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**Frontiers of Exclusion and Inclusion: Post-Apartheid
Suburban Social Dynamics in East London, Beacon Bay**

by

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for a Master of Social Sciences degree at the Fort Hare Institute of
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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is a presentation of my original research work and that it has not been submitted to any university for examination. Wherever contributions of others are included, every effort has been made to acknowledge these references clearly and consistently.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to
the memory of my late sister, aunt and uncle,
Chwayita Buku, Zukiswa Matshele and Andile Matshele

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Abstract

This dissertation deals with the nature of the black middle-class assimilation in the South African suburban space, a space that was the sole preserve of the white middle-class during apartheid. It explores the relationship between these races as they come to meet in this space and what new identities are being formed. It also explores the relationship between both the black and white suburbanites and the urban poor who stay in an adjacent area to the suburb. The study uses the Beacon Bay area, which is constituted by one of East London's most affluent suburbs and a poor township, Nompumelelo, to show how the emergent black middle-class has managed to enter this space in the post-apartheid era. Previous studies by Richard Ballard (2004) and Grant Saff (2001) have shown how the white middle-class has always been against any form of race or class mixing.

Within the suburb, the new black suburbanites in Beacon Bay appear to have been welcomed but with conditions by their fellow white counterparts. The relationship between these two races does not stretch beyond meet and greets and it is only in the second generation black middle-class that you find better and non-superficial relations with fellow white suburbanites. In the older generation, the generation that experienced apartheid, the relationship between these two races has been that of tolerance and serious escape of contact unless when necessary. The children of both white and black families, though, have a far better relationship in school and in sport than their parents. This has created another area of contact for both these races and it bears potential for meaningful integration in the suburban space.

Externally as it relates to relations between the black middle-class and the urban poor, the findings show that these new black suburbanites express a similar discomfort as the white suburbanites about the urban poor's presence in the area. This shows that the evolution of the Beacon Bay suburb, with its deep-rooted discourse of white middle-class exclusivity, has not been entirely about hatred of the urban poor necessarily but about an identity ascription of what it means to live in a suburb. Despite these realities traditional ceremonies organised by the black middle-class in the suburbs and the church appear to be playing a role in creating relations between these suburbanites and the Nompumelelo residents. This is why we have decided to use the conceptualisation of the 18th century frontier zone as the borders of

segregation within the suburb and between the suburban residents and those of the township can be crossed and re-crossed.

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List of Abbreviations

ADB	African Development Bank
ANC	African National Congress
ARSC	Amatola Regional Services Council
BCM	Buffalo City Municipality
BBNUDP	Beacon Bay North Urban Development Plan
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Union
CCTV	Closed-Circuit Television
CIC	Community Integration Committee
CPA	Cape Provincial Administration
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CST	Colonialism of a Special Type
DD	Daily Dispatch
ECPGNC	Eastern Cape Provincial Geographical Names Committee
GFA	Gonubie Farmers Association
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
JSE	Johannesburg Stock Exchange
LSM	Living Standard Measure
N2	National Road 2
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
SANCO	South African National Civics Organisation
SACP	South African Communist Party
SBDC	Small Business Development Corporation
SPF	Sector Policing Forum

Chapter 1: Understanding Neo-Liberal Urbanism and the Suburb as a New Frontier

1.1 Introduction and Background

Desegregation and integration have been the primary concepts that urban anthropologists, urban sociologists, urban economists and planners have been grappling with for years in the post-apartheid South Africa city (see Seekings and Natrass 2005; Maharaj and Ramballi 1998; Crankshaw 2008). Despite shortcomings in optimal implementation, desegregation and integration remain the main aims of urban planning in the new South Africa (Newton and Schuermans 2013). The main goal of many urban studies has been to assess ways in which the unfortunate legacy of the Group Areas Act of 1955 is intact and, in most instances, studies have devised ways in which these ways can be uprooted (Huchzermeyer 2013). This study should be viewed as a contribution to these efforts to desegregate and further integrate the post-apartheid city and totally eradicate the legacy of separate development in East London. By ‘desegregation’ here is basically meant the breaking down of barriers that created city and suburban segregation and these included things such as legislation which prevented freedom of movement and settlement anywhere and which further denied black people the opportunity to be able to afford to buy a house in affluent areas (Ballard 2005). Integration is a further step from desegregation as it means stronger and better relations between social groups that were previously segregated (Schensul and Heller 2011). This study is interested in the manner in which integration has been achieved in the formerly white affluent suburbs in South African and between these suburbs and the adjacent poor settlements.

It is important to note that, beyond the legacy of the Group Areas Act of 1955, there are growing inequalities between and within cities in South African and this poses serious challenges in relation to integration. Some scholars have argued that the evolution and growth of slums and, adjacent to them, affluent suburbs is part of the spatial manifestation of neo-liberalism and the first part of this chapter will be dealing in detail with this question (see Perlman 2010; Davis 2006; Harvey 2010).

The peak in urbanisation has been highlighted by many studies and what most studies demonstrate is that cities in developing countries such as South Africa have been growing at a very high rate. The urban population of today, which is approximately 3.2 billion, is larger

than the total world population of 1960. Cities will thus account for a future world population growth which is forecast to be 10 billion by 2050 (Davis 2004; Global Urban Observatory 2003; UN Population Division 2001 and UN-Habitat 2003). Davis (2004) further argues that 99 % of this growth will be happening in urban areas of developing economies. Urbanisation is occurring at an alarming rate, but still there is no significant development in the cities of the developing world and this often leads to rising levels of poverty, unemployment and malnutrition, and this correlates with increases in crime, diseases and a variety of other social ills.

This urbanisation in the Third World, which is coupled with low levels of economic growth or none thereof, is leading to rising inequalities between and within cities (Davis, 2004). This study is also an attempt to analyse the effects of the growing urban inequalities in the developing world. The growth of suburbs and their development into mini-cities in the developing world is a reflection of the inequalities present in urban areas. Suburbs are therefore an important entry point in analysing social inequality in cities.

The rapid growth of the urban population and suburbs that have slums adjacent to them correlates with the rapid growth of the middle-class. In South Africa, for instance, the middle-class generally increased from constituting 8.8% of the whole population in 1994 to constituting about 11.9% by the year 2000 and this rapidly increased to about 21.9% in 2008 (Visagie 2013). The Africa middle-class, for instance, constituted 29% of the middle-class in 1994 but by the year 2000 they constituted around 50% of the middle-class population (Rivero, du Toit and Kotze 2003). The growth of the middle-class in its entirety in the country seems to have been as a result of the growth of the black middle-class. The 2011 Census reveals, for instance, that there has been a threefold growth of the middle class in East London; this is interesting because this is where this study is based. “A total of 35000 households in the city have incomes of more than R12 800 a month, which is more than three times the number in that position 10 years ago, while eight times as many people earn more than R2 500 a month than did in 2001” (Bank 2013). It is important to note that the growth of this class has been largely due to the growth of the black middle-class. Whilst half of East London’s middle-class was white in the 1990s, whites by 2011 only constituted 20 percent of the middle-class population (Statsa 2011). Studying the social dynamics of this class and relating it to the growth and nature of the suburb is, therefore, very important today.

This is why I have chosen to study the nature of integration of this class in the suburbs. In essence, I am interested in deciphering the cultural and social content of white and black middle-class identities in the suburbs. What do these races, which constitute the same class, have in common and where do they differ in outlook and orientation? Do they share with other suburbanites a common dislike of the poor? These are the questions that guided me in deciding on this study.

As indicated, the location of my research was in the Beacon Bay area where an affluent suburb exists side by side with a small township and an informal settlement, Nompumelelo, popularly known as ‘Gqobhasi’ (meaning bad luck in IsiXhosa). It is in this area that the differences between the rich and the poor appear quite prominently. So in the study I ponder questions of how the urban land market is structured and how this adds to feelings and definitions of ‘otherness’ and ‘belonging’ amongst suburbanites and the poor people staying on the fringe of the suburb.

The role of apartheid spatial development in influencing the current state of the South African city has been discussed in many studies (see Bank 2011; Mabin 2009; Ballard 2004; Saff; 2002). In this study I want argue that the current state of urbanism in South Africa has also been a result of the adoption of neo-liberalism by the national government in general and by the local government in particular. The first section of this chapter discusses this question in detail and it further makes a reference to the preponderance of neo-liberalism in Brazil by looking at the discussion of the myth of marginality in Brazil as researched by Perlman (1976; 2005; 2010). Building on this point, the second section discusses the nature of South African urbanism and makes a point that it is important in understanding the post-apartheid suburb and its nature today. In the subsequent section, I conceptually detail the manner in which South African suburbs resemble the 18th Century Frontier Zone, where there were serious boundaries between the inhabitants but areas of cooperation were also in existence.

1.2 Neo-Liberalism and the Urban Condition

South African cities have been characterised by high levels of inequalities amongst their inhabitants. The effect of the history of racism created racially divided cities in the country, but the era of globalisation and neoliberal economic restructuring has exacerbated the divisions between the poor townships and the affluent suburbs even post-apartheid (Neocosmos 2008). The state’s neoliberal policies on urban land use and housing have been

inadequate in addressing the needs of a growing urban population. Due to this reality, it is important to properly conceptualise neo-liberalism and its implementation in the South African city post-apartheid.

Generally, neo-liberalism has been used to characterise the revival of market-based institutional shifts and policy realignments across the global economy, more so during the post-1980s (Babb 2002). Scholars have throughout the years conceptualised the term to describe the organisational, political and ideological imposition of ‘free market’ doctrines in historical and geographic contexts (Agnew and Cobridge 1994). In most instances research on neo-liberalism has been on supranational institutional organisations and realignments and national regulatory trends (Nye 2009). Urban and socio-spatial theorists have nonetheless begun to analyse the impact of neo-liberalism on the urban space (Peck 2003).

The nature and form of neo-liberalism in the urban space can basically be interpreted in three related ways and I want to deal with these in detail in this section. Firstly, neo-liberalism can be viewed as a mode of urban governance. In terms of this perspective, neo-liberalism is viewed as the framework that “powerfully structures the parameter for the governance of contemporary urban development – for instance, by defining the character of ‘appropriate’ policy choices, by constraining democratic participation in political life, by diffusing dissent and oppositional mobilisation, and/or by disseminating new ideological visions of social and moral order in the city” (Brenner and Theodore 2005: 103).

One notable scholar of the post-apartheid urban condition, Patrick Bond (2003), did an analysis of various urban policies such as the *Urban Development Strategy* (1995), *Housing White Paper* (1994), *Water and Sanitation White Paper* (1994), *Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework* (1997 and 2001) and the *Local Government White Paper* (1995). He found that the main feature of these papers was neoliberal (market-oriented) bias and this made him to conclude that:

Their core characteristic in the period immediately following the 1994 liberation from structured racism was a *neoliberal* (market-oriented) bias that quickly codified can be termed *class apartheid*. As a result, a variety of specific problems associated with apartheid-era urban *underdevelopment* continued - and were in many cases amplified - during the late 1990s and into the 21st century (Bond, 2003: 28).

In essence therefore, market driven policies were implemented in South African in the era post-1994. Governance has also been structured in this manner as the main interest has

always been on profitability rather than creating conducive living environments. This builds on to the next way in which neo-liberalism in the urban space can be viewed.

As a second point, scholars have argued that neo-liberalism in the urban space can be viewed as a spatially selective political strategy (Jones 1997). The manner in which urban public and private investment impact different locations in this era has been significantly varied, with a lot of favouritism for affluent localities to the detriment of poor areas. In the neo-liberal era, due to the withdrawal of the local state in development, urban development of various localities tends to be very uneven (Weber, 2002). Using the market logic, there are less chances of private investment going to areas that are not developed in terms of road and transport infrastructure. Private investment usually goes to those areas already developed in terms of this infrastructure and where extracting value and making profits can be achieved cheaply (Weber 2002).

Research on this trend has also been conducted in South Africa by various scholars (Turok 2001; Hutchzermeyer 2003; Bond 2003). In a study on the city of Cape Town, Turok (2001) found that the city is still polarised, with the affluent suburbs offering various opportunities for their inhabitants on the one hand and the overcrowded, improvised dormitory settlements, on the other hand, offering nothing for their inhabitants. Since 1994 there has been significant investment in selected economic centres such as Tyger Valley and Milnerton in the northern suburbs, the Waterfront and the Cape Town CBD and Claremont in the southern suburbs (Turok 2001). Whilst this has been happening, the south-east side of the city was generally bypassed by these developments. Turok (2001: 2358) further argues that whilst the “airport is anomalous within the south-east; it shows early signs of emerging as a growth point, although largely through warehousing and distribution rather than higher value-added activities at this stage ... this provides clear evidence of what has been described in other South African cities as ‘new and powerful forces of fragmentation’.” The main basis for the absence of investment in the south-eastern areas of the city of Cape Town is understood to be poor road and transport infrastructure. This, therefore, clarifies the point being made here that neo-liberal urban development is spatially selective.

The third feature of neo-liberalism in the urban space is the creation of a neo-liberal discourse, ideology and representation (Brenner and Theodore 2005). This can actually be done through a variety of means such as the promotion of discourses of inter-local

competitiveness, narrow economic efficiency or urban entrepreneurialism. These types of ideological discourses represent an idealised neo-liberal setup where social relations are supposedly governed by intense competition and exchange between individuals. Brenner and Theodore (2005: 106) argue that:

From this point of view, urban neoliberalism is not only a form of political, institutional and geographical change; it is also, centrally, a means of transforming the dominant political imaginaries on which basis people understand the limits and possibilities of the urban experience. In an urban context, as elsewhere, this redefinition of political imagination entails not only the rearticulation of assumptions about the appropriate role of state institutions, but also, more generally, the reworking of inherited conceptions of citizenship, community and everyday life.

One of the examples of this in South Africa is the manner in which slum dwellers are stigmatised and made to appear as if they do not belong to the city. This whole notion is based on the conception of 'City without Slums' as advocated by the US based Urban Alliance (Jones 2009). These proposals have been inherently ideological, creating an impression that all cities have to attain a 'world class city' status by eradicating slums. Based on this ideology, some governments in South Africa even rushed to introduce legislation aimed at eliminating slums (see Huchzemyer 2007 on the *'Opposition to the Durban Slum Illumination Bill'*). Slum eradication is an ideological belief of neo-liberalism, as its aim is to create attractive cities for both investment and tourism (Jones 2009).

1.2.1 Neo-Liberalism and the 'Myth of Marginality'

To deal deeply with this conception of neo-liberal discourse, I want to explore the concept of 'marginality' as researched by Janice Perlman (1976; 2005; 2010) in the Brazilian Favela. Due to the prevalence of neo-liberalism and its economic, political and social restructuring, Perlman (2005; 2010) had to contend that the conception of marginality has moved from being a myth into a reality. This is after she had argued for almost three decades that the concept of 'urban poor marginality' is a myth (Perlman 1976). To clarify this fact, it is important that I first outline what this concept means.

The marginality proposition basically views the urban poor, particularly those living in squatter camps, as having maladapted to modern city life and thus is responsible for their own poverty and their failure to be absorbed into formal jobs and housing market. "Squatter settlements were seen as 'syphilitic sores on the beautiful body of the city,' dens of crime, violence, prostitution and social breakdown. It was widely assumed that comparing their

condition with the surrounding opulence would turn squatters into angry revolutionaries (Perlman, 2005: 5). The view followed that squatters are not integrated in national and political life. They further lack internal political organization and this basically results from a perception that the urban poor basically has little interest and thus participation in political activities. This view has always been perpetuated by the middle-class and it was basically centred on notions of 'otherness'. It was legitimized further by social scientists of the early to mid-20th century and, as a result, it assumed a status as a material force as well as an ideological concept and description of social reality (Perlman 2005). This was internationally the time where suburbanization was at its peak and it operated to allay the fears of class-mixing that the middle-class had and to further justify the creation of middle-class exclusive residential places.

One first needs to understand the degree of accuracy of the marginality proposition in actually describing attitudes and behaviour of the urban poor and according to the reliability of its underlying assumptions and analytical schemes. Results of the early study by Perlman (1976) in Brazilian Favelas established that the attitudes and behaviour of the Favelados were not in accordance with the description of the marginality proposition. She found that poor people in urban areas were well organized and that they made wide use of the various urban political institutions. They were culturally optimistic as the majority of them aspired to different and better education for their children. They economically worked hard and built not only their homes but much of the urban infrastructure. The results of the initial study further showed that the urban poor were neither politically apathetic nor radical. They were only aware of those political issues that directly affected their lives, both within and outside the slum (Perlman 1976). The urban poor thus had all the aspirations of the middle-class but what they lacked was the opportunity to fulfil them. In this discussion I will later show that, in the re-study that Perlman later did within the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro different results were found due to the prevalence of neo-liberalism. Within the marginality proposition, there has been a misleading notion that poverty is a consequence of individual characteristics of the poor rather than a condition of neo-liberal capitalism. There are various causes of poverty and inequality and these are inherent in the capitalist system and thus cannot be blamed on the poor.

As a result of neo-liberal re-structuring, the poor in Brazil, become poorer whilst the rich become richer post the 1990s (Souza 1997). In her re-study, Perlman (2005; 2010) found that in the social arena the increase in drugs, gang related crime and general violent crime led

to a serious dearth of social organization in the slums of Rio de Janeiro (Perlman 2005; 2010). There is basically now a new 'sphere of fear' which results from this increase in violent crime but also from the decrease in social capital, which is basically one of the assets of dodging poverty.

This fear diminishes the use of public space, leads to less socializing among friends and relatives, fewer memberships in community organizations, less sense of trust and less networking. Thus news about informal jobs and casual work of all types that was passed easily along the grapevine is now more difficult to come by and people no longer know who they can trust (Perlman, 2005: 22).

The re-study also found that due to a variety of transformations resulting from neo-liberalism, political organization was beginning to perish (Perlman 2005). For instance, the move from the dictatorship of the 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of a democratic arrangement beginning from the mid-1980s in Brazil. The initial study was conducted during the times of the dictatorship and the recent study during the times of democratization. During this period, community organizations and various NGOs working in the Favela flourished and the various residents associations that operated in the Favela since the 1960s began to create linkages with political parties or labour unions (Perlman 2005). In this arrangement it is inherent that such resident associations would lose their political independence and eventually be discredited as representatives of communities.

In the initial study, the participation of the Favelados in electoral politics was found to be subjectively used as a tactical move to get favours from the various candidates and these were both substantive and collective, favours such as exchanging votes for the building of sewerage pipes or cement steps (Perlman 1976). In the re-study, Perlman (2005) argues that, despite the assumption by the Favelados that their vote is a bargain for services and a stronger voice in the urban terrain, they still do not feel that they have gained any voice in the political arena. Neo-liberalism has thus created a lot of challenges to urbanism and the case of South Africa is no different from the one Brazil. In the following section, I want to deeply discuss the effect of neo-liberalism on the South African urban space post-apartheid.

1.3 Fractured Urbanism in South Africa

Many scholars have analysed cities that resemble the features of the post-apartheid city and have described them using a variety of concepts such as 'amorphous urbanism', 'ruined urbanisation', 'distressed urbanism' (Bank 2011; Huchzermeyer 2014). Murray (2009) uses

the concept of 'distressed urbanism' to describe the divisions between the rich and the poor in Johannesburg. The coexistence of the poor and the rich in the South African urban landscape has created a serious need for increasing security amongst the middle-classes. Stephen Graham (2010) argues that the growing need to protect the rich against the poor in urban areas has created what he calls, 'military urbanism'. He argues that this has created a serious crossover between the military and the civilian applications of advanced technology in order to police and control everyday life in the cities in favour of the rich (Graham 2010).

In South Africa today the urban form of apartheid is still in existence in the urban space and the division between the white and black races has now been translated into rich and poor people (Sami, 2013). Andrew Boraine et al. (2006: 261) argue that the urban policy of the post-apartheid government in South Africa has been about uprooting the legacy of apartheid planning and such development "was not just a general push forward from the status quo for economic expansion or a more equitable form of growth", but this also had to mean meaningful integration within the urban space. One achievement of this policy objective can be said to be the manner in which the black middle-class has entered the suburban space post-apartheid, but the reality that will be shown by this research is that there still exists divisions between white and black residents even within the suburbs. Schensul and Heller (2011: 106) make a distinction between post-apartheid urban desegregation and urban integration. They found that suburbs in post-apartheid South Africa have been desegregating in that they are becoming racially diverse, but they use the term, 'desegregation' rather than 'integration' to underscore the fact that we do not equate a more even distribution of race groups across urban neighbourhoods with social integration. "The latter implies thicker and better ties between social groups and wider access to social services. Our data do not allow us to make claims about social integration" (Schensul and Heller 2011: 106).

Many scholars have argued before that the post-apartheid neo-liberal economic and social policies have failed to create the desired outcome but, instead, they have maintained the divisions of the apartheid distribution system by extending it beyond its historical base, which was mainly white, to include an African middle-class (Seekings and Nattrass 2005; Maharaj and Ramballi 1998; Crankshaw 2008). In the urban space, this has created serious inequalities between areas occupied by the rich and those occupied by the poor in an almost similar manner as envisaged by apartheid.

Borrowing from Bank, (2011) the term ‘fractured urbanism’ is used here to describe the manner in which previous apartheid disparities are present in the urban space in South Africa today. Despite rhetoric, urban planning and resource distribution post-apartheid has been structured in a manner that favours middle-class suburbs to the detriment of poor townships. Bank (2011: 30) argues that the concept of ‘fractured urbanism’ explains the way in which:

...apartheid urban infrastructure still operates and is periodically extended through new state investments, but nonetheless remains hopelessly over-extended to places where social life and economic need exceed both the capacity and the physical reach of existing grids. Under such conditions, distress translates into fracture, which breaks and segments the urban locale into different zones, niches, territories and settlements that are created, not by force of real estate capitalism (Harvey 1989; Zunik 2000), nor by the imperatives of market-driven infrastructure and service provision for the rich, but by the failure of comprehensive urban planning systems and state structures to effectively manage counter-insurgent urbanisation and settlement, which continually overruns the plan.

One of the most important examples of state urban policy failure in post-apartheid South Africa is provided by the growth and prevalence of informal settlements in the country. In South Africa today there is a progressive constitution, with a Bill of Rights that guarantees freedom of movement. Even before the dawn of democracy, the number of land invasions by the urban poor escalated during the early 1990s (Honey 2004). Since the dawn of democracy urbanization has been happening at an extremely rapid rate in South Africa and, because this is coupled with high unemployment rates and rising inequalities, which automatically translate into poverty, there has been serious growth of the urban poor as well. From 1996 to 2004 alone, the eight largest cities of the country experienced a population growth rate of 4.4 % – more than twice the national average (Murray 2007). As such, millions of poor South Africans have been flooding its cities, crowding existing informal settlements and subsequently creating new ones. Mike Davis (2006) states that urban population growth that has not seen a corresponding increase in wage-paid employment in the third world has contributed to a number of social problems, such as environmental degradation, housing shortage, rapid spread of informal settlements, and unhealthy living conditions in the various slums.

From 2001 to 2010 the number of informal settlements in South Africa doubled, from 1066 in 2001 to 2628 in 2010 (Progress Report on Human Settlements, 2010). In 2010 the Department of Human Settlement in South Africa reported that out of these, only 721 have

been identified for formalizing and subsequently upgrading (Human Settlement South Africa, 2010). This, therefore, explains the fractured nature of South African urbanism. South Africa has seen both organized and unorganized land invasions by many poor South Africans who want to make a living in urban areas.

There are a variety of reasons for the growth of informal settlements in South Africa. The housing crisis in urban areas is one of the root causes of informal settlement growth in South Africa. The housing crisis in South Africa can be traced back to the failure of market-driven housing policies, which are based on the principle of willing buyer willing seller (Murray 2007). As a result of this, local authorities are battling to keep up with the pace of this accelerated demand for housing. This is also coupled with issues of incompetency. In Johannesburg, for instance, the World Bank reports that from 1996 to 2001 alone, the number of informal dwellings increased by 42 percent to almost a quarter million despite the erection of 220 000 formal housing units and this might have worsened now as a group of experts in 2006 estimated that the housing shortage in the city of Johannesburg is 250 000 to 300 000 units (Murray 2007).

This shortage of housing is tied to the slow pace in which the process of land redistribution has been happening in South Africa. To date only seven percent of the South African land has been handed over to black communities and the main stifling factor has been the willing buyer willing seller policy, coupled with various bureaucratic failures of government (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2013). Market-led policies are, therefore, at the centre of the South African urban crisis. Land in desirable places for employment and for human settlements is very expensive and scarce. Resource challenges, unwillingness to do away with market policies and lack of capacity have further increased the challenges of the democratic government in handling the housing crisis (Huchzermeyer 2003). The squatter crisis in South Africa is one of the visible indicators of fractured urbanism, but this does not mean that there is no cooperative contact amongst rich and poor residents of South African cities.

1.4 Relation of the 18th Century Frontier-zone to the South African Suburb

Suburbs in South Africa have always been contrasted with townships (Stainer 1999). Historically suburbs in the country have been a world of white people and have been

characterised by wealth, tranquillity and prosperity. Townships on the other hand have been characterised by slum conditions, filth and overpopulation (Maylam 1982). In a similar manner to the United States of America, the colonial and apartheid townships and suburbs in South Africa were carefully designed to be areas of “racialisation, segregation and the suppression of social differentiation” (Mabin 2013: 169). The post-apartheid experience in South Africa shows that suburbs are areas of conflict but also of cooperation in a manner similar to the 18th century frontier zone in the Eastern Cape.

The concept of the ‘suburban frontier’ is used in this dissertation in order to emphasise one interesting point of conflict and cooperation in the suburb.¹ The conflict in Beacon Bay seems to be a complex modern resemblance of the South Africa frontier condition described by Legassick in his PhD thesis *The Griqua, the Sotho–Tswana, and the Missionaries, 1780 – 1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone*. The argument here is that frontier culture in South Africa resulted in a way of life where both settlers and indigenous peoples clashed but also intermingled, thus producing a particularly new frontier identity that embodied aspects of each other’s identities. The South Africa frontier, therefore, was based on conflict but not along clearly restricted lines.

In as much as it appears to have represented what Frederick Jackson Turner (1893) described as the ‘outer edge of the wave - the meeting point between savagery and civilisation’ when describing the America frontier, the South African frontier was culturally permeable (Legassick 1969). The Eastern Cape frontier had boundaries but these were fluid and did not manage the movement of the various populations in the frontier zone. As William Freund (1974) puts it, “People of different political cultures with formal political loyalties to different (and sometimes distant) centres lived cheek by jowl with one another.”

In theorising on the South Africa frontier, Legassick (1969) argued that the dynamic nature of the South Africa frontier resulted from the fact that there was no single source of legitimate authority; also there was no space for various legitimate sources of authority to compete and where anyone who could generate power for himself could exercise it. He stated that:

If the first element in the definitions of the frontier zone is the lack of a single source of legitimate authority, the second and dynamic element, is that described under the

¹ It should be noted though that, in as much as the suburbia represents a frontier as it operates as an area of conflict and cooperative contact, unlike the wars of the era between 1779 and 1850 in various parts of what is now known as the Eastern Cape, the battle in the suburbia is one that is waged in a concealed way.

general term 'acculturation' or, better but even less elegant, 'Mutual acculturation'. If the frontier society, as McCrone suggests, evolved 'new modes of life and new institutions,' this was done not in the vacuum which he implies, but through interaction between different cultures (Legassick, 1969: 12).

This analysis shows us clearly that South African frontier zones were dynamic, temporary, unstable and fluid zones. These were zones that cultural contact produced 'new modes of life' through mutual acculturation. The dynamism and fluidity of Beacon Bay has a strong resemblance to the frontier and this is why I chose to use this conceptualisation. Legassick (1969: 13) further argued that essential to the existence of frontier zones "is a crisis of values, cultural and political, which cannot be resolved by the imposition of superior force." The crisis of values and morals and the question of who defines them in Beacon Bay, as will be shown in the findings of this study, is reflective of this conflict.

Even in its evolution the frontier zone contained this dynamism of conflict and cooperation between the early Dutch settlers in the Cape, known as the Vrijburgers, and the indigenous Khoi people. Starting from 1679, these Vrijburgers led by the *Heeren XVII*, illegitimately expanded their land displacing many Khoi people of their land and further forcing them to labour on their farms (Guelke 1976). So serious conflict existed between the Vrijburgers and the Khoi people but the borders of such a conflict were permeable. Take for instance Guelke's (1976) statement about this period:

The illicit livestock trade with Khoikhoi hordes of the interior was lucrative enough to spawn a group of professional frontier traders who acted as middlemen for the Khoikho and the farmers of Stellenbosch and Drankenstein. Although vrijburgers were occasionally apprehended while engaged in illicit trading, the frontier was too wide and the number of Company officials too few to stop it (Guelke, 1976: 30).

From the above statement one can understand the dynamic nature of the frontier zone in that, whilst conflicting relations existed between the early Dutch settlers and the Khoi people, there were some forms of relations and these were mainly necessitated by the absence of a formal legitimate authority in this early frontier.

This discussion proves that earlier conceptions of the frontier as an area of conflict and isolation do not hold true in relation to South Africa. The South African frontier was more of an area of exclusion, inclusion and contact. It offered many examples of racial cooperation even in conditions of conflict (Penn 2005). Even the Eastern Cape frontier, which is the frontier zone that was most associated with violence because of the eight frontiers wars between the British settlers and the Xhosas from 1779 to 1850, there were

permeable boundaries that led to a lot of cooperation whilst conflict was still ensuing. Colin Bundy (2004: 11) described the Eastern Cape frontier as an area that “was ‘a perverse, erratic climate divide’, a borderland of settlement by successive waves of peoples and life-styles, and a military marchland for over a century. It was also an economic frontier, a frontier of labour and commodities, a platform of missionary endeavour, and an arena of cultural contestation.” It is this cultural contestation that produced a new form of frontier identity. Jeff Peires (1982) has described the Eastern Cape frontier wars as the longest, hardest and the bloodiest of wars between white and blacks in the nineteenth century.

Whilst this was a closed frontier, there is ample evidence that suggests that there were cultural contacts and encounters which led to both societies leaning on the other. Monica Wilson (1969) makes an argument that the situation in this area induced cooperation in various forms between the settlers, Xhosas and the Khoi people. The relation between many Xhosas and missionaries is one such example. Some scholars have gone on to argue that the British settlers depended a lot on the Mfengus in their confronting and suppression of the Xhosa people in that in the war between 1846 and 1847 they reconciled their military approach a lot with that of the Mfengus.

This is, therefore, in tandem with Freund’s (1974) conclusion that Africans on the Eastern Cape frontier enjoyed some opportunities as a result of contact with the colonial society although they bore special burdens as a consequence.

Since 1994, however, there is no longer a convincing reason why a closed frontier model, based on the Eastern Cape frontier, should be regarded as the preordained blueprint of South African history. The widespread acceptance of the election results of 1994 has begun a process of the rolling back, or opening, of frontiers everywhere...The Xhosa of the eastern Cape have not only recrossed the Fish River but, for the first time, crossed the Liesbeek River as well. It is possible that an ‘open’ frontier situation...will be seen as being the more typical South African scenario after all (Penn, 2005: 13).

This dissertation is thus an attempt to understand new ‘open’ frontiers which have developed as a result of democracy. The findings of my research suggest an existence of a boundary typical of the 18th century frontier zone where there is conflict and some cooperation by the black and white suburbanites and the poor staying close to these areas. What the findings will show is that the conflict between black and white suburbanites in Beacon Bay, for instance, is expressed silently and cooperation, like in the frontier, exists in areas of commonality in challenges or objectives. This is also the case as it relates to these suburbanites’ relations with

the urban poor. These are things that we ought to understand if we are properly to integrate the post-apartheid city and thus fix South Africa's fractured urbanism.

1.5 Organisation of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into eight different chapters. In this first chapter I have tried to conceptually locate the study within South African urbanism. I have also clarified my utilisation of the concept of the frontier to describe the present situation in Beacon Bay. I argue that the research findings point to an existence of a boundary typical of the 18th century frontier zone where there is conflict and cooperation by the black and white suburbanites and the poor staying close to these areas. I have shown that the intention of the study is to understand the new frontiers which have developed as a result of the collapse of apartheid. So in essence the main intention of the study is to understand how new social groups and communities have emerged and how they function in the post-apartheid city and how these are further socially and economically integrated into wider South African society.

The second chapter consists of a comparison between South African suburbs and American suburbs. The chapter is also a comparative analysis of the evolution and nature of the black middle-class in these two countries. It reflects on the evolution of the 'suburban ideal' and the actual history of suburbanisation as a social process. The main thrust of this chapter focuses on the self-definitions of suburbanites and how these actually result in the exclusionary discourse against the urban poor. The chapter also reviews the black middle-class experiences in the suburbs as researched by other scholars in American and in South Africa. Here I evaluate whether or not the role of the new black-middle class is reversing or perpetuating the exclusionary discourse against the urban poor in the suburb. In this chapter, I make an argument that suburbs are not just race or ethnic locations but are upper-middle class and middle-class residential enclaves. They are, in essence, areas of middle-class self-isolation. To embark on a study of this nature requires a focus and an in-depth methodological framework and this is why I dedicated chapter three to explaining the use of the ethnographic method in this study. In this chapter I clarify my use of this method and I further demonstrate my research design and experience in the field.

In chapter four, I discuss the historical emergence of Beacon Bay as a place of exclusion. Here I basically detail the history of Beacon Bay as a white middle-class exclusive suburb which has been transformed post-apartheid into a diversified middle-class exclusive area. I

sketch the history of this area from its early origin in 1924 and how it has developed into a modern suburb. I detail its history to the point where the area was officially declared a 'whites only' residential area in 1973. One significant debate that exposes the exclusionary nature of Beacon Bay is the discussion of the Beacon Bay North Urban Development Proposal. This was a discussion in the early 1990s on a plan to create a township similar to Mdantsane in the area so that the housing problem for poor people could be resolved. I wrap up the chapter by discussing the question of crime as a contemporary problem that confronts Beacon Bay and as an issue which has led to some level of unity in the area. What this chapter shows overall is that residents of Beacon Bay have always sought to defend the social standing and exclusive nature of the suburb historically and they appear to be still doing the same thing even today.

In chapter five, which is titled "Frontier Entrance: an observation of some Trajectories of Suburbanisation in East London," I discuss the different trajectories of the entrance by the black and white suburbanites into Beacon Bay. I also detail the nature and form of the arrival of the urban poor in Nompumelelo Township, a township adjacent to Beacon Bay. Here I show that the movement of the white middle-class into Beacon Bay was as a result of the desire to escape race mixing. Their movement mostly was from one suburb to another suburb and most of the suburbs that they were moving from had a visible black presence. Whilst the white middle-class escaped race mixing and its perceived negative effects, the black middle-class moved to Beacon Bay to escape class mixing in the township and in the suburbs close to town. The findings show that in as much as the black middle-class residents originally come from townships and villages, the majority of them first settled in suburbs that were close to suburbs such as Southernwood and Quigney before deciding to move to Beacon Bay in escape of class mixing in these areas.

