



# **'LIVING TOGETHER, SEPARATELY IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA': THE CASE OF INTEGRATED HOUSING IN MOGALE CITY AND LEHAE PROJECT**

## **Research report**

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The report was written by Sarah Meny-Gibert, with input from Ivor Chipkin. Margot Rubin provided useful input on sections of the report. Fieldwork was managed by Letta Mhlanga and Mpho Mohapi, who both also undertook fieldwork. The fieldwork team also included Ryan Brunette, Emile Coetzee, Carolien Greyling, Sarah Meny-Gibert, Mluleki Masgina and Masimba Yuba.



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**T**he Ahmed Kathrada Foundation has deepening non-racialism as its core objective. It is an ideal entrenched in our constitution as well as the Freedom Charter. The Foundation develops various programmes and structured public engagements to ensure that this important ideal is realised. In addition to this, research forms a significant part of what we do, in a broader aim to inform policy, and engage with intellectual communities. Towards this goal, the Foundation has begun to probe meanings and interpretations of non-racialism in contemporary South Africa through research with ordinary South Africans and prominent leaders. This work is complimented by historical research on individual contributions to a non-racial South Africa.

In 2012, the Foundation aimed to increase its research work on contemporary forms, meanings and interpretations of non-racialism. The focus was less about what should define non-racialism in contemporary South Africa, as it was about whether and how non-racialism was translated from 'the ideal' to 'the practice'. Implied here is how non-racialism is made sense of by various individuals, and how these individuals interpret what is meant by pronouncements of non-racialism in public or organizational policy. In 2012, with funding from the Swedish Postcode Lottery, two projects were conceptualized and commissioned – this publication, and the other entitled 'The ANC: Still a Home to All, which explores perspectives on non-racialism of a selection of ANC branch members.

Both research reports explore the state of non-racialism in the party that champions it and the public service that implements it. Read as a composite, they give us a sense of the extent of the challenge ahead to build a non-racial society in South Africa. Where non-racialism is interpreted as social relations between individuals, this work gives us a sense of the substantive nature of building a truly non-racial society that has implications for service delivery, organisational identity and social inclusion.

The focus of the study in this publication is integrated RDP Housing and is entitled 'Living Together Separately in the New South Africa: The case of integrated housing in Mogale City and Lehae'. The Foundation approached Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI) as partner to conduct this research given the intersections of the two institutions' work. Over the past few years, there had been

demands from applicants for the Department of Human Settlements (Housing) to make RDP houses available to all race groups. This had seen city officials acquiesce, respond with a structured consultative approach in the case of Mogale City, and reluctant agreement in the case of Lehae. The purpose of the project was really to enable the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation to critically assess interpretations of non-racialism, through interviews with selected public sector officials, and through tracing the process of housing allocations. It was to get an initial sense of how government officials deal with everyday issues such as delivery of services to different constituencies in South Africa. In the two cases looked at in this pilot research project, there was no unified approach in how public officials dealt with housing applications from individuals who would have been racially classified under apartheid.

While the two cases did not offer the ideal entry point into looking at integrated housing, since this was not the purpose of the housing settlements, it did provide us with insight about non-racialism is made sense of outside of 'engineered' spaces. The next step is to contrast this with looking at projects of the Department of Housing Settlements that are specifically concerned with integrated housing. One of the benefits of having conducted this pilot is that there is a clearer sense of the approach needed to critically assess the state of non-racialism in various public sectors such as education, service delivery, and housing. The kind of agenda around change management within the public service, in terms of implementing service to all who live in South Africa beyond banal racial classification, is something we envisage emerging from this research.

We trust that as you read this fascinating report, you will have a renewed sense of what it takes to deepen non-racialism in whatever sector of life you live and work in. We trust that it will inform your perspective of what democracy and inclusion means in contemporary South Africa two decades in to our political transition. And we trust that it will allow us to further critically identify potential and emerging frays in the fabric of our celebrated democracy, and to work towards mending these.

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# Introduction

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To a large extent, the geography of the apartheid city remains – in the racial homogeneity of many urban, and in particular rural, areas and in “delimiting racialised patterns of inequality and ... access to economic opportunities and political and social networks” (Christopher, 2001 cited in Oldfield, 2004).

Despite the continuities from the Apartheid period, there are important sites of change. Further, Sophie Oldfield (2004) points out that although the majority of the population in urban areas has not moved from the racially delineated areas in which they resided prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act, “post-apartheid patterns of segregation have become increasingly complex”. Inner city areas have experienced radical changes (Morris, 1999; Crankshaw and White, 1995 cited in Oldfield, 2004) – most notably in Johannesburg, while some racially mixed areas have become racially homogeneous (Houssay-Holzschuch et al, 2000 cited in Oldfield, 2004).

There have also been changes in the socio-economic and racial character of middle class residential areas (Kracker Selzer and Heller, 2010 cited in Klug et al, forthcoming). In Roodepoort, where the Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI) has been undertaking research, hundreds of thousands of newly built townhouses now accommodate a great diversity of families – in terms of race, language and nationality – in an area historically the stronghold of Afrikaner nationalism<sup>1</sup> (Chipkin, 2012).

Much of this change in the demographic composition of these areas has been as a result of “market mechanisms and individual homeowner choices” since 1994 (Oldfield, 2004). Ivor Chipkin suggests that the entry of black middle class families into historically white neighbourhoods in the 1990s was facilitated by an earlier period of upward class mobility amongst a small number of black families in the 1980s, as much as the result of policy interventions since democracy (Chipkin, 2012).

The state has played some role in racially desegregating urban areas in South Africa. This has primarily been driven by the development of ‘greenfield’ RDP<sup>2</sup> housing developments (Oldfield, 2004) in the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape where there are larger numbers of Indian and Coloured families qualifying for RDP houses respectively than in other provinces. Here, racial desegregation refers to the inclusion of different ‘race’ groups in the same settlement. Some have argued

