

LIVING IN BUFFALO CITY IN 2001: A BASELINE SURVEY OF QUALITY OF LIFE

By

Robin Richards, CASE

Ellen Kamman, Rhodes/Fort Hare University

And

Lizette Meyer, DRA

Abstract

Buffalo City is the municipality, which came into being following the 2000 local government elections in South Africa. Buffalo City, one of the nine largest cities in South Africa, comprises a merger of two former local authorities: East London and King William's Town and includes the rural hinterlands of these two towns.

In Buffalo City, a Quality of Life/Needs assessment survey was undertaken to compile baseline data on the socio-economic status of all residents. This was part of the strategic planning exercise (Integrated Development Plan), which all municipalities in South Africa are required to undertake. The survey was a joint venture between the Buffalo City municipality; Rhodes University and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).

The Buffalo City Quality of Life survey is unique. Hitherto, few studies have investigated both the material living conditions of residents as well as their perceptions of life in the Border towns of the Eastern Cape. Smaller surveys and anthropological studies within specific townships and shackland areas have explored some of these aspects.

The survey covers the following main themes: a household economic and transport roster; housing issues and land tenure; household services and needs; community services and facilities available in Buffalo City; transport issues; personal well-being and life satisfaction; satisfaction with neighbourhood/suburb; perceptions of the new Buffalo City; civic involvement and sense of belonging.

The survey is a representative sample of all residents living in Buffalo City. Interviews were undertaken with 2477 respondents. Select findings of the survey are presented in this paper

Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research

Working Paper No.19

ISBN: 1-86810-087-1

Contact: Anne King at [aking@ufhel.ac.za/](mailto:aking@ufhel.ac.za)

Introduction

Community quality of life is an elusive concept to define. The meaning of this concept depends on where you live, where you work (if you work), and who you are (for example your gender, class and culture). This view of quality of life is supported by other researchers for example Proshansky and Fabian (1986). It follows that Quality of Life (QoL) research involves the collection of objective information (for example, people's material living conditions) and subjective information (for example: how people feel about their own lives and how they feel about the place/neighbourhood in which they live).

The 2001 Quality of Life (QoL) Survey was part of a two-year socio-economic indicators research project¹ that collected a spectrum of social data for Buffalo City². The Survey had a number of important specific objectives which included filling of some of the large socio-economic data-gaps to facilitate the completion of the municipality's first strategic plan (IDP); facilitating economic development of the city; quantifying development needs and prioritising development initiatives; providing baseline data for the monitoring of service delivery backlogs. The survey also set up a vehicle through which Buffalo City residents were able to participate in city- planning by identifying their own development needs.

The objectives of this paper

Findings from this survey provide valuable contemporary insights into the changing nature of the post-apartheid city in South Africa. The paper focuses on four case study areas which were part of the QoL survey. The case studies are used to highlight what some writers refer to as 'deracialised apartheid'³ to describe the continuing racially fragmented nature of a contemporary South African City. The case studies show that there are great differences in wealth, living conditions and perceptions of quality of life

amongst residential groupings in different geographical regions in Buffalo City. These differences are textured by the overlay of race, class and locality in the city.

¹ The two year socio-economic indicators research project was funded by a consortium of public and private sector money. Main funders were: Border –Kei Chamber of Business; the Buffalo City Municipality; Rhodes University; the East London Industrial Development Zone; the Eastern Cape Development Corporation; the Centre for Investment and Marketing in the Eastern Cape. The Quality of Life Survey was funded by the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (Sida)

² The initial project brief was to collect socio-economic indicators for East London. However, the geographic scope of the project increased following the Local Government Elections in 2000. East London became part of a new municipal entity, Buffalo City, with a vastly expanded geographic surface area which included the port city of East London, King Williams Town, Berlin and the rural hinterlands of these main urban centres.