Chapter six contains an analysis of the social dynamics resulting from the black middle-class entry into suburbia. Here I demonstrate that there exists a serious clash of identities in Beacon Bay as a post-apartheid suburban place. I show that the diverse nature of Beacon Bay in terms of population composition does not suggest better race relations at all. I therefore argue that the entry of the black middle-class into suburbia has had no significant impact on integration and thus nation building. I demonstrate this by focusing on the nature of the relations between black and white suburbanites and the findings show that, whilst there might be inclinations towards tolerance, general social relations are not well in the suburb and the question of norms and values are at the centre of this clash. The fact that there is cooperation

and conflict in suburbia exposes its complexity. In concluding the chapter I argue, though, that there are possibilities for a unified suburb in Beacon Bay. I argue that, like a frontier zone, Beacon Bay is an 'arena of cultural contestation' and therefore this is why it has serious possibilities for the production of new identities through mutual acculturation.

In chapter seven I do a contextual analysis of discourses of urban poor exclusion in Beacon Bay. The findings discussed in this chapter show that the suburb continues to operate as a site of exclusion even after the entrance of the black middle-class. It shows that the suburbanites of Beacon Bay across the racial spectrum always try to exclude the urban poor despite the acknowledgement that they are needed for the provision of labour in the suburb. So, in essence, the arrival of the black middle-class has not contributed anything towards urban integration between Beacon Bay and Nompumelelo Township. All suburban residents still view Nompumelelo Township residents as unworthy neighbours who are a threat to the social standing of the area and, therefore, their middle-class suburban lifestyle. On the other hand, despite the arrival of the black middle-class in the suburb, Nompumelelo Township residents still see Beacon Bay as a place of '*abaphakamileyo*' – the aloof. In this chapter I further argue that the suburbanite's negative perception of the Nompumelelo Township residents has led to falling property prices in the areas close by and those areas with a view of the township. This is so because the fall of property prices is more a problem of perception against the urban poor and an expression against social difference more than a result of the close proximity and/or the view of the township.

Chapter eight is a concluding chapter and in it I try to demonstrate some areas of cooperation within the suburb and between the suburb and Nompumelelo Township. I show that the children of both white and black families in Beacon Bay have a far better relationship in school and in sport than their parents. This has created another area of contact for both these classes and it bears potential for meaningful integration in the suburban place. I also show that the church and traditional ceremonies are two platforms where there is meaningful interaction and contact between the suburb and the Nompumelelo Township. I argue that any programme to integrate the suburb and the township must take this into account. I therefore make certain proposals of how integration can be best achieved in the suburb. I conclude the chapter by making recommendations for future research on the suburb in East London and beyond.

Chapter 2: A Comparative Analysis of American and South African Suburbia and the Black Middle-Class

The colonial world is a world cut in two. . . .The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity. . . . The settler's town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about. The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easy going town; its belly is always full of good things. The settler's town is a town of white people, of foreigners.

The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there; it matters not where, or how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers and dirty Arabs (Frantz Fanon 1963: 38).

2.1 Introduction

It is firstly important to note that the primary question that this entire study seeks to answer is: How has the assimilation of the black middle-class into the transitional suburbia contributed to desegregation and or integration? There are a variety of preliminary questions that need to be answered before answering this broad one. These are questions such as what is the nature of the suburban experience from different countries? Is this in anyway different from the experience in the post-apartheid suburb? What is the nature of the black middle-class suburban experience in other countries and how can we relate this to the South African black middle-class suburban experience? These are questions that basically require a review of literature in order to answer and this is basically the intention of this chapter.

It is therefore important that we first look at this literature before we focus on the research on Beacon Bay. South African middle-class suburbs resemble many features of the suburbs of the United States of America and it is for this reason that in this chapter I do a thoroughgoing comparative analysis of the nature and character of suburbs in America and in South Africa.

A few conceptualisations, need to be made before engaging on this analysis and as such I will stretch out discourses of exclusion in the suburban space by conceptualising the suburban ideal and the history of suburbanisation as a social process. I will ponder questions that relate to what it really means to be a suburbanite and what are the definitions that suburbanites give to the suburbia. The main thrust of this section therefore will be to look at how these self-definitions of being a suburbanite and suburbia actually result in exclusionary discourses against the urban poor. I will further demonstrate this by looking at cities in the developing world, particularly South Africa.

In the last part of the chapter, I will critically evaluate the role being played by the black-middle class in reversing or perpetuating this exclusionary practice. I will do this through a comparative review of the black middle-class as it has developed in America and in South Africa. I will also assess the nature of this class in the suburb. I want to argue that despite differences amongst the black and white suburbanites, suburbs are not just race or ethnic locations but are upper-middle class and middle-class residential enclaves. They are in essence areas of middle-class self-isolation.

2.2 Conceptualising the Suburb

2.2.1 Defining a suburb as a place

A variety of definitions of what a suburb is exist. There is a difference between a locale, an area, a location and a place A suburb is a place and this is so because the term carries different meanings in different urban settings located in different areas in the world (Kolb 2008). As Alan Mabin (2001: 3-4) puts it, “In some cases its meaning is so general as to be simply about any sections or areas of urban environments, in others it is much more specifically connected to legal institutions of local government, past or present, as in South Africa”. Place-making, therefore, is a subjectively socially constructed phenomenon. Other scholars, for example, have described the suburb as the creation of an ‘ethical domain’ that symbolises a culture’s sense of itself and its view of the world (Moore 2001).

In using David Kolb’s definition of a place, I want argue that a suburb is an “extended location consisting of one or more expanses of space where social norms of action define significant areas and transitions for activities” (Kolb 2008: 32). If we are to agree that suburbs are places and this is how they should be defined, then we should agree that for

suburbs to be constituted and defined as such places there ought to be divisions with other places. Kolb (2008: 37) makes the following observation:

There can be no place without some divisions, for in such a place no form of human life could be enacted. At least there will be a border, however vague, between this place and others, and usually there will be internal divisions corresponding to different actions or stages of actions. The greater discontinuity typical of contemporary places thus emphasises a condition that has always been true of places (Kolb 2008:37).

The term 'suburb', for instance carries various attributes of 'newness' in relation to something that was at first urban, decentralisation, density, status, social class and, in most cases, institutional culture (Mabin 2001). The most suitable way of utilising this concept is by combining these features and utilising them depending on a particular setting. For instance by 1969, Charles G. Bell, in his article titled *A New Suburban Politics*, stated that Greenstein and Wolfinger (1956) define the suburb as 'elite dormitories' whilst, on the other hand, the *American Bureau of the Census* defines suburbs as 'rings around the city'. Suburbs, Bells (1969) argues, display a widely diversified range of industrial and residential land use patterns and the variety of their definitions arises out of this. Some suburbs, for instance, can be residential, industrial, recreational, intellectual, and religious and they vary from location to location.

The word 'suburb' today, brings to mind "leafy, residential commuter communities on the outskirts of urban settlement, often with a clearly defined separation between work and home" (Allen 2011: 426). Some scholars have gone to the extent of describing the suburbs as "quiet havens of genteel respectability" (Allen 2011: 426). These definitions carry with them deep rooted ideological connotations of racial and class exclusivity. One interesting suburban development in our current day is what has come to be known as 'gated communities' or the process called 'gating'. These are simply suburbs that no longer trust the state to be performing tasks on their behalf, particularly as it relates to security and protection of their private property. In the post-colonial world, similar to the West, the prospects of race and class mixing going unmanaged by the state is leading to the creation of these new forms of suburbs (Ballard 2005). In the following pages I will argue that a suburb is historically a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon with its evolution from the elite sections of society.

2.2.2 The 'Suburban Ideal'

Before going further to study the suburb, it is important to ponder questions that relate to how the current suburban residential environment developed to what it is currently. More historical questions need to be asked, such as: what meanings did the suburban environment hold for those for whom it was designed and for those who were its initial inhabitants? Doing this requires an understanding and a critical reflection on the evolution and essence of what has come to be known in urban historiography as the 'suburban ideal'.

Ethnographic research done by urban historian Marry Corbin Sies (1991: 199) clearly reveals that the creators, first consumers and disseminators of the "suburban ideal" were, with very few exceptions, an identifiable group of new upper-middle-class urban Americans intent upon formalising their own newfound status and prescribing cultural norms for others." This group of middle-class suburbanites debated and experimented around these ideas starting from the late 1870s and they achieved consensus at the close of that century. The consensus reached here is basically what is now known as the 'suburban ideal' in its "guises as model suburb, model home, and model life-style – (which) was later codified, mass produced, and disseminated as the proper standard for modern American Living" (Sies, 1991: 199). The 'suburban ideal' was later exported to almost all countries of the world, including the then colonised countries, which currently constitute the underdeveloped and developing world. The 'suburban ideal' was basically circulated through things such as advertising, television, print media, consumer goods, consumer culture, socialisation, word of mouth and a variety of other methods and forms (Miller 1995).

It is, therefore, a culturally constructed phenomenon with its roots in the upper-middle-class North Americans, which was at the time (1870s) predominantly, if not entirely, white. The 'suburban ideal' is about the establishment of a homogenous community of like-minded people who occupy the same status in society. It is basically about living in a home that provides comfort and diversion and, quite centrally, about finding an environment in which family ties can be strengthened (Morton 2002).

As time progressed in history, the 'suburban ideal,' practically assumed particular forms of expression amongst Americans and later on the people of the rest of the world. By mid-20th century it was not only middle-class citizens of the United States and Canada who could articulate the requisite features of how a residential place and home should be. As Sies (2001:

329) argues, across the middle-class suburbanites in different countries both in North America and the Europe it could be easily articulated that:

Houses should be single-family and detached, set back on tree-lined streets, and furnished with every technological utility and amenity the inhabitants could afford. Suburban neighbourhoods should be clearly bounded; appointed with schools, churches, parks, and community centres; safe and healthy for children; and locally controlled.

The basic features of a suburban environment, thus, was single-family orientated but with a level of hospitability. Through its aggressive dissemination this ideal ended up occupying a significant place in the collective memory of Europeans and Americans and this was subsequently transferred to the rest of the world (Whelan 2003).

Changes towards suburbanisation and the emergence of the 'suburban ideal' itself should also be analysed in the historical development of the labour process. Miller (1995) argues that it was only with the separation of the workplace from a place of residence and the subsequent separation of men's and women's spheres, that the prospects of moving away from a man's place of work emerged. Suburbs, therefore, were places where the woman stayed indoors during the day whilst the man went to work in the central city. The ideal, then, was centred on the creation and sustenance of gender roles that reinforced patriarchy.

To summarise the 'suburban ideal', it was a combination of cultural forms designed by a particular class to serve its own needs, pleasures and interests as a group. The designers of the suburb wanted to design a residential area that would express the white-middle-class desire to formalise their own lifestyle and position in society by segregating themselves from others in society. The change in colour of these suburbs has not changed the essential foundations that suburbs were built upon. This basically carries the ideological underpinnings of the exclusionary discourse that suburbanites will always express against the 'other' in their environment. In the evolution of the 'suburban ideal' there was a lot of deeply felt cultural values, tensions and beliefs (Sies 1991). A field analysis done by Sies (1991) on the houses constructed between 1877 and 1917 in four American suburbs (Short Hills, St. Martin's, Kenilworth and Lake of the Isles) revealed that the design programme of the houses embodied at least seven cultural assumptions which can be succinctly put as follows: Order/Efficiency, Nature, Technology, Family, Individuality, Community and Beauty. These seven principles basically outlined the framework that architects and builders had to work around.

Even though the stereotypical depiction of the ‘suburban ideal’ has been significantly influential in the entire process of suburbanisation, there are certain lived experiences which depart from its original essence. Though ethnographic research will not focus on the perceptions of the middle-class suburbanites but on the actual daily lived experience of them, one can garner a lot of departures from the logic of “privatism and social fragmentation” (Sies 2001: 326). It should be noted, though, that this is the exception rather than the rule. In some planned elite suburbs, for instance, an overwhelming majority of the adult residents participate a lot in local activities and building the social resources of their communities, some of these residents even going to the extent of pursuing political and cultural interests in the nearby city (Sies 2001). The Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association in East London is a clear example of this as its mostly white middle-class membership has always been more inclined towards focusing on and trying to influence certain features in the urban environment.

Despite this reality, the ‘suburban ideal’ carried and still carries with it the fundamental basis of the middle-class discourses against any other group that does not belong to this class and does not suite the standard of living and staying in a suburban environment as defined by the initial designers of suburbs.

2.2.3 Suburbanisation: A history of transitions

Since the 19th century suburbs have undergone a series of structural changes but their cultural attributes and their social composition remain intact. It is important to note that single family houses were seen in various American cities by the close of the 18th century and these were the houses that were later transformed into fully fledged suburbs (Kolb 2008). Mark Baldassare (1992) identifies four historical eras that have had important influences on the changing nature of suburbs; the pre-industrial era, the early urban-industrial era, the late industrial-era and the metropolitan era.

In the pre-industrial era (that is, the 19th century), suburbs were few, sparsely populated and they were mostly small towns focused on agriculture and trade, with railroads and dirt roads providing the weak links between the central city and the suburb (Baldassare 1992). At this time the process of suburbanisation was significantly low and the suburban population was small. The change to this situation in this century and the transition into a different period of suburbanisation happened in the 1880s with the emergence of the electric street car

which meant that rich people could now easily travel between the city and the suburb (Muller 1982).

After this era emerged the early urban-industrial era where clear commuter zones emerged (Bell 1969). As Baldassare (1992: 447) puts it, “In the early twentieth century, commuter rail and limited automobile use allowed for the development of bedroom communities far from the central business district and outside the city limits. Their social composition was predominantly white, family orientated and middle-class.” This conception of bedroom communities basically means that these communities were only used for sleeping as the majority of the time during the day was spent in the central city. This is one critical time in the evolution of suburbs in history. As a result of a variety of technological developments, this era saw the launching of a mass suburbanisation movement, and with it the marketing of the suburban ideal amongst the new middle-class. As Muller (1982: 265) puts it:

With cars permitting far more dispersed residential development; builders began erecting hundreds of identically priced homes on large outlying tracts which virtually guaranteed the emergence of a suburban-wide check board of discrete and self-contained uniform neighbourhoods.

This is the era that saw the extensive selling of the suburban ideal and, as a result, leading to the urban-industrial era where suburbs grew exponentially. In the 1950s and 1960s most of the middle-class bought houses in suburbs and commuted back to the central city for jobs and in this period alone the United States suburbs increased from 35 million to 84 million residents, registering a growth rate of 144 percent (Baldassare 1992). This suburban growth in America was also necessitated by the post-World War Two economic boom (Kolb 2008). The South African economy also did well after the Second World War and this actually led to a significant growth of suburbs in the country. Mabin (2001) argues that before 1948, after a huge influx of immigrants into South Africa from Europe, many poor suburbs were mixed in terms of race and it was only the affluent suburbs that were occupied only by whites. This was in essence a ‘congregation-by-income’ process as it had happened in America during this era (Baldassare 1992). Suburbs during this era assumed the cultural trend of the middle-class and they were clearly distinct residential locations for the elite sections of society. They attained and maintained greater levels of spatial exclusivity. It is worth noting that in South Africa this same period saw the enactment of spatial segregationist laws such as the Group

Areas Act of 1950. This legislation saw creation of structural spatial segregation with white suburbs and black townships (Maylam 1983).

The growth of suburbs in the urban-industrial era led into the metropolitan era, which saw the dominance of suburbs not only in American society but in many cities in the world, more so in the developed world. By the 1970s onwards, residence and employment became increasingly located in suburban areas (Baldassare 1992). This is the era that saw the development of mini-cities in South African suburbs, which basically get formed by an amalgamation of a series of shopping complexes (Mabin 2001).

Commuting to work within the suburb to the central city became more common amongst the ranks of the middle-class, meaning a new era of suburban secession from the entirety of the city. This whole historical development of the suburb basically explains how they evolved as spaces of elite exclusivity. The historical development of Beacon Bay, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, provides confirmation of the manner in which South African suburban development followed an almost similar process with that of America suburbs as described by Baldassare (1992).

2.3 The Exclusionary Character of the American and South African Suburbia

2.3.1 Race and class exclusivity in the American suburbia

The previous discussion demonstrates clearly that race and class exclusivity are at the core of the foundation of the American suburb. In as much as some scholars observe the various structural changes in the contemporary suburb, the conclusion that I can deduce is that there has been no fundamental change in the exclusive race and class formulation of the suburb. The growing presence of poor people beyond the city limits, for instance, has not reduced suburban race and class segregation.

Suburbia in America has and is still reinforcing patterns of segregation and inequality. As Becky Nicolaides (2003: 25) simply puts it:

Although legalistic means that limit such segregation have always passed, developers and homebuyers have continued to find ways to ensure exclusivity in their communities through tools like CC&R (codes, covenants and restrictions), gated communities, anti-tenant zoning, political insulation and tax politics.

It is clearly important to note that despite the various changes, the socio-economic character of the suburbs has not changed fundamentally. The traditional bedroom suburb of the 1950s was the home of young, white, middle-class families but by the 1970s, however, a single suburban type no longer predominated as a variety of suburban types emerged (Fishman 1994). Sharpe and Wallock (1994) attest to this in that in the decades preceding the 1990s suburbs in America became more diverse, at least in appearance, but overall they remained heavily segregated by race and class.

By 1982, for example, Muller discovered that there was still a lot of exclusion of blacks and the poor in most suburbs and that even when they did relocate to suburbs, they usually settled in heavily segregated areas. “Whether for reasons of race, insufficient income or both these populations are widely refused access to the voluntary congregations of mainstream suburbia and are compelled to cluster behind powerful social barriers in the least desirable living environments of the outer city” (Muller 1982: 268).

This was confirmed by findings of Sharp and Wallock who in 1994 argued that the increasing movement of black people out of the cities has not substantially diminished racial segregation in suburbs, particularly between blacks and whites. “Black suburbanisation had followed well-established patterns of segregation ... once a suburb acquires a visible black presence, it tends to attract more blacks than whites, which leads to neighbourhood secession and the emergence of a black enclave” (Sharpe and Wallock 1994: 8).

Black movement studies argue that in the years preceding 1980 there was ‘real’ black people migration into the suburbs of the United States but this has been limited to only middle-class blacks, but still these blacks remain segregated, often by racial secession in the ‘inner ring’ of the aging suburbs, by tokenism in white suburbs and “by living in new suburban developments designated, unofficially, for blacks” (Fava 1975: 20). The conclusion that can be deduced from this is that suburbanisation of blacks did not bring about a reduction in segregation in the suburbs. White middle-class suburbanites in America, therefore, still continue to wall out those that are not like themselves after arriving and this is basically as a result of the fear of race and class mixing, which is the fundamental basis why they chose to stay in suburbs in the first place.

Margaret Marsh (1994) does not entirely disagree with this conception but argues that it must be understood that suburbanites are not the only Americans who exhibit racism, sexism and other negative social beliefs. Marsh (1994) believes that to put the blame of the

matter on suburbanites is being reductionist: “They (Sharpe and Wallock, 1994) are correct in reminding us about the patterns of exclusion within individual suburbs but by placing the problem entirely at the door of suburbanites they miss the fact that it extends beyond the city.”

Sharpe and Wallock (1994) argue on the contrary that upper middle-class suburbanites do not keep their territory segregated because of inherent racism but mainly because of the perception that race and class differences have a negative effect on home ownership and social standing. This form of argument is indeed correct in that racial hatred might not be the motivating factor but the matter is highly as about an identity ascription of what it means to live in a suburb, that white middle-class suburbanites accords to the place. All rejections of other racial and class groups are part and parcel of an extended network of meaning about what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in the middle-class suburban place.

American suburbia has, therefore, historically operated to preserve residential homogeneity and social conformity. Analysing the social and political structure of American suburbia, Scott Greer (1960) pointed out that neighbours in a suburb tend to have similar interests and have similar prerequisites for the ways of life they want to live.

Many scholars, including Fishman and Marsh, later declared an end to this conception of homogeneity by arguing that the recent developments in the suburbs has led to a creation of many suburbs, meaning greater heterogeneity (Wirt 1965; Fishman 1994; Marsh 1994). In other words they state that there is a movement towards heterogeneity in the suburbs as their development into commercial areas has actually led them into transcending the exclusivity they historically possessed. “Analyses of the 1990 census show that, taken on a block-by-block basis, the most integrated areas in many regions can be found not in the central cities but in peripheral areas developed in the 1980s” (Fishman, 1994). Fishman (1994) has proceeded to argue that what he calls the ‘new city’ has actually promoted cosmopolitanism within the suburbs. He equally argues that the malls and supermarkets are places of social interaction amongst people of different social groups within suburbia.

It is indeed true that – as described in the last sections – there are a variety of suburbs that emerged with the urbanising developments in the suburbia but these are not going to the core of changing the deeper socio-cultural belief in the suburbia itself (Pattillo 2005). What can be said now is that there are different types of homogenous suburbs, each mostly belonging to a certain racial, ethnic or economic grouping. Sharpe and Wallock (1994) argue that far from

promoting cosmopolitanism, the culture of consumption in the so called 'new city' merely reinforces the homogeneity it supposedly erodes. Consumer culture is built to conformist standards because it must appeal to many people to achieve commercial success. In its current existence, the mall is a private property masquerading as a public space.

In this policed enclosure, where spending is the only alternative to loitering, the rights of assembly and free speech are not guaranteed as they would be in a city or square ... the mall is a controlled, artificial that screens out undesirable persons (Sharpe and Wallock 1994: 58).

The shopping mall is thus an enterprise entirely dedicated to consumption and the ability to pay is a determiner to entry for those who can afford and a barrier to entry for those who cannot afford. As Becky Nicolaides (2003) puts it, the impulse for homogeneity therefore persists as a residential ethos in suburbia, even in the context of stunning contemporary diversity. When the plan towards creating homogenous suburbs does not succeed for the white middle-class, 'white flight' often takes place and leads to neighbourhood succession and residential segregation.

In America the question of suburban neighbourhood succession and residential segregation is as a result of individual preferences of both white and black middle-class combined with institutionalised discrimination performed by real estate agents, insurers and various appraisers. For an example it is an accepted reality that the black middle-class prefers neighbourhoods that are 50% black and 50 % white while the white middle-class prefers residential areas that are 80 % white (Warner 2006). This might present some picture of integration but the reality is that "by the time the blacks' compositional preferences are met, the black population has exceeded the tolerance levels (or attraction levels) of most whites and the neighbourhood 'tips'" (Pattillo 2005). To achieve integration between black and whites in the suburbs, therefore, would necessitate that one side decisively changes its neighbourhood preferences.

Some scholars believe that class is the actual determining factor of residential segregation and succession (Warner 2006). The belief is that it is because middle-class blacks are not significantly rich as their white counterparts, hence their segregation in the suburb. In terms of this view the richer a black person is the more he or she is likely to stay in an area populated by white people (Warner 2006). Contrary to this belief Denton and Massey (1988) argue that the level of segregation amongst blacks and whites remains the same even amongst people of the same socio-economic, educational and occupational status.

Some scholars established that there is no correlation between the economic status of a black middle-class individual and the idea of staying in a white suburb, but rather it is likely to be those who are more educated who choose to stay in a predominantly white area (Pattillo 2005). Middle-class blacks' feelings and decisions about integration in essence vary as they sometimes profess a taste for it but a longing for the comfort of segregation. Many black middle-class individuals would choose to stay in an area that is having more crime, unemployment and poverty for fear of being discriminated against in an area predominated by whites but also because of the belief that blacks are easy to live amongst (Pattillo 2005). As it relates to the white middle-class, there are a few people who are willing to stay in areas that are dominated by black people. Denton and Massey (1988) concluded that the issue of residential segregation in the United States of America is a matter of race rather than class. Racial prejudices of whites against blacks and certain behaviours associated with them play a significant role in influencing the choice of place that middle-class whites take and the type of neighbours they choose. This equally influences their choices of whether or not to leave the neighbourhood.

Oswald Warner (2006) in his study of *Racial Residential Succession and Racial Residential Segregation in the City of Saginaw, Michigan: 1960 – 2000* established that racial residential succession happens when a black family moves into a white neighbourhood as this disturbs the racial purity. Those few white families who cannot tolerate this decide to move out of the neighbourhood, thus creating spaces for more black families to enter the area. The entrance of this second group of black families into the neighbourhood leads to a departure of those white families who might have been more tolerant than the initial ones who fled. This further opens space for a third group of black families and a departure of the third group of white families. The continuation of this process eventually leads to the most tolerating white families becoming uncomfortable and then leaving the neighbourhood (Warner 2006). The decision of white families to leave the neighbourhood, then, is directly related to the number of black people who are in the neighbourhood. These four stages basically confirm the traditional ecological model of racial residential succession, which contains four basic stages starting with penetration, then invasion, consolidation and, lastly, displacement.

Real estate agents contribute a lot to residential segregation also. In a study of real estate agents operating in Detroit in America, it was established that they viewed themselves as gatekeepers and architects of the neighbourhood character. "In doing so, blacks were either shown less homes than whites, stalled from seeing houses, shown more houses in lower

priced areas or shown houses closer to black areas than white areas. The real estate agents goal was to maintain two separate housing markets; one low priced for blacks and the other high-priced for whites” (Warner 2006: 158).

2.3.2 Race and class exclusivity in the South African suburbia

In a similar manner to America, race and class exclusivity have been the defining features of South Africa ever since their development. They have been operating in the manner described by Fanon (1963) in the extract quoted at the beginning of the chapter. Suburbs in South Africa have always been contrasted with the township (Stainer 1999). The suburbs in the country have been a world of white people and have always been characterised by wealth, tranquillity and prosperity. The township on the other hand have always been characterised by slum conditions, filth and overpopulation (Maylam 1982). In a similar manner to the United States of America, the colonial and apartheid township and suburbs in South African were carefully designed to be areas of “racialisation, segregation and the suppression of social differentiation” (Mabin 2013: 169).

South African racial-residential segregation has been part of the country’s history of racial discrimination and inequalities. The black majority has before 1994 been geographically isolated from the entirety of the urban space and was only made to enter this space to the detriment of the white residents (Christopher 2001). This space was made to be the preserve of the whites and the suburbs were thus reserved only for this race. This type of segregation in the country emerged during the country’s industrialisation period in the 19th century and the segregation era (1910 – 1948) and apartheid era (1948 – 1990) (Mabin et al. 2013; McClinton and Zuberi 2006). Levels of segregation in the country’s urban space were very high during the apartheid years (Christopher 2001).

In the early 1990s the monopoly and credibility of apartheid was extremely weakened but this did not reduce levels of racial residential segregation in the urban areas. Mabin et al. (2013: 170) stated that:

The first significant downward trends in segregation were seen in the 1996 census, indicating that residential segregation levels reached its peak around 1991. Urban segregation levels throughout the country started to decline with White population segregation levels (based on the dissimilarity index) also showing widespread but small reductions. Already, by 2001, it appeared that some of the original (1991) White spaces had undergone considerable racial changes whereas the population

composition of originally Black-African residential areas largely remained unchanged.

In essence the collapse of the system of apartheid brought an end to all formal, “coercive structures through which the racially exclusionary city was engineered” (Schensul and Heller 2011). By 2001 other scholars such as Donaldson (2001) were already arguing that white suburbs have been re-segregated places in the country as many black people started to move into the areas. Another significant contributor to this was the rapid rate of black suburbanisation and the formation of mostly rental security complexes in suburbs. This type of system, in essence, created a market form of segregation which was now highly based on class rather than race (Mabin 2005; Seekings and Nattrass 2005). As will be shown below, this does not necessarily mean that race was totally replaced as a form of segregation within the suburb itself.

Hemanns and Hom (2014), for instance, argue that although racial-residential distribution patterns have changed in South Africa since the end of apartheid, racial-residential segregation still remains a principle spatial organisational characteristic of the present day South African city. The main reason for this is that race in South Africa has a very serious connection with socio-economic conditions and as such this continues to hinder the process of desegregation and integration.

Like the American suburb, the South African suburb is characterised by serious moves to attain spatial exclusivity for the middle-class, and this is how the exclusionary discourse that emerges against the urban poor should be understood. To achieve spatial exclusivity, the South African middle-class first had to ensure that there was a form of “identity ascription that confers a positive group identity to the culturally and/or economically dominant members of society, while simultaneously labelling another as ‘different’ and usually, by definition, inferior” (Saff 2001: 89). Even during apartheid, black squatter settlements and black townships were ‘pathologised’ and were associated with ‘disease, crime and drunkenness’ by the white middle-class and these are the reasons that mainly led to the evolution of legislation such as the Group Areas Act (Maylam 1982). As Saff (2001: 89) argues, “In spatial terms this can take the form of the dominant group exaggerating the virtues of their space while denigrating the space of the ‘other’ and simultaneously preventing them from accessing their own space.”

In South Africa, these exclusionary practices are mainly reflected in areas where an affluent suburb exists side by side with poor informal or formal settlements. These discourses and practices of exclusion should always be studied within the proper economic context in that, whilst they might be about disguised racism, class becomes a determinant matter as whites do not express rejection of black people who have the same economic status (Saff 2001). The reason mostly given for the rejection of squatters and townships near affluent suburbs has always been that they will cause crime, diminish the property values, destroy the character of the neighbourhood, and destroy the environment.

In his research on the white middle-class negative perceptions against squatters and vagrants in Berea in Durban, Richard Ballard (2004) found that there is a general interconnection between the basic notions of exclusion and the defence of privileged position. This factor cannot be entirely attached to the white middle-class alone but to the middle-class across the racial spectrum. Saff (2001) demonstrates that middle-class groups other than whites express a similar rejection of informal settlements and vagrants. The idea of the 'other' being present there basically works against the cultural definitions that the South African middle-class accords the suburban place, hence the need to defend this privileged position. It is further important to understand that by 'defence of privilege' here is meant something beyond the defence of material interests. "Informal settlements impact on more than the bank balance (of the white middle-class): they impact on residents' sense of place therefore on their self-perfection as western, modern, civilised people" (Ballard 2004: 49). The impact of identity thus cannot be separated from that of the defence of material interest. The analysis then should not entirely centre around race and class in motivating the dislike of the urban poor but should focus on how the middle-class, across the racial spectrum, constructs value and how the urban poor is seen to be threatening this value (Ballard 2005).

The motivations and moves towards this exclusionary discourse are more complex than a simple crime, moral, health or property value issue but they are generally about the defence of the socially constructed 'suburban ideal,' which codified the suburban sense of place. All the formulations that constitute the middle-class exclusionary discourse against the urban poor demonstrate clearly that there is an attitudinal convergence amongst the middle-classes across the racial spectrum and this can only be properly explained by referring to the mutuality of interests that privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting 'their' place from the encroachment of those that come from poor backgrounds (Saff 2001).

It is important to note, though, that whilst the South African middle-class can have a common description of the suburbia and thus similar rejection of the urban poor, in a similar manner to America, racial differences amongst this class exist. A study conducted by Andre Horn and Buyisiwe Ngcobo (2003) in Akasia in the city of Tshwane shows that the black middle-class in this suburb has been having difficulties in assimilating into the neighbourhood structurally and institutionally. They found that white residents who had exclusively occupied this area over the years did not quite welcome black presence and, as a result, black assimilation in the area only existed because the South African Constitution provided no option for racial discrimination. They argued that the situation forced both whites and blacks to engage in a condition of tolerance. They state that, “Despite the absence of clear animosity, relations between blacks and whites were at best neutral, impersonal and considerably polarised (Horn and Ngcobo, 2003: 339).

2,4 Understanding the Nature of the South African and American Black Middle-Class

2.4.1 Problems of defining the black middle-class

Before making a comparative analysis of the South African and American black middle-class, it is important that I firstly highlight the varied manner in which the black middle-class has been defined in these countries and generally across the world. Scholars either use the quantitative or qualitative definition of this class, depending on their schools of thought. I have adopted no set definition here and I use both ways of defining the black middle-class interchangeably based on their usefulness in a variety of instances.

Most quantitative definitions usually rely on a variety of variables such as education, income, homeownership and occupation and in most cases these variables are mostly used with each other or independently. Andrew Billingsley (1969) for instance states that in America being black middle-class is a major achievement sustained by education, income, extended families, religion and service to others. Billingsley (1969) made this analysis immediately after the civil rights movement, which was a time that also saw the rapid growth of the black middle-class in the United States. The main reason that led to this form of definition during this time was the obsession with quantifying this class and properly understanding its size and thus its possible influence in American society (Berg and Geyer 2002).

Similarly, in Africa, the definition of this class post-colonialism has been based on the interest to quantify it and this has given popularity to the quantitative definition of this class. In Africa, the quantitative definition of the middle-class has mostly centred on income levels than the other variables. Two definitions of this class are basically found: a relative and an absolute definition. In terms of the African Development Bank (ADB) (2011: 2) the middle-class is in relative terms defined as “individuals or households that fall between the 20th and 80th percentile of the consumption distribution or between 0.75 and 1.25 times median per capita income respectively. Using the absolute approach, the middle class is usually defined as individuals with annual income exceeding \$3,900 in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms or with daily per capita expenditure between \$2 to \$4 and those with daily per capita expenditures between \$6 and \$105.”

Taking account of the manner in which this class has been quantitatively defined in Africa, in South Africa there has also been a serious obsession to understand the quantity and thus the influence of this class post-apartheid. Definitions of this class in South Africa mostly come from the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) or the Statistics South Africa (Statsa) through the census and this is why they are mostly quantitative in nature. In South Africa most quantitative definitions of the middle-class use the Living Standard Measure (LSM) 5 to 7 as a measure of the middle class (Udjo 2008). The LSM is basically a market segmentation tool and it groups people in terms of 29 variables and appliances ranging from the rate of urbanisation to the ownership of a car. In terms of the LSM population is divided into 10 groups, the poorest person being number 1 and the richest being number 10. The black middle-class in South Africa therefore is mostly described as those blacks that are falling within LSM 5 and 7. Due to the absence of a coherent way to describe the black middle-class in South Africa post-apartheid, the derogatory concept of the ‘black diamond’ emerged and gained popularity as the descriptive term of the black middle-class (Radebe 2013). This conception basically describes the black middle-class as a class that is politically connected, debt dependent, sometimes educated and always engaged in conspicuous consumption.

This on its own shows that the quantitative definition of the black middle-class has its own limitations. When speaking about class, for instance, the middle-class assumes a high status as a social group but when speaking about racial identification, blackness represents a low category even till today. This is why it is very important to define the black middle-class qualitatively. Qualitatively the middle-class can be described as those people who have

enough to make ends meet and are still left with something to save or spend on pleasure (Reckanegel 2010). The qualitative definition of the middle-class basically relates to the socio-cultural choices people make in life and the means at their disposal to make these choices. Marry Pattillo-McCoy (1999) combines both the quantitative and qualitative definitions in describing this class in America. She argues that being black middle-class is determined by “ a combination of socio-economic factors (mostly income, occupation and education) and normative judgements (ranging from where people live, to what churches or clubs they belong to, to whether they plant flowers in their gardens” (Pattillo-McCoy (1999:35). This can hold true also in South Africa and this is why there are conceptions such as ‘middle-class lifestyle’.