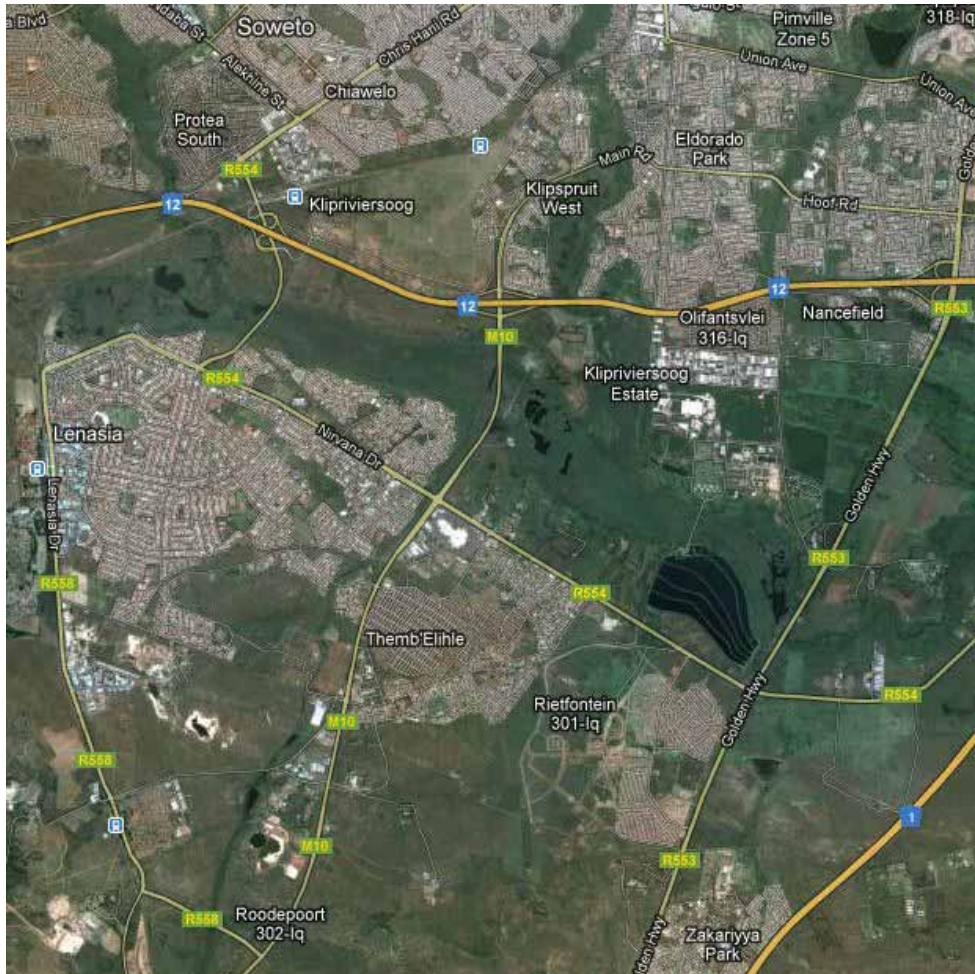
though, that RDP settlements have done little to change the broader apartheid geography of South African cities: the poor (primarily black residents) still live on the periphery of cities and the wealthier reside in locations closer to employment and social amenities (Klug, forthcoming).

In the case of Gauteng, where this research has focused, some degree of desegregation has also occurred in public rental stock owned and run by municipalities and the Province and in Social Housing schemes. There are, however, a few examples of RDP settlements in Gauteng in which a mix of ‘races’ reside. PARI recently undertook research in two such sites, namely Lehae in Region G of the Johannesburg municipality (the City of Joburg), and Chief Mogale Housing Development in Kagiso in Mogale City Local Municipality.

The following report summarises the findings from a pilot research project in these two settlements commissioned by the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation (hereafter the Kathrada Foundation). The Kathrada Foundation’s primary interest in the research was to explore the prospects of using racially integrated housing projects as a means to facilitate the building of a non-racial society, supporting the Foundation’s work in the area of non-racialism more broadly.

The Foundation approached PARI as a research partner on the Project given the organisations’ mutual interests in issues of social change and identity in contemporary South Africa. Over the last few years PARI has been engaged in research on the townhouse complexes, luxury estates and informal settlements that have mushroomed on the western edge of Johannesburg. The research has focused, amongst other things, on exploring contemporary forms of social identity in South Africa and the institutions shaping these identities (see Chipkin, 2012). This report draws on some of this research.

Lehae Housing Development is located south of Soweto and to the north of Lenasia South, in a piece of land across the Golden Highway from Zakariyya Park. The first residents moved in 2007. Residents have since been drawn from formal and informal settlements in the surrounding area including Senaone, Dhlamini, Klipspruit and Chiawelo in Soweto; Jackson; Eldorado Park; Thembelihle; and Lenasia. More families are relocating to the second phase of RDP settlements in Lehae at the moment.



**Figure 1:** Map showing Lehae Housing Development, located just off the Golden Highway to the south of Soweto and Eldorado Park, just north of Lenasia South (not visible on the map) and to the south east of Lenasia. The large open patch of land to the west and south of Lehae will soon be developed for next few phases of the development, incorporating bonded houses, government subsidised rental stock and government subsidised housing for the 'gap' market.

The location of Chief Mogale is shown in Figure 2 – to the south of Krugersdorp town, below the railway line that separated the historically white CBD and suburbs from black townships to the south. Residents in Chief Mogale, who first began moving in in 2010, are drawn from the formal townships and informal settlements in the surrounding area, including Munsieville, Joshua Doore, and Kagiso Extensions 1, 2 and 12 in Kagiso; Sonnop; Krugersdorp; and Krugersdorp West.





**Figure 2:** Map showing Chief Mogale Housing Development, located to the south of Krugersdorp, adjacent to Kagiso. The open patches of land to the west of Chief Mogale will soon be developed for next few phases of the development, incorporating bonded houses, government subsidised rental stock and government subsidised housing for the ‘gap’ market.

Indian and Coloured families in Lehae and white families in Chief Mogale were not included in the initial list of beneficiaries for these housing projects – the allocation of houses to these families happened at a later stage in the project and was facilitated by a particular set of interventions at provincial level. The first part of the report therefore focuses on tracing the process through which these families came to live in the RDP settlements of Chief Mogale and Lehae – framing this in the complex process of government housing allocation in South Africa more broadly. This aimed to shed light on an area of particular interest to the Kathrada Foundation, namely, the assumptions and conceptions circulating amongst relevant politicians and officials at local and provincial level about housing policy and its relationship to race and racial redress. The study also sought to explore the daily lived experience of residents in these now-integrated housing settlements – with a focus on the relationship between the construction of racial identity, social networks, geography and place.

# Research approach

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The Project was envisioned by the Kathrada Foundation as a pilot study which would shed light on the two areas of focus just outlined and which would identify avenues for more in-depth and scaled-up research. The report therefore concludes by briefly outlining areas for further research and the kinds of questions that might shape this. As recognised by the Kathrada Foundation, the complexity of the subject matter demands more intensive and longer term study. The advantage of PARI's research in the townhouse complexes of the West Rand was that it was conducted over three years. This allowed the researchers to develop a long-term familiarity with the area, to watch it change and to build relationships with key personalities.

Fieldwork took place over ten weeks in the months of June, July and August of 2012 and comprised interviews with local community leaders, councillors, individuals and families residing in the case study sites, supplemented by observational research. Interviews were also conducted with a selected number of officials in the departments responsible for housing at local and provincial level.

Gaining access to relevant government officials has proved to be difficult given the short timeframe. This has left some gaps in the description of the processes by which families came to receive RDP houses in Chief Mogale and Lehae; as well as in tracing the decision making process, debate and contestation within the provincial and local housing departments over the decision to provide RDP houses to South African families from a range of 'race groups'. This line of enquiry remains to be explored in more depth.

Interviews with residents in Lehae and Chief Mogale comprised a mixture of life history interviews, questions which probed the process through which residents came to live in Lehae and Chief Mogale respectively, and questions which sought to obtain detail about everyday routines and social networks of residents in the two settlements. For the most part, interviewees steered clear of direct questions on race, which helped establish the points at which race became (or was absent as) a social marker or category, and to ensure that interviewers did not prompt the use of race as a framing construct where it may not have been used in this way by respondents.

