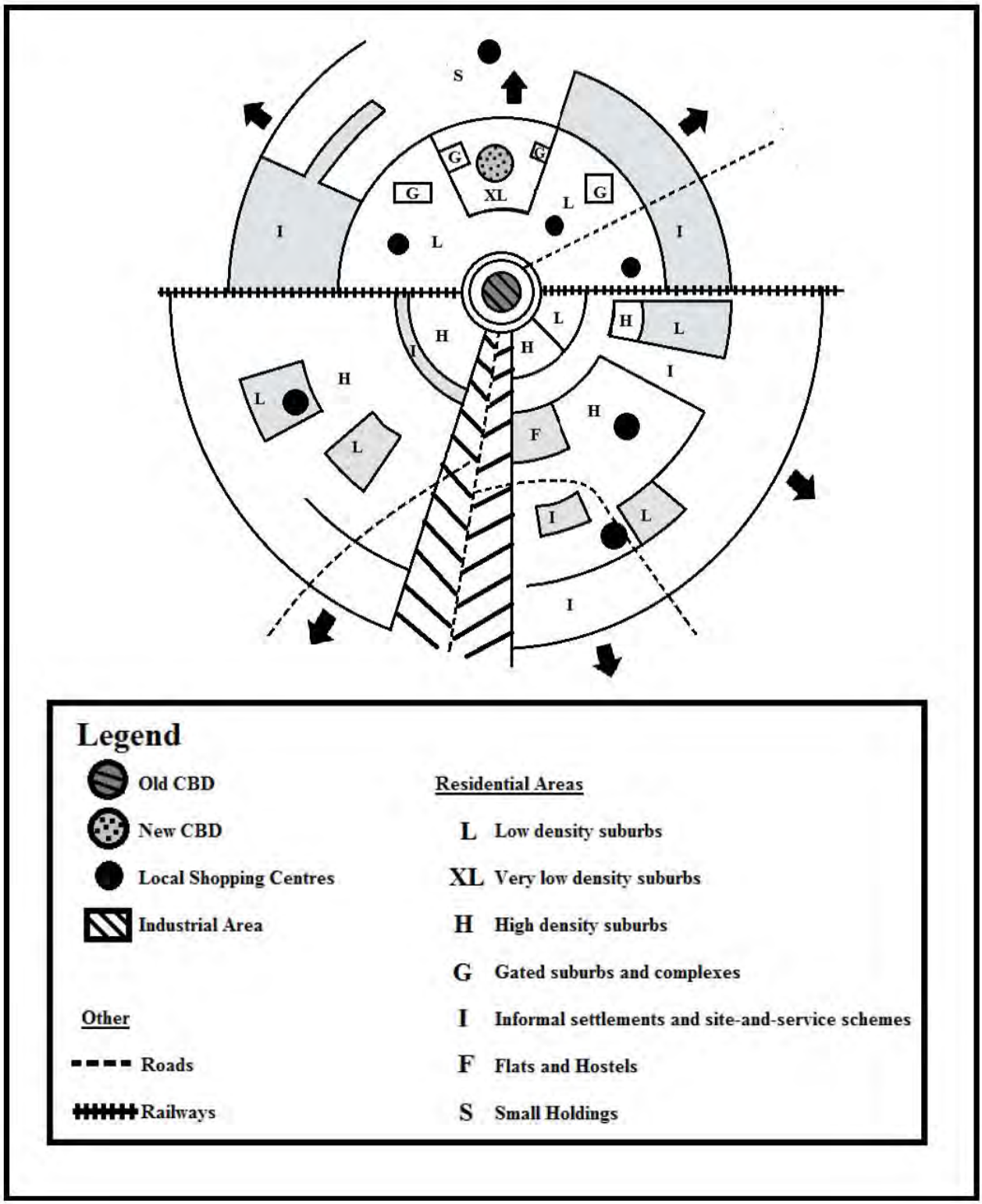

Figure 3.1: The Proposed Post-apartheid City Model (Adapted from Christopher 2001a: 217)

While a few studies (including Kotze & Donaldson, 1998; Rex & Visser, 2009; Bwalya, 2011) have measured segregation using Municipal Property Data Rolls, most have used national census data. Christopher's (1983, 1988, 1989, 1991, 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b) collective papers cover the history of segregation since the first Dutch settlers up to the post-apartheid era. It is unsurprising, therefore, that his work makes such a major contribution to this study. Christopher (1988, 1989, 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b) has calculated segregation indices from 1911 to 2001 for all major South African towns and cities, including Grahamstown, and some of this has been included in previous chapters and forms a background for this study. He uses census data over this period and, therefore, the same data is used for the current case study.

In terms of methods of measuring levels of integration/segregation, the index of dissimilarity (ID) and the segregation index (IS) have experienced widespread use in South African studies of segregation (Horn, 2005: 61). Essentially, the ID measures the extent of compatibility of the residential locations of two (race) groups and the index of segregation (IS) measures degree of differentiation of one (race) group in relation to the total population of the area (Petsiméris and Racine, 1996: 29). These indices are explained further in Chapter 4, but it is useful to critique them here so as to understand their uses and limitations. First, it must be understood that all segregation indices are based on a conception of the ideal distribution of groups (Cortese *et al.*, 1976: 630; Duncan & Duncan, 1955: 217). In this regard, IS and ID measure evenness (Cortese *et al.*, 1976: 630). There are several other measures of segregation that look at aspects like clustering, centralisation, concentration and exposure (Massey and Denton, 1988). Horn (2005) deals with several other indices which measure these aspects of segregation. As Horn (2005: 61) asserts, however, evenness is agreed by many to be the most important of these factors. Second, these indices are affected by the different proportions of minority groups amongst settlements (Cortese *et al.*, 1976: 631). Third, they are affected by the areal unit used in analysis (Cortese *et al.*, 1976: 631; Duncan & Duncan, 1955: 216). This means that smaller areal tracts, with fewer households will affect the resultant index differently to larger ones. These two limitations make comparison between cities and within cities over time difficult and imperfect in their results (Cortese *et al.,*1976: 632; Duncan & Duncan, 1955: 216). A fourth limitation includes the fact that these indices are aspatial in nature (Duncan & Duncan, 1955: 215). This means that the inherent spatial nature of the patterns of segregation is not revealed within the figures of ID and IS. Horn (2005: 63) calls these structural measures of segregation as opposed to spatial measures. Fifth, the measures

exclude the behavioural component of segregation (Horn, 2005: 62), which Horn (2005: 59) asserts is one of the two major components of segregation. The other component is, of course, distribution (Horn, 2005: 59), which is, to some degree, dealt with by ID and IS. Despite these limitations, IS and ID are the most popular as a measurement of segregation (Horn, 2005; Cortese *et al.*, 1976: 630). Christopher's (1988, 1989, 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b) work on residential segregation in South Africa relies heavily on these indices, especially IS. In addition, Christopher has produced IS and ID figures for Grahamstown. These are the reasons that these indices have been chosen for use in this case study.

Percentages are used to show the racial composition of various units in Christopher (1988, 1989, 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b), Donaldson (1996), Myburgh (1996), Rule (1996), Beavon (2000) and Wood (2000). They, like the indices used, show the evenness of distribution or representivity of each race group within a spatial unit. While these give a basic picture of the racial composition of a spatial units they, unlike the ID and IS, are not directly connected to the broader population and patterns are less explicit. Despite this limitation, when displayed spatially, for example with pie charts, they can reveal the patterns of segregation/integration.

Together, the indices discussed above and the percentages (in the form of pie charts displayed spatially) are used to show the patterns of segregation/integration in residential neighbourhoods within the case study.

3.2.2 Segregation within Education Institutions

This subsection is broken down into research into learner segregation at schools and the segregation of students at universities. The first thing to note, however, is that research into segregation within the education institutions in South Africa is not as extensive, in terms of sheer output, as that concerned with residential segregation. Some research has been done within geography, mainly by Lemon and his various co-authors (Lemon, 2004 and 2005; Lemon and Clifford, 2005; Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009 and 2011). The findings of Chisholm & Sujee (2006), although not within the field of geography, also provide some indication of the desegregation in schools in the post-apartheid era. Interestingly post-apartheid racial integration in South Africa's universities or higher education institutions is not a well-researched area within the field of geography. In fact, Christopher's (2001a) brief

investigation is the only research into this topic that was found during the review of this literature.

Schools are desegregating more rapidly than residential neighbourhoods in South Africa (Lemon and Battersby-Lennard, 2009). Rule's (1996: 212) earlier study of the Bertrams Junior School in Bertrams, Johannesburg agrees with these findings. He found that after 1991 the school became multi-racial and the enrolment demographics changed at a faster pace than the integration of residential space in the surrounding areas (Rule, 1996: 212, 219). He also notes that white flight from the school occurred following the change to a multi-racial demographic (Rule, 1996).

Lemon (2005: 82-83), in a study of different schools in Pietermaritzburg, showed that schools have, generally, kept their apartheid era racial composition. Independent schools were predominantly white, former African schools were 100% African and no white learners were present in any schools formerly reserved for black groups (Lemon, 2005: 82-83). In one former white school, Russell, white learners made up 1.5% of the student body at the time of the study (Lemon, 2005: 82). Lemon (2005: 83) explains this anomaly in terms of the lack of appeal of the school's physical location to white parents: the area is unattractive and dangerous at night

Lemon (2004) conducted a small study of schools and school inequalities in Grahamstown and surrounding districts in 2000. His focus includes desegregation and access, but it would be fair to say that his main focus is the inequities inherent in the system. In terms of desegregation, of the 11 secondary schools he focused on within Grahamstown proper, he found the independent schools to be fairly integrated, the former-Model C schools to show the highest amount of integration and the township schools to maintain their apartheid racial composition. The former coloured school within his study had integrated to the extent that 35% of its pupils were African. Integration was, therefore, found to be occurring, but occurring in a limited fashion ten years after the end of apartheid.

In a study of five of the nine provinces in South Africa with 2001 data, Chisholm & Sujee (2006) found that levels and patterns of integration of learners was place-specific, but that certain patterns were generally observable. Schools that were reserved for coloured, Indian and white learners in the past had diverse racial make-ups (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006: 154). However, the number of African learners in these schools, especially former white schools, remained limited (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006: 154). Diversity in schools formerly reserved for

African learners was extremely limited and where there was change in learner profiles, coloured pupils were observed to have enrolled in them (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006: 149). Lemon and Battersby-Lennard's (2011: 99) study of Cape Town showed the same phenomenon of integration up the racial hierarchy of schools.

Lemon (2005: 85) and Lemon & Battersby-Lennard (2009; 2011) explain the movement of pupils to schools formerly reserved for other groups is caused by parents wanting a better education for their children. This can be justified by the major differences in the resources, facilities, learner-teacher ratios, financial standing and quality of education that exists within the hierarchy of schools from independent schools down to historically-disadvantaged township schools (Lemon, 2004 and 2005; Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009 and 2011).

There are several reasons for continued levels of segregation highlighted in the literature. First, Myburgh (1996: 206) argues that accessibility to schools is a factor related to the extent of integration within them. However, Lemon (2004: 278) argues that Grahamstown covers too small an area for distance to be an issue in terms of accessibility to schools. This is a very plausible thesis.

Second, Christopher (2001a: 218) remarks that the 'emergent, colour-blind economic class structure' was seen more in schools than in other spheres of post-apartheid cities. Lemon (2004: 272) and Lemon & Battersby-Lennard (2011: 105) argue that school fees form the obstacle to Africans accessing former-Model C and independent schools. Third, while an inability to pay fees is not a legal reason to exclude individuals from schools, Lemon (2004: 272) explains schools are able to exclude those who cannot afford fees through the designating of catchment areas and introducing admission requirements. The designation of catchment or feeder areas allows schools to define the areas from which they admit learners and, conveniently, former white schools and independent schools are usually situated in medium to high income former white group areas, which remain quite highly segregated. Fourth, although schools are not legally allowed to use admission tests, a lack of monitoring allows them to screen-out applicants through these means (Lemon, 2004: 272). Fifth, schools often insist on dealing with biological parents, which can exclude those children who are raised by relatives or guardians, a relatively common situation for African learners (Lemon, 2004: 272).

In relation to tertiary education institutions, Christopher (2001a: 218) reveals that by 1998, integration within universities had occurred, but varied between institutions. He found that

the majority of student bodies of former white universities were still white, however, these universities did show a substantial increase in the numbers of those who were previously excluded (Christopher, 2001a: 219). In former black universities, integration, in terms of the presence of white students, was minimal if not non-existent (Christopher, 2001a: 219). By 1998, in the former coloured- and Indian-reserved universities, the University of the Western Cape and the University of Durban-Westville, African students made up the majority of students (Christopher, 2001a: 218).

Chisholm and Sujee (2006: 141) note that a lot of the investigations that have been conducted with regard to racial integration in South Africa's institutions of education have used qualitative instead of quantitative approaches. When there are quantitative approaches, the dominant method of analysis of change within institutions of education has been the use of simple percentages (Lemon, 2004; Lemon, 2005; Lemon & Clifford, 2005; Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009; Christopher, 2001a; Rule, 1996; Chisholm & Sujee, 2006).

Like the papers reviewed in this section, this research uses percentages to explore the evenness of distribution or representivity of each race group within institutions. As mentioned in the subsection above, this is just one aspect of integration that has been chosen for exploration.

3.2.3 Segregation in the Workplace

While some geographical literature exists on the history of segregation in the workplace, none could be found that deals with the phenomenon in the post-apartheid era. This case study, therefore, seeks to fill this gap.

3.2.4 Integration through Spatial Linkages

Oelofse (1996) conducted a study of the integration of three communities within Hout Bay in Cape Town and she focuses not just on residential integration, but also on spatial linkages between these communities (Oelofse, 1996: 279). Oelofse (1996: 277) links together space, place and social life. She contends that a sense of place is created that forms a secure frame for the individual creating it and that this develops alongside a sense of insider and outsider groups within this place. Therefore, she argues that the integration of communities within space is influenced and constrained by the individual or group expectations and

interpretations of place. Oelofse (1996: 280) found that there were few spatial linkages between the communities. For instance, few people who do not reside in the African township enter it as it does not provide access to any amenities and white individuals avoid it entirely (Oelofse, 1996: 280). Oelofse (1996: 280) found that African individuals enter white areas to access services and facilities and for economic reasons.

Oelofse's study of the spatial linkages between the communities of Hout Bay is a very interesting one. It is an aspect of the post-apartheid city that has, largely, been left unexplored by geographers. This is a gap that needs to be filled. In the section that follows the time-geographical approach will be proposed to fill this gap.

3.3 The Time-Geographical Approach

Given the deficits or gaps identified in the existing research into post-apartheid integration in South Africa, there is a definite need for an alternative approach to be investigated and put into practice. An approach is needed that gives us a better picture of the everyday lives, activities and behaviour of individuals in post-apartheid South Africa. In fulfilment of this need the time-geographical approach will be proposed as a viable alternative. This section will begin with a history of the approach and its application, followed by an outline of the approach and then a discussion of how it can be applied to a study of racial integration in post-apartheid South Africa.

3.3.1 A History of the Approach

Torsten Hägerstrand, a Swedish Geographer, introduced the time-geographical approach into his work during the 1960s (Lenntorp, 1999: 156). The framework developed out of his research into migration patterns and the diffusion of technology in a small parish in Sweden (Lenntorp, 1999: 156). In this work Hägerstrand gathered detailed information and mapped the life-histories of about 10 000 members of the community (Lenntorp, 1999: 156). Lenntorp (1999: 156) accounts for this vast detail by explaining that Hägerstrand found it difficult to separate the community from its constituent individuals and separate the individuals from their time-space environment.

Hägerstrand and his fellow researchers at Lund University, Sweden, including Tommy Carlstein, Bo Lenntorp and Solveig Martensson, developed the time-geographic framework within their research (Thrift, 1977: 5). The early research of the 'Lund Group' received much of its funding from Swedish government agencies (Pred, 1977: 211). These projects were concerned with the government's regional development, physical planning, urbanisation and settlement policies (Pred, 1977: 211). The framework was, therefore, applied to the exploration of regional accessibility to public services and constraints-based studies of daily activities of individuals among other topics (Pred, 1977: 211).

Since its inception, the time-geographical approach has diffused into studies of transport geography, phenomenology, macro-geography and contextual theory to name a few (Lenntorp, 1999: 157). With this diffusion the approach has transcended its planning roots and been used for a wider range of studies. Vilhelmson (1999) studied the mobility dependencies of Swedish nationals as they went about their everyday lives and used data from a national time-use survey of 3600 individuals. Ellegård & Vilhelmson (2004) used the approach to explore the impact of information and communication technologies (ICT) on spatial mobility in Sweden. Novák & Sýkora (2007) used the time-geographical approach to investigate the consequences of suburbanization in Prague through looking at the time-space activities and mobility patterns of the inhabitants of the new suburban districts. Frändberg (2008) used the approach to explore the long-term patterns of transnational mobility of young Swedes. Assmo & Wihlborg (2008; 2010) use the time-geographical approach to critique the existing norms within global economic markets in favour of environmentally sustainable practices.

Despite its varying applications, time-geography has not been a well-known and widely used approach within geography. The use of the time-geographical approach within South Africa and Africa has been minimal, in fact. Hattingh and Horn (1991), in a case study of Pretoria during the late apartheid era, explored the daily rhythms of movements in time and space of the different race groups to show the way in which city structure and modes of transport structure people's lives. Fairhurst and Hattingh (1993a; 1993b) focussed on economically active single mothers in Pretoria and, using time-geography, sought to reveal and understand their time-space use. Fairhurst and Phalatse (1999) used time-geography to explore the experiences of female factory employees within Ga-Rankuwa and relate this to South Africa's Industrial Decentralisation Policy.

3.3.2 An Outline of the Approach: Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology

Hägerstrand & Carlstein (2004: 320) contended that the dominant paradigm in research, introduced by Descartes, had been the idea that one should aim to divide complex things into smaller entities and reason from simple to complex. He opposed this 'skyscraper' view of nature which built a hierarchy of the building blocks of nature based on their scale (Hägerstrand & Carlstein, 2004: 319). Recognising the limits of such a worldview, he identified a gap in the knowledge that the skyscraper contained (Hägerstrand & Carlstein, 2004: 319). Hägerstrand & Carlstein (2004: 319) argued that while this skyscraper provided a good model of the skeleton of knowledge it could not accommodate life, consciousness and culture. In other words, the everyday world and the life-worlds of organisms were ignored. The skyscraper amounted to a group of contextless categorisations (Hägerstrand & Carlstein, 2004: 319). He explored the possibility of using time-geography to challenge this view of the world (Hägerstrand & Carlstein, 2004: 320). What he sought was a more comprehensive picture, which did not attempt to isolate the phenomena of the world within their most simple, categorised forms (Hägerstrand & Carlstein, 2004: 319). In the move towards interdisciplinarity he recognised a need for a neutral system of concepts to reconcile the varying disciplinary perspectives (Hägerstrand & Carlstein, 2004: 322). He proposed the introduction of a time-space framework, a 4-dimensional picture of the world and the entities that make it up (Hägerstrand & Carlstein, 2004: 323). His reasoning was that everything that occurs does so within time and space (Hägerstrand & Carlstein, 2004: 323). Explained simply, Lenntorp (1999: 157) describes time-geography as an approach where time and space are not seen as mere dimensions of movement, but as a framework to aid analysis. Tuan (1978: 16) says of time, space and place that: "[u]nless they are taken together the geographer's world will retain an air of unreality, abstracted from life as lived, which no synthesis confined to the facts of space and location can remove".

3.3.2.1 Time

It must be noted that 'time', as a concept and an experience, differs between cultures, individuals, and communities. Doob (1978: 57) reveals that anthropologists have reported many different cultural and social conceptions and experiences of time. For instance, time can be seen as cyclical or linear in nature and the accuracy, precision or nature of its measurement varies amongst different societies (Doob, 1978: 62). In modern, urban society the use of city space has an important temporal dimension in that the space of business and educational

institutions, for example, are used for a few hours of the day (Orme, 1978: 68). There is also a distinct weekly cycle in the behaviour of individuals, as seen in the differences observed between weekdays and weekend (Orme, 1978: 69).

3.3.2.2 Constraints

Pred (1977: 209) describes time-geography as possessing the power to 'specify the necessary (but not the sufficient) conditions for virtually all forms of interaction – social and otherwise – involving human beings". When applied to a study of integration in post-apartheid South Africa, therefore, the approach can provide a rich picture of urban life by providing an understanding of the forces behind the observed patterns of activities of individuals. These patterns of activity can indicate whether their time-space occurs within shared space or whether it produces patterns of segregation.

The time-space framework is a physicalist one, providing a physical structure or context to the world (Thrift, 1977: 4). Space and time are the resources forming this physicalist structure; all actions take time and space to perform and limited time and space means one has to allocate or budget these portions of them to one's chosen activities (Thrift, 1977: 4-5). In other words, all human individuals have goals and projects and all of these are performed using these and other resources and tools (Thrift, 1977: 7). Time-geography recognises constraints which dictate human experiences through necessitating the budgeting of the time and space usage of activities (Thrift, 1977: 5). It is, therefore, a constraints-based approach (Thrift, 1977: 5).

There are three classes of constraints that come into existence because of the limits of time and space (Thrift, 1977: 7) and 'score the choreography, of the individual's daily existence' (Pred, 1977: 208). These constraints are best explained by Pred (1977: 208-209). First, *capability constraints* restrict the performance of activities through the time consumed by physiological necessities and through the limit on the distance an individual can traverse in a given duration of time. Hägerstrand outlined eight constraints of this sort, which he named as fundamental conditions for successful research (quoted in Thrift, 1977: 6-7):

1. The indivisibility of human beings, and living and non-living entities
2. The limited length of each (human) life
3. The limited ability of humans to participate in more than one task at one time

4. Every task has a duration (e.g. school hours)
5. Movement in space occurs within time (e.g. walking between work and home)
6. Space has a limited packing capacity
7. Spatial units have outer limits (e.g. school and university campuses)
8. The past is the foundation of the present

Coupling constraints describe those activities whose time and space allocation is hindered by the need for the participation of more than one individual (for example, the giving and receiving of a lecture). Social integration involves coupling of individuals. *Authority constraints* are laws, economic factors, power relations, and social and cultural factors which influence one's actions. This type of constraint seemed to be particularly important during South Africa's urban history and still persist today. For instance, while laws were constraints to integration during apartheid, economic, social, power and cultural constraints will be explored to explain the continuing lack of integration, if discovered, in the Grahamstown community. This is why a discussion of constraints is important at this point.

It is important to take cognisance of place and not just space because place, or meaning, can act as a constraint. Cities as 'place' recognise that people come to know spaces, operate and exist within them, make decisions about and within them and, ultimately, create meaning of them (Golledge, 1978: 76). These meanings or cognitive representations affect how the city space is utilised, for instance, which routes are chosen, which shopping centres are utilised, which residential area is resided in and which modes of transport are chosen (Golledge, 1978: 76). The knowledge of places and their significance or meaning are derived from interaction with the space and the social, historical, economic, ethnic and aesthetic influences (Golledge, 1978: 78). Development psychologists like Piaget (1954) and Werner (1957) call this an 'interactional constructivist' representation of place (Golledge, 1978: 77). Golledge (1978: 81) argues that over time an individual will develop a psychological map of these places. Parkes and Thrift (1978: 123) explain these mental or psychological maps as the experiential environment and contend that activity is the coincidence of the experiential environment with the locational environment; of mental maps and clocks to actual maps and clocks. In South Africa, as discussed in Chapter 2, there were definite 'us' and 'them' mentalities that influenced policy, but also resulted from prolonged isolation from the 'other', the experiences of the 'other' and the space of the 'other' during apartheid. For a white individual limited interactions with Africans and the space and place of African townships and, in some cases, a

multitude of prejudices against this group, would form an influence on the meanings they gave to the spaces of the 'other'.

The influence of constraints on choices and subsequent actions is illustrated in Figure 3.2. Figure 3.2 is a model designed to illustrate the choice process of an individual when faced with a time allocation decision. Chapin (1978: 16) argues that behaviour is shaped by four sources of influence: a propensity, an opportunity, an appropriate situation and an environmental context. The first three of these sources of influence are seen in Figure 3.2 in black blocks and the fourth is the 'Urban Environmental Context' represented by the dotted line. The propensity is the motivation for the activity, which is preconditioned by person-specific factors (Chapin, 1978: 16). Person-specific factors can include the individual's roles, sex, and age (Chapin, 1978: 17). The opportunity element refers to a suitable physical place for the activity and the congeniality of the surroundings (Chapin, 1978: 16). For example, at a basic level if a person intends to buy a loaf of bread they require a shop is accessible and that stocks bread. The congeniality of the surroundings could refer to the safety of the shop's surrounding area or even its aesthetics. The situational element relates to the appropriateness of the timing of the activity and its circumstances (Chapin, 1978: 16). For example, the timing and circumstances could be determined as appropriate or inappropriate according to the shop's opening hours and the individual's possession of money to pay for the bread, respectively. The environmental context is the milieu in which the choice is made; this is all things of a non-physiological type; ideas, customs, laws; that influence a person's choice (Chapin, 1978: 16). Cullen (1978: 32) adds the long-term choices or projects of the individual to this context. When these forces are all present, the choice is made and the individual will engage in the chosen activity. The presence of these forces can be equated with opportunities and the lack thereof as constraints. The model also displays a feedback mechanism, Cullen (1978: 33) explains that the individual's daily activities become a mechanism for experience, reflection and, were applicable, a change in the individual's responses to situations.

An example will illustrate the application of this model to the daily life of an individual. An African individual residing in an urban area during apartheid would have experienced many external constraints on their movements and, subsequently, limited opportunities to fulfil their propensity to perform all sorts of activities. These constraints can be put down to the external influences and the urban environmental context and they were most prominently in the form of legislative restrictions. Legislation governed their time-space movement: where they lived,

where they went to school and what amenities they could or could not use or even access (given constraints of distance, time and transport). An individual's movement was even constrained temporally with the imposition of pass laws and curfews. In addition, their economic standing was also influenced by policy and legislation and had knock on effects on their choices. Another factor worth mentioning would be the perceptions of space and place, as well as 'us' and 'them' mentalities that affected the levels of familiarity and understanding that are necessary to truly feel comfortable in certain spaces. These constraints would combine to seriously limit the where, when and how to fulfil propensities to perform certain activities or even to forego them because of the enormity of the constraints.

3.3.2.3 Movements in Time and Space

Time-geography has its own set of concepts and terminology to describe the movements of individuals in time and space as they perform the various activities that make up their everyday lives. Individuals are understood within time-geography as possessing short- and long-term *projects*, which are described by Lenntorp (2004: 225) as 'consciously goal-directed'. The fulfilment of these projects requires the individual to have an awareness of their resources and constraints and engage in an allocation or budgeting of their limited resources (Lenntorp, 2004: 225). An individual's movement within time and space forms a *path* or *trajectory* (Thrift, 1977: 7). Paths are visualised as lines starting at birth and ending at death and, therefore, each path has a different lifespan (Thrift, 1977: 7). The path is unbroken and has a positive direction along a time axis (Figure 3.3) Time functions here to integrate behaviour and show the temporal structure of behaviour (Cullen, 1978: 29).

Each point on the trajectory of an individual is a time-space *station* (Thrift, 1977: 7). *Base-points* are a special type of station like that of the home or place of work, where an individual usually spends a fixed amount of time during their day (Thrift, 1977: 18). Two main base-points or key nodes are home and goal, and Tuan (1978: 15) argues that in modern urban societies these bases are home and workplace. Golledge (1978: 79) adds shops as another important node. Within the case study of Grahamstown, these three key nodes are seen to structure the pattern of post-apartheid integration.

3.3.2.4 Time-geography and the individual

A particularly important feature of time-geography is its emphasis on the study of the individual (Thrift, 1977: 6). It does not deal with statistics and generalisations of most social science research, but seeks to reveal the individual identities, which they subjugate (Thrift, 1977: 6). It must be understood, however, that Hägerstrand recognised that time-geography falls between the extremes of statistics and biography (Thrift, 1977: 6). This means that time-geography is well suited to filling one of the gaps in existing research that was identified above. In this case study the focus is on the time-space movements of individuals as they live out their daily lives. The case study provides a detailed understanding of these movements of the individuals and the choices and motivations behind these movements.

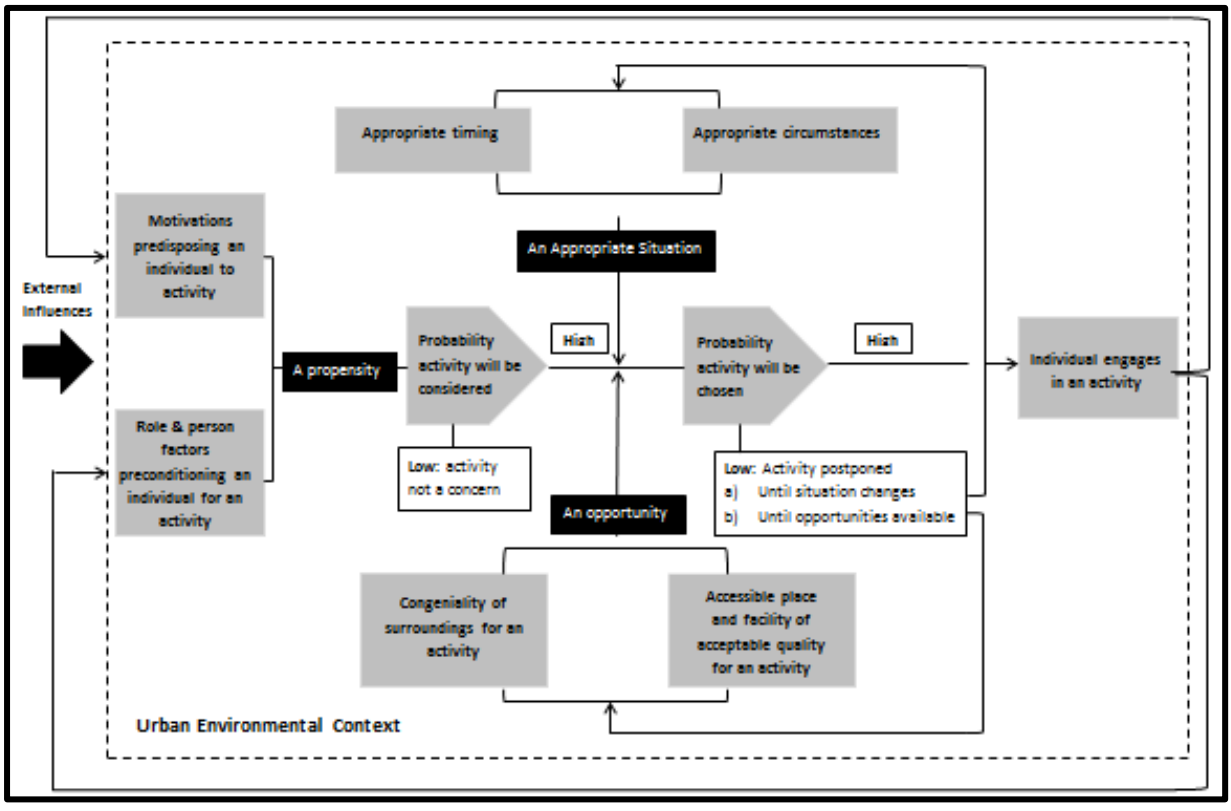

Figure 3.2: Choice Model of Time Allocation to Activities within the Urban Environment (Adapted from Chapin, 1978: 15)

3.3.2.5 Limitations

Lenntorp (1999) discusses some of the criticisms levelled at time-geography. He notes that the approach has been criticised in the past for being too physicalist or mechanistic, treating the individual as a mere object within a scene (Lenntorp, 1999: 156-157). Hallin (1991: 199) also mentions these criticisms and the social conditions and agency, which are overlooked or

are often mere accompaniments to the physicalist understandings and graphical representations. This can be a criticism levelled at this case study, which only grapples with individual agency, intentions and social forces in a superficial way. The gap has been bridged between the physicalist notation of the time-space diary and recognition of forces behind such movements through the adoption of an understanding of Chapin's Choice Model and with the aid of additional interviews to gain understanding of individuals' time-space. In a sense, therefore, the behavioural integration of these individuals is not fully explored and methods and understanding need to be refined further.