2.4.2 Evolution and nature of the American black middle-class

When discussing the historical emergence of the black middle-class in America, it is first important to acknowledge the fact that middle-classes generally emerge out of particular socio-economic and historical circumstances. Due to the fact that their history is intrinsically linked to the history of capitalism, their historical conceptualisation is as problematic as that of capitalism itself (Landry and Marsh 2011; Franklin 1957). This is why it is important to analyse middle class emergence through time and space. Rachel Heiman (2012: 13) states that, “Middle Classes and Middle-Class culture are a lived experience or manifestation of particular kinds of socio-economic relations that arise within certain historical and spatial circumstances and are articulated in and through culturally specific parameters of gender, nation, race, caste, ethnicity and empire.”

It is important to understand how the United States of America as a capitalist state has historically contributed to the growth of the middle-class, more particular its formation, management and privileging (Landry and Marsh 2011). Capitalist states do not automatically create middle-classes but rather the adoption of capitalism by any state creates fertile conditions for the emergence and nurturing of the middle-class. Below I will show for instance that the black middle-class emergence in South Africa post-apartheid is as a result of a variety of policies by the democratic government. The rise of middle classes in America has been tied with the plans of the state to open new markets through, for instance, the creation of new forms of labour, promotion of consumption and the creation of a significant base for the defence of capitalism (Heiman, Liechty and Freeman 2012). Capitalists’ states significantly

benefit from the existence of the middle-classes within them and this is why America always promotes the growth of this class.

Amongst the reasons why a capitalist state such as America would continue to ensure the development of this class is because the term now no longer embodies identification by people but it is becoming more associated with aspirations of most populations across the world and it is the programme of America to transmit the 'American Dream' across the world (Hochschild 1995). The essential conception of this is articulated more clearly by Heiman et al. 2012: 19), when they argue that:

As middle classness becomes a more and more emic concept (circulated in vernacular speech and made meaningful in local commercial and state rhetoric), middle-class membership becomes a powerful, life altering goal for many of those poised on its margins, even for those living in states where middle-class boosterism is not a primary ideological tactic.

The American black middle-class emerged not as part of a concerted struggle against racial domination. This class in America emerged in a manner different from its white counterpart, but in the emergence of both the state played a very significant role. The main barrier to the growth of this class was access to opportunities for education and skills development. Public policy worked hand in hand with the economic boom of the 1960s to bring about significant growth in the American black middle-class and the civil rights movement led to barriers to higher education access being removed (Ture and Hamilton 1992). The growth of the black middle-class in America is linked with the Civil Rights movement of the mid 1960s as led by Dr. Martin Luther King. The main objective of this campaign was the eradication of racial discrimination and economic inequalities which resulted in black people being relegated to low paying jobs and to staying in slums (Pattillo 2005).

Before the 1950s, the black middle-class in America amounted to less than 10% of the black population and it was mostly constituted by professionals and businesspeople who catered for the extremely segregated black community (Pattillo 2005). In as much as it was small, this class managed to create certain black middle-class residential areas and these were suburbs that were located between where the black poor lived and the white middle-class lived. These settlements operated as a buffer between these two places, hence the development of the concept 'black belt' referring to these communities in America (Pattillo 2005). The black middle-class, which was constituted by people such as lawyers, teachers, doctors, nurses, insurance salespeople and social workers lived within the 'black belts' and

could not pass through the parks, railroad tracks and other boundaries of segregation in the neighbourhood in America. The working hand in hand of government policy (influenced by the civil rights movement) and the economic boom led to a situation where, by 1980, more than half of the black American population had high school certificates with eight percent having university qualifications (Ture and Hamilton 1992). Here I will later show that the black middle-class in South Africa similarly emerged as a result of a variety of factors, but mainly due to resistance to white domination pre-1994 and being promoted by the state both pre and post 1994.

The nature of the American black middle-class is also important to understand. It is important to realise that culture and cultural identity are very important for class identity and the entire process of class stratification (Bourdieu 1984). In a comparative analysis of the British and American Black middle-class in their paper 'Middle Class by Profession: Class Status and Identification amongst the Black Middle-Classes', (Rollock, et al. 2013) argue that the cultural identity of the American black middle-class is a unique one and as such it should never be simply compared to that of other black middle-classes in other countries.

What makes the American black middle-class cultural identity unique is that it is generated in racially segregated areas and it is centred on the rejection and critique of unfair racial order or white domination (William 1991). The other feature of the American black-middle-class is respectability, which basically speaks unto morality and proper self-presentation. The last cultural feature of this class in America is its inability to exchange one form of capital (economic, social and cultural) for another (Moore 2008). This is mainly as a result of a history of racial discrimination against black people. The review of the South African black middle-class will show a striking similarity with this.

Overall, the dynamic challenge faced by the black middle-class in America is that, because of the fact that blackness in popular culture has always been associated with poor blacks, the black middle-class faces a contradiction of having their blackness being interpreted as inauthentic (Moore 2008). This class-based social interpretation of being black leads to a situation where the black middle-class finds difficulty in performing its black identity in a manner that is socially acceptable by others. This is a similar case in relation to the South Africa black middle-class. For instance, in a research done in Grahamstown on the African middle-class elite and published in 1983, Thomas Nyquist found that amongst the black middle-class, there is a high category which in everyday IsiXhosa is described as

Abaphakamileyo, meaning the ‘high ones’ (Nyquist 1983). This concept is more a negative word used by poor and average IsiXhosa speaking people to describe people who are aloof.

Understanding the dynamic differences between the black middle-class and its white counterpart and the poor blacks also assists in understanding the cultural identity of this class. There is general agreement amongst scholars in America about the marginal nature of the black middle-class in that it still faces racial and other forms of discrimination. The black middle-class lives in less conducive and socio-economically under-developed areas than their white counterparts and they also live close to the urban poor (Marsh et al. 2007). It equally has less wealth to transfer to the other generations of the black middle-class and the nature of its extended family structure also restricts further accumulation of wealth (Ture and Hamilton 1992). At its core the black middle-class experience in America significantly differs from that of the white middle-class. This is equally the case as it relates to the black middle-class in South Africa.

Mary Pattillo (1999) argues that the more appropriate label for the black middle-class is actually “lower middle class.” “The one black doctor who lives in an exclusive white suburb and the few African American lawyers who work at a large firm are not representative of the black middle-class overall (but neither are their experiences identical to those of their white colleagues)” (Pattillo-McCoy 1999: 3). The black middle-class in America is still segregated to the extent that those who can afford to own or rent a house in a predominantly white suburb are mostly chased away by agents who quote prohibitive home costs and exorbitant rents (Karyn 2004). Racial inequalities in wealth, employment, education and income are still significantly inscribed in the urban space in America.

The black middle-class in America stay in ‘contemporary black-belts’ which are basically in between black poverty-stricken areas and white leafy residential suburbs. Black social workers, teachers, nurses and government bureaucrats inhabit these black suburbs and they share schools, shopping complexes, clubs and parks with their poorer neighbours (Pattillo 1999). Sampson and Wilson (1995) found that blacks live in qualitatively different environments than their white counterparts. The worst contexts where whites live are averagely better than where the black middle-class live.

This suggests that black middle-class live in-between these worlds not only physically but also in terms of culture. The concept of ‘code-switching’, where a person speaks differently to different populations has been spoken of by many scholars and it is actually an

indication of this (Durant and Loudon 1986). Some black middle-class Americans use Standard English to white people and other black middle-class residents and vernacular to the black urban poor. "...the practice of code switching", argues Pattillo (1999: 12), "represents the linguistic negotiation of two worlds, just as the black middle-class individuals similarly manoeuvre both their racially marginal and their socioeconomically mainstream statuses in other realms."

Bruce Hayne's (2001) study of Runyon Heights, a middle-class suburb in New York, confirms the ambivalent nature of the American black middle-class cultural outlook. His findings were that the physical distance between the black middle-class with the black poor does not automatically translate into social distance with the urban poor. This is due to the fact that in as much as the black middle-class did manage to escape poverty in poor neighbourhoods, they did not escape racial discrimination.

Black people in this area forged a collective unity which was against discrimination by other whites but this was nonetheless a classed form of unity as it was only limited to fighting against discrimination. Whilst in unity with the working class and the poor in the resistance against discrimination, middle-class blacks equally resisted any political integration plan that would have seen poor blacks vote in their district and they did this because of the fear that their middle-class concerns would be clouded by the needs of the much larger and much poorer black community (Hayne 2001).

The previous discussion on the difference between the black middle-class and its white counterpart is indicative of the dynamic nature of this class. Kesha Moore did an ethnographic study of the black middle-class in America and she established that within this class, as it relates to cultural conduct, there are middle-class minded and multi-class minded people (Moore 2008). These findings were previously discovered by other scholars (see Dalton 1999). These two sub-categories of the black middle-class share similar economic and occupational status and they might stay in the same area but their cultural conduct is very different from one another. The distinction between these two sub-categories of the black middle-class relate to how far they can go in accepting white middle-class ideology (Karyn 2000).

Individuals in the middle-class minded category are mostly second generational middle-class, or coming from middle-class families but they are overall more black middle-class traditionally and their class identity is solidly middle class (Moore 2008). This category

is aware and very accepting of the class and privilege difference between itself and the black poor. They mostly sit and socialise in environments that are mostly populated by the middle-class, be it black or white (Moore 2008).

The multi-class minded category is almost entirely constituted by first generational black middle-class. “They have experienced social mobility within their lifetime and search for a means to maintain and reconcile the class identity formed during childhood and the one they have acquired in adulthood. This experience affords them an *outsider-within* perspective in both low- and middle-income black communities. Diversity and versatility are the esteemed values of individuals with multi-class status” (Moore 2008: 505). Although this category recognises and celebrates their privilege status they nonetheless intentionally work to ensure that a symbolic and personal connection to the black poor is maintained (Karyn 2000).

2.4.3 Evolution and nature of the South African black middle-class

Most research about the South African black middle-class has been done by economists and has been mostly focused on assessing the consumption patterns of this class rather than its socio-cultural outlook (see for instance Nieftagodien and Van Der Berg 2007). The study of the everyday lived experiences of this class has, therefore, been neglected and this is why I feel it is socially significant to study the black middle-class in South Africa from this angle, especially considering the fact that this is a forever changing and dynamic class in the post-apartheid South Africa. It is important nonetheless to outline the ways in which the black middle-class has been studied in South Africa and how its historical development has been understood.

The black middle-class in South Africa emerged around the mid-19th century in mission stations and it was basically constituted by mission assistants and artisans who received European education in the mission schools (Gregor 1990; Wright 1991). These groups developed into merchants and traders and by the end of the century they were already sending their children for university education in a variety of European countries. This is the class that constituted the early black middle-class in South Africa but, as the century grew to a close, this class saw their aspirations being blocked by the system of racial segregation (Wright 1991).

South Africa basically underwent a period of settler-colonialism and apartheid capitalism, which skewered the socio-economic structure towards the white population of the

country. Although class can be viewed as the determinant feature of this system of oppression and segregation, race remains the dominant one. The system of oppression was focused on the exploitation and oppression of black people and, as a result, it significantly limited the development of the black middle-class in the country. This was due to the fact that this class was viewed as competition to white accumulation and it also expressed the political demands of equality and inclusion into the system of exploitation (Jordan 1997). The capital accumulation of this class was denied by a variety of restrictive legislation as well as lack of education and training together with job reservation and access to loans (Gregor 1990).

African capitalism was structured along the lines of separate development and this was in accordance with the apartheid policy that African political and economic development was to be confined to homelands and there would be severe restrictions to the development of it in the urban areas (Southall 2003). The separation of races before the democratic dispensation in South Africa basically meant that there were different growth trajectories for the various middle-classes within the black population. There was an identifiable difference between the African, Indian and Coloured middle-class and this was due to the fact that even though all these racial groups were racially oppressed they received differential oppression (Mattes, 2002). For instance, there was a development of an Indian merchant middle-class in the old Natal, the now Kwa-Zulu Natal, and this was a bit more developed than the African trading middle-class. The reality of the black middle-class never meant the elimination of tensions amongst the different racial segments that constitute it. What is more obvious is that the education system in South Africa and the nature of preferential employment of whites, together with a variety of other discriminatory practices, led to a situation where the division between the black and the white middle class was much more severe.

Southall (2004) argues that analysis of the history of the black middle-class in South African has mostly been based on the Neo-Marxist and Neo-Weberian traditions. The Neo-Marxists approach has been basically focused on determining the social relations of the black middle-class with other classes in society and its political orientation towards the defeat of apartheid whilst, on the other hand, the Neo-Weberian approach views the development of the black middle-class “as simultaneously an instrument and outcome of the modernization and growth of the economy” (Southall 2004: 3). Due to the fact this study is interested in the social relations amongst classes, I will dwell on the Neo-Marxist tradition below.

There have been two main approaches amongst neo-Marxist theorists in their view of the black middle-class. The first approach reflects the theory of Colonialism of a Special Type (CST) and argues that South Africa is a class society characterised by capitalism but the nature of its colonialism basically meant that the class exploitation of Africans in particular and of blacks in general cannot be separated from national oppression (Southall, 2004). This meant that the black middle-class in this instance was more closely linked to the black working class than its class counterpart along the racial divide.

The second approach developed approximately post 1970s and it argued that the African middle-class was highly supported by the apartheid state and the system of capitalism as some restrictions were even lifted on them. Some major developments in this arena included the establishment of a Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), the devolution of the right to initiate trade sites for Africans to local black municipalities, the introduction from 1984 of free trade zones in white business areas and the introduction of freehold rights for Africans in urban areas (Worden 2011). These policy developments led to the development of a section of the African middle-class that was very collaborationist with the apartheid government. Post-1976 the apartheid government basically sought to develop a black middle-class in the urban areas which would operate as a buffer between the black poor masses and the whites (Worden 2011). This whole dynamic tells us more about the stratification of the black middle-class during apartheid rule.

Blade Nzimande (1990) identified four distinct fractions of the black middle-class and these are the Bureaucratic Petty Bourgeoisie, the Trading Petty African Bourgeoisie, the Civil Petty Bourgeoisie and the Corporate Petty Bourgeoisie. The Bureaucratic Petty Bourgeoisie was basically constituted by Bantustan leaders, local councillors and kings who were mostly handpicked by the apartheid state. The Trading Petty African Bourgeoisie was constituted by traders in the Bantustans and traders in the urban areas, which were directly linked to the Bureaucratic Petty Bourgeoisie. The Civil Petty Bourgeoisie was constituted by employees of the apartheid state and the Bantustans. This was the largest stratum and it was composed of nurses, teachers and clerks (Nzimande 1990). This stratum shared many conditions with the working class; hence most of them actively participated in the liberation struggle. The Corporate Petty Bourgeoisie emerged post the 1970s and it was a result of capitalism's entrenchment in the country through the discourse of the free market system. This class was seriously frustrated by white managerial racism and limited opportunities for black upward

mobility in the workplace and this led this class to be closer to the liberation struggle (Nzimande 1990).

Post 1994 the black middle-class in South Africa has grown significantly. Various studies have sought to understand and analyse the meaning of this growth (see Rivero et al. 2003; Schlemmer 2005; Udjo 2008; Van der Berg 2010). This growth has been brought about by a variety of social, political and economic changes happening both domestically and internationally. The ANC assumed office in 1994, just a few years after the collapse of the Soviet Union and in an international environment that was characterised by capitalism. It assumed office, then, within a context of a liberal democratic framework and this system left multinational and 'white national' capital significantly in charge of the economy. Despite its drive to deliver to the poor, its primary task had to be the consolidation of its hold over the state, the transformation of the economy and various other societal institutions. This programme was basically pursued through affirmative action policies and the black economic empowerment (BEE) programme. Taking a look at the four fractions of the black middle-class that Nzimande (1990) identified in colonial and apartheid South Africa in the post 1994 dispensation helps understand better the dynamic growth of the black middle-class post-apartheid.

There has been a significant quantitative and qualitative growth in all the fractions of the African middle-class as identified by Nzimande (1990). The dissolution of homelands, the restructuring of government and the entire civil service to a more representative one has led to some commonalities between what Nzimande (1990) terms the *Bureaucratic Petty Bourgeoisie* and the *Civil Petty Bourgeoisie* post-1994. This leads Southall (2004) to call this fraction the *State Managers* and the *Civil Petty Bourgeoisie*. The *State Managers'* category is basically constituted by the president, premiers, members of cabinet and provincial government and senior civil servants and a variety of other key policy decision makers in government and the majority of this group is characterised by loyalty to the ruling African National Congress (ANC).

The *Black Civil Petty Bourgeoisie* on the other hand is constituted by those working in service occupations and white-collar employment and this group is much larger. Africans and coloureds have been deliberate beneficiaries of the process of state restructuring and this has been done through the *1995 White Paper on Public Service* and the *Employment Equity Act of 1998*. Whilst the ideological outlook of the *Black Civil Petty Bourgeoisie* has been

sympathetic to the poor, its self-interests appear to be significantly widening the gap between the black middle-class and the poor. Its alliance with the working class and the poor during apartheid does not seem to be translating into such a role post-apartheid.

As it relates to the *Black Trading Petit-Bourgeoisie*, there have been serious continuities and discontinuities with the pre-1994 dispensation (Southall 2004). Whilst the collapse of the Bantustans and the discontinuation of the rule of apartheid handpicked black urban local councillors led to a more integrated small and medium business sector, African business remains under-developed. This is compounded by the lack of experience, skills, business traditions and capital amongst Africans.

There has been a lot of growth in the *Corporate Black Bourgeoisie* post-apartheid and this has been the result of the *Employment Equity Act 1998*, which required that employers submit employment equity reports, their employment demographics and their plans to achieve greater representation in the workplace. It has also been as a result of the *Promotion of Equality and the Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000* which restricts a variety of discriminatory practices by all institutions, including companies. This class is basically what Randall (2003) called 'corporate sophisticates' and, due to lack of skills, this fraction usually occupies 'soft' positions, such as marketing, personnel and public relations.

Beyond all these fractions of the black middle-class, there has been a development of a black elite class, which significantly occupy directorships on a variety of large companies. This elite class of Africans has grown as a result of the *Black Economic Empowerment (BEE)* policy and by 2000 it indirectly owned 22 % of shares in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) (SAIRR 2003). This fraction is basically what some scholars in South Africa have called 'Activists Capitalists' or 'Comrades in Business' (See Randall 2003 and Adam, Van Zyl Slabbert and Moodley 1997). Also amongst this group are what Randall (2003) called, 'Educated Exiles.'

This black economic ownership class has been concentrated, however, in a few individuals who are highly connected to the ANC such as Patrice Motsepe, Tokyo Sexwale and Cyril Ramaphosa. This has led to a variety of criticism of BEE policies by many, including the ANC aligned Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

All of these developments sit side by side with high unemployment rates amongst the black population. Since 1994 most sectors such as mining, electricity and trade have seen a reduction in employment rates and it is only the public and finance sectors that have seen an increase in employment (Rivero et al. 2003). The decrease in the mining sector, for example, mostly affects black workers. "... the fact that there has been an increase in job-creation in the public and finance sectors implies that qualified blacks occupy highly remunerated positions, whereas their less-skilled counterparts are facing unemployment" (Rivero et al. 2003). This is what basically produces inequalities amongst the black population, leading to the black middle-class staying in leafy suburbs whilst the black poor continue to stay in overcrowded townships and informal settlements.

2.5 Conclusion

In contributing to the answering of the question of 'how has the assimilation of the black middle-class into suburban life post-apartheid contributed to integration or desegregation in the suburb', I have here made a comparative analysis of the American and South African suburbs and the black middle-class. I argued that the 'suburban ideal' was a combination of cultural forms designed by a particular class to serve its own needs, pleasures and interests as a group. The comparison between these two countries shows that the change in colour of these suburbs has not changed the essential foundations that suburbs were built upon.

I have showed that historically the evolution of the suburb in these two countries with its deep rooted ideological discourse of middle-class exclusivity has not been about hatred of the urban poor necessarily but about an identity ascription of what it means to live in a suburb. All the articulations brought forth by the middle-class in its attempt to reject the urban poor are part and parcel of an extended network of meaning about what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in the suburban place.

I have shown that the development of the black middle-class in America and South Africa has always been a deliberate development of many factors but more particularly the capitalist state. Because blackness is always associated with the poor, the black middle-class faces a problem of their authenticity as blacks being in question. This class-based social interpretation of being black leads to a situation where the black middle-class finds difficulty in performing its black identity in a manner that is socially acceptable by others.

I have shown that there exist a variety of differences and divisions between the black middle-class and the white middle-class. Neighbourhood residential succession in the suburbs appears to be a significant proof that the white middle-class has not yet accepted the presence of black people in these suburbs. I have shown how formerly white suburbs such as Cambridge in East London can turn into black suburbs through this process of penetration, invasion, consolidation and conquering by the black middle-class. I also shown that there exists a variety of differences within the black middle-class itself, particularly between the middle-class minded and the multi-class minded black middle class. The middle-class minded, which are mostly second generational middle-class, find it easy to blend in formerly white suburbs as they have adopted the norms and values over the years. The multi-class minded black middle-class which is constituted by mostly first generational black middle-class has a better connection with the black poor.

I concluded the chapter by outlining the manner in which the black middle-class has been studied in South Africa both pre- and post-1994. The unfortunate reality is that social-scientists have barely studied this class and they have left it to be studied only by economists and market researchers. I lastly outlined the various strands of this class which can be found pre- and post-apartheid. Using this history I outlined how the black middle-class in South Africa provides a sound platform for us to understand the dynamic relationship between social structure and identity.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter I detail the research methodology used in this study. I firstly make a case for the study by properly outlining its social significance within urban studies in South Africa. I make a case that the starting point if we are to achieve integration is the proper understanding of the nature and character of post-apartheid urbanism. In the case of this study, the suburban dynamism created by the process of desegregation in the new South Africa is very important to understand. This study is socially significant as it assists us in ensuring a proper understanding of the dynamics of post-apartheid suburbia and thus helps in the process of integration in the suburb.

After this, I justify the use of the ethnographic method and make an argument that studying the nature of integration in a suburb requires an in-depth study and analysis of the social and cultural contexts in these neighbourhoods. This implies that the best method to use when undertaking a study of social meaning is an ethnographic method. The use of this method here assisted a lot in understanding the social meanings that suburban residents attach to living in a suburb and how these influence their view on integration in the suburb.

I then proceed to explain the design of the research and the research experience. The ethnographic method is essentially reliant on fieldwork and in-depth interviewing and this is usually done within a single community. This is why my study was based only on the Beacon Bay suburb. In this part of the chapter, I thus detail my research experience in Beacon Bay and explain the manner in which the community treated me as a researcher. Like any form of research limitations do exist even in this one and, as such, I also detail all the limitations that I have encountered during the research process and those that are already presented by the use of the ethnographic method. Following this section, I then explain the manner in which I have been considerate of a variety of ethical questions related to the use of the ethnographic method. Ethical considerations are important for any study, but it is equally difficult to conclude them until you are in the field. In this light I ensured that I took careful note of things that might not be in line with the ethical codes guiding social research.

I conclude the chapter by explaining the manner in which the material was interpreted to make coherent findings. It is important to note that interpretation rather than analysis is

favoured in this dissertation. Analytical approaches tend to transform the material quantitatively whilst interpretive approaches try to understand meaning and context in the material (Kvale 1996). In this light I ensured that I fell within the interpretive tradition in order to understand a variety of issues such as the meaning-making nature of language.

3.2 Social Significance of the Research and the Research Problem

In order to achieve urban integration, it is first important to understand the nature and form of the post-apartheid urban experience. The agenda of urban researchers should be to understand the type of new communities that have since emerged after apartheid and how social identities and economic possibilities have been reshaped. So the central objective of this study was to understand how new social groups and communities have emerged and how they function in the post-apartheid city and how these are further socially and economically integrated into wider South African society.

There continues to be challenges as it relates to urban integration in South Africa (see Huchzermeyer 2003; Ballard 2004; Ballard 2005; Mabin 2004). South African cities such as East London continue to reflect the structural inequalities and distinctions of apartheid and the spatial framework envisaged by the notorious Population Registrations Act of 1950 and the Group Area Act of 1955. Former white suburbs such as Beacon Bay, where the research was undertaken, are important areas to conduct critical studies that explore the ‘right to the city’ (Lefebvre 1996). The Population Registrations Act of 1950 made the classification of the population into different racial groups compulsory and the criterion was based on physical appearance and social acceptability (Christopher 1994: 103). This legislation led to the population being officially divided into Black, White, Coloured and Indian. The Group Areas Act aim was to effect the total urban spatial segregation of the various groups defined under the Population Registration Act (Christopher 1994: 105). It is through this act that areas such as Beacon Bay were made to be exclusively white middle-class suburbs whilst black people stayed in exclusively black working-class suburbs known as ‘townships’ (i.e. Mdantsane), with the coloured people staying in exclusively coloured working-class suburbs.

The eradication of these structural factors of apartheid has been firmly on the agenda of most urban sociologists, anthropologists, economists, development planners, and many other actors ever since the dawn of apartheid (Gorgens 2010: 1). The urbanisation without growth in developing economies that Davis (2006) and Harvey (2010) refer to is further salt to this

historical wound. What we are witnessing is that inequalities caused by apartheid still appear but they are becoming de-racialised. So it is important, as I aim to ponder here, to investigate the effects of the assimilation of the growing black middle-class into formerly white suburbs. The discourses of exclusion against the black middle-class in the suburbs and against the urban poor serve as a deterrent to the nation building programme that South Africa has been embarking on since the end of apartheid.

The enactment of the many apartheid laws led to structural and socio-spatial stratification in South Africa and it thus created a clear buffer between black and coloured residential areas and those of white people. Despite efforts to change this reality through planning, there has been no accurate response due to the fact that the political imperative for service delivery have fractured and masked many questions about the proper distribution and use of urban space and land so as to achieve better integration in the city (Gorgens 2010: 3; Bank 2010). Seventeen years into democracy it is very significant to understand why the exclusionary discourses (mostly described as racial) uncovered by many South African scholars such as Maylam (1983), Christopher (1994), Mabin (2001), Huchzermeyer (2007), Ballard (2004 and 2005) and many others is still persistent. It is further significant to understand the dynamic nature of its occurrence in the post-apartheid suburb. The creation of a dialogue in the urban space, through this type of research and other works is very important if we are to influence the consciousness of people towards urban desegregation and general societal integration. Despite the reality that inequalities are still going to persist in South Africa, the task of social scientists and policy makers should always try to influence the consciousness of the various people occupying the urban space. Spatial planning alone without consciousness development is futile if we are to move towards urban desegregation, because the clear case is that inequalities within the post-apartheid city are still persistent. The objective here is to raising consciousness around the issues that create a buffer between middle-class suburbanites and the urban poor in South Africa.

The research problem is that previous research into discourses of exclusion in the post-apartheid suburb have largely focused on the views and perceptions of the white middle-class and the focus of scholars has therefore been mostly on race (see Ballard 2004 and 2005; Mabin 2001, Saff 2001). It is also important to research further the various discourses of exclusion in the post-apartheid South Africa in the context of the growing presence of the black middle-class in the suburbs. Understanding of the nature and extent of the discourses of exclusion after the assimilation of blacks in suburbs is very important if we are to attain

any form of desegregation on the urban fringe. Understanding of these discourses will go a long way in assisting public policy makers and urban planners in creating policies that could better integrate the post-apartheid city, particularly the suburb because there are few suburbs that exist without an informal settlement or poor township adjacent to them in South Africa considering the growth of informal settlements. The clear reality is that the structural factors that negatively affect urban integration in the suburb remain intact but the consciousness of the people inhabiting the post-apartheid suburb can nonetheless be influenced.

3.3 Justification for the use of the Ethnographic Method

In this research I used the ethnographic method as a form of collecting data on the nature of the relations between black and white suburbanites in Beacon Bay and their attitudes towards the urban poor. The ethnographic method is a form of qualitative research and it differs from a quantitative research method as it is an intensive form of research and analysis rather than an extensive one. Quantitative researchers are interested in gathering data from a large number of participants and further using statistical methods to analyse such data. Ethnographers, on the other hand, are concerned about the behaviours, social interactions and perceptions of individuals, communities or groups in society (Ellen 1984). They usually gather a lot of fieldwork data from a small number of participants and this is why their research is more intensive.

In this research I have thus used in-depth interviewing and participant observation in Beacon Bay as these are the methods that ethnographers use to collect data. It should be noted that I did not utilise ethnography in this study for its own sake but I used it with the understanding that, as Sies (1991) puts it, it is the most suitable field research method when one wants to understand meanings and essential qualities of social and cultural contexts in a suburb. As John Brewer (2000) puts it, ethnography is not a particular method of data collection but a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives and my objective here was to understand the social meanings and activities that suburbanites in general and the black middle-class in particular attach to living in the suburb, to understand their relations with the white suburbanites in the suburb and what attitudes they have towards the urban poor.

Ethnographic research is concerned with the relevance of the research findings and this is opposed to quantitative research which is always concerned about internal and external

validity and reliability (Kvale 1996). Many of the outcomes of an ethnographic research concern particular events and situations in certain places and this is why the primary emphasis is always on substantive relevance. Relevance for ethnographers concerns two aspects: the importance of the topic to a substantive field and its contribution to the literature on the subject (Ellen 1984). 'Relevance' here is not meant relevance to practitioners and policy makers and this is why ethnographers are not always concerned about how their findings are being applied to solve problems in prescriptive terms. The relevance of this research should, rather, never be assessed on how it prescriptively assists government or the private sector in creating integration in Beacon Bay. It is a contribution to our understanding of the nature and character of the post-apartheid suburban experience.

This is why, during the research, my focus was on the process as opposed to obsession with the product and how it can be relevant to this or that institution. In this entire process I was guided by two questions: What kind of fieldwork strategies could encourage participants to properly reflect on their life circumstances and their views on the discourses of exclusion? How can I then attain information on the relationship between black affluence, suburban residence and identity construction, particularly in the light of the discourses of exclusion against the urban poor, which were long ago identified in white South Africans (Ballard, 2004; Ballard 2005; Saff 2001).

3.4 Research Design and Experience

Like any form of research, ethnographic research requires a properly worked out and detailed research design which will guide the process of the research. The design of the research project is informed by the research question that the study seeks to answer (Mouton 2001). Every research project must have a general question that it tries to address and this question basically speaks to the methodology to be utilised and also goes some way to clarify the objectives of the research. The primary question I wanted to address in this dissertation was how the assimilation of the black middle-class into suburban life post-apartheid has contributed to integration within the suburb and between itself and the poor township adjacent to it. The secondary question related to how the encroachment of the poor on the rich in suburbia has changed attitudes and orientations in suburbia and how the existence of the poor township on the fringe of the suburb has changed attitudes and orientations there. The study was interested in the way different people living in this space of Beacon Bay

interact with one another. My study was interested not only in attitudes and discourses, but also in the way people relate to one another in social action and practice.

The two previous questions asked carry with them underlying questions such as: What has been the experience of the black middle-class in the suburb and what has been the white middle-class's reception of this class in the suburb? How do views and perceptions of black middle-class suburbanites differ from those of their white counterparts in how they relate with the urban poor? Both these questions basically seek to probe generally the role played by black middle-class assimilation into a formerly white suburb such as Beacon Bay. These are basically the questions that guided me in choosing the ethnographic method and they further informed the design of the study.

The ethnographic method is reliant in fieldwork and this is usually carried out within a single community and the intention is always to study this community with an assumption that the findings generated can be linked to other like structured societies (Ellen 1984). In trying to answer the main research question, therefore, I had to find a study site that was relevant and suitable for the type of topic I wanted to explore. This is why I chose Beacon Bay as a field site. As chapter three will show, this is an affluent suburb that has historically been a preserve of the white middle-class in East London. Recently the suburb has become diverse as black people who can afford to do so are opting to stay in this area. A township, Nompumelelo Township, is located very close to Beacon Bay. As a matter of fact, the two areas are separated only by the N2 Freeway. This provided suitable conditions for me to conduct appropriate fieldwork in this area.

One of the key features of an ethnographic enquiry is basically recording of 'speech in action,' which is why participant observation is central for any ethnographic inquiry (Pospisil 1979). I did a lot of participant observation research in the area for about seven months from July 2012 to June 2013 and I did this so that I could be able to observe the manner in which suburban cultural practices and values lead to exclusionary attitudes against the urban poor. During this period, I shopped in the area, visited their bars, particularly Mr Hayden's Bar at the Beacon Bay Hub. I also participated in meetings of the Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association, attended meetings of the Ward Committee and of the Sector Policing Forum. I attended these meetings with the intention of generating data through watching and listening to what suburbanites naturally do and say, but equally to add the aspect of personally experiencing what suburbanites experience in their everyday lives (Brewer 2000). This way I

was also able to see how the Beacon Bay suburbanites speak to each other in real-time practice. I was able to understand better how to enter those discussions as these are the foundations of getting cultural knowledge, interpretation and meaning (Sanjek 1991).

A large part of the research was based on in-depth interviews and I undertook these because interviews operate well in the collection of verbal accounts of behaviour, meanings, attitudes and feelings that are sometimes never directly observed (Brewer 2000). I garnered most of the information in the research through qualitative interviewing of 39 residents of Beacon Bay and Nompumelelo Township and I further interviewed three property agents operating in the area, two companies operating close to Beacon Bay, two councillors and the Deputy Principal of the Beaconhurst High School. I used an interview guide as this assisted in getting data about meanings, attitudes and feelings. **Appendix A** shows the interview guide that was used during the semi-structured interviews with the residents and **Appendix B** shows the interview guides used for the interviews with councillors, the Deputy Principal, the property agencies and the two companies. The time for the in-depth interviews with residents ranged from 40 minutes to one hour 30 minutes.

There is no set formula for determining the number of people to be interviewed and how this is to be located. Quantitative researchers believe that a larger sample allows for a better generalisation of the research results (Baker 1988). The interest in an ethnographic study, however, is not about the number of people interviewed but how in-depth the interviews are. The notion of ‘saturation point’ or ‘diminishing returns’ are useful for an ethnographic study since they emphasise the point where you feel that there is a decreasing amount of new discourse emerging out of the interviews being conducted (Alasuutari 1995). This is why I ended up interviewing 39 residents and doing eight other interviews with the property agencies, councillors, companies and the school Deputy Principal.