Despite the socially constructed nature of social identities such as race and ethnicity, they "acquire a solidity of effect: they become real for their bearers and have actual

consequences" (Hendricks, 2004). Part of the consequence for black South Africans, especially Africans, was the violent restriction of their movements to designated areas of the city and countryside. For South Africans of all race groups – physical segregation of their neighbourhoods shaped and was shaped by deeper socio-economic divides. The research does not assume that spacial de-segregation necessarily has consequences for the racial identities and broader social relations of residents in these two communities – this is partly what the research set out to explore – but it does assume that the 'desegregation' of space is a subject worth exploring.

A note on the use of the term 'non-racialism': there are a number of ways in which the term has been defined. Non-racialism has been conceptualised as both the vision of a future society in which race is no longer relevant (or ceases to exist) and as being present in the activities and commitment expressed in practice aimed at building this future society. For Ahmed Kathrada, for example, non-racialism is "a point where racial classifications become meaningless and disappear, not through some piece of legislation but through their complete lack of relevance to individual, group and national identity" (Kathrada, 2012). Kathrada also notes: "...what I am arguing is that for many of us, non-racialism was something that we had to learn in practice. It meant getting people of all race groups organised and mobilised to act against apartheid. It meant being involved in campaigns, in demonstrations and later in armed struggle together." (Kathrada, 2012).

For others, non-racialism refers to present spaces or futures in which race does not have implications for people's access to opportunities, or fair treatment more generally, irrespective of the continuing salience of race as a social identity. Non-racialism can also be conceived of more narrowly as a particular form of citizenship in which the state allocates rights on a fair and impartial basis (see Hendricks, 2004: 119).

The following report does not employ a particular definition of non-racialism. It explores the nature of racial identity and the implications for social relationships in these communities. It leaves the implications of these findings for a non-racial future as open for debate (depending on the definition of non-racialism employed).



# Racial integration and the housing allocation process

Racial integration in South Africa's cities and towns is not an explicit policy goal (Oldfield, 2004), though it is implicit in aspects of housing policy, a point I return to below. The Breaking New Ground policy of 2004 (referenced by a number of officials and councillors we spoke to) reaffirms the vision of the (then) Department of Housing to "promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing." (Department of Housing, 2004) This is the only explicit reference to dealing with the *racially* segregated nature of South Africa's cities and towns. It is primarily the "inherited apartheid space economy" that Breaking New Ground is orientated towards, for example attempting to change the apartheid pattern of "housing for low-income urban dwellers" being provided "on the periphery" of cities.

Two new directions in housing policy have been developed over the last few years that attempt to address the "apartheid space economy" in South Africa's urban residential areas. The one is mixed income housing developments and the other, 'inclusionary housing'. Inclusionary housing "requires or provides incentives to private developers to incorporate affordable or social housing as a part of market-driven developments" (Calavita and Mallach, 2010, cited in Klug et al, forthcoming). Developed as policy by the National Department of Human Settlements, it was never legislated and attempts by a few municipalities, including the Planning Department in the City of Joburg, to develop inclusionary housing policy and mechanisms to incentivise it have not really gotten off the ground (Klug et al, forthcoming).

Both Lehae and Chief Mogale are mixed income housing schemes. These are housing developments that are usually undertaken in partnership with private sector housing developers and financial institutions and which comprise a mix of housing typologies. This mix includes government provided housing in the form of RDP houses, government subsidised 'affordable housing' for the gap market and government subsidised rental stock, as well as 'bonded' houses.

Mixed housing developments are usually also planned to include new schools, libraries, clinics and other amenities. The website of the Gauteng's Department of Local Government and Housing notes that, "Mixed income developments are aimed at bringing together or integrating communities in well located areas that provide economic opportunities or have greater potential

for economic growth."<sup>3</sup>

Local government officials and Members of the Mayoral Committee (MMCs) we interviewed stressed the importance of developing 'integrated' settlements and cities. For the most part 'integration' was interpreted as referring to the integration of people of different income groups as well as to the development of city spaces in which residents can work, play, and access a range of amenities without having to travel large distances. With the exception of the former MMC for Housing in Mogale City (who was instrumental in the allocation of RDP houses to white families in Chief Mogale) racial integration was assumed to be a process that will result out of programmes such as the mixed income development schemes or was not given much thought. A couple of provincial level officials placed more emphasis on the need for greater levels of racial integration within neighbourhoods, but again stressed the racially defined inequalities of access to amenities and places of employment opportunity as the issue of greater priority.

What might a policy which seeks to proactively use state housing provision as a tool to facilitate racial integration look like? In the case of RDP settlements, would it simply involve a race-blind process of allocating houses to citizens on the waiting list for housing? Or would it involve, in the case of Gauteng province for example, ensuring the inclusion of a minimum number of families designated as white, Coloured or Indian in new RDP housing settlements? The advisor to the MMC for Housing in Joburg City, Mickey Padiachee, stresses that the City of Joburg allocates RDP houses on a race-blind basis – prioritizing those who have been on the waiting list the longest. He immediately qualifies this: it is also important that the City prioritises black African citizens given the historical backlog in housing for Africans that dates back to the crisis of housing in the 1970s<sup>4</sup>.

Kevin and Virginia<sup>5</sup> are one of 18 Indian families to relocate to Lehae from Lenasia, a historically Indian settlement to the south east of Johannesburg city centre. According to their telling, their housing application had been repeatedly overlooked because of their race. Kevin and Virginia applied for state provided housing in 2000. Over the years Kevin and Virginia phoned 'the department' often to find out the status of their application, but were "always told about the backlog". Eventually, Virginia recounts, they got fed up waiting. Virginia and a few other families in Lenasia who had also applied (two of whom now live in Lehae)



“got together and formed a community forum”.

She says, “We toi toi’ed. I’m serious”. They pressured the housing department for about six months until, Virginia thinks, ‘the department’ got fed up with them. She notes that their “last toi toi” was about a week before they received their houses. They took their fight to the television programme ‘3<sup>rd</sup> Degree’ and to local newspapers. At some point the group approached the (then) relevant ward councilor for Lenasia, Shahida Kazie, who, they tell us, was instrumental in facilitating access to local officials in their campaign to receive their houses.

Shahida Kazie tells us that she found housing officials at the regional level in the City of Joburg to be very resistant to including the list of Indian families Kazie had compiled from her ward (all of whom she said had officially applied for housing, fulfilled the legislated criteria<sup>6</sup> and had been waiting for years – Kazie feels they had been overlooked in favour of black residents in and around Soweto). She qualifies that while she felt frustrated by what seemed to her to be racism on the part of a couple of officials she also understood that from their perspective the request to include families from Lenasia must have seemed like a request for an intervention in the official process of housing allocation. Government had already identified housing beneficiaries for Lehae and this must have seemed like quite a challenge. Kazie’s analysis is that families from Lenasia finally received houses as a result of a directive from personnel far higher up – possibly at provincial level – facilitated by the African National Congress (ANC). Kazie had of course taken up the issue with her local ANC branch.