3.3.3 Time-geography and Racial Integration in South Africa

An exploration of the proposed application of this approach and framework to the study of racial integration in South Africa is necessary at this point. The approach has the potential to bring out the spatial linkages that Oelofse (1995) identified as an important facet of integration of communities and different parts of the city.

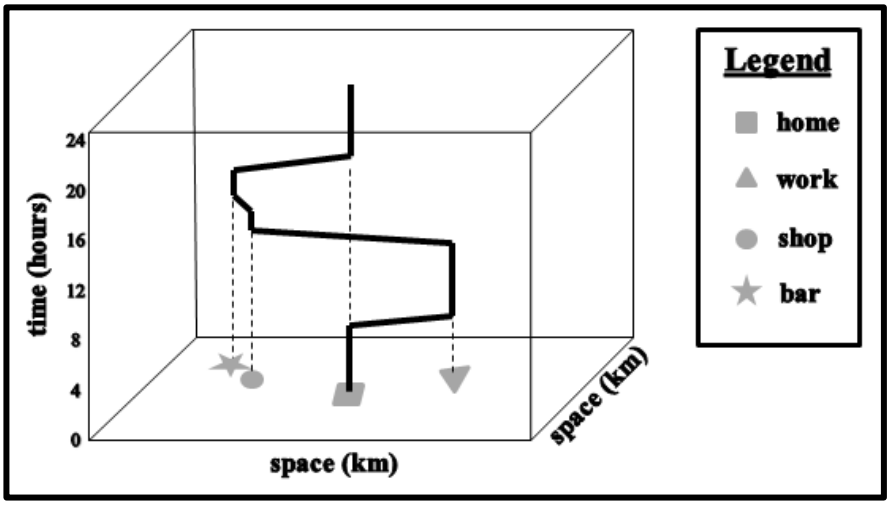

Figure 3.3: Time-space Trajectory of an Individual

Buursink's (1996) discussion of the concept of twin cities can give some insight into what the use of time-geographical approach can achieve. The twin city phenomenon can, in some ways, be related to the state of South African during the apartheid era. The areas and communities of these cities are typically divided and yet, integrated in many ways. Buursink (1996: 121) describes twin cities as paired, being of equal size, situated in close proximity to each other, often with the built-up areas merging, but frequently separated by a river or

physical barrier. This echoes the elements of the apartheid city where group areas and townships exist, are separated by buffers and the city was divided so that race groups had as little contact as possible. At the point of South Africa's political transition many cities were, in fact, divided so that there appeared to be more than one city within the greater bounds.

The vital elements of twin cities are close interrelationships and a shared sense of belonging between the two areas (Buursink, 1996: 122). It is the attitude of the people of both cities that is of importance if two cities are to become integrated or 'twin cities' (Buursink, 1996: 121). The feeling of unity and the development of a shared sense of place is very important. This is what seemed to be missing during the apartheid era in South Africa and it is precisely this that becomes the crux of the integration of the neighbourhoods and communities of the post-apartheid era. It is what Buursink (1996: 126) calls the 'behavioural integration' (Oelofse calls them spatial linkages) of the people of these separate communities and neighbourhoods that can be revealed by the time-geographical approach. According to Buursink (1996: 126), behavioural integration follows with the integration of the everyday lives and activities of individuals within these spaces. Individuals, therefore, step out of their place of residence and perform activities like work, shopping and leisure within an integrated and shared city space (Buursink, 1996: 126). This is precisely what is explored as the case study looks at the time-space use of white individuals in post-apartheid Grahamstown.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter had two primary goals. First, it aimed at creating a guide and context to the research conducted. It has done this by reviewing the findings and methods of the existing research into the phenomenon of post-apartheid integration in the focus areas of residential space, learners at institutions of education, the workplaces, and the spatial linkages found within the post-apartheid city. It has also identified many gaps in the knowledge of post-apartheid racial integration, which will be tackled by the case study of Grahamstown.

Second, in light of gap that exists in terms of research into the everyday lives of individual South Africans, a need was identified for an alternative approach in research. The time-geographical approach was explored in response to this and, through its ability to reveal many aspects of the behavioural integration of individuals, it was found to have the potential to fill this gap.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

In this section each objective of the research will be discussed in relation to the methodology and methods adopted to tackle it.

4.1 Objective 1

To discover and map the levels of spatial residential integration in contemporary Grahamstown

4.1.1 Sources of data

A base map of the zonal divisions of apartheid era Grahamstown was created for use in all three objectives. This was constructed through use of a similar map from Fox (2009).

The demographic data for this objective were sourced from the 2001 National Census and is, thus, secondary in nature. Sub place data were used for analysis. This was done, despite its limitations, because of the time and financial costs of collecting this information. There are a few limitations that surround the use of these data and some of them fall within categories of certain innate problems with spatial data that create limitations on it. Four of these problems discussed by Rogerson (2001: 13-15) are applicable in this case. It must be remembered that these problems are probably neither mutually exclusive categories nor jointly exhaustive of the extent of issues. First, zonal configuration can influence the statistics produced through the placement of zonal boundaries. The placement of zonal boundaries is a problem because, like a puzzle, the space covered can be divided in many different ways and this can result in issues within analysis. The data produced by the census are not directly comparable with the group areas and townships created during the apartheid. Thus, it was difficult to produce highly accurate segregation and dissimilarity indices.

Second, the different geographical scales of zones can affect the accuracy of the analysis undertaken. The problem of geographic scale relates to the use of ward and sub place data instead of small area data from the 2001 census. The census divided South Africa into various polygons to which data correlated and small area data are the smallest of these polygons in

area and the scale is the most appropriate for use in studies of this sort. The issue of confidentiality surrounding small area data necessitated the use of data on a larger scale in this study. Small area data would have been better suited to the analysis considering the scale of Grahamstown. This would not have been as great a problem in the larger, metropolitan cities of South Africa, but Grahamstown's scale limited the use of these data. This also means that this study is limited in its ability to take an in-depth look at different the different types of housing (whether high-, middle- or low-income in nature) that have experienced integration.

Third, the size and shape of zones can create problems in accuracy of results. This related to the scale of data used, as discussed above, and the shape of zones drawn. The shape of the zones or sub place polygons that were used for this analysis was not ideal for the task of the calculating segregation. This is because they did not overlap to a high degree with the designated apartheid group areas and townships and this does has something to do with their shape as well as their size (this can be seen in Figure 6.1 and 6.2). Divisions of sub place data were such that the white, coloured and Indian population largely fell within two polygons. This, therefore, meant that while segregation indices are somewhat affected by this grouping, dissimilarity indices calculated amongst these three groups are not worth calculating as they are thrown off by this spatial grouping.

Fourth, issues relating to the sampling of data can negatively affect the outcome of analysis. This can be related to many issues within the census data. The data were produced in 2001 and is now somewhat out-dated for the purposes of this study, but its use was necessitated by the fact that data collection for the 2011 census was undertaken during the research period and, therefore, unavailable.

Fifth, the relatively small size of the entire Indian population within Grahamstown means that indices of segregation and dissimilarity could be distorted to some extent.

Because of the limitations described above, additional information on levels of residential integration was gained from interviews with three estate agents based in Grahamstown. With knowledge of the neighbourhoods and property market in Grahamstown, it was hoped that they would be able to provide observation of residential integration patterns and some insight into the factors influencing these patterns. The three estate agents represented three estate agencies of a total of about ten in town, but were chosen from some of the bigger agencies. An employee at the Technical and Infrastructure Directorate of Makana Municipality, Mr van

der Merwe, was also interviewed for his perspective as someone actively involved in town planning on the local scale.

The segregation indices produced in this objective (Table 6.1) from the 2001 Census differ from those produced by Christopher (2005a) (Table 5.6) because of the data used. Christopher (2005a: 2308) used enumerator area data, which are aspatial because of confidentiality, and he admitted that this affected the scope of his investigation. This study used sub place data, which are spatially referenced and, therefore, more appropriate to this investigation and its scale. There is one evident explanation for the variations evident. Christopher (2005a) used magisterial districts, which includes Grahamstown and its surrounds. This study, on the other hand, used only those sub places that fell within the spatial bounds of Grahamstown and this was possible because of the spatial referencing of these data. The indices from this study would, from this perspective, be more accurate.

4.1.2 Analysis of Data

Data for Grahamstown were analysed through the use of percentages, segregation and dissimilarity indices. All of this analysis was performed within Microsoft Excel. The spatial dimension was added to these calculations through the use of maps showing pie charts of racial composition for sub place data which were produced within ArcMap 10. The sub place polygons covering the military base and the Fort England Hospital (a psychiatric hospital with residential patients) were excluded because they do not represent typical residential characteristics.

The segregation and dissimilarity indices are similar, but the difference between the two indices comes down to the value of y in each of the formulae. This difference can be seen in the explanations of the equations below.

The index of segregation (IS) measures the differentiation of one race group in relation to the total population (Petsiméris & Racine, 1996: 29).

Index of Segregation =

$$\frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{N}\left| x_i - y_i \right| 100$$

where:

x_i= % of the x race group in the i-th areal unit

y_i = % of all other race groups in the i-th areal unit

n = number of areal units considered

Petsiméris & Racine (1996: 29) describe the index of dissimilarity (ID) as a measure of the extent of compatibility of the residential locations of two race groups.

Index of Dissimilarity =

$$\frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{N}\left| x_i - y_i \right| 100$$

where:

x_i= % of the x race group in the i-th areal unit

y_i = % of the y race group in the i-th areal unit

n = number of areal units considered

A hypothetical example will help to elucidate the use of IS. There are several race groups living in a town, which has been divided into 6 residential neighbourhoods. The race groups include reds (25%), yellows (30%), blues (15%) and greens (30%). This example will calculate the IS of the reds, therefore, x symbolises the reds, y symbolises the rest of the population, i is one of the 6 neighbourhoods and n is 6. The index is calculated by adding together the absolute value of the difference between the percentage of reds and the

percentage of the rest of the population in each of the 6 neighbourhoods. The figure is then divided in half and multiplied by 100. The resultant values of the index fall between 0 and 100 (Petsiméris & Racine, 1996: 29). Perfect similarity or complete integration is represented by a value of zero and extreme dissimilarity or complete segregation is represented by a value of one hundred (Petsiméris & Racine, 1996: 29). Kantrowitz (1979 in Christopher, 2005a: 2309) held that values less than 30.0 are indicative of integrated communities and values over 70.0 were indicative of a degree of segregation that could only be the result of coercive means like legislation. In addition, he argued that a change over time of 5.0 points could be regarded as statistically significant.

Where needed, basic data analysis was performed in Microsoft Excel and the same software was used to produce or modify spreadsheets with geo-referenced data.

4.2 Objective 2

To discover and map the levels of racial integration of staff and students/learners within educational institutions in contemporary Grahamstown

4.2.1 Sources of data

Data relating to the racial demographics of Rhodes University were sourced from *Rhodes Digest of Statistics. Version 14: 2010* (Rhodes University, 2010) and data relating to the other public tertiary institutions in South Africa were sourced from HEMIS, Higher Education Management Information System (DHET, 2010a/2010b). The data relating to the racial make-up of the various schools in Grahamstown, in terms of both teachers and scholars, were sourced from EMIS, Education Management Information Systems, (ECDoE, 2011). All data were derived, therefore, from secondary sources. All of the data are for 2009. Both HEMIS and EMIS data are collected by the South African government and supplied by each institution on a yearly basis.

Geographic co-ordinates for the creation of point data on maps were sourced from Google Earth. Base maps were the same as those used in Objective 1.

4.2.2 Analysis of Data

Data were analysed through the use of percentages. All of this analysis was performed within Microsoft Excel. The spatial dimension was added to these calculations through the use of maps which were produced within ArcMap 10. Percentages, for example, showing the proportional representation of race groups at schools in Grahamstown, were used to give a basic picture of the racial composition of Rhodes University and Grahamstown's schools.

4.3 Objective 3

To delineate and map the patterns of time-spatial integration which exist at the individual level in Grahamstown and explore the individual agency, and political and socio-economic structures and constraints that influence them.

4.3.1 Selection of research subjects

A total of 24 individuals equally split between staff and students from different households were chosen for the study. While other studies have typically chosen larger numbers of research subjects (Novák and Sýkora, 2007: 154; Frändberg, 2008: 20), as this objective formed one part of a wider study aimed at synthesis, this seemed to be a sufficient number. It was also the desire of this study to focus on the individual to an extent that was not a feature of these studies.

Research subjects were chosen according to several criteria. The first criterion was that the subjects were South Africans. South Africans were chosen because they were assumed to have lifestyles deeply influenced by the urban-lifestyles and urban social context in South Africa. Their perceptions of space and place and their time-space use were, therefore, assumed to be influenced by this background. The second criterion was racial representivity. A racial cross-section of Grahamstown's residents was sought. Fourteen of the subjects were white, two were Indian, one was coloured and seven were African. Third, subjects fell within the economically active cohort between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four years old. Twelve of these were employees at the various institutions of education in Grahamstown. The other twelve were students at Rhodes University. This decision was taken because this dissertation has a focus on Grahamstown's foremost industry, education. These data could, therefore, be

linked to the picture of residential segregation and segregation in institutions of education that were revealed in the other objectives. The fourth factor for consideration in choosing interviewees was that they should be resident within the former white group area of Grahamstown. It must be noted here, however, that the last two criteria narrowed down the pool from which one could draw black interviewees. The fact that the majority of black employees at Rhodes University, the main employer in terms of institutions of education in Grahamstown, by far fall within the lower grades of employment (discussed further in Chapter 6) means that their incomes do not enable them to buy or rent property in the former white group area of Grahamstown. Combining this fact with the high incidence of professionals being unwilling to part with time meant that finding interviewees was difficult. For instance, many coloured employees were approached for this study, but none of these attempts were successful.

The sample method chosen was a combination of what Kitchin and Tate (2000: 54) call snowball sampling and quota sampling. The criteria established above relate to the quota sampling, snowball sampling was then used and volunteers were identified through personal contacts at the various institutions.

4.3.2 Ethical Issues

Some potentially sensitive areas exist in the kinds of questions that were asked. First, race is quite a sensitive topic in communities within South Africa. This is not solely because of the lack of scientific support for the concept itself, but also because of South Africa's history of race-based divisions, inequalities and injustices, as well as racist ideology. To minimise the potential negative effects of this topic subjects were informed of the purpose of the study to give context to the questions and questions relating to race were asked as tactfully as possible.

Second, the time-space diary that was used asked for subjects to provide what may be considered to be personal information. Luckily, the depth of detail required within these diaries was not highly personal. Despite this, participants were informed that the answers would remain anonymous even in so far as street addresses of locations were used, but not house numbers.

A letter was constructed to explain the research process and its intent and this was included in the front of the time-space diary resource (Appendix A). Rhodes University's (1985) official

policy on ethics in research, 'Ethical Standards for Research on Human and Animal Subjects', was used to ensure that all relevant information was provided to volunteers and to ensure that the data collection process adhered to these guidelines. Volunteers were also asked to sign an indemnity/consent statement before the interview process proceeded. Volunteers were told that they would remain anonymous within the research report.

4.3.3 Diaries and Interview structure and content

Subjects were asked to keep a time-space diary for four days of the same week, two weekdays and the weekend. The diary was the primary means of recording each individual's movement within time and space. A comparable study by Novák and Sýkora (2007: 154) used two weekdays and one day over the weekend as part of their study and Vilhelmson (1999: 180) collected data on one weekday and one day of the weekend. Allowing for different activities within these individuals' weekday and weekend routines, the whole weekend was included in this study. The diary design was based, in part, on the diary used by Ellegård (1999: 171). In the diary there were designated time slots (Appendix A) and subjects were asked to provide information regarding what activity they were involved in, where the activity was taking place, and the mode of transport used in their movement from one place to another. Pre-designated time slots were used so that data could be filled out easily by participants and because the accuracy of the time use for each activity was not essential. The diary was used to map the time-space stations of individuals over the four days surveyed to show the activity space used by them in post-apartheid Grahamstown and reveal whether apartheid's racial divisions, especially former group areas divisions, still held significance in their lives. In addition to the diary, subjects were asked to fill out some basic information including their street address, age, occupation and so on.

Following the completion of the diary, subjects were then interviewed in a face-to-face meeting. The aim of the interviews was to gain insight into the data produced in the diary and fill the gaps that the diary could not cover. The interview questions sought to reveal external influences, motivations, roles, opportunities and situation that influenced each individual's choice of trajectory in time and space. Interviews were structured and questions were mostly open-ended ensuring the answers provided were not constrained by the interviewer's own categories and best reflected the individual's own thoughts and experiences (Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 213). Hand-written notes were taken during the interviews and answers were

typed and classed or coded soon after the interviews to avoid a lapse in memory causing inaccuracy.

4.3.4 Data Analysis

Time-space diary data were used to map using peoples stations during the four days surveyed. The coordinates of these stations were found using Google Earth Pro and were built into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, which was then uploaded into ArcMap. A base map of apartheid's group areas and townships was created using SPOT Imagery (2009) of Grahamstown and a map of apartheid group areas and townships produced by Fox (2009). The stations of all the subjects were then analysed. The dimension of time was dealt with in terms of weekdays and weekends and stations were grouped in this way. This is because each represents either a work- or leisure-dominated period.

The data collected in the interview with each subject were used to supplement the time-spatial information and gain an understanding of it. The interview results were analysed using the methods suggested by Kitchin and Tate (2000) as a guide. Data were classified and interpreted in terms of Chapin's Choice Model (Figure 3.2).

Chapter 5: Grahamstown

Grahamstown is situated in the Makana Local Municipality, which falls within the Cacadu District Municipality of the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa (Figure 5.1). The Province's major metros are Port Elizabeth and East London.

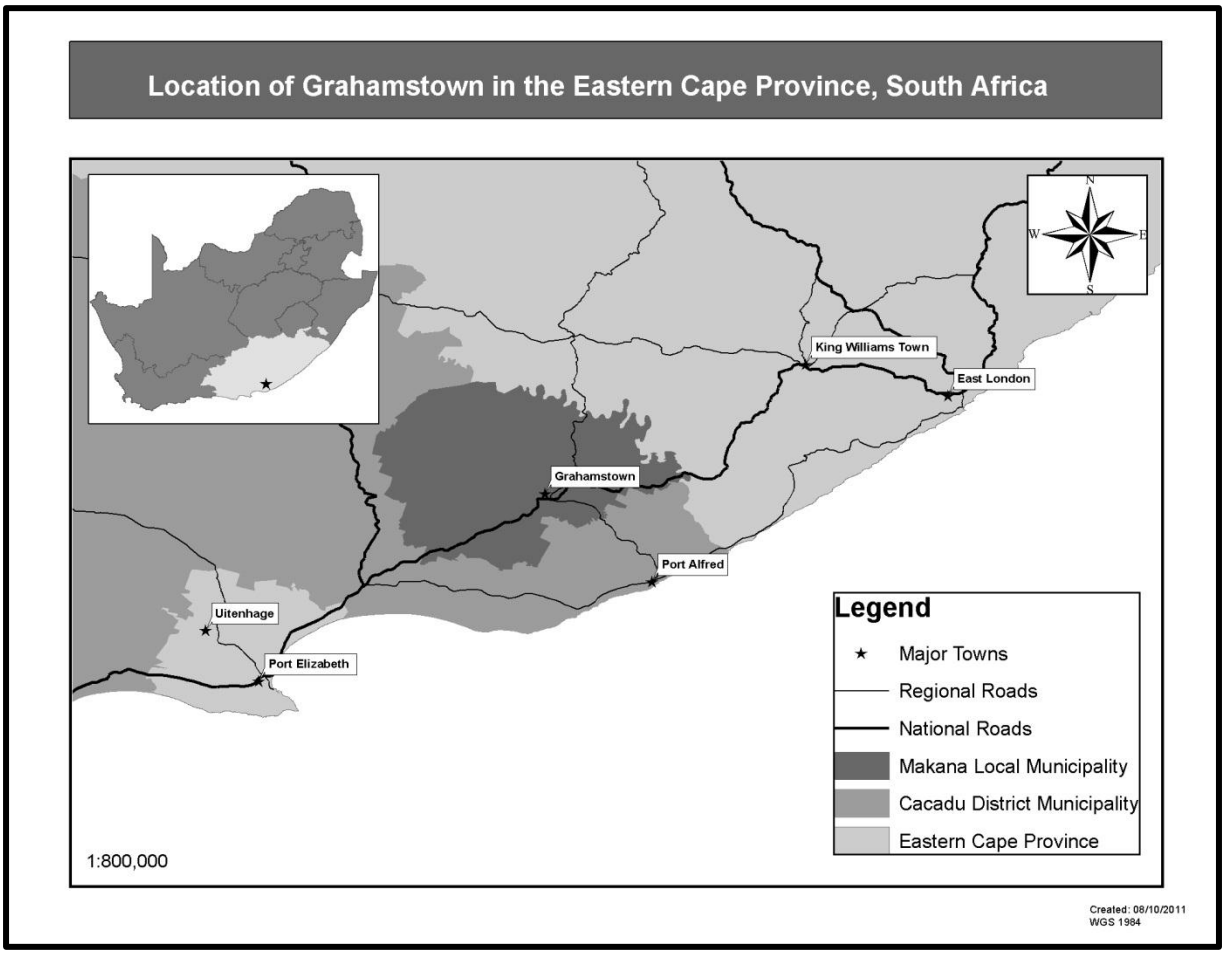

Figure 5.1: Location of Grahamstown within South Africa

Lemon and Clifford (2005:10) argue that small towns in South Africa are a neglected area in research concerning post-apartheid desegregation. They claim that there has been a lot of interest shown in large- and medium-sized urban settlements and that this ignores the idea that small towns have their own, unique story to tell. Indeed, the 2008 IGU (International Geographical Union) Report shows that, within the Commission 'Monitoring Cities of Tomorrow', there was a big city bias with nearly half of the publications focusing on South Africa's major urban areas. This idea is somewhat in agreement with Robinson (2006) who

believes that the age of focus on world or global cities is waning. She believes that academic research too commonly reveres these types of cities and treats them as the only form of city-ness. She advocates a non-hierarchical approach to research which embraces the uniqueness and diversity of all cities and encourages studies concerned with their nature.

One may question the choice of Grahamstown, a small education town in the Eastern Cape Province, as the site for this case study. In fact, Grahamstown is as relevant a place as any in which to conduct this research. It displays many of the classic features of Davies' Apartheid City Model and many of the characteristics and challenges of the post-apartheid urban settlements of South Africa. Taking this into cognisance, it provides the perfect laboratory for a case study of these characteristic phenomena of South African settlements in general.

5.1 Grahamstown's Geography

5.1.1 The establishment of Grahamstown

Grahamstown owes its origins to its tactical position on the frontier between the European settlers and the Xhosa (Hunt, 1985: 1). In 1780 the Fish River, east of Grahamstown, became the boundary of the Cape Colony (Hunt, 1985: 1). In 1811, the Governor of the Cape, Sir John Cradock, gave Colonel John Graham the task of driving the Xhosa over the Fish River and establishing a military headquarters for the frontier (Hunt, 1985: 1). The site for Grahamstown was chosen because of the water sources in the area and was proclaimed in 1811 and named after the Colonel (Hunt, 1985: 2). In 1815 the first erven in the town were sold through public auction and the military moved to Fort England so that the town could be developed by settlers (Watts, 1957a: 33). At this point in time the total population, including all races, of Grahamstown did not exceed 400 people (Watts, 1957a: 36).

Lord Charles Somerset, the subsequent Governor, wanted Grahamstown to become both the military and civil headquarters of the Albany District and, in line with this goal, he thought that a larger population of European settlers in the area would help with its defence (Hunt, 1985: 2). In 1820, the first ships of British settlers arrived in Algoa Bay (now Port Elizabeth), some of whom were allocated land in the Albany District (Hunt, 1985: 2). Many settlers in the area experienced floods and the failure of their farming enterprises and this caused them

to move into towns (Daniel, 1985: 3). By the 1830s, Grahamstown had grown to become the largest town in the Eastern Cape and second to Cape Town in its importance in the colony (Daniel, 1985: 3). Testament to the rapid growth of the town, by 1830 it had 400 residential buildings and by 1834, the population stood at 3 500 people. Watts (1957a: 67-93) describes the Grahamstown of the 1830s as the dominant economic, political, cultural administrative, judicial, financial and strategic force in the frontier.

By 1850, however, the military importance of the town had dwindled and its economic importance had decreased with the discovery of diamonds and gold in Kimberly and in Johannesburg, respectively (Daniel, 1985: 2-3). From this time education and law became its main functions, with the Eastern Districts Supreme Court established in 1864 and seven schools established in the town by 1876 and Rhodes University founded in 1904 (Daniel, 1985: 3-5). Related to this, Grahamstown's population virtually stagnated from this time on and did not keep up with the growth rate of the rest of South Africa (Watts, 1957b: 183).

5.1.2 The Development and layout of the Settlement

Grahamstown was established on Die Rietfontein farm (Hunt, 1985: 2) and the dilapidated farmhouse, facing north, became the key point in the plan for the settlement (Reynolds and Reynolds, 1974: 14). The village was planned by a surveyor, J. Knobel, and the first buildings were a prison, the Drostdy (the residence or office of the local magistrate) and the court messenger's house (Reynolds and Reynolds, 1974: 14). Figure 5.2 shows the plan of Grahamstown drawn in 1814.

After its establishment Grahamstown developed fairly rapidly as seen when comparing the plans drawn in 1814 and 1824 (Figure 5.2 and 5.3). Figure 5.4 shows the overall expansion of Grahamstown's urban area between 1820, 1920 and 2002. From a small settlement in 1820 the city developed around the original area, which is now the Central Business District.

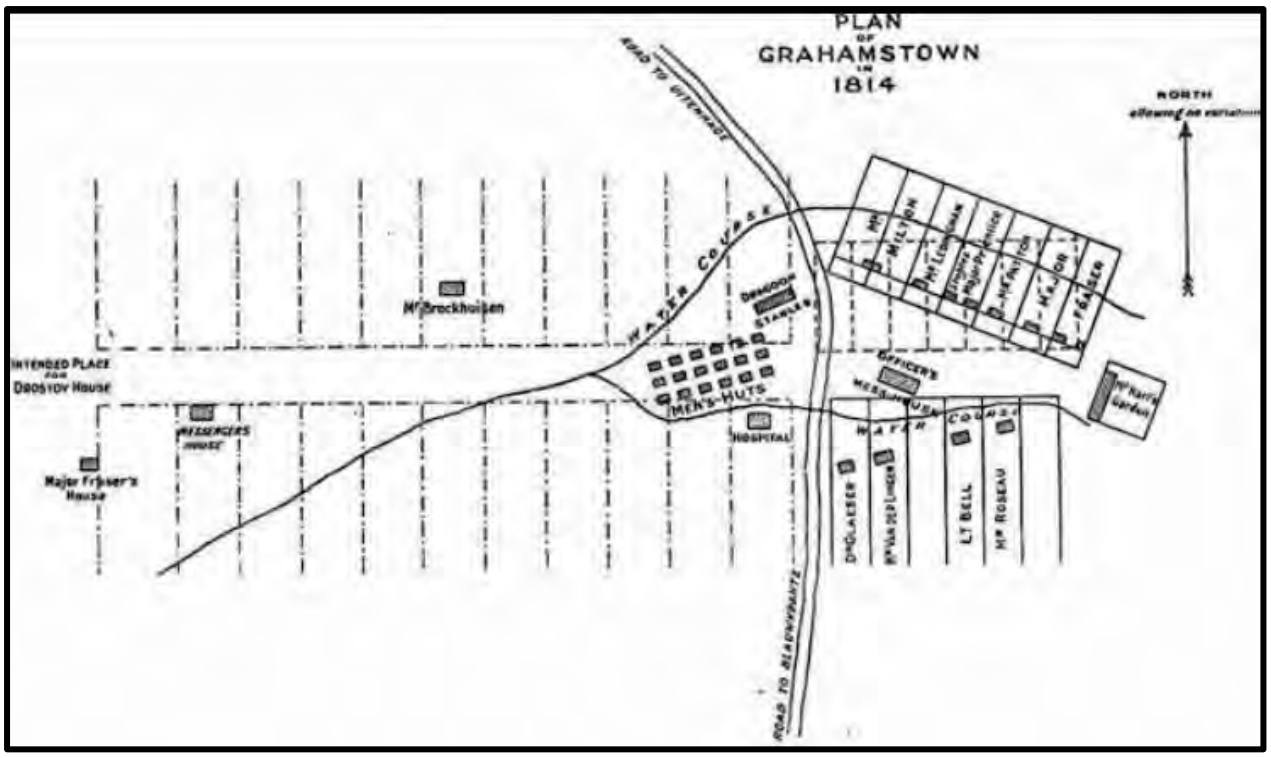

Figure 5.2: Plan of Grahamstown, 1814 (Source: Fox, 2009)

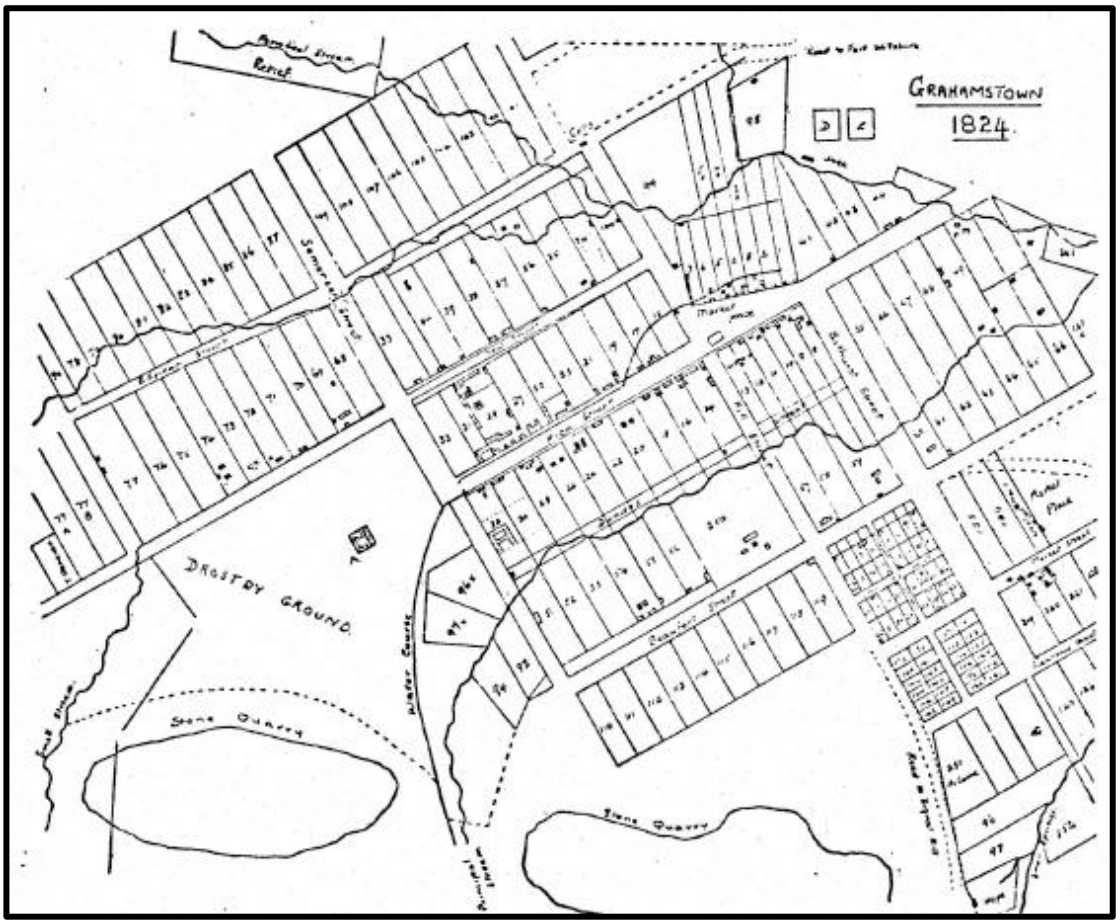

Figure 5.3: Plan of Grahamstown, 1824 (Source: Fox, 2009)

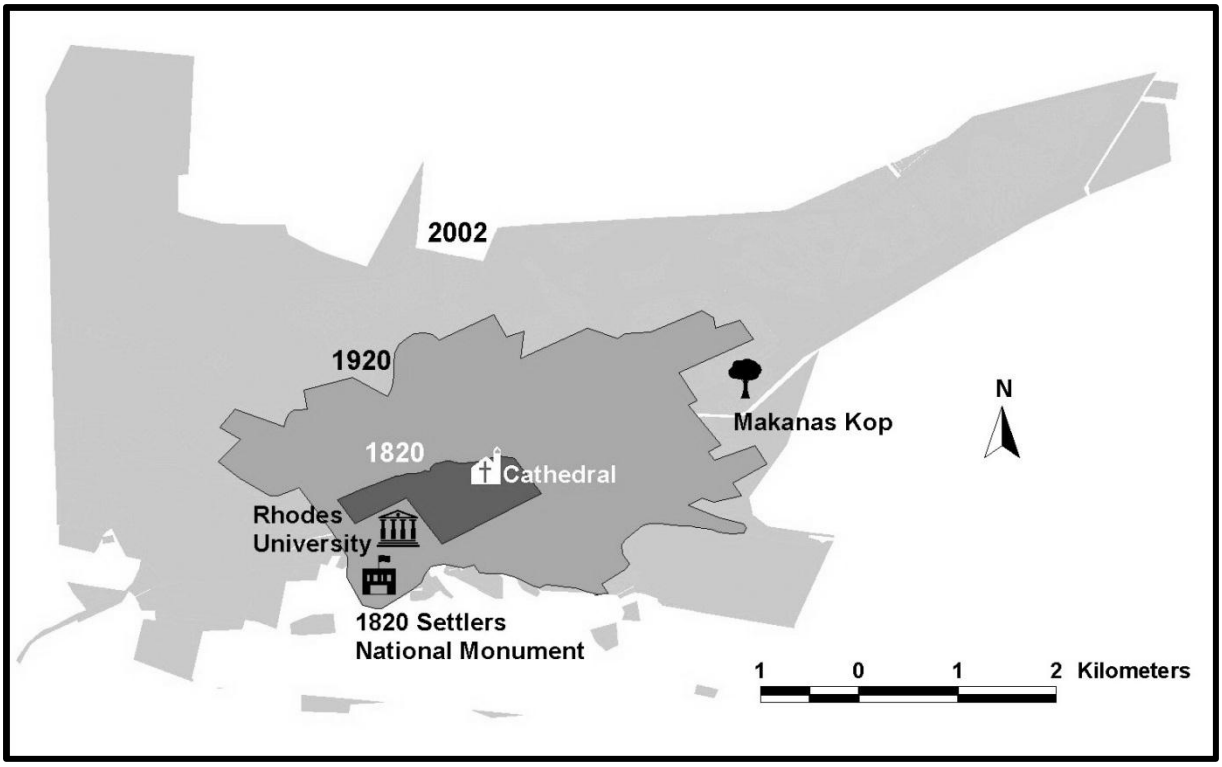

Figure 5.4: The Development and Expansion of Grahamstown from 1820 to 2002 (Source: Fox, 2009)

Table 5.1: Population Census Data for Grahamstown: 1904 to 1980 (Daniel, 1985: 10)

Year	White	Coloured	Asians	Africans	Total
1904	7 283	2 227	-	4 377	13 885
1911	7 323	2 190	-	4 317	13 830
1921	7 237	1 898	143	5 631	14 909
1936	8 198	2 322	122	9 131	19 773
1946	9 052	2 889	181	10 874	22 998
1951	8 680	3 117	178	11 814	23 789
1960	10 668	4 116	191	17 586	32 611
1970	10 089	4 986	229	25 998	41 302
1980	9460	6 260	300	35 020	51 040

Related to this urban development, the population of the city shows a steady increase in the segregation and apartheid eras. Table 5.1 shows that the overall population has grown over the years from 1904 to 1980. Interesting to note is that somewhere between the 1936 and 1946 census' the African population of Grahamstown exceeded that of the white population and it has remained higher since. While there were people living in Grahamstown of Asian descent at this time, the numbers are unrecorded for 1911 and 1921.