In order for me to get the 39 residents interviewed, I used what some researchers call ‘snowball sampling’ (Newman 1994). I also used random mail drops. See **Appendix C** for a sample of the mail drops that I left in the respective houses where I conducted the interviews. Out of the 39 people interviewed, 26 were suburbanites and I got about 11 suburbanites through the snowballing sampling process. I would go to a Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association meeting or a Ward meeting and ask for a slot for me to explain my research and then ask for people who would be willing to volunteer for the interviews. I got people this way and then when I interviewed these ones I would ask if they were able to refer me to other

people who would be willing to be interviewed and I got six suburbanites through these referrals. This made 17 in-depth interviews done through this way. The rest of the interviewees in the suburb, which were nine, I got from random mail drops. I would leave requests for interviews in the mail boxes of various houses and I left a total of 50 letters in different houses and I got nine people who responded. The decision of which houses to leave a mail was taken after I did my field mapping process. This made me aware of the nature of the suburb and therefore randomly select addresses in the entirety of Beacon Bay. I therefore distributed the letters across the suburb in a fair manner. What I did not have control over was who responded to the mails as some people responded and others did not.

What appeared interesting for me was that about seven of the people who responded to mail drops were black suburbanites and there were only two white suburbanites who responded to the mails. In addition to these, most of the black people who responded were those staying in the suburban black-belt. I think this is because white and black suburbanites staying in the affluent areas of Beacon Bay are very security conscious and they are very suspicious of any potential criminal activity. One white suburbanite that responded to the mail-drop for instance advised me to get a letter from the Beacon Bay Police Station and attach this with every mail-drop if I wanted a positive response from other people in the area.

Most of the white suburbanites that I interviewed I got at the Ratepayers Association meetings and the Sector Policing Forum meetings. I think that they were comfortable to assist me when I was introduced to the meeting by the chairperson of the Ratepayers Association, Mrs Judy Sanan, or the member of the Beacon Bay Sector Policing Forum, Mr Rassie Erasmus.

The urban poor residents that I interviewed from Nompumelelo I got through field assistants in the area. I asked the councillor of the area, Mr Melikhaya Bopi, to allow me to attend one of their ward committee meetings. From this meeting, I enlisted two ladies who ended up working as my field assistants in Nompumelelo. They represented the two different informal settlements in Nompumelelo and they agreed to help me if I was willing to assist them by writing letters to the municipality on their behalf. So we worked on this understanding and I assisted them and I even accompanied them in their march to the Buffalo City Municipality and this led to me being arrested for a day with them. See **Appendix D** for a news story from the *Daily Dispatch* about the arrests of the protesters together with myself.

From this time, I maintained a good relationship with them and they continued to assist me in my research.

All the other people interviewed, such as representatives from property agencies, councillors, companies operating close to the area and the Beaconsfield Deputy Principal, I obtained their contacts from the telephone directory or through the internet. I would get a number and then arrange the interview date and time.

During this process of participant observation by walking throughout the suburb and the township, attending a variety of community meetings, interviewing people and participating in protests, I was able to build rapport with the people of the community. Building rapport and gaining the trust of community is a fundamental pillar in any ethnographic inquiry (Sanjek 1990). I believe that to a greater degree the people of the area ended up trusting me as a researcher and as time proceeded they stopped asking me for a letter from my supervisor and permission to do the study from the local police. Attaining the trust of the people of the community was not easy though and I had to be a regular in many of the popular spots in the area and that was on top of attending a variety of meetings. Even though I informed them that the study might not be intended for such, some believed that the study would give a step by step guide as to how to resolve their problems and their assistance was influenced by this belief.

3.5 Research Limitations

It should be stated that this study is not without any limitations and it would be wrong for me to boast that this study is without any imperfections. One of the limitations of this study was due to time and budgetary constraints. My initial intention was to do a study that would cover all the affluent suburbs in East London that have township settlements close to them. Because I did not have dedicated funding for the study, I was only able to study the Beacon Bay and Nompumelelo area. So the study cannot account for the overall behaviour of suburbanites in East London but it has at least tried to capture the behaviour of both the black and white middle-class in Beacon Bay and the urban poor in Nompumelelo. This is a broad limitation and further ethnographic research into East London particularly and South African suburbs generally ought to be undertaken.

The interview method and the participant observation method have their limitations and a researcher ought to be mindful of these before getting into the field. One limitation is that

identified by Taylor and Bogdan (1998) when they stated that people do not have a similar ability of giving a detailed account of their beliefs and how they feel. Some residents gave proper and adequate information whilst others gave less. Another limitation of the interview is that sometimes interviewees can decide to organise themselves and frame their answers for the perceived benefit of the interviewer. I averted this problem by ensuring that I explained to people the nature of the study and that there is no predetermined outcome for the study. Even though I did this, some people still tried to give me responses and comments that they perceived would assist whatever outcome I wanted to get. So in the process I was, on the one hand, battling in trying to ask the questions in order to get to the deeper beliefs and social meanings of people in the area and, on the other hand, I had to contain them from giving me information that was not true and was only meant to satisfy me.

The other major limitation that I got with the interviews is that most people always tried to be politically correct. White residents interviewed would, for example, not speak freely about race to the extent that sometimes they would want to deny its existence and I believe that this was mainly because the researcher was black and they did not want to appear to be discriminatory. Black suburbanites, however, spoke freely about race and I believe that they sometimes spoke in a way that they would have never done if the person doing the interviews was white. Race and social background, therefore, was equally important in influencing the manner in which the interviews were conducted. Because of this fact, I always had backup questions or ways of asking the same question differently and at different times so that I could get the true feelings of the informants.

Participation observation also has its own limitations. A major limitation about it is that when people know that they are observed they sometimes tend to adjust their behaviour since there is a new person involved now. In all the meetings that I attended of the Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association, the Sector Policing Forum, the Ward Committee and meetings of Nompumelelo residents preparing for the protest and, ultimately, the protest, I ensured that I tried to blend in with the people and I tried to make them comfortable with me as a person who was also concerned about their issues. This is actually the point where the question of self-reflexivity becomes important.

The question of self-reflexivity is important in an ethnographic study as it is a way in which one can monitor his or her objectivity during the research process. Whilst doing fieldwork, I ensured that I maintained a balance between the 'insider' and 'outsider' status. I

tried to get close to the people under study, but I ensured that I equally maintained a careful distance which allowed adequate observation and data collection (Brewer 2001). It should be noted though that studies that relate to culture are very far from being objective, particularly when aspects such as class, race and gender are considered (Freidenberg 1998). In order to mitigate this, I recorded notes in my personal diary and sometimes my phone and after each day I would compare these with the field notes taken. These assisted me in identifying my biases and presumptions and I thus ensured that I properly regulated these. Self-reflexivity assisted in that even the reader of the final research report will be able to assess the fieldwork as an interactive process (Freidenberg 1998).

3.6 Ethical Considerations

A careful consideration of the ethical implications of ethnographic research underpinned this project. It should be stated, though, that due to the fact that ethics are so embedded in the specific contexts during the research process, it was difficult for me to consider ethical decisions until I was actually in the field (see Pink 2001). In doing the research I ensured that I was guided by the various ethical codes guiding proper research conduct in Africa and I also ensured that I did not violate any person's integrity or threaten his/her conscious potential (ASA, 2005). As an underlying ethical matter, I ensured that I conducted my fieldwork with the informants rather than on them (Freidenberg 1998). I also went through the ethical clearance process of the University of Fort Hare. I ensured that there was informed consent and confidentiality for the interviewees. Before I did any interview, I would give a person a letter from my supervisor which explained the study background and introduced me as a researcher. After this I would give them the Informed Consent Form that the Ethics Committee of the University of Fort Hare requires people to use during the fieldwork process.

The dilemma that I faced ethically is that in my ethical clearance application, I indicated that I would be interviewing only adult individuals. When I interviewed the Deputy Principal of Beaconhurst on questions of integration in the school, he requested that I also interview a few of the pupils so that I could get the experience of what he was telling me about. Because I had not indicated this in my ethical clearance application, I had to take a decision to not interview some of the children but I requested that he allow me to just have a walk around the school and enter in some of the classes so that I could just observe the children. Interviewing

these pupils would have been very valuable for this project but I had to operate within what I had defined to the Ethics Committee of the university.

3.7 Interpretation of Material

All the interviews that were done were recorded and transcribed, but to make the process of interpretation easier I wrote research stories for each of the interviews done. The interview stories were mostly divided into four sections, one on the background and conditions before arrival in the area, conditions after arrival, relations with fellow white or black suburbanites and relations with the urban poor (see **Appendix D** for an example of research stories for the black middle-class, white middle-class and the urban poor).

The writing of these stories allowed me to categorised information easily for interpretation. Even within the four sections that the stories were divided into there were other common themes that emerged. This allowed me to at least follow the various steps defined by Creswell (1994: 155) in that it allowed me firstly to have a proper reading of the transcripts and the underlying meaning of what was said in them. It also allowed me to abbreviate and develop proper descriptive wording for the various emerging themes easily. This whole process allowed me to develop this present dissertation in which the study objectives and key concepts emerging out of the research were well connected.

It must be noted that a difference exists between analysis and interpretation. Whilst the two are not mutually exclusive, they have a variety of differences and the main difference is that analytical approaches tend to transform the material quantitatively and are based on how many people said the same thing (Wolcott 1994). I by all means tried to ensure that I did not use this approach in analysing the data that emerged from the interviews done with residents and the various officials. I maintained this resoluteness even in how I treated the material that emerged from the participant observation in the various meetings I attended and in the various bars and restaurants I visited.

An interpretative approach, which was the one used in this study, is concerned with issues of meaning and context (Wolcott 1994). The idea here is not to report material ‘as one’ by emphasising things that are similar and recognising divergent views (Kvale 1996). As Ballard 2002 puts it:

The objective of the interpretation is to critically examine the samples of discourse compiled in the corpus not what facts it is telling us, but for what it is telling us about

the speaker's worldview through the way they have chosen to put together their account. In Blaikie's words, it is necessary to 'look beyond what is said to what is being taken for granted while it is being said.'

What I did in this study was to concentrate on the meaning making of language as used by the interviewees and the various people in gatherings that I attended. I tried to understand the meaning of terms of such as 'noisy' 'filthy' 'aloof' and a variety of others in trying to identify the various ways in which people identify odd behaviour or try to make distinctions between themselves and others. It is true that, "Social and spatial identity is assumed and assigned by dividing the world into those that belong and those that do not, the included and the excluded, and those that transgress boundaries" (Ballard 2002: 61). This is why I focused on these distinctions in interpreting the accounts of research participants.

3.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has given a brief account of the research process that has been undertaken in this study. It actually makes the case for the use of the ethnographic method in doing the fieldwork and the interpretation of it. I have demonstrated that the bulk of the material for interpretation was collected through in-depth interviews and observation at a variety of community meetings in the suburb. I have included two appendixes at the end of the dissertation in order to show the manner in which the interviews were requested through mail-drops and the interview guide for the black middle-class. There was an interview guide for the white middle-class and the urban poor as well. The sole intention of these was to ensure that at least there was consistency in the questions asked, even though they would not follow similar sequences. This was merely a guide for me to create a structured conversation with the respondents. I recorded the interviews and wrote research stories that covered the main themes in them. This allowed for easy interpretation of the material. I then explained the ethical considerations that I made in the process and the limitations of the research itself.

The research problem and the social significance of the study were explained at the beginning of the chapter. Studying the suburb and the middle-class is very important because in many countries the middle-class is rapidly becoming a class group associated with yearning and aspiration and this has made it to be a centre of attention for political and corporate leaders. The study of the middle-class should be tied with studying their residential areas, i.e. suburbs. I hold a firm view that the black middle-class and its entrance in South African suburbia

provide a strong platform for us to understand the dynamic relationship between social structure, place making and identity.

Chapter 4: Historical Emergence of Beacon Bay as a Place of Exclusion

Prematurely declaring the death of suburbia, observers overlook the persistence of its essential features; a continuing resistance to heterogeneity and a desire to remain apart. Even as suburbia evolves, its ethos is likely to endure. Rather than having come to an end, the history of suburbia is still in the making (Sharpe and Wallock 1994: 30).

4.1 Introduction and Background

In this chapter, I want to detail the history of Beacon Bay as a white middle-class exclusive suburb, which has been transformed post-apartheid into a diversified middle-class exclusive area. I will do this by first outlining the history of the area from the beginning, including when it was officially declared a white residential area. I will also discuss how it developed into a modern suburb. I will proceed to discuss the early 1990s debate on the plan to create a township similar to Mdantsane in the area and further demonstrate how this debate exposed the exclusionary nature of the suburb against the urban poor. I will proceed to discuss the question of crime as a contemporary problem that confronts Beacon Bay and as an issue which has led to some level of unity in the area.

The history of Beacon Bay is directly linked to the history of suburban growth across the world. This was a growth spearheaded by a cultural phenomenon, evolving from middle-class Americans, called the 'suburban ideal'. As chapter two demonstrated, the 'suburban ideal' was promoted to the rest of the world and this led to it assuming particular forms of expression amongst white middle-classes across the world. By the mid-20th century it was not only middle-class citizens of the United States and Canada who could articulate the requisite features of how a suburban place should be, but white middle-classes across the world (Sies 2001). Towards the end of the 20th century these middle-class suburbs had begun to be racially diverse but this did not alter their exclusionary nature. This chapter will show that the development of Beacon Bay was a socially constructed process by the white middle-class in South Africa, which had at the time of its inception in 1924 serious links with the British Empire.

Suburban place making is the creation of an 'ethical domain' that symbolises a culture's sense of itself and its view of the world (Moore 2001). In using David Kolb's definition of a place, I want to argue that a suburb is an "extended location consisting of one or more expanses of space where social norms of action define significant areas and transitions for activities" (Kolb 2008: 32). For places to exist there ought to be divisions between themselves and other places. Kolb (2008: 37) makes the following observation:

There can be no place without some divisions, for in such a place no form of human life could be enacted. At least there will be a border, however vague, between this place and others, and usually there will be internal divisions corresponding to different actions or stages of actions. The greater discontinuity typical of contemporary places thus emphasises a condition that has always been true of places (Kolb 2008: 37).

The historical development of suburbs demonstrates to us that the aim of the white middle-class across the world was to achieve spatial exclusivity. The exclusionary discourse within them therefore should be understood in this light. To achieve this, the white middle-class first had to ensure that there was a form of "identity ascription that confers a positive group identity to the culturally and/or economically dominant members of society, while simultaneously labelling another as 'different' and usually, by definition, inferior" (Saff, 2001: 89).

During apartheid, for instance, black squatter settlements and black townships were 'pathologised' and were associated with 'disease, crime and drunkenness' by the white middle-class and these were the reasons that mainly led to the evolution of legislation such as the Group Areas Act which legalised racial residential settlements (Maylam 1982). The history of Beacon Bay, more particularly the debate triggered by the Beacon Bay North Urban Development proposal, is filled with such discourses of 'othering'. "In spatial terms this can take the form of the dominant group exaggerating the virtues of their space while denigrating the space of the 'other' and simultaneously preventing them from accessing their own space" (Saff 2001: 89). Post-apartheid this form of 'othering' is not done by the white middle-class alone, but also the black middle-class which has entered into affluent suburbs. The motivations and moves towards this racial and social 'othering' by the middle-class in the suburbs is more complex than a simple crime, moral, health or property value issue but it is generally about the defence of the socially constructed 'suburban ideal,' which codified the suburban sense of place.

All these formulations that constitute the middle-class exclusionary discourse against the urban poor demonstrate clearly that there is an attitudinal convergence amongst the middle-classes across the racial spectrum and this can only be properly explained by referring to the mutuality of interests that privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting ‘their’ place from the encroachment of those that come from poor backgrounds (Saff 2001). The discussion on the defence of the area against the threat of crime clearly shows this convergence in Beacon Bay as the area begins to be racially diverse post-apartheid.

We have thus far understood the nature and character of the suburb from both a theoretical and a historical perspective and how this evolution has perpetuated the discourses of exclusion against the urban poor. When analysing the history of suburbia, Sies (2001: 319-20) warns us that we need not only understand the question of who lived in a given suburban neighbourhood, “how it developed and why it developed but also how constituents experienced life on the ground there, so to speak. We need to investigate, rather than surmise, how different groups and individuals negotiated their relationships with specific cultural expectations.” This chapter attempts to detail the history of Beacon Bay focusing on the evolution of the current socio-cultural dynamics.

4.2 Early Foundations of Beacon Bay

It is important to note that the history of Beacon Bay is closely linked to the historical eras that Baldassare (1992) identified as having had important influences on the changing nature of suburbs. Like most suburbs in the world, the area went through a pre-industrial era, followed by the urban-industrial era and the metropolitan era.

The history of the area is tied up with the history of East London, which has a history dating back from the frontier war of 1846 to 1847, which was known as the War of the Axe, a war between the English and the Xhosa people living in the area. During this war the English had a fort in King William’s Town and they wanted a way of moving necessities from Port Elizabeth to the fort without being attacked by the Xhosas as this was usually the case (Peires 1982). East London therefore came into being as a service port to the fort and it was only formally proclaimed as East London in January 1848. This area grew to have a population of about 2 134 people by 1875 and by 1904 it was already at 25 220 inhabitants (*SAHistory Online* 2013). The evolution of Beacon Bay is thus linked with this rapid growth of East London in its entirety.

The history of Beacon Bay starts in 1924 when about 1 188 acres of the Bonza Bay farm land, situated at the banks of the Quinera River, was subdivided into 100 plots and thus signalling the birth of the Bonza Bay suburb.² This was a leafy residential area which offered life in a resort-like environment and quiet coastal living for its inhabitants. The settlement at this time resembled what Baldassare (1992) called a pre-industrial suburb as it was a sparsely populated area with a very low population which was entirely white.

This settlement existed here alone and in 1952 an application was made for the creation of a suburb in the then East London North comprising 700 hectares and this was dismissed by the local authorities citing that ‘there was no need or desirability for the development, besides the distance was too inconvenient’.³ To counter this, the developers applied for the creation of a bridge across the Nahoon River and this too was dismissed. It was only in 1953 that the authorities decided to grant the application to construct the bridge. The bridge was constructed in 1953 and it was swept away by a flood in the same year and the following year a replacement bridge was built and it was named the Jack Batting Bridge in honour of one of the developers.⁴

This laid the basis for the creation of the planned suburb in what used to be called East London North by 1954 and the area was named Beaconhurst after a famous dairy farm that existed in the area. By 1955 the first residents had settled in the area and they were Mr And Mrs Buys. In December of 1955 the *Daily Dispatch* carried a feature of this new area and its first inhabitants and it stated that:

The township is served with a good road and many open spaces where the air is cool and pure. Mr and Mrs Buys are keen on their new home, but their only complaint is that at the moment they have no neighbours as the other houses around them have not yet been completed or fully occupied. They are the first of many who will make their homes in this new select suburb (Daily Dispatch/19 Dec/1955).

This shows how the area was initially designed as a ‘select suburb’, mainly for the white middle-class. Sies (1999) argues that the initial designers of the ‘suburban ideal’ were, with very few exceptions, an identifiable group of the new upper-middle-class who were intent upon formalising their own newfound status. This was the case with the designers of Beaconhurst, led by Edly Simons, as they planned to create a garden suburb ‘second to none in South African’, with wide roads, spacious parks, school sites, a golf course and a luxury

² Cyril Manthe: Speech by Mayor of Beacon Bay Municipality, 1986. Beacon Bay Library Archives

³ Cyril Manthe: Speech by Mayor of Beacon Bay Municipality, 1986. Beacon Bay Library Archives

⁴ Cyril Manthe: Speech by Mayor of Beacon Bay Municipality, 1986. Beacon Bay Library Archives

hotel overlooking the Nahoon River.⁵ The plan here was to build a whites only middle-class suburb.

Beaconhurst became an urban-industrial era suburb and its main purpose was to serve as a bedroom community, similarly to those identified by Bell (1969) in America. In as much as people stayed in this new suburb, they still commuted to East London central almost every day for their jobs. The period of the 1950s and 1960s saw a significant growth of the suburban population not only in this suburb but throughout the world (Baldassare 1992).

On the 1st of July 1965 a decision was taken by the Divisional Council to amalgamate Bonza Bay and Beaconhurst into one area called Beacon Bay governed by a Village Management Board with William Church as its first chairperson. On the 08th of January 1968 the Cape Administrator, J N Malan, made a proclamation of the Beacon Bay Municipality, which superseded the Village Management Board.⁶ August 1970 saw the second collapse of the bridge over the Nahoon River and this saw food supplies running out in the area to the extent that the South African Defence Force (SADF) had to transport food supplies into the area by helicopter. The third structure of the bridge was erected by the SADF and this was viewed as a temporary arrangement hence the Cape Provincial Administration constructed a R670 000 bridge and opened it on the 31st of August 1973.⁷

In the same year a town councillor proposed that Beacon Bay ‘be proclaimed a white residential area’ and this was unanimously adopted by the municipal council, thereby creating the area as a white residential town.⁸ This was just a legalisation of the fact that the area was for white people only as had been initially designed. In 1975 the then mayor of the town, Jack Marston, was preparing the area for a war and he believed that what was happening in Angola at the time was quickly going to come to South Africa. This led to many segregationist policies by the municipal council, which included the banning of black people from Bonza Bay Beach. These were the foundations of the suburb as an exclusive white residential area.

⁵ Daily Dispatch, Garden Township Near EL Planned: Developing Company May Span Nahoon With New Bridge, 24 May 1948

⁶ Cyril Manthe: Speech by Mayor of Beacon Bay Municipality, 1986. Beacon Bay Library Archives

⁷ Cyril Manthe: Speech by Mayor of Beacon Bay Municipality, 1986. Beacon Bay Library Archives

⁸ Go & Express, Beacon Bay – A colourful past, 1998

The Mayor of Beacon Bay after Marston, Cyril Manthe, in 1983 stressed that there existed a need to develop the area and extend its boundaries.⁹ This led to the extension of the boundaries of the original suburb towards the N2 and in 1987 the sphere of the town was extended across the Quinera River. Factors contributing to the growth of the suburb were that it offered a lot of things that potential residents wished for. It had a primary school, excellent shopping centres and a senior citizens home. Its high school, Beaconhurst High School, started operating only in 1987 and it further attracted many people to move into the area. The place also had sporting facilities through the Beacon Bay Country Club and the Bonza Bay Bowling Club. At this time, therefore, Beacon Bay was developing into a metropolitan era suburb as many developments, including shopping complexes and office complexes, were being developed in the area, mainly on Bonza Bay Road. This era saw the development of what Alan Mabin (2001) calls a 'mini-city', which is a result of an amalgamation of a series of shopping complexes within a suburban place.

A study by Johannesburg based marketing consultancy, Fenridge Consulting, in 2013 found that the Beacon Bay Retail Park is the third biggest shopping mall in East London after Hemmingways and Vincent Park. There are already plans in place to develop the Beacon Bay Crossing into one of East London's biggest shopping complexes (Fenridge, 2013). Amongst the developments in the area is that of China Town Mall on the Bonza Bay Road. The area is rapidly expanding even in population as it has registered a population growth of about 1.6 percent each year between 2007 and 2011 (Fenridge, 2013). A number of residential developments currently exist within the area and many others are still under construction.

The rapid growth of Beacon Bay as a middle to upper market suburb post-apartheid has been directly linked to the arrival of the black middle-class in the area. In about 2001 whites constituted half of the middle-class in East London but recent figures show that with the growth of the black middle-class they now constitute only 20 percent of those that earn more than R12 800 a month in East London.¹⁰ Many black middle-class residents in East London have poured into the cheaper suburbs such as Amalinda and Southernhood, but those who could afford to have moved into the up-market, formerly white suburbs, such as Beacon Bay. This has been a trend that has been happening throughout South Africa and Grant Saff (2001) captures the essence of this movement overall when he states that:

⁹ Daily Dispatch, Beacon Bay and Business is Booming, 1983

¹⁰ Leslie Bank in the Daily Dispatch, Black Middle-Class rising, 22 Feb 2013

Since the late 1980s South African cities and suburbs have experienced varying degrees of desegregation, yet despite South Africa's racist history, there has been little organised opposition to residential desegregation as long as those moving into these areas are of the same socioeconomic class as the existing residents (Saff 2001: 90).

Beacon Bay is now merged with East London to form the Buffalo City Municipal area. Whilst it only merged with East London in the year 2000, the merger talks started around the early 1980s. For instance, by 1983 there were already talks of amalgamating Beacon Bay, Gonubie and East London into one municipal town and this was based on the need to share the burdens that were carried by East London. This received huge resistance from Beacon Bay Municipal officials who stressed that they believed the town was developing well on its own and thus they would not consider such a proposition.¹¹

The place only got to be formally merged with East London in the year 2000 and this was during the same period as the incorporation of King Williams Town for the creation of Buffalo City. The then mayor, Sindisile Maclean, spoke three years after this process and said:

An Audit of our progress will show a virtual seamless amalgamation of East London, King Williams Town and the coastal region (Beacon Bay and Gonubie) although our mandate may have underestimated the complex and time-consuming task of administrative merging and the integration of financial and information systems (Sindisile Maclean, 15/12/2003).

Clearly the area has had a fascinating history which, I believe, has created it into the exclusive middle-class suburb that it is, despite the recent demographic changes in the area. Below I want to focus historically on one of the important debates that go to show the manner in which the town has sought to maintain an exclusive white middle-class character.

4.3 The Beacon Bay North Urban Development Debate and the Emergence of Nompumelelo Township

One of the most important debates that goes to show the manner in which the local authorities and the residents of Beacon Bay have always been against mixing was triggered by a proposal of the Amatola Regional Services Council (ARSC) in the early 1990s for the creation of a middle-income settlement north of Beacon Bay. The plan which was meant to be phased-in within 15 years located the settlement on the land next to the N2, east of the road that leads to Stutterheim and west of the Quinera River and it would have included the

¹¹ Daily Dispatch, Beacon Bay No to Merger with EL, 1983

then ERF 5216 squatter settlement (the now Nompumelelo Township) and all adjoining properties.¹² The plan envisaged an 800 hectare township that would have accommodated about 60 000 people and the argument was that it was mainly meant to deal with the challenges of urbanisation including the problem of the squatter settlement. The settlement was designed to be a bit similar to Mdantsane or Soweto.

The plan made many land use proposals but chief amongst them was that the residents of the ERF 5216 squatter settlement would have to be evicted from the area and they would then be afforded an opportunity to purchase the R40 000 houses over a period of time that were to be built in the area. At this stage about 620 families lived in this squatter settlement.¹³ This plan was drafted and marketed as a solution to the problem of squatting. In justifying this plan, the Mayor of Beacon Bay, Mr John Mason, argued that the plan was a provision of the fact that influx control no longer existed and so plans had to be made to cater for the people who were rapidly moving into the cities.¹⁴ These were the reasons why the East London Municipal Council endorsed this plan even before a consultative process began.¹⁵

The plan met tough reaction both from residents of Beacon Bay and representatives of the ERF 5216 squatter settlement, including the then recently unbanned African National Congress (ANC) and the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO).¹⁶ The Gonubie Farmers Association (GFA) argued that the erection of a settlement of such magnitude would compromise farming in the area and thus the local economy.¹⁷

Beacon Bay residents, who were entirely white at the time, criticised the plan by saying that the plan would be a recipe for disaster as it would create overcrowding in the area and lower the standards of the area more than the squatter settlement. They argued instead for the upgrading of the squatter settlement rather than the creation of the township. In one of consultation meetings of the Amatola Regional Services Council (ARSC) with the Beacon Bay residents, one of the attending residents, Mrs Comfort, said, "Residents of ERF 5216 had no intention of moving and people had to decide if they wanted a fully serviced ERF 5216 or

¹² Daily Dispatch, Huge R46m Township Plan for EL, 1993

¹³ Daily Dispatch, Huge R46m Township Plan for EL, 13 July 1993

¹⁴ Daily Dispatch, Recipe for Disaster, Beacon Bay meeting told: Angry Residents say no to township plan, 16 October 1992

¹⁵ Daily Dispatch, Card, Whitaker outvoted: EL Council backs new township plan, 03 August 1993

¹⁶ Daily Dispatch, SRSC Criticised over township plan, 19 September 1992

¹⁷ Daily Dispatch, SRSC Criticised over township plan, 19 September 1992

an enormous township on their borders which would spread indefinitely.”¹⁸ These types of sentiments were shared by the chairman of the Abbotsford, Dorchester Heights, and Nahoon Valley Park Ratepayers Association, Mr Pitt Fennell, who said:

To require the law abiding overtaxed ratepayers of East London to provide property and services to what will merely be a giant squatter camp for everybody from Peddie to Ndabakazi and beyond is appalling. This sop to ongoing deleterious effects of tribal attitudes to property is not acceptable. Failing to solicit input from those affected is typical of totalitarianism attitudes were are being subjected to (Daily Dispatch, 19/09/1992).

So in essence the residents’ reaction against the plan was not inspired by feelings for the people in the squatter areas but they feared the creation of a bigger squatter settlement and this is why they proposed the solution of upgrading the settlement from within, including the increase of security in the area.

This type of attitude is further demonstrated in representations that the Ward Councillors of this area made against the East London Council’s endorsement of the plan in 1993. The councillors, Eric Whitaker and Donald Card, argued that residents of Beacon Bay staying close to the squatters were complaining that they were continuously being robbed and that it was difficult for them to obtain insurance for their assets. They stated that:

The commercial viability of business is being threatened due to theft and vandalism. Frequent gun shots emanate from the squatter camp at night and regular trespassing causes them to live in fear ... Their properties have been grossly devalued. In fact millions of rands of property value has been written off due to the presence of the squatters (Dispatch/ 20/ 02/ 1994).

The argument here is that with the creation of the township there would be more of these than there were at the time. These councillors argued that the creation of middle-income houses would devalue the place entirely and cause serious damages to the local economy. This type of argument is an argument in defence of the suburban place and it carries the main feelings of the residents of the Beacon Bay during this period.

The ANC and SANCO’s rejection of the plan was centred on the notion that the squatter area should not be moved and that the creation of middle-income homes would make them out of reach of the poor people living in the squatter area. The then Border ANC Information and Publicity Officer, Mcebisi Bata, stated that:

¹⁸ Dispatch, Recipe for Disaster, Beacon Bay meeting told: Angry Residents say no to township plan, 16 October 1992

By going public (with the plan) they are trying to pressure the civic organisations to agree to this proposal. Also they are talking about removing people when the homes should be built where they are now ... We are not saying we accept the proposal, but this thing about the area being productive farming land is nonsense (Dispatch/ 20/ 02/ 1994).

So essentially there was a serious difference between the ANC's rejection of the plan and the response of the residents of Beacon Bay and the farming associations. The interest of the ANC and SANCO was in the squatter community whilst the Beacon Bay residents and their leaders feared the negative effects that such a settlement would have on 'their' suburb.

Due to the resistance against the plan, in 1993 the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) appointed Mr Adrian van der Walt to mediate this tension between the Amatola Regional Services Council and the residents of Beacon Bay, together with the other organisations opposing the settlement. The mediator did his work, took the report for public comment on the 19th of January 1994, refined it and took the final version to the East London Council on the 18th of February 1994.¹⁹

The mediator called for the land in the area to be made a permanent settlement for the squatter community but further made a proposal that the area be developed and should thus have water-borne sewerage and fresh water supplies with electricity. He argued that buffer areas be created between the squatter settlement and the areas adjacent to it and also that there should be access routes for the settlement. He further argued that to lessen the impact of the settlement on the properties in Beacon Bay, there should be a construction of middle-income houses along the main roads and the areas in which the squatters were highly visible. This recommendation led to the creation of the suburban black belt in Beacon Bay Edge View. He further stated that there ought to be measures developed to ensure proper influx control in the area.²⁰The mediator's recommendations clearly favoured the residents of Beacon Bay.

On the 18th of February 1994 the East London Council endorsed the recommendations by the mediator.²¹ Whilst this maintained the neighbourhood character of Beacon Bay as a middle class suburb, it also laid the basis for the creation of ERF 5216 squatter area into a formal township called Nompumelelo Township. Despite these minor reactions, this saw the closure of this debate which was at the core of the white middle-class's desire to defend the

¹⁹ Weekend Post, Major blow for ARSC's R46m New township Plan, 25 Dec 1993

²⁰ Weekend Post, Major blow for ARSC's R46m New township Plan, 25 Dec 1993

²¹ Daily Dispatch, Beacon Bay squatters, EL Endorses proposals, 20 February 1994

suburb as ‘their’ space. This debate was mainly about the defence of the suburb as a homogenous community. For these suburbanites it was better to have a little township that they could manage instead of having a big township that could potentially spread out of control.

Nompumelelo Township was, therefore, built from the previously existing ERF 5216 squatter settlement and even today the area has a serious resemblance to its predecessor as it is a half formal and half informal settlement. The formal area in the township is constituted by RDP houses and there is another area where it is allowed for people to build shacks provided they apply to a local committee. This poor township which is only separated by the N2 from Beacon Bay continues to face a variety of problems that mostly relate to its status as a poor township. The most recent challenges that the township has faced have been those of crime, poverty, shack fires and filth. This has made residents of this area to believe that they have been neglected by the Buffalo City Municipality (BCM).²² Recent media reports seem to indicate that the township does affect the state of Beacon Bay in a way more particularly in relation to crime.

One *Daily Dispatch* dialogue held in March 2009 agreed that whilst there are differences in the two areas, there is always a need to get the communities together in discussion so that they can learn from each other.²³ In this dialogue one resident even suggested the establishment of a ‘Community Integration Committee’ (CIC) that will create conditions for the areas to work in harmony whilst acknowledging the differences. In this meeting the then councillor of Beacon Bay, which also included Nompumelelo at the time, John Cupido, agreed with this proposal citing that, “If we form that committee ... there needs to be a buy-in factor from both communities. But the community (Nompumelelo) gets suspicious if there is no communication.”²⁴

The need to have such a platform of dialogue was also raised in this *Daily Dispatch* dialogue by residents of Nompumelolo Township who believed that it is through employment opportunities and skills that crime could be reduced in the area. Andrew Dlamini, a resident of Nompumelelo Township and the then Chairperson of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) stated that:

²² Daily Dispatch, BCM admits to Nompumelelo saga, 2 September 2008

²³ Daily Dispatch, Moves to Integrate Nompumelelo, Beacon Bay, 31 March 2009

²⁴ Daily Dispatch, Moves to Integrate Nompumelelo, Beacon Bay, 31 March 2009

Business should employ at least 50% from Nompumelelo. We need to meet with powers that be. They are building and there's nothing we can do. They employ people from places like Mdanstane and no one from here ... Our youth need things to do. Sport and employment are the most important things in eradicating crime. Our councillor needs to come to the party. I don't remember a single moment in the past year when (Councillor) Cupido came over here. When he does come he talks about tarring roads. Tar is not the priority here. Poverty and crime are (Daily Dispatch / 31/03/09).

Poverty still remains the greatest challenge facing Nompumelelo Township and it is at the centre of high alcohol consumption in the area, which often leads to crime. The area is mostly populated by people who come from rural areas seeking work in the urban areas. In chapter six it will be demonstrated that in as much as residents of the township do not want to be blamed for the prevalent crime in Beacon Bay, they believe that unemployment and poverty are serious contributing factors to crime in the area.