Officials we spoke to suggest that there was no intention to overlook Indian families. Rather, it was the case that specific informal settlement in the surrounding area of Lehae, where there was a large housing backlog, had been targeted.

In many ways the stories of how white and Indian families in Chief Mogale and Lehae experienced the housing allocation process is much the same as those of African families. This involved registering their names for RDP houses on a number of occasions – sometimes at city council offices, other times at local community meetings; confusion as to whether they were re-registering or confirming an application already captured<sup>7</sup>; hearing rumours they were about to get their house and then finding they still had to wait; then a sudden call to inform them to come to the new housing development to be allocated their key.

Johan and Elmarie are one of the Afrikaans families that

move into Chief Mogale in 2011. Johan states: “In 2004 white people knew they could apply.” On one of Johan’s monthly visits to fetch his government disability grant, he asks the official he often deals with, “Kenny, what can I do about my [housing] situation?”. Kenny advises Johan to go to “the ABSA building in Joburg” where he can apply for a government provided house.

Tannie Marie is a pivotal character in the Afrikaans families’ narration of how they came to occupy their RDP houses. Tannie Marie lives in a working class suburb in Krugersdorp. She runs a small community based organisation, providing assistance in a range of ways to local destitute Afrikaans families in her area. A number of the Chief Mogale families had spent some time living with Tannie Marie or had received some kind of material support. She encourages a number of the families to apply for RDP houses.

At some point Tannie Marie becomes a liaison and translator between the Afrikaans families who had applied and local officials. Tannie Marie narrates a sometimes unclear story of her role: in 2003 after having brought up the need for housing for poor Afrikaans families in a number of forums, she was approached by a woman working in the council and residing in Tannie Marie’s neighbourhood to come to a meeting at the Civic Centre. She attended, unclear about the purpose of the meeting. She recounts how she entered the room and it was “just filled with black people. I thought by myself, ‘Oh Lord. Where am I now?’” She stayed though because she felt “the Lord” had intended her to be there. Tannie Marie started to attend meetings more regularly. At one such meeting, Tannie Marie recounts, it was announced by an official that, “in the past Government was only looking at helping black people with the housing issue. “According to him they are now about to also help people from both races with housing.”

There appears to have been a conscious attempt by both the Council and Province at this stage, to provide housing for white families in the planned Chief Mogale Housing Development. Caldeira, then MMC for Housing in Mogale City, appears to have been instrumental in the decision to prioritise the allocation of RDP houses to white families in Chief Mogale (along with a number of other prioritised groups, including fifteen Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) veterans). There appear to have been a number of other, perhaps more significant, factors shaping this proactive approach which saw the MEC (Member of the Executive) for Housing eventually backing the inclusion of white families in Chief Mogale as a special project (further research is needed with senior officials and politics in the Province).

In 2010, tells Tannie Marie, someone from either the local

council or local department of housing approached her asking her to find volunteers from the white families who have applied for houses to come and assist in the building of the RDPs. Construction of the first phase of Chief Mogale had begun. Tannie Marie fetched “those who did apply [for RDP houses]” to come and volunteer. According to Tannie Marie, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2010 Mogale City announced that the 15 families who volunteered to build RDPs would get houses in Chief Mogale. Then told they wouldn’t yet. Then they are told, “Maybe in November”. She goes to another meeting at the Civic Centre. Finally in August 2011 she is informed that the 15 families had been allocated their houses and should each bring R100 for a deposit on an electricity box. The families move in September 2011. Their houses are clustered in one section of Chief Mogale.

Caldeira notes that her campaign to have the white families included in the allocation of houses in Chief Mogale took her a number of years and was initially met with some resistance. When the Chief Mogale Housing Development was first muted Caldeira secured a meeting with the MEC for housing – and took with her other MMCs. She sent a further letter to the MEC urging the white families’ applications to be included, calling on the ANC’s manifesto and the vision of an integrated, non-racial community. She had many conversations about this with the mayor of Mogale City, who she speaks of highly as a “man of action”. All in an effort to ensure the people that she felt were most deserving of the 700 or so houses to be built in the first phase of Chief Mogale, would get them.

Caldeira tells us that whenever a new housing development is being planned, certain cases are to be prioritized in allocating houses. These include the aged, those with disabilities, child-headed households and those who have been on the list since the mid-90s. Some applicants, she states, can be included under ‘special projects’. Under this heading Caldeira and her colleagues included the small group of white families and a small number of MK veterans residing in the local municipality. The remainder of the beneficiaries were apparently identified from the housing waiting list for residents in surrounding informal settlements and Kagiso township.

Caldeira becomes MMC for Environment and David Letsie takes up the position in housing. Letsie notes that as soon as the development of Chief Mogale was announced, “people started to get excited and say ‘at least now we can see the light’. But there was this thing I needed to clarify, that this development is not only for... Africans.” But, he notes, there was “that initial resistance.”

The Kagiso Peoples Civic Organisation was the most vocal

in this regard. White families were accused of having jumped the queue. In Lehae, Indian and Coloured families were accused of buying their houses.

By the time white families move in to Chief Mogale much of this vocal resistance has dissipated. Soon after they move to Chief Mogale, according to Johan and Elmarie, Caldeira, Letsie and the head of mixed housing development at Mogale City, organized a community meeting “and informed all the black people that white people were moving in now... So then we must start to meet each other and as soon as that happened then I made pals with the people”. The white families we interview stress the warmth of the welcome they received from residents when they first moved in.

There appears to have been concerted effort on the part of local councilors and more senior politicians to ensure the success of the integration of white families into the Chief Mogale development. This may have been influenced by the extent of media coverage the story was receiving. Senior politicians such as Humphrey Memezi (then MEC for Local Government and Housing) addressed residents of Chief Mogale and a series of community meetings was organized by local and ward councilors to facilitate this process. This situation is unlike in Lehae, which I will narrate in more detail below. Here Indian families tell of a hostile reaction from neighbours when they first move in.

From the point of view of citizens who have received or are waiting to receive an RDP house, research by Rubin (2011) and Nkuna (2010 cited in Rubin, 2011) suggests that the housing allocation process appears highly opaque. Letsie took us through the process through which housing beneficiaries are identified for new housing schemes such as Chief Mogale. He described the process of allocating houses to housing beneficiaries as a challenging one, but one that follows a clear, transparent and uniform process. But the reality appears far more complex.

In practice, in and between municipalities and metros in South Africa, multiple strategies are used for allocating housing. National, provincial and municipally compiled lists may be used, with project-based lists developed in order to prioritise beneficiaries from around the project area (Nkuna, 2010 cited in Rubin, 2011) – this appears to have been precisely the case in Lehae and Chief Mogale. Further confusion was created in Mogale City by the fact that records on some lists appear to have been lost and by audit exercises such the development of the ‘Demand Database’. Rubin notes that, “Although many beneficiaries and those in need of housing assume that ‘waiting lists’ reflect a chronological prioritisation of access to housing, in practice there are multiple strategies used for allocating

housing.” (Rubin, 2011).