5.1.2.1 Race Groups and Segregation during the Settler-Colonial and Segregation Eras

The establishment of Grahamstown attracted many Xhosa people to the area (Møller, 2008: 3). After 1835 the number of African squatters increased rapidly (Møller, 2008: 3) and the 'Mfengu' group moved into the Cape Colony (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 5). In 1841, a separate settlement for the African community was declared (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 5) and in 1848 the Municipal Commissioners of Grahamstown designated an area for the Xhosa people in what is now known as Grahamstown East or Rhini (Møller, 2008: 3). According to Hunt (1958: 141-143 in Møller, 2008: 3), the area was surveyed in 1855 with the idea of giving title deeds to residents. Those who could afford it, bought a plot, but many remained as squatters (Møller, 2008: 3). In 1857, those African individuals who owned land in the area were given freehold title deeds (Møller, 2008: 3). This area became known as 'Fingo Village' (Møller, 2008: 3). Following this development, in 1860 the Old Municipal Township was established, Tantyi was built in the 1870s and Xolani in the 1930s (Møller, 2008: 3). Due to rapid development and urbanisation, however, many people remained squatters because these settlements could not keep up with the pace (Møller, 2008: 3). Slum conditions also resulted (Møller, 2008: 3).

In 1829, the 'Hottentot Village' was established in the town after the Khoi population was given legal equality and legal restrictions on indentured labour were abolished (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 47). The area, however, did not allow for any freehold rights (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 47). This area has been the centre of the coloured community since this time (Holleman and Paterson, 1997: 47). In 1945 and 1957 this area was extended as new houses were built (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 47).

The Indian community in Grahamstown has always been relatively small. The first Indian men arrived in Grahamstown in 1870 and were followed by women only in the 1920s (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 2). According to Holleman & Paterson (1997: 50), the Indians who settled in Grahamstown were 'passenger Indians' who came on the ships with those who were indentured labourers on the Natal sugar plantations. Many of them opened shops (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 51). Dullabh (1994: 83) showed that the Indians in Grahamstown first settled in the area around Fort England Hospital and, later, moved to New Street and lower High Street, which fell within the CBD and were racially mixed areas. Indians often lived on the same property on which their shops or commercial activities were

located (Dullabh, 1994: 92), therefore, Indian-owned shops were located in this area too (Dullabh, 1994: 127). During the settler-colonial and segregation era, however, the Indian community was not just confined to the racially mixed areas, but moved into the white areas when they could (Dullabh, 1994: 127). While Indians were not legally residentially segregated in Grahamstown at this time, segregation occurred through the economic barrier of property and rental prices (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 51). In addition, the Grahamstown Municipality Act No. 12 of 1878 gave the municipality the power over the issuing of trade and other licences, which meant that it was possible to restrict Indian trade (Dullabh, 1994: 93). In 1902, Indian trade was restricted by the Grahamstown Municipal Act 18, for example, through the checking of hawking and segregating the market (a general feature of the apartheid city). Building regulations were also introduced so that if buildings were deemed to be below standard they could be demolished (Dullabh, 1994: 93). Dullabh (1994: 93) argues that this Act was similar to the Slums Act of 1934 in the powers it gave the municipality. Municipal Ordinance 18 of 1917 allowed the Municipal Council to make and retain laws governing locations for Africans and Indians. However, Grahamstown did not establish an Indian location as the community was small and the community could not be forced to live in locations as many were property owners and, therefore, were exempt from municipal regulations (Dullabh, 1994: 93).

Figure 5.5 shows the racial divisions that existed within the space of Grahamstown during the late segregation era. The settlement displays many of the characteristics of Davies' Segregation City Model (Figure 2.1). The different race groups are largely separated, but mixing is evident. In contrast to the model, however, and reflecting the small number of people of Asian descent at the time (only about 122, Table 5.1), there is no separate Indian area. Christopher (1988: 162) calculated the segregation indices and dissimilarity indices for Grahamstown in 1911, at the beginning of the segregation era. These indices (Table 5.2) show that the white-African segregation is the highest amongst all groups and the African group is most segregated from all other groups. In addition, both the dissimilarity indices and segregation indices are higher in Grahamstown than in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. This reflects the idea already discussed that the segregation era was characterised by differential levels of segregation in South Africa's urban settlements. During the early 1950s (after the Group Areas Act made an appearance), Watts (1957b: 265) reports that within the white area of Grahamstown 2.4% of the households were coloured or Indian. These households were independent and these figures do not reflect domestic workers staying on the property of their

employers (Watts, 1957b: 265). This mixing occurred on the border of the white and coloured group areas or townships (Watts, 1957b: 266). The buildings in the area were some of the oldest in Grahamstown. This area is described by Watts (1957b: 268) as a blighted area of mixed land use situated in the transition area between the CBD surrounding areas and is, therefore, typical of most mixed race areas in South African urban settlements.

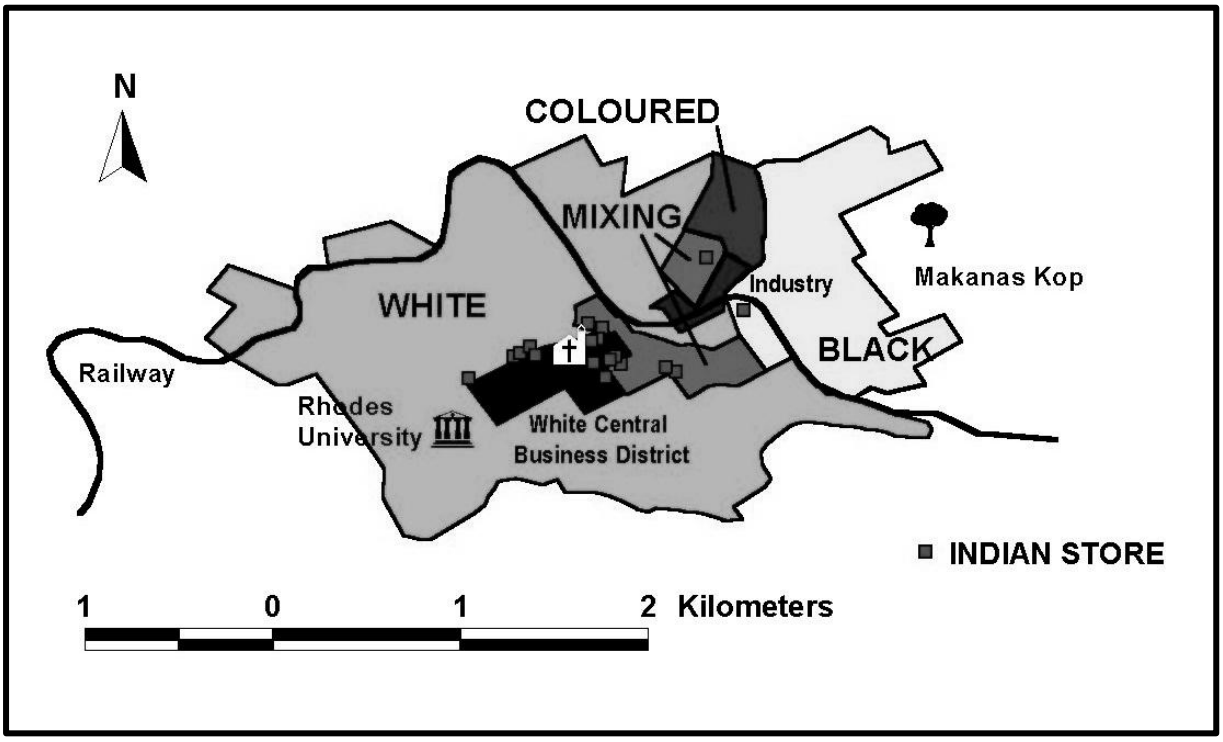

Figure 5.5: Grahamstown During the Segregation Era (Source: Fox, 2009)

Table 5.2: Segregation and Dissimilarity Indices for Grahamstown, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth 1911 (Source: Christopher, 1988: 169)

	Segregation Indices			Dissimilarity Indices		
	White	African	Coloured	White-African	White-Coloured	African-Coloured
Grahamstown	74.08	81.23	58.31	83.19	54.60	81.27
Cape Town	48.03	58.37	48.09	63.36	48.10	61.58
Port Elizabeth	57.67	71.81	50.16	79.53	51.67	68.76
0 = complete integration; 100 = complete segregation						

Buffer zones between race groups can be seen on the map and exist in the form of the industrial area and the railway line. Lavender Valley formed the buffer zone between Africans and coloureds (Møller, 2008: ixx). In addition, Watts (1957b: 308) lists the other components of the buffer zone in Grahamstown as cemeteries, market gardens, wastelands and streams. Furthermore, separate white and Indian trading areas are visible on the map.

5.1.2.2 Race Groups and the Apartheid Era

Chapter 2 showed that the group areas and townships were more clearly defined and segregation was strengthened in South Africa during the apartheid era. This has been the experience in Grahamstown while its apartheid characteristics were unique in many ways. Dullabh (1994) shows that the application of the Group Areas Act in Grahamstown was a lengthy and a somewhat trying exercise for central government and local authorities. A Frozen Zone existed on the edge of the CBD in the vicinity of High and Beaufort Streets (Dullabh, 1994: 134). This area contravened the Group Areas Act because it was racially mixed and development of the area, therefore, was curbed (Dullabh, 1994: 134). Property transfer between people of different races was also stopped so as to prevent the movement of black individuals into the area (Dullabh, 1994: 134).

Five years after the passing of the Group Areas Act, in 1955, the Grahamstown Council took the first step in implementing the apartheid blueprint in the city by the submission of proposals for zoning (Dullabh, 1994: 134). The Group Area Select Committee was created to apply the Act to Grahamstown (Dullabh, 1994: 134). Reluctantly, the choice was made by the Grahamstown Council to zone Grahamstown according to national legislation, but no plans were made for Indian and Chinese groups as these were too small (Dullabh, 1994: 134). However, central government intervened and disallowed Grahamstown from exemption from the Act (Dullabh, 1994: 134). Eventually, in 1959, the Group Areas Board (at central government level) proposed the zoning of Grahamstown, but informed the Municipal Council that Grahamstown would be left un-zoned for an indefinite period (Dullabh, 1994: 136). Finally, in 1970, Grahamstown's first white and coloured areas were zoned (Dullabh, 1994: 137). Fingo, an African area, was proclaimed a coloured area and a proposal was made to forcibly remove the African inhabitants of the area to Committees Drift within the Ciskei and 45km outside of Grahamstown (Dullabh, 1994: 138). An Indian area, in a part of Fingo Village, was proclaimed in 1972 (Dullabh, 1994: 138). The forcible removals never came to

pass and Fingo residents held off authorities until 1981 when the coloured and Indian areas were de-proclaimed (Dullabh, 1994: 139).

The Group Areas Act led to the loss of Indian houses and the existing Hindu temple when the Indian community were forcibly moved into a new Group Area in Oatlands North (Figure 5.6) in 1983 (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 52). The establishment of this group area was considerably later than in many other centres and so this aspect of the Apartheid City Model (Figure 2.3) only came into being in the later part of the era. In addition, its establishment was not extremely effective because Indians still remained within the central area (Dullabh, 1994: 191). Greater plans to move the community to Port Elizabeth were avoided through a Black Sash petition and the resistance of the City Council and Chamber of Commerce (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 52). The Black Sash was a women's organisation in South Africa, established in 1955, that actively opposed the apartheid system (Black Sash, 2012). A group area was established for Indian business in the CBD, but many Indian businesses were not moved in this process as they were already located in the area designated by the municipality (Holleman & Paterson, 1997: 52).

Figure 5.6 shows the extent and form of segregation in Grahamstown during the late apartheid era. There had been expansion of the city's boundaries since the segregation era, but these occurred as an expansion of the designated group areas. Watts (1957b: 316) argues that the development of concentric zones, highlighted by the Chicago School, had been prevented because of topographical barriers, but also because of the social barriers that formed part of the apartheid city. This is a characteristic of the Apartheid City Model (Figure 2.2). The buffer zones were still evident: some of these are highlighted on the map in the form of rivers and the railway line. The zones of racial mixing in the segregation era have been largely eliminated. The Indian Group Area has been established by 1984. In comparing the Apartheid City Model to its real-world application in Grahamstown, therefore, they show many similarities. However, the radial segregation of the model was not applied. This meant that black individuals would have to cross the white residential area to access the CBD and the industrial area.

The segregation indices for Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town for 1951 (Table 5.3) show that at this time the indices for all groups are equal to those of Port Elizabeth, but lower than those of Cape Town. By 1985, the residential segregation indices for

Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (Table 5.4) show that Grahamstown's Asian population is the least segregated of the three cities, but segregation indices for the other groups are about the same. Comparing the segregation indices for Grahamstown in 1911 (Table 5.2), 1951 and 1985 we see that segregation has increased steadily over time with regard to all race groups. The 'Asian' category is included in the 1951 and 1985 indices and the group is the least segregated of all. This reflects the fact that the Indian group area was only established in 1983.

5.1.2.3 Race Groups and the Late- and Post-apartheid Eras

By 1991, the establishment of free trade areas in Grahamstown had meant the entry of Indian-owned business to the central white CBD (Dullabh, 1994: 132). At the same point in time Indians were to be found within the white suburbs and the central area due to the relaxing of the government's enforcement of the Group Areas Act (Dullabh, 1994: 133).

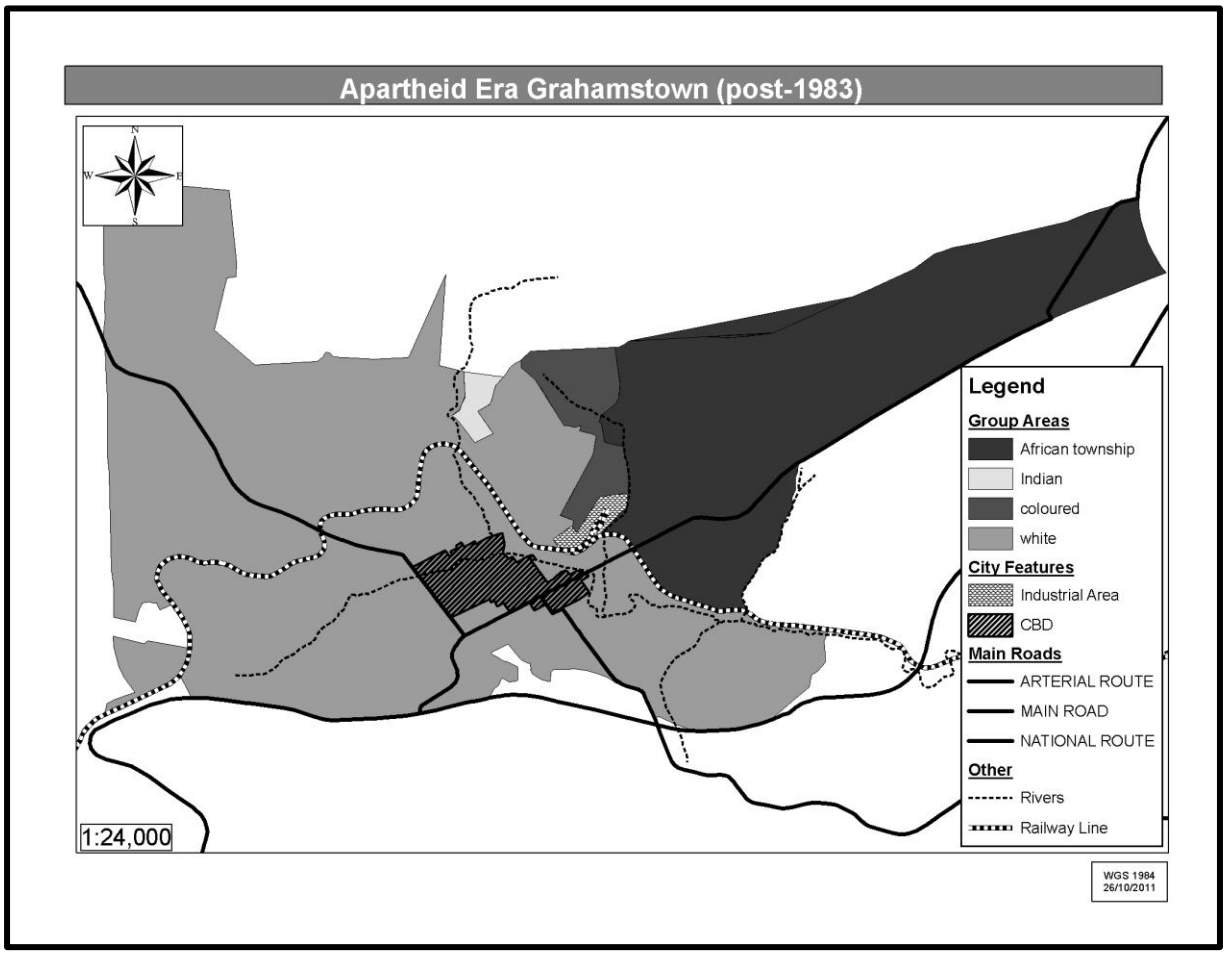

Figure 5.6: Grahamstown during the Apartheid Era (Adapted from Fox, 2009)

Table 5.3: Segregation Indices for Grahamstown, 1951 (Adapted from Christopher, 2001a: 43-46)

	Segregation Indices			
	White	African	Coloured	Asian
Grahamstown	75.0 – 89.9	75.0 – 89.9	50.0 – 74.9	50.0 – 74.9
Cape Town	50.0 – 74.9	50.0 – 74.9	50.0 – 74.9	< 50
Port Elizabeth	75.0 – 89.9	75.0 – 89.9	50.0 – 74.9	50.0 – 74.9
0 = complete integration, 100 = complete segregation				

Table 5.4: Segregation Indices for Grahamstown, 1985 (Adapted from Christopher, 1989: 260-263)

	Segregation Indices			
	White	African	Coloured	Asian
Grahamstown	> 95.0	90 – 94.9	> 95.0	50.0 – 74.9
Cape Town	90 – 94.9	> 95.0	90 – 94.9	75.0 – 89.9
Port Elizabeth	> 95.0	> 95.0	> 95.0	75.0 – 89.9
0 = complete integration, 100 = complete segregation				

In terms of the residential segregation indices in the transition to the post-apartheid era, in 1991 the indices for all three cities are in the same range of figures for both the white and coloured groups (Table 5.5). However, the index for the African group was in a lower range for Grahamstown whereas the Asian group was least segregated in Cape Town. Between 1985 (Table 5.4) and 1991 in Grahamstown the indices for the white and coloured groups decreased, the index for the African group stayed roughly the same and the Asian group became more segregated because of the establishment of their Indian Group Area in 1983.

While the white segregation indices for all three cities in 2001 (Table 5.6) remained roughly the same, there was a decrease in the African indices in all three meaning that it is the African population that is desegregating. The greatest decrease occurred in the Grahamstown. In both Grahamstown and Cape Town the index for coloured decreased, but in Port Elizabeth there was actually an increase in the index value. Indices for the Asian group were not calculated.

Table 5.5: Segregation indices for Grahamstown, 1991 (Adapted from Christopher, 2001a: 126-129)

	Segregation Indices			
	White	African	Coloured	Asian
Grahamstown	90.0 – 94.9	90.0 – 94.9	90.0 – 94.9	90.0 – 94.9
Cape Town	90.0 – 94.9	95.0 – 100.0	90.0 – 94.9	50.0 – 74.9
Port Elizabeth	90.0 – 94.9	95.0 – 100.0	90.0 – 94.9	90.0 – 94.9
0 = complete integration, 100 = complete segregation				

Table 5.6: Segregation indices for Grahamstown, 2001 (Adapted from Christopher, 2005a: 2310-2315)

	Segregation Indices			
	White	African	Coloured	Asian
Grahamstown	90.0 – 94.9	50.0 – 74.9	75.0 – 89.9	N/A
Cape Town	90.0 – 94.9	75.0 – 89.9	75.0 – 89.9	N/A
Port Elizabeth	90.0 – 94.9	90.0 – 94.9	95.0 – 100.0	N/A
0 = complete integration, 100 = complete segregation				

5.1.2.4 Grahamstown's Institutions of Education

The racial divisions of schools in Grahamstown during the apartheid era corresponded spatially with the divisions of residential neighbourhoods (Figure 5.7). The number of schools in the city is closely linked to the fact that education is one of the major industries in Grahamstown. By 1876, seven schools for white students had been established in Grahamstown: St. Andrews College, Graeme College, the Diocesan School for Girls, St. Aidan's College, Victoria Girls' School, Kingswood College and the Teachers' Training College (Daniel, 1985: 5). Subsequently, St. Aidans College, the Teachers' Training College and the Assumption Convent have closed (Daniel, 1985: 7). Extensive data on the establishment of the black schools are not available. Nathaniel Nyaluza High School was the first black high school in the Cape and Andrew Moyake Primary School was founded in 1894 and was the first black higher primary school (Holleman & Paterson, 2002: 29). In addition, when St Andrews College was established, funds were granted for a branch for African students (Holleman & Paterson, 2002: 18). This operated from 1860 and in 1867 it became the Kaffir Institute, losing its connection to St Andrews (Holleman & Paterson, 2002: 18).

After prolonged opposition to the school by white residents it was moved to St Matthews in Keiskammahoek in 1904 (Holleman & Paterson, 2002: 18).

Mary Waters, a former coloured school, was established in 1940 and was governed by the coloured House of Representatives from 1984 till 1994 (Lemon, 2004: 283). PJ Olivier, an Afrikaans medium school, was established in 1956 (Daniel, 1985: 5).

Rhodes University was founded in 1904. It was named after Cecil John Rhodes, the British imperialist and, using the name as a means for bargaining, the institution gained the financial support of the Rhodes Trust (Maylam, 2005: 15). As, Maylam (2005: 15) argues, the imperialist ideals of Cecil John Rhodes were not entirely different from those of the founders of the institution.

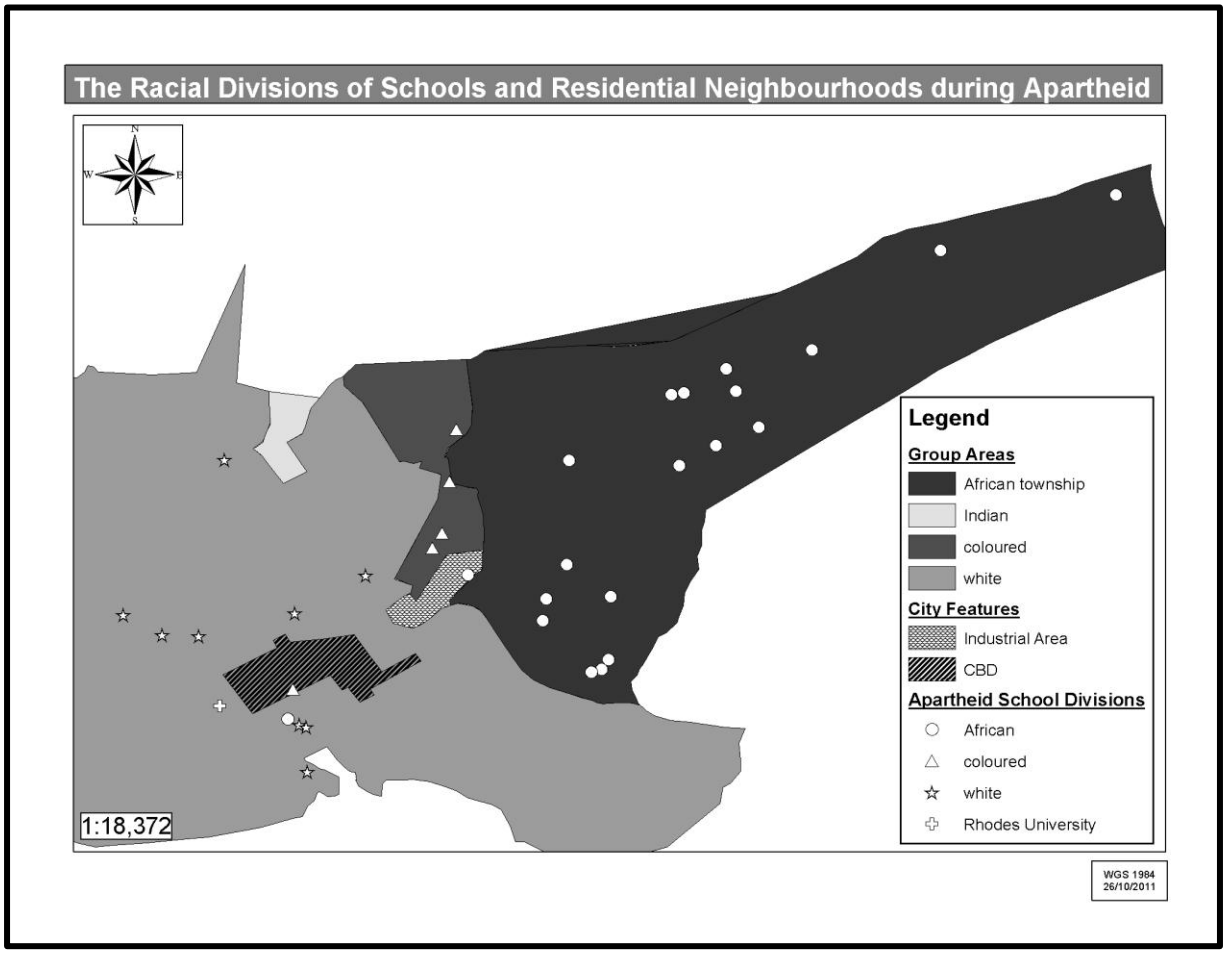

Figure 5.7: Grahamstown's Institutions of Education during the apartheid era

During the colonial and segregationist eras Rhodes adopted the segregationist stance, despite the fact that this was not legally enforced (Maylam, 2005: 16). When, in 1933, it was

suggested that an Indian student be admitted to Rhodes the proposal was rejected by the Council and the Council Minutes note that it was decided "that Rhodes University College is not in a position to agree to the admission of non-Europeans as resident or non-resident students" (Maylam, 2005: 16). In 1947, this resolution was challenged and the result was a new admissions policy that allowed that applications from non-European graduates would be considered in 'exceptional circumstances' and, in addition, if their applications were approved they would live in segregated accommodation (Maylam, 2005: 17). As Maylam (2005: 17) argues, this decision did not really diverge from the existing policy. Between 1947 and 1959, when segregation was legally enforced, of the fifteen applications from black graduates only three were accepted to attend Rhodes (Maylam, 2005: 17). When the apartheid legislation enforcing racial segregation in universities came into being, Rhodes University did very little to oppose it and, in fact, Maylam (2005: 20) argues that the actions and policies of the University during this time showed some degree of collusion with the racial order instead of disapproval. Maylam (2005: 18) argues that the university's opposition to the Extension of Universities Bill and the Fort Hare Transfer Bill was based on the loss of autonomy and not an opposition to racist ideals.

It was only in 1976 that Rhodes University appointed its first permanent black academic (Greyling, 2007: 123). Chinese students, classified as 'honorary whites', were admitted to Rhodes from 1963 and the first Indians were admitted for degrees in Pharmacy, which was not offered at the University of Durban-Westville which had been established for Indian students (Greyling, 2007: 123). While Chinese students were allowed to reside in university residences, the Indian students were forced to find alternative accommodation (Greyling, 2007: 123). The numbers of students of different races admitted to Rhodes University in 1977 and 1982 (Table 5.7) shows a marked increase in the numbers of black students. Furthermore, Rhodes admitted its first black students to residences in 1977 (Greyling, 2007: 130). It was only in 1980 that black and white students were truly integrated in residences, living under the same roof as it were (Greyling, 2007: 130). Rhodes was the first university in South Africa to integrate its residences (Greyling, 2007: 130). Despite this, throughout the 1980s, Rhodes was criticised for refraining to admit as many black students as other 'open' universities (Greyling, 2007: 171). In addition, admitting black students to the university classes and residences did not mean that the struggle for integration was over; issues of race still seemed to dominate the political agenda within and amongst tertiary institutions (Greyling, 2007). For instance, Rhodes was constantly criticised by members of the public, its

employees and students for its lack of official protest against apartheid and for its lack of financial support for black students who struggled to gain access to the university because of financial limitations (Greyling, 2007).

Table 5.7: Number of Students of Different Races Registered at Rhodes in 1977 and 1982 (adapted from Greyling, 2007: 126)

Year	White	Indian	Chinese	Coloured	African
1977	2568	8	54	15	9
1982	2879	109	n/a	78	135

During the post-apartheid era and the mergers and reorganisation of the public tertiary education system, Rhodes University was not part of a merger. However, the East London campus, a satellite, was given to the University of Fort Hare during the process.

