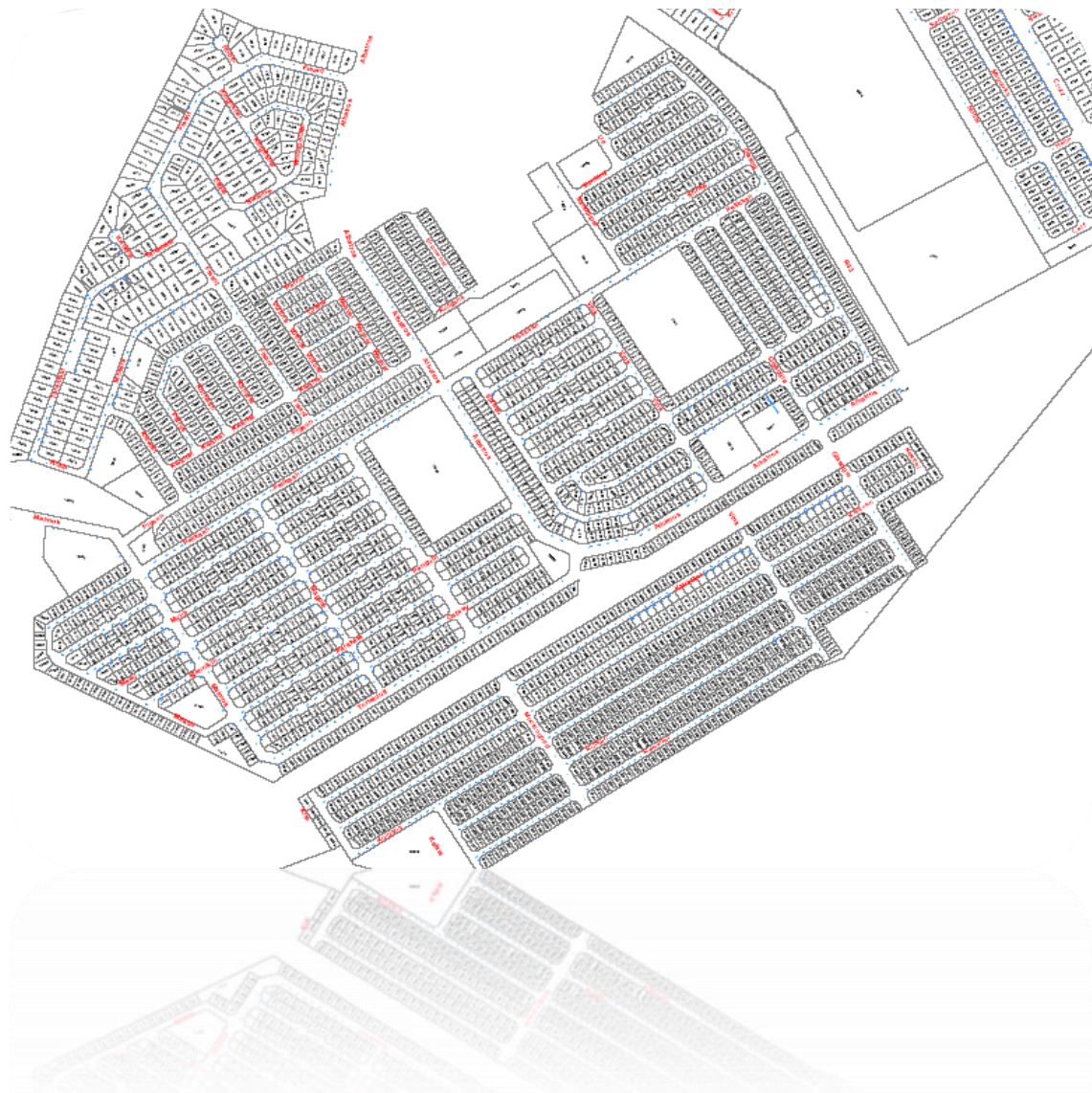# Socio-economic and Social Capital assessment of Avian Park residents, Worcester

2011

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL CAPITAL ASSESSMENT OF
AVIAN PARK RESIDENTS, WORCESTER

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Compiled by:

Lindy Heinecken

Jan Vorster

Jacob du Plessis

June 2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Volunteers	Honours students
Linda Klaasen	Lisa Brown
Cornick Lackay	Henrietta Bwalya
Shane Lucas	Kim Carls
Sophie Ngwana	Mariska de Winnaar
Funiswa Maridi	Margurete du Toit
Lesley Noble	Nina Freiboth
Curtley Richards	Aletia Giliomee
Heinrich van Beulen	Kerry Harland
Vanessa van Rhodie	Fourie Oosthuizen
Ibtishaam Wiese	Suzanne Pienaar
	Wildo van Rooi
	Rhoda Werth

The complete dataset of this study is available on request. E-mail: jhv3@sun.ac.za

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1.   INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of every academic year, the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (hereafter Department), Stellenbosch University, takes Honours students on a research fieldtrip. The rationale is based on the need to provide Honours students with an in-service learning opportunity that entails fieldwork in an environment where their research efforts could make a contribution to community development. There is thus a dual objective: firstly, in-service learning through applied research using different research methodologies and secondly, the generation of new knowledge that could benefit community initiatives of various stakeholders. There is an additional third objective, namely to train community members in fieldwork skills in order for them to partake in similar studies.

For 2011 Worcester and more specifically Avian Park (ward 13) was chosen as the research site. This site was selected partly because Stellenbosch University already has a community health project running in this area and there was both an interest and need for collaboration from the side of the Ukwanda Rural Clinical School in Worcester. Other University stakeholders included (in alphabetical order): Family Medicine, Human Nutrition, Occupational therapy, Physiotherapy, Speech, Language and Hearing therapy, Rehabilitation and Social Work. These stakeholders desired information about the community and some wanted to use the community volunteers trained by the Department for future research projects/interventions in the community.

2.   RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The research aims are as follows:

- To give students from the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology and other stakeholder groups an opportunity to conduct field research using different methodologies to gather information/data.

- To conduct a socio-economic household survey to determine the demographic profile, household structures, socio-economic status, health status, challenges facing the community and social capital of residents in Avian Park, Worcester.

- Through qualitative research, including face to face interviews to hear the voices of the community in terms of the most prominent challenges facing those living in Avian Park.

- To compile a research report based on the quantitative and qualitative data to complement existing SU Avian Park projects, as well as inform other stakeholders involved in community development/interventions.

The main purpose of this report is to give an account of the findings of the socio-economic survey and qualitative research completed by the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology Honours students. The report is descriptive in nature and does not attempt to draw broader conclusions or to make deductions from the data beyond the statistics provided.

3.   RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1   Population and sample design

All plots with dwellings from Avian Park were considered for inclusion in a random sample. In cases where more than one dwelling was present on a plot, fieldworkers had to establish whether the inhabitants from the dwellings formed one or more than one household. When there were more than one household occupying a plot, more than one interview had to be conducted at the particular visiting point.

Of the 2000 estimated plots in Avian Park, 216 interviews were conducted at randomly selected plots. From this random sample, it is possible to generalise the findings to the inhabitants of Avian Park. Where relationships between variables are discussed, a 95% confidence level is applied i.e. when stated that a statistically significant relationship exists between variables, the error contributable to sample selection will most probably not be larger than 5%.

For purposes of this study a household includes: all individuals who share a dwelling (or more than one dwelling on a plot) in Avian Park during the week and who are (partially) dependant on or who make contributions to the household, dependent children who attend school somewhere else and who come home over weekends and/or holidays, dependent children who live elsewhere and who come home occasionally, students who live somewhere else and who come home over weekends and/or holidays, people who work elsewhere and come home regularly (once a month or more) and who make contributions to the household and people who were away at the time of the study looking for employment, but who are still dependent on this household.

3.2   Survey and fieldwork

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with representatives from selected households from 24 to 27 January 2011. Fieldworkers had to identify a member of the household (respondent) who considered her-/himself knowledgeable about the characteristics of other household members. Respondents could consult the other members of the household where they were uncertain about the details of those members. Questions related to perceptions were answered only by respondents themselves. Few refusals occurred and in cases where no adult was at home during the visit of the fieldwork team, it was established from children or neighbours when the adults would return. Appointments were made in these cases to ensure that those away from home during working hours were not excluded from the sample.

Fieldworkers were thoroughly trained in the relevant aspects of fieldwork methodology, conducting interviews, research ethics and the content of the questionnaire. Coordinators

checked the completed questionnaires and gave feedback to fieldworkers regularly. The team of fieldworkers consisted of 12 Honours students and 10 volunteers from the Avian Park community. The first two days, each student was paired with a community volunteer, after which, some volunteers also conducted interviews on their own.

3.3   Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Addendum 1) is based on similar socio-economic studies undertaken elsewhere by the researchers. The questionnaire was piloted prior to the research and modified before the fieldwork commenced.

3.4   Data capturing

The data was captured on SPSS by the Honours students and the final cleaning of the data was undertaken by an experienced supervisor.

3.5   Qualitative research

One day of field research was allocated to qualitative research. The students and volunteers divided up into three groups for unstructured interviews with residents from Avian Park. The research teams walked through the community and conducted interviews with residents who were willing to talk to them. Hence, the researchers made use of non-probability sampling and the data obtained by this method is reflective, but not necessarily representative of the population of Avian Park.

Each team had a particular focus for conducting qualitative interviews. The first team conducted interviews with 22 individuals (11 males and 11 females, mostly youth). They focused on the issue of gangs and drugs in the community, the availability of recreational opportunities and on the youth lifestyle in Avian Park. The second team addressed an observation made during fieldwork in Avian Park, namely "why so many youth roamed the streets during school hours". Their aim was to establish not only the reasons, but the value attached to education. This group conducted interviews with educators, namely the head of a local crèche, the crèche mother and principal of the primary school. As with the first group, this team also addressed the social issues of drugs and alcohol abuse and teenage pregnancy. Interviews were conducted with a gang member, four male youths and one adult female. The third team focused on teenage pregnancy as well as drugs, alcohol abuse, gangs and safety issues. This group conducted interviews with 14 teenagers of whom nine where male and five female. One of the male respondents was a gang member.

Relevant findings of the qualitative study are incorporated in the following sections of this report under the appropriate headings.

4.   FINDINGS

4.1   PROFILE OF INHABITANTS

This section provides a profile of the language, race, age, gender, marital status, level of education, school attendance, age at first pregnancy and whether members have identity documents and birth certificates.

4.1.1 Language and race

The population of Avian Park is relatively homogenous in terms of language, race and culture. The findings show that 93% of the Avian Park inhabitants spoke Afrikaans as their home language, 5% Xhosa and merely 1% gave English and Sesotho respectively as their preferred language. From this it follows that this community is predominately Coloured and Afrikaans (88%) (Table 1).

Table 1: Race by home language

Race	Home language	%	N
Coloured	Afrikaans	88%	848
Black	Afrikaans	5%	51
	IsiXhosa	5%	52
	English	1%	10
	Sesotho	1%	8
Total		100%	969*

*Note: 4 user missing values for home language

4.1.2 Age, gender profile and marital status

The population is almost equally represented in terms of gender (49% male and 51% female). The age pyramid shows that the population in Avian Park is youthful, with 43% being under the age of 20 years and a remarkable 62% being 30 years or younger. At the same time there is an abnormally low percentage (11%) of persons in the age categories 31 to 40 years and only slightly more (17%) in the age cohort 41 to 50 years. A mere six Percent of inhabitants are 51 to 60 years old and only 4% are older than 60 years. The reasons for this unusual age pyramid are unclear (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Avian Park population pyramid
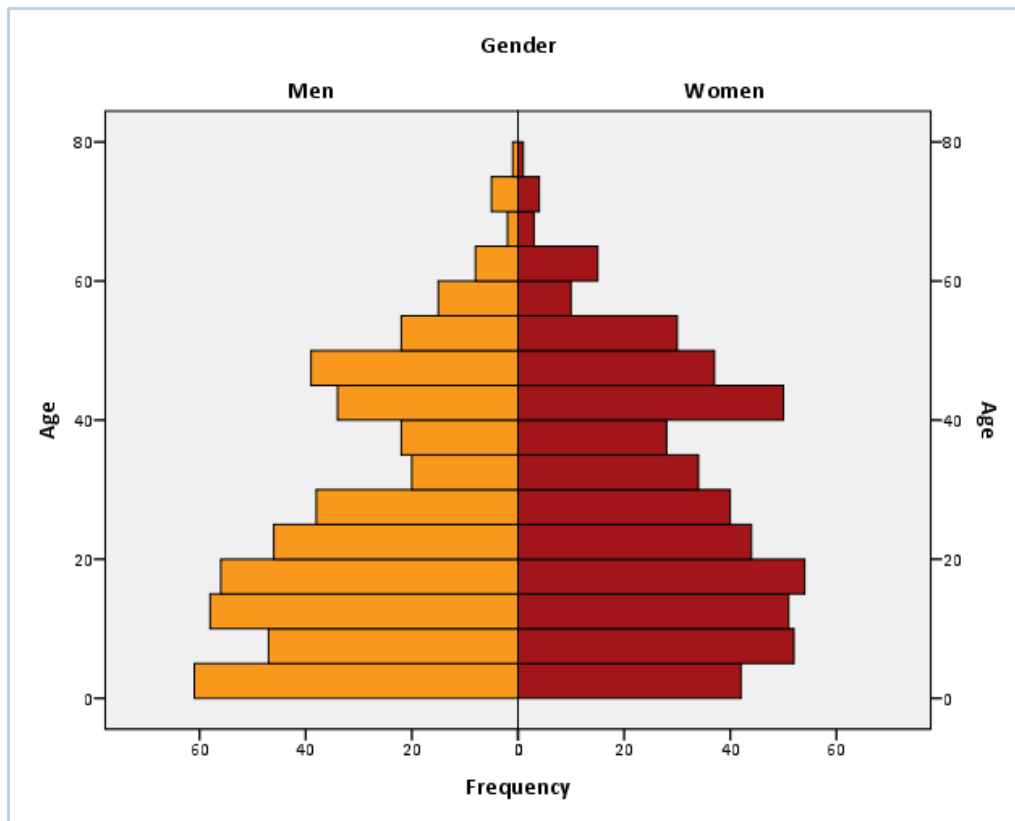
In terms of marital status, 45% of the inhabitants over the age of 20 years are married by civil law and only 6% are married by common law or traditional law. Thirty two Percent are single and have never been married. Only 7% indicated that they are living with a life partner, 3% that they are divorced and 5% are widows/widowers. (Table 2) Worth noting, is that 48% of women, who have a child younger than 19 years, have never been married. Of these only 7% indicated that they were living with a partner at some stage (Table 3).