In this environment, and possibly shaped by other factors such as local election politics<sup>8</sup>, perceptions of corruption in the allocation of RDP houses are common (Rubin, 2011). In July, we attended a local ward committee meeting in Chief Mogale at which new accusations of corruption were raised by members of the community – some residents are accused of buying houses from ‘corrupt’ local officials. The unit numbers of these houses are called out by residents and noted in the minutes.

Much of the initial hostility from some residents towards both Indian and white families moving in to Lehae and Chief Mogale respectively was framed by discourses around ‘legitimacy’ – who has the right to be allocated a house.

In the case of Chief Mogale, this right was questioned as a result of perceptions that white families had “jumped the queue” for housing: they had been given special treatment whilst black families who had been on the housing waiting list for years had been overlooked. Here, anger was directed as much at the state as it was the white families themselves, if not more. At least in many of the public statements by the Kagiso Peoples Civic Organisation, it was not the race of the families that called into question the legitimacy of their claim to houses, rather the nature of the process through which this particular group of families had accessed housing.

In the case of Lehae, the questions raised about the legitimacy of the Indian families’ right to the RDP houses were framed in far more overtly racialised terms. Questions were raised about the extent to which Indian families had followed due process in accessing RDP houses. In addition, explained Lucas, a local community leader, a number of residents questioned whether Indian families could legitimately claim to deserve RDP houses given that Indian families are generally “coming from rich people”.

There are many ways in which individuals or groups claims to RDP houses in South Africa are constructed or contested as ‘illegitimate’ – this includes race, but also includes accusations of people accessing housing through political connections (Rubin, 2011). Sophie Oldfield explores the way in which claims to legitimate occupation of RDP houses are negotiated in a new racially integrated settlement in Delft, Cape Town, between those who received houses legally, and those who took them by force (the self-labeled ‘Door Kickers’ movement). The Door Kickers construct their occupation as legitimate due to the perceived corruption of the formal process. In the case of Delft, these two avenues through which residents came

to occupy their homes cut across historically defined race lines (Coloured and African). Oldfield shows that in the case of the Door Kickers movements the “fight to claim, defend, and keep the housing facilitated many material and meaningful patterns of social integration” across race lines (Oldfield, 2004).

In the context of South Africa’s history in which distinctions between white, Coloured, African and Indian (amongst other social categories) were constantly reinforced – racist, and sometimes racist, constructs are all too easily drawn on in the highly contested housing allocation process. This is shown in the case of Lehae – though not only in the reactions of the black African residents of Lehae to the relocation of Indian families to the community. For example, one of our interviewers asked Virginia and Kevin how they get on with their neighbours (without having referred to race): “Black people I don’t have a problem. It’s the Coloured people I have a problem.... The way they obtained their house. The way we obtained our house was through the right channels. The way they obtained their house was very wrong.”

A number of individuals in these settlements however, have offered counter-narratives to the sometimes racialised conversation around who has the right to access an RDP house in the communities. Resistance from residents to white families receiving houses in Kagiso appears to have been countered not so much by clearly determining whether or not white families “jumped the queue” but rather in re-framing their presence as something novel.

David is the chair of the local Community Policing Forum, and was the chair of the temporary local governance structure set up when residents first moved into the dusty new settlement of Chief Mogale. David tells residents at community meetings that even if white families have been given special treatment this has been done in the interests of developing a multi-racial community, of which Chief Mogale is privileged to be a unique example. David says, “I said, ‘You know what? This can be a different place, this is a nice place, so with whites also it can be a very, very nice place’. So I asked them, ‘So guys just have this kind of a [out]look, having those whites, generation to generation, our children they grow up, this community it grows up with these white people, don’t you think it’s going to be unique?’”.<sup>9</sup> This narrative appears to have been supported by the referencing of Chief Mogale in a speech by President Zuma.<sup>10</sup>

In the case of Lehae, particular community leaders have also been key to facilitating a degree of integration, but the process has been slower and more contested. I will return to this in the section below where I explore further

the markers of community belonging and the nature of everyday practices that shape social relations in Lehae and Chief Mogale.

As mentioned, the Afrikaans families in Chief Mogale were included as a 'special project' along with fifteen MK veterans. Questions were also raised by some residents of Chief Mogale about whether the veterans had been allowed to jump the queue along with the white families. Lestie defends their decision: "[There was] a hype or tensions between the communities to say these people were not on the database. Forgetting that in 2007, when the ANC were at the conference in Polokwane we resolved that issue that we should also integrate them into all the developments that we are doing just to ensure that we don't have a situation like Zimbabwe where the veterans will say 'we have been in the struggle and we are now left out' – those type of things." Caldeira suggested that a number of MK veterans in Mogale City had been highly vocal about the extent to which they feel neglected by the government.

The confusing and opaque process through which housing is allocated – from the point of view of the citizen (and sometimes the official too)<sup>11</sup> – increases accusations

of corruption and contestation in the housing allocation process. There are, no doubt, instances of illegal activity in the allocation of houses. However, the seemingly opaque process also reflects the delicate balancing act many officials and local politicians are attempting – to meet a number of difficult and sometimes conflicting policy goals through and in the provision of housing. These goals may be explicitly stated government policy, for example the directive to allocate housing chronologically from the housing demand database, and at the same time to resettle groups of people from the same community in order not to disrupt existing community structures and networks. Goals may include ANC policies or prioritises or locally identified areas of social "risk" – those perceived to threaten social stability.

Our research thus far suggests that to the extent that racial diversity in Lehae and Chief Mogale was resisted in these communities, it reflected less local prejudices about race and associated linguistic and cultural identities (though this was evident in Lehae) than frustration with the housing allocation process. This is encouraging for the prospects of sociologically diverse settlements in future if careful attention is paid to the transparency of the allocation process.



# Racial integration in Lehae and Chief Mogale?

## Social networks and geography

Churches have sprung up in Lehae in informal structures such as tents and prefabricated buildings. Many residents, however, still chose to visit the denominations and churches they have been attending for many years. Kevin and Virginia are Catholic. As there are no Catholic churches in Lehae, church attendance takes them back to Lenasia. Lerato goes to the Zionist Christian Church in her old neighbourhood, and Emile and Jandi return to their previous neighbourhood to attend the Old Apostolic Church.

Many of the residents of both Lehae and Chief Mogale still shop, socialise and attend church in the neighbourhoods or communities in which they previously resided or parts of the city they frequented before they relocated.

Residents in Lehae can buy small amounts of produce locally from spaza shops, but must leave the RDP settlement and travel north or south along the Golden Highway in order to access shopping centres in Lenasia South, Kliptown or other parts of Soweto. Many residents choose to shop in areas they are familiar with. In Chief Mogale, which is located across the road from an established township in Kagiso, residents can more easily access shops and other amenities without travelling far. A number of white families now chose to do their shopping in Kagiso rather than travelling to Krugersdorp town.

Caroline comments that she gets along well enough with her neighbours, but her close friends are those people in Lehae with whom she formed bonds with over the years in her old neighbourhood of Chiawelo, an informal settlement in Soweto.