5.1.2.5 Municipalities and Local Authorities

Grahamstown became a municipality in 1837 (Thomson, 1952: 24). All race areas were administered by the local (white) town council until 1974 when an administration board was created (Møller, 2008: 4). Grahamstown and Rhini (Grahamstown East/African townships) were split. The Black Local Authorities Act was passed in 1983 and it was intended to allow for elected black municipalities (Holleman & Paterson, 2002: 42). The Rhini Council suffered from the common lack of legitimacy among its community members (Holleman & Paterson, 2002: 43). In Grahamstown, this resulted in a rejection of the newly elected Rhini Council and in 1993 every councillor resigned under pressure from civil society (Holleman & Paterson, 2002: 43). As with most African municipal areas in South Africa, Rhini has a history of demolition of houses, rent and service boycotts and bankruptcy (Møller, 2008: 4).

In 1995, a Transitional Local Council was established, uniting the areas of Grahamstown under one authority (Møller, 2008: 5). In 2000, the Transitional Local Council was merged with two smaller councils and the surrounding rural areas to form the Makana Local Municipality (Møller, 2008: 5).

5.1.3 Contemporary Urban Characteristics of Grahamstown

5.1.3.1 Distribution of Low-, Medium- and High-Income Residential Areas

Grahamstown's suburbs or residential areas are shown in Figure 5.8. While the informal settlements are not shown on the map they are mostly located on the boundaries of the former coloured area and African township or within them. This has occurred partly because of the availability of land that was set aside as buffers during the apartheid era and land that has not been zoned for formal housing because of topography or the presence of a stream or river.

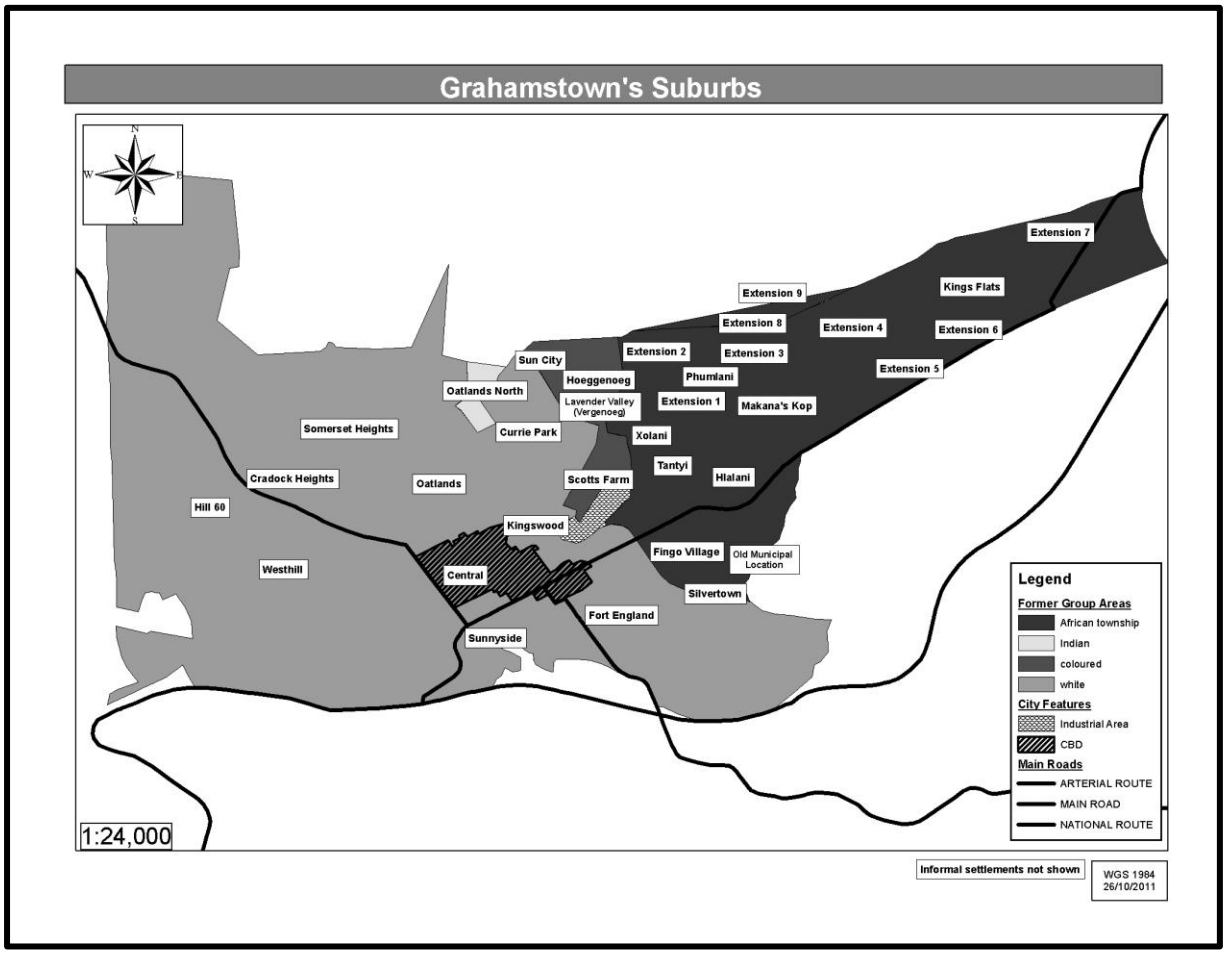

Figure 5.8: Grahamstown's Suburbs

Van der Merwe (2011) argues that integration occurred in the post-apartheid era as far as infill developments between the former group areas and townships have been promoted by municipalities. The city is now denser and more compact (van der Merwe, 2011). In Grahamstown, there has been much development in Rhini since the end of apartheid with the

establishment of Extensions 6 to 9, upgrades of services in informal housing areas and RDP development schemes (Møller, 2008: 6). In addition to this, informal settlements and backyard shacks have developed rapidly since 1994 in the form of shack infill, land invasions and informal housing on borders of formal settlements (Møller, 2008: 6). All of the low income housing and informal settlement development has occurred either within or as an extension of the township area.

Other developments include the building of higher density housing in the CBD and surrounding areas in the last ten years. Sale and rental of these have largely been directed at the student population as well as parents of learners at private schools. In addition, gated communities in the form of housing estates have appeared in this time and fall within the former white group area. Such developments probably number no more than ten in total within the city (with four identified in the northern suburbs and two in the area surrounding the CBD), but their appearance parallels that in other cities throughout South Africa in the post-apartheid era.

Figure 5.9 shows the urban layout of the low-, medium- and high-income residential areas (derived from Gaybba, 2010). In fact, there exists a problem with these traditional definitions of residential area types. While it is not the project of this research to grapple with the applicability of these residential types, it deserves brief attention. The problem here is that the 'low income' bracket is a vast category encompassing everything from informal housing sometimes built illegally on public or private land, to state supplied ('RDP') houses on private land and, finally, to the more traditionally-labelled low income housing which is privately-owned and privately developed. In a nutshell, low-income residential areas in the former white group area are vastly different in nature from the majority of those in the greater township area.

In any case, the apartheid divisions of space and the socio-economic inequalities imposed in the past are still evident. Although the township area contains a few middle-income houses the majority of the area is made up of different forms of low-income housing. The middle- and high-income residential areas are concentrated in the former white group area. This has been exacerbated to some degree by the different housing developments in the post-apartheid era, which are discussed in the section below. The stark contrasts between the middle to high

income properties and the low income ones can be seen in the satellite imagery and photographs (Figure 5.10). Houses in the middle to high income areas have tended gardens, large and formal structures, larger properties, paved roads, swimming pools and so on. The mixture of formal and informal structures, small dwellings, largely unpaved roads and unkempt gardens are characteristic of low income properties and the township area at large.

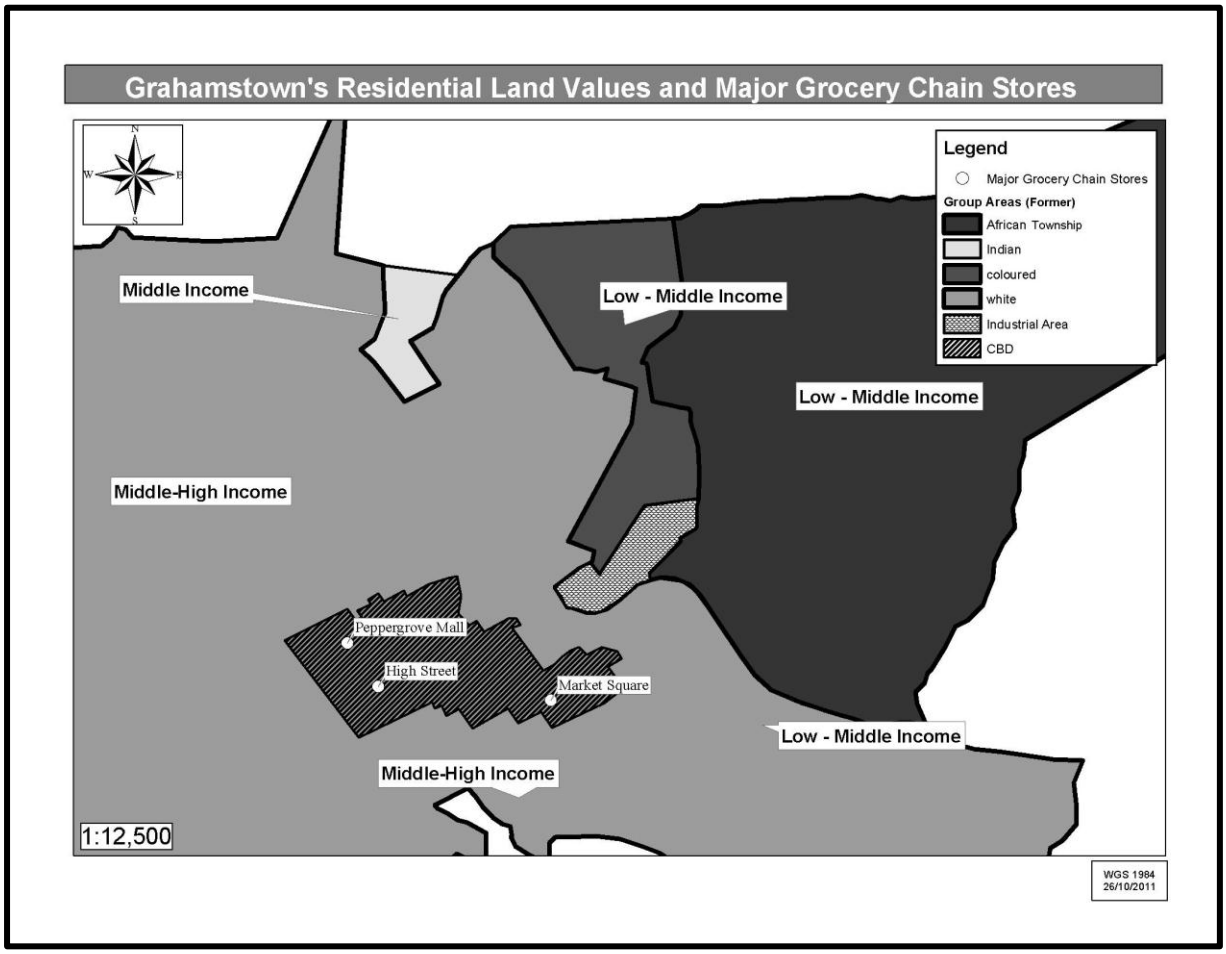

Figure 5.9: The Distribution of Low-, Medium- and High-income Residential Areas and Major Grocery Chain Stores in Grahamstown

5.1.3.2 Commercial areas and other amenities

Grahamstown's commercial activities and services are largely located within the CBD (Figure 5.9) and fall within the former white group area. There has been no major decentralisation of commercial activities unlike the experience of many of South Africa's larger cities. This is most likely due to Grahamstown's relatively small size in terms of area and population.

Located within different areas of the CBD are three major grocery chain stores (Figure 5.9). The grocery chain store at Peppergrove Mall seems to cater for middle to high income shoppers in terms of their product range and its surrounding shops and commercial activities. Shoppers observed in this shop also tend to fall within these income levels and are, to a large extent, white. The grocery chain store in High Street is middle of the range. Shoppers are of mixed incomes and also representative of all race groups. The grocery chain store at Market Square serves the lower income population to a large degree. The surrounding shops (inexpensive, run-down buildings) and high number of informal traders are indicators of this. Other indicators include the location of the mall near to the city's taxi-ranks and the product range which largely excludes luxury items and allows shoppers to purchase goods in bulk. The shoppers in this mall and in this area of the CBD are, on the whole, black.

Figure 5.10: Middle-high Income Property (top) and Low Income Property (bottom) (Source: Google Earth, 2003)

There has been very little development of commercial activities in the township area despite the fact that the majority of the city's population resides in the area. Small shops selling the bare essentials are the most dominant form of commercial activity and this is indicative of very little change from the apartheid period.

Unlike Christopher's (2001a) proposed post-apartheid city model (Figure 3.1), Grahamstown does not yet display a decentralisation of the CBD in the form of a new CBD or suburban shopping malls. This is, of course, related to its size. Therefore, the CBD has just continued to expand in the post-apartheid era.

5.1.3.3 Transport

Transport is relevant to the topic of integration in post-apartheid Grahamstown because different forms of transport affect the level of access that individuals have to certain things within urban space. Grahamstown has no public transport system unlike bigger centres where municipal buses and trains provide inexpensive transportation. The closest equivalent to this is the minibus taxi. Minibus taxis are used to ferry people around town at a relatively low cost and are mostly used by the township community. There are various taxi ranks in the town which have been provided by the municipality. These are situated off Beaufort and Market streets to serve shoppers and workers in that area of town. A more expensive form of transport is the 'shuttle', but these are not as widely operated, often needing to be booked and lacking regular stops or routes.

Modes of private transport include bicycles and private motorcars. Pedestrians also dominate. In addition to these, donkey carts are still used by people in the townships and mostly carry scrap and firewood.

5.1.3.4 Institutions of Education

Grahamstown has maintained its character as an education centre within South Africa. In terms of schools, its offerings are diverse and it is still home to one of South Africa's top universities, Rhodes University. In the following discussion the characteristics of the different institutions will be highlighted and the parallels between these characteristics and the fees charged will be illustrated. This is important because, as discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, fees

have been shown to be a major obstacle to accessing certain institutions and, therefore, access is not equitable.

Rhodes is the smallest university in South Africa and this makes up part of its advantage. It is also one of the top research-intensive universities in the country. Average fees for undergraduate studies in 2010 were R25 493 per annum (Rhodes University, 2010: D1-D2). In the same year, the Honours' tuition fees were averaged at R19 730, and Masters' and Doctoral tuition fees were fixed at R12 010 (Rhodes University, 2010: D5-D6; D7-D8). In comparison to several other universities' tuition fees, Rhodes University's fees are consistently somewhere midway between the most and the least expensive (Table 5.8). In addition to the financial obstacle to access to tertiary education on the whole, Rhodes and similar institutions have relatively stringent entry requirements.

Table 5.8: Average Tuition Fees (Commerce, Science and Humanities degrees) for Various Universities in 2010 (adapted from Rhodes University, 2010: D3-D4; D5-D6; D7-D8)

University	Undergraduate	Honours	Masters	Doctoral
University of the Witwatersrand	R31 087	R23 520	R13 077	R13 820
Rhodes University	R25 493	R19 730	R12 010	R12 010
Stellenbosch University	N/A	R21 190	R13 938	R 9 710
University of KwaZulu Natal	R21 012	R15 883	R16 447	R16 137
University of Fort Hare	R17 660	R11 160	R 8 910	R 7 500

Table 5.9 shows the names, types and levels of schools in contemporary Grahamstown. There are 34 schools in the city: 18 primary schools, two combined schools and 14 secondary schools. Of the 34 schools, four are independent schools and 30 are public schools. Five of the public schools are former-Model C schools.

St Andrews College, Kingswood College and Diocesan School for Girls (DSG) are independent schools. The majority of school pupils are boarders and a significant number come from other countries (Lemon, 2004: 279). As independent schools, they operate without financial assistance from the government and fees are high, favouring only the affluent and in South Africa this means that pupils are predominantly white (Lemon, 2004: 279). Lemon (2004: 280) discovered that school fees at these schools were set between R23 000 and

R31 000 per annum excluding boarding fees. This means that, unless a scholarship is secured, the majority of local children are denied access to such schooling. These schools possess some very desirable attributes including excellent academic results, low teacher-learner ratios, and extensive facilities (Lemon, 2004: 279-281). The grounds and school buildings of DSG are extensive and well-maintained with a large number of sporting facilities including an Astroturf and indoor heated swimming pool (Figure 5.12). The school also has extensive boarding facilities.

The former-Model C secondary schools in Grahamstown include Victoria Girls' High School, Graeme College and Hoërskool PJ Olivier. While Victoria Girls' High and Graeme College are English-medium schools for girls and boys, respectively, Hoërskool PJ Olivier is an Afrikaans-medium, co-educational institution (Lemon, 2004: 282). These all have boarding facilities (Lemon, 2004: 282). The schools draw pupils from the Eastern Cape in the main, but Graeme and Victoria Girls' draw some pupils from other African countries (Lemon, 2004: 282). Academic results and learner-teacher ratios are relatively high and their facilities, though not quite as extensive as those of the independent schools, are good (Lemon, 2004: 283). Lemon (2004: 283) notes that government funding for these schools is limited in comparison to former black schools and communication with the Department of Education is insufficient. As a result, they often function as 'semi-private' institutions (Lemon, 2004: 283). Lemon (2004: 280) found schools fees in these three schools in this category to range between R2 200 and R3 260 per annum excluding boarding fees. In addition to this financial barrier to the poor registering their children at these schools, Lemon (2004: 283) reports Graeme and Victoria Girls' to have entry requirements in place. They have established unofficial former-Model C feeder schools and their requirements include proficiency in English and communication skills (Lemon, 2004: 283). Lemon (2004: 283) argues that though this is not out-rightly racially discriminatory, such policies are a departure from the legal requirements. One can expect that the two former-Model C primary schools, Victoria Girls' Primary School and Oatlands Preparatory School, share many of the same characteristics. Victoria Girls' High School (Figure 5.13) can be seen to have extensive, well-maintained grounds and shares a large range of sporting facilities with Victoria Primary School. The buildings, too, are well maintained and extensive. Boarding facilities are also found on the school grounds.

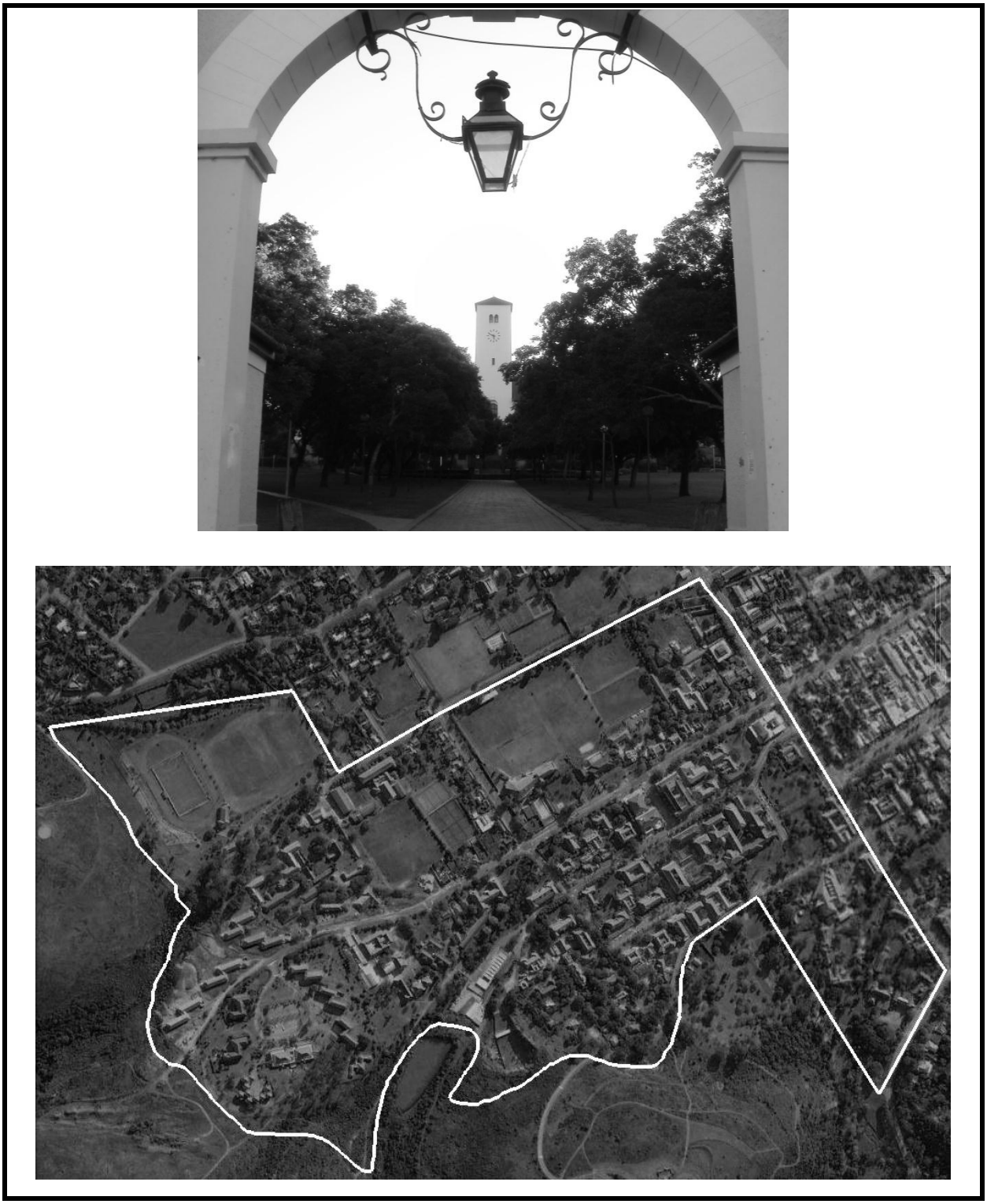

Figure 5.11: Rhodes University (Source: Google Earth, 2003)

Table 5.9: The Schools in Grahamstown in 2011 (Adapted from ECDoE, 2009)

School	Type	Level
Andrew Moyake Primary School	Public	Primary
Archie Mbolekwa Public School	Public	Primary
Benjamin Mahlasela Secondary School	Public	Secondary
C.M. Vellem Lower Primary School	Public	Primary
D.D. Siwisa Primary School	Public	Primary
Diocesan School For Girls	Independent	Secondary
Fikizolo Public Primary School	Public	Primary
GADRA Matric School	Public	N/A
George Dickerson Primary School	Public	Primary
Good Shepherd Primary School	Public	Primary
Graeme College Boys' High	Public (former Model C)	Combined
Grahamstown Primary School	Public	Primary
Grahamstown Secondary School	Public	Secondary
Hoërskool P.J. Olivier	Public (former Model C)	Combined
Khutliso Daniels Secondary School	Public	Secondary
Kingswood College	Independent	Combined
Kuyasa School for the Mentally Handicapped	Public	Primary
Makana Public Primary School	Public	Primary
Mary Waters Secondary School	Public	Secondary
N.V. Cewu Higher Primary School	Public	Primary
Nathaniel Nyaluza Secondary School	Public	Secondary
Nombulelo Secondary School	Public	Secondary
Ntaba Maria Primary School	Public	Combined
Ntsika Senior Secondary School	Public	Secondary
Oatlands Preparatory School	Public (former Model C)	Primary
Samuel Ntlebi Primary School	Public	Primary
Samuel Ntsiko Primary School	Public	Primary
St Andrew's College	Independent	Secondary
St Andrew's Preparatory School	Independent	Primary
St Mary's Primary School	Public	Primary
Tantyi Public School	Public	Primary
T.E.M. Mrwetyana Secondary School	Public	Secondary
Victoria Girls' High School	Public (former Model C)	Secondary
Victoria Primary School	Public (former Model C)	Primary

Mary Waters, a former coloured school, offers dual-medium instruction (Lemon, 2004: 283). It has poor facilities, limited financial support from the government, high learner-teacher ratios, and 'modest' examination results (Lemon, 2004: 284). Lemon (2004: 280) discovered school fees to be set at a mere R200 per annum. This renders it financially accessible, especially relative to the independent and former-Model C schools.

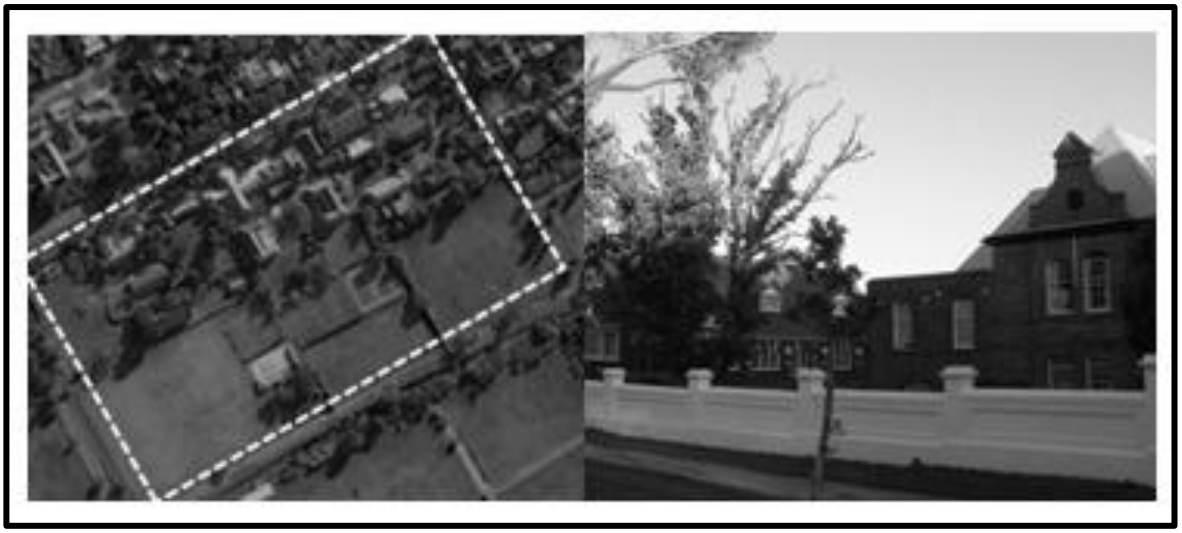

Figure 5.12: Diocesan School for Girls' Facilities (Source: Google Earth, 2003)

Figure 5.13: Victoria Girls' High and Victoria Primary Schools' Facilities (Source: Google Earth, 2003)

The majority of the schools in Grahamstown are former African or township schools. Lemon (2004) investigated four of these: Nombulelo, Nathaniel Nyaluza, Benjamin Mahlalesa and Khutliso Daniels. These schools draw students from the local township area and informal settlements (Lemon, 2004: 284). They have poor and limited facilities, high learner-teacher ratios, limited financial support from the government and poor examination results relative to those of independent and former-Model C schools (Lemon, 2004: 285). Lemon (2004: 285), however, notes that although township schools share these characteristics overall, they do differ and there exists a hierarchy of schools. For example, schools with better results are

favoured by parents and the demand for space in schools with good matriculation results mirrors the lack of demand in schools with less favourable results (Lemon, 2004: 285). In addition to these negative attributes, Lemon's (2004: 285) investigation also revealed that at Nathaniel Nyaluza there was high absenteeism, poor pupil control and a lack of dedication from staff. Lemon (2004: 280) shows that school fees are low, set between R50 and R80 per annum at the time of his investigation. Despite low fee requirements, many parents cannot or will not pay them (Lemon, 2004: 284). As Lemon's investigation seems to have drawn a cross-section of township schools his findings would, therefore, appear to be applicable to the majority. Nathaniel Nyaluza (Figure 5.14), a school which falls within the township, has poor facilities in comparison to the schools discussed above – school buildings are relatively extensive, but the school grounds are not large and there are no sporting facilities. The grounds of the school are also not as well maintained as those of the DSG and Victoria Girls' High School and Victoria Primary School.

Figure 5.14: Nathanial Nyaluza's Facilities (Source: Google Earth, 2003)

5.2 Demographics and Economics of Contemporary Grahamstown

5.2.1 Population and Economics

Makana Municipality's population figures are limited in their accuracy because of doubts surrounding the credibility of the 2001 national census figures (Makana Municipality, 2010: 14). The municipality has chosen to publish the Quantec Research demographic figures, which uses population projections and demographic forecasts and reports the 2007 population

of the municipality to total 76 706 (Quantec, 2007 in Makana Municipality, 2010: 14). The greater Grahamstown region (including Rhini) makes up 81% of the total population of the local municipality (Makana Municipality, 2010: 15). This means that the greater Grahamstown region's total population should amount to about 62 132 people.

The municipality's population, when broken down by race, shows a similar composition to that at the national level (Figure 5.15 and 5.16). Unsurprisingly, the African population amounts to seventy-three percent of the population, with the white and coloured population of roughly the same size, at 12 and 14 percent, respectively. In line with the historical size of the Indian community in Grahamstown, this group of the population makes up only about 1%.

In terms of the age structure of the population, Figure 5.17 shows that 66% of the population fall within the economically active cohorts of 15-64 years of age (Makana Municipality, 2010: 15). This means that the dependency ratio, a ratio of the number of economic dependents to economically active individuals, of 0.51 is considerably lower than that of the rest of the province, which stands at 1.81 (Makana Municipality, 2010: 15).