³ David Smith (2003) *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratic Society*

Although progress has been made with respect to the delivery of basic services to the poor in Buffalo City, there has been a lack of concerted and sustained development interventions to begin to reduce the levels of inequality between the rich and the poor in the city. These differences coincide with racialised social and class divisions and have ensured the survival of the basic features of the apartheid city⁴. Although there is evidence of a ‘trickle-in’ of a small emerging Black bourgeoisie within formerly White ‘Group Areas’ (as they were constituted under apartheid), the majority of the poor in Buffalo City, are African and continue to live on the periphery of the city in the township and shackland areas which are the poorest areas and which are furthest from economic opportunities and face the greatest developmental obstacles.

Structure of this paper

The paper provides the contextual background to the QoL survey. It also reviews some of the main survey findings for the total population sampled in the survey to provide a ‘global’ picture of the living conditions and quality of life for all residents in Buffalo City.

In the second half of the paper, four case studies are explored. As an initial unit of analysis, the paper has used areas broadly defined by class, race and residential locale.

These areas are:

Case A: Beacon Bay, Gonubie and Vincent –previously White suburbs under the ‘Group Areas’

Case B: Mdantsane –the largest formal African Township in Buffalo City

Case C: Duncan Village –largely an informal African Settlement in Buffalo City

Case D: Parkside, Parkridge, Pefferville and Buffalo Flats –previously Coloured suburbs in Buffalo City

⁴ The 1950 Group Areas Act had its greatest impact in the 1960’s and 1970’s after the Act was amended. The apartheid city was characterised by an exclusively White CBD, surrounded by White residential areas. African, Indian and Coloured townships were located on the periphery, furthest from work opportunities and hostels for migrant workers were relocated from areas close to places of employment to African townships Lemon (1991).

Buffalo city: demography and social inequality in the city

Buffalo City is one of two major cities in the Eastern Cape. It is the second largest urban metropole in this province, after Port Elizabeth. It comprises a grouping of urban areas with multiple rural hinterlands around its major towns. East London is acknowledged as the primary regional node with King Williams Town as a secondary service node (South African Cities Network, 2003). Buffalo City has South Africa's only commercial river port, situated on the banks of the Buffalo River on the south-east Coast of South Africa. The city is well-placed for international and African trade. It connects the global markets of Asia, the Americas and Europe as well as also serving as a link port between Africa and overseas markets.

The Buffalo City population is currently estimated at around 880 000. Some 82% of its population is African with Whites making up the second largest group comprising 10% of the population. Coloureds and Asians constitute 6% and 2% of the population respectively. Buffalo City has a young population with 47% of its residents less than 29 years of age. The majority of residents in the city speak isiXhosa (78%). Some 55% of residents are female and 45% male.

With respect to the adult population in Buffalo City, the majority of residents had attained an education level⁵ between grades 8-12 (Standards 7-10). The highest percentage of adults who had attained some post-matric qualification was found in the White population. In contrast, Africans were the largest group who did not have any form of schooling.

With respect to household dependency ratios, 61% of household members in African households were dependents versus 39% of White household members. The average household size for Buffalo city is 3.98. Coloured and African households have the largest households with an average household size of 4.34 and 4.08 respectively. Whites and Asians have the smallest household sizes with their average size being 3.26 and 3.24 respectively.

Social inequality in Buffalo City is striking. This inequality is clearly shown in Figure 1⁶. Of all the Africans living in Buffalo City, over 45.5% are deemed poor, while only 0.2% of Whites fall into that category⁷.

⁵ Data on household size, age, dependency ratios and the educational levels were extracted from the 2001 QoL Survey

⁶ Data extracted from Census 1996. Source Richards and Kamman (2001)

⁷ This is a measure of poverty based on a relative poverty line. This means that the poorest 40% of the population is classified as 'poor' whereas the poorest 20% of the population is classified as 'ultra-poor'. Those residents classified as 'poor' had monthly incomes of R296,00 or less. Residents classified as ultra-poor had monthly incomes of R199,00