Given the persistence of South Africa's apartheid geography, daily or weekly routines and social networks take residents into different parts of the surrounding city that are to a large, though decreasing extent, still racially segregated. However, it is not just because of the understandable persistence of social networks and ties established before moving into Lehae and Chief Mogale that residents' social networks remain segregated. Indian and white families appear to have developed slightly stronger ties with their Indian and white neighbours respectively than their black African neighbours. There are, nevertheless, small daily routines around borrowing sugar or other basics that bring these residents into each other's homes. These small daily routines have started to

build shared references and opportunities for association that cut across race lines, and across the diversity of communities from which residents have been drawn (as mentioned, the residents of Lehae and Chief Mogale are drawn from a number of informal settlements and townships in and around Soweto, and Krugersdorp and Kagiso respectively).

The local community policing forum is significant: talk about crime (primarily talk about housebreaking and petty theft fuelled by youths' addiction to drugs) is a common thread running through our interviews. It is noticeable for the absence of racialised language, which noticeably peppers other conversations such as those around housing allocation and business rights.<sup>12</sup>

Local community policing forums have been set up in both areas, with ebbs and flows in the fortunes of both linked to new leadership, contestations over leadership, and changes in formal local governance structures (such as the establishment of ward committees). For the most part, however, most residents feel these structures make a positive difference to keeping crime levels down and they have drawn a diversity of volunteers in terms of age, race, gender and residents' previous residential location (though in Lehae, Beauty, head of a street committee and volunteer on the Community Policing Forum, complains about the dearth of male volunteers, a serious problem for developing effective team of patrollers for night shifts).

Whilst older social networks and geographies persist that are shaped by longer histories of racial and spacial segregation, relocation has made a difference on the racial character of social and political networks around which residents construct their daily lives in these two communities. And in the case of Lehae, markers of belonging do not index race to the extent they did when Indian and a smaller number of Coloured families first moved in.

## Community belonging

Virginia and Kevin intend staying in Lehae. They plan to extend their home as they get the resources. "It's actually become our home... if I must catch a million rand jackpot we would relocate.... I won't move from Lehae." Sarah too intends to stay in Lehae and one day hopes to open a funeral parlour. Their description of them "feeling at home" is in strong contrast to their experiences in the first few months after they relocate to Lehae. Kevin and Virginia

tell us about the night they move in:

*Virginia:* ...we didn't know where are the walls were ...It was pitch dark in this place. ... And we didn't know where was house shops; we didn't know nobody so you could have imagined what happened that night. We just packed everything here in the lounge my friend that used to stay there she went to go toi toi around looking for house shops; we ate coke and biscuit that night.

*Kevin:* But an experience I'll never forget ...It stormed. A sand storm –

*Virginia:* And I tell you, a sand storm and hailing and, oh it went on. And we could barely here ourselves because this roofs ... You know I got scared when I was like actually here, I'm like 'God where did you put us?'

Agnus and Mandla have just moved into an RDP house in the next phase of development in Lehae. They describe a similar sense of disorientation: "When we got here you would have felt so sorry for us: we had no paraffin, no candle, no matches, not a cent, no knowledge of where the nearest shop is". They are still struggling to adjust – not knowing their neighbours and who they can rely on for assistance when they cannot make ends meet.

In the case of some of the white and Indian families, however, their initial fears and sense of disorientation were also shaped by racialised discourses of black neighbourhoods as violent. Lieze said, "In the beginning, I was afraid because you open the newspaper and you just see murder."

In the case of Chief Mogale this sense of fear on the part of white families quickly dissipated. This was partly as a result of the welcome the white families receive when they first move in. In Lehae, Indian respondents tell of a different experience. Kevin explains, "We used to have rocks thrown, broken windows..." and "when we used to walk down, the people used to say, like, you know, 'Makulas' [derogatory term for India] and 'Maboesmans [derogatory term often used to refer to Coloured people]'". Shana says she had similar experiences when she first moved in. Another woman is attacked in her home and flees Lehae, but it was not clear why the respondents who tell us this story believed the attack to be racially motivated.<sup>13</sup>

Now, says Shana, she doesn't have a problem with anybody, "I've got good neighbours... If you know how to live with people, you can get along with anybody."

In countering the hostility they received when they first moved in, Kevin, Virginia and Shana made claims to other local residents about their right to belong in the community

by virtue of their shared experiences of "the same struggle" – namely poverty and the struggle to get their RDP house.

The shared experiences of poverty and unemployment are markers of belonging in both communities – and mark as legitimate the claim to obtain a house in the first place. Lucas, a local community leader in Lehae, also draws on this narrative in his work in local community forums (the Community Policing Forum, local street and block committee meetings) in attempting to forge a sense of community in a settlement of only a few years old and which accommodates people drawn from numerous informal settlements and townships around Soweto.

Markers of belonging are also constructed or contested around language, which indexes race. Kate, Shana and Virginia share a story of their attendance at a recent Sunday community meeting. They asked if someone can translate the conversation into English so they can understand. Some residents object – with a resident stating that "Makulas" must learn to speak an African language to participate in meetings. A short debate erupts, with other black African residents objecting to this attitude, as well as to the use of the terms "Makulas" and "Maboesman" – "this is now a multi-racial community" they state.

Interviews with some Afrikaans families suggest that they feel their stay and right to their home in Chief Mogale are precarious. A couple of families worry about local campaigning by the Democratic Alliance (DA) (and other groups they associate with them – AfriForum for example) as a threat to their stay, but it was not clear why this perception had developed. Some white residents have attempted to develop and secure their acceptance in Chief Mogale through making friends with neighbours and through engagement in local community meetings. Liesl draws attention to the soup kitchen she runs for children in her part of the neighbourhood as instrumental in developing relations with her neighbours and gaining their acceptance – an acceptance, she implies, she assumed she had to consciously seek.

Emile and Jandi have recently applied for membership to the ANC and now await their membership cards). Emile explains that the DA made promises and did not keep them, whereas the ANC promised houses and provided them. They appear to have joined the ANC partly because they believe that Tannie Marie has encouraged them to do so in order to help them gain acceptance and secure their right to be there (though from our interview with Tannie Marie this is not what she may have intended). Emile and Jandi struggle with their decision: "You cannot go to bed being a DA member and then wake up again and be the ANC."

Showing and feeling a sense of community belonging may be particularly important in the context of contestations

over the initial allocation of houses in these two RDP settlements and continued rumours of some residents receiving houses via “corrupt means” (paying local government officials or councilors, physically removing deserving families from their homes). In Chief Mogale, residents have yet to receive title deeds. Their proof of ownership is in the form of a letter from the city council addressed to them, and including their unit number, which states that they will soon be receiving municipal dustbins.

Since South Africa’s democratic election it has arguably been black South Africans who have had to do the hard work in the national ‘project’ of reconciliation. In addition, in many of South Africa’s institutions the norms and cultural references of South African English speakers and Afrikaners “set the standard” by which individuals are measured and expected to conform (in well-resourced schools and tertiary institutions for example, corporate South Africa, some institutions of government). In the case of Mogale City this relationship is turned somewhat on its head – and it is white families (and Indian families) who sense they must do the hard work of fitting in – aided though, by particular local community leaders.