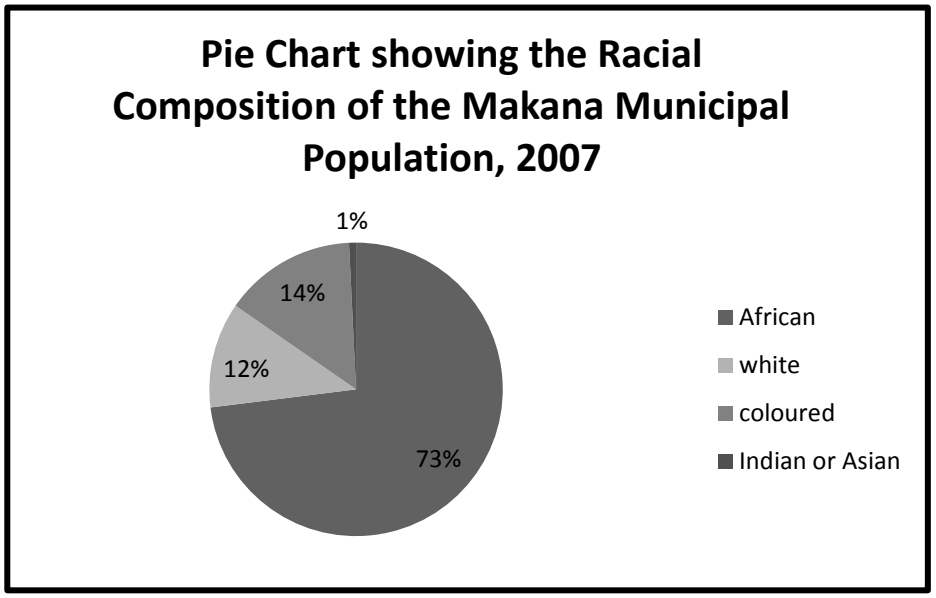

Figure 5.15: The Racial Breakdown of the Makana Population (Makana Municipality, 2010)

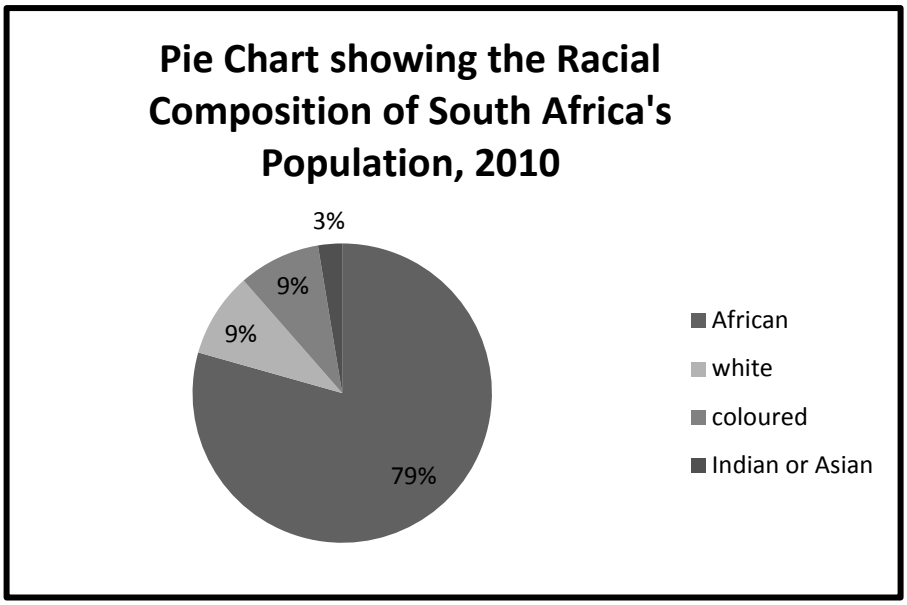

Figure 5.16: The Racial Breakdown of the South African Population (Statistics South Africa, 2010)

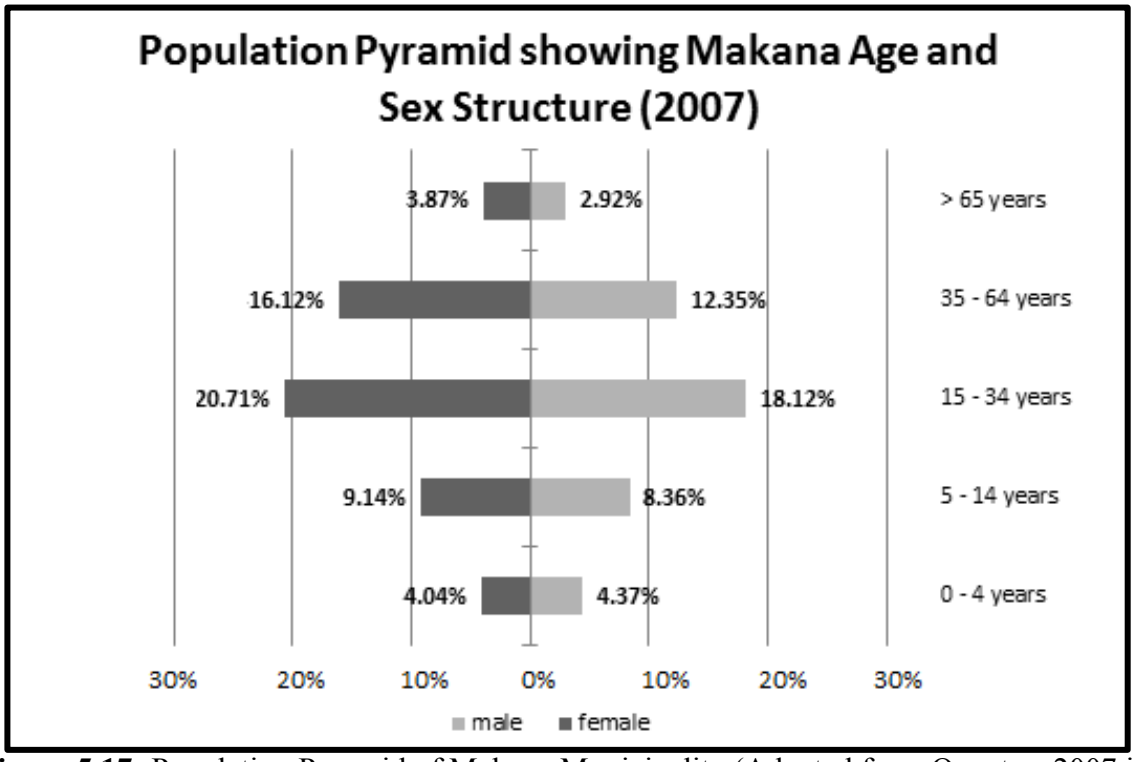

Figure 5.17: Population Pyramid of Makana Municipality (Adapted from Quantec, 2007 in Makana Municipality, 2010)

Figure 5.18 shows that in 2001 twenty-nine percent of the population was employed, the same percentage was unemployed and 42% were not economically active. Figure 5.19 reveals the breakdown of the employment status by race. It shows that all race groups had a high

proportion of people who are not economically active. This is no doubt related to the proportion of scholars and students present in the town due to the education industry in the town. The starkest difference is revealed by the proportion of the unemployed within each race group. While the Indian and white groups have small proportion of unemployed individuals in comparison to those employed, the coloured and African groups have a very high proportion.

Twenty-three percent of households subsist on income levels below the poverty line or below R800 per month (Makana Municipality, 2010: 19-20). The unemployment rate and poverty levels are much higher than the district and provincial levels (Makana Municipality, 2010: 18-19). Linked to this, using the figures provided by Quantec Research and the SASSA (South African Social Security Agency) (in Makana Municipality, 2010), it can be calculated that 55.1% of the population of Grahamstown are beneficiaries of social grants like those for child support, disability and old age. People who fall within higher income brackets (over R12 801 per month), however, amount to 8.9% of the economically active population (Makana Municipality, 2010: 20). This raises the municipal average household income level of R8 417.63 per month, which is higher than the provincial levels (Makana Municipality, 2010: 19). Figure 5.20 breaks down the income levels in the municipality by race. It shows that, whites generally earn higher ranges of incomes and that African and coloured incomes are situated lower down on the scale. This is connected to the racial division of labour that still exists in the municipality. African employees were largely concentrated within the 'elementary occupations' and the 'service workers' categories (Figure 5.21). On the other hand, the 'professionals' and 'clerks' were the two largest employment categories for whites. The two largest employment categories for coloureds were the 'elementary occupations' and 'craft and related trade workers'. There exists, therefore, a connection between the skills levels of jobs and income. Another connection is established when one looks at the educational achievement of individuals within the municipality broken down by race (Figure 5.22). While white individuals have generally attained high levels of education, the largest proportion of both African and coloured individuals have attained lower levels of education. In sum, the picture that this paints is one of inequality between race groups in the local municipality. These inequalities are no doubt a continuance of those that evolved over centuries of the oppressive political, social and economic systems that were discussed in Chapter 2.

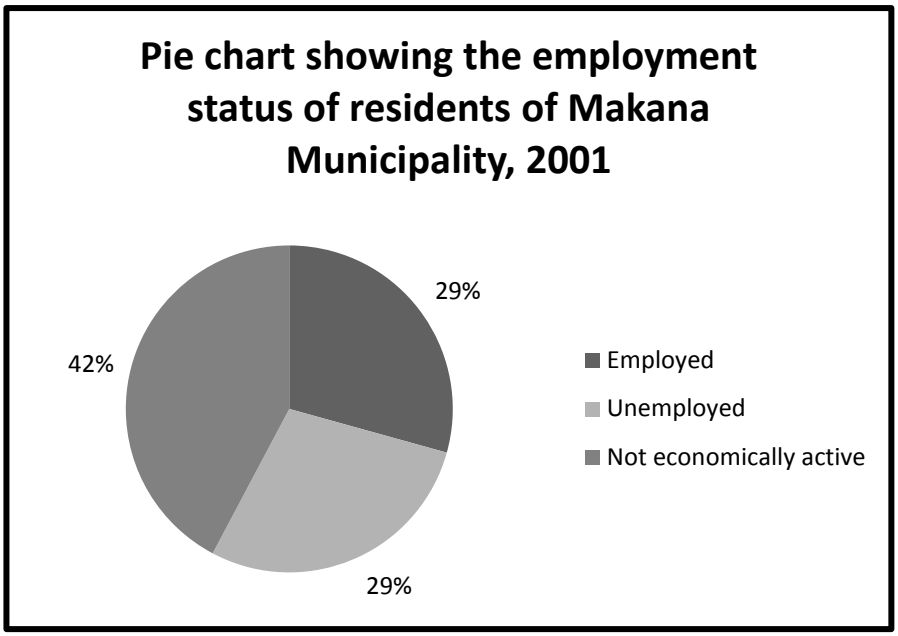

Figure 5.18: The Employment status of Makana Residents, 2001 (Stats SA, 2005)

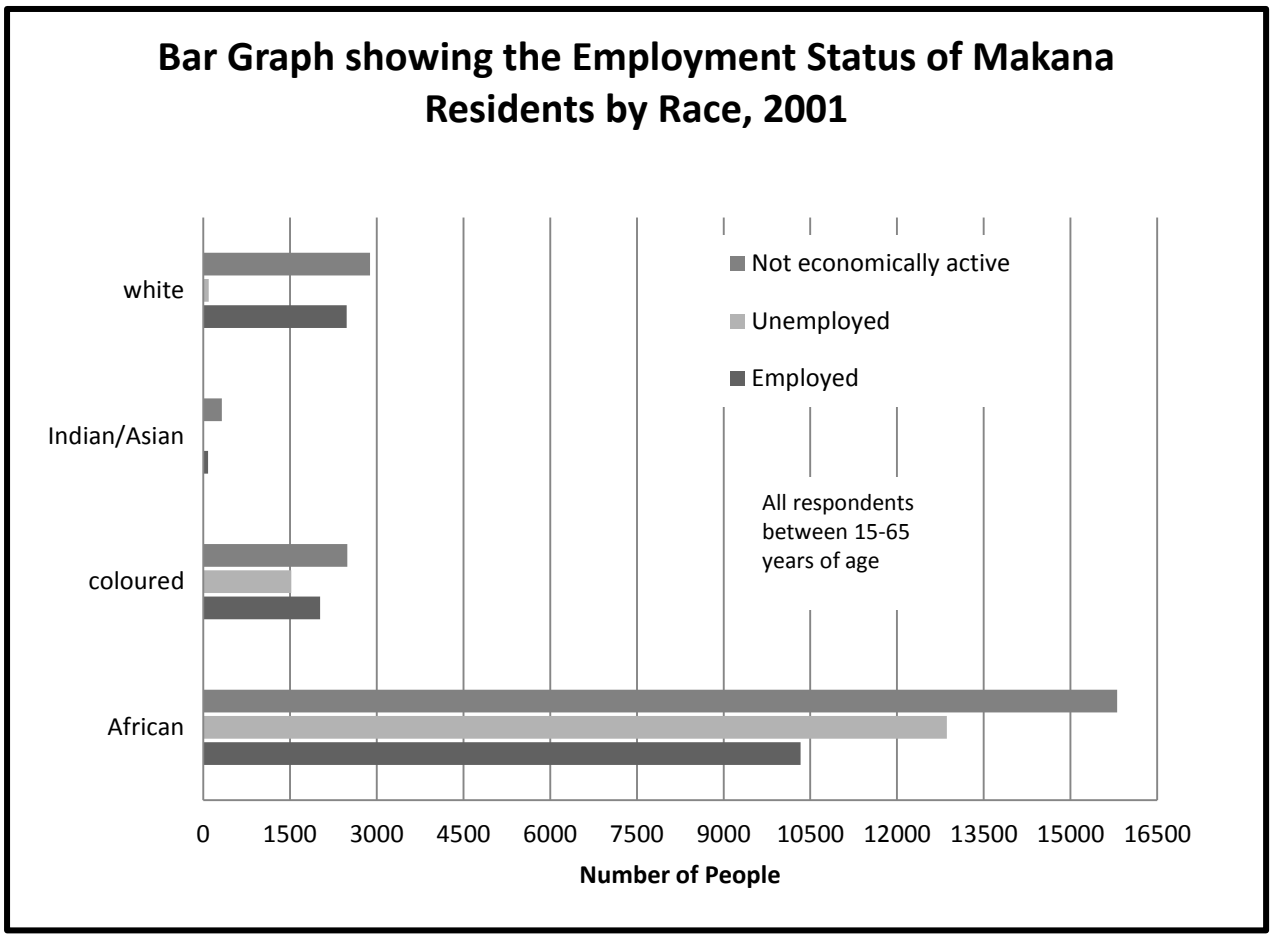

Figure 5.19: The Employment Status of Makana Residents by Race, 2001(Stats SA, 2005)

5.2.2 The Social and Economic Aspects of Education in Grahamstown

5.2.2.1 The Social Impact of Education Institutions

According to Makana Municipality (2010: 16) 'educational migrants', drawn to Grahamstown because of the schools and Rhodes University, make up a large portion of the total population. In addition, education levels are high with 22.07% of the total population reported to have completed secondary and/or tertiary levels of education (Makana Municipality, 2010: 16). This is almost double the provincial figures of 13.33% (Makana Municipality, 2010: 16).

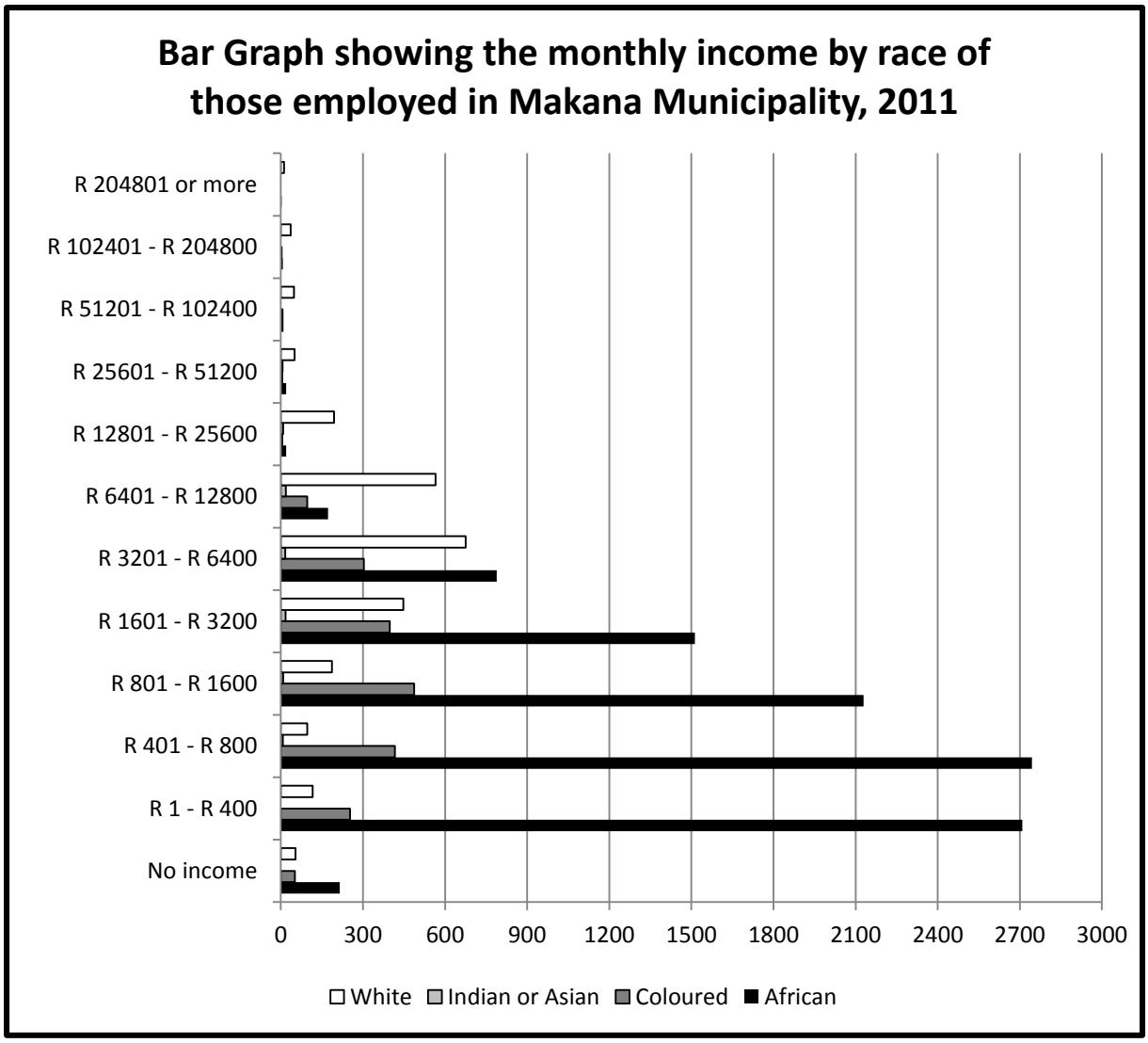

Figure 5.20: The Monthly Income for Individuals of Each Race in Makana Municipality, 2001 (Stats SA, 2005)

5.2.2.2 The Economic Impact of Education Institutions

Makana Municipality (2010: 18) regards Community Services, which includes those employed at the various education institutions in Grahamstown, to be one of three dominant economic activities in the area (see Figure 5.23). Twenty-one percent of the work force are categorised as professionals or senior professionals which the municipality (2010: 19) attributes to the impact of Rhodes University.

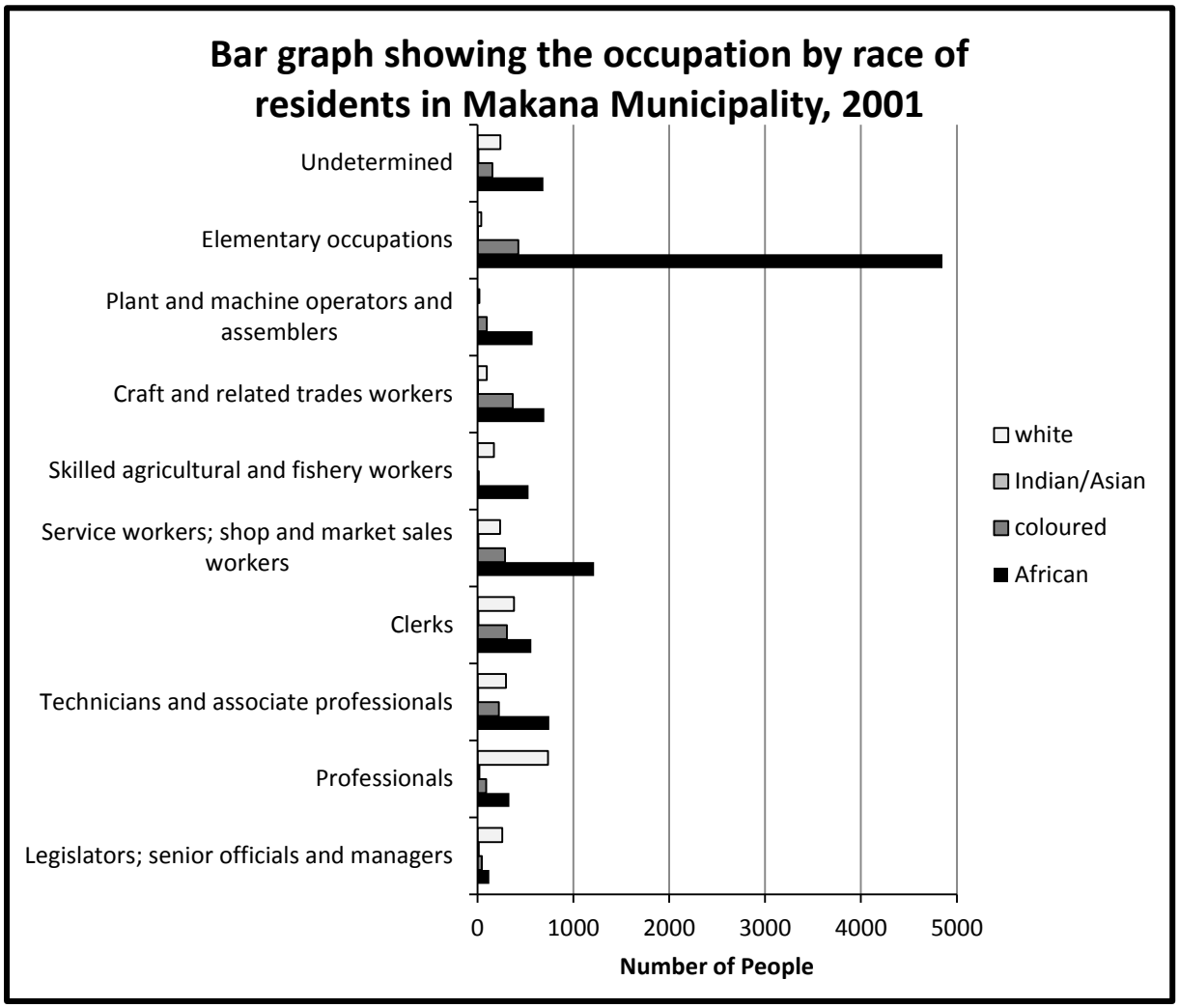

Figure 5.21: The Racial Breakdown of Occupation Categories in Makana Municipality, 2001 (Stats SA, 2005)

The Government and Community Services sector of Makana Municipality (Figure 5.24) contributed 51.5% of the total R-GDP (Real Gross Domestic Product) for the municipality in 2007 (Makana Municipality, 2010: 29). This is higher than the district municipality and

provincial figures and the difference can be attributed to the education facilities and services within this sector (Makana Municipality, 2010: 29). This sector also employs 49.8% of those individuals in the formal sector (Makana Municipality, 2010: 31). Rhodes University directly employs about 10% of the municipal labour force (Makana Municipality, 2010: 31). The 34 schools in Grahamstown employed 676 individuals in 2009 (EMIS, 2009), which means that they jointly employ approximately 5% of Makana's labour force. Jointly, therefore, the institutions of education in the city employ about 15% of those working in the municipality.

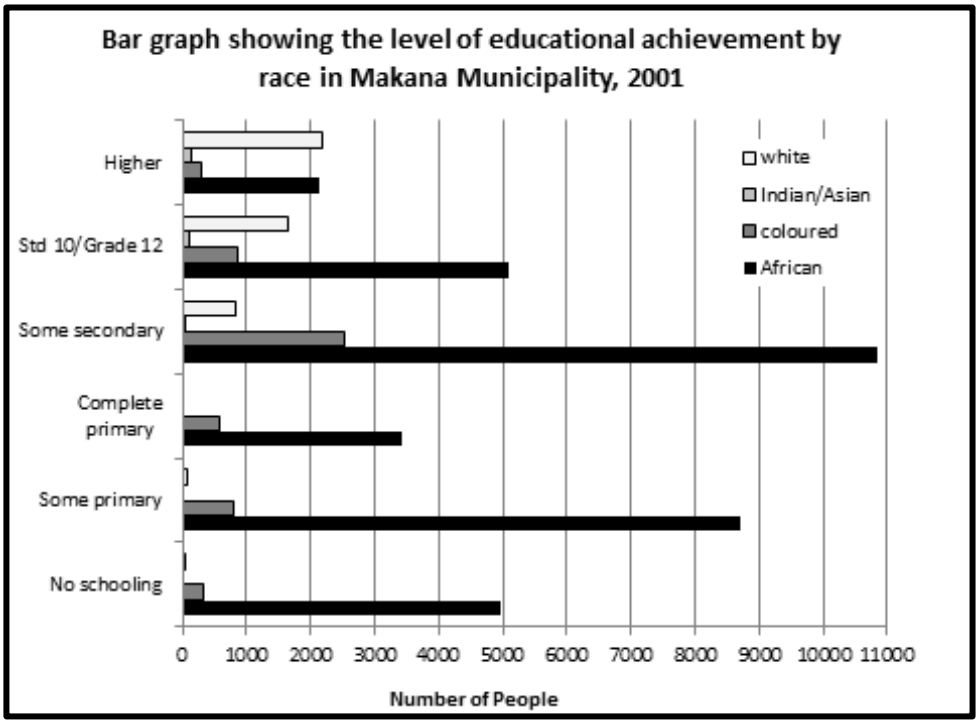

Figure 5.22: The Level of Educational Achievement by Race in Makana Municipality, 2001 (Stats SA, 2005)

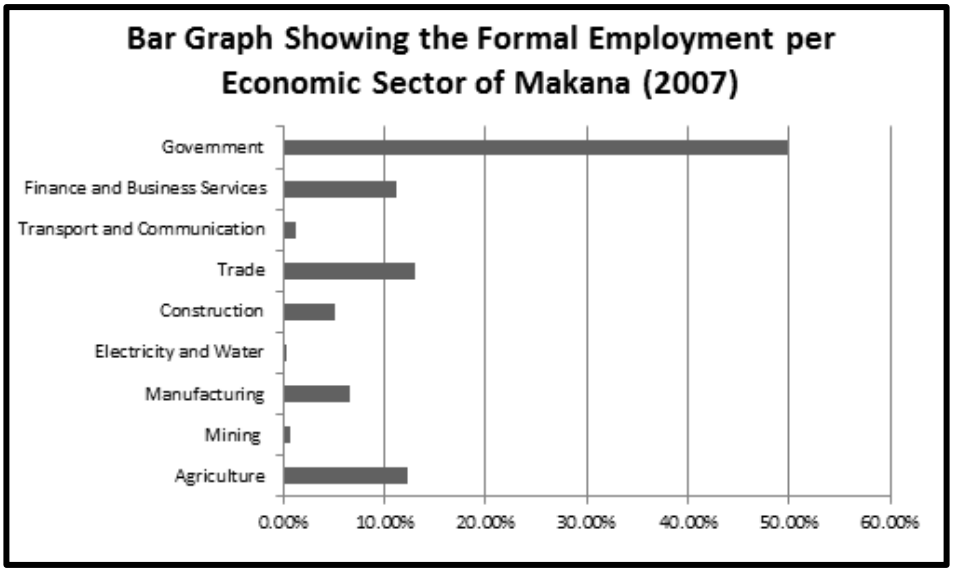

Figure 5.23: The Formal Employment per Economic Sector, Makana (Adapted from Quantec, 2007 in Makana Municipality, 2010)

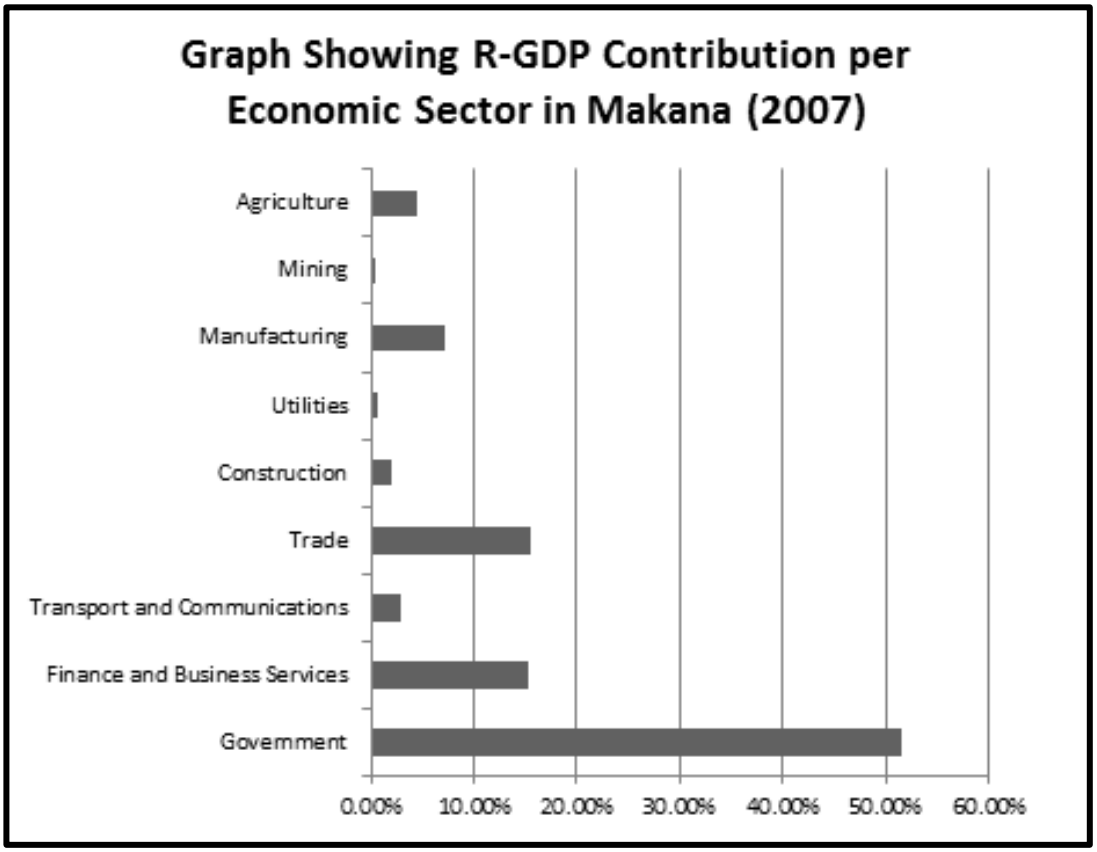

Figure 5.24: The Contribution to R-GDP per Economic Sector, Makana (Adapted from Quantec, 2007 in Makana Municipality, 2010)

Chapter 6: Results

This chapter is divided into three sections which each deal with one of the objectives of the research: the levels of residential segregation/integration, the levels of segregation/integration in institutions of education (representing both places of work and of learning), and the patterns of time-space segregation/integration in post-apartheid Grahamstown.

6.1 Residential Integration in Grahamstown

Figure 6.1 shows the racial composition of the sub place areas (pie charts) in relation to the group areas and townships of the apartheid era. Unfortunately, as discussed in Chapter 4, these do not correspond directly with the group area and township boundaries and, therefore, they are limited in what they can show. The coloured, Indian and white group area fell within one large sub place polygon. The sub place polygons do show, however, that there is a marked spatial division between Africans and other race groups. All white individuals in the town resided within the white group area, but only a few Africans resided in this area.

Figure 6.2 shows, to a greater extent, the persistence of the residential segregation of the coloured group. It uses two ward boundaries which roughly contain the former coloured group area and reveals that a large proportion, 6 327 individuals or almost 68% of the municipal coloured population, fell within this area. This shows that this race group still resided within or in close proximity to their apartheid group area. From another facet of the situation, this grouping reveals that just less than a third of the coloured population lived outside of this area. This reveals a degree of desegregation that cannot be ignored.

The segregation indices for the race groups appear in Table 6.1. These show that levels of segregation were high with all falling within Kantrowitz's (1979 in Christopher, 2005a) category of coercive forms of segregation. Combine this with the fact that the ID figures in Table 6.2 were also within this range, we have a picture of a highly segregated community in 2001.