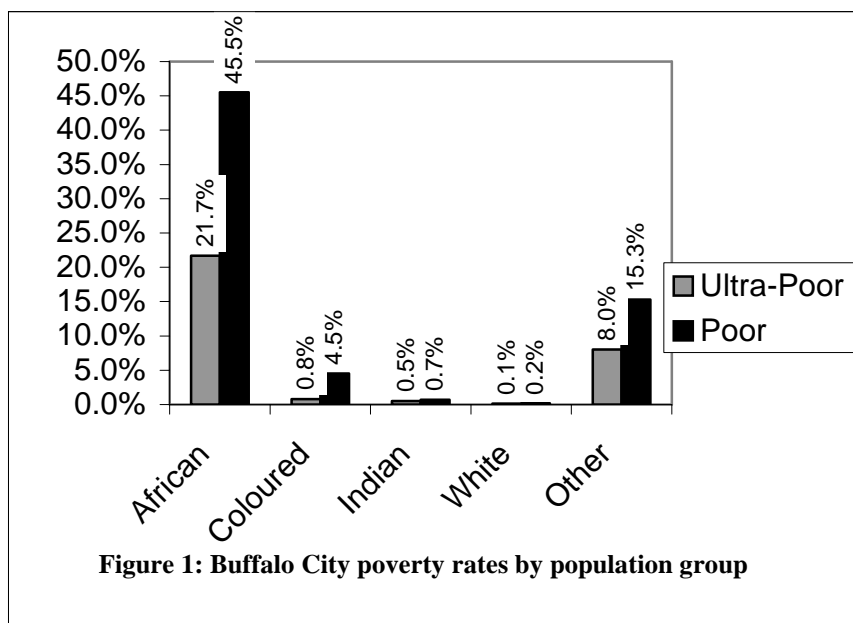


Table 1 shows that the spread of wealth in Buffalo City is very uneven. The poorest 40% of Enumerator Areas (EA's) contain 38% of the population and earn just 11.7% of income. In contrast, the richest 10% of EA's contain 10.5% of the population and earn 41.6% of the income (else this sentence means nothing). Although one cannot ascertain from the census data where these EA's are located in the city, one can surmise that they would be clustered in the previously White suburbs in the city.

Percent of EAs*	Percent of population	Percent of income
Poorest 40% of EAs	38.0	11.7
Richest 10% of EAs	10.5	41.6

*Enumerator Area

Table 1: Comparison of richest and poorest EAs in Buffalo City

Quality of life survey methodology

A proportional stratified sampling method was applied in the QoL survey. Households were the primary sampling unit. Financial resources available determined the overall number of interviews that were conducted the survey. In Buffalo City QoL survey it was decided that a sampling error of 0.02 was acceptable, and sample size calculations using this sampling error established that a sample size of 2477 interviews was sufficient. It was envisaged that the survey was likely to be a once-off large baseline survey, with future surveys to be of a smaller scale and spatially limited.

The Local Government elections prior to the survey had established 45 newly demarcated Wards. All 45 wards within Buffalo City were included in the sampling frame. The sampling frame was explicitly stratified by ward. The 2477 households were distributed proportionally, according to the percentage of total households per ward. The sample was also implicitly stratified by housing type and population group using Census 1996 data. At the household level, the respondent was selected using a KISH grid to ensure probability based sampling also at an individual level.

Where minority ethnic groups in wards were required to be sampled, the proportional sampling rule was not applied. Table 2 shows the housing and ethnic composition of Buffalo City as enumerated in the 1996 Census. The Buffalo City QOL sample design was based on the Census 1996 distributions of ethnic group and housing type, as illustrated in Table 2.

	Ethnic Groups				Housing Types		
	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Formal	Informal	Traditional
Census '96	81	6	1	12	69	11	20
BC QOL Sample	80	7	2	11	69	11	20

Table 2: Percentage Ethnic and Housing Composition, and Sample Distribution

Table 3 shows that of the four ethnic groups, only Africans were living in informal or traditional housing. However, most Africans were resident in formal housing, as were all Coloureds, Indians and Whites. Table 3 shows the actual distribution of the Buffalo City QoL sample and in some cases under and over sampling occurred. This was particularly the case in informal areas. As shown in Table 3.