Table 2: Marital status
(16 years or older, women with children < 19 years)

	Frequency	Percent
Single, never married	88	41.7
Married by civil law	85	40.3
Married by common law or traditional law	9	4.3
Divorced	5	2.4
Separated (not divorced)	4	1.9
Widow/widower	5	2.4
Living with life partner	15	7.1
Total	**211**	**100.0**

Table 3: Marital status (21 years or older)

	Frequency	Percent
Single, never married	169	32.0
Married by civil law	239	45.3
Married by common law or traditional law	31	5.9
Married by civil law and traditional or Muslim law	1	0.2
Divorced	16	3.0
Separated (not divorced)	6	1.1
Widow/widower	28	5.3
Living with life partner	38	7.2
Total	**528**	**100.0**

4.1.3 Level of education and school attendance

Most of the residents 15 years and older (not attending school) can read and write, but 27% have an educational level lower than Grade 8. Generally people with a level of education below this are assumed to be functionally illiterate. Most (42%) have an educational level between grades 8 and 11 with just over a third, 32% holding a Grade 12 with/without some post school qualification. When age was tabulated by level of education, persons in the ages 19 to 30 years and 31 to 40 years were significantly more educated than those in the older age category 41 years and older. To illustrate, 49% of 19 to 30 olds and 44% of those aged 31-40 had grade 12 or some post school qualification in comparison with only 14% in the age cohort 41 and older. Of concern, is that more than half of the respondents (51%) below 30 years did not complete their 12 years of schooling (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Highest education level by gender and age (adults, 19 years or older)
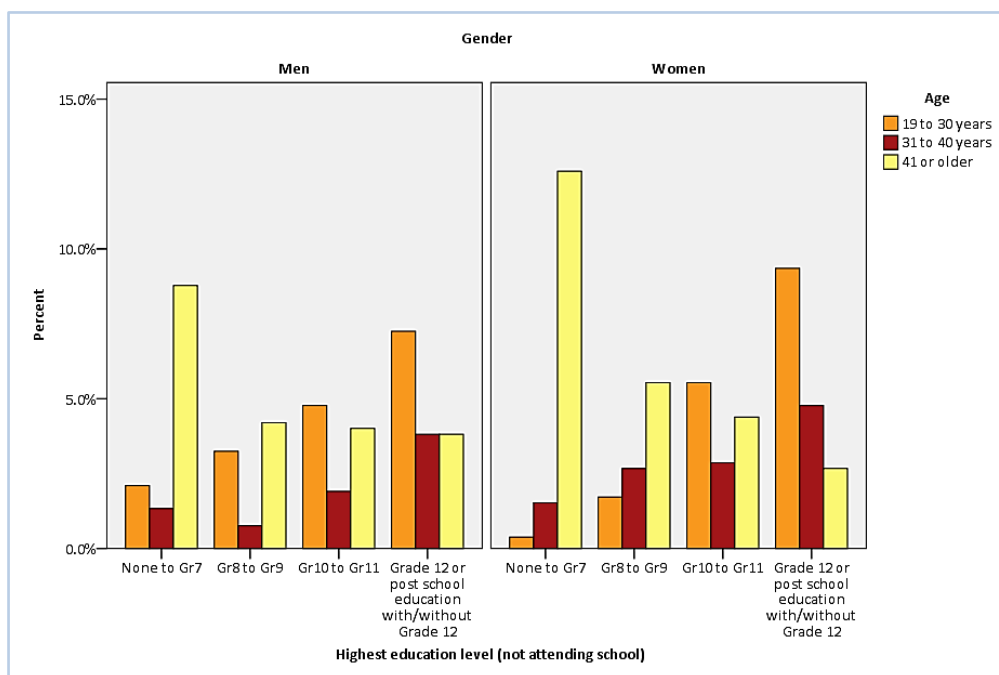
As for gender by level of education some interesting findings emerge. While in the older age cohorts (41 years and older), males and females have an approximate level of education, in the younger age categories women are more educated. To illustrate, 56% of women versus only 42% of men in the ages 19 to 30 years have a grade 12 and/or post school qualification. Therefore, it appears that men drop out of school earlier than women (Figure 2).

In terms of school attendance, nearly all of those aged 7 to 18 were enrolled at school. Of the few who did not attend school, the main reason was lack of money. However enrolment at school did not always translate into actual school attendance. During the fieldwork period it was observed that many school-going children were roaming the streets during school hours.

4.1.4   Age of first pregnancy

Teenage pregnancy is a topic of widespread concern, specifically in terms of how this may translate into girls not completing their schooling, health risks associated with HIV and STDs and qualifying for child support grants. In this community, 12% of girls in the age category 12 to 18 years reported that they were teenage mothers. Of this group, 30% were still attending school, while the rest dropped out of school before completing matric.

For those over 19 years, 24% indicated that there first pregnancy was when they were teenagers (12 to 18 years). The data show statistical significant differences in teenage pregnancy over three age cohorts, with a larger percentage (27%) of women aged 19 to 30 years compared to 21% of those older than 40 who were teenagers during their first

pregnancy (Table 4). Forty three percent of women 19 to 30 years have never been pregnant. Of note, is that 30% of girls under 18 years who have a child receive a Child Support Grant.

Table 4: Age first time pregnant for adults (19 years or older) by age

Age first time pregnant	Age			Total
	19 to 30 years	31 to 40 years	41 or older	
Never been pregnant	43.3%	15.9%	4.5%	19.2%
Teenager at first pregnancy (12 to 18 years)	26.7%	25.4%	21.1%	23.8%
Adult at first pregnancy (19 years or older)	30.0%	58.7%	74.4%	57.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	90	63	133	286

Note: 18 cases for 'age first time pregnant' were coded as 'can't remember' or 'don't want to say'.
χ^2 = 61.98 p = .000 Kendall's tau-b = .393 sig. = .000

Based on the information obtained from the face to face interviews with members of the community, teenage pregnancy is viewed as the norm, rather than the exception in Avian Park. Low stigma is attached to being a teenage mother. Some respondents made flippant comments like "it has become a fashion statement" to have a baby and then go back to school afterwards and that Avian Park experienced a baby boom after the Soccer World Cup, where girls had "their own soccer balls". Considering the complex reasons for teenage pregnancy, the potential risks and disruptive effect on education, it is encouraging that 30% of teenage mothers were still attending school. As indicated in paragraph 4.1.3 a significantly higher percentage women compared to men completed matric.

4.1.5 Identity documents and birth certificates

The majority of residents (92%) over the age of 15 years possessed an identity document. Similarly, most children (94%) had birth certificates. Not having a birth or identity document impacts negatively on various levels, including on residents' access to social assistance grants should they be entitled to them.

4.2 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES

This section provides an indication of the household size and migration trends of residents living in Avian Park, Worcester.

4.2.1 Household size

The mean household size is 4.5 with the majority (45%) of households having 4 or 5 members living in their house. Close on a quarter (24%) of households had six or more members living in the household (Table 5). Given the size of houses and number of rooms, such close living arrangements especially in the smaller RDP houses located in the area in Avian Park, called "Die Kamp" appears to be a problem.

Table 5: Household size

Household size	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	11	5.1	5.1
2	26	12.0	17.1
3	29	13.4	30.6
4	59	27.3	57.9
5	38	17.6	75.5
6	21	9.7	85.2
7	15	6.9	92.1
8	7	3.2	95.4
9	4	1.9	97.2
10	1	.5	97.7
11	2	.9	98.6
12	1	.5	99.1
13	1	.5	99.5
15	1	.5	100.0
Total	**216**	**100.0**	

4.2.2 Migration patterns

Of the residents, 73% of coloured and 80% black inhabitants have lived in Avian Park for more than 5 years. The greatest in-migration over the past 5 years was among the Coloured population where 16% have settled in Avian Park after January 2006. Hence, this is a relatively stable community with a low level of in-migration. Those who have settled in Avian Park since 2006 have come from other areas in Worcester (53%), from farms in the area

(18%), or neighbouring towns such as Rawsonville, Hexrivier, Ceres and Robertson. Only 9% came from other areas in the Western Cape and even less from elsewhere in South Africa (1%) or outside South Africa (1%) (Figure 3).

Figure *3*: Area from which migration took place
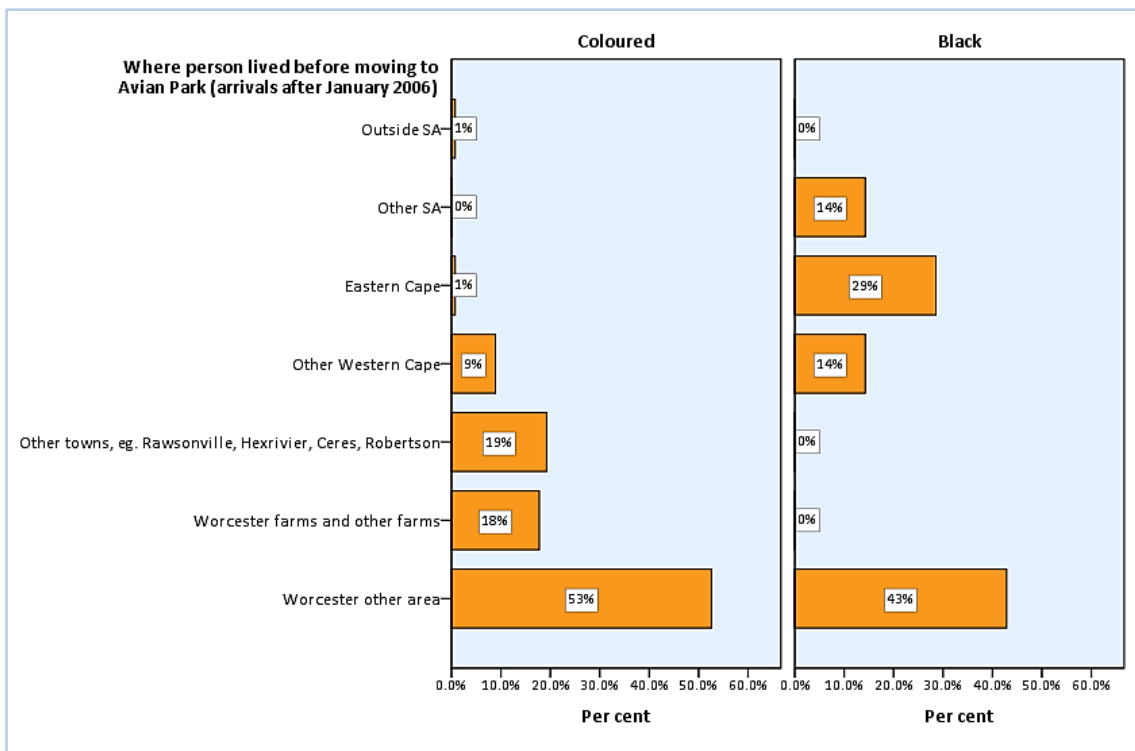
Most of the in-migration occurred in 2010 (45%) in the age cohort 40 years and below. This shows a marked increase from previous years where the influx was only around 17%. A possible explanation is the completion of subsidised (RDP) housing during 2010.

4.3   SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

This section provides an indication of the level of household income, employment, the nature of work and income from employment.

4.3.1 Household income and poverty levels

The mean income of households in Avian Park is R5710, per month. Approximately 10% households have a per capita income of R316 or less per month, 50% a per capita income of R1000 or higher and 30% have a per capita amount of R1500 or higher. The median total monthly household income is approximately R3800.

Table 6: Residents under poverty line

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Under and on the poverty line	39	18.1	23.8
	Above the poverty line	125	57.9	76.2
	Total	164	75.9	100.0
Missing	Income incomplete	52	24.1	
Total		216	100.0	

In terms of household *per capita* income, 24% (close on a quarter) of residents survive on less than R552 per month (Table 6) which is considered below the poverty line. Very few residents were reliant on social grants as their only source of income (<3%).

4.3.2 Economic activity

Of the population *not attending school/college/university* aged 15 to 59 years, 65% were earning an income through employment. Of the 35% not in paid employment, 26% stated that the reason for not working was due to disability/sickness, because they have chosen not to work (20%), were unable to find work (16%) or unable to find suitable work (6.5%).

Of those economically active (i.e. in paid employment or interested in taking up paid employment), 89% were employed, while 11% were unemployed. The unemployment figure is quite low compared to national statistics (Table 7). This may partly be explained by the fact that at the time of the study many inhabitants were employed as seasonal workers on fruit and wine farms and that the study was conducted during the main season. It is expected that the unemployment will be higher during winter.

Table 7: Employment status of those active in the job market
(aged 15 to 59 years, not attending school/college/university)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Employed *	360	37.0	88.7
	Unemployed **	46	4.7	11.3
	Total	406	41.7	100.0
Missing	Not economically active	567	58.3	
Total		973	100.0	

* Those working for money, starting job later and contract workers currently resting before new contract.
** Defined as those actively seeking employment or willing to take up employment, retrenched or had problems at work.

No statistically significant relationship between educational level and employment status was found, although approximately 6% more of those with completed schooling and/or some tertiary education were employed (Table 8). More than half the residents in Avian Park are below 30 years and have not completed 12 years of schooling.

Table 8: Employment status of those active in the job market (aged 15 to 59 years, not attending school/college/university) by highest education level

Employment status of those active in the job market	Highest education level				Total
	None to Gr7	Gr8 to Gr9	Gr10 to Gr11	Grade 12 or post school education with/without Grade 12	
Employed	84.5%	88.6%	88.7%	90.9%	88.7%
Unemployed	15.5%	11.4%	11.3%	9.1%	11.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	71	70	97	143	381

$\chi^2 = 1.95$ $p = .584$ Kendall's tau-b = -.061 sig. = .204

There was no statistically significant difference in the employment status of women and men in Avian Park, with equal percentages employed and unemployed. However, if one looks at those unemployed, it is interesting to note that a larger percentage of men (14%) compared to women (10%) were unemployed in the age cohort younger than 30 years. In terms of unemployment, there is no significant difference between women and men thirty years or older. The highest level of unemployment is among those aged 20-25, approximately 38%.

4.3.3 Nature of work

Although difficult to accurately classify the different areas or occupations where people were employed, the majority work as typical "unskilled labour" or as domestic workers (41%). The jobs listed were given as, general labourer, factory worker, casual worker, contract worker, packer at factory, woodcutter, and cleaner. Many worked in artisan type jobs, such as welders, carpenters, electricians, mechanics, bricklayers, seamstresses, or as truck drivers (approximately 20%). Comparatively fewer were employed in white collar professions such as clerks, nurses, teachers or as policemen, traffic officers or firemen (<9%) (Table 9).

The major industries that serve as job outlets for residences of Avian Park are the wineries, fruit farms, textiles mills, clothing factories and chicken processing plants. Other major sectors that provided employment include the service sector, public service (municipality, health, education), small business enterprises and to a lesser extent the transport sector.

Table 9: Job/Career of those currently employed or doing something to earn money (15 years or older)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Farm worker	40	11.3	12.8
	Domestic Worker	32	9.1	10.3
	Labourer/Regular or general worker	31	8.8	9.9
	Truck driver/Courier/Delivery	14	4.0	4.5
	Cashier	12	3.4	3.8
	Factory worker	12	3.4	3.8
	Casual worker	10	2.8	3.2
	Builder/Brick layer	8	2.3	2.6
	Cleaner	8	2.3	2.6
	Salesperson	8	2.3	2.6
	Chef/Cook	7	2.0	2.2
	Nurse	7	2.0	2.2
	Contract worker	6	1.7	1.9
	Security guard	6	1.7	1.9
	Business owner	5	1.4	1.6
	Carpenter	5	1.4	1.6
	Clerk	5	1.4	1.6
	Packer at factory	5	1.4	1.6
	Seamstress	5	1.4	1.6
	Teacher	5	1.4	1.6
	Gardener	4	1.1	1.3
	Machine operator	4	1.1	1.3
	Policeman	4	1.1	1.3
	Welder	4	1.1	1.3
	Care worker	3	.8	1.0
	Electrician	3	.8	1.0
	Forklift Driver	3	.8	1.0
	Handyman	3	.8	1.0
	Mechanic	3	.8	1.0
	Painter	3	.8	1.0
	Waiter	3	.8	1.0
	Barber	2	.6	.6
	Fireman	2	.6	.6
	General assistant	2	.6	.6
	Lab assistant	2	.6	.6
	Receptionist/Secretary	2	.6	.6
	Road worker	2	.6	.6
	Supervisor	2	.6	.6
	Traffic Officer	2	.6	.6
	Woodcutter	2	.6	.6
	Other	26	8.3	8.3
	Total	312	88.4	100.0
Missing	Not indicated	41	11.6	
	Total	353	100.0	

4.3.4 Income from employment

Men earn statistically significantly more than women. Of those employed the mean salary income for working men was R3572 per month and for women R2558 with the median income R3000 and R1500 respectively (Table 10). However, 20% of employed persons earn R1000 or less per month, and the top 20% earn R4200 or more per month.

Table 10: Percentiles of income (take-home amount, employed)

	Gender	Percentiles						
		5	10	25	50	75	90	95
Average earnings per month	Men	600.00	1000.00	1525.00	3000.00	4725.00	7000.00	8000.00
	Women	275.00	435.00	1000.00	1500.00	3000.00	4200.00	7400.00

Only 6% earn R7500 or more per month. The differences in wage differentials are visually reflected in the housing structures of Avian Park, where those in the upper income bracket live in what is termed Avian Park 1 and those residing in "Die Kamp" are the lower income earners.

4.4 SERVICE DELIVERY

4.4.1 Housing

The majority of residents in Avian Park reside in brick houses (72%) or a brick house/flat/room in the backyard (8%). Only 10% of residents live in an informal house or shack on a property or in an informal backyard structure (6.5%). Of interest, is that most (80%) own their house and 5% own the house, but not the land the house is on. The latter are mostly those living in informal houses (Table 11).

Table 11: Household structures

	Frequency	Percent
Brick house on separate plot or property	156	72.2
Informal house/shack NOT in back yard	22	10.2
Brick house on separate plot or property AND house/flat/room or informal house/shack in back yard	18	8.3
Informal house/shack in back yard	14	6.5
House/flat/room in back yard	5	2.3
Caravan or tent in back yard	1	.5
Total	216	100.0

Table 12: Does the household own the house and land on which it stands?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes, own house and land	173	80.1
Yes, own house but not land	11	5.1
No, renting house	22	10.2
No, live here for free (for example watching house for owner, employer's house)	9	4.2
Other	1	.5
Total	216	100.0

4.4.2   Toilet facilities

Most of the residents reported that they had access to a flush toilet (93%) on their property or in their house, with less than 2% stating that they make use of a private bucket system. Just over 4% of residents indicated that they do not have a toilet on the property where they reside and have to share such a facility. It is mainly those residents in the informal residences and in backyard structures, located in "Die Kamp" that do not have access to their own toilets.

4.4.3   Energy sources

Of the households surveyed, 94% indicated that they have electricity in the house. The main source of energy for cooking is electricity followed by gas, with very few opting to use paraffin to prepare food. Electricity is also the main source of energy for lighting (93%), with only 4.7% stating that candles are their main source of lighting. However, as a source of lighting, candles were the preferred second choice (43%). From this one can deduce that it is mainly those 10% residing in informal shacks that use alternative sources of energy for cooking and lighting.

4.5 HEALTH ISSUES

4.5.1 Utilisation of health care facilities

Respondents were asked to indicate where they went for assistance when someone in their household was seriously ill or injured. The majority of inhabitants (65%) went to the public hospital or used the emergency ambulance services. Close on a fifth (18%) first turned to their private doctor for assistance and 10% said they went directly to the public clinic (10%) (Table 13).

4.5.2 Illness, injury and disability

Respondents were asked to indicate if anyone in their household suffered from an injury or illness or disability such as asthma, epilepsy, TB, depression, diabetes, high blood pressure, HIV/AIDS or heart conditions. Asking such sensitive questions often do not result in accurate reporting and thus needs to be interpreted with some caution. Only 14% indicated that they or some household member suffered from an illness and or injury at the time of the study. From the data reflected in Table 14 it appears as if the main problems are high blood pressure (36%), asthma (17%), diabetes (15%) and tuberculosis (7%). Some of these conditions were also mentioned in combination (also with other types) (9%). Most who reported some form of ailment/disease or injury were in the age category 41 years and older.

Table 13: The last time when someone in the household was seriously ill or injured, where did you first go for assistance?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Hospital/emergency services (ambulance)	126	58.3	64.9
	Private doctor	35	16.2	18.0
	Clinic	20	9.3	10.3
	No one, we handled it ourselves	7	3.2	3.6
	Other	4	1.9	2.1
	Traditional healer	2	.9	1.0
	Total	194	89.8	100.0
Missing	Not applicable, no one was seriously ill or injured	22	10.2	
	Total	22	10.2	
Total		216	100.0	

Table 14: Currently sick and/or injured

Table 13: The last time when someone in the household was seriously ill or injured, where did you first go for assistance?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Hospital/emergency services (ambulance)	126	58.3	64.9
	Private doctor	35	16.2	18.0
	Clinic	20	9.3	10.3
	No one, we handled it ourselves	7	3.2	3.6
	Other	4	1.9	2.1
	Traditional healer	2	.9	1.0
	Total	194	89.8	100.0
Missing	Not applicable, no one was seriously ill or injured	22	10.2	
	Total	22	10.2	
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	High blood pressure	50	5.1	36.0
	Asthma	23	2.4	16.5
	Diabetes	21	2.2	15.1
	Combinations of listed conditions / Other	13	1.3	9.4
	TB	9	.9	6.5
	Injury	8	.8	5.8
	Epilepsy	4	.4	2.9
	Depression/other psychological illness	4	.4	2.9
	Heart condition	4	.4	2.9
	Cancer	2	.2	1.4
	HIV/AIDS	1	.1	.7
	Total	139	14.3	100.0
Missing	No	834	85.7	
Total		973	100.0	

Few persons were reported to be suffering from disabilities. Only 1.2% indicated some form of physical disability and a mere 0.5% that somebody in their household was visually or intellectually impaired. Those affected were also mainly in the older age category (56%) with 22% indicating that this was a condition of their family member since birth (Table 15).

Table 15: Is someone in the household disabled?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	No	955	98.2	98.3
	Physical	12	1.2	1.2
	Visual	3	.3	.3
	Intellectual	2	.2	.2
	Total	972	99.9	100.0
Missing	Unknown	1	.1	
Total		973	100.0	

4.5.3 Nutrition and food security

Some 13% of residents reported that in the past month often (more than 5 times) and 11% (1 to 4 times) (in total 24%) that there was not enough food for everyone in the house as a result of too little money. This correlates with the number of persons living below the poverty line, as reflected in Table 6. Only a very small number (5%) indicated that they sometimes receive food from a feeding scheme, and this was mostly for the children at school or attending crèche.

Table 16: In the past four weeks, how often did it happen that there was not enough food in the house for everyone as a result of too little money?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Often (more than 5 times)	28	13.0	13.1
	Less often (1 to 4 times)	23	10.6	10.8
	Hardly ever (only once)	17	7.9	8.0
	Did not happen	145	67.1	68.1
	Total	213	98.6	100.0
Missing	Don't know	1	.5	
	Not indicated	2	.9	
	Total	3	1.4	
Total		216	100.0	

The level of food security varied, depending on the time of the year. Here 67% indicated that sometimes they had more food than other times. It appears that at Christmas and Easter time, food is more abundant than at other times. In the interviews with respondents they mentioned that there are six "dry months" (mainly during the winter months when seasonal work in the agricultural sector is scarce) and when tourism is down, which affects the service sector and those employed on a casual basis. During November through to Easter there is more seasonal work on the farms and higher levels of employment.

| Picture 1: More extensive vegetable garden | Picture 2: Typical smaller vegetable patch |

Some 11% of households had small vegetable gardens. The extent to which this provided a form of food security or income was difficult to establish from the data. From observation, these gardens varied in size, some being merely a small vegetable patch, others taking up a larger portion of the plot as reflected in Picture 1. Most seem to be growing vegetables such as pumpkins, gem squash, potatoes, maize (mielies), spinach and carrots. The majority of vegetable gardens appear to be in the more informal area of Avian Park.

4.6   PROBLEMS IN AVIAN PARK

This section addresses the main problems experienced by households living in a community such as Avian Park. Included in this section, is not only the quantitative data obtained from the survey questionnaire, but the information gathered by the Honours students in their face to face interviews with respondents from the community.

4.6.1   Problems in households and community

Almost half (50%) indicated that they did not have major problems in their household. The main problems (34%) related to issues of finances/poverty/employment and to a far lesser extent to domestic conflict (3.4%), living in a confined space (3.4%) or alcohol abuse (3%). Although few gave drug abuse as a problem within their own household (which is understandable), almost a quarter (23%) mentioned drugs (including tik) as a major problem in their community. This was followed by problems related to drug and alcohol abuse (16%), crime (15%), poverty and unemployment (13%) and violence (abuse and attacks with weapons) (11%).

In the qualitative interviews, the link between these issues became more apparent. Tik (methamphetamine) and alcohol abuse is a serious problem among the youth, but also among parents. Respondents indicated that children as young as eight years have become addicted to this drug. The youth turn to crime, even stealing from their family or to prostitution to sustain their habits. Children reportedly start drinking at an early age, around thirteen years and frequently hangout at shebeens. There appears to be little control over access and alcohol consumption of those under age at the shebeens.

The drug trade in Avian Park is closely associated with the gangs. The following gangs are reportedly active in the area - the Americans, the Junior Cisco Yakkies (JCY), the Dogpounds (DPG), Barbertons and the Corner boys. The Americans have been pushed out of the area by the JCYs. The latter gang, which originates from the Rivierview area in Worcester, is the most active and feared. They have members as young as 12 years and can be identified by the scarves they wear (black and white "Pagad doeke"), tattoos and their unique walk ("rol"). Reportedly, to be accepted into this gang, members one must be willing to sell drugs and must "threaten to kill someone". This gang is considered extremely dangerous and violent. The Corner boys emerged as a response to the JCYs. They are referred to as a "mini-gang" – a group of friends who stand together who believe in the use of "justifiable violence" against those who threaten others in the community. They claim not to be involved in drug dealing and there are no repercussions if one wants to leave the gang, which is not the case in the other gangs.

4.6.2 Safety and crime

The inhabitants of Avian Park were somewhat divided on their safety in general – 63% indicated that they felt very safe or relatively safe in the community whereas 37% held the contrary. There was no significant difference in terms of the perception of the overall safety among men and women. In terms of safety within the home one sees a similar trend, where both men and women felt equally save within the confines of their own home, although 16% indicated that they felt unsafe in their own homes (Table 17).

Table 17: Feeling of safety in Avian Park by gender

How safe do you feel in Avian Park?	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
Very safe	32.2%	24.5%	26.6%
Relative safe	35.6%	36.1%	36.0%
Relative unsafe	10.2%	16.8%	15.0%
Very unsafe	22.0%	22.6%	22.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	59	155	214

$\chi^2 = 2.204$ $p = .531$ Kendall's tau-b = .064 sig. = .315

This is somewhat surprising given that (25%) of households had experienced a break-in or theft in their homes the past year and 17% had been a victim of crime outside their homes. Evidently those who had experienced incidences of crime felt notably less safe in their homes and in Avian Park than those who had not been a subject of crime.

The crime in the area is closely related to gang activity. The JCYs are allegedly known for stealing cell phones and breaking into houses. One woman said that she has had six cell phones taken off her by gangsters. Parents report that their children are not save walking to school or to the shops and most respondents indicated that they do not feel save walking in the streets after dark. The gangs are often involved in violent fights, using knives and guns and this threatens the safety and security of residents, particularly those living in "Die Kamp" area. This is reportedly where most of the drug houses and gang activity is.

The gangs also intimidate the community by threatening to vandalize their property, or protect it in lieu of payment. One woman mentioned that they came into her house and threatened to kill her at gun point if she reported them to the police. Besides this, the gangs often take part in "drag racing" through the streets and recently a girl was killed by the reckless driving. What concerns the community is that drugs, gangsterism and lawlessness appear to be on the increase, and that the police are doing nothing about this. There appears to be a lack of trust in the capabilities of the police and many fail to report incidences, either out of fear or because they do not believe anything will come of it.

For example, of those members who experienced a break in/and or theft in the past year (January 2010-2011) (29%), only half (49%) reported this to the police. Incidences of physical attack/abuse were reported more frequently (67%) (Table 18).

Table 18: Did any member of this household make a case at the police the past year? * Has household (member) been a victim of break-in and/or theft and/or physically attack/abuse in the past year?

Made a case at the police the past year	Has household (member) been a victim of break in and/or theft and/or physically attack/abuse in the past year?				Total
	Break in and/or theft AND physically attacked/abused	Only physically attacked/abused	Only had break in and/or theft	None	
Yes	88.9%	66.7%	48.9%	11.3%	29.4%
No	11.1%	33.3%	51.1%	88.7%	70.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	9	27	45	133	214

χ^2 = 62.639 p = .000 $Kendall's\ tau\text{-}b$ = .511 $sig.$ = .000
1 cell (12.5%) has expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.65.

Overall there is a lack of police presence in the area and when crimes are reported it takes a long time for police to arrive at the scene. Many respondents claim that the police are afraid of the gangs and when arrests are made, it is the soft ("pap") not the hard core gangsters who are taken in. This, they say merely creates the "illusion that something is being done about the problem". Others again claim that the police are connected to the drug dealers,

warn them when drug busts are due to take place and receive bribes from them. In general, there does not appear to be a very high regard for the police.

4.6.3 Lack of recreational facilities

Although there were no specific questions addressing the need for facilities, this came up frequently as a factor which has contributed to the lawlessness among the youth in Avian Park. Many indicated that they took part in sport – soccer (70%), netball (15%), athletics (7%), but no such sport facilities exist in Avian Park. There are no sports fields or clubs where the youth can gather and socialise and it is believed that if such facilities existed, the youth may be less likely to become involved in gang related activities. The local ward councillor has promised to look into this, but respondents' claim that this has just been "empty promises".

4.7 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND SOCIAL COHESION

In the following section the level of social cohesion in the community is measured. Such information is important to establish the degree of consensus and cooperation on issues affecting the community through various community structures or institutions.

4.7.1 Groups and networks

Almost half of the community (48%) indicated that they belonged to no community group. Those that did belonged mainly to the church (including church choir) (39%), or to some sports club (6%). The church was by far the most important civil society agent in this community. As Avian Park is a relatively homogenous community, there was a fair amount of interaction among people at the church in terms of their diverse backgrounds in terms of education/social status/gender/age.

4.7.2 Trust

On the issue of the level of trust among community members, some interesting findings emerged. For example, while 76% felt that community members could be trusted, just under a quarter (24%) indicated the opposite. On the one hand, residents felt that when help is needed, most in Avian Park would stand together (46%). On the other, 87% indicated that "one has to be careful otherwise people take advantage of you". From this one gets the sense that community members would be willing to help one another, but only to a point.

The relationship with local authorities was less congenial. A large number (74%) felt that they could not trust the local ward councillor. Nor did they trust officials associated with local government (62%), or national government (66%). The highest level of trust within these communities was in terms of their interaction with non-governmental organisations (79%). In the interviews with respondents, many were critical of the local ward councillor for not doing enough to help the community, specifically with regard to promises to build sport facilities.

4.7.3 Collective action and collaboration

As residents are not very active in community based organisations, it is not surprising that very few indicated that they were involved in, or participated in community activities that would benefit residents. Yet, many felt that when push came to shove and they needed to stand together to solve certain problems that most of the people in Avian Park (34% definitely, 29% to certain extent), would form a united front. Some 38% held the contrary view.

4.7.4 Social cohesion and inclusion

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought various differences in education, land/property ownership, wealth, social status, gender, age, length of residence in community, political party membership, religion or race influenced social cohesion or inclusion. The majority did not think that these differences caused tensions, with a few exceptions. Land/property ownership was probably the most contentious issue (18% indicated that this causes problems). There appears to be some tension between the people living in "Die Kamp" in the RDP houses and those in the other areas of Avian Park. One can observe a clear distinction between the areas in terms of wealth and size of houses. The people living in the wealthier areas in Avian Park are hostile towards those living in "Die Kamp" who they blame for many of the social ills in the community.

The most tension among members appears to be across the gender/age divide. In the interviews, domestic violence did not feature prominently in the discussions. The exact issues relating to gender are unclear, although in terms of the youth it could be due to more boys/men being involved in crime and gang related activities than girls. As for age, the older generation was very disillusioned with the youth who they claim have no respect or morals, lack ambition and are responsible for the high levels of crime in Avian Park.

With the high level of unemployment among the youth, there is a sense of hopelessness and few show any ambition to study further – "young people do not have a vision for their lives" and nor does this seem to be encouraged by parents. A teacher reported that there is a "lack of good role models" and for this reason, the youth turn to the gangs for a sense of purpose, power and identity.

4.7.5 Empowerment and political participation

Despite these problems in the community, many (47%) indicated that they are very happy or happy to a certain extent (29%) living in Avian Park. Only 11% said that they were sort of "in between" and 11% stated that they were unhappy. When one compares this state of wellbeing with the issues raised in the previous sections, one can make the deduction that it is probably those 24% living close to the poverty line, that experience a sense of deprivation that are most unhappy.

Although one does not get a strong sense of community, it does appear as if members are prepared to stand up for their rights or demand services due to them. When asked "how often in the last year people from Avian park gathered and stood up against government officials" some 11% indicated that this happened more than 5 times a year, 25% a few times (<5 times), 17% once and 43% never. While trust in political authorities was low in this

community, most still believe in the political process and consider voting as important (61% voted in the last general election).

5.   SUMMARY

The population of Avian Park is predominately Coloured, Afrikaans and youthful, with an estimated 62% of residents being below the age of 30 years. More than half of those in this age cohort have not completed their 12 years of schooling. An estimated 27% of residents are considered functionally illiterate, but women are on average more educated than men. Most of those of school-going age were enrolled at school, although casual observation during the fieldwork period indicates that not all were always attending school during normal school hours.

Good parenting obviously plays a role here and it is important to note that almost half of those who have children younger than 19 years are single parents. The incidence of teenage pregnancy is also high, with 12% of current teenage girls from 12 to 18 years having been pregnant, of which 30% are still presently at school. More than a quarter of mothers reported having their first child whilst a teenager and this trend is increasing, albeit slowly. The notion that these pregnancies are linked to the allocation of government Child Support Grants was not evident, with a relatively low take-up amongst teen mothers.

Avian Park is a relatively stable community with little in-migration. Most of the new residents come from the area and there is little in-migration from elsewhere. The average household size is between 4 to 5 members, but almost a quarter have more than six members living in the same house. The household income varies significantly, with a quarter of residents living below a poverty line of R552 per capita monthly. The median income from employment for men was R3000 per month and for women R1500. What one typically sees in this community is what has been referred to as the "working poor".

As more than a quarter were considered functionally illiterate, it is understandable that the vast majority were employed in unskilled manual jobs. Merely 20% were employed in jobs that can be classified as skilled and only 9% worked in the higher paid white collar/public service jobs. From this one can make the deduction that the overwhelming majority of these residents do not have service benefits such as housing allowances, pension schemes, medical aid, which is normally associated with permanent salaried employment. This implies a greater reliance on state support and/or community based NGOs to provide these basic services.

As regards health care, for example, the majority of residents (65%) rely on the state hospital/emergency services to assist them in times of need. Judging from the health related problems cited by community members, it appears as if the most prevalent health problems in this community are high blood pressure, asthma, diabetes and tuberculosis. HIV/AIDS was hardly mentioned. Many of these health concerns relate to stress, living in close confinement, diet and nutrition. A quarter of residents indicated that there is often not enough food in the house for everyone. The feeding schemes that exist are mostly for children and although some have vegetable gardens, it is unlikely that these make a significant contribution to the food security/nutrition of members.

The greatest problems gripping this community are drug and gang related activities. Drug abuse by children as young as eight years old were reported and many are drawn into gangs at a young age. These gangs are associated with theft, violent crimes and drug dealing in the area. The effect of these gangs permeates through the community, affecting safety and security of residents. Almost 40% of residents indicated that they felt unsafe living in Avian park and a quarter of residents reported that they had a break-in or theft in their homes the past year. The community feels powerless against the gangs and have little faith in the police in dealing with the problem. The fact that the youth in Avian Park are somewhat isolated from Worcester and have virtually no recreational facilities, contributes to these social ills.

The community also seems to lack the social capital or cohesion to address these issues. The most influential civil society agent in this community is the church and few participated in other community organisations or activities. While there is some animosity towards the people living in "Die Kamp", the greatest tension appears to be between the older generation and the youth. In general, the level of trust among the community is low and people have more faith in the non-governmental organisations active in the area than in local political authorities. Despite this, the majority of residents enjoyed living in Avian Park and stated that if they needed to, they would stand together as a community to defend their rights and demand services due to them.

6.   CONCLUSIONS

The most significant key findings of this research that may warrant intervention are as follows:

- Many of the problems facing this community relate to the youth.
- More active attempts should be made to address the issue of teenage pregnancy and the responsibilities of parenting.
- A quarter of the population lives below a poverty line of R552 per capita and often experience food insecurity. There appears to be limited access to feeding schemes other than at the crèches/schools.
- A large percentage of the inhabitants can be classified as "working poor", which implies that they are reliant on the state and/or community based organisations to provide social services such as housing, health, education and social support.
- Drugs and gangsterism is a major problem within this community and there is little faith in the law enforcement authorities to address this.
- The youth in Avian Park are exposed to a "gangster culture" and need more positive role models and sport/other facilities to give meaning to their lives.
- Many in this community feel unsafe and insecure living in Avian Park and feel disempowered by the vigilantism of the gangs.
- Despite the fact that Avian Park is a relatively stable and homogenous society, there is a low level of social cohesion and lack of social capital to address the problems that beset this community.
- Given the low level of trust in local authorities, interventions in this community are more likely to succeed if channelled through the church and non-governmental organisations.

In this report, no attempt has been made to evaluate the findings within a broader theoretical or contextual framework. Nonetheless, the results reflect many of the challenges facing lower socio-economic coloured communities elsewhere in the Western Cape. Given the extensive nature of the dataset, the potential exists for further analysis of specific issues, should this be required by different stakeholders.