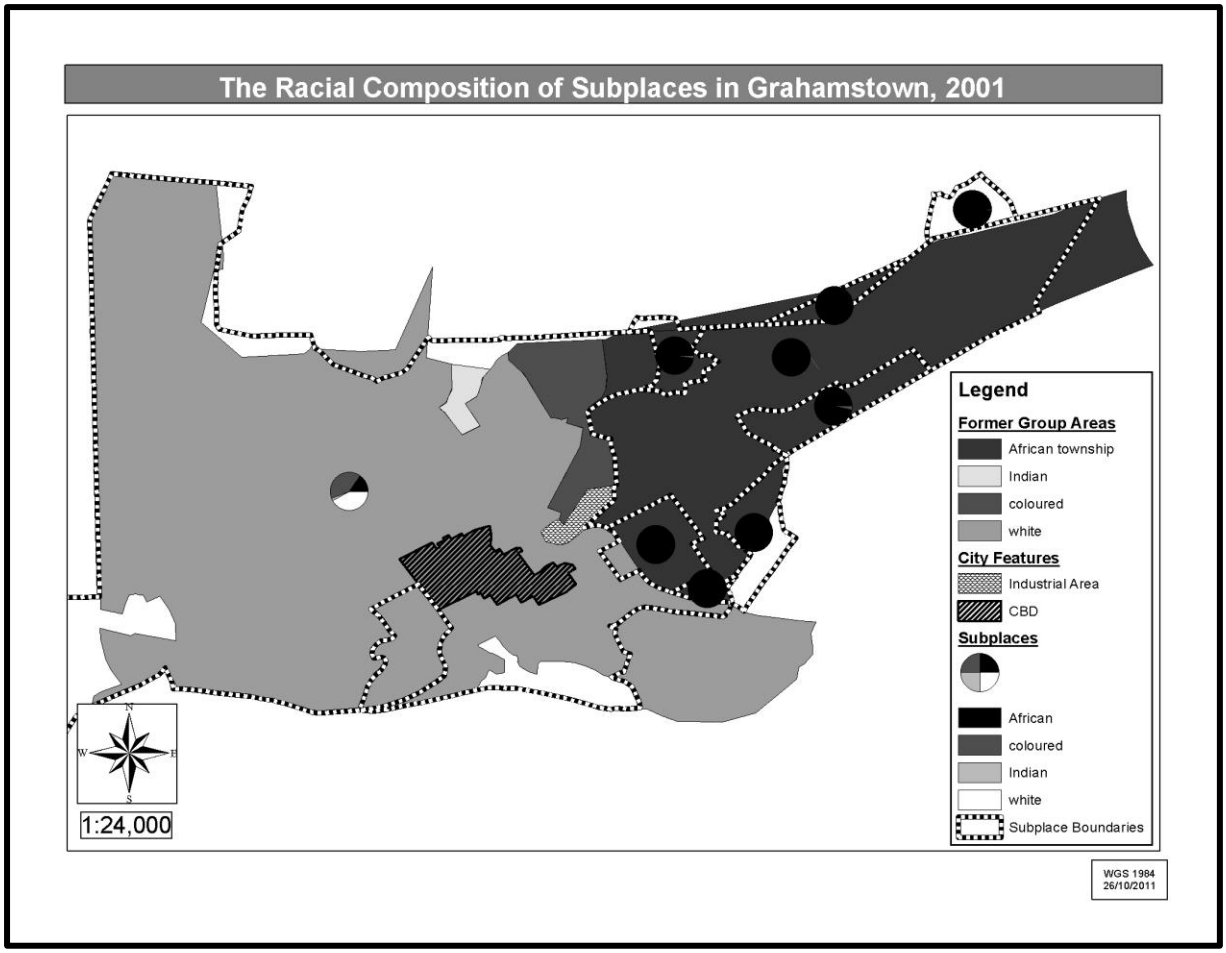

Figure 6.1: The Patterns of Residential Segregation in Post-apartheid Grahamstown, 2001

Table 6.1: Segregation Indices for Grahamstown's Residential Areas

Race Group	IS
African	91.26
coloured	79.56
Indian	73.69
white	80.60
0 = complete integration; 100 = complete segregation	

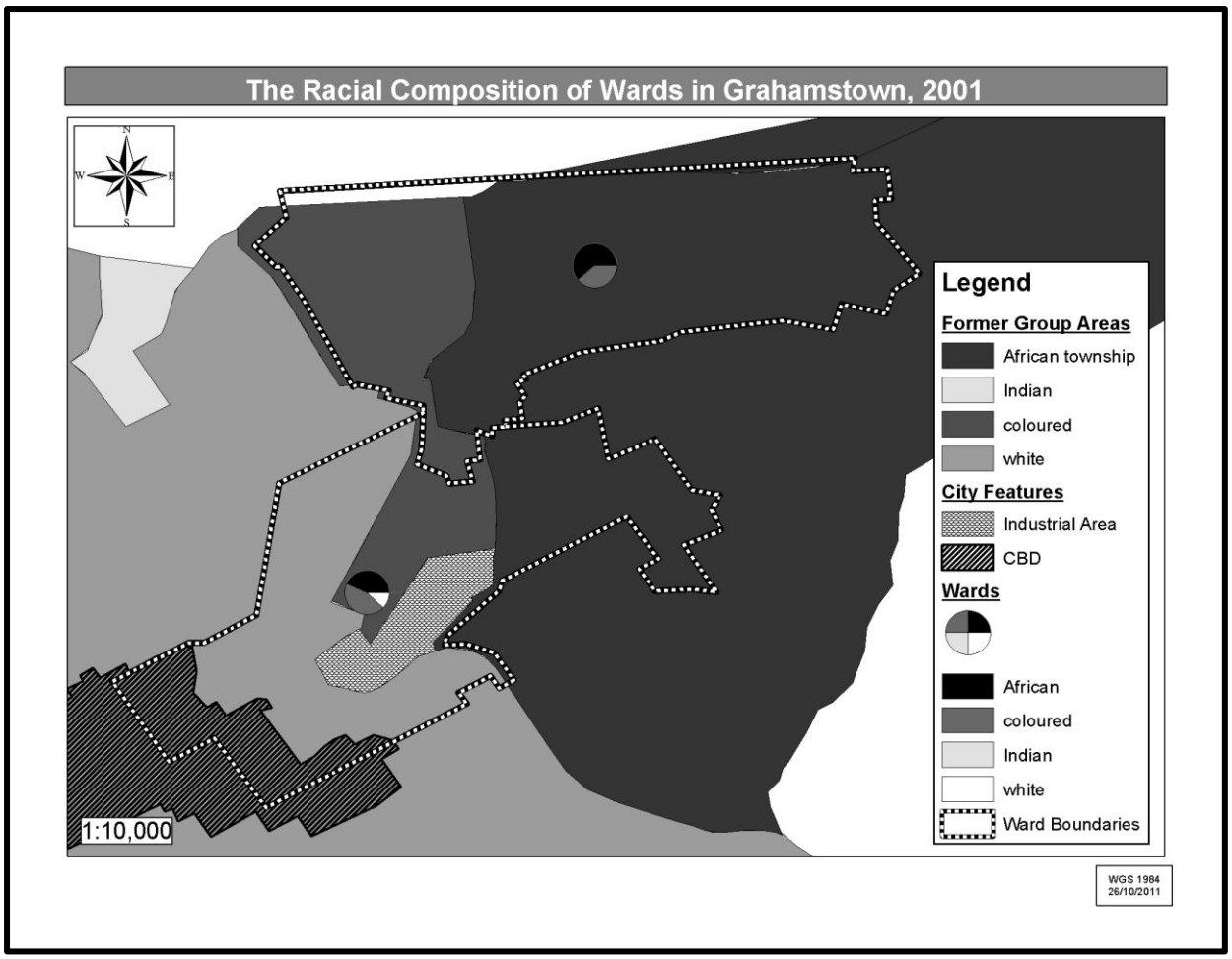

Figure 6.2: The Racial Composition of the Coloured Group Areas in Post-apartheid Grahamstown, 2001

Table 6.2: Dissimilarity Indices for Grahamstown's Residential Areas

Race Group	ID
African-white	92.81
African-coloured	89.93
African-Indian	93.40
0 = complete integration; 100 = complete segregation	

Gaybba (2011), van Achterbergh (2011) and Pienaar (2011), all of whom are estate agents in Grahamstown, reported a level of integration in certain areas. Van Achterbergh (2011) said that while townships and coloured group areas remain the most segregated in Grahamstown, the former Indian group area was very integrated. Van Achterbergh (2011) has also observed that apartments, townhouses and properties in complexes are providing a means toward integration because these types of properties are relatively affordable. Both Pienaar (2011) and van Achterbergh (2011) said that rental properties have allowed for the most integration. This can be explained, in part, by the fact that students are the main property renters in Grahamstown. High university fees speak of relative affluence of many university students, no matter their race. Students of all races, therefore, are able to rent in former white group areas where property prices are higher. The fact that many students also share the costs of renting properties (and pay per room) also makes it easier for them to rent properties within this area.

Gaybba (2011), van Achterbergh (2011) and Pienaar (2011) all identified economic barriers as the main factor hindering higher levels of integration. It is simple economics: people buy the best property that they can afford. Grahamstown, and South Africa as a whole, is economically polarised and because of the economic oppression of black groups in the past those on the bottom end of the income scale are typically black. There is undoubtedly a rising African middle-class, however. Pienaar (2011) added that much of the integration occurring in former white group areas was due to in-migration of African professionals from other cities and towns. This can be connected to the impact of Rhodes University and the other employers of professionals in attracting staff from national and international spheres. This is also not an inconceivable scenario from the perspective that the 2001 census (as discussed in Chapter 5: Grahamstown) showed that the African population of the municipality was largely employed in low-skilled positions, which are lower paid. Their ability to afford properties in higher- and middle-income areas is, therefore, severely limited as a whole.

Gaybba (2011) explained that property buyers also consider the resale value of houses in their choice of area. This is explained by the idea that homes are most likely the single largest investment a person makes in their lifetime. Buying a home in an area with a stigma, in a blighted area or that is in the 'wrong' side of town can jeopardise the value of that investment. For people looking to invest, areas with poor infrastructure and low property values are avoided if they can afford to buy elsewhere. In Grahamstown, these areas are mostly former coloured group areas and African townships which are affected by the socio-

economic inequalities of the past. In addition, areas situated near these that were low-income white group areas have a stigma which van Achterbergh's (2011) argues is related to the fact that many white property buyers will not buy in areas 'too close to the township'.

A feeling of safety is another reason that Gaybba (2011) gives for property buyers steering clear of former black group areas and townships and neighbouring ones. Gaybba (2011) added, however, that this is changing as these neighbourhoods are more affordable and people have realised that crime is not only in these areas. Gaybba (2011) added that she believed that people live in neighbourhoods in which they are most comfortable and that for some this means staying in the same areas as people of the same race group.

6.2 Racial Integration within Institutions of Education in Grahamstown

6.2.1 Integration within Rhodes University

This section will look at the levels of racial integration within and between Rhodes University's staff and student populations.

6.2.1.1 Integration of Staff within Rhodes University

Rhodes University employed a total of 1 415 permanent staff in 2009. Of these, 42 percent are white, 46 percent are African, two percent are Indian and 10% are coloured (Figure 6.3). For comparison, Figure 6.4 shows the racial composition of combined staff at South Africa's public universities in 2009. In the public universities staff numbered 46 428 in 2009. The racial composition of Rhodes University's staff corresponds with that of the collective staff compositions at the public universities. The biggest difference is in the Indian population, but the small number of Indian employees at Rhodes corresponds with the small number of Indian inhabitants in Grahamstown as a whole.

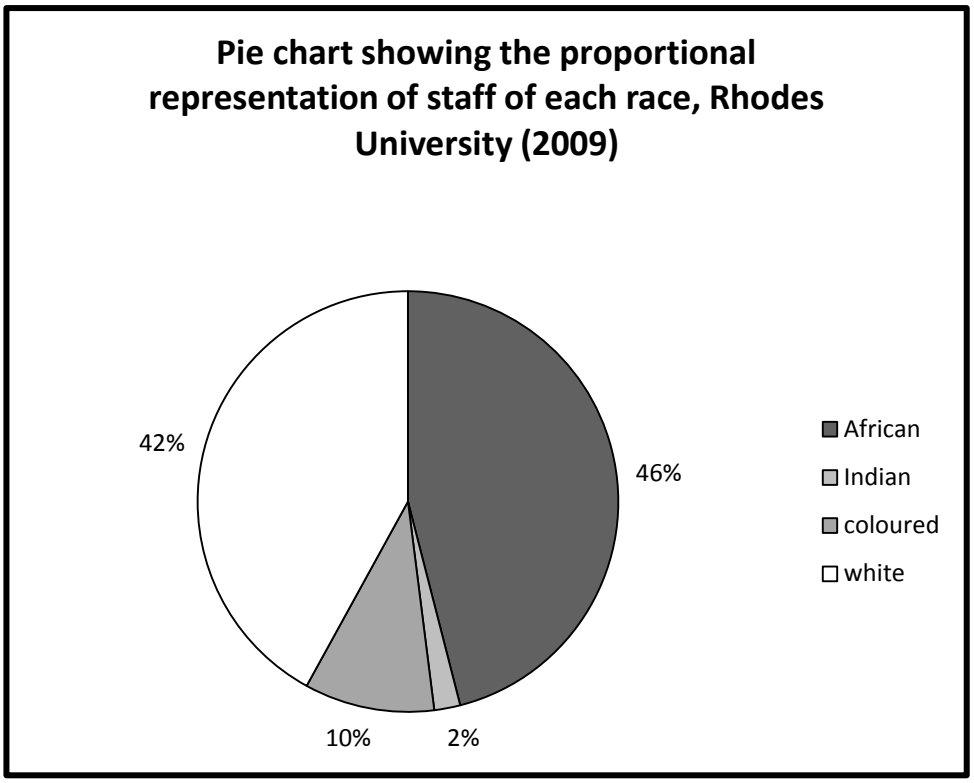

Figure 6.3: The racial composition of Staff (All Grades) at Rhodes University in 2009

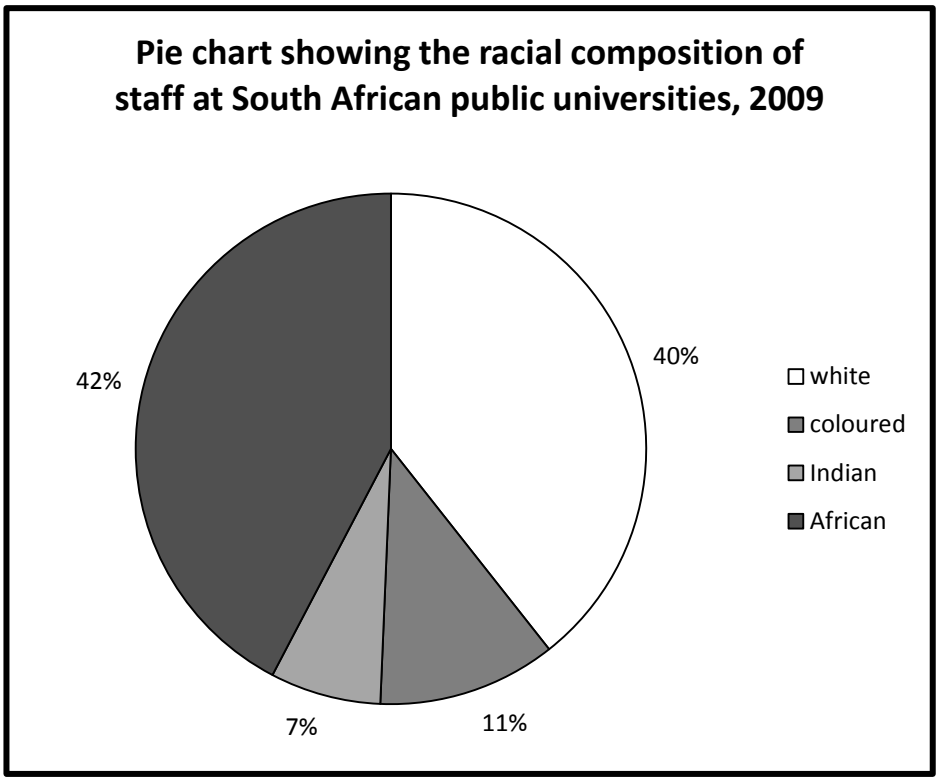

Figure 6.4: The Racial Composition of Staff at South African Public Universities, 2009

When compared to the national racial composition (Figure 5.16) one can see that whites were over-represented at Rhodes University and in the total for all institutions. This is also true for the coloured population, but to a lesser degree. While Indian employees were overrepresented in the total staff for all institutions, they were somewhat under-represented at Rhodes University and this is related to their small numbers within the municipal population. The African population is under-represented at Rhodes and nationally.

This is not the entire picture, however. Staff positions are classified by grade at Rhodes: the lower grades are less-skilled and lower-paying positions while higher grades are more-skilled and higher-paying positions like academics. The division of the staff into grades, therefore, can hint at the broader demographics of the staff. In addition, it is also an interesting indicator of the degree of racial integration at different levels. The racial composition of staff within grades six and above (Figure 6.5) shows that majority of these individuals were white (65%), 21% were African, 11% were coloured and three percent were Indian in 2009. In contrast, the racial composition of staff within grades one to five (Figure 6.6) shows that only two percent of these employees were white, seven percent were coloured and, overwhelmingly, 91% were African. Only one employee of 541 in this group was Indian, which amounts to 0.1%.

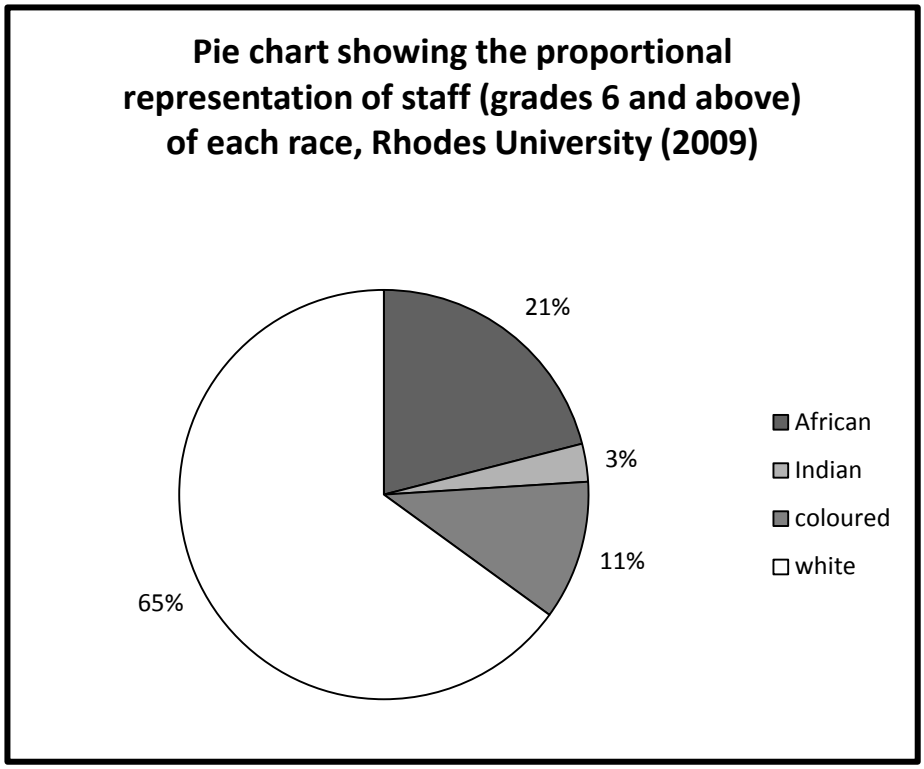

Figure 6.5: The Racial Composition of Staff (Grades 6 and Above) at Rhodes University in 2009

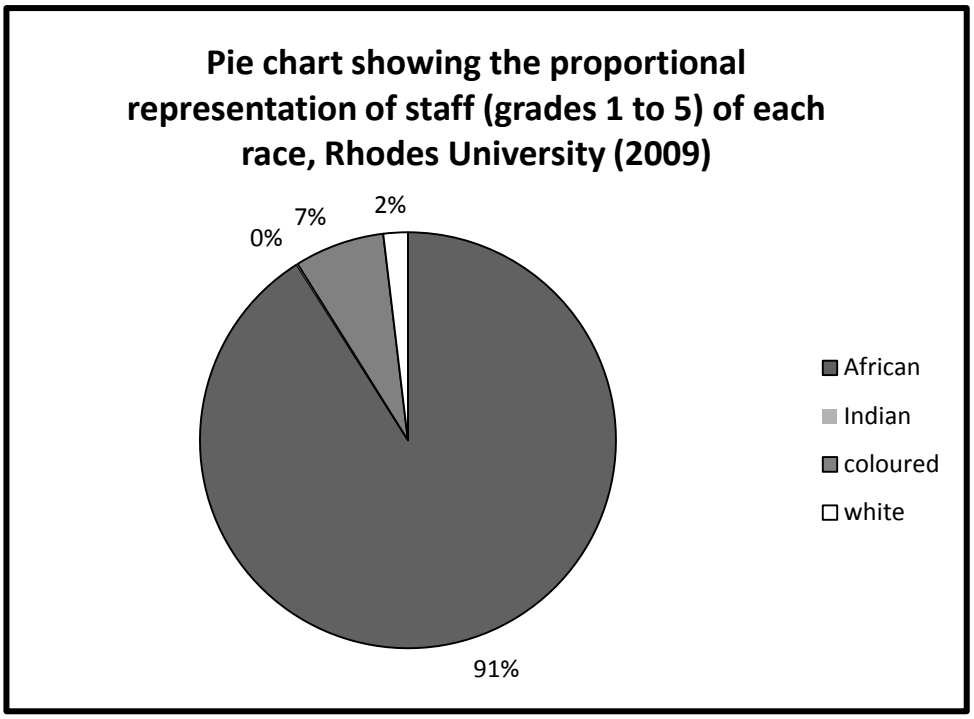

Figure 6.6: The Racial Composition of Staff (Grades 1 to 5) at Rhodes University in 2009

The racial composition of the grades reveals the important fact that the staff community is more 'divided' than is seen at first glance. The more highly skilled and higher paying jobs are dominated by white staff, while African staff dominate the lower-skilled and lower-paying jobs.

Mtumtum (2011), the Industrial Relations and Employment Equity Specialist in the Human Resources Division at Rhodes University, describes many challenges that the university faces in achieving employment equity at higher levels of employment (grades 6 and above). He argues that being realistic means understanding that the transformation of the demographics of staff is a slow process. The first challenge he notes is related to the historical reality of inequality in the workplace where black individuals worked in unskilled and semi-skilled positions. Related to this is the fact that the education available to these groups was and is worse than the norm for white individuals. In essence, the challenge is, therefore, the persistence of the under-qualification of individuals within these groups which prevents them from moving into the higher grades of employment. Linked to this is the second challenge of the pressures placed on black individuals who study further, which include the financial burden of doing so and the need to get a job to support their families as soon as is possible.

These pressures seem to prevent black individuals from qualifying to enter highly skilled positions in the university.

The third challenge he raised was that of society and culture. He notes that society encourages people to pursue certain careers and, to this end, a lot of people look towards the demand in the market that will ensure that they secure a good job after studying. This has two effects on the higher levels of employment, especially within academia. First, some fields of academe become scarce skills areas and finding people as required by the employment equity policy becomes difficult. This occurs because, again, the market and societal pressures prescribe areas which are worth pursuing and the result is that other areas become under-subscribed. He notes that at the moment it is difficult to find black individuals to fill vacancies within the humanities. Second, academe is not an appealing career as it is not a high paying occupation relative to equivalent jobs in the public sector.

The fourth challenge he notes is that Rhodes University is in direct competition with other universities in South Africa and the public sector for suitable employees. It comes down to Rhodes' financial and institutional capacity. For instance, the university is a small one and is far poorer than many of the others in South African. It lacks the stable funding programs of the larger institutions and does not benefit from the government funding policy, which favours larger student populations. Rhodes University simply seems unable to appear financially attractive in comparison. Mtumtum (2011) admits that, to some degree, the property market in Grahamstown also negatively affects the university's appeal to job seekers. Property prices are high because of the concentration of students in the small town, which results in the fact that buying and even renting of property has become unaffordable even to professionals. In comparison to South Africa's major centres property prices are relatively low, but when looked at in light of other towns and cities in the Eastern Cape, Grahamstown's property is slightly more expensive.

The fifth and final challenge he notes is staff turnover. While the employment equity policy encourages the employment of individuals representing designated groups, the reality is that staff turnover is often slow in the higher levels of employment. This means that vacancies that could be filled by these individuals are not opening up at high enough rates and this affects the rate at which the equity profile of the institution transforms.

6.2.1.2 Integration of Students within Rhodes University

There were 7005 students enrolled at Rhodes University in 2009. In 2009 the racial composition of the students of Rhodes University shows that African students made up 50%, while 43% of students were classified as white (Figure 6.7). Coloured and Indian populations were far less represented, making up three and four percent of students respectively. However, one must note that only 70% of the black students at Rhodes University are South African nationals, which means that there is significant immigration of students outside the country.

The proportion white and coloured students have stayed relatively constant since 2005. The proportion of African students, however, has increased by 7% of the student body while the Indian student body was, proportionally speaking, 2% lower in 2009 than 2005. This is related to the fact that the total number of students increased in this period, but also to admissions policies.

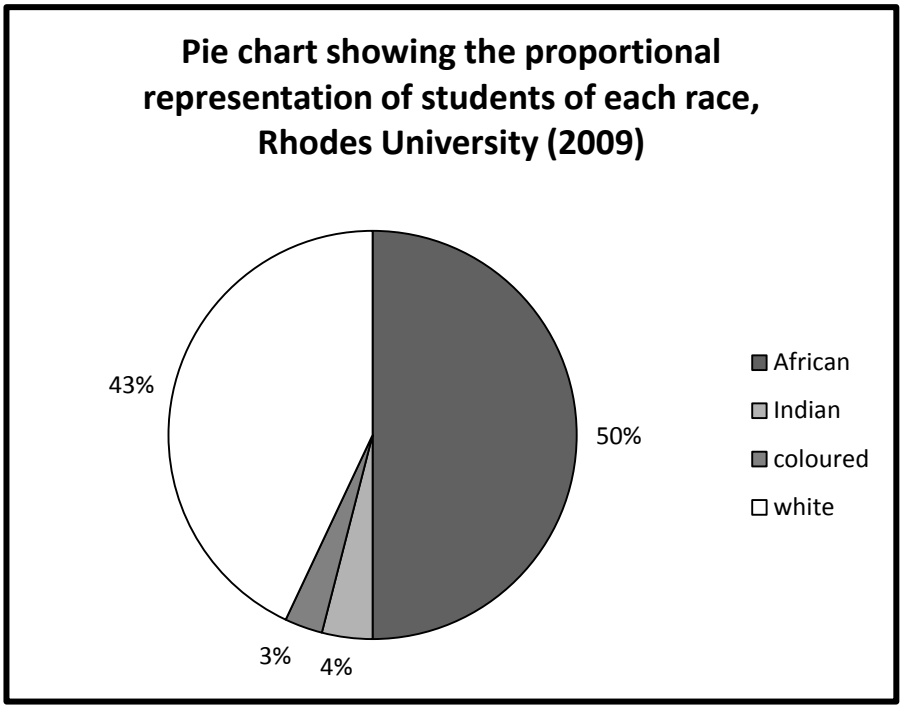

Figure 6.7: The Racial Composition of Students at Rhodes University in 2009

There were 837 754 students registered at the public universities in South Africa in 2009. The comparison of the racial composition of Rhodes University's students with that of the total number of students registered at South Africa's public universities (Figure 6.8) highlights

some interesting differences. The proportion of white students at Rhodes is almost double the national average. Connected to this, the number of African students registered at Rhodes is 16% lower than the representation of the group in the total numbers of students nationally. The Indian and coloured student populations are also lower at Rhodes University than nationally. In other words, there is an underrepresentation of black students at Rhodes University when compared with the national student population at public universities.

In addition, comparing both Figure 6.7 and Figure 6.8 to the racial composition of the national population in Figure 5.16 reveals the level of access to tertiary education for each of these groups. This reveals that white and Indian students are overrepresented in the university-going population, while the other two groups are underrepresented. At Rhodes University, specifically, the same is true except that the Indian student numbers are closer to their proportion of the national population.

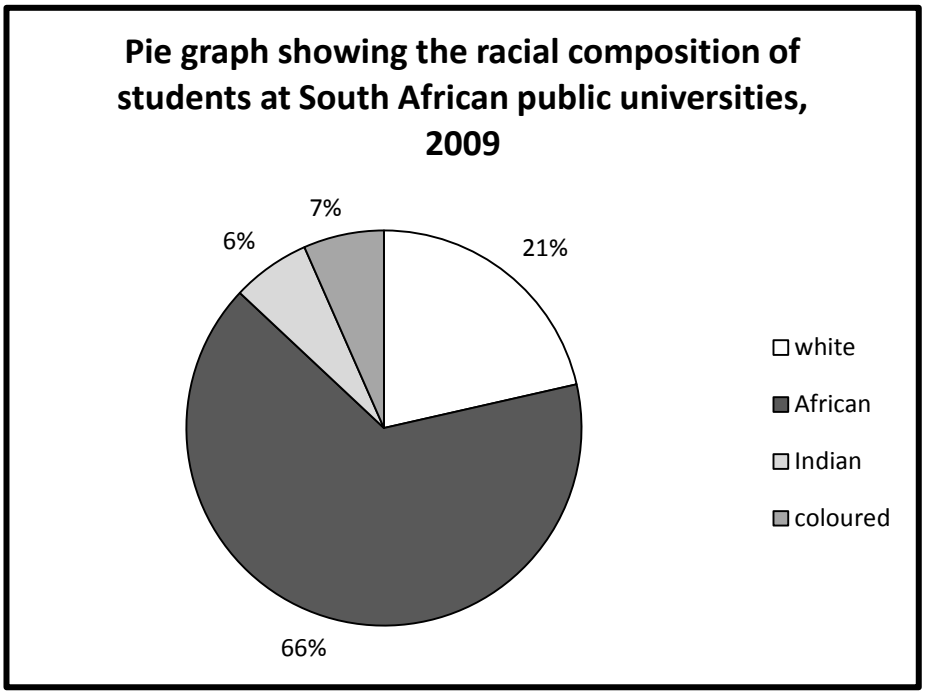

Figure 6.8: The Racial Composition of Students at South African Public Universities in 2009

Fourie (2011), the Registrar of Rhodes University, said that there had been significant change in the racial composition of students at Rhodes University, but that greater change was limited by several factors. These included the amount of financial aid available to black

students who are already under financial constraints in their ability to enter tertiary education. In addition, education levels and circumstances in South Africa's secondary schools affect the ability of black students to access Rhodes University, which has entrance requirements that typically means students are selected from a very small pool within the country. Other issues are related to competition within the sphere of public universities and the rise of private universities in South Africa. Rhodes University is often in competition with other universities to attract students and while it is strong in some subjects, this is not true throughout. Funding has also favoured bigger universities which meant that Rhodes received relatively little funding from bodies such as NSFAS.

Fourie (2011), however, noted that recently more funding has become available to students at Rhodes University so that one in nine black South African students have financial aid. In addition, the Extended Studies Programmes have been introduced at Rhodes to help students who do not meet entry requirements to cope with university studies.

6.2.1.3 Conclusion: Integration within Rhodes University

It is clear that there have been many significant changes in the public universities of South Africa as a whole and within Rhodes University. Racial compositions are increasingly reflective of the national population in terms of both staff and students. However, there are significant challenges that still need to be faced. One of these is access to universities for black students constrained by a poor basic education system and financial constraints. Another is the fact that significant change in the racial composition of staff of higher grades is severely limited by outside forces including qualifications of black candidates, social norms and pressures and competition from the private sector.

6.2.2 Integration within Schools

6.2.2.1 Integration of Learners within Grahamstown's Schools

Of the 16 746 learners registered at schools in Grahamstown in 2009 the vast majority, 79 percent, were African (Figure 6.9). Coloured and white learners numbered 10 percent and 11 percent, respectively and those classified as Indian or 'other' comprise less than one percent of the total. This roughly equates with the racial breakdown of the municipality. It is

important to take this breakdown into account when looking at the figures in each of the schools that follows.

Figure 6.10 shows the spatial distribution of the learners in schools in Grahamstown. The pie charts on the map display the racial composition of learners at each school. Looking at these compositions we can see the imprint of the apartheid division of races still exists within the schools in Grahamstown. The greatest level of racial representivity or integration can be seen to have occurred within the former Model-C and independent schools from the perspective that these display a cross-section of all races. On the opposite side of the coin, it is the township schools that remain the least integrated in terms of the fact that they still cater to a totally African population.

Of the group of African learners, 18 of the 34 schools in Grahamstown have a 100 percent African learner body. These are township schools that were reserved for Africans in the past and have not managed to attract learners of other race groups. Putting it another way, just over 73 percent of African learners in Grahamstown still attend these township schools. For the majority of the African learners there has been no significant change, in terms of integration, since the end of apartheid.

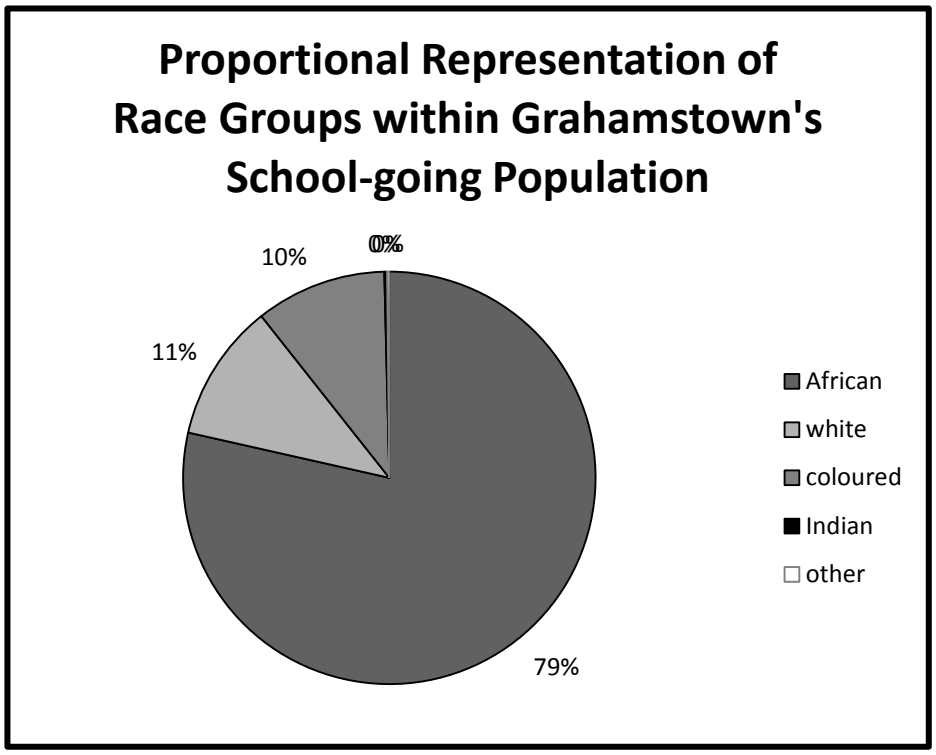

Figure 6.9: The Racial Composition of Learners in Grahamstown's Schools, 2009

On the positive side, however, eight non-township schools in Grahamstown have a learner body of more than 50 percent African. This means that significant levels of integration are occurring in some schools. These schools include Victoria Girls' High School, Victoria Primary School, Oatlands Preparatory School (ex-Model C schools), four schools formerly reserved for coloureds and the GADRA Matric School, which is associated with the GADRA NGO and allows scholars to re-write their matric examinations with the hope of passing or gaining access to tertiary education.