## Changing racial identities?

In July we attend a local ward community meeting in Chief Mogale held in an open patch of ground close to the locked community hall recently build by ABSA. Included on the agenda is the identification of five new volunteers from amongst residents to take up positions in the Community Policing Forum. David, CPF head, explains that in order to facilitate racial integration two of the five volunteers should be white. Two white residents step forward. David also asks that an effort be made by residents at the meeting to speak or translate into English. Residents dutifully clap for the volunteers and the meeting moves on to the next item on the agenda – the process of residents registering as indigents in order to receive free water and electricity. This discussion is conducted in Setswana, and whether for this reason, or because they had only come for the Community Policing Forum issues (David has alerted them to the ‘need’ for volunteers amongst the white families), the white residents leave the meeting.

David saw his task as of one bringing together two distinct communities of white and black, facilitated by ensuring representivity in community structures (Brunette, personal communication, August 2012). He did not envision a future in which race was no longer a salient identity, but multi-cultural one in which two distinct people’s learnt to live and grow up together in harmony.

In contrast, Lucas, local community leader in Lehae and active member of the South African National Civic

Organisation (SANCO), describes his task of developing community structures in Lehae as one of “unit(ing) Africa and uniting of people...to make sure that we see no colour.” This task also includes mediating tensions between local shop owners and Pakistani shopkeepers (whose presence even Lucas is ambivalent about). The overarching task for Lucas was to ensure that new community structures were developed in Lehae that were recognised by the entire community. This also meant dealing with initial contestation over leadership positions between residents who had occupied these positions in their previous neighbourhoods.

Lucas is one of the few respondents who references a non-racial future understood as a one in which race (a social category) ceases to exist. It is David’s multi-culturalism that is the more common narrative in the two communities. Like much of the conversation across South Africa, conversation is peppered with references to what are perceived to be essential racial and ethnic characteristics – “You know how whites are...” and “Us blacks don’t like duplex houses”.

In a series of focus-group discussions organised by the Kathrada Foundation and the Gauteng City Region Observatory last year (GCRO), moderators probed concepts of race and non-racialism – and attempted to draw out from these, insight into the progress towards a non-racial future.<sup>14</sup>

Bass et al (2012), casting a critical eye over both the conversation during the focus groups, as well as the assumptions underpinning the methodology employed for the project, suggest that the concept of non-racialism can barely be found in participants’ response. What is prominent, they suggest, is “rainbowisation”, in Neville Alexander’s (2002, p. 101) terminology” underpinned by essentialist understandings of race and ethnicity in which culture and race are fixed.

Bass et al continue: “In this version of multiculturalism multiplicity is acceptable only if it takes the form of recognising multiple, but separate, units of cultures, in the same way that multi-racialism is premised on separate ‘race groupings’. The constructed distances between these ‘groupings’ make this a conditional proposition of togetherness.” (Bass et al, 2012)

This concern, however, misses what are possibly important changes in the nature of these racial identities and in the “constructed distances” between them – at least as suggested by this research and in the research PARI has been undertaking amongst residents of the complexes in Roodepoort. These townhouse complexes now accommodate a great diversity of people, including

members of the new black middle classes, white South Africans in various states of class mobility, both upwards and downwards, Christians, Muslims and Hindus, nationals from elsewhere in Africa, migrants from other parts of the city, including former townships and other South African cities. Others, such as the luxury gated estates wedged between these complexes, are more homogenous – comprising primarily white, well-off families (see Chipkin, 2012).

Research in both cases suggests the continuing salience of racial identities in the residents' lives, as well as to the existence of racial solidarities. However, in Roodepoort PARI found that, "What has changed is that assertions of being an "Afrikaner" or being "Black" do not necessarily signify antagonistic social positions, like they did until even recently." Referring to many of the white residents, Chipkin notes, "Even for those residents still committed to being 'white' there is an openness to Black South Africans that may well be unprecedented outside liberal and/or leftist political circles in South Africa." (Chipkin, 2012)<sup>15</sup>

In the case of Chief Mogale this too is the case – shaped in part by the fact these families are a particularly small minority. White and Indian residents in these areas, and black Africans too, though probably to a lesser extent, are pushed to rethink their relationships to their own identities and to the identities of those around them. In other words, demographic change has been accompanied by social change too.

From the perspective of David and other African residents in Chief Mogale, has the identity of 'white' South Africans become in some sense, another ethnicity – like Zulu or Venda? In the context of South Africa's history of racial and racist domination of black South Africans by white, this is significant. The "constructed distances" between race groups in these two communities may be decreasing.

## Home and the symbolic imaginary

David moved eighteen times since 1998 before finally moving into his house in Chief Mogale. He describes getting his RDP house as a "kind of freedom" – from capricious landlords and high rents for small backyard shacks. If a place is not yours, he explains, "there will always be a change of rules".

Mpho, a Lehae resident, says, "People like me now have a place to call home". Her neighbour adds, "when my name was called for me to come and sign for my house, my whole body was shaking I couldn't even sign!".

Many of the residents we speak to in Lehae and Chief Mogale narrate how obtaining their RDP house has provided them with a sense of place or home and brought them stability, despite continuing struggles caused by

poverty and unemployment. It has brought many residents relative independence from reliance on family, a degree of security of tenure and, for some, a reduction in their monthly expenses in the form of rent. It has also meant an improvement in physical comfort for many of those who moved to their house from an informal settlement.

Betsi moved to Lehae from an informal settlement near Soweto, Dhlamini. She contrasts Lehae with her former neighbourhood: "Lehae is such a nice and quiet place; it's not a bad place at all... and I get along very well with my neighbours.... At Dhlamini the place was unhygienic. People couldn't care less and sanitation was quite bad as compared to here. Lehae is such a nice hygienic place."

"Quiet" is an adjective used by a number respondents to describe Lehae. Sarah contrasts Lehae ("quiet and peaceful") to the noise of Eldorado Park, where she used to live, and most of her friends and family still reside.<sup>16</sup>

Kevin says, "Ask me now where is a better place Lehae or Lense [Lenasia]? I will give you Lehae... Lense is so corrupted." Virginia chips in, "Seriously, my mother and them ask me all the time, don't I want to swap? I say no thank you."

Many residents of both settlements share a perception of their new neighbourhood as orderly, peaceful and safe<sup>17</sup>. These are areas in which they wish to remain, after years of insecurity of tenure and high costs of accommodation. These symbolic imaginaries of Lehae and Mogale City are shared by a range of those we interview, cutting across race lines.

In the Roodepoort townhouse complexes PARI found something slightly different. For many of the Afrikaans families we interview, the area of Roodepoort in which they live is conceived of as an Afrikaans area (despite the demographic statistics which suggest otherwise). It is an area in which they feel at home and wish to stay. Chipkin writes, "This sense of belonging to a symbolic Roodepoort is something that distinguishes white, usually Afrikaans-speaking residents of the townhouse complexes from their Black neighbours, for whom the Roodepoort estates are often transitional zones to elsewhere in the City. Mr and Mrs Radebe, for example, have children at a private school in Sandton and describe spending most of their leisure time in the bars and restaurants of Melrose Arch." (Chipkin, 2012).