4.4 Crime in present day Beacon Bay

The question of crime and the defence of the neighbourhood character and heritage have been the main issues in Beacon Bay. The main criminal activities in the area have been shopliftings and burglaries. Statistics show that there were about 122 separate shoplifting incidences recorded in 2009 and these decreased to about 86 in 2011. Burglary appears to be the most common crime in the area with 344 incidences in 2009, reaching a high point of 375 in 2010 and decreasing only to 323 incidences in 2012 (Crime Stats SA 2013).



Photo 1: A sign of the Beacon Bay Community Policing Forum



Photo 2: This type of sign, together with that of the Community Policing Forum are in almost every street in Beacon Bay

This has affected many residents and has led to many calls for unity in defence of the suburb against crime, more particularly burglaries. In November 2009 Janique Ferreira and her family woke up in the morning only to find that they had been burgled whilst they were sleeping. The thieves came in after her husband entered in the early hours of the morning and they took items amounting to about R10 000. She explained the effects of this, “My seven year old daughter, Tegan, has been affected the most. She refuses to go anywhere in the

house without someone with her and she doesn't want to sleep in her room."²⁵ She appealed for unity in the area to confront this crime, "I also plead with residents to get together to try find a solution to these crimes that are spinning out of control."²⁶ Many residents in the area felt the need to be always united in defence of the suburb against intrusion. This has resulted in a unity in diversity situation as both white and black suburbanites are defending their neighbourhood against crime.

This has led to many programmes such as the strengthening of the Community Policing Forum, the installation of CCTV cameras overlooking Nompumelelo Township, the mobilisation of the business community to fund programmes of the Forum and the training of domestic workers in skills to combat crime. In September 2009 the Beacon Bay Community Policing Forum installed closed-circuit television (CCTV) to 'keep a watchful eye on the community.'²⁷ These cameras were installed at the entrance of Nompumelelo Township and this was in essence an indication of the perception that the settlement is the primary contributor of crime in the area. On top of the installation of the cameras, domestic workers were given security training and this entailed a variety of ways of warding off criminals, including the utilisation of pepper sprays.²⁸

One of the success stories of these initiatives is that of Edly Symons Road which had about 64 reported crime incidences in 2004 and through community unity in action against crime this dropped to a mere 4 incidences by 2012.²⁹ In 2004 the residents of this area started a Sector Policing Forum, which involved most of the community members. The chairperson of the Forum, Liz Anderson, explained the effects of their initiative when she said:

We were very upset about these incidences and we decided that instead of sitting around in fear let's rather do something about it. The following year we got a security company to do patrols in the area and there was nothing reported. We work in conjunction with the police instead of blaming them for not doing anything. In the last eight years we have only had four reported incidences and we are very proud of that (Go and Express, 18/10/2012).

The fight against crime has been waged by all races in Beacon Bay. It has, therefore, created a platform from which the neighbourhood can achieve internal cohesion. In the next chapter, I will show that crime or the fear of it, are part of the post-apartheid suburban experience and

²⁵ Daily Dispatch, Burglary Outbreak plagues Beacon Bay, 02 Dec 2009

²⁶ Daily Dispatch, Burglary Outbreak plagues Beacon Bay, 02 Dec 2009

²⁷ Daily Dispatch, Cameras keep eye on criminal in Beacon Bay, 23 Sept 2009

²⁸ Daily Dispatch, Security Training for Domestic, 03 Sept 2009

²⁹ Go & Express, Beacon Bay residents see dramatic drop in crime since 2004, 18 Oct 2012

like the fear of outside threats in the frontier zone it works to create a sense of unity in the area amongst the black and the white middle-class suburbanites.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that residents of Beacon Bay have always sought to defend the social standing and exclusive nature of the suburb historically and they appear to be still doing the same thing even today. The most recent incidences which show this are the name change debate and the discussion on the building of the township school in Coad Road, an area within Beacon Bay.

An uproar emerged in Beacon Bay in 2011 when a proposal to change the name of the area to *Kunondyilo* was raised by the Eastern Cape Provincial Geographical Names Committee (ECPGNC).³⁰ The Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association, which is the only vibrant representative of community members in the area, organised community members to protest this name change bid. Many community members raised their concerns with the name change and the main argument they raised was that the name is not offensive and the entire process of changing the name would be a waste of time. One of the residents, Claude Miles, is quoted in the *Daily Dispatch* saying, “It does not make much sense spending all that money on a name that is not offensive to anybody or anyone.”³¹ These types of views were echoed by the local councillor, Rowan Thiele, who said, “Beacon Bay as a name doesn’t have any heritage in apartheid, it’s not defamatory. We don’t need to throw good money into a pit when there are so many service delivery needs out there.”³²

I want to argue that this vociferous name-change resistance is not entirely about the defence of the name itself but about the defence of the neighbourhood character of the area as a modern, civilised and European place. The resistance is based on what the suburbanites’ accord to the idea of staying in Beacon Bay, so therefore the name is viewed as backward and not in line with the norms and standards of the area.

Another interesting recent debate in Beacon Bay was triggered by the decision of the Provincial Department of Education to purchase land in the Coad Road area in Beacon Bay for the building of a school for the Nompumelelo Township children who are studying in

³⁰ Daily Dispatch, Beacon Bay to fight name Change Bid, 03 Mar 2011

³¹ Daily Dispatch, Beacon Bay to fight name Change Bid, 03 Mar 2011

³² Daily Dispatch, Beacon Bay to fight name Change Bid, 03 Mar 2011

overcrowded classrooms in Sakhikamva High School. The decision to take the school to the area was necessitated by the fact that there was no space for the building of such a school in Nompumelelo Township.³³ Beacon Bay residents resisted this arguing that the school would attract crime and increase traffic in the suburb. One of the residents was quoted in the *Daily Dispatch*(2009) saying, “Those children are from Nompumelelo and the fact that they are from there will show in their behaviour ... They are ill-disciplined.”³⁴

As I indicated in the previous chapter, all the articulations brought forth by the middle-class in its attempt to reject the urban poor are part and parcel of an extended network of meaning about what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in the suburban place. There is a school in Beacon Bay called Beaconsburg High School and there is no complaint that such a school brings traffic and crime. The resistance here is chiefly because this is a township school and this will affect the standing of the area. The proposed school is viewed as a threat to the conception of an ideal suburban environment. These residents feel that they will not be able to consider their area as ‘elite’ or ‘up market.’

So in essence there still exists a serious exclusionary discourse against the urban poor in the suburbia even today. This history of Beacon Bay shows exactly what Sharpe and Wallock (1994: 30) mean in the extract quoted at the beginning of this chapter when they say, “Even as suburbia evolves, its ethos is likely to endure. Rather than having come to an end, the history of suburbia is still in the making.”

³³ Daily Dispatch, Row Over Overcrowded School, 20 Mar 2009

³⁴ Daily Dispatch, Row Over Overcrowded School, 20 Mar 2009

Chapter 5: Frontier Entrance: An Observation of some Trajectories of Suburbanisation in East London

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I want to explore the nature of the arrival of the white and black middle-class in Beacon Bay. I will make the point that both these race's arrival in the suburb were a result of the desire to escape race and class mixing. This explains the white middle-class's unease with the changes in the racial composition of the suburb, as will be explored in chapter seven and it also shows the black middle-class's unease with the urban poor in the suburb as will be demonstrated in chapter eight. The findings and analysis in this chapter are an attempt to properly locate the findings and discussion in the next two chapters.

I will show, therefore, that the white middle-class moved into Beacon Bay fearing the negative effects that race mixing can bring. Over the years before 1994 this choice of having an exclusive suburb for whites was protected by public policy through laws such as the Group Areas Act of 1955. As has been demonstrated, the collapse of apartheid meant that all racial groups would now be able to stay in these suburbs, provided they could afford them. The opening up of the economy and the introduction of affirmative action policies such as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) created a number of black people who could now afford to stay in areas such as Beacon Bay. In this chapter I want to make the point that whilst these people came from the township or rural areas their pattern of suburbanisation was not very much different from that of the white middle-class as it was based on the need to escape any mixing with the urban poor.

Black suburbanisation has, consequently, not substantially diminished racial and class segregation in suburbs, particularly between the black and white middle-class and also as it relates to the urban poor. "Black suburbanisation had followed well-established patterns of segregation ... once a suburb acquires a visible black presence; it tends to attract more blacks than whites, which leads to neighbourhood secession and the emergence of a black enclave" (Sharpe and Wallock 1994: 8). The findings will show how neighbourhood succession happened in suburbs such as Southernwood and Amalinda. These were suburbs that were occupied by white people before the 1980s but ever since they acquired a black presence, the white residents fled to more expensive and exclusive suburbs such as Beacon Bay.

Writing about black suburbanisation in the United States, Fava (1975: 20) states that in the years preceding 1980 there was 'real' black people migration into the suburbs of the United States but this has only been limited to middle-class blacks, but still these blacks remain segregated, often by racial succession in the 'inner ring' of the aging suburbs, by tokenism in white suburbs and "by living in new suburban developments designated, unofficially, for blacks". This holds very true as it relates to East London and it leads me to conclude that the suburbanisation of blacks did not bring about a change in segregation in the suburbs. An example of this is that suburbanites across the racial spectrum today still continue to wall out those that they feel are not like themselves (such as the urban poor) after arriving and this is basically as a result of the fear of race and class mixing, which is the fundamental basis why they chose to stay in suburbs in the first place.

I will conclude the chapter by dealing with the entrance of the urban poor into the area and how it has coped with the movement. I will show that the residents of Nompumelelo do not view the area as home. Using Bank's (2011) analysis of the 'rural in the urban' I will show that despite this fact the reality is that they are not going anywhere as they are dependent on the city for survival. This means that they ought to begin to take the area as their place in the same way that Beacon Bay residents take the suburb as their place and are willing to defend it. This means that residents of both areas should begin to have a neighbourly relation as they are still going to be there.

5.2. White Middle-class's Escape of Race Mixing

Most of the white suburbanites interviewed have been coming from a variety of cities across the country and the world before moving to Beacon Bay in East London. What appears to be the case is that most of the white suburbanites who have been staying in East London have moved from areas that have now been almost totally occupied by the black middle-class. They mostly state that their movement from these suburbs such as Amalinda and Southernwood was nothing more than getting a new house. I want to argue that this is not the true reflection of the reason why they moved from these areas.

The white middle-class has always escaped race-mixing and early segregation and apartheid spatial development provided a support base for this throughout the years preceding a democratic dispensation in South Africa. It remains a debate whether segregationist policies of the white minority governments led to this behaviour or whether the attitude and fear of

mixing led to the election of governments that would implement such segregationists' policies. What we can work with now is that suburbs have been a sole preserve of the white middle-class in South Africa and the previous chapter has shown us how this evolved in Beacon Bay. This is why it is not shocking that the findings of this research show that white suburbanites have moved into Beacon Bay to escape mixing in suburbs that have achieved a lot of black presence from the 1980s and in the post-apartheid era.

In Chapter two I made reference to research done by Warner (2006) on residential segregation and neighbourhood secession which indicates that the decision of white families to leave certain neighbourhoods in Michigan were directly related to the number of black people who had settled in the neighbourhood. Within the East London context, take the story of Mrs Fortunate, 59, for instance. She was born in Peddie and she grew up in Southernwood a suburb close to East London central. In the early 1980s, her family moved into Vincent and then later Beacon Bay. She described the move from Southernwood as just a matter of finding a better house and seeking a 'safe and neat' suburb which was 'nice' and 'easy going.'³⁵ Southernwood was one of the East London suburbs to have a black presence in the early 1980s and this caused white flight by those white residents who could afford houses in white suburbs at the fringe of town.

To illustrate this point, I want to quote in length an extract from an unpublished PhD of John Bwalya (2011). In analysing residential succession in Southernwood in East London, Bwalya (2011: 162) stated that:

In spite of this period of greying, Southernwood was still considered a white suburb in terms of the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 (by the 1980s). However, due to suburbanisation of the wealthier white residents, Southernwood's aging houses became increasingly vacant and rundown while high-rise flats and townhouse complexes mushroomed. Owing to the general critical shortage of accommodation in black areas in the 1980s, black tenants moved into these overpriced (*Daily Dispatch*, 1990, June 29) and poorly maintained residences. Due to these movements, Southernwood was one of the first residential areas of East London to experience greying, especially along Usher Street on the eastern edge of the suburb. Greying in Southernwood included people of different nationalities and cultures. When it became evident that the neighbourhood was progressively losing its desirability due to the changes which occurred in the suburb, the remaining whites who had the intent and capacity to move out of Southernwood took flight to outlying suburbs. White flight opened-up more space for further black residential occupancy.

³⁵ Mrs Fortunate, 59, female, interview done on 22 March 2013

There is no doubt, therefore, that the movement of Mrs Fortunate and her family from Southernwood was essentially based on escaping this race mixing in the suburb. It was indeed about finding what they perceive as a 'safe and neat' environment. 'Safe and neat' here meant away from this area that was progressively transforming in racial composition.

The other suburb that has seen this white flight in East London has been Amalinda. In his analysis of the growth of the black middle-class as reflected in the 2011 Census, Bank (2013) states that this class has bought into suburbs such as Amalinda. These black suburbanites are moving into houses that were previous owned by white families but also houses that are in new developments. Statements from some white suburbanites interviewed confirm this. Mr Elmont's statement, for instance, about his reasons for moving into Beacon Bay sheds some light into this as he goes deep into the reason for the movement when he says:

I moved to East London in 1973 and moved to Beacon Bay in 1981 ... In 1981 we lived in Amalinda ... and at that stage we were looking for a better house. I looked around and the best house we got and we could afford was in Beacon Bay. At that stage there was no difference between Beacon Bay and other suburbs. It was just nice and I was not necessarily interested in living in Beacon Bay. I was interested in living anywhere in East London. I was satisfied with the lifestyle but the way it is now evolving I am not that satisfied. We are matching and becoming a nation. We would like to respect each other in every area (Mr Elmont, 11/06/2013).

The move is presented as a question of finding a better house but as he continues speaking Mr Elmont does eventually raise his concern about the character of the area, now that it is changing. Bwayla (2011) analysed residential property transfers in East London suburbs and found that Amalinda North, Cambridge West, Sunnyridge, Cambridge, Morningside and Dorchester Heights are the top six suburbs to have seen residential property transfers from white to black owners. Mr Elmont forgets to mention that the same time he moved from this suburb was the same time that saw many other white residents move from it.

There is no doubt that some of the white suburbanites that moved from suburbs such as Amalinda into Beacon Bay were trying to escape race mixing. The dynamic nature of it results from the fact that they do not express it openly and by all means they try to shy away from any indication that the movement was basically necessitated by a fear of race and class mixing. One resident tries to shy away from this but eventually reveals her main reason for moving from Amalinda to Beacon Bay. She states that, "I moved here because of the school. I wanted my children to be able to play sports easily at the school without any fears of

transport and so on. Before I was staying in Amalinda and it was getting crowded there, so I guess I also wanted a quiet place, a place that is tranquil.”³⁶

Other white residents stated that they moved from where they were staying into Beacon Bay due to retirement and the need to be close to family. Mr Booyesen, for instance, chose to come and stay in Beacon Bay in 1989 and he was moving from Cambridge and he explained his reasons for his movement when he said:

I chose to stay in the area because my daughter had decided to buy here previous years before. I needed to get close to her now that I was getting old. I also wanted to be near the sea (Mr Booyesen 19/04/2013).

Notice that Mr Booyesen does not emphasise the character of the neighbourhood as his primary reason for moving out of Cambridge and into Beacon Bay. This does not mean he was unaware of the character of the place he was moving from and the one that he was moving into. What he neglects to mention is that many other white suburbanites were leaving Cambridge to other surrounding suburbs in fear of race mixing as indicated by the property transfer analysis done by Bwayla (2011). This is very much related to a finding by Denton and Massey (1988) as they concluded that the issue of residential segregation in the United States of America is a matter of race. Racial prejudices of whites against blacks and certain behaviours perceived to be associated with them appear to have played a significant role in influencing the choice of place that middle-class whites took in these instances.

So the movement of white suburbanites into Beacon Bay, particularly those that originate from East London, has not been necessarily about the need to find a ‘nice house’ as they try to portray. It has been based on the need to escape racial mixing. The property transfer analysis of Bwayla (2011) indicates that suburbs such as Beacon Bay were still predominantly white suburbs as it relates to ownership of property. Though useful, I want to still question the data he uses as it does not account for the black suburbanites who are renting in white owned properties in Beacon Bay. The point I am making is that Beacon Bay is itself becoming racially diverse and this presents a new dynamic for the white middle class as they have escape race and class mixing over the years.

³⁶ Silvia, 59, Female, interview done on 07 Jun 2013

5.3 Black Middle-Class's Escape of Class Mixing and the Chase for a better Life

The black middle-class's move to the Beacon Bay has been mainly based on the need to upgrade their living standard. For most of the black middle-class residents that I interviewed choosing to stay in the suburb was a decision to get '*ubomi obungcono*' – a better life, ensure that there is 'best education' for their children, 'safe place' and being close to a variety of amenities. It is not only about the choice of the house for this class but about a qualitative change in the living standard. The understanding of a better life is juxtaposed with that which is not better and they seem to suggest that this undesirable life is found in the black townships and villages. The views of most residents about amenities, for instance, are contrasted with areas that do not have any amenities, which are the areas that majority of this class came from originally.

The findings also show that there are different trajectories of movement to the suburb for the black middle-class. Unlike their fellow white suburbanites who moved from one suburb to Beacon Bay, black middle-class movement has been varied. Most black suburbanites moved from the villages or township into the city and from the city into the suburb, while a few others moved straight from a rural area or township into the suburb. These different trajectories of movement are very much related to the financial development of this class as they advanced in their careers.

Noting the above points, in this section I want to mainly argue that the move to Beacon Bay by this class has an interesting similarity with that of its white counterpart. Whilst the white middle-class escaped race mixing and its perceived negative effects, the black middle-class moved to Beacon Bay in escape of class mixing. The findings show that in as much as the black middle-class residents originally came from townships and villages, they first settled in suburbs that were close to the centre of town such as Southernwood and the Quigney. These were the areas that were previously occupied by the white middle-class and which experienced a flight of this race immediately after the arrival of black people in these suburbs.

Most of the black middle-class residents interviewed regard staying in the suburb as '*ukuhlala etown*', meaning to stay in town in everyday IsiXhosa vernacular.³⁷ This is an

³⁷ Siphon, male, 27, interview done on 03 May 2013

indication of their movement from the township as it was not mainly from the township to the suburbs at the fringe of the city. My observation is that those black people who could afford to move from these lower middle-class suburbs did so and they thus followed their fellow white counterparts, although much later, into the affluent suburbs of East London, such as Beacon Bay, Gonubie, Vincent and Berea. Upper middle-class blacks left these areas for almost the same reasons as the white suburbanites had left them before. This created a more complex form of segregation that cannot simply be looked at in terms of race.

The story of Mrs Mrwetyana, 45, is worth taking note of in this case. Mrs Mrwetyana originally comes from New Brighton in Port Elizabeth and she grew up in between there and Alice. She matriculated in 1984 and after this she went to study at the Border Technikon where she got a Bachelor of Technology in Public Administration. For all her life she has been working for the Department of Labour and she resigned in 2008 with the sole intention of exploring other opportunities in life. She started living in Beacon Bay in 2003 but before then she had been staying in Southernwood since 1991. She explained her reasons for moving from Southernwood to Beacon Bay:

I wanted to come to a peaceful environment and I also wanted safety, but prestige as well. Because when you grow up in the township, in a slum environment you would not want your children to grow up in the same area. So I wanted to uplift my standard of living (Mrwetyana, 14/03/2013).

So Mrs Mrwetyana's move was necessitated by the fact that the place she had initially chosen, Southernwood, was now becoming a 'slum environment' and she could not allow her children to grow up in that area. She clearly makes this point when she states that her move was mainly because she wanted "...a prestigious and sophisticated social life, mainly because here I will be middling with white people ...Tranquillity, proper social norms and social values, privacy as well. In Southernwood you would hear bad language that would spoil your children. We even used to get burglary there."³⁸ So whilst the white middle-class believed that race mixing is problematic, the black middle-class wanted to escape class mixing as it believed it resulted in diminishing social norms and values and created slum conditions in the areas where it existed.

³⁸ Mrs Mrwetyana, female, 45, interview done on 14 March 2013

Another black Beacon Bay resident, Siphon, 34, said, "I chose to stay in Beacon Bay chiefly because I had to escape the overcrowding in Quigney."³⁹ Siphon originally came from Peddie, a small town in the Eastern Cape, and he moved to Mdantsane to do his schooling in the mid 1990s and he did not go back to stay in the township after finishing his schooling at the then Border Technikon in East London. He continued to rent a flat in Quigney and when he got employment at the Amathole District Municipality he then decided to move into another rented flat in Beacon Bay. He is now renting an apartment at The Beacon in Beacon Bay. So for him moving to Beacon Bay allows for a better escape from overcrowding. My observation and analysis here is that the black middle-class believes that staying far away from black people of a lower class is a sign of success and an indication of an upwardly mobile social status. Although they seem to despise 'white culture' as will be indicated in the next chapter, they seem to believe that white people have good social norms and values, hence staying in an area that is populated by them is seen as a social status upgrade. Below I want to show how they believe moving into Beacon Bay is an indicator of a positive shift in their standard of living.

Mr Mahewu, 56, for instance, is a local government bureaucrat and he grew up in Ngangelizwe Township in Mthatha. He was working for the Transkei homeland government before 1990 and was staying in Ngangelizwe. When the homelands system was dissolved to form a unitary government, he then became an employee at the office of the Premier and at this time he stayed in King Williams Town central. So he decided to stay in Beacon Bay in 2006 when his financial situation allowed him to buy a plot and build a house. He explained his reasons for choosing to stay in Beacon Bay:

I wanted my kids to get the best education. Also meet people that will develop them in life. Their peer group must be fine. I wanted to also expose them to the majority of business people, so that they can aspire to be like them. I also considered their safety, it is important. I also wanted them to grow in a conducive environment not the one I grew up in. I used to see this place, it's so quiet, it's where your kids can grow. Here they won't do drugs and all these things (Mahewu, 30/06/2013).

The change in one's life and therefore that of children as they grow old is the primary motivator for Mr Mahewu's movement into the area. He, like most black suburbanites interviewed, contrasts this objective with his own background. There is a general belief amongst the black suburbanites that mixing with the poor can create problems for one's growth and therefore to escape it can lead to one's development. Expressions of these

³⁹ Siphon: Male, Beacon Bay resident and ANC leader, interview on 26 May 2013

residents suggest a serious calculation about the type of life that one can live when escaping mixing with the poor.

Some of the black suburbanites interviewed came directly from the township but still they expressed similar views with the majority that moved from a township to town suburbs and then to affluent suburbs on the outskirts of the city. Escaping crime and seeking safety refuge in the suburb is something very important for the black middle class. Phumeza, 28, explained her reasons for moving:

We were looking for an area that is safe and that is close to good schools because we have children. We also wanted to be close to amenities, good doctors, shops and so on. We basically wanted a place that is well planned, spacious, not invaded by crime or overcrowding (Phumeza, 22/04/2013).

So for Phumeza the decision to move to the area was a decision to improve one's standard of living. Changing the life path is the primary motivator for the movement from the township. The decision to move into the suburb is not mainly about the type of house or the nature of the sea view; it is about finding a direction in life. It is also an immediate signal for all to know that one has achieved and is successful as a human being.

What the findings and the discussion in this section has shown is that trajectories of black suburbanisation are not as linear as from rural and/or township to suburb and they differ with the ones of the white middle-class which are mainly from suburb to suburb. What appears clearly from the findings is that there is a new form of segregation happening which is not based on race but based on class and social status. In chapter 7 I will show that the black and white middle class in Beacon Bay have a common rejection of the urban poor in areas close to the suburb as they believe that they are compromising the essence of what it means to stay in an affluent suburb. Let me now explore the context and nature of the arrival of the urban poor in Nompumelelo Township, the township adjacent to Beacon Bay.

5.4. The 'Rural in the Urban'

My observation is that the culture of Nompumelelo Township residents and their attitude towards urban life is similar to that described by Leslie Bank (2011) as 'rural in the urban', when he was describing the case of Duncan Village migrants in the 1990s. In as much as they have rural origins and linkages, it is very clear that the primary loyalties of these residents are to their urban jobs and resources (or the quest for these). This is a result of many factors but in the main it is because the significance of rural resources in the survival

strategies of these residents has diminished (Bank 2011). Like the case of the migrants described by Bank (2011) the Nompumelelo Township residents interviewed, “often exaggerated their connections with the rural areas and the differences between their own ... lifestyles and those of other urban residents” (Bank, 2011: 140).



Photo 3: Nompumelelo Township

Most of the residents interviewed arrived in the area mainly in search of employment and other opportunities. It appears that their main attractions to the area are the real or perceived benefits of staying close to what they call ‘*indawo yabelungu*’ – a place of white people.⁴⁰ Most of them moved from rural villages into the area because they thought they would find a job or they had been promised a job opportunity by someone in the suburb. The findings in this research show that the main form of work for the residents of Nompumelelo is domestic work and most of it is rendered in Beacon Bay. Most residents of Nompumelelo described the area as ‘*indawo yofihla intloko*’ – a place to hide a head. So they do not believe that the area is a place to stay and raise your children but it is convenient for you to stay whilst looking for a job or for you to stay when you are working in Beacon Bay or in adjacent areas such as Nahoon, Berea or Vincent. This is why most of the residents interviewed always maintained a home in the rural areas. One clear observation is that most residents of

⁴⁰ Silumko Ndaba, 29, male, interview done on 12 October 2012

Nompumelelo Township moved from rural villages and farms into the township. It is a handful of those interviewed who moved from other townships into the area.

The story of Lona Nyika, 41, is worth looking at in detail here. Lona was born and raised in Posdam, a rural village in Buffalo City Metro. She decided to come to look for work in Beacon Bay due to the fact that no one in the family was working. “I saw the fact that we are poor at home. I then decided to come this side to look for work and my sisters ended up following me to stay this side also. I arrived here in 2000 and I got work within a week after arriving and then it ended.”⁴¹ She further explained how she has worked in the area since then:

I was working in Bonza Bay as a domestic worker. I was working for a white lady that had TB (Tuberculosis), so it was only the husband working in the house. After some time the man said he is no longer able to continue paying me, so this is how the job ended. This was 2003. After this I worked in a Bed and Breakfast in Kwa-Nondyilo and I stopped there because water was being used a lot and it was making me sick (Lona Nyika, 19, 10/2012).

She believes that her life did get some improvement when she arrived as she explained:

My life improved a bit when I came here because at least I could be able to get some of the things that I wanted in life. When I arrived here I was just looking for work, so I was ready to take whatever work that came -*futhi ndandiyazi ndiza kufuphi nendawo yabelungu-* and I knew that I am coming close to a place that of white people (Lona Nyika, 19, 10/2012).

Despite having registered this improvement in her life, she does not believe that Nompumelelo Township is a place to settle and bring up your children. “*Lena Yindawo yofihla intloko* – this is a place to hide your head, you cannot bring up your children here because this is not a nice place and there is crime and so on. The rural areas are much better.”⁴² This is a form of emphasis on the importance and superiority of rural norms and values, which are absent in the township. This is why she still regards Posdam as her place but she nonetheless spends most of her time in the township and she has even applied for an RDP house from government. This is a true reflection of the ‘rural in the urban’ migrant cultural form as earlier conceptualised. I want to further argue that the migrant culture of these residents can be even better conceptualised as free-floating and consisting of narrative contrasts between rural and urban life forms (Bank 2011).

⁴¹ Lona Nyika, 41, Female, interview done on 19 October 2012

⁴² Lona Nyika, 41, Female, interview done on 19 October 2012

These views were shared by many other residents of Nompumelelo Township interviewed. Take for instance the story of Mrs Nyanda, who arrived in the area after her mother found her a job opportunity as a domestic worker.

My mother was working as a domestic worker in Beacon Bay and she was staying in the house of the madam. She got an opportunity for me but I had to find a shack as there was no room for me where she was working and the people I was going to work for did not have a room either...I arrived here in 1993 and I was coming from Stutterheim. I came here mainly because I had to work for my first kid. I was hoping that I was going to work very soon because it was close to Beacon Bay. Fortunately I found work just after I arrived in a kitchen. When I arrived here (Nompumelelo Township) it was a bush and there were no houses, there were 5 shacks and I erected the 6th one (Mrs Nyanda, 20/ 9/2012).

Mrs Nyanda has stayed in the area for more than 20 years but she still regards her house with her husband in the village of Stutterheim as her actual home. She believes that she is staying in Nompumelelo as a temporary measure. Bank (2011: 158) argues that migrants always tried to maintain what remained of their linkages with the villages because they believe "...too much had already been invested in the countryside for them to abandon it altogether. Thus they remained 'country people' in the city and found it very difficult to imagine themselves outside a rural frame of reference." This observation holds very true in this situation of Mrs Nyanda and her husband.

Another resident's story, Makaziwe, is exactly the same as the one of Mrs Nyanda as she got a domestic job offer whilst she was still on the farm in Kidds Beach and she has settled in the area but maintains Kidds Beach still to be her home. "Someone came to Kidds Beach and told me that there is a white person who needs a domestic worker, so as a result I had to come. I have been working as a domestic worker since 2002."⁴³ She further explained how she had to erect her shack:

I first found work here in Beacon Bay and I did not have anywhere to stay. So I was forced to come here and build a shack. I first stayed at a house of a person and when the house was demolished, I had to find a place to build a shack this side. It was easy (Makaziwe, 20/09/2012).

Makaziwe has maintained her home to be Kidds Beach and this is where her children are staying. She believes that she is in Nompumelelo only because she found work and she visits Kidds Beach almost every weekend.

⁴³ Makaziwe,38, female, interview done on 20 September 2012

Bank (2011) makes an assertion that migrants of Duncan Village often found themselves unemployed, under-employed or dependent on state welfare grants in the city. Some of the residents who moved from their villages in search of employment in the area did not find it. Domestic work is a very uncertain form of work because it is mostly casual work. The story of how Lona Nyika got dismissed from work explains this point but another demonstration of the uncertainty of domestic work and the frustration of these residents in Beacon Bay is of Philiswa, 34, who arrived in Nompumelelo in 2004 in search of employment. She explained how she has survived since then:

When I moved here, I had a view that I will get a job quick and work unlike in the village. I knew that I was moving to a place that was having richer people. It was never like that. I stayed for many years without a job or any form of income. I stayed from 2004 to 2009 without working at all (Philiswa, 19/ 10/12).

Even now, Philiswa does not have a stable job as she lives by doing piece jobs in Beacon Bay. "I am working on and off here in Beacon Bay. I do cleaning. I clean shops. I clean three days in one shop and two days in another for five days a week, at least I am able to survive."⁴⁴

The point I am trying to make here is that while residents of Nompumelelo Township regard the area as '*indawo yofihla intloko*' - a place to hide your head - and the fact that they regard their rural homes as their actual homes, they are increasingly compelled to depend on the city for survival. The clear case is that they are not willing to embrace city life and totally get detached from their rural origins. This is why whilst they are staying in the area they are still embracing "the countryside as an ideal, which they associated with a distinct set of values such as generational respect, discipline, self-restraint, self-reliance and moral responsibility..." (Bank 2011).

What I have been trying to show here is that whilst Nompumelelo Township residents can regard the area as '*indawo yofihla intloko*,' the reality is that they are not going anywhere as they are dependent on the city for survival. This means that they ought to begin to take the area as their place in the same way that Beacon Bay residents take the suburb as their place and are willing to defend it. This further means that both areas should begin to have a neighbourly relation as they are still going to be there.

⁴⁴ Philiswa, 34, Female, interview done on 19 October 2012

Whilst I use Bank's (2011) observation in this analysis, it must be noted that its limitation might be the fact that it was mainly focused on male migrants in the hostels of Duncan Village. Despite this fact the observation is very useful in our current analysis.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that the white suburbanites in Beacon Bay moved into the suburbs mainly because they wanted to escape any form of race mixing. By the 1980s they could see that many black people who could afford to stay in affordable suburbs such as Amalinda and Southernwood in East London were beginning to come into these areas. So the movement was not entirely about the need to find a 'nice house' or getting close to the sea as they try to portray. There were deep rooted reasons for this movement and these were closely related to the white middle-classes desire to escape race mixing as identified by many scholars who researched urban integration and segregation (see Sharpe and Wallock 1994; Pattillo-McCoy 2005; Ballard 2004 and Saff 2001). Their settlement in this expensive suburb, therefore, was a result of a run from the black middle-class.

I have also shown that the black middle-class has also started to occupy upmarket suburbs such as Beacon Bay. This class appears to be chasing the white middle-class in a way. Whilst the white middle-class escaped race mixing and its perceived negative effects, the black middle-class moved to Beacon Bay in escape of class mixing in the township and in the suburbs close to town. The findings show that in as much as the black middle-class residents originally come from townships and villages, the majority of them first settled in suburbs that were close to town such as Southernwood and Quigney. These were the areas that were previously occupied by the white middle-class and which experienced a flight of this race immediately after the arrival of black people in these suburbs. It is, therefore, those who could afford to do so that followed their fellow whites into the suburbs. What these findings suggest is that both the white and the black middle-class share a lot in common in relation to how they construct value.

In chapter six I will show in detail how both white and black suburbanites in Beacon Bay share similar feelings of what it means to stay in a suburban environment. These are reasons that are in tandem with the whole logic of the 'suburban ideal'. The chapter will show that this convergence of views on the suburb by both the black and the white middle-

class in Beacon Bay creates a unity for their views on the Nompumelo Township's perceived negative influence on the suburban lifestyle.

I concluded the chapter by showing that whilst Nompumelelo Township residents can regard the area as '*indawo yofihla intloko*', the reality is that they are dependent on the city for survival. This means that they ought to begin to take the area as their place in the same way that Beacon Bay residents take the suburb as their place and are willing to defend it. This means that residents of both areas should begin to have good neighbourly relations as they are still going to be close to each other. Any move to create integration in the area, done by either government or private institutions, ought to acknowledge this reality. The Nompumelelo settlement cannot be wished away and its residents have a right to the city and to the opportunities that it provides.

Chapter 6: The Suburban Frontier: An Analysis of the Social Dynamics Resulting from the Black Middle-Class Entrance in the Suburbia

Except in small, highly controlled suburban developments, there is no purely homogeneous “our community.” Even where the population appears homogeneous there are differences. Those 1950s and 1960s films and novels depicting lurid conflicts and unlikely intersections lurking beneath the placid streets of suburbia recognised divisions and differences but kept them safely referred to standard norms. Nowadays there are many different social and place norms for actions, for gender roles and family life, for education, as more diverse populations move into suburbia. Sometimes this diversity creates excitement, sometimes conflict (David Kold, 2008: 174).

Middle Classes and Middle-Class culture are a lived experience or manifestation of particular kinds of socio-economic relations that arise within certain historical and spatial circumstances and are articulated in and through culturally specific parameters of gender, nation, race, caste, ethnicity and empire (Rachel Heiman 2012: 13).