In terms of white learners, none are registered at schools formerly reserved for other races. Hoërskool P.J. Olivier, an Afrikaans-medium school and former-Model C, is the only public school to have a student body made up of more than fifty percent white learners and all of Grahamstown's independent schools have a simple majority white student body. However, former Model-C and independent schools, those that were designated as white, are those that have cross-section of the learners in Grahamstown.

Coloured learners are still mostly concentrated in the schools reserved for them during apartheid. However, as noted above, these schools now generally have a significant number of African students. Furthermore, coloured learners have also gained entrance to former Model-C schools and, to a very slight degree, to independent schools. Learners falling within the 'Indian' and 'other' racial categories form a small minority amongst the ex-Model C and independent schools.

Spatially speaking, we can see that the apartheid group area and township divisions are still relevant to the racial composition of the schools within them. The majority of learners attend schools in the areas designated for their race group during apartheid. The exception is the Good Shepherd School which was a coloured school, which has always fallen within the white group area.

6.2.2.2 Integration of Teaching Staff within Grahamstown's Schools

Of the 676 teachers working at the Grahamstown schools in 2009 the majority, 51 percent, were African (Figure 6.11). Teachers classified as white made up 35 percent and coloured educators, 12 percent. Teachers who fell within the Indian and 'other' categories comprised less than two percent of the total.

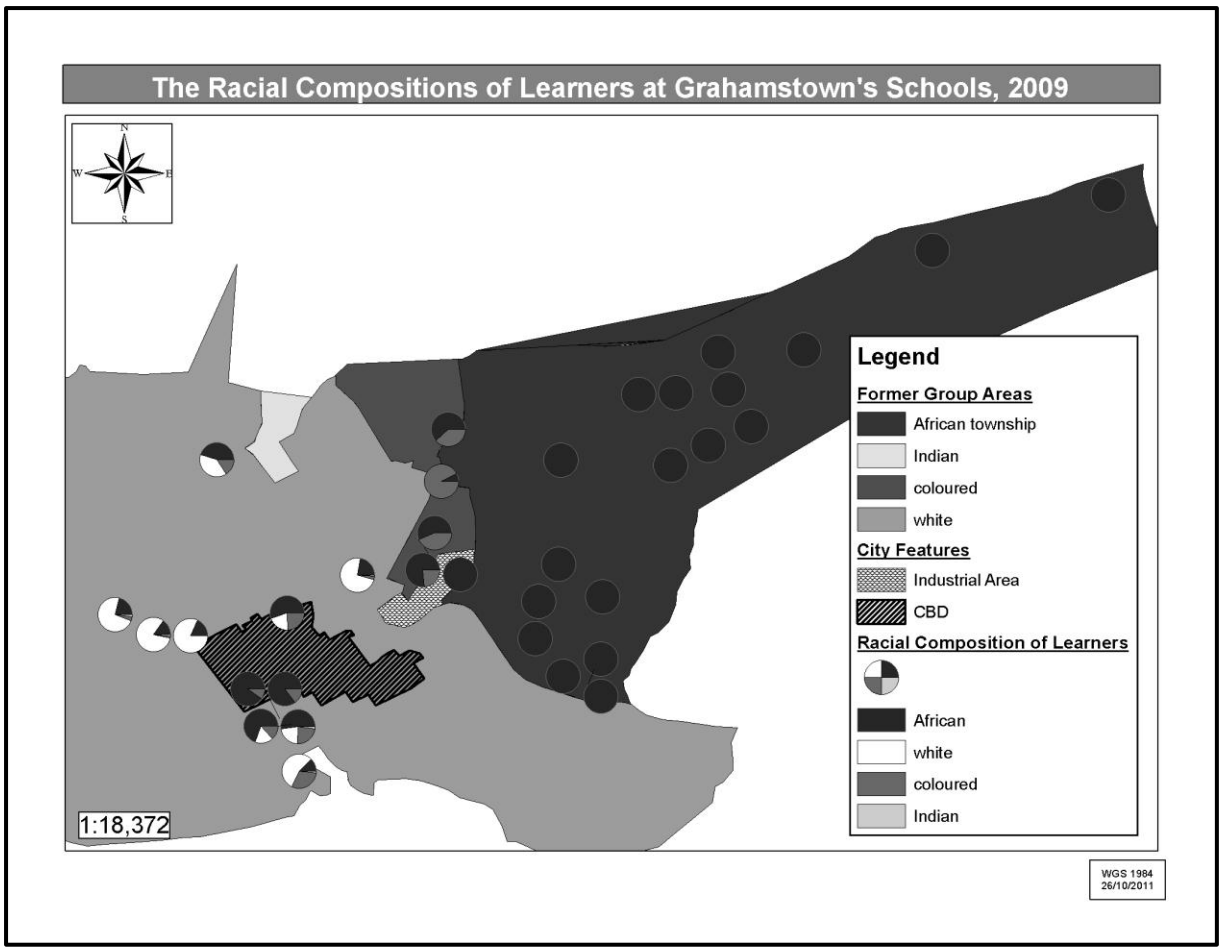

Figure 6.10: The Racial Compositions of Learners in Grahamstown's Schools in Space

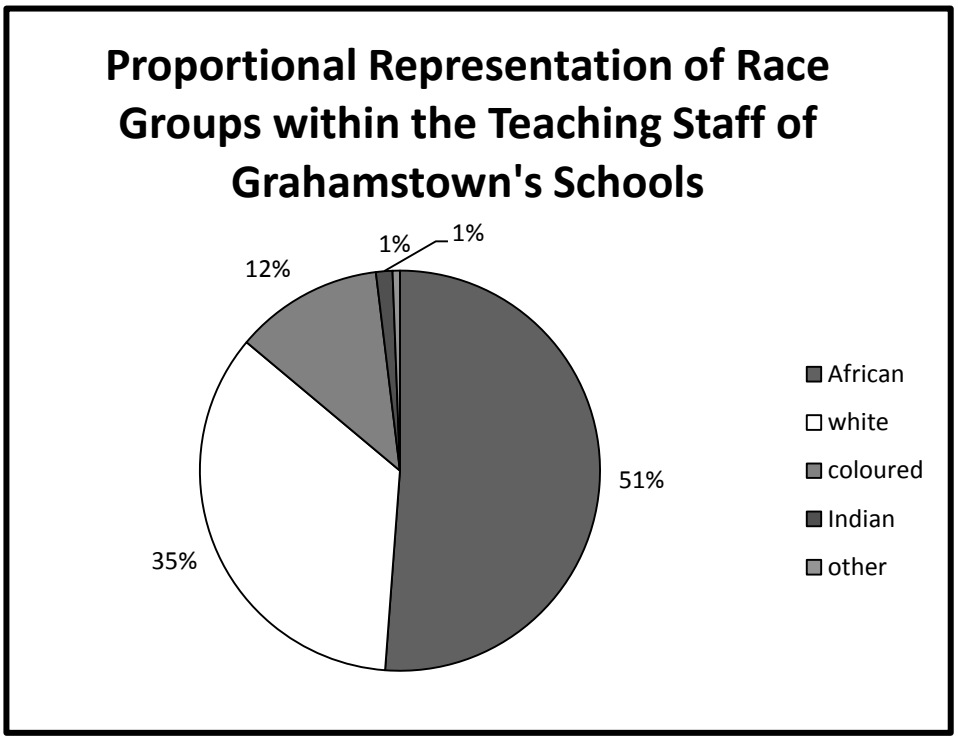

Figure 6.11: The Racial Composition of Teaching Staff in Grahamstown's Schools

Figure 6.12 shows both the racial composition of teaching staff at each school and the spatial distribution in Grahamstown. In terms of African teaching staff, 26.47% or nine of the thirty-four schools within Grahamstown have only African educators. These, like the learner distribution, fall within the former African-designated schools. In addition, a further 10 of the 34 schools count African teachers as comprising over 60% of their teaching staff. All of these schools are township schools. African educators form a small minority in all other schools.

The independent and former Model C public schools are the only schools where white teachers make up the majority, with the exception of GADRA's Matric School. White teachers are present, in small numbers, in four of the former African schools and Mary Waters Secondary School, a former coloured school. Oatlands Preparatory School retains a 100% white teaching staff.

Five of the Grahamstown schools have a coloured educator majority, these are those designated for the coloured population during apartheid. Coloured educators are found in small numbers within some of the ex-Model C and African schools. St. Andrews College and Kingswood College are the only independent schools to have coloured teachers. In line with the small number of educators classified as Indian or 'other', these educators form a minority in all former white schools.

6.2.2.3 Conclusion: Integration in Grahamstown's Schools

What is clear is that overall there has been a relatively significant change in the racial composition of staff and students at some of the schools. This is highly dependent, however, on the type of school and, therefore, its history. Those schools that were reserved for blacks during the apartheid era are significantly less appealing than those reserved for whites in terms of factors such as facilities, learner-teacher ratios and academic success. This lack of appeal is true for both learners and teachers. Therefore, the general pattern has been movement up the apartheid racial hierarchy of schools. African learners and teachers have begun to enter coloured and white schools. Coloured and Indian learners and teachers have entered white schools. White learners have remained at white schools and few white teachers have moved to other types of schools, with no clear reason motivating a move to schools lower down the hierarchy. Also notable is the broader integration of learners that has occurred in ex-Model C public schools than in independent schools that is undoubtedly linked to high fees in the latter. In addition to these patterns is the persistence of the patterns of the racial

zoning of the apartheid era, with limited integration in many schools there is still an overlap of residential neighbourhoods and schools with the same racial composition, which speaks to the lack of radical change in the structure of the city, or of change in learners' mobility.

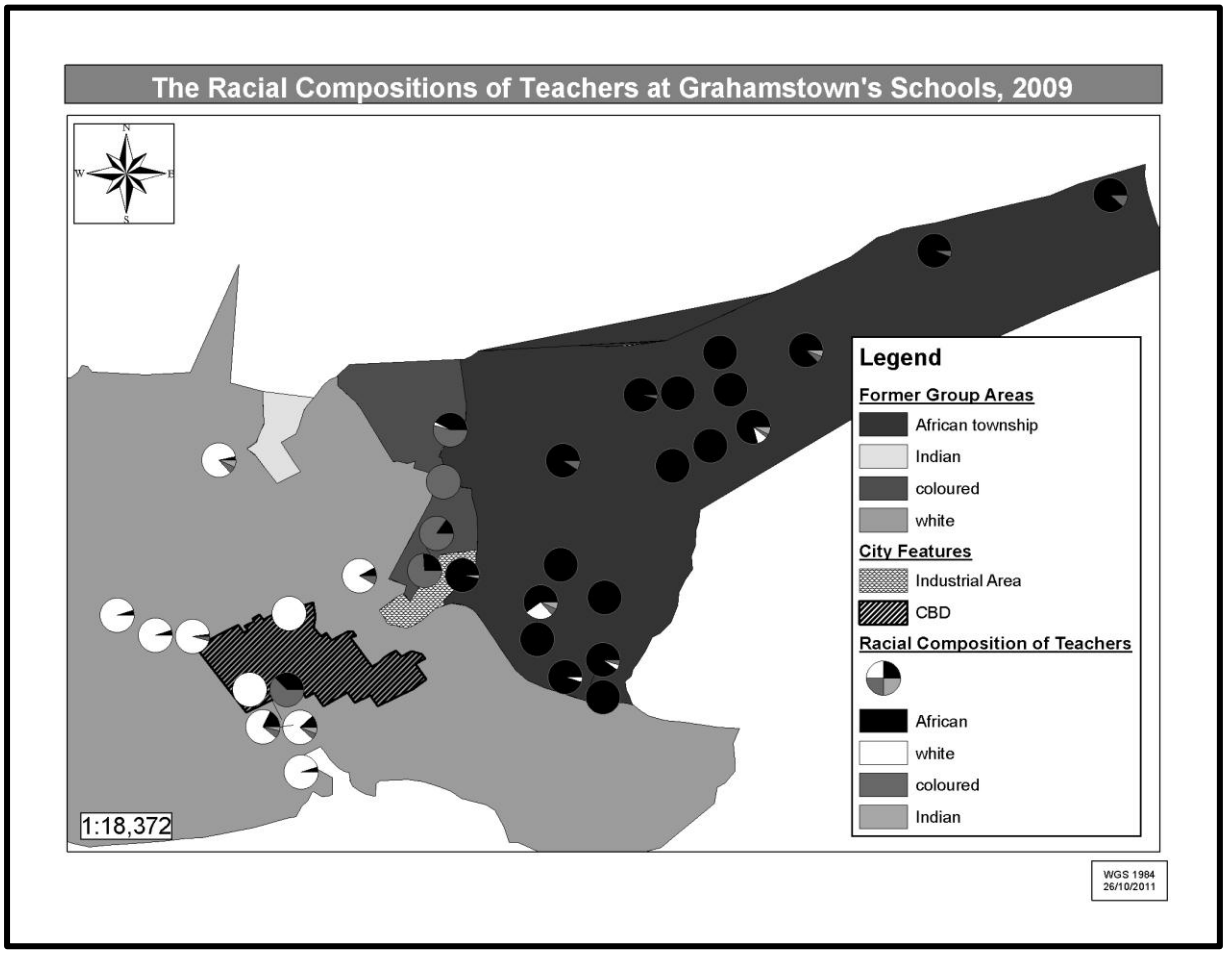

Figure 6.12: The Racial Composition of Teaching Staff in Grahamstown's Schools in Space

6.3 Integration within Everyday Life: A time-geographical approach

This section will present the information revealed by the time-geographical approach. As discussed in *Chapter 4: Methods,* time-space diaries were used to collect data on the everyday lives of 24 individuals. Twelve of these individuals worked at the institutions of education in Grahamstown (including Kingswood College, DSG, St. Andrew's Preparatory School, Graeme College, Nathanial Nyaluza and Rhodes University) and the other twelve were students at Rhodes University. The investigation sought to reveal the patterns of racial integration in the everyday lives of these individuals. In other words, it sought to reveal

whether the apartheid divisions of space and society still affect these individual's time-space use. In addition, with regard to black interviewees, the study sought to explore the time-space use of those individuals who had been 'integrated' into the former white group area.

6.3.1 The Time-Space Use of Students

The time-space stations of the students interviewed are shown over two weekdays and the weekend surveyed, respectively (Figure 6.13 and 6.14). It is evident that the time-space stations of the students were centred around the CBD and within the former white group area. They all generally live close to Rhodes University and the CBD, which is partly to do with the type of residential property in the area, which is more affordable for students to rent and consists of a lot of smaller houses and apartments. In addition, as we will see in the discussion which follows, their lives are very much centred round the university in terms of spatial and social dimensions. Stations included home, Rhodes University, sports facilities, shops, restaurants, bars and the houses of friends or partners. The stations during the week and weekend are not very different, but they reveal that over the weekend (dominated by leisure time) the patterns of mobility were more concentrated in the CBD where most of the restaurants, bars and shops are located. The mobility patterns still, however, reveal that there are no activities took place within any of the former coloured group area and African townships.

6.3.2 The Time-Space Use of Employees

Figures 6.15 and 6.16 show the time-space stations of the employees of education institutions interviewed over the two weekdays and the weekend surveyed. If one compares Figures 6.13 and 6.14 with Figures 6.15 and 6.16, it becomes clear that employees have a broader joint action space than that of students. This is for two reasons. First, the interviewees were surveyed from several different schools producing many time-space stations during the day, unlike the student group who all attend one institution. Second, these people generally live further away from the CBD than the students because of the nature of the residential neighbourhoods and their properties. Third, different commitments and activities take place in their everyday lives which are related to their different socio-economic status, age and their family commitments. Activities are centred around work, home, leisure and shopping. Weekday and weekend stations show a very similar pattern. In fact, there are only two major

differences between the weekday and weekend behaviour of the interviewees. First, leisure activities dominate the weekend, while work-related seems to dominate the weekday for most interviewees. Second, over the weekend the employee who works at the township school does not attend school and, therefore, none of the interviewees entered the township.

It is important to note that, of the white employees, one works at a township school and, therefore, enters the township every weekday. Other than this interviewee, however, the everyday lives of the white interviewees are shown to exist entirely within the confines of the former white group area and CBD. However, Interviewee 15, a black employee, visited a family member who lived in the former Indian Group Area and had made social visits within the township.

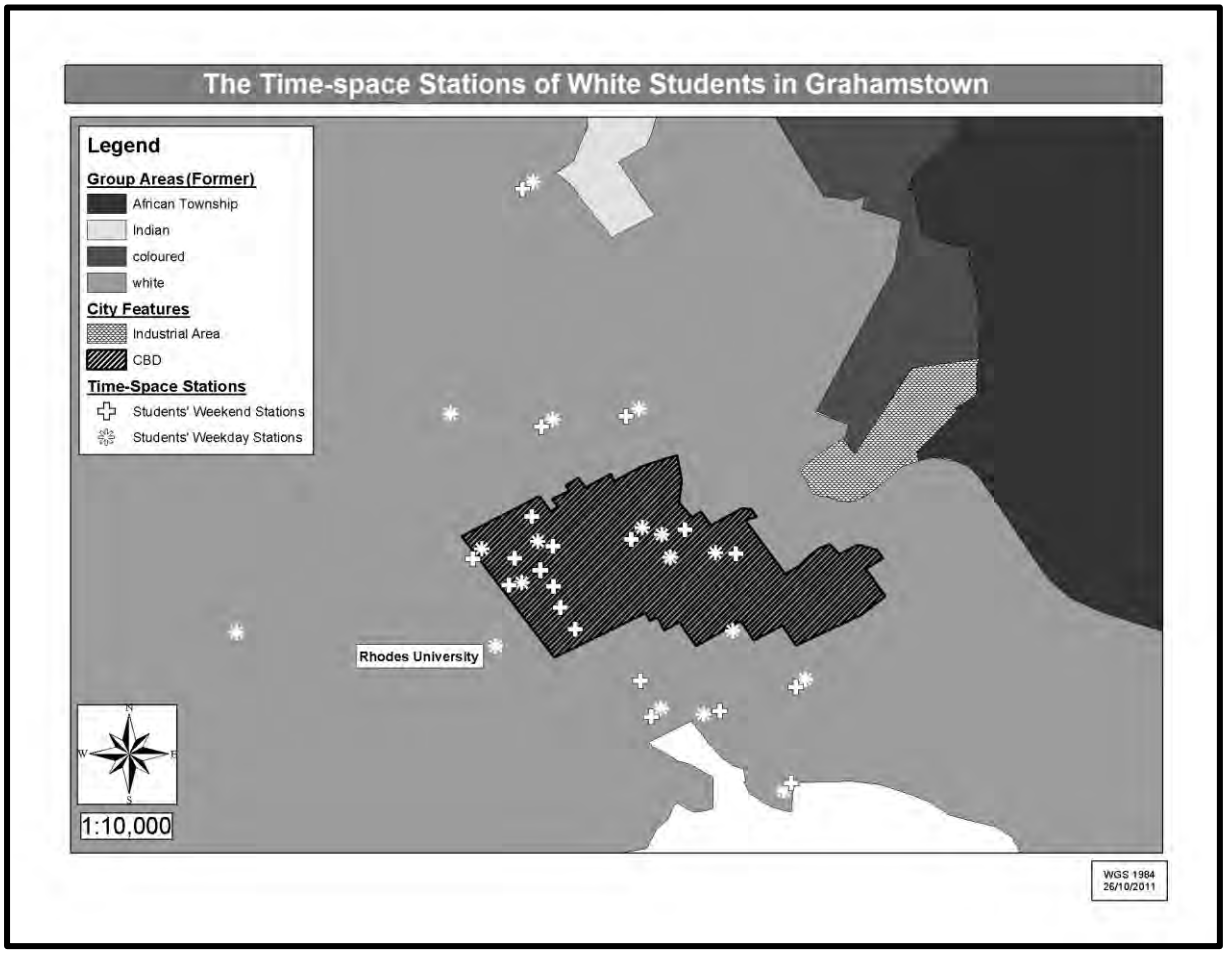

Figure 6.13: The Stations of White Students in Grahamstown

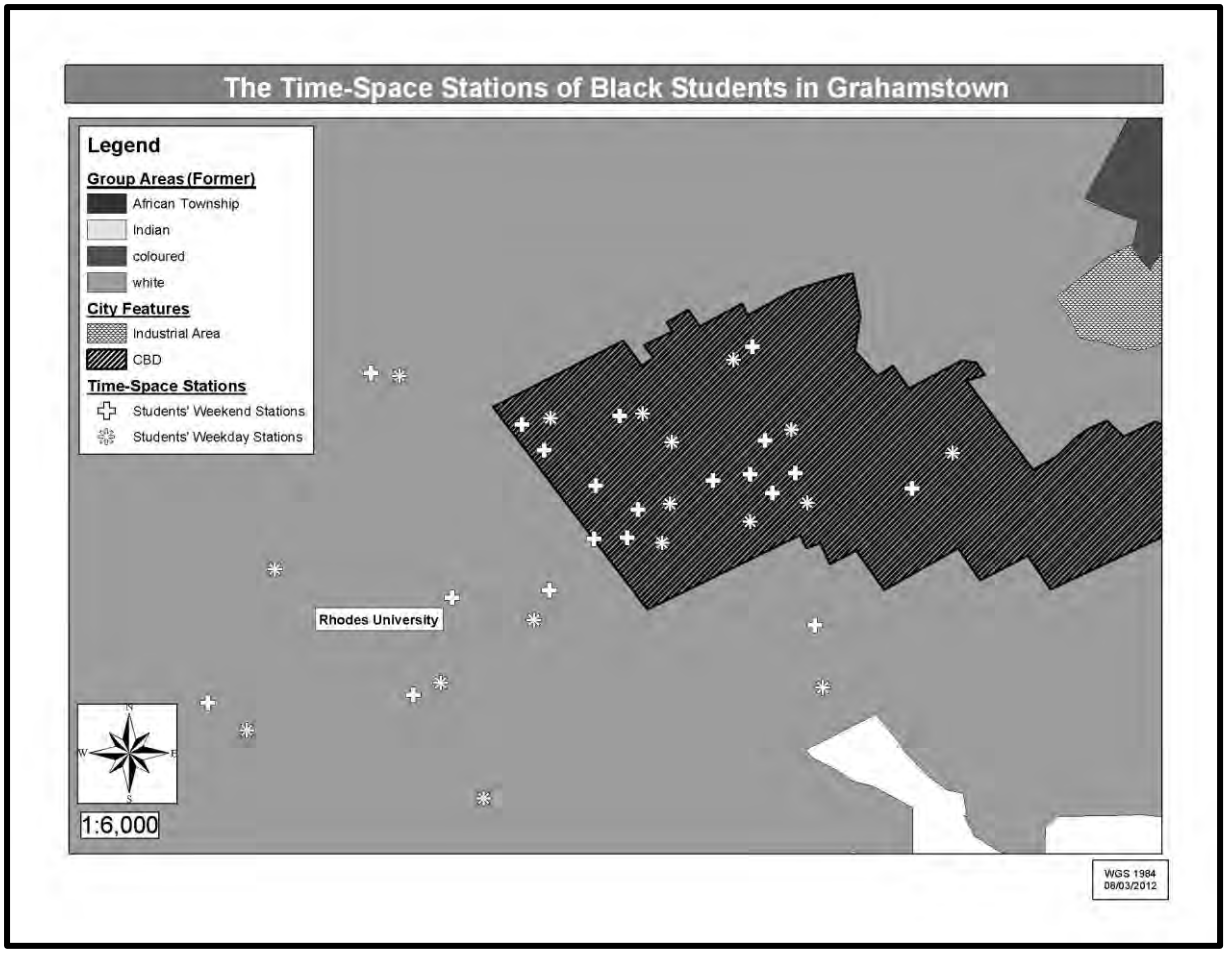

Figure 6.14: The Stations of Black Students in Grahamstown

6.3.3 The Choices behind the Time-Space Use

As we saw in Chapin's Choice Model (Figure 3.2), individuals engage in activities after making a choice or decision. A person also needs a propensity to perform an activity, an appropriate situation in which to perform it and an opportunity to perform it. With all three of these fulfilled, the probability is high that the activity will be chosen. The propensity element of the decision involves the individual's motivation, their role and the personal factors that precondition them towards choosing an activity. This propensity is influenced by externalities and it is important to realise that choices are made within an urban environmental context. It is, therefore, important to see that the time-space stations of the interviewees that were revealed in the preceding subsections occurred as a result of decision making processes with many influences and factors taken into consideration.

The findings of the interviews conducted with the 24 subjects have been split into two subsections.

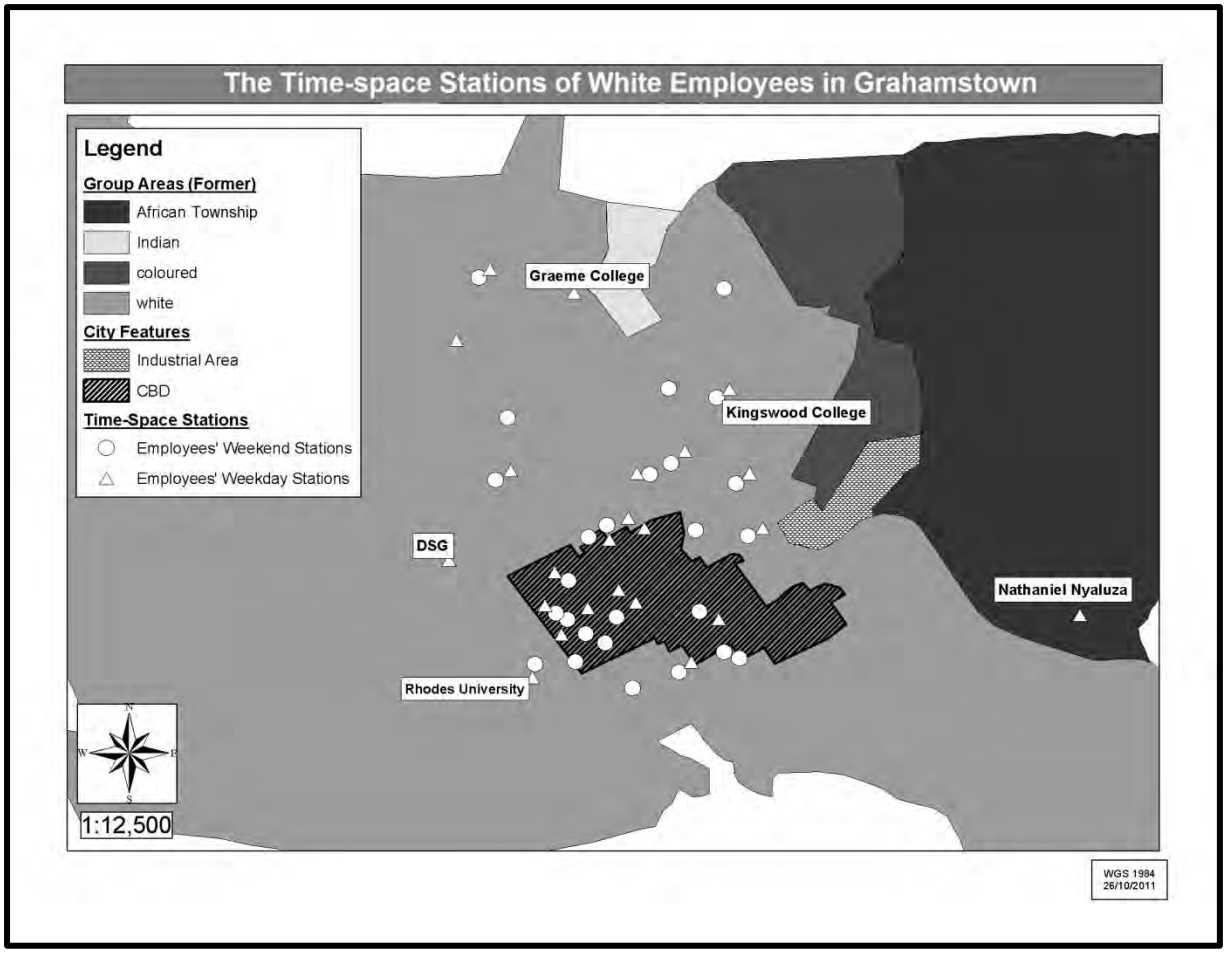

Figure 6.15: The Stations of White Employees in Grahamstown

6.3.3.1 Where interviewees choose to go and why

This subsection looks into the reasons behind the choices that the individuals interviewed made in terms of their time-space use. The discussion will highlight their choice of place and residence and their place of work or study, which are their primary stations within their everyday lives. In addition, their primary mode of transport, subsequent accessibility to the things they wanted or needed; their choice of shops for everyday shopping and their choice of non-work commitments outside of the home are discussed. In this part of the discussion students and employees and interviewees of all race groups have been grouped together as there were no major differences in the reasoning behind their time-space use. Where differences were observed they have been highlighted.