What has shaped this shared imaginary? What role does this shared symbolic imaginary play in the construction of community and race relations in Lehae and Chief Mogale? This may be an interesting line of enquiry for further research and for tracking overtime as these communities grow – new phases of RDP houses are still planned and will bring with them new residents.



# Summary and areas for further research

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**H**ousing policy in South Africa is explicitly orientated towards attempting to change the apartheid spacial economy, especially in ensuring better access for black South Africans to work opportunities and social amenities. The mechanisms with which to facilitate racial integration at the level of the 'neighbourhood', however, have not been clearly articulated. Racial integration may result out of policies such as mixed income housing developments or inclusionary housing (which focus on the integration of households of different incomes), but does not appear to be the primary goal. And to the extent that it is, the focus is on bringing African, Indian and Coloured residents into formerly 'white' areas. Designing interventions to encourage new kinds of social interaction and patterns of conviviality has not been undertaken. This is what makes the Lehae and Chief Mogale cases interesting. They are unusual in a number of respects. For one thing, they involve the movement of White and Indian people into settlements thought of as 'Black' settlements – unusual for housing practice in post-Apartheid South Africa.

At the level of the communities themselves, the extent that racial diversity in Lehae and Chief Mogale was resisted it reflected less local prejudices about race and associated linguistic and cultural identities (though this was evident to an extent in Lehae) than frustration with the housing allocation process. This is encouraging for the prospects of sociologically diverse settlements in the future if careful attention is paid to the transparency of the housing allocation process. The research has suggested that there is scope to use housing policy to facilitate racial integration. In the absence of clear policy, hesitation and even resistance, on the part of housing officials to facilitating racial integration in RDP settlements may be more likely. Interventions in this regard may require making the current allocation criteria and process more transparent and increasing the range of legitimate criteria for making claims – including integration.<sup>18</sup>

The research has suggested that the post-apartheid communities developing in Lehae and Chief Mogale are *not* spaces in which race has reduced in its importance as a social identity. Older social networks persist that are shaped by longer histories of racial and spacial segregation. There is a continuing salience of racial identities in the residents' lives, as well as the existence of racial solidarities.

However, shared imaginaries of Lehae and Chief Mogale have developed amongst some residents that cut across race. Daily routines have started to build shared references and opportunities for association. Some (though far from all) residents appear to have been pushed to rethink their relationships to their own identities and to the identities of those around them – this may be especially the case amongst the minority families of Indian, Coloured and white. There may be an 'openness' amongst residents to other 'races' (still constructed as "other" in many ways).

The case studies thus suggest that spacial integration in these areas – demographic change – has been accompanied by social change.

There are a number of interesting areas for further research.

Most of our interviews were conducted with people in their thirties and older. A greater focus on interviewing and interacting with younger people is also suggested. In this regard, research that explores learners' experiences in attending local schools and caregivers' experiences in forums such as School Governing Bodies may be particularly valuable. Most learners are attending school outside the immediate settlement. This focus would allow the researchers to trace residents as they move in and out of the geographical locations of Lehae and Chief Mogale – how does race and belonging get constructed outside the community in institutions such as the school?

In both Lehae and Chief Mogale the ANC plays an important role not only in mediating the relationship between the state and the residents but also in mediating domestic disputes between neighbours and even sometimes within homes (we found more evidence of this in Lehae). The role of ANC at the very local level in these two communities demands more exploration.

What would be of particular value would be to track the issues identified above over a period of time. Lehae and Chief Mogale are likely to undergo major changes over the next few years. Local community structures are still being constituted. More RDP houses will be built in both settlements, to be followed in the next couple of years by houses for more well-resourced families.

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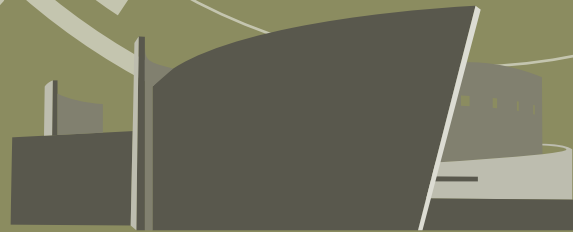
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# Endnotes

- 1 The luxury gated estates of these areas are more homogenously white.
- 2 Reconstruction and Development Programme – the programme under which low cost houses for qualifying indigent South Africans was first rolled out post-1994.
- 3 <http://www.dlgh.gpg.gov.za/Pages/MixedHousingProgramme.aspx>, accessed 25 August 2012.
- 4 The Apartheid state stopped building accommodation for Black Africans in Johannesburg in the 1970's so that by the time of the transition there was massive overcrowding in township houses. This had been alleviated to some extent by the growth of informal settlements from the late 1980's. Family members, often young women, took advantage of lower levels of state policing of vacant land, to set-up independent homes in squatter camps.
- 5 The names of residents have been changed.
- 6 Officials informed us that not all of these families qualified – some did not pass the means test for example.
- 7 Project Ziveze, 2009 - an updated housing demand database.
- 8 Letsie attributes initial resistance from some residents in Chief Mogale and wider Kagiso to white families being allocated houses to local electioneering. He notes that, '...it was close to Local Government elections where people wanted to use that as a campaigning issue'. While this may or may not have been the case the possible impact of local electoral politics may be an important area for further enquiry.
- 9 Is there greater social status attached to the entry of white families into the community than Indian families?
- 10 Address by His Excellency President Jacob Zuma on the occasion of the Marking of the National Day of Reconciliation, Freedom Park, Pretoria, 16 December 2011.
- 11 This may also reflect the fact that the institutional arrangement are very complex – leaving some officials unclear of the process themselves (personal communication, Rubin, August 2012).
- 12 A number of Pakistanis and Somalis have set up shop in Lehae. Their presence is resented by a number of local South African shop owners.
- 13 At least half the Indian families have moved out since relocating to Lehae, but the interview team had not been able to make contact with any of these families by the time of the writing of this report.
- 14 See the special edition of *Politikon* on non-racialism: 2012, volume 39, issue 1.
- 15 Chipkin adds, "The situation has long been different for Black South Africans. African nationalism tendered not to be an exclusivist political ideology, such that identifying as 'black' did not mean turning away from Whites." (Chipkin, 2012)
- 16 This image of Lehae as neat, orderly and safe is in contrast to the image held by some of the Indian and Coloured residents' families and old friends from previous neighbourhoods. Megan notes that while she is happy in Lehae and wants to stay, she sometimes feels isolated from old friends. So does Sharifa – though she is not sure why her family does not visit her much in Lehae, she thinks it is because they consider her new community 'poor'.
- 17 This does not mean that crime is not brought up in conversation by almost all respondents we interview – rather the areas are safe relative to their previous homes.
- 18 Thanks to Margot Rubin on the last point.

## Notes

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