Housing	Ethnic Group	Wards	Interviews	Percentage
Formal Housing:	African	22	1157	47
	Indian	1	71	3
	Coloured	3	173	7
	White	5	348	14
Informal Housing:	African	9	493	20
Traditional Housing:	African	5	235	9
Total		45	2477	100

Table 3: Housing Types, Ethnicity and Total Interviews

This sampling framework has provided Buffalo City with statistically reliable baseline data that can inform key municipal issues.

The legislative and policy backdrop to the QoL survey

The Buffalo City questionnaire was based on Durban's Quality of Life survey instrument and was adapted for use in Buffalo City by ISER with the assistance of specialist inputs from Statistics Sweden and Durban's Urban Strategy Department.

The 2001 Quality of Life survey fitted well with the new policy and legislative environment which followed the 2000 local government elections. These elections marked the final phase in local government transformation in South Africa.

The new local government legislative environment in which the QOL survey is rooted had its beginnings with the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994. Post 1994 there was a shift away from top-down planning towards community participation. The new style was also more systematic in its planning approach, underpinned by the collection of socio-economic indicators to formulate development plans. The needs of those who had been most neglected and marginalised under apartheid received priority in this new *developmental* era of local government which aims to provide a better life for all.

Thus, several proactive planning policy guidelines have now been legislated to enable local government to produce Integrated Development Plans (IDP's) which will guide the development of all communities on an equitable basis.

IDP's are the main strategic planning instrument for city planning, development and management. As part of the process of the development of an IDP, cities are required to establish the current socio-economic status of communities and their access to services. The 2001 QoL survey filled this niche by providing up-to-date indicators of development for all communities.

Quality of life survey findings: select survey results for the total sample

Household Income:

With respect to the African population Figure 2 suggests that African Household incomes have risen slightly between 1996 and 2001. Whereas in 1996 some 15% of Africans had no income, in 2001 seven percent had no income. With respect to White household incomes shown in Figure 3, at the upper-income levels (between R6001-R30 000), incomes have risen between 1996 and 2001. This may reflect the shortage of managerial and specialist work skills in Buffalo City's formal economy. The shortage of specific high-end skills leads to an increase in demand and salary levels rise to attract and retain such skills. In 2001, fewer people had household incomes of R500 or less (16% in 2001 compared to 25% in 1996).

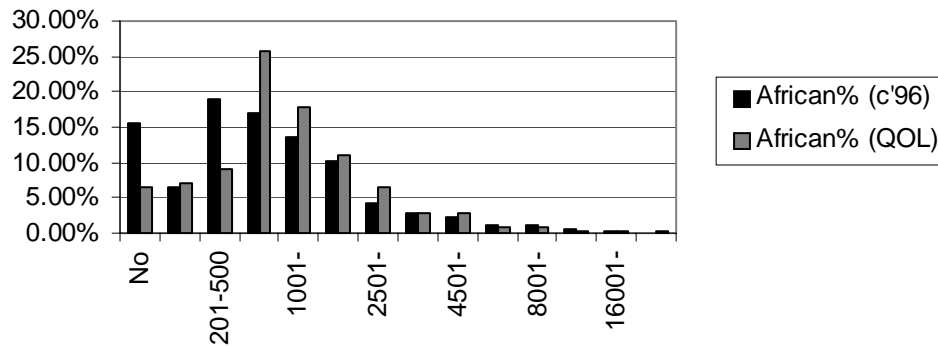


Figure 2: Household incomes: Census '96 vs QoL survey findings - African residents