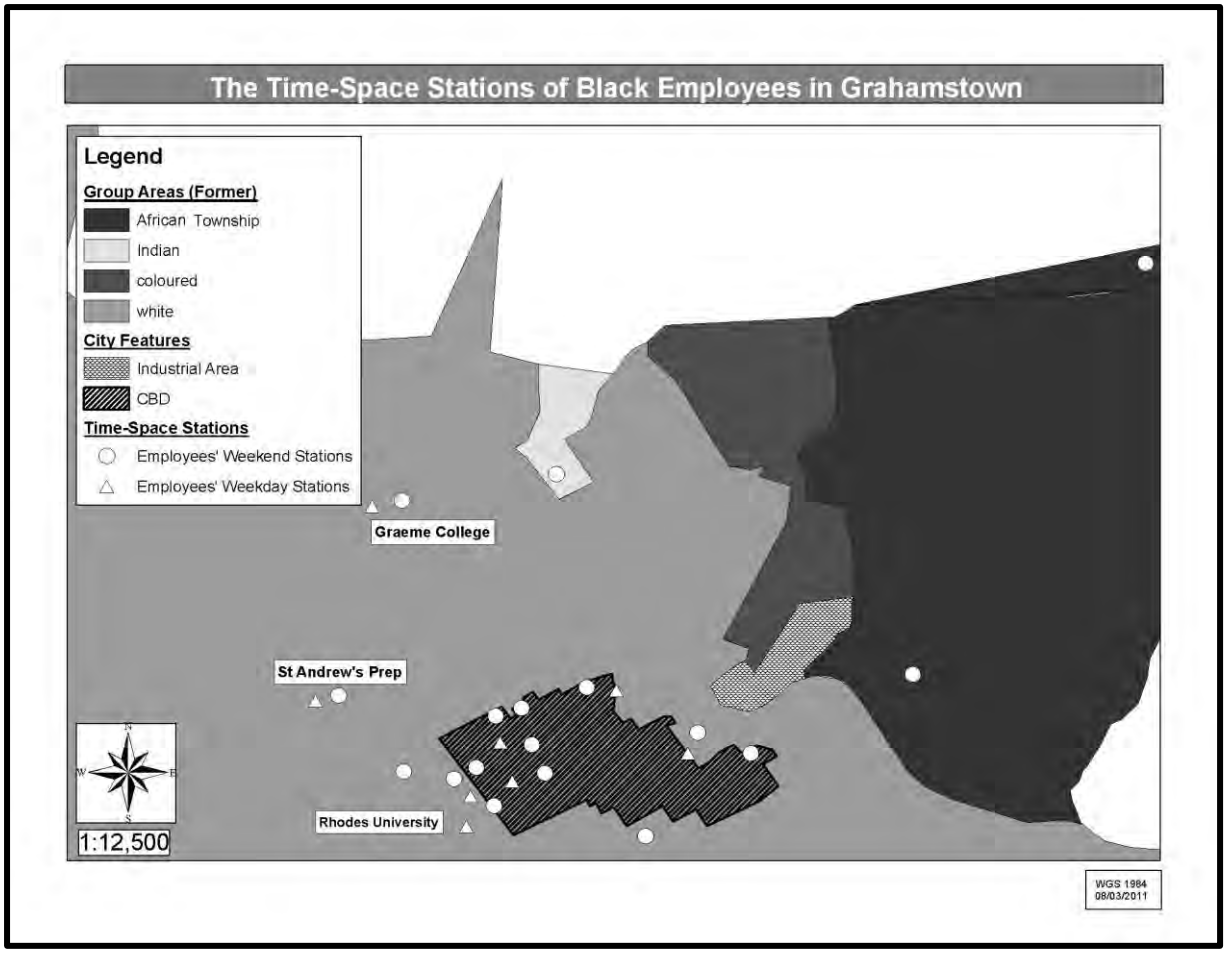

Figure 6.16: The Stations of Black Employees in Grahamstown

As seen in the preceding discussion, all the interviewees live in the former white group area of Grahamstown. The home is the primary station of each of the interviewees as most of their activities are based there and, subsequently, they spend most of their day at work. This is not a choice made in their everyday lives, but is a decision with long term effects for their everyday lives. Interviewees were asked about the motivations behind their choice of place of residence. Nine of the 24 mentioned the proximity of the property to their other major station, work or university and ten mentioned the affordability of either rent or purchase price of the property as a motivation. Five listed the features of the particular property they chose as one of the influences. Six mentioned that security played a role in their decision and the four said that their choice was constrained by the limited availability of properties at the time. Of the group of employees, two said that the place of residence was chosen because of its proximity to their children's school. Two of the employees lived on the school property where they worked. Within the group of students, two said they chose the place that they lived in based on the fact that they wanted to stay with friends. Other responses included the fact that the

property fell within 'a good neighbourhood', was far from the township, was quiet, was private, and was situated away from the CBD, which can be busy and noisy. In addition, one of the students said that they chose to stay in residence because they were new to Grahamstown and unfamiliar with the property market.

The other dominant station in the everyday lives of the interviewees is the workplace or, in the case of students, Rhodes University. Again this is a long term decision affecting individuals' everyday lives. Three students said that they chose Rhodes University because of a family connection. Six listed the strength of their subject area and the atmosphere of the university as factors influencing their decision. Four of them said that Rhodes University provided them with independence as they were away from their parents. Two mentioned the culture of the institution and the same number said that the university and city had a wonderful atmosphere. Other responses included the small size of the university and one student said that their mother applied for them and, not knowing what else to do, they decided to register at Rhodes.

Transport is a factor that affects the accessibility of certain activities and locations for individuals in their everyday lives. Seventeen of the 24 interviewees said that a private motorcar was their primary mode of transport. Nine of the seventeen said that the reason for this was the convenience of having one's own car. Two of them mentioned the independence it gave them. Other answers included the lack of state provision of transport, disliking walking, not needing the exercise, time-savings and the fact that the distance traversed were out of walking distance. One of the interviewees also mentioned that they had a medical condition that prevented them from walking long distances. These same respondents said that, as a result, they felt unconstrained when needing or wanting to access locations in their everyday lives. In addition to the 17 interviewees with cars, one interviewee used a scooter and six of them went everywhere on foot. The respondent who drove a scooter was a student and said that this mode of transport was chosen because of its affordability relative to a car. The six respondents who walked everywhere (an employee and five students) had different reasons for this. While all said that the reason was a lack of a car, the employee mentioned that they found walking to be an enjoyable activity in itself. Two interviewees without private motorcars said that they were not constrained in their access to things by this fact unless it was raining. However, the other four interviewees said they did feel constrained and two noted that it was a particular problem at night.

In the everyday lives of individuals there are also other activities that shape their time-space movements. Two of these were investigated further: their choice of shop for everyday grocery shopping and their involvement in ongoing activities outside of work (or university) and home such as clubs and groups. Twenty of the interviewees said that they generally do their everyday shopping at the grocery chain store at Peppergrove Mall. Only three interviewees did their everyday shopping at the store in High Street and one interviewee did their shopping at a convenience store because it was most convenient. The location of the shop of choice to the interviewees' place of residence or work was the most common factor (with sixteen of them providing it as a reason) mentioned as part of their decision making. Four respondents mentioned the product range and five mentioned the prices as factors in their decision-making. Interestingly, three of the respondents said they shopped there out of habit. Two mentioned the proximity of banking facilities to the shop as a factor in their choice and the same number mentioned that it was open late. In addition, the safety of the mall, the ample parking, the friendliness of the staff, the efficiency with which the store is run and the short queues were mentioned by respondents. Interviewee Three, a white individual, mentioned that the calibre of the people who shop there and this came across as a classist or racist remark.

In terms of the interviewees' involvement in ongoing activities or commitments outside of work, thirteen were involved in a sports club or gym, seven were involved in interest groups, six attended church and five were a member of a community organisation. Three interviewees had no involvement with activities of this sort. Interviewees attending church made a decision on which specific one to attend. Two of them said the decision was based on the culture of the institution. Other reasons included the fact that the church was within walking distance of an interviewee's home, a connection with the family of churches in another town and the fact that friends attended the same church. Of the six employees who were involved in sport or gym three said the reason behind the choice was the opportunity to socialise. One said the decision was based on affordability, one said it was based on the program offered and one said that the activity took place close to home. Within the group of students, most who were involved in either a sport, interest group or church group had chosen to participate in activities affiliated to Rhodes University or in some way student-dominated. Two students said they did this because it was affordable. Three students said the choice was based on the specific sport or interest group they were involved in, five mentioned student culture and social life or the fact that their friends were involved in the same activities. Other answers

included the accessibility of the activity and the fact that it was well-organised. Two of the students who were involved in interest groups at Rhodes University said that they chose these specific groups because their friends were also involved and one said that they did not know of any similar groups outside of the university. Two of them also mentioned that they had a wish to be involved somehow with the Grahamstown community.

6.3.3.2 Where interviewees choose not to go and why

The time-space stations of the interviewees show that they do not enter the former townships in their everyday lives. Only one of the white interviewees, who worked at a school in the township, entered the area during the four day period surveyed. The interviews, therefore, focussed on why this was the case.

Thirteen of the fourteen white interviewees had entered the township area. Of these, 11 said they did so infrequently. Six of the seven students interviewed fell within this group and the remaining student had never entered the township. Two interviewees entered the township almost every day and one had only been there once whilst those who entered it almost every day had jobs that required this of them. Of the black interviewees, three of the students and all five employees had been to the township area. For all of these people the frequency of visits was not very regular.

An investigation of the motivations of the white interviewees when entering the township revealed that one had a job there, five had been there for work-related matters, three of the students had been there for reasons related to university coursework and four entered the area to give people lifts home by car. Other reasons included getting the car washed, curiosity and visiting a shebeen (unlicensed bar) for after-hours alcohol purchases. Only the two individuals who had jobs that required them to enter the township area almost every day had been there for social reasons, which may indicate a relationship between the two factors. Only two of the black employees had been to the township for social reasons and for one of them these social and familial ties existed because he had grown up in Grahamstown. Of the black students who had been to the township all had been there for university work or because of the interest groups or community projects they were involved in.

The limited interaction with township space amongst both black and white students can be usefully linked to the fact that many of the students are temporary migrants to Grahamstown. They arrive as strangers to the city and live almost entirely within the space immediately

surrounding the university and CBD. They have little to draw them elsewhere and social linkages are not widely established outside of the university as we can see partly through their extra-curricular activities. Their interaction with the city space is further limited by the fact that many of them do not have access to a private motor vehicle.

A number of reasons were given by white interviewees for their lack of entry into the township area. Eleven of the interviewees who had been to the township said they had never entered the area for social visits and two actually had turned down invitations for social visits in the area. Of the 11 who entered the township infrequently, 10 said that they simply had no reason to go there. Two respondents added there were no shops there. This response was also dominant within the survey of the black interviewees.

The white interviewees' impressions of the township are interesting and reveal a general negativity towards the township area. When asked about the dangerous areas in Grahamstown, seven of the fourteen interviewees named the township area as one of these. When asked to describe their impressions of the township area negative impressions dominated, with nine of the interviewees giving purely negative descriptions. These included terms like 'slummy', 'crime-ridden' and 'poverty-stricken' and phrases such as 'lack of community involvement' or 'no respect for their environment'. The other five interviewees described the area through reference to both positives and negatives. In all, however, responses seemed to be quite one-dimensional and this is probably related to the fact that those speaking are members of an outsider group in the area.

Chapter 7: Discussion

This discussion will begin with the findings in terms of residential integration, integration in schools and the revelations of the time-space approach, respectively. These findings will be discussed in light of the context of the post-apartheid era, of Grahamstown and of the theoretical literature.

7.1 Residential Integration in Grahamstown

Grahamstown's residential neighbourhoods were shown to remain highly segregated using the data from the 2001 census, indicating that the pace of integration was slow in the post-apartheid era. This is in line with findings countrywide (Christopher, 2001a; Christopher, 2005a; Beavon, 2000; Kotze & Donaldson; Rex & Visser, 2009; Horn, 2005). It also agrees with international findings from Simon's (1991) study of Namibia and the findings of Massey & Denton (1988) and Darden (1989) in the United States of America. In fact, the IS and ID figures calculated for the neighbourhoods of Grahamstown were all high and indicative of residential segregation as a result of coercive forces. This agrees with Christopher's (2001a) assertion that small urban settlements, in general, remained highly segregated.

The patterns of segregation revealed that the group areas and townships of the apartheid era dominated the space of Grahamstown, ten years since the birth of the new South Africa. Furthermore, these patterns revealed that while blacks had moved into the former white group area, the coloured group area and African township had not experienced the in-movement of whites. In fact, the residents of township area remained one hundred percent African. These patterns agree with those reported by Donaldson (2001) and Wood (2000) and Simon (1991) in his study of Windhoek. In Grahamstown, like in other places in South Africa (Christopher, 2005a; Lemon and Clifford, 2005a; Tomlinson *et al.,* 2003; Lanegran & Lanegran, 2001), the development of state housing alongside existing townships has meant the persistence of segregation of Africans.

Grahamstown's estate agents reported the same patterns of segregation in 2011. They also all reported the assimilation of the former Indian group area within the white one. This phenomenon has not been noted in any other studies and this is related to two factors. First, it is related to the relatively small size of the Indian population of Grahamstown and, second,

the fact that many other small urban centres (possibly displaying the same phenomenon) have not been investigated.

The estate agents also identified complexes and apartments (located in and around the CBD) as constituting an inexpensive form of housing that facilitates the movement of blacks into the former white group area. Related to this, the agents all agreed that the economic barrier to integration was the greatest influence on the observed levels and patterns. This agrees with the findings of Rule (1996), Myburgh (1996), Kotze and Donaldson (1998), Rex & Visser (2009), Lemon & Battersby-Lennard (2009), Wood (2000) and Freund (2010) in South Africa's urban settlements and Simon's (1991) findings in Windhoek. In Grahamstown, however, this seems to be related to the student population drawn to the city by Rhodes University. This links to the fact that the apartment blocks in the central area are populated by students. The economic barrier to integration is discussed further in subsection 7.3.

The phenomenon of white flight from integrating suburbs reported by Beavon (2004), Lemon & Clifford (2005) and Freund (2010) was not observed by estate agents and could not be seen in this case study because of the timeframe observed and the type of data used. However, white flight is not entirely likely to have occurred as there is very little space to 'fly' to given the size of Grahamstown and the relatively close proximity within which all race groups live.

The estate agents observed the unwillingness of white property owners to live 'too close to the township' because of stigma and perceptions of high levels of crime as well as the fact that property owners felt more comfortable living with others of the same race. This loosely relates to the findings of Donaldson (1996) in Limpopo Province where he discovered stigmatism of areas, ideological intolerance related to conservatism and closed communities to contribute towards continued segregation.

Three aspects of desegregation are peculiar to Grahamstown insofar as they have not been noted anywhere else and are related to Grahamstown's characteristics. First, since the political transformation the Indian group area has disappeared having been assimilated within the surrounding white group area. This is unsurprising given the size of the group area which served to house a small community as well as its position, surrounded almost entirely by white neighbourhoods. Second, the impact of the student population on integration within the CBD and its surrounds is very tangible in Grahamstown. University students of all races live in these areas because of their proximity to the Rhodes University campus. Third, these

university students have aided overall integration through the rental of properties in the former white group area (Figure 5.6). Black students, owing to their socio-economic status as those able to afford university education and the fact that costs are shared with others, are able to afford to rent property in the more expensive former white group area.

The findings in Grahamstown agree to some extent with Christopher's (2001a) proposed post-apartheid city model. The area around the CBD and 'inner-city' are most integrated where higher densities of housing are being developed. Gated complexes have been developed and informal settlements and site-and-service schemes have been established on the urban periphery. The biggest difference between Grahamstown and Christopher's model is found in the fact that the functions of the CBD have not decentralised and local shopping centres have not developed. This is probably due to the relatively small size of Grahamstown and its small economy in comparison to those cities (which one can only assume to be major centres) that Christopher observed.

7.2 Integration in Grahamstown's Institutions of Education

7.2.1 Integration of Learners and Students

The focus of the objective regarding the patterns of integration in Grahamstown's institutions of education had two facets: integration of learners and integration of staff. In other words, it served to indicate the level of integration in the places of learning and workplaces.

In terms of students enrolled at Rhodes University, change has been positive since universities officially integrated in the 1980s. Black students made up the majority, 57%. In comparison to national student numbers, white students at Rhodes were overrepresented. Indians, Africans and coloureds were underrepresented. In terms of access to tertiary education, Indian and white youth were shown to have a greater ease of access to these institutions compared to the other two race groups.

There were no drastic changes in racial composition of learners in Grahamstown's schools since the period between Lemon's (2004) study and this case study. The learners at the thirty-four schools in post-apartheid Grahamstown were broadly representative of the Grahamstown population as a whole. This means that access to primary and secondary education system as

a whole was not racially discriminatory. It is the access to 'good' schools and a quality education that remains discriminatory. In fact, it was shown that township schools remained the most segregated with 73% of African learners having attended these schools and 18 of the 34 schools having shown a 100% African learner body. Learners generally went to those schools reserved for their race group during apartheid. These were the same findings as those of Lemon (2005) in Pietermaritzburg and Chisholm and Sujee (2006) in their national study. However, none of the schools displayed the same characteristics of Russel, which was only 1.5% white despite being designated as a white school during apartheid (Lemon, 2005).

In terms of the spatial distribution of learners in schools in Grahamstown, therefore, learners generally went to school in those institutions that fell within their former group area. Like the situation in residential neighbourhoods in Grahamstown, the integration in schools was shown to be one-way in nature with individuals moving up the racial hierarchy of schools, but not the other way. In fact, the former-Model C and private schools show the highest representivity of learners.

Lemon & Battersby-Lennard (2009) and Rule (1996) reported that the rate of desegregation in schools was faster than that of residential neighbourhoods in South Africa. This is not very clear in Grahamstown and this lack of clarity is related to the fact that data for residential neighbourhoods used to analyse desegregation is eight years older than that of schools. In addition, the fact that this study amounted to a snapshot study, means that the white flight from integrating schools reported by Rule (1996) in Bertrams, Johannesburg, could not be dealt with.

Some of the reasons restricting access to former-Model C schools in Grahamstown were outlined by Lemon (2004) in his study of the situation. These include catchment areas, entry requirements and high schools fees. These issues were shown to persist in this study.

7.2.2 Integration of Staff

Integration of staff in the institutions of education in Grahamstown this varied. Rhodes University showed the greatest representivity of staff, but this is mainly due to the fact that the figures included staff of all grades and not just teaching staff like the figures for schools.

Placing Rhodes University within its national context, however, one can see that the overall racial composition of all employees at South African public universities is roughly the same

as at Rhodes. Both show an overrepresentation of whites and an underrepresentation of coloureds and Africans, in terms of the national population. Indian employees were seen as overrepresented in the same terms nationally, but slightly underrepresented at Rhodes. This is probably related to the relatively small Indian community in Grahamstown.

A closer look at the grades of employees at Rhodes University, however, showed that the higher the skills level, the lower the proportion of black employees. This spoke of ongoing inequalities, the reasons behind which were highlighted by Mtumtum (2011).

In Grahamstown's primary and secondary schools, the racial representivity or integration of teaching staff across the schooling system varied. Africans and whites were still at polar opposites in terms of their distribution within the schools of Grahamstown. In fact, spatially speaking, teachers of each race group generally taught at schools that were both designated to that race during apartheid and fell within the apartheid group areas or townships. In addition, whites were over-represented in this profession, Africans were underrepresented and coloureds were only very slightly over-represented when compared to Grahamstown's total population.

7.3 Reasons behind the Slow Pace of Change

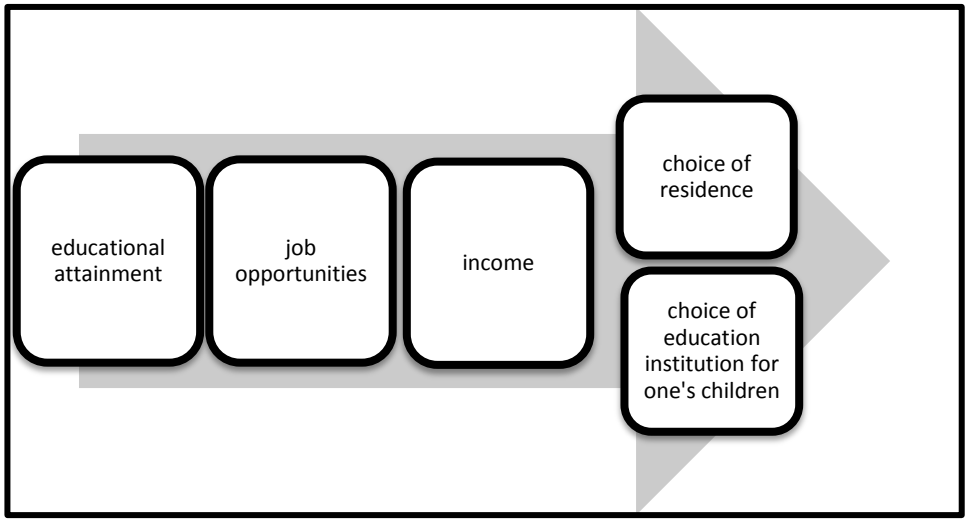

Figure 7.1: Linking Together Integration in Schools, the Workplace and Residential Neighbourhoods

It has been 20 years since the official end of apartheid's racially discriminatory legislation. Change has been slow across the country, including Grahamstown, in terms of both residential integration and integration in institutions of education. In addition, the pace of racial integration in the workplace has been shown to be slow in Grahamstown too. The overarching reasons for this slow pace of change seem to be the same in Grahamstown as they have been in the country overall. Essentially, the patterns of integration observed actually come down to upward mobility and upward mobility requires two factors to be fulfilled. First, one needs the freedom, right or liberty to choose where one goes to school or lives. Second, and this is the crux of the matter in post-apartheid South Africa, one needs to be free of other constraints that limit the choices available. In other words, it is not enough to have the political freedoms and rights which enable free choice; one needs further means by which to make that choice too. The means we are talking about in this case are socio-economic in form. This is because of the overlap of race and class that has been found to persist in post-apartheid South Africa and the fact that upward mobility in terms of residential property and enrolment at schools requires money.

The racial hierarchy of privilege still seems to persist to a large degree. This is all too clear in the case study of Grahamstown where we see that whites are still generally employed within the high-skilled occupations, generally have the highest academic qualifications and generally earn higher incomes than their black counterparts. Whites enjoyed relative privilege in terms of education; income; job reservation; access to property and better amenities, services and infrastructure since they colonised what is now South Africa and nothing much has changed since they relinquished their political power. This has not changed because, while political freedoms have been radically transformed with the introduction of the new Constitution and Bill of Rights, no other radical changes have been made within policy to change the socio-economic status quo. In fact, after the demise of the RDP, South Africa adopted GEAR (and later AsgiSA) and the free market system, therefore, choosing to minimise state intervention in the market. The South African government has, largely, chosen to let the market sort out the inequalities of the past and rely on economic growth and the trickle-down effect to redistribute economic power. Government has adopted active measures like employment equity, student funding and mergers of tertiary institutions, for example, in order to bridge the gap, but these have failed to change the status quo in the last 20 years. This is not to totally disregard the policies and structures that have been put into place to promote equal opportunities and integration. Indeed, government housing, subsidies, social welfare grants,

increased support of black schools, integrated local authorities and planning, and affirmative action and employment equity policies have been well meaning. In addition, this critique does not promote radical change necessarily. A radical redistribution scheme may not be the right way to go and, in any case, a debate of policy and transformation is not the task of this discussion. However, the lack of such a radical transformation of the socio-economic status quo explains, to a large degree, the slow pace of change in terms of integration in schools, residential neighbourhoods and the workplace.

Furthermore, it is not that simple to separate out these three factors, as is seen in Figure 7.1. The level of one's educational attainment affects job opportunities which, in turn, affect one's income and, therefore, the range of choice one has in terms of residential neighbourhood and property and the choice of school or university for children. The limitations placed on the education of one's child, will then affect their educational attainment and so on. Of course, this is a very limited view, which does not take into account the uniqueness of an individual, their life choices or their conception of the 'good life'.

7.4 The revelations of the time-geographical approach

The time-geographical approach was used to illustrate and understand the time-space mobility of South Africans within Grahamstown. In essence it revealed that the individuals interviewed, on the whole, counted the former white group area and CBD as encompassing the extent of their action space. This is because all of them resided within this area and, all but one, worked or studied within this area too. Their two primary time-spatial nodes thus defined their action space. From the point of view of the white interviewees, this agrees with the findings of Oelofse (1996) and Buursink (1996). Oelofse (1996) found the phenomenon of one-way integration, with white individuals never entering the space of the 'other' in Hout Bay, while black communities enter the former white group area for work and access to amenities and commercial enterprises. These findings relate to Buursink's (1996) characterisation of the twin city phenomenon and what he refers to as behavioural integration. Twin cities are defined as such because of the integration of the cities that exists in terms of the behaviour of individuals. Essentially, the township and coloured group area and the rest of Grahamstown are integrated in only one direction from this point of view. People living in

these areas must enter the former white group areas to access a range of amenities, facilities and work opportunities.

However, the limited activity space of students as a whole, whether white or black, speaks to another aspect of time-spatial mobility within this study. This relates to their temporary migrant status in the town, their limited mobility within it and the way in which their lives centre round the university and university life.

Two further aspects of the investigation deserve highlighting. First, there are definitely negative feelings towards the township area amongst the white interviewees. This is compounded by the fact that the interviewees had little knowledge or familiarity with this space and extremely limited mobility within this area. There was at least one racist remark made during the interviews and this indicates that this may also be a factor at play in people's everyday lives. It is suspected that the interviews were of a formal enough nature for most people not to let their guard down and make prejudiced comments. In addition, there are few social links to the areas. In fact, as one interviewee remarked, the township amounts to an alien world. This will, no doubt, only serve to further entrench the existing patterns. This is an unsurprising state of affairs given the fact that just over twenty years ago social interaction and spatial mobility were severely limited. Mindsets of 'otherness' are bound to persist with centuries of social engineering behind them. External influences and the urban environmental context can, therefore, also be seen as at play from this perspective. The sample of white individuals living in Grahamstown, like the ones in Oelofse's (1996) study, have formed a sense of place which defines both the space of the known and unknown and the 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in each of these spaces. Relating this to Bursink's (1996) conception of twin cities, we can see that the shared sense of place and shared attitudes that should be present within the communities of living in these spaces are absent, at least as far as the white community is concerned.

Second, it seems that the structure of the city together with the socio-economic status of the individual influences their action space. The fact is that the institutions of education that these people are involved in are generally contained within the white group area. This is unsurprising as the apartheid city blueprint ensured that education institutions and group areas and townships reserved for each race coincided. In addition, the CBD was located within the white group area and commercial activities, to a large degree, were prevented from locating

themselves within the group areas and townships. Furthermore, the differences in state infrastructure and investment between group areas and townships meant that most amenities were located within the CBD and white group area too. With little change to this distribution of commercial activities and other amenities in the post-apartheid era it is no wonder that white individuals do not need to go to the township for any activities related to these types of urban space. In addition, the socio-economic status of these individuals dictates that they are able to access property located within the white group area. This is displayed in the limited interactions with the space of the other former group areas and township in the time-space activities of even the black respondents.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1 The Patterns of Racial Integration in Contemporary Grahamstown

The general picture of post-apartheid Grahamstown that has been created is both positive and negative, but not totally unexpected. The picture is positive because change has occurred and, especially within the learner and student population, this change has been significant. The picture is negative and this is related to the fact that change has not yet reached the level of an integrated community. However, it must be noted that this is not a totally unexpected state of affairs given the fact that new South Africa is only 20 years old and policy for transformation has not been exceptionally radical, with the government relying mainly on free market forces to adjust inequalities.

Residential integration was investigated with the use of indices of segregation, percentages, spatial illustration and through interviews with local estate agents. Levels were shown to be high and certain patterns were evident, which reiterate the findings of other studies. These include the phenomenon of one-way integration, resegregation through the development of gated communities, the entrenchment of segregation through the placement of state housing developments, and the relatively high levels of integration in the CBD and lower-income properties. Grahamstown was, however, found to diverge from other studies in terms of the impact of students on integration in and around the CBD as well as the disappearance of the Indian group area since the political transformation.

In terms of the institutions of education, racial transformation has generally been slow, but was most marked in Rhodes University overall. Integration of university students has shown a positive turn, with black students now making up the majority in a former white university despite the fact that white students are still overrepresented. Learner integration in schools was limited and one-way in form with township schools remaining 100% African. This was shown to correlate with the findings of other studies. Learners still generally attended schools designated to them in the apartheid era, schools which still fall within their former group areas and townships.

This study gave focus to the phenomenon of racial integration in the workplace, which has not been attempted in South African geographical studies to date. It showed professional and

semi-professional occupations like teaching, lecturing and administration to have experienced limited integration with whites still overrepresented in these positions.

Many reasons behind the levels of integration achieved in residential neighbourhoods, places of learning and the workplace have been highlighted in the discussion above, but the most influential of these is worth noting here. The economic barrier to integration that exists because of the general overlap of race and class pervades South African communities and cities. This is because of government economic policy, which largely relies on a free market system to dispel inequalities. It is for this reason that integration requires upward mobility and why access to the best schools, highest skilled and higher paying jobs, and higher-income residential neighbourhoods is largely limited to white individuals.

The use of the time-geographical approach, which has had very limited application in South Africa, revealed new understandings of the situation in the post-apartheid era. First, the white interviewees were shown to live their daily lives within the bounds of the white group area and CBD, therefore, showing few spatial linkages or little behavioural integration within the city as a whole through their activities. These same spatial linkages or lack thereof where shown to exist within the group of black interviewees. One discernible difference appears and that is the fact that for two of the black interviewees the cause for their presence in the non-white areas was social ties. This is in contrast to the white interviewees who mainly entered the township in a work or community engagement capacity. Second, the structure and form of the city was shown to have influence on this, but so were white interviewees' perceptions of the 'otherness' with regard to the township and its community. Third, the time-space mobility of the students, in particular, revealed that their temporary migrant status and transport limitations affect the way in which they interact with the wider city space. Overall, therefore, the student presence in Grahamstown has been shown to aid residential integration through black students entering the former white areas with ease due to the rental market. However, their limited time-spatial action space is testament to the 'bubble' they live in and the way in which they never really become part of the wider community.

8.2 Limitations

Many limitations exist in this study and four of them are discussed here. First, as already mentioned in Chapter 4, the use of 2001 census data was problematic. Notwithstanding the possibility of inaccuracy in the data, the data are out of date for this study (with the 2011

census underway in October and November 2011) and it is not particularly suitable for studies of small towns. Second, I must acknowledge my own limitations as a researcher. Not least of these is the fact that I am a white female and my perspective is no doubt affected by this. In addition, I am a child of the post-apartheid era and, therefore, the knowledge I have of the apartheid era is not from experience. Third, this case study does not explore the social aspect of behavioural integration or the ways in which people interact with each other in their neighbourhoods, work and at places of learning. Although this was not the aim of the research at hand, it is the next logical step in gaining a full understanding of the nature of integration in post-apartheid South Africa.

8.3 Themes for Future Study

This case study has the ability inform the agenda of future research. The review of literature concerning studies of post-apartheid integration identified the fact that existing geographical research has a very limited focus. This study has sought to reveal new aspects and understandings of the post-apartheid city and it is hoped that this will be embraced and taken further in future studies. For instance, studies of integration in the workplace and within occupations have been shown to still have relevance. It has also filled a gap in the research by giving focus to a small city, which is a neglected area in the literature. This study has revealed that Grahamstown has a unique context and that it cannot be assumed to follow the pattern of South Africa's larger cities. In addition, this research applied the time-geographical approach in a specific manner in order to achieve a sense of individual experience in the post-apartheid city. There is certainly also room to alter the focus of the time-geographical approach and explore the constraints of transport on mobility or the time-space activity of those living in gated communities or townships. This study or similar ones could be broadened to incorporate individuals from all race groups. In addition, exploring the applicability of the approach on a larger scale, perhaps with less depth, promises to provide an understanding of the broader patterns of integration that exist within and amongst South Africa's cities. Lastly, this study and others like it have pointed to the need to examine how to integrate our communities and cities and erasing the inequalities between them.

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Personal Communications

Fourie, S. 2011. Registrar. Rhodes University, Grahamstown. Personal Communication. 29 September.

Gaybba, M. 2011. Estate Agent, Grahamstown. Personal Communication. 22 May.

Mtumtum, L. 2011. IR & EE Specialist, Human Resources. Rhodes University, Grahamstown. Personal Communication. 19 September.

Pienaar, J-P. 2011. Owner, Harcourts Grahamstown. Grahamstown. Personal Communication. 15 July.

van Achterbergh, M. 2011. Estate Agent, Lew Geffen Sotheby's. Grahamstown. Personal Communication. 15 July.

van der Merwe, R. 2011. Town Planner, Technical and Infrastructure Directorate. Makana Municipality, Grahamstown. 23 September.

Appendices

Appendix A: Time-Space Diary (Example)

Some information about completing the time-space diary

- The time-space diary is split into 30 min slots and is based on a 24-hour clock. Participants are asked to provide information about their activities: where they are and when.

An example of a completed time-space diary:

Time	Activity	Place (or Destination if in Transit)	Mode of Transport (if travelling)
05.00 – 05.29	Sleeping	Home	-
05.30 – 05.59	Sleeping	home	-
06.00 – 06.29	Getting ready for school	home	-
06.30 – 06.59	Getting ready for school	home	-
07.00 – 07.29	07.00-07.15 Travel to school	Destination: School	Walking
07.30 – 07.59	Learning	School	-
08.00 – 08.29	Learning	School	-
08.30 – 08.59	Learning	School	-

- **Activities:** As you can see from the example, the time-space diary does not require the small details of your activities. For example, for the entire time in which you are at school you can simply call your activity 'learning'. Information about break-times, different classes or meetings is unnecessary. You can fill-in smaller time slots if activities do not take up a full 30 minute slot e.g. '07.00 – 07.15 Walking to school'
- **Place (or Destination if in Transit):** In terms of this section, you are asked to tell us where you are at that time. If you are travelling somewhere then you must provide information about where you are going, for example, if you are travelling to school then write 'school'.
  If the activity is 'shopping' give the name of the shop and/or the street it is in
- **Mode of Transport (if travelling):** If you are travelling somewhere then you need to say how you are travelling e.g. car, bus, bicycle, boat, walking

If you would like to make any comments or give any additional information there is a section at the end of this booklet for this purpose.