6.1 Introduction and Background

Ever since the dawn of democracy in 1994 South Africans have been on a path of finding a common identity that is centred on unity whilst acknowledging the diversity of various groups within the nation. This programme of nation building led to the development of many concepts which were based on the attainment of the objectives of having a common or at least shared identity in the country. These were concepts such as the ‘Rainbow Nation,’ ‘Civic Nationalism’ and many others. Black and white were the two identities made prevalent by apartheid and the nation building programme had at its core the vision of the eradication of such identifications. In academia and in the media there has been an idea that the entire notion of the rainbow nation had been based on flawed notions and also that it had failed due to the levels of inequalities, poverty and unemployment in the country⁴⁵ (see Habib 1997; also Saayman 2010). Some scholars have even gone to argue that the reason for this failure is that the country is now characterised by ‘class apartheid’ (Bond 2008).

⁴⁵ South Africa's inequality blights Mandela's dream of 'Rainbow Nation', NBC World News, 30 June 2013

In this chapter I want to explore if, at a particular level of social equity such as the middle-class, there exists such a 'rainbow nation'. This I will do by looking at the relations between black and white suburbanites in Beacon Bay. If we agree that sporting events such as the Rugby World Cup or the 2010 Soccer World Cup have failed to produce a 'rainbow nation' due to the levels of inequalities in the country, what sort of relations, then, are there where there are similar levels of income between white and black South Africans? What new identities are being formed at this level, therefore?

The primary question that this entire study is based on is how has the assimilation of the black middle-class into suburban life post-apartheid contributed to suburban integration or desegregation? In this chapter the intention is to try to respond to this question by looking at how views and perceptions of black middle-class suburbanites are similar or different from those of whites in relation to suburban integration.

Experiences in the United States, for instance, suggest that the black middle class still faces racial and other forms of discrimination and that its experience differs from that of the white middle-class in a variety of ways (Marsh, Darity Jr, Cohen, Casper, Salters 2007). The observation by some scholars has been that:

The one black doctor who lives in an exclusive white suburb and the few African American lawyers who work at a large firm are not representative of the black middle-class overall (but neither are their experiences identical to those of their white colleagues) (Pattillo-McCoy 1999: 3).

So this means that even though a richer black person is likely to stay in an area predominated by white people, this does not mean obtainment of meaningful integration. The reality is that the level of segregation amongst blacks and whites remains the same even amongst people of the same socio-economic, educational and occupational status (Warner 2006 citing Denton and Massey 1988).

Racial prejudices of whites against blacks and certain behaviours associated with them play a significant role in influencing the choice of place that middle-class whites take and the type of neighbours they choose. This equally influences their choices of whether to leave the neighbourhood or not (Denton and Massey 1988). This is also the case for blacks as Pattillo-McCoy (2005) found that middle-class blacks' feelings and decisions about integration in essence vary as they sometimes profess a taste for it but a longing for the

comfort of segregation. So, essentially, the black middle-class holds certain reservations as well about the whole notion of integration.

Taking this background into account, this chapter discusses findings on the nature of the black middle-class entrance into the South African suburban space, a space that was the sole preserve of the white middle-class during apartheid. It explores the relationship between these races as they come to meet in this space and what new identities are emerging as a result. This study uses Beacon Bay, one of East London's most affluent suburbs, to show how the emerging black middle-class has managed to enter this space in the post-apartheid era. Previous studies by Richard Ballard (2004) and Grant Saff (2001) have shown how the white middle-class has always been against any form of race or class mixing. The findings in this study show that new black suburbanites in Beacon Bay appear to have been welcomed with serious conditions by their fellow white suburbanites. These conditions are at the centre of the residual conflict in the suburbia as they are about the battle for authority in the definition of the suburb. Accordingly, the situation between these suburbanites is that of conflict and cooperation.

As earlier explained, I used the metaphor of the 'frontier' in this dissertation in order to emphasise this point of conflict and cooperation in Beacon Bay.⁴⁶ The conflict in Beacon Bay seems to be a complex modern resemblance of the South Africa frontier condition described by Legassick (1969). The argument here is that frontier culture in South Africa resulted in a way of life where both settlers and indigenous peoples clashed but also intermingled, thus producing a particularly new frontier identity that embodied aspects of each other's identities. The South Africa frontier was based on conflict but not along clearly restricted lines. In this chapter, I want to stress a point that the post-apartheid suburban environment is a reflection of a new frontier-zone.

I am, therefore, trying to explore this new frontier which has developed as a result of democracy. The findings of my research seem to suggest an existence of a boundary typical of the 18th century frontier zone as there is cooperation and conflict by the suburbanites. It should be noted that the conflict between black and white suburbanites in Beacon Bay is expressed silently and the cooperation, like on the frontier, exists in areas of commonality in

⁴⁶ It should be noted though that, in as much as the suburbia represents a frontier as it operates as an area of conflict and cooperative contact, unlike the wars of the era between 1779 and 1850 in various parts of what is now known as the Eastern Cape, the battle in the suburbia is one that is waged in a concealed way.

challenges or objectives. The findings in this research suggest that the post-apartheid suburb is a frontier of economic convergence and cultural differences.

I want to stress that I am using this conceptualisation of the frontier in describing the relations between white and black suburbanites in Beacon Bay in order to draw on some historical fidelity in my analysis but more importantly to emphasise what David Kolb (2008) described as 'place complexity' in suburbia. The complexity of suburbia is exposed by the fact that whilst there can be interacting social roles amongst the inhabitants, there are sometimes different values. Whilst the suburb might appear homogenous in architectural design, there are a variety of complexities that needed understanding about it, 'the everyday links, intersections and rhythms that permeate and structure lives in the suburban background' (Kolb 2008).

In further emphasising this point Kolb (2008: 173) poses a variety of questions:

Suburban actions and roles may seem too linear, too loosely connected, lacking variety and interaction. Their complexities, again, need to be partly revealed, partly created. For this, the diagnostic questions I suggested were: Can the place be lived as a unification of the multiple factors resulting from its social and spatial divisions and unities? Are the place's normative routes and paths of action linear or not? Are there routes parallel or loosely connected, or are they interwoven and interacting with one another...If there are multiple competing social norms and spatial divisions for different inhabitants of the place, do they coexist in ways that make it more complex or do they make it into several overlapping simpler places?

This chapter seeks to understand in the context of South Africa and, more particularly East London, what Kolb (2008) is emphasising in the extract quoted at the very beginning of the chapter. The intention here is to understand the dynamics caused by the diversity that has emerged in the suburbia post-apartheid. This I do by looking at two racial groups which occupy the same class position in South African society, the white and the black middle-class.

The findings in this research show that the relationship between these two races is that of cooperation as a result of necessity and it is also that of silent and guarded antagonism and it is mostly expressed in casual greetings. In other words the relations of these suburbanites are that of conflict resulting from the clash of identities but also that of serious linkages and commonalities about the suburban place. The findings show that it is only in the second generational black middle-class that you find meaningful relations with fellow white suburbanites. In the older generation, like on the 18th and 19th century South African frontier,

the relationship between these two races has been that of tolerance and avoidance of contact unless when forced by common challenges such as crime and the protection of property.

6.2 Keep to your Lane: Nature of the Relations of these Races in the Suburb

Findings in this research show that there exist serious challenges of integration in the suburb even though suburbanites across the racial spectrum have similar descriptions of suburban life as demonstrated in the previous chapter. The findings show that white middle-class's welcoming of their fellow black neighbours is only conditional. White middle-class suburbanites feel that they have the authority to define the nature of black middle-class assimilation into the Beacon Bay. This type of attitude makes black suburbanites feel uncomfortable in the suburbia.

The main complaint of black suburbanites in Beacon Bay, for instance, is that for one to be accepted into the suburb as a normal person by the white suburbanites one ought to assimilate into white culture. For the majority of the black suburbanites interviewed, integration in the area seems like a distant thing that everyone is longing for but refuses to move towards due to the comfort of segregation. I want to argue, therefore, that this idea that blacks must assimilate into white culture makes it easy for the black middle-class to hide the fact that it too is leaning towards segregation. The findings also show that the younger generation of the black middle-class, which is mostly second generational, has been able to better assimilate with no hindrance in the area. I argue below that this is mainly because they have assimilated well into this culture. Let me explore this discussion in detail by first looking at the white suburbanite's feelings and perception of integration and then those of black suburbanites.

6.2.1 Blacks' entrance must be based on assimilation to 'our' culture

Black people's entrance into Beacon Bay has received a conditional welcoming from the white middle-class that have always occupied the place and, if not properly analysed, one might not see the underlying negativities arising from this form of welcoming. In other words the changing nature of the post-apartheid suburb is being welcomed with qualification by white suburbanites. This idea of conditional welcoming of this class in the suburb is based on notions of conformity and exclusivity. Sharp and Wallock (1994) had argued that the

segregationists outlook of white middle-class suburbanites was not inherently based on racism, but based on the perception that racial and class differences can have negative effects on property values and the social standing of the area. The discredited nature of racism and formal segregation in post-apartheid South Africa has led to careful social construction of suburbs as homogeneous zones with conformity as the only ticket of entrance for those viewed to be coming from outside.

The dominant theme that emerges from the white middle-class is that there is no problem with the black middle-class people as long as they will work to keep the neighbourhood character intact. This is basically the character of the area as a middle-class exclusive suburb. Ballard (2002) argues that in post-apartheid South Africa money became the substitution for race for one's entrance into formerly white suburbs and this is because money allows the consumption levels required to maintain that exclusive middle-class identity. This feeling is captured by many of the white suburbanites that I interviewed but its best summarised by Mrs Spaner who says she is comfortable with blacks in her area because, "people who come to Beacon Bay are mostly quite wealthy people and thus they easily settle in because they share the same values of here".⁴⁷

There is an urge by most white suburbanites to describe the various ways of acceptable conduct in the suburb and then associate any odd behaviour with the recent demographic changes. This in a way allows for them to still have control of the definition of the neighbourhoods' character without the use of race (Saff 1994; Ballard 2002). This exposes the racists' content of these responses as most 'odd' behaviours, such as parties and littering, are associated with the changing nature of the suburb.

Mr Stinner's views on this are worth looking at in detail. Mr Stinner, 65, was born in the old Transvaal and he spent most of his life there. He has lived in East London since 1973 first staying in Amalinda and then moving into Beacon Bay in 1981. He has lived in Beacon Bay ever since and has enjoyed his life in the area and feels that he has succeeded as he, together with his wife of 41 years, managed to raise their children in the area. He expresses his discomfort with changes that he believes are as a result of black people's arrival in the suburb:

You become equal as a society by either the bottom people going up and living by the values that you have or being pulled down to them. In the area that I live in now, I see

⁴⁷ Mrs Spaner, Female: 75 years, retired historian, interview done on 09 June 2013

that there is a lack of respect for people and for oneself. I have lived in Beacon Bay from 1981 and we never had speed humps and in the last 10 years we have found a lot of lawlessness. People now have lost respect for other people nowadays. Now they are adopting the attitude that if I am not caught, it's fine. Now you have speed humps which are a disadvantage to other people because of the naughty ones. Here there have always been two bins for dumping glasses; one guy just went there to dump rubbish there. This is the same disrespect I see with people eating KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) and they throw the bones in the streets. They are destroying the environment. They are breaking benches in parks and making firewood with them. You get there a guy with massive speakers, making noise for people. It is these people I am speaking about generally. I do not know if it was a culture in the Transkei or Ciskei to live like this (Mr Skinner 11/06/2013)

So the concern of Mr Skinner here is not to be 'pulled down'. His view is that the arrival of blacks in the suburb carries with it the potential to lower his standard as a person and that of the neighbourhood as a whole if not properly monitored. So the problem he has here is the culture he sees creeping in, which might be from 'Transkei' or 'Ciskei'. So for him, for a person to stay in the suburb, they must be able to adopt his culture and that of the neighbourhood.



Photo 3: Taxi Rank near Beacon Bay Spargs Shopping Complex in Beacon. This Rank is a subject of many of the complaints about littering in the suburb.

He further makes this point clear when he speaks about the story of where he stays currently and his main argument is that people who come in ought to accept norms and standards of the area:

I live in a townhouse. I had a black lady in the unit next to me and she lived there for a couple of years and we never had any problems with her. We have no problem with people who come to live to the norms and standards that are of this place. But I had four young graduates and there were young ladies shouting that they wanted their money. The guys were blowing music up and having a party, a total disregard for all other people. It is a question of the behaviour of the people that move into the area. In life you must know that if you want to leave in my area, accept the social standing of the area. If you do not want to pay for the water for instance, go and live in Nompumelelo. Accept norms and standards and behave (Mr Skinner, 11/06/2013).

These sentiments were shared by many other white suburbanites interviewed and the argument that most put is that there remains no problem with black suburbanites as long as they behave in a manner acceptable in the area. Mrs Silvia, for instance, makes a statement that, "I for one do not care who lives next to me as long as they are decent and as long as they do not infringe on my rights."⁴⁸

So assimilation to white middle-class culture is a prerequisite for suburban access for the black middle-class. To be viewed as decent here means being viewed as modern and civilised. Stephen Mennell (1992) discusses in detail the concept of 'establishedness' which is something expressed by the people who have long settled in an area and the attitude they take on any new entrance in 'their' area. This is true of the white suburbanites in Beacon Bay as they feel what should be done in the area should be defined by them and the fact that what is proper conduct is always described against anything new.

Their emphasis is always on standards and culture and this is always put in contrast to noise and filth as an erosion of these standards. I want to argue that the recurring emphasis on noise and filth is more a carefully guarded expression of discomfort with the changes happening in the area. Take for instance the expression by Mr Meyer:

I have no problem with the black middle-class arriving here, but whoever decides to move into here should know the standards and culture that is acceptable. They should accept this as such or in other words they should not move into Beacon Bay. Ever since the movement took place it has been noticeable that on the side of the road you now see tins of beer (Mr Meyer, 07/06/2013).

By 'movement' here is meant the movement of black people into the suburb. The discomfort seems to be about many things that relate to norms and standards but filth is always used because of its overall moral correctness. The welcoming of the black middle-class in the Beacon Bay suburb, therefore, has not been without hindrances but been based on the acceptance of certain norms and values. Legassick (1969: 13) argues that essential to the

⁴⁸ Silvia: Female, 59, interview done at Spargs Restaurant on 07 June 2013

existence of frontier zones “is a crisis of values, cultural and political, which cannot be resolved by the imposition of superior force” and this crisis in Beacon Bay resembles this description. This crisis of values and norms arises also because of the fact that the white middle-class has at its disposal no option but to attempt to tolerate the presence of this class as their neighbours.

The above discussion proves that the white middle-class’s belief on segregation is intact but it is expressed in a more socially acceptable and politically correct way. One interesting thing from the data is that the white middle-class appreciates the fact that there is racial inspired discomfort with the arrival of the black middle-class in the suburb. Despite this acknowledgement, this is always interpreted as minimal or it is shifted to another person or group. Almost all the white suburbanites interviewed saw no problems with the changes in the racial composition of Beacon Bay but knew of people who have. Some have encountered instances where there were such open expressions of discomfort by a group of people. This is captured in statements such as, “there are some people who are not comfortable with the blacks...but that is a few people”.⁴⁹

Take the story of Mrs Cambell, 70, for instance. She was born in a nursing home in Cambridge in East London and her father was Afrikaans and her mother was English. She lived most of her childhood in Nahoon and she moved into Beacon Bay in 1969. She believes that, together with her late husband, they were part of the first people to move into Beacon Bay. She currently has a part time job as a teacher at a pre-school in the area where there are children from diverse races. So she believes that she does not have problems with black suburbanites in the area but states that:

There is still a certain section of the population that are finding it difficult to accept black presence. I hear when I listen to people talking. People can be very negative and they will always complain about many things and you will see the subject of the complaint (Mrs Cambell, 29/05/2013).

This type of view is shared by many of the residents interviewed and they show an appreciation of the problem that exists in the suburbs. Some of the people go even further to identify where such problems of accepting black presence might be. Take Mr Boosens assertion that:

Where I stay there is a black person, he does not bother me, I do not bother him, we just greet. Our social relation is that we greet each other. Racism is no longer

⁴⁹ Christina, female 58 years, interview done on 19 Feb 2013

something serious here, unless you are like the people in the (Beacon Bay) Ratepayers Association. Some of them are racists (Mr Booyens, 19/04/2013)

Notice that here Mr Booyens first cleans himself of any racist conduct before pointing to where the problem might be. It is, therefore, here acknowledged that this remains a problem, but it is practiced by certain sections of the community rather than the community as a whole. I want to again stress the point that this is chiefly due to the fact that no different means of expression are available for the white middle-class, so the only option is to be politically correct least one becomes accused of racism. Therefore, the best way of not being accused of being a racist is not to deny the existence of racism but to acknowledge it whilst pointing it somewhere else. This is part of the art of not being racists.

This form of argument sits beside a tendency by most white suburbanites to say that race does not matter or in other words that they do not see colour when doing things. Ballard (2002) argues that the widespread denial of race by white suburbanites does not serve to indicate that they are accepting of all racial groups. What is important for us is to find out what has filled the vacuum of this space left by racist discourse. South African society today, like a frontier zone, forces all racial groups to relate at least on a superficial level and this is why both white and black suburbanites are forced to relate even if they maintain a qualitative distance from each other.

Like a frontier zone, whilst there are various boundaries in the suburb these are permeable and one way of how this is expressed in Beacon Bay is when it comes to matters of security and the protection of the place. This common unity in defence of the suburb is always exerted against outside threats such as crime. Legassick (1969) argues that frontier zones are characterised by mutual conditions of fear. I want to argue that it is this fear of the unknown that causes some form of relations in the suburb. This is expressed in terms of protection of one another's properties whenever a threat appears. So the protection of another person's property is linked to a protection of one's own property as the belief is that this favour is something that should be returned. Steve captures the essence of this when he says:

It is not a problem to stay with them (blacks), we just greet and ask how is it. We are just neighbours. The neighbours in front for instance we usually greet them, but they are not there that often. But if something happened in our house she would call, but nothing has happened. We do not normally converse down here (Steve, 08/06/2013).

So the relation here as described by Steve is based on the protection of the property more than normal conversations as these are only limited to greetings. This is something that is shared by many white suburbanites. Consider for instance Mrs Rosely's statement that:

We live happily. For instance my husband saw a person who jumped over the wall of our black neighbour's house and we tried to call the police, but the neighbour immediately came out to tell us that it is his friend and it was because his bell is not working properly (Mrs Rosely, 22/03/2013).

Whilst this follows the trend of protection each other's property, it also appears to be a distant concern of who will know when there is an actual burglary. There also seems to be monitoring of the manner in which black households function and if they are operating within the confines of what is perceived as acceptable neighbourhood conduct. Notice that because of the appreciation of the nature of the area as it relates to this question of security, the neighbour felt compelled to immediately come and explain to Mrs Rosely and her husband. Security, therefore, has been one way in which both black and white middle-class suburbanites relate better and this is caused by the perception that crime affects everyone in the area irrespective of race. Mr Knight properly outlines the essence of this feeling when he says, "...in the CPF (Community Policing Forum), there is no question of colour".⁵⁰

6.2.2 The fictitious quest for integration and a longing for the comfort of segregation

New black entrants into formerly white suburbs such as Beacon Bay feel unwelcomed in these areas. This is shown by the fact that almost all the people I interviewed believed that the relations in the suburbia are far from being well. The black people who are staying in the suburban black belt for instance feel that the relations are fine with the whites who are staying closer to the area, but they acknowledge that this is not the case as one gets deeper into the suburb. There is a general belief that acceptance of each other by both groups will take a long time before it is achieved.

Only a few believed that there is harmony that is non-superficial between themselves and the white suburbanites. This emerges from the statements of the first generational black middle-class, but overall there is a general disdain about relations with white suburbanites. These findings confirm Pattillo's (2005) argument that the feelings and decisions of the

⁵⁰ Mr Knight: Male, 82 years, retired Magistrate, interview done on 15 Oct 2012

black middle-class as it relates to integration are based on an aspiration to taste it whilst longing for the comfort of segregation.

The main complaint is that for one to be accepted into the suburb as a normal person by the white suburbanites one ought to assimilate into white culture. The reason why the younger generation of the black middle-class, which is mostly second generational, has been able to better assimilate with no hindrance in the area is because they have assimilated into this culture. For the majority of the black suburbanites interviewed, integration in the area seems like a distant thing that everyone is longing for but refuses to move towards due to the comfort of segregation. The blame for this is vested not entirely in the white suburbanites but on everyone across the racial spectrum. The feeling that blacks have on the white suburbanites is that of tolerance that is extremely monitored and this explains the superficial nature of the relations in the suburbia.

There feeling is that of ‘I know you don’t want me, but I am here so live with me and if you can’t I am watching you.’ This is, for instance, captured by statements such as, “They can’t accept us white people, this is a fact. You see it sometimes, but because a person can’t do anything about it, it’s difficult. Maybe it will be better in the next generation.”⁵¹ These sorts of feelings are sometimes stated positively by some who say, for example, “I do not have a problem with white people. I accept and tolerate them, this I do knowing that there will always be some gaps between us. This is because of history ... White people will always have a problem with us here. This is nothing that we can change.”⁵² Statements of this nature erase any possibility of meaningful integration in the suburb and they present a picture that black suburbanites are carefully guarding the white middle-class in the suburban space. This happens whilst white suburbanites continue to impose their norms on the black suburbanites and this imposition becomes another way in which the non-acceptance is viewed.

This basically explains the nature of the black suburbanites’ attitude towards assimilation into the suburbia. There is a general acknowledgement that there is a problem of integration and this is why blacks always keep a watchful eye on anything that might appear racist or make them less citizens of the suburb. Take the story of Phumeza, 28, a resident of Beacon Bay and an office administrator in a designing company in Vincent. She was born in Matatiale and her mother was a lecture at the University of Fort Hare. She was educated in model C schools for

⁵¹ Ms Mrwetyana, Female, interview done on 14 Mar 2013

⁵² Nosipho, Female, interview done on 26 Feb 2013

all her life and as such she has had cultural contact with white people in school. She nonetheless expresses an antagonistic relation with white suburbanites in Beacon Bay:

There will always be the fact that we are black and they are white and we do not trust each other. There was this day in Spar where a white person was attacking a black person from the township and we lashed at the white person even though we did not know what was happening. In a quiet way we are still very aggressive with each other. At least we are not being shot. You would hear (white) people who would say this place never used to be like this and they will use things such as ‘before these times.’ Some white people will even complain about music of a person that is in a car and will make statements such as ‘this is not the township.’ They forget that their dogs make noise. My neighbour complains about kids that are 1 and 2 years old. When you are here, you feel like you are standing for many other black people there (Phumeza 22 /04/2013)

So the attitude as expressed by Phumeza is that of open but yet hidden conflict that is due to the clash of identities and the history of segregation. The feeling of representing many other black people expressed here is not in relation to living the life but in this conflict and this attitude seems to suggest a continuation of this fight. There is therefore a residual conflict between these classes but only expressed at certain moments. This basically explains the reason why both of these classes seem to be very comfortable with keeping a qualitative distance from each other.

The black middle-class suburbanites seem to express a longing for integration and this is so that they are viewed to be socially and politically correct. The actual attitude they display is that of being comfortable with being segregated in the area. This is shown by their attitude against any form of serious relations with their fellow white suburbanites. This is captured in expressions such as “...I do not get visits from white woman here and I do not visit white woman also”.⁵³ The attitude is that there ought to be avoidance of relations with white suburbanites and this is due to the fact that there is a permanent fear that one is not accepted anyways and that there is a possibility of an identity clash. The ideal of the black middle-class longing for integration but being comfortable with segregation is best captured by Mrs Bambiso, a business woman who owns a manufacturing company and a hotel in Mthatha. She says, “I expected to have relations with neighbours but to be honest the only neighbour I have relations with is the one across the road since she is a black person also,” and later in the interview she proceeded to say:

⁵³ Ms Mrwetyana, Female, interview done on 14 Mar 2013

It is a racial thing, not apartheid or racism. To be honest it is difficult to mix with people who are not like us. I do not want to be visited by a white neighbour and I am sure they do not want that also. There was one that was interested in making relations and I was uncomfortable. I do not want to be visited by a white woman so that we drink coffee in the kitchen. So I think there is a problem with me also (Mrs Bambiso, 09/ June/2013).

So there is an acknowledgement that the problem vest not only with white suburbanites but with blacks suburbanites as well. This statement here expresses an undeclared fear of what might result from meaningful integration. I want to argue that this might also be due to the fact that black middle-class identity is based on feelings of superiority and therefore contact with what might appear to undermine such an identity ascription is always rejected.

Black suburbanites do this whilst being on a clear quest to be ‘modern and civilised’ human beings. Dixon, Foster and Durrheim (1994) established that being modern, civilised and European are fundamental traits of white identity in South Africa. The black middle-class has an ambiguous aspiration to this form of identity whilst they profess distaste for it in the public domain. I want to argue that this is mainly due to the fact that the black middle-class’s contact with a matured nature of this identity leads to feelings of inferiority within themselves and this clash with the fact that the identity of this class is formed on superior notions. This type of ambivalence confirms Moore’s (2008) argument that because of the fact that blackness in popular culture has always been associated with poor blacks, the black middle-class faces a dilemma in its interpretation of its blackness and thus its identity expression. This is what the previous discussion has shown and below I want to also show how this is also expressed in the suburban black belt.



Photo 4: Picture of Beacon Bay's Suburban Black Belt. Notice how it is close to the Nompumelelo Township.

It has long been an argument in black studies that black middle-class suburbanites often stay in contemporary black belts which are basically areas in between black poverty-stricken areas and white leafy residential areas (Pattillo-McCoy 1999). This is the case as it relates to a settlement in Beacon Bay's Edge Road (See Photo 6). The area is a buffer between Beacon Bay and Nompumelelo Township. Mr Knight stated that before 1994 it was difficult to sell a house if it was close to Edge Road and, due to the development of the settlement, he expressed happiness at the fact that at least that problem was no longer there.⁵⁴ This is an acknowledgement of the fact that it might have been difficult to sell a house in the area but apparently there was a huge development in the late 1990s and early 2000s in the area which saw a development of an almost entirely black middle-class settlement. Studying this area will be very important for further ethnographic research but here I am interested in the views that people in this area expressed as they relate to integration in the entire Beacon Bay suburb.

There is an appreciation of difference by the people who stay in this area, even though they believe it does not seriously affect them. Mr Cingo, 49, was born and raised in Mthatha. Since the late 1980s he was working for the post-office in Mthatha and in 1996 he was transferred to work in East London at the Beacon Bay post office as a teller. For all this time in East London he was staying in Mdanstane and in 2000s there was an advertisement for low costs houses on the fringe of the suburb and he decided to take this offer so that he could be a resident of Beacon Bay but equally be close to work. So this is how he ended staying in the suburban black belt. He believes that there exists a huge possibility of fine relations with the white suburbanites who stay close there but they believe that this might only be due to the nature of the area. Whilst making this point he stated that:

“...things might be different for instance our area in Beacon Bay it might be like that, but down there by the beach you might be alone there as a black person. Here we are diverse, even themselves (whites) they have their parties that last the whole night. So our relationship is just perfect and fine” (Mr Cingo 29/06/2013)

This proves a point made by many scholars that middle-class blacks live in less socio-economically developed areas than their white counterparts, but also makes the point that lower middle-class whites tend to live closer to black suburbanites (Marsh, Darity Jr, Cohen, Casper, Salters 2007). Based on these standards, therefore, it is only the white lower middle-

⁵⁴ Mr Knight, Male, 82 years white middle-class, interview on 2012 15 October

class people who stay close to these areas. I want to argue that the good relation between these whites and blacks is due to their shared social status. Furthermore, it might also be because of the fact that whites are always minorities in areas that are close to black belts. This is why Mr Cingo acknowledges no problems with whites in the area but points to the fact that problems do exist as one gets deeper into Beacon Bay.

This type of feeling is shared by Mr Mahewu who also stays in Edge Road as he said:

So far so good, because there are whites that we can communicate to and can do business with. There is of course still that negativity and so on. My child for instance is studying at Stirling and I find it difficult to have her get assistance of transport from some white families that are also taking their children there each day. Most fortunately, here we are all blacks, but if you go deeper into Beacon Bay you will see some whites and so on (30/06/2013).

Mr Mahewu appears to be very comfortable with where he is staying and does not mind the fact that it is a black only area within a middle-class suburb composed of all races. For him this avoids many other problems that are related to mixing. So the black middle-class in black belts feel that they have achieved what they wanted and are located in areas where they can properly express their identities as they stay far from the black poor but also far from rich whites. The idea of 'anti-mixing' is properly achieved in this area. This is an acknowledgement of the fact that former white middle-class residential areas remain uncomfortable for the black middle-class due to the reason that I have outlined above.

It is important that I also state that it is not the entire black middle-class that has a problem with assimilating into Beacon Bay. The second generation black middle-class, which is mostly constituted by the youth, feel comfortable in suburbia and people coming from this generation appear to have assimilated very well. This is not because their blackness is accepted by the white middle-class but it is because their contact and later adoption of the ideals of being modern, civilised and European happened at a much earlier stage in their lives. Some of these people do not have a form of relationship with fellow black suburbanites and this is expressed clearly by Eva, 33, when she said;

I do not have any form of friendship with black people in Beacon Bay. I only meet them in clubs in Vincent. Reason might be that I spend a lot of time in my flat with my cat and spend a lot of time with my (white) friends in Coralwood. I also visit my parents in Vincent when I have time (Eva 12/10/ 2013).

This type of outlook is also shared by Siphon, 29, who stated that he is fine with everyone both black and white in Beacon Bay because some of them are people he went to school with.

“Most of my friends in Beacon Bay are people I went to school with. It is just that when they moved here, we became more closer since we are staying in the same place.”⁵⁵

These findings are in line with those of Kasha Moore (2008) who had found that within the black middle-class there exist two categories, one which is middle-class minded and one that is multi-class minded. So whilst these two fractions of the black middle-class might share similar economic and occupational status and even stay in the same area, their cultural conduct is very different from one another. The distinction between these two sub-categories of the black middle-class relate to how far they can go in accepting white middle-class identity. As this discussion has shown, the second generation middle-class, which is mainly middle-class minded, is aware and very accepting of the class and privilege difference between itself and the black poor. This class mostly sit and socialise in environments that are mostly populated by both the white and black middle-class (Moore 2008).

6.2.3 Suburb as an antisocial space ‘anyway’

The idea of the frontier zone being a place that fosters individualism (see Legassick 1969) appears to be similar to that of the post-apartheid suburban place. The individualist nature of the frontier zone is even captured by Frederick Turner (1893: 6) who states that:

...the frontier is productive of individualism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organisation based on the family. Complex society is anti-social. It produces antipathy in control, and particularly to any direct control.

It is indeed true that a society as complex as the post-apartheid suburb does foster a lot of individualism and the findings in this research show this. In the previous two sections I have shown how the absence of meaningful relations between black and white suburbanites has been expressed. I here want to argue that both these races have sought to justify this by putting forward an argument that the suburb is an antisocial space ‘anyway’. One of the interesting findings common amongst the white and black suburbanites is the manner in which they justify the absence of integration. The argument here is that there can be no form of relations in the suburb apart from formal relations and meet and greets. This appears to be some form of shifting the responsibility of creating relations. This means both classes have given up such a task whilst shedding the guilt resulting from the failure to integrate properly.

⁵⁵ Sipho, 29, Male, black middle-class, interview done on 03 May 2013

What is more interesting is that both these classes express this in more or less similar terminology. Let me first here outline the manner in which the white middle class expresses this and then move on to analyse how this is similarly expressed by the black middle-class. Take for instance Mr Booyens' statement that:

There is generally no interaction between a lot of people in the area, both black and white. The relationship is not the same as you would have in a township. The main reason for this is that the houses are very far from each other (Mr Booyens, 19/04/2013).

So for Mr Booyens the fact that there are no relations across the racial spectrum is due to the nature of the houses. It is indeed true that the built environment does have a role in the manner in which social relations are formed but my interest here is that this is used in this instance as an abdication of the responsibility of achieving integration in the suburb. Many other white suburbanites express similar feelings. Christina, a 58 year old Beacon Bay resident and a nurse in one of East London's old age homes, for instance stated that:

I think that most people here are reserved about their personal lives, completely reserved. We speak when it is necessary but we always keep to ourselves unless it is necessary. This includes black and whites; there is no colour (Christina, 19/02/2013).

The black middle-class expresses similar views about the fact that Beacon Bay is an anti-social suburb that allows little space for the development of meaningful relations amongst people that stay there. Interestingly black suburbanite's expression of this appears to be very much stronger than that of their fellow white suburbanites. This is shown by the manner in which they convey this message as it comes across as if it is something that they have been yearning for when they left the township or rural areas and decided to settle in the suburb. Consider for instance Sisanda, a 41 year old resident and a chartered accountant at the Office of the Auditor General in the Eastern Cape. She has lived in Beacon Bay for almost seven years now and she asserted that:

...everyone minds their own business in this side of the metro. You will greet someone if you know them. This applies across all races. This is a suburb and like any other suburb you mind your own business and carry on co-existing with no relations. You will only interact with people you are familiar with, unless you have to. The friendliness and kindness displayed in rural areas and villages does not happen in the suburbs (Sisanda, 19/02/2013).

This form of statement is always given in response to questions that seek to probe the nature of relations in the area. The assertion that 'people here mind their own business' is presented as the way things should be in a suburb under normal circumstances. This belief plays a

significant role in justifying the lack of relations in the suburb, more particularly between the black and the white suburbanites.

There is a continued belief that giving each other spaces is something very important in the suburb and most black suburbanites always contrasts this with the nature of life in the township. So the idea expressed here is that there ought to be interaction amongst people only where necessary. This type of feeling is captured well by Phumeza who states that:

There relations is on a superficial level, there is nothing deep about it. We would stand for like 10 minutes and speak about the weather, how's work. We look after each other's houses. We are not in each other's space and private lives (Phumeza, 22/04/2013).

I want to argue that respecting a person's private live is something different to having no form of relations at all. The expressions being given here are just proof of the fact that black and white suburbanites do not want to be shaken from their comfort zones. The fact that both fail to sustain a conversation for more than ten minutes is a case in point.

6.3. Conclusion

In trying to respond to the question of how has the black middle-class entrance in the post-apartheid suburb contributed to integration in the suburb, I have throughout this chapter demonstrated that there exists a serious clash of identities in the post-apartheid suburban place. Their diverse nature does not suggest better race relations at all, so we can so far conclude that the entrance of the black middle-class into suburbia has had no significant impact for integration and thus nation building. I have demonstrated this by focusing on the nature of the relations between black and white suburbanites and the findings show that whilst there might be inclinations towards tolerance general social relations are not there in the suburb and the question of norms and values are at the centre of this clash. The fact that there is cooperation and conflict in the suburbia exposes its complexity.

In making his point on the need to study the complexity of suburbs Kolb (2008) argues that aesthetics and suburban authenticity has always been the focus of urban research whereas it is more important that we understand the complexity of these places in the contest of growing diversity. It is for this reason that I decided to study the various dynamics resulting from the arrival of the black middle-class in the Beacon Bay suburb.