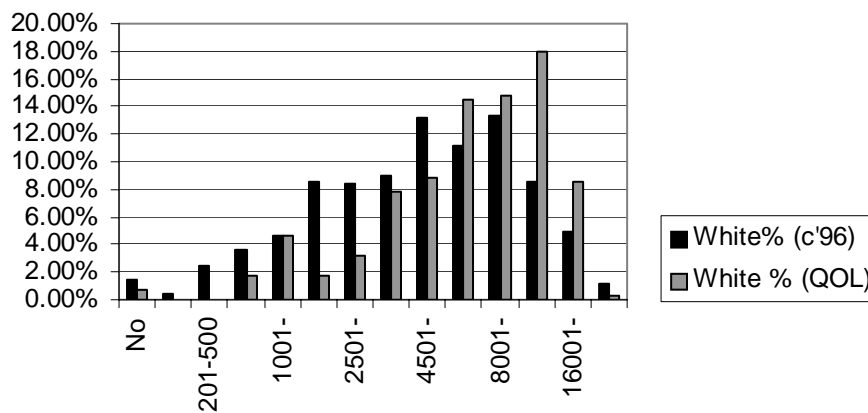


Figure 3: Household incomes: Census '96 vs QoL survey findings - White residents

Employment status:

Table 4 shows that residents in Buffalo City were more likely to be employed in the formal sector if they had some form of tertiary-level training. Unemployment was highest amongst those people with secondary, primary or no schooling. African residents had the highest rates of unemployment, some 24% are looking for work. Of this population group, 12% were working full time in the formal sector, compared with 35% of Asians, 21% of Coloureds and 32% of Whites.

	<i>Self-employed</i>	<i>Employed -formal</i>	<i>Employed -informal</i>	<i>Pension er</i>	<i>House wife</i>	<i>Student/ child</i>	<i>Unem ployed</i>	Total
No/preschool	1.4	1.4	1.1	22.2	1.6	65.4	6.9	100
Primary	2	5.1	2.7	10.8	1.9	59.3	18.2	100
Secondary	3.4	20.2	3.6	6.8	2.8	30.3	32.8	100
Tertiary	9.4	57.3	1.2	5.9	1.4	11.0	13.8	100

Table 4: Employment status by education level (%)

Access to Services:

Table 5 shows the percentage of residents (total sample) who have access to basic household services. Exploring these findings by housing type highlights non-income inequalities within the city. Respondents living in formal housing areas had almost full access (between 70-100%) to top-of-the range basic household services. These include full water borne flush toilets, piped full pressure water supply, refuse removed at least once a week

Percentage Access to Basic Household Services	Total %
Toilet Facilities:	
Full Water borne Flush Toilet	61
Basic Pit Latrine	22
Water source:	
Piped Full pressure	57
Standpipes	35
Electricity:	
Yes	77
No	23
Refuse Removal:	
Removed at least once a week	70
Burnt in a pit	24

Table 5: Access to basic household services by population group

Traditional and informal areas were worst-off with respect to access to these services with less than one percent of residents from traditional areas having access to flush toilets as opposed to 26% of residents in Informal areas. Six percent of residents in both traditional and informal areas had access to piped full pressure water supply. Three percent of residents in traditional areas and 65% of residents in informal areas had access to weekly refuse removal.

A majority of residents who electricity use the pre-paid card system (78%). Interestingly, whereas the majority of residents have access to electricity, paraffin is still used by a large percentage (24%) of Africans living in formal township areas. Worst-off in respect to access to electricity were residents living in informal and traditional areas: 12% and 79% respectively had access to electricity

There may be a number of reasons for the high usage of paraffin. These include the costs of electrical equipment for cooking (less than half of African residents in Buffalo City were found to own electrical cooking appliances) as well as cultural factors.

Resident priorities for service upgrades and for the provision of new services reflected the differing levels of access to basic household services between the population groups.

About a third (33%) of all households prioritised an upgrade in water supply, followed by toilets. Highest percentages of respondents wishing for an upgrade in these services were in traditional -African areas; informal areas and formal African areas where the provision of this service is the poorest.

With respect to the access to new services, residents living in traditional African areas, informal areas and formal African areas prioritised the provision of toilets and water as their first and second choice priorities.

	Total % Satisfaction *	Total % Access
Public phones	67.1	66.5
Postal deliveries	84.6	69.2
Post office	80.7	56.9
Police services	55.7	66.4
Hospital	56.1	59.5
Clinic	61.1	73.8
Ambulance	52.6	66.2
Fire department	58.3	54.4
New low cost housing	52.3	19.9
New high cost houses	61.5	20.8
Water supply	74.2	92.9
Electricity supply	86.0	77.9
Street lighting	75.0	57.9
Road surfaces	54.1	66.0
Traffic flow	74.0	70.0
Storm water drains	67.6	44.3
Signposting of roads	67.8	42.4
Pedestrian safety	66.3	50.8
Pavements	66.0	23.9
Parks and open space	66.4	19.7
Sports facilities	55.0	40.2
Libraries	69.7	42.1
Public Schools	71.6	90.2
Community halls	73.6	59.9
Bus transport	63.7	33.9
Train service	69.1	25.1
Mini bus taxis	73.7	93.9
Refuse removal	79.1	70.8
Sanitation	72.6	72.9
Crèches	66.5	79.9
Pension payout point	54.7	62.7

* satisfied and very satisfied

Table 6: Access to and satisfaction with community services (%)

Residents were most satisfied with the following community services: electricity supply, postal deliveries and post office services (Table 6). Those community services which residents were least satisfied with were: new low cost housing; ambulance services; road surfaces and sports facilities. For some of these services, satisfaction levels may have been a function of the degree of access to such services.

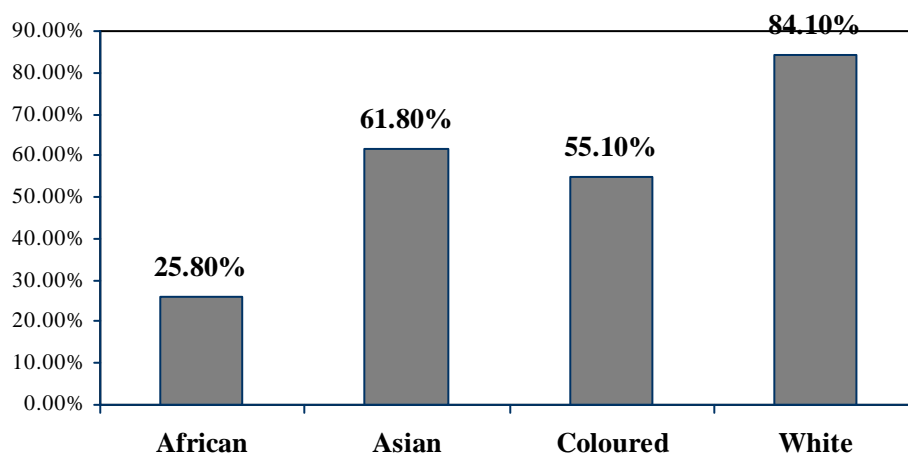


Figure 4: Satisfied with life as a whole these days (% satisfied and dissatisfied)

Access to other household resources:

Fewest households had access to the following consumer goods: radios, televisions and fridges. African households are worst-off with respect to having consumer goods and services. Table 7 shows that less than 15% of African households have electric cleaning appliances, electric heaters, cars, domestic workers and computers. Consumption of consumer goods in the South African context is an important factor against which South Africans assess their living standards. In South Africa dissatisfaction and unhappiness with life is linked to consumerist opportunities and ownership consumer goods Møller (2002).

	<i>African</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>White</i>	Total
Car	12.5	55.2	29.7	96.5	24.4
Telephone	31.0	65.7	51.3	95.7	40.6
Television	61.9	94.0	86.7	98.6	68.6
Radio	76.6	88.1	79.7	97.9	79.5
Computer	4.4	19.4	15.8	73.8	13.5
Electric cooking appliance	45.0	97.0	90.5	99.3	55.6
Electric cleaning appliance	14.2	35.8	47.5	98.2	26.6
Fridge	48.3	97.0	88.0	98.9	58.0

Piped hot water	17.6	91.0	38.0	98.6	30.2
Electric heater	10.1	31.3	36.7	81.2	20.6
Domestic Worker	6.0	53.7	19.6	42.9	12.4

Table 7: Household ownership of consumer goods (%)

Access to consumer goods and services may also influence overall life satisfaction levels for Buffalo city residents. Whereas 85% of White residents were satisfied with life as a whole these days, only 26% of African residents were satisfied.

Main reasons for respondent satisfaction with life included that they had good family and friends (16% of responses) and that they had no problems, worries or regrets (13% of responses). Main reasons for dissatisfaction were that they were unemployed or felt at risk of becoming unemployed (38% mentions) and that they had financial constraints or did not have enough money (36% mentions).

Main reasons for respondent satisfaction with life included that they had good family and friends (16% mentions) and that they had no problems, worries or regrets (13% mentions). Main reasons for dissatisfaction were that they were unemployed or felt at risk of becoming unemployed (38% mentions) and they had financial constraints/not enough money (36% mentions).

Other specific domain issues may also have influenced respondents overall life satisfaction levels. Respondents were asked how satisfied/dissatisfied they were with different parts of their lives. Respondents were least satisfied with the amount of money they had at their disposal (10% satisfied); their family income (12% satisfied) and standard of living (28% satisfied). Respondents were most satisfied with their family life (84% satisfied) and their friends (72% satisfied).

Domain satisfactions reflected differences in material living conditions between White residents and other population groups. White residents had substantially higher satisfaction levels in areas such as *amount of money available to you personally, family income and living standards*. Differences in satisfaction levels between the population groups were less marked with respect to non-material aspects of life such as *friends and family life*. Interestingly, African respondents had higher satisfaction levels than Whites with respect to amount of *leisure and free time* available to them.

Perceptions of crime may also have had a negative influence on respondents overall assessment of life satisfaction. Respondents were asked whether they thought crime in their area had become worse or improved over the past year, some 56% felt that it had worsened whilst 22% said that it had remained the same. Whereas 18% of respondents had been victims of violent crime, 45% had been victims of property

crime. Most respondents (84%) feel safe walking around in their area during the day in contrast to only 29% who feel safe walking around their area at night.

Quality of life survey findings in the four case study areas

The results of the Buffalo City Quality of Life Survey were used to assess the differences between four case study areas to highlight the continued fragmentation of the city across race, class and space. The case study areas selected for this analysis broadly represent different types of areas in Buffalo City defined in terms of particular class, race and space/locale characteristics.

This section explores the material living conditions of residents of these case study areas, as well as their perceptions on their quality of life.

Description of the Main Case Study Areas:

In the text, case studies will be referred to as cases A, B, C and D.

- ❑ Case A= Beacon Bay, Gonubie and Vincent (previously White, high income suburbs)
- ❑ Case B= Mdantsane (low income, African township)
- ❑ Case C= Duncan Village (low income Informal/shack African Settlement)
- ❑ Case D= Parkside, Parkridge, Pefferville and Buffalo Flats (low to middle income areas, previously Coloured suburbs)

Table 8 shows the ethnic distributions in the four case study areas.

	<i>African</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>White</i>
Case A	12.7	0.0	0.0	87.3
Case B	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Case C	99.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
Case D	13.2	0.6	86.2	0.0

Table 8: Population group (%)

Case study area A includes the following areas: Beacon Bay, Gonubie and Vincent. These areas were traditionally white middle class suburbs in the old East London municipality. Table 8 shows that these areas are still predominantly White.

Beacon Bay and Gonubie are on the eastern side of central East London, the latter area is situated some 20km from the city's center. Both areas lie on the coastal strip. Vincent lies to the north-east of the city center. It is one of the older East London suburbs and was part of the independent municipality of

Cambridge in 1882 but later, in the 1940's, was absorbed into the city of East London (Watts and Agar-Hamilton, 1970).

Case B: Mdantsane

This is the largest formal township in Buffalo City. Mdantsane (formerly known as Umdanzani) is situated some 12km from East London. The township lies inland in a north westerly direction from the central city, and was planned in the late 1950's as a separate 'city' with its own infrastructure, and town council, in the former 'homeland' of Ciskei. Mdantsane was built to deal with the increasing influx of African people from the rural hinterland into East London and to relocate residents living in the overcrowded shanty areas of Duncan Village.

The first residents of Mdantsane settled in the township in 1963 with confirmation that the British textile firm would be building the factory in East London. In 1976 the official population of Mdantsane (including Potsdam) was recorded as 115 628 and was one of the ten largest population concentrations in South Africa (Cook and Opland, 1980). By 1999 Mdantsane had more than doubled its population with an estimated 233 420 residents⁸.

Case C: Duncan Village

Duncan Village is predominantly an informal township lying on the north west of the old East London city centre. This is the city's most congested residential area. In 1995, it was estimated to have a population of approximately 100 000 people. Between 1964 and 1979 Duncan Village was the target of massive forced removals. Under the apartheid policy of separate development, efforts were made to clear East London of its African population and remove them to the homeland of Ciskei, to be housed in the dormitory township of Mdantsane. As a result of the particular struggles of the people of Duncan Village, against the policies of forced removals, the people of this area set themselves 'culturally' apart from other residents in of Buffalo City, particularly residents of Mdantsane whom they viewed as being politically suspect and arrogant (Bank, 1996).

Relocation completely transformed the makeup of Duncan Village, from the cheek by jowl living conditions in the 1950's and the mix of urban migrants and permanent residents, to a tightly controlled dormitory township where movement of Africans in and out of the areas was carefully monitored (Bank, 1996). The spatial character of Duncan Village during these years may have been closer to Wilson's description of the old East Bank location, with neat rows of houses, some built of brick and concrete and other structures of poor quality and made of wood and iron (Bank, 1996).

In the 1980's Duncan Village was controlled by a new black urban local government structure and was managed in the same way as other townships in South Africa. These newly created structures were eventually toppled and replaced with a civic structure controlled at the street-level. There were few formal residential developments in Duncan Village in the mid 1980's and residential densities in the township started to rise. It now consists mainly of informal settlements.

Case D: Parkside, Parkridge, Pefferville and Buffalo Flats

Most of the Coloured population lives in these areas in Buffalo City (Table 8). In terms of their geographic position in the city, they are clustered together in neighbouring areas and lie to the west of central East London and adjacent to Duncan Village.

Demographic differences in the four case study areas

Household Size:

Cases A and C have an average household size of approximately three persons per household, with Case C showing the lowest average household size. In Case C, this is probably due to the space constraints that informal housing places on families. Family units may also be fragmented with different members living in different cities or parts of the city, close to their places of work. The possible transient nature of migrant labour force of the Eastern Cape lends it self to informal living conditions as dependents and homemakers remain behind in the traditional rural areas of the former homelands.

Cases B and D have the largest average household sizes as shown in Table 9. In these areas, there are more than four persons per household.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
1	6.3	7.9	29.6	2.9
2	26.8	15.8	23.0	14.4
3	19.7	19.8	14.3	19.0
4	31.0	17.6	14.8	22.4
5	9.9	12.7	5.6	19.0
6	3.5	8.9	9.2	9.8
>6	2.8	17.2	3.6	12.6
Average household size	3.35	4.32	2.88	4.37

Table 9: Household size (%)

⁸ Rhodes University, Population Research Unit, 1999 cited in Buffalo City Integrated Development Plan, 2002

Age Distribution:

Figure 5 shows that the biggest differences in age cohorts between the Case study areas are to be found in the 20-29 year age group. Some 26% of Case Study C residents were in this age group as opposed to 10% of residents in Case Study A. This again points to a possible trend that young workers migrate into the informal areas to be closer to work opportunities.