The South African frontier history is filled with stories of frontier clashes leading to the formation of new unique identities for those in the frontier zone. This is why it is a fact that early German settlers in the Eastern Cape frontier, for instance, became IsiXhosa speakers (Saunders and Derricourt 1974). The idea of a frontier zone producing new identities was also expressed by Frederick Turner in 1893 when he was speaking about the American frontier:

The Stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference of its lessons, have accompanied the frontier (Turner, 1893: 6)

I want to argue that like the frontier zone the Beacon Bay as a suburb carries a lot of potential for better relations amongst the suburbanites and thus integration. If we agree with what I have demonstrated in this study that the essential crisis in Beacon Bay is that of definition of values and norms and therefore that of culture, then we can agree on a way to resolve this. If we also agree with the use of the frontier thesis in conceptualising the social dynamics in Beacon Bay, we would then also agree on the understanding that essential to the existence of frontier zones “is a crisis of values, cultural and political, which cannot be resolved by the imposition of superior force” (Legassick 1969:13). Therefore, the resolution of the crisis of values and culture in Beacon Bay requires a solution that will not rely on quick fix top down solutions coming from the state or any other external body.

Like a frontier, Beacon Bay is an ‘arena of cultural contestation’ and therefore this is why it bares serious possibilities for the production of new identities through mutual acculturation. Mutual acculturation is basically a process in which two cultures meet and intermingle to form one identity and culture with each having a resemblance of the other (Berry 2011). In concluding this chapter I want to make a few suggestions that can lead towards this in Beacon Bay and in various other South African suburbs that are similar to Beacon Bay.

There needs to be an open discussion of the place norms and values in Beacon Bay and such a discussion should involve as many people as possible and these should be as diverse as possible. This for sure will not be a simple process and as such it would need to be a systematic thing done continuously. Kolb (2008: 178) argues that, “Claiming that norms are stable and fixed is a defensive move in that struggle, not its resolution.” So it is for this

reason that this process becomes as open as possible, involves many participants and should happen on a continuous basis. So any intervention here should be a process rather than a once off thing. As Kolb (2008: 179) further argues:

What is important is the realisation that place norms are not final and complete but are complexly interrelated and porous within larger flows, and always under reconstruction even when they appear fixed.

So all relevant stakeholders in the suburbia must acknowledge this and work towards the continuous definition of place norms and values. Organisations such as Rotary, the Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association, political organisations and civic organisations have a serious role to play in this as their actions can assist in the formal definition and reinterpretation of place norms and values. In this way better relations will be formed and new identities thus developed as time proceeds.

Matters that relate to the school governance policy, utilisation of recreational facilities, disputes with neighbouring areas such as Nompumelelo Township, makes everyone more aware of the complex nature of the place and will thus make them more conscious of the need to continuously define and reinterpret the norms of the suburb. I want to further propose that a community newspaper will be very important in this case as it will be able to shape the various discussions that arise within the community.

If having a newspaper in Beacon Bay proves to be difficult or takes time, in the meantime this task could be carried out by community blogs and community online discussion forums. These can even be through Facebook and Twitter. These actually can even provide contact that stretches far beyond what might be available in spatial proximity. Discussions of this nature will also allow people to participate in them without the limitation of time. The internet can help create more interactive local processes for the definition, interpretation and reproduction of multiple social norms and values and thus limiting contestation on these. I want to argue that whilst the internet is important it should also not replace social contact and interaction in the community, which is provided by various places of contact such as the restaurants, malls, churches, and community and civic organisations.

Chapter 7: Contextual Analysis of the Discourses of Urban Poor Exclusion in Beacon Bay

...when attempting to analyse the codified discourse of residential exclusion one should remain aware that, while at any given time the relative weight of class and race are contingent on the specificity of a particular place and the socially constructed norms and values of those living in that locality, the context of these struggles is always mediated through the self-interest that is engendered by the unequal division of space (and hence of resources) that is inherent within the capitalist land market. This unequal division of space perpetuates continual spatial conflict, with each neighbourhood desperately trying to protect and maintain its position from those both higher up (such as financial speculators) and lower down the urban order (such as squatters) Grant Saff (2001: 91).

7.1 Introduction and Background

In this study I ask how has the assimilation of the black middle-class into suburban life post-apartheid contributed to integration or desegregation on the urban fringe. In trying to respond to this question and also in trying to explore the nature of the attitudes and relations of the suburbanites to the urban poor in Beacon Bay, I will in this chapter outline findings that clearly demonstrate that the arrival of the black middle-class in Beacon Bay has not changed how suburban residents view the urban poor. I will demonstrate this by first outlining the fact that both black and white suburbanites have similar definitions of what it means to stay in an affluent suburb. This commonality in suburban description leads to a common rejection of anything that is seen to be threatening the quality of suburban life. This leads to a rejection of the Nompumelelo Township residents as rightful neighbours in the area. I will end off by showing that this rejection is felt by the residents of Nompumelelo Township as they believe that Beacon Bay continues to operate as *‘indawo yabantu abaphakamileyo’* – a place of aloof people.

Understanding the suburban ideal and how Beacon Bay features in this history clearly tells us that the aim of its early inhabitants, the white middle-class, has always been to achieve spatial exclusivity. This has led to their rejection of anything that might be seen to be compromising this exclusivity. Even during apartheid, black squatter settlements and black

townships were associated with ‘disease, crime and drunkenness’ by the white middle class and these are the reasons that mainly led to the evolution of legislation such as the Group Areas Act (Maylam 1982). Ballard (2004) and (Saff 2001) studied discourses of exclusion by the white suburbanites against the urban poor in Durban and in Cape Town. They both arrived at more or less similar conclusions in that in both studies they discovered that the urban poor is always denigrated and accused of negatively affecting the social value of the suburb as it is viewed to be causing filth, health hazards and crime and behaving immorally. The findings in this research on Beacon Bay arrived at similar conclusions about the exclusionary attitude that suburbanites have towards the urban poor but the findings here further show that this is not solely a matter of race as black middle-class suburbanites express similar views in rejecting the urban poor from the suburb. The exclusionary discourse that emerges against the urban poor should thus be understood as a complex matter that stretches beyond race.

The findings and discussion in this chapter will show that the suburb continues to operate as a site of exclusion even after the entrance of the black middle-class. This chapter will show how the suburbanites of Beacon Bay across the racial spectrum try to exclude the urban poor despite the acknowledgement that they are needed for the provision of labour in the suburb. I will show that these residents’ negative perception of the Nompumelelo Township residents has led to falling property prices in the areas close by and areas with a view of the township. I will demonstrate how the fall of property prices is more a problem of perception against the urban poor and an expression against social difference more than it is a result of the close proximity of the township.

In chapter two I have showed that the ‘suburban ideal’ was a combination of cultural forms designed by a particular class to serve its own interests as a group (Miller 1995). The designers of the suburb wanted to design a residential area that would express the white-middle-class desire to formalise their own lifestyle and position by segregating themselves from others in society (Sies 2001). What the findings and discussions in this chapter will show is that the change in colour of these suburbs today has not changed the essential foundations that they were built upon and this is why the black middle-class arrival in the suburb has not change attitudes of suburbanites against the urban poor.

7.2 Similar Longing for a Safe and Quiet Place

There exist similarities in both the black and white middle class's description of suburban life. This resonates with the notion of the 'suburban ideal' as Mary Corbin Sies described it, i.e. as an idea of a suburb as a peaceful and clearly bounded, safe neighbourhood with schools, parks, churches and with degrees of local control (Sies 2001). Both groups share this definition of Beacon Bay, as it relates to the suburb's provision of safety for their families, schooling for their children and a quiet and tranquil way of life. The idea of homogeneity are shared across the racial spectrum in the suburbs and this means that, despite the changing racial character of the suburb, the underlying social norms and beliefs of what a middle-class exclusive suburb is remain intact. These ideas of suburban living actually lead to serious disdain against anything that appears to be a threat to it and it explains the basis of unity of both white and black suburbanites in their dismissal of the urban poor in the areas close to the suburb.

White suburbanites believed that the place offers them a 'comfortable lifestyle' where you are able to 'raise your children' safely.⁵⁶ Some expressed the fact that the suburb in its nature is "quiet, calm and the living environment is very conducive."⁵⁷ Mr Meyer expresses this more clearly when he said:

In terms of our social standards Beacon Bay was an acceptable area for us. It had all the amenities that we could require in terms of shopping and even medical amenities and at the time (*we were buying*) we knew that they were going to build a hospital close to our place (Mr Meyer, 07/06/2013)

Calmness and access to amenities goes along with safety in the definitions that suburbanites accord to the place. Take for instance the statement below by Mrs Silvia, 59, who has been in the neighbourhood for 13 years:

This is a correct place to raise your children in. A lot of amenities are available in the area and it is safe. There will be incidences once in a while but the place remains safe. That is what I like about it (07/06/2013).

These definitions of the suburb as a place that is quiet, safe and conducive for children's growth are shared by all the black suburbanites as well. This is succinctly captured by Sisanda who states that, "this is what I had brought for, a safe and convenient

⁵⁶ Robert: Male, 55, English. Interview on 13 Mar 2013

⁵⁷ Mr Booyens, Male, Interview done on 19 April 2013

neighbourhood.”⁵⁸ For both the black and the white middle-class suburban living is described by this urge for safety and convenience. Even if one knows that crime cannot be totally erased, the idea that it can be manageable offers a sense of comfort for the suburbanites. Take Nosipho’s assertion that:

The place is closer to many things, it has advantages. Malls and various amenities are all found here. It is very secured. Here you sleep at night; you do not hear gun shots at night like in the township. There are no screams of people at night, it’s quiet and tranquil. This is an upmarket suburb and it is different even to Amalinda (Nosipho, 26/02/2013).

So the idea of closeness to amenities, a quiet and tranquil place is expressed in opposition to the township. So the definition that the suburbanites accord to the suburb is based on a degree of ‘othering’. This is in tandem with Kolb’s argument that for a place to exist there ought to be some divisions between itself and other places (Kolb 2008).

Beyond these definitions black suburbanites had a longing for ‘*ubomi obungcono*’ – a better life, a ‘prestigious life’ in an area that will guarantee them privacy and an area that has proper social norms and values.⁵⁹ These views are built on notions of conformity to the already existing life in the suburb. This confirms the argument that the impulse for homogeneity still persists as a residential ethos in the suburbia, even in the context of growing diversity (Nicolaidis 2003). Take below the descriptions offered by Lizeka and Mrs Bacela for instance:

Lizeka: I am living a sophisticated and affluent life here. There are norms and values that are respected in this area, it’s not like the township. I am able to have my own privacy here and I live my life freely (21/02/2013).

Mrs Bacela: I expected a prestigious and sophisticated social life, mainly because here I will be mingling with white people, a departure from the life of the township. Tranquillity, proper social norms and social values, privacy as well. In Southernwood you would hear bad language that would spoil your children. We even used to get burglary there (14/03/2013).

The idea of choosing to stay in the suburb because of ‘norms and values’ is emphasised by both Lizeka and Mrs Bacela and when they speak about it they always compare it with the township. The township, which is a place where both of them come from, is depicted as a place that lacks good social norms and values. Later in this chapter I will explain how these

⁵⁸ Sisanda: Female, accountant, interview done on 19 Feb 2013

⁵⁹ Mrs Mrwetyana: interview done on 14 Mar 2013

suburbanites believe that Nompumelelo represent what they do not like about the township and thus negatively influences the character of their newly found suburban status.

What these findings show is that there exists a shared idea of what it means to stay in Beacon Bay. The socio-cultural underpinnings of suburbia as an exclusive middle-class residential area have not changed with the arrival of the black middle-class in the suburb. This middle-class's desire for suburban life has been one based on strong feelings of wanting to blend in. This confirms the notion that suburbs operate to preserve residential homogeneity and social conformity. So both black and white suburbanites have similar interests and prerequisites for the ways of life they want to live in the suburb (Greer 1960). This is despite the differences in how they describe why they moved into the area as outlined in the previous chapter.

The only difference about the definition of the nature of life in the place is due to the fact that most black suburbanites did not participate in community activities, they did not express belief in local control of the area and they also appeared to have more confidence in municipal services in the suburb than their white counterparts. Mr Nqawa for instance expressed his definition of what it means to stay in Beacon Bay by saying:

Tranquillity, bigger house, access to amenities and of course better services from the municipality as compared to the township. I don't want to necessarily say safety but close proximity to the security companies. You find these security companies such as ADT in the township, for instance I have it at home but they take very long to arrive (Nqawa, 15/03/2013).

So his definition of what it means to stay in the suburb here also expresses confidence in the manner in which the municipality treats these areas. This for sure arises from the fact that he has experience of living in the township where services are not as good as in a suburb. White residents on the other hand believed that the municipal services in the area are not necessarily like they used to be. This is what leads to views by some white residents that the area ought to be locally governed. Mrs Fortunate, for instance, expressed that, "When it (Beacon Bay) was a separate town, it was a nice well run town, clean, neat. It was a garden suburb. Since incorporation, it has been run down, potholes, no maintenance like the whole of BCM (Buffalo City Municipality) unfortunately. I wish they would let us run our own town one day."⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Mrs Fortunate, Female, interview done on 22 March 2013

This longing for local control of the suburb by white suburbanites was also expressed at one of the Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association meetings and it is even contained in some of its programmes⁶¹. The association had decided to convince its members to withhold the payment of rates until the municipality was able to ensure that there was proper service delivery.⁶² This is an expression of a desire for self-governance and local control as Sies (2001) describes it.

The above discussion proves that whilst it can be argued that the change in the racial composition of formerly white suburbs in South Africa has led to changes in people's conception of suburban life and the character of suburban life itself is changing, the fundamental socio-cultural underpinnings of suburbia have not been fundamentally altered. Suburbia has historically operated to preserve residential homogeneity and social conformity and the arrival of the black middle-class in the suburb has been within this context. Analysing the social and political structure of suburbia, Scott Greer (1960) pointed out that neighbours in a suburb tend to have similar interests and have similar prerequisites for the ways of life they want to live. The findings of the fieldwork on Beacon Bay suggest that despite some dynamic differences this interest is shared across the racial spectrum. The convergence of views on the suburb by both the black and the white middle-class in Beacon Bay creates a similarity for the views on Nompumelo Township's influence on the suburban lifestyle.

7.3 United Defence of Character and Standing of the Suburb

Most of the suburbanites interviewed believed that Nompumelelo Township negatively influences the standing of Beacon Bay as a suburb and the quality of suburban living. Both the black and the white suburbanites expressed this in more or less similar words. So, whilst differences exist within the black and white middle-class in the suburb, they are very united in their rejection of Nompumelelo Township and its influence on the quality of suburban life. This is mainly because of their shared definition of what it means to stay in an affluent suburb and how anything outside of this is viewed to be disturbing this type of life. One black suburbanite, Nosipho, 36, succinctly described the concerns of most suburbanites when she said, "The problem with the people there is filth, drunkenness, theft and so on. They loiter

⁶¹ Note that the membership of the Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association is almost entirely white and the association has been battling to recruit members from the black middle-class and this was expressed by its chairperson in an interview done on 22 March 2013

⁶² Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association meeting, held at NG Kerk on 09 April 2013

the streets here and give us some problems.”⁶³ The main concern here is that the residents of Nompumelelo Township come to the suburb with filth and drunkenness and give the suburbanites problems. So the loitering by the urban poor is seen to be disturbing the suburban peace and is viewed as an ‘out of place’ behaviour.

A black suburbanite that clearly expresses the disdain against the residents of Nompumelelo Township is Sisanda, an accountant working at the office of the Auditor General in the Eastern Cape. Sisanda has been staying in Beacon Bay since 1997 and she stated her concern that:

...there is continuous flow of people which disturbs the peace in the area. Honestly squatter camps should not be so close to the suburbs. When I moved here in 1997 there were shacks there. Then there were houses built. This was better looking and actually neat. Now there has been another influx of people who have built shacks again. Now it’s too clumsy. I think that the idea of having low cost housing next to expensive suburbs is a disaster. This can at time lead to reduction in quality but Qobasi (Nompumelo) there is no major impact in having it close to here, but time will tell. In areas such as Gonubie having shacks close to the suburbs is an example of a negative impact. The crime rate in Gonubie is scary. Murder rates, rapes, break-ins are high. This is as a result of the squatter camp, Esantini (Mzwamomhle). When you visit the police station in Beacon Bay you always get told that the police vans from Beacon Bay are in Gonubie helping to fend crime. Instances of murder, assault are high within the township and in the suburbs as a result of the squatters there (19/02/2013).

So the main issue with the township is that it disturbs the peace of the area and that due to its nature it was not supposed to be close to where it is ‘in the first place’. Even though Sisanda believes that the area is yet to impact significantly on the quality of life in Beacon Bay, she fears that this might soon happen. The concern here is that the area remains very ‘clumsy’ for it to be close to a well design and modern suburb. Here Sisanda uses two terms, ‘neatness’ and ‘clumsiness’. When the township was planned. it became neat and thus qualified to be an area close to a neat and well planned Beacon Bay but now, since there has been an emergence of backyard shacks and informal dwellings at the fringe of the township, it is ‘clumsy’ and not deserving to be an area close to Beacon Bay.

Other black suburbanites also felt that the area was spoiling the nature of life in the suburb. They felt that had they known and properly considered the impact of the area they would have not bought into Beacon Bay. Mrs Solelo for instance stated that, “The main disadvantage of Nompumelelo being here is theft and drunkenness. Some of them are

⁶³ Nosipho, 36, Female, interview done on 26 February 2013

destitute and they come around here drunk and loitering and this is when you feel that this proximity to this area is spoiling our vicinity. Maybe I would have made another choice if I had thought properly, thing is, the fact of Nompumelelo being close here is something that I considered much later, something that came first in mind was Beacon Bay and the nature of it” (14/03/ 2013).

In essence this is a defence of a position of privilege. The idea of the ‘other’ being present in the suburb basically works against the cultural definitions that the middle-class accords the suburban space, hence the need to defend this privilege position. It is further important to understand that by defence of privilege here is meant something beyond the defence of material interests. Speaking about the white suburbanites he interviewed in Durban, Ballard (2004:49) argues that, “Informal settlements impact on more than the bank balance (of the white middle-class): they impact on residents’ sense of place therefore on their self-perfection as western, modern, civilised people” (Ballard, 2004: 49). Accordingly, this analysis should not entirely centre around race and class in motivating the dislike of the urban poor in Beacon Bay but should also focus on how the middle-class, across the racial spectrum, constructs value and how the urban poor is seen to be threatening this value (Ballard 2004). The residents of Nompumelelo Township here are seen to be negatively affecting the value of suburban living as they are spoiling the vicinity.

White suburbanites share the exact feelings with their black counterparts as it relates to the influence of the township on the standing of the area as a whole. The only difference is that expressions of discomfort by white suburbanites tended to be very guarded and mostly expressed as things that are signalling failures of government. They would highlight what they feel is incorrect about the township and how such an area should not be close to an affluent suburb such as Beacon Bay but they will put the blame on the government for allowing such a thing to happen. One white resident said, “Filth and noise are the things resulting from overcrowding in the township. That is bad, people cannot be allowed to live that way.”⁶⁴ So their main concern here is about filth and noise, which are things affecting the Beacon Bay suburb as well and the government, without being clearly identified, is being blamed for allowing such a thing to happen close to the suburb.

Other suburbanites expressed their views on this very clearly. Views expressed by three white residents, Robert Gills, Mrs Soliman and Mrs Cambell clearly demonstrate the point that I am

⁶⁴ Christina, 58, Female, Interview done on 19 Feb 2013

making. All these residents expressed a discomfort with Nompumelelo Township's presence in the suburb but they put blame for this on the government:

Robert Gills, 55: Government is leading to the underdevelopment there. They are just not doing anything. They are allowing the squatter camp to grow unregulated ... The township remains a problem for us here. There should be roads and sanitation for the people there. This is what the government is not doing. I always go there and I find the same thing happening all over again (13/03/2013).

Mrs Soliman, 54: I do not have a problem with it, unless BCM (Buffalo City Municipality) will not let it to be dirty and will keep the place as a neat place. It's deplorable that BCM is allowing people to still build shacks whilst they build RDPs. The crime happening here is as a result of the taverns in Nompumelelo. The streets are not fine and there is storm water coming out there (22/03/2013).

Mrs Cambell, 70: I have a big problem with the township. They could have given the people there roads and land. Now it has grown to be out of control. The municipality made a big mistake there....Initially we used to benefit, There was a labour force on our door. Now it has gotten too big and out of hand. We have got a contingent of people living in the bush here. They are living by selling wood to people. Of cause they do feed themselves by this but at the same time they are destroying the forest and the bush. I usually pick up things from there and we picked up about 16 000 bottles and took it to the recycle bin (29/05/2013).

What clearly emerges from these extracts is that these white residents clearly have an issue with the current state of Nompumelelo Township and how this negatively influences the standing of Beacon Bay. Unlike their black suburbanites, they express their dislike of the current situation as compassion for the people in the township and they blame government for allowing such living conditions for people. Read closely one notices that the main concern here is not that government is not developing the area, but the fact that they are failing to regulate the increased number of people staying in the area. The main concern, therefore, is not the living conditions in the area but the lack of containment of the area to levels that can be permissible in a township neighbouring a suburb.

It is interesting that white suburbanites in Beacon Bay still express similar views to those that were expressed against the Beacon Bay North Urban Development Plan debate in the early 1990s as demonstrated in chapter 4. They are still concerned about unregulated growth of the township which can lead to devastating effects for their suburban lifestyles. A person who makes this clearly in the three quoted extracts is Mrs Cambell when she raises her concern about the township being 'too big and out of hand.'

My analysis here is that the white suburbanites of Beacon Bay, like their black counterparts, are concerned about the fact that the government does not seem to be protecting

them against the negative effects of the township as it is not regulating squatting and overcrowding in the area. This is not a concern for Nompumelelo residents but a concern for the Beacon Bay residents. The regulation of the township that is being spoken of here means the exclusion of people who are not 'rightful' residents in Nompumelelo such as squatters. This is thus an exclusionary discourse against some of the poor people of Nompumelelo hidden under the cover of compassionate concern about their living conditions.

Some white suburbanites expressed their problem with the people of Nompumelelo clearly without blame on the government. One resident stated that, "The disregard for the environment, as you look to the rubbish dumps to the area. I sometimes do not understand their thinking."⁶⁵ This is in essence the type of behaviour that these residents want to be protected against by the government which continues to fail in doing so. One resident, Mr Stevenson, expressed this clearly when he said, "

The disadvantage I see is the effect that they are having on the area in general. If you go to Nompumelelo, people are dumping rubbish and they are affecting the environment. The people there do not use rubbish dumps. They are causing pollution because they are not looking after themselves as a community. They want to build shacks in the area that was designated for the school, so that when the department comes, it takes them to a place where they will build houses for them. Some of them just started a car washing on the pavement. I think that the community should police itself, they must start taking ownership of their community (Mr Stevenson 11/06/2013).

Mr Stevenson's demonstration of the township residents as immoral is a way of eroding their status as worthy residents of an area close to Beacon Bay. If you read this extract from the interview with Mr Stevenson and relate it to the concerns raised by Robert Gills, Mrs Soliman and Mrs Cambell you will see that the concern of these white suburbanites is the nature of life in Nompumelelo and how this seems to be out of place with the manner in which suburban living should be. The views of these suburbanites seem to be in line with Grant Saff's (2001: 89) observation that discourses of exclusion in spatial terms "... can take the form of the dominant group exaggerating the virtues of their space while denigrating the space of the 'other' and simultaneously preventing them from accessing their own space."

Black middle-class suburbanites express similar views with those of their white suburbanites in their rejection of poor people living close to Beacon Bay. This is despite the fact that they emphasise different things. I have shown here that the exclusionary discourses

⁶⁵ Mr Meyer, 76, Male, interview done on 07 June 2013

that townships and squatter settlement close to suburbs cause crime, diminish the property values, destroy the character of the neighbourhood, are a health hazard, destroy the environment and are occupied by immoral people is also expressed by the black middle-class staying in these suburbs. So it is not a matter of just the white middle-class as Ballard (2004) found. Even Ballard (2004), although limited by the scope of his research, did express that there is “No doubt these are all grievances which most middle-class suburban dwellers in the world would sympathise, since the suburbs represent the quest for a good standard of living and a bit of peace, quiet, and privacy” (Ballard, 2004: 66).

The evolution of the suburb, with its deep-rooted ideological discourse of middle-class exclusivity has not been about hatred of squatters necessarily but about an identity ascription of what it means to live in a suburb that suburbanites accords to the place. All the articulations brought forth by both the black and white middle-class in Beacon Bay in its attempt to reject the urban poor are part and parcel of an extended network of meaning about what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in the suburban place.

7.4 Influence of Perceptions of Social Difference on Property Values

The negative perceptions against the urban poor as outlined above, together with the perception of crime, influences property values negatively in Beacon Bay. I want to argue that it is not necessarily the closeness of the township to the area that influences the property prices but the negative perception on the neighbourliness of the urban poor that does. It is perceptions of social difference between the middle-class and the urban poor that leads to falls in property prices in the area close to Nompumelelo Township.

Ballard (2004) found that white middle-class suburbanites in Berea in Durban complained that the informal settlement close to the area was negatively influencing their property values. Whilst the white suburbanites interviewed still held a view that the township has a negative influence on property values, they did not believe that it affected them directly and this is due to the location of their properties. Most white suburbanites in Beacon Bay stay closer to the beach and so all those interviewed stay a distance from the township. My observation of Beacon Bay is that the closer you are to the coast the whiter the suburb and the closer you are to the N2 freeway and the township, the blacker it is. This is very much related to the question of property prices as Sanet Van De Merwe of Rowson Properties explains, “What we found is that properties close to Retail Park are sometimes difficult to sell but that

is changing now. When you look at the market, for instance, the further away you are from the beach the cheaper the properties.”⁶⁶ Retail Park is closer to the township and it is on the highway so this gives an indication as to why white suburbanites in Beacon Bay feel that they are not seriously affected by the negative influence of Nompumelelo Township on their properties.

Mr Elmont, for example, who stays in Lagoon View Street, an area closer to the beach said:

It has not downgraded the property value. It is too far to have that effect. You have a total buffer between Beacon Bay and Nompumelelo. The general lack of service delivery and the state of our roads has an effect on the value of our properties more than Nompumelelo (11/06/2013).

The township here is seen to be having an influence negatively on properties but not to that of Mr Elmont as it is far away and mainly because there is a buffer in-between. The buffer here might mean the commercial centre close to the township or the suburban black-belt, which are the mostly black owned houses after Edge Road towards the township.

Many of the other white suburbanites shared the view that the township does not have such an effect on their properties mainly because of the distance of their houses to it. One resident said, “I stay far from the township, so the place does not affect our property value at all. It would be a different story if I was staying closer.”⁶⁷ In similar terms another resident said, “We are a bit far from the township. We do not have to be in traffic with the taxis and so on, so the place does not affect our property value.”⁶⁸ The comments of these white suburbanites make the matter of distance much clearer. What this shows is that white suburbanites of Beacon Bay are opting to stay far away from the township to escape the perceived negative impact that the township can have on their suburban lifestyle and thus the values of their properties. The views expressed here tells us clearly that it is not because Beacon Bay white suburbanites share different views with those interviewed by Richard Ballard in 2004 as it relates to the influence of the urban poor on the property values but it is only because they have deliberately chosen to stay far from the township. This is actually acknowledgement of the fact that they perceive the township and informal dwellings to be a problem for their properties.

⁶⁶ Sanet van De Merwe, co-owner of Rowson Properties, interview done on 09 June 2013

⁶⁷ Silvia, 59, female, interview done on 07 June 2013

⁶⁸ Steve, 62, male, interview done on 08 June 2013

What the findings show is that black suburbanites feel that the township negatively influences their property values. What is more interesting to me is that they express it in exactly the same way as those white suburbanites interviewed by Ballard in Durban in 2004. This is not so surprising as the majority of blacks who stay in Beacon Bay stay in Beacon Bay North and in the suburban black-belt closer to the township.

A person who captured this was Nosipho, 36, a black Beacon Bay resident, who does not stay in the area close to Nompumelelo Township but has friends who stay in the area. She stated that:

Crime has increased in the area close to the township. People have problems with their prices there as some people do not want to buy for fear of crime ... You have to consider seriously before staying there. It will eventually influence the property values, because people are very negative about staying there. Demand for property there would be lower and property owners would have to make people interested by lowering prices and so on (26/02/2013).

The effect on property values here is as a result of the fear of crime which is part of the discourses of exclusion that Ballard (2004) discovered as it relates to white residents of Berea in Durban. Other suburbanites took issue with the state of the township and how it affected the social standing of Beacon Bay and thereby affecting the property values. One resident stated that Nompumelelo affects their property values but argued that, “if Nompumelelo was properly constructed then you would not have any problems with property values ...”⁶⁹

Like their fellow white suburbanites, some black residents believed that the development of properties adjacent to the township act as a buffer between the township and the suburb and it is better able to protect them from the things such as lowering property values as a result of the township. Mr Cingo, for instance, stated that, “What made our properties to grow up, it is the growing surroundings. There were little concerns before, but the existence of places like Retail Park and so on, cut the concern of Nompumelelo from the surface.”

The entirety of this discussion proves that there exists consensus across the racial divide that the settlement does have an effect on property values but the difference is on the level of influence per person, as black suburbanites feel more affected due to the closeness of the settlement to where they stay. These findings actually show that the argument that the presence or proximity of Nompumelelo Township results in the decline of property prices is a

⁶⁹ Mr Nqawa, Male, interview done on 15 Mar 2013

clear indication of the general perceptions of the middle-class on the urban poor. Property prices do not automatically fall as a result of the close presence of the urban poor, but fall due to the negative perception attributed to the urban poor by the middle-class.

Emmett(1992) argues that property values near informal settlements and townships do not fall as a results of bad experiences with them, but mainly because the middle-class generally perceives the urban poor as undesirable neighbours. It is this perception, not the physical location of the settlement itself, which leads to the fall of property values. So the people who are affected by the fall of property prices in Beacon Bay are the ones who create the situation by having negative perceptions against the urban poor.

7.5 Politics of the View

In as much as the distance from the township is viewed as important if one has to have a suburban lifestyle free from all the perceived negative influences of the township, the view of the township also seems to be a problem for some residents. One interesting finding is that some black and white suburbanites have an issue with a place that has a view of the township. To have a house that has a clear view of the township appears to be a problem for some of the residents of Beacon Bay who were interviewed. The view of the township is seen to have a negative effect on the residents' perception of staying in a modern affluent suburb. This perception does seem to be having an effect on the property values and this also came out in the interviews conducted with the property agencies that are operating in Beacon Bay.

Some houses in Beacon Bay North for instance are located far from Nompumelelo Township but the fact that they have a view of the township is seen to be problematic by the residents. Take for instance, Eva, 33, a black resident in Beacon Bay North's Coralwood. She has been staying in a housing complex here for about seven years. She raised her concern about the view of the township:

Sometimes when I stand in my balcony and see the shacks, I feel kind of bad because that is poverty and opulence there. Sometimes some people do not like to see that reminder; they would like it if it was not there (12/10/2012).

So Eva's concern here is not necessarily the presence of the township close by but the fact that she is able to see shacks from her balcony. So she would not have a problem with it if it was not there for her to see every day as it is a 'reminder' that whilst she is enjoying her opulent lifestyle there is poverty very close by. For sure the concern here is not that other

people are poor but it is that they are not supposed to be staying close to the suburb in a place that she can see every day.

This view also emerged, although differently, in other black suburbanites interviewed. Mrs Mrwetyana, a resident of Beacon Bay in Curlew Drive which is a suburban black-belt on the edge of Beacon Bay close to Nompumelelo, believes that the fact that their view is blocked by the recent developments does assist a lot in protecting the value of their properties. She argues that the effect on property is less now than before because “the offices here are properly demarcating the two areas. Ronnies Motors, the Mall and they are now building China Town as a further demarcation.”⁷⁰ It is important to note that the fact that there are these offices in-between the areas is not necessarily a ‘demarcation’ as it is stated here as people of Nompumelelo Township can legally enter Beacon Bay any time. The main relief that Mrs Mrwetyana has is that the developments have blocked the view of the township from where her house is located. So as a result of the blocked view of the township she is able to enjoy suburban living.

These views by these black middle-class suburbanites were shared by some of their white counterparts. After our interview at Wimpy Restaurant on the 15th of October 2012, Mr Knight, a retired judge and a property developer in Beacon Bay, took me to Edge Road in Beacon Bay, a road close to the suburban black-belt. He explained that when you are in Edge Road, you used to see the shacks in Nompumelelo but now he believes that due to developments, such as the building of houses in Edge View, there has been enough cover for the township. He further believes that due to this, the attitude of the people of Beacon Bay might be changing since they can see that it is possible to have a house and stay there in view of the township since other people have such a view as well. He explained that it was difficult in the mid-1990s to sell a house in Edge Road because of the sight of the shacks in Nompumelelo.⁷¹ What is more interesting to me is that the houses that have developed across Edge Road, even the ones that are in Edge Road itself, are mostly, if not totally, occupied by black families.

This opinion of Mr Knight was confirmed by Colin Kemp of Kemp Estates, a property agency that has existed in East London for about 15 years. When asked about the effect of the township’s view on property values he said:

⁷⁰ Mrs Mrwetyana, 45, interview done 14 March 2013

⁷¹ Mr Knight, 82, Retired Magistrate, interview done on 15 October 2012

It used to years ago, people would not buy houses in Edge Road because it overlooked Nompumelelo. I think people just became used to it now and it has thus not affected buyers and thus the property owners. It affects the prices slightly less than it would have done 10 years ago. There is a change in attitude on the positive (12/06/2013).

So whilst the view of the township still affects the property prices, this is to a lesser extent than it used to be. This confirms concerns about the view of the township and its effect. The fact that it is less today does not mean that it has actually ceased to be a matter of concern for the Beacon Bay suburbanites.

Sanet Van De Merwe, a co-owner of another property agency in the area, Rawson Properties, clearly contextualised the politics of the view of the township when she outlined the dynamics of the property market in Beacon Bay and her company's experience of it:

What we found is that properties close to Retail Park are sometimes difficult to sell but that is changing now. When you look at the market for instance, the further away you are from the beach the cheaper the properties. We are seeing a bit of a change in this, for instance the highest housing estate is Bishops Country Estates and it is just a short distance from Nompumelelo. This is because of security. I do not think closeness of the township has more influence than the view. We established that the view of the township from across the highway does have an influence on prices negatively. It is not the closeness, it is the view. You get properties that are close there but are high in prices than properties that are far but have a view to have lower prices (09/06/2013).

Sanet forgets to mention that Bishops Country Estate does not have a view of the township even though it is closer to it. So in essence things would be different as it relates to its value if it had a view of the township even though there is high-value security for residents staying in the estate. This is a very clear demonstration of the point we are making in this section of the chapter as the view is emphasised here more than the distance to the township.

The view of the township negatively impacts on the suburbanite's perception of what it means to stay in a suburb such as Beacon Bay. This is something that both black and white suburbanites seem to be taking issue with hence it is still having an effect on property values. So both white and black suburbanites would like to stay in a place that does not have a view of Nompumelelo Township and this is an indication of their shared negative attitude against the urban poor in the suburb. Residents of Nompumelelo have been observant of this negative attitude and in the following section I want to deal with their perceptions of Beacon Bay residents in detail.

7.6 Urban Poor's view of Beacon Bay as a place of 'Abaphakamileyo'

Residents of Nompumelelo Township see Beacon Bay as “*indawo yabantu abaphakamileyo*” – a place of the aloof – and this view is shared by most residents as most of the residents interviewed believed that the people in that area are very unfriendly and undermine the township residents.⁷² Findings of the research show that there is no fundamental difference in how the residents of Nompumelelo Township perceive white and black residents of Beacon Bay. There is some form of unanimity amongst the Nompumelelo Township residents interviewed that there is no difference between them as they are all ‘*abantu abaphakamileyo*.’ Being a person ‘*ophakamileyo*’ does not necessarily entail being rich whereas this can be seen as a precondition for such conduct.

A person who better explained this was Silumko Ndaba, 29, a welder who grew up in Orange Farm in Gauteng. Ndaba never went to school but learnt the welding skill from his father and this is what he has been surviving on all his life. He arrived in the East London in 2009 with a company that was doing some welding in Mdantsane and when this company's contract was not renewed he was left without a job. He decided to weld in the house he was renting in Mdantsane but due to the fact that there are many people who did the same thing there he did not find it sustainable to operate there. So in 2010 he moved to Nompumelelo Township hoping to find a market for his small business. So he has been operating in Nompumelelo since then and has also had clients in Beacon Bay. This is what he had to say about his relations with Beacon Bay as an area:

I know many black people there, I work for them sometimes. I only go there for work and the relationship ends there. Mostly, I work for black people, but sometimes I do get white people, but it is mostly blacks. I think there are many black people staying there now or it might be because white people there do not know me yet. They assist a lot in terms of my work (Ndaba 12/10/12).

Whilst making this point about business, he still believes that the residents of Beacon Bay have a negative perception about Nompumelelo Township and that they are all not working to assist the area. He said:

I do not think that Gqobhasi is a place to be loved. If it was for white people this place would be clean and they would put up white buildings but that is not possible. People who have money believe that Beacon Bay would be nice without Gqobhasi. They would think like this, because they have money and they stay in the same side. There is nothing that Beacon Bay has ever done for Gqobhasi. They (Beacon Bay residents)

⁷² Siziwe: Female resident of Nompumelelo Township, interview done on 16 October 2012

just seriously distance themselves from us. They do not have to come anywhere close to us so as to discriminate us further. They pay us little to the extent that it shows they do not want us to grow as an area (Ndaba 12/10/12).

So, in as much as Ndaba acknowledges the fact that the residents of Beacon Bay assist him as it relates to welding jobs, he still believes that they show disdain to the township residents and that if they had a choice they would get rid of the township. Notice that he makes an assertion of ‘white people’ who seriously do not want the township where it is. This is not to say white people are the only ones showing such disdain but it is based on the fact that the area is a formerly white residential area and therefore the general attitude of the residents of the area is articulated as if it is mainly ensuing from white residents. This is proven by the fact that he further refers to ‘people who have money’ who believe that the area would be nice without the township. To further prove this point, he emphasises that he always gets jobs from black suburbanites but in the end he argues that they pay him little as they do not want the area to grow. This view expressed here is directed at all residents of Beacon Bay, both black and white.

These views were shared by other residents of Nompumelelo Township. Mr Nkabinde, 69, believes that residents of Beacon Bay treat them as if they do not exist and even the black suburbanites do not come to the township to be amongst other black people. He stated that, “There is no difference between a black person that side (Beacon Bay) and a white person there. They are all the same.”⁷³ This was echoed by Lona Nyika, who said:

People from that side just like undermining us and they say we are making their place dirty with shacks. There is no difference between black and white people there, they are all like this...Our relationship is work based, they need us for our labour and we need them for jobs, but nothing beyond this (19/10/2012).

So in essence the sameness of the black and white suburbanites is understood in terms of the fact that they share a similar socio-economic status but also because they have the same belief about the ‘dirt’ that the township is bringing to Beacon Bay. This common belief is strongly based on a shared notion of what it means to stay in the suburb. This is why the perception of Lona is that all Beacon Bay residents are hell-bent on undermining them as residents of Nompumelelo Township.

The history of segregation in South Africa has in a way framed middle-class culture as a white culture and white culture has always been understood to be based on serious

⁷³ Mr Nkabinde: Male, 69, interview done in a backyard shack where he lives in Nompumelelo on 19 September 2012

aloofness. This is why in the statements of the participants from Nompumelelo there is no serious shock to white residents' aloofness but the problem is with the 'abaphakamileyo' black suburbanites. I want to argue that the aloof behaviour being described by the residents of Nompumelelo here is more reflective of middle-class culture than white culture and this is why there exist similarities in how they perceive the Beacon Bay residents.

The similarity between black and white suburbanites as to how they are perceived by the residents of Nompumelelo is also proven by the contest on who amongst them is seen as a better domestic employer or donator. Some residents believe that black suburbanites do not give jobs whilst some believe that it is actually white suburbanites who refuse poor people jobs. The findings prove for me that race is not a serious factor in determining how Beacon Bay residents treat Nompumelelo residents as there can be those that are better and those that are worse across the racial spectrum.

Take for instance a view that appears first to create a positive picture about Beacon Bay residents by Silindiwe Sele, 22, who has been staying in Nompumelelo since 2000. She stated that:

There are relations with some people who stay in Beacon Bay. Some people who stay in Beacon Bay for instances when shacks burn in the area, they do come and assist by donating clothes. There are some relations even though they are not fully fledged (Sele 11/10/2012).

Sele believes that white suburbanites relate better with the Nompumelelo community than black suburbanites.

The relation between black and white people staying in Beacon Bay is not the same. For instance most people who donate are whites. Black people only lend a hand in some rare instances, but they do not try to assist in anything most of the time. The only people that do donate would be those that are going to the church close by. We are one blood with black people staying that side even if they are rich. They should be the ones donating more to this community but the reverse is happening (Sele 11/10/2012).

She further said this about relations between the two communities:

I do not really care about people staying in Beacon Bay, both black and white. They think that they are the people. *Bacinga babhetele kunabanye abantu* – They think that they are better than others (Sele 11/10/2012).

Whilst she believes that black suburbanites are doing far less than whites in assisting the community, she believes that all the residents of Beacon Bay think that they are better people

than others. In other words, even if there can be acknowledgement of some work being done by the residents of Beacon Bay, there is always that perception of ‘*abantu abaphakamileyo*’ – aloof people. To prove this point some people believe that it is difficult to work for a white person because of the question of language whilst others believe that it is difficult to find a job from a black person as they are not ‘easily approachable.’⁷⁴

Whilst some may share different views due to the fact that they have always been employed by black suburbanites rather than white suburbanites, others also believe that white residents employ better than their black counterparts. The reality is that the relation is only limited to jobs and infrequent invites to traditional ceremonies by the black suburbanites.

The invites to traditional ceremonies should also be understood in context as they are not a sign of closeness between the black middle-class residents of Beacon Bay and the poor residents of Nompumelelo. The invites are done solely as attempts at legitimatising and/or authenticating these gathering as true Xhosa traditional ceremonies. I will explore this further in the concluding chapter but my observation is that the black middle-class’s relation with the people of Nompumelelo is insofar as it will itself benefit.

A person who gives us another opinion on this imbalanced love-hate relation is Mrs Mxhaga, 53, a very politically active resident of Nompumelelo Township who jokes that she is the first person to appear when a person dies or someone has robbed any house in the neighbourhood, even ‘when there is a meeting I am amongst those that first appear’. When speaking about relations between the two communities she said:

There are relations of some sort in old people, but our children go there and steal and that is something that we cannot help. It is a situation that affects us all. There are some relations on political activities. During voting, the people of the ANC there come this side and ask us to register to vote there because there is a lot of DA there (Mrs Mxhaga, 16 September 2013).

So the form of relation that Mrs Mxhaga can think about as an example is this instance where the African National Congress (ANC) people of Beacon Bay had to take voters from the township in order to increase their chances of winning in the Democratic Alliance (DA) dominated suburb during the local government elections. Understanding the race-based nature of South African politics it is not incorrect to assume here that the ANC people that are spoken of here are likely to be black suburbanites and the DA people are likely to be white suburbanites. This means that the black suburbanites see the need to interact with the

⁷⁴ Cebo Sigwili: Male, 65, interview done on 19 Sept 2013

people of Nompumelelo during times of elections. This is not an indicator of better relations or acceptance of the urban poor in the suburb. In the following section I will discuss the discourses of exclusion against the urban poor expressed both by the black and the white suburbanites.

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to show that Beacon Bay as a suburb is a site of exclusion against the urban poor and this is demonstrated by the discourse of exclusion that exists in the area. This type of attitude against the urban poor has been exerted by the white suburbanites in South Africa for many years and I want to argue that it is not so much about racism as many, such as Ballard (2004), Dixon and Reicher (1997) have argued before, but about the protection of a middle-class suburban lifestyle. I want to argue, though, that the findings of such researchers were equally not wrong as South African suburbs were officially white middle-class only zones during apartheid. Ballard (2004), for instance, did his fieldwork from 1996 to 1998 and at this time the black middle-class was still arriving in South African suburbs and constituted a tiny section of the suburban population. So these scholars arrived at such conclusions not because of methodological mistakes but because of the population that they were sampling at the time.

I have sought to undertake this research noting the different conditions that have arisen due to the growth of the black middle-class in general and its growth in affluent suburbs in particular. As this chapter has demonstrated, the black middle-class expressed similar views to their white counterparts in the suburbia. Even though race cannot be totally erased when analysing discourses of exclusion against the urban poor, it appears that the protection of a privilege status and to a greater degree, class, are more suitable ways of observing the urban poor exclusionary discourse that is exerted by suburbanites. Let me refer back to the caution given by Grant Saff (2001: 91) as quoted at the very beginning of this chapter: “while at any given time the relative weight of class and race are contingent on the specificity of a particular place and the socially constructed norms and values of those living in that locality, the context of these struggles is always mediated through the self-interest that is engendered by the unequal division of space.”

All these formulations that constitute the middle-class exclusionary discourse against the urban poor demonstrate clearly that there is an attitudinal convergence amongst the middle-

classes across space. This can only be satisfactorily explained by referring to the mutuality of interests that relatively privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting 'their' space from the encroachment of those that come from poor backgrounds (Saff 2001). The motivations and moves towards this exclusionary discourse are, therefore, more complex than a simple crime, moral, health or property value issue but it are generally about the defence of the socially constructed 'suburban ideal,' which codified the suburban sense of place, as earlier explained.

So in essence the arrival of the black middle-class has not contributed anything towards urban integration between Beacon Bay and Nompumelelo Township. All suburban residents still view Nompumelelo Township residents as unworthy neighbours who are a threat to the social standing of the area and their middle-class suburban lifestyle. On the other hand, despite the arrival of the black middle class in the suburb, Nompumelelo Township residents still see Beacon Bay as a place of '*abaphakamileyo*' – the aloof. This poses a serious threat to any plans of achieving meaningful integration between the two areas and ways ought to be found to change the attitudes of the Beacon Bay residents to the township if we are to achieve integration. In the last chapter I will dwell deeply on what can be done to mend the relations between the two areas using the church, crime fighting initiatives and traditional ceremonies.

Chapter 8: Conclusion: Pointers and Possibilities of Integration in the Beacon Bay Area

8.1 Introduction

In answering the research question regarding ‘how the assimilation of the black middle-class into suburban life post-apartheid has contributed to integration in the suburb’ I have, in this dissertation, tried to unpack a variety of socio-cultural dynamics of the Beacon Bay suburb and black middle-class presence in it. I have shown the nature of the relationship between its fellow white middle-class and the urban poor. The findings of this research suggest that the change in racial composition of Beacon Bay as a suburb has not changed its exclusionary foundation, both internally as it relates to white and black relations in the area and externally as it relates to suburbanite’s relations with the urban poor that stay in the adjacent Nompumelelo Township. I have demonstrated that neo-liberalisation of the suburban space post-apartheid has led to a new form of classed segregation. I have nonetheless shown that, like a frontier zone, the borders that maintain the segregation in the area are permeable.

This dissertation has demonstrated that neo-liberalism in the urban space is intact in South Africa and it is creating a new form of class segregation. Bond (2003) did a policy analysis of this and this research shows that even beyond policy, the manner in which people live is highly reflective of a class divided society. The segregation of the Group Areas Act of 1955 might have been reversed in terms of race as suburbs are beginning to be diverse but what the case of Beacon Bay shows is that neo-liberal values still operate to maintain this segregation.

I had initially argued that one common feature of neo-liberalism in the urban space is the creation of a neo-liberal discourse, ideology and representation (Brenner and Theodore, 2005). This research has shown how this is done in Beacon Bay by the suburbanites across the racial spectrum against the urban poor. This is in tandem with the manner in which the urban poor has been stigmatised and made to appear as if they do not belong in the city.

The findings actually show that the evolution of the discourse of white middle-class exclusivity in Beacon Bay has been about an identity ascription of what it means to live in a

suburb, more than it was about the hatred of the poor, which was mostly black people during apartheid. This is proven by the fact that the recently arrived black middle-class residents of Beacon Bay express a similar discomfort with the urban poor's presence in the area. All the articulations brought forth by the middle-class in its attempt to reject the urban poor are part and parcel of an extended network of meaning about what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in the suburban place in this neo-liberal era.

The middle-class exclusionary discourse against the urban poor, as explained in this dissertation, demonstrate clearly that there is an attitudinal convergence amongst the middle-class across the racial spectrum and this can only be properly explained by referring to the mutuality of interests that privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting 'their' place from the encroachment of those that come from poor backgrounds (Saff 2001). The discussion on the defence of the area against the threat of crime clearly shows this convergence in Beacon Bay as the area begins to be racially diverse post-apartheid.

This also makes this question to be less about racism than it was initially discovered by Saff (2001) and Ballard (2004) and to be more about class. What this dissertation has shown is that whilst similar definitions of suburban life and similar discomfort with the urban poor's presence is expressed by both the black and white suburbanites, there exist serious challenges of integration in the suburb. The findings show that white middle-class's welcoming of their fellow black neighbours is only conditional. White middle-class suburbanites feel that they have the authority to define the nature of black middle-class assimilation into Beacon Bay. This type of attitude makes black suburbanites feel uncomfortable in the suburbia and actually acts as a justification for their refusal to relate with the white suburbanites. Neighbourhood residential succession in the various suburbs of East London appears to be a significant proof that the white middle-class in the town has not fully accepted the presence of black people in these suburbs and it remains to be seen whether a growing presence of the black middle-class in Beacon Bay will have such results. Borrowing on research from Byalwa (2011) I have shown how formerly white suburbs such as Amalinda and Southernwood in East London have over time turned into black suburbs through residential succession by the black middle-class. The class homogeneous suburb is, therefore, experiencing a variety of dynamics that have race at their centre. Despite this fact, it appears that whilst these divisions between the black and white suburbanites are visible, moving forward we are going to be seeing a further consolidation of the alliance of this class in the

suburban places as they protect themselves from things such as crime and what they believe to be urban poor encroachment.

Throughout the dissertation I have not made a mistake to suggest that black middle-class lifestyle and culture is homogenous. I have tried to show that there also exists a variety of differences within the black middle-class itself, particularly between the middle-class minded and the multi-class minded black middle class. The middle-class minded, who are mostly second generation middle-class, find it easy to assimilate into former white suburbs as they have adopted their norms and values over the years. The multi-class minded black middle-class which is constituted of mostly first generational black middle-class has a better connection with the black poor. This explains the dynamism and the permeability of the border that segregates the black suburbanites and the white suburbanites and even the urban poor.

In this concluding chapter, I want to briefly explain a few areas of contact between the black middle-class and the white middle-class firstly and, secondly, between both these two and the urban poor who stay in Nompumelelo Township. The areas of contact that I discovered in the research are children relations within the suburb, traditional ceremonies done by black people in the suburb and the church. What the findings show is that the children of both white and black families in the suburb have a far better social relationship than their parents. This has created another area of contact for both these races and it bears potential for meaningful integration in the suburban place. This has happened through the school and various social gatherings such as parties. The findings also show that the traditional ceremonies that the black middle-class usually have in the suburb, resulting in them inviting black elders from the Nompumelelo Township to come and attend and authenticate the events, is another area of contact and a platform to look at when thinking about integration in the area. The church is also another arena of cooperative contact and it ought to be considered when trying to integrate the two areas. I will then conclude this final chapter by making further recommendations of other means that can be used in order to integrate the area. I believe that there is a need to have an open dialogue about place norms and values in the area, and the media, both mainstream and social, has a huge role to play in facilitating this discussion.

8.2 Role of Children and the School in Integrating the Suburb

Many of the black and white middle-class participants in the research felt that there exists meaningful integration amongst their children. They saw this in the way that their children socialised and related. They also worked hard to ensure that their children are groomed for a society that is free of racial prejudicial thinking.

These findings are very much in line with findings by Skeggs (2004) who argues that white middle-class parents in Britain always liked to ensure that their kids have a racially mixed upbringing so that they can acquire the cultural capital that will assist them to function well in the global economy. Whilst white and black suburbanites in Beacon Bay would want to hold on to their segregated comfort zones, their aim is that of ensuring that their children are not located within this type of thinking, more so for their future. This corroborates with findings by other scholars such as Diane Reay (2007) who argued that the parents' decisions of this nature are taken more as economic decisions about the future rather than as a quest to ensure meaningful integration.

I want to argue that the findings in Beacon Bay offer a more positive outlook as they relate to suburbanites' perceptions of the relations of their children across the racial divide and how these can actually assist in the creation of better relations in suburbia. The fact that children's association with the history of racial discrimination is very weak contributes a lot to how they perceive race relations and thereby influences their parents' conduct. So this is not only about parents influencing their children but also about the role children are playing in influencing the relations of parents across the racial divide.

Some white suburbanites, for instance, expressed the positive nature of the relations amongst children. They did this whilst being pessimistic about the relations amongst adults, who are relating only through short greetings. The expression of this was well captured by Sophia, 56, who stated that:

We relate fine and we chat nicely over the wall. I have never been a person who mixes too closely with my neighbours. I just greet over the wall and that's it. We do not mind children playing together, coming to visit and playing at our house and so on (Sophia, 10/06/2013).

So for Sophia there is not serious mixing with any neighbours and this also includes black neighbours. This is part of the argument we have been making in chapter five that people abdicate the role of creating relations and hide under the cover of the area being non-

conducive to good relations amongst all residents 'anyway'. What is most interesting in Sophia's statement is that whilst she makes this point, she also acknowledges that there exist far better relations amongst children, relations that she does 'not mind'. The indication here is that children from the black middle-class come and visit in the house and play together with their children. This confirms the argument made by Simpson (2004) that interaction with children of other races is something that is not prohibited by white middle-class suburbanites as this helps in their socialisation into the modern era.

These types of feelings about the nature of relations of kids were also expressed by many black suburbanites interviewed. Take for instance Mrs Bambiso's statement that:

I interact less with neighbours. Kids go to places together, they play together. One white person's kid sometimes sleeps in our house and then my kids would sleep in their house some days (Mrs Bambiso, 09/06/2013).

Mrs Bambiso here acknowledges the problem she has with neighbourly relations and then describes a very positive picture of children's relations. The role that is played by children in creating relations amongst the suburbanites is shown by Mrs Mrwetyana's statement that:

...even in the beach, white people always segregate themselves. For instance I do not get visits from a white woman here and I do not visit white woman also, unless there is a party and I come to drop a child and go. My children go to parties of white people in their homes but when my child has a party they never come, it might be because I do not invite them also. I do see them where there are parties of other black children in places like McDonalds and Spur, but not here in the houses (Mrs Mrwetyana, 14/03/2013).

Both these extracts show that children are playing a role in building meaningful relations amongst the older generation of the black and white middle-class. The fact that parents across the racial spectrum are seeing good relations amongst children lays a very firm basis for them to want to mimic this form of behaviour. The fact that a black parent is compelled to drop her child at a party of a white child and is then forced to converse with the parents is proof that children are playing an important role in the integration of the suburbia. In these statements children are emerging positively as what Reay and Diane (2007) term a 'symbolic buffer' between their parents' prejudices.

The essential mission of middle-classes has been that of facilitating its reproduction through its own children. Education becomes central in this objective and this is confirmed by many qualitative and quantitative studies (see Simpson 2004; Crozier 2007). Beaconhurst High School is a community-based multi-racial school in Beacon Bay and the Deputy Principal of

the School, Dough Pray, believes that there is a reasonable level of integration amongst the children in the school. He stated that:

We really see that the children have got on and they are just living in the new South Africa. They are not like old people, they are living their life. We are glad that their future is bright (Pray, 11/06/2013).

It is these types of social relations amongst children that have potential to influence the perceptions of their parents. The fact that the Beaconhurst Primary and High School are viewed as the chief meeting place for many suburbanites across the racial divide point to the important role played by the school in the suburbia. When asked about the social environments where they are meeting their fellow black suburbanites, some of the white middle-class residents interviewed will say, ‘We do not have anything like that in Beacon Bay, we only interact in school.’⁷⁵ This type of feeling would be echoed by other white suburbanites who would say, ‘We only interact in school meetings and community meetings.’⁷⁶ These types of views are shared by black suburbanites and a person who put it clearly from them was Mrs Mrwetyana who said, ‘I only interact with white people through the school, of which relations are sound there.’⁷⁷

These suburbanites are behaving in a similar way like that identified by Simpson (2004) in Britain where being in a mixed school and interacting with the ‘other’ racial or ethnic group is viewed as a form of ‘experiential learning’ for the children as they would learn the art of interacting with people with a variety of backgrounds and thus will be able to understand different social contexts. The fact that there is this positive outlook from suburbanites across the racial spectrum as it relates to the benefits of integration for their children is a good indication that meaningful integration is something possible in the post-apartheid suburbia.

8.3 Traditional Ceremonies and the Church

Traditional ceremonies and church events and programmes are areas of contact between the black and white middle-class residents of Beacon Bay and the poor residents of Nompumelelo. Although this does not come out strong in the findings, there is ample evidence that these are the two events where social interaction on a more equal level happens.

⁷⁵ Mrs Fortunate, Female, interview done on 22 Mar 2013

⁷⁶ Robert Gills, Male, interview done on 13 Mar 2013

⁷⁷ Mrs Mrwetyana, Female, Interview done on 14 Mar 2013

Whilst black suburbanites have negative perceptions about the urban poor, they still invite them to their traditional ceremonies and they do not do this as an attempt to be charitable but as a way of trying to give legitimacy to these events. In other words in order for these events to be successful and in order for them to be viewed as authentic within the Xhosa tradition, elderly men and women from Nompumelelo ought to be invited.

A person who actually captures this is Mrs Mrwetyana, who stated that when you want to have a traditional event in Beacon Bay people of Nompumelelo come, "... because you will never get people who would come and attend the event here in the suburb."⁷⁸ These views were shared by another black suburbanite who stated that they always ensure that they invite people of Nompumelelo when they are having traditional functions.⁷⁹ So the idea of inviting the residents of Nompumelelo Township to come to the event here is mainly as a result of the fact that other fellow black suburbanites would not come to the event and thus rendering it unsuccessful. The fact that these black suburbanites are compelled to invite residents of the township in order to authenticate their traditional events means interaction at these events are more or less on an equal social level. This is unlike the employer and employee relation that the residents of the two areas have. In these events, the people of Nompumelelo Township are very much needed for the legitimatising of these events.

Some residents of Nompumelelo Township did confirm attending traditional events in Beacon Bay but they raised certain reservations about the manner in which people of Beacon Bay behave sometimes. Take for instance the comment by Philiswa, 34, that:

People from that side, particularly blacks, do invite people from this side to go there if they are having traditional ceremonies. They also come this side with their nice cars. The difference you get is that you never see them walking, they are always in their cars when they are here and when they are there they are always in their houses, it is like they are running away from something (Philiswa19/10/2012).

Another resident of Nompumelelo confirmed being invited by black residents of Beacon Bay when there are traditional ceremonies. She spoke positively about the relations that she has with the black middle-class mainly because of these invites to these traditional events. She states that, "We live together with the people of Beacon Bay, for instance when black people in the area are having traditional functions that side, they invite us and we leave the people with no harm."⁸⁰ If you notice the manner in which these traditional events are organised and

⁷⁸ Mrs Mrwetyana, Female, Interview done on 14 March 2013

⁷⁹ Mr Mahewu, 52, Male, Interview done on 30 June 2013

⁸⁰ Veliswa, 48, Female, Interview done on 15 Oct 2013

the role of the residents of Nompumelelo Township in legitimating them puts into question the idea or argument that there can be no relations between the people of these two areas because they are coming from different socio-economic positions in society. These events indicate that good social relations between these two areas are indeed very possible.

Like these traditional events, the church provides another platform where the socio-economic differences between the people of the two areas are set aside at least for a few hours on a church day. Some residents of Nompumelelo such as Silindiwe, 24, go to church in Beacon Bay and she states that no one is undermined in church because of their background and she states that this is because of the belief that “everyone is equal before God.”⁸¹ Mrs Bambiso, 44, captures the essence of this when she stated that:

I have also found fellowship that I was not going to find if there was no township close by. As a black woman I now have people that I go to church with on Thursdays, people who come to me and pray when I have problems. Our children also get to experience an authentic life, with children who have African roots. They bare a tendency of being like white children and this would negatively affect them in life, so the culture contact assists us (Mrs Bambiso 09/ 06/2013).

This type of behaviour is a reflection of what was discussed in chapter two about the nature of black middle-class identity and in that they sometimes try to have some form of relations with the black poor. Because blackness is always associated with the poor, the black middle-class faces a problem of their authenticity as blacks being in question (Moore 2008). This class-based social interpretation of being black leads to a situation where the black middle-class finds difficulty in performing its black identity in a manner that is socially acceptable by others. This is why Mrs Bambiso believes that it is proper for herself to have a township close by so that she can have people to pray with on Thursday and for her children to experience an authentic life.

Beyond the attendance of church in Beacon Bay by some people of Nompumelelo, activities conducted by the various churches in the township can also assist in creating better relations between the two communities. Take for instance the statement by Christina, 58, who had never been to the township until she had to go through a charity programme of the church. She stated that, “Sometimes we go there and assist as a church, worse when there are disasters such as flooding and shack fires. We collect clothes and food in the many places in the suburb and go donate them there. I even found someone who works for me from this.”⁸²

⁸¹ Silindiwe, 24, Female, Interview done on 19 Oct 2013

⁸² Christina, 58, Female, Interview done on 19 Feb 2013

Christina here ended up getting a person that she can trust to work for her due to this charity event of the church. The church is, therefore, a very important institution that can be used to unify the areas and greater social relations amongst their inhabitants.

8.4 Redefinition of Place Norms

Like the frontier zone Beacon Bay as a suburb carries a lot of potential for better relations amongst the suburbanites and thus integration. If we agree with what I have demonstrated in this study that part of the problem in the Beacon Bay area is that of definition of values and norms and also that of culture, then we can agree on a way to resolve this. If we also agree with the use of the frontier concept in conceptualising the social dynamics in Beacon Bay, we would then also agree on the understanding that essential to the existence of frontier zones “is a crisis of values, cultural and political, which cannot be resolved by the imposition of superior force” (Legassick 1969:13). Therefore, the resolution of the crisis of values and culture in Beacon Bay requires a solution that will not rely on a quick fix top down format coming from the state or any other external body.

Like a frontier, Beacon Bay is an ‘arena of cultural contestation’ and so this is why it bares serious possibilities for the production of new identities through mutual acculturation. Mutual acculturation is basically a process in which two cultures meet and intermingle to form one identity and culture with each having a resemblance of the other (Berry 2011). In concluding this dissertation I want to make a few suggestions that can lead towards this in Beacon Bay and in various other South African suburbs that are similar to Beacon Bay. These are in addition to the further development of the relations of children, the utilisation of the school, traditional ceremonies and the church in order to achieve meaningful integration in the area.

There needs to be an open discussion of place norms and values in Beacon Bay and such a discussion should involve as many people as possible and they should be as diverse as possible. This for sure will not be a simple process and as such it would need to be a systematic thing done continuously. Kolb (2008: 178) argues that, “Claiming that norms are stable and fixed is a defensive move in that struggle, not its resolution.” So it is for this reason that this process becomes as open as possible and involving many participants. So any intervention here should be a process rather than a once off thing. As Kolb (2008: 179) further argues:

What is important is the realisation that place norms are not final and complete but are complexly interrelated and porous within larger flows, and always under reconstruction even when they appear fixed.

So all relevant stakeholders in the suburbia must acknowledge this and work towards the continuous definition of place norms and values. Organisations such as Rotary, the Beacon Bay Ratepayers Association (BBRA), political organisations and civic organisations have a serious role to play in this as their actions can assist in the formal definition and reinterpretation of place norms and values. In this way better relations will be formed and new identities thus developed as time proceeds.

Matters that relate to the school governance policy, utilisation of recreational facilities, and disputes with neighbouring areas such as Nompumelelo Township makes everyone more aware of the complex nature of the place and will thus make them more conscious of the need continuously to define and reinterpret the norms of the suburb. I want to further propose that a community newspaper would be very important in this case so that it could shape the various discussions that arise within the community.

If having a newspaper in Beacon Bay proves to be difficult or takes time, in the meanwhile this task could be carried out by community blogs and community online discussion forums. These can even be through Facebook and Twitter. These actually can even provide contact that stretches far beyond what might be available in spatial proximity. Discussions of this nature will also allow people to participate in them without the limitation of time. The internet can thus help create more interactive local processes for the definition, interpretation and reproduction of multiple social norms and values and thus limit contestation on these. I want to argue that whilst the internet is important it should also not replace social contact and interaction in the community and between itself and the Nompumelelo community, which is provided by various places of contact such as the restaurants, malls, churches, and community and civic organisations.

Appendix A: Samples of Interview Schedules for Beacon Bay Residents

1. Questions to the Black Middle-Class

When I was doing the interviews I would first try to create a conversation between myself and the person that was being interviewed. I would first start with the following:

- Introductions and background
- Family historical background and socio-economic position
- Education and career background
- Conditions before arrival in the area

After this, when we were both comfortable, I then asked specific guiding questions for my research. Amongst them were the following:

- Where did you stay before moving to Beacon Bay?
- What made you to take a decision to move to this area of town?
- What type of place and social life did you expect to find here?
- Is this place like what you expected before moving here?
- Please tell me about your participation in community activities in the area.
- Please tell me about your relationship with white members of the community.
- How would you describe this relationship?
- Do you feel that there is integration between blacks and whites here in Beacon Bay?
- Do you believe that there are any benefit resulting from the closeness of the suburb to the township and the squatters?
- What are the main disadvantages of the proximity of the suburb to the township?
- How do you feel about the proximity of Nompumelelo Township to where you stay?
- What is your comment on street vendors in the township selling in the suburb?

- Did you expect to find this in a suburb when you decided to move to the area?
- Does the area affect your perception of what it means to stay in Beacon Bay?
- Do you have anyone you know there?
- How is your relationship with the people of the area?
- What is your general view on the area?
- How do you think your background growing up in the townships or in rural areas affects your relationship with the members of Nompumelelo Township?
- Does your history of poverty define this relationship?
- Do you think there will ever be integration between Beacon Bay residents and those of Nompumelelo?
- Do you believe that the government is doing enough to integrate the two communities?
- What do you think the government should do?
- How would you feel if the township was to move more closely to your house or a squatter settlement develops close to your house?
- How would you respond to the statement that the settlement decreases the value of property?
- What is your view on the building of the school for children in the township in the suburb?
- How would you respond to the statement that the settlement is the cause of crime in Beacon Bay?
- Please tell me, what is your view on the installation of CCTV cameras in Beacon Bay?

2. Questions to Nompumelelo Residents

I usually started these interviews in the following manner:

- Introductions and background
- Family historical background and socio-economic position
- Education and career background
- Conditions before arrival in the area

After this, when we were both comfortable, I then asked specific guiding questions for my research. Amongst them were the following:

- Where did you stay before moving to Nompumelelo?
- What made you to take a decision to move to this area?
- What type of place and social life did you expect to find here?
- Have your expectations been met with reality?
- When you moved to the area, did you consider the fact that it is close to a suburb where affluent people stay?
- Please tell me about your participation in community activities in the area.
- Are there any other racial groups that stay in the township? If so, how is your relationship with them?
- Do you feel that there is integration between different racial groups staying in the township?
- Do you have any relatives that stay in Beacon Bay? How is your relationship with them?
- Do you know anyone else that stays in Beacon Bay?
- What defines your relationship with the people who stay there?
- Is there any different in the way that you relate with the blacks who stay there and the whites?
- What is the difference?
- What is your general view about people in Beacon Bay?
- Are there any activities that involve the two communities?
- Do you think there will ever be integration between Beacon Bay residents and those of Nompumelelo?
- Do you believe that the government is doing enough to integrate the two communities?
- How is it failing?

- How would you feel if the township was to move close to your Beacon Bay residence?
- What is your reaction to the assertion that the building of school in Beacon Bay for your children is going to cause problems there?
- Do you think that the settlement is the main cause of crime in Beacon Bay?
- Please tell me what is your view on the installation of CCTV cameras in Beacon Bay?

Appendix B: Sample of Mail drop to Beacon Bay Residents

Dear Beacon Bay Resident

My name is Luzuko Buku and I am a Master of Social Science student at the University of Fort Hare, East London campus. I am doing research looking at social relations in a South African city and my case study is East London, more particular the Beacon Bay community and the Nompumelelo community.

I am specifically interested in how suburban community members relate amongst themselves and how they relate to residents of poor areas.

I was wondering if you would be willing to give me an interview on relations between yourself as a resident of Beacon Bay and the residents of Nompumelelo Township. The interview will look at issues such as:

- Your background as a person
- Reasons that informed your stay in the area
- Your experiences of living in Beacon Bay
- What you feel about the East London as a city
- Your comments about the changing nature of the South African urban landscape

It is important that I inform you that the interview is in-depth and thus might take a bit of time, ranging from 40 minutes to more than an hour. If an urgent issue arises during the interview, we can agree to postpone the discussion for another date or time.

Ultimately, I will want to use what you say in the interview in writing my dissertation. I want to guarantee you that I will not use your name and I promise to take further steps to protect your identity.

I plead that if you know of anyone else who might be willing to participate (including others in your family), please pass this on to them, even if you are not able to participate in the interview yourself.

Please also find attached a confirmation letter from my supervisor that I am pursuing this research.

With kind regards

Luzuko Buku

Masters of Social Science student

University of Fort Hare, East London Campus

Email luzukobuku@yahoo.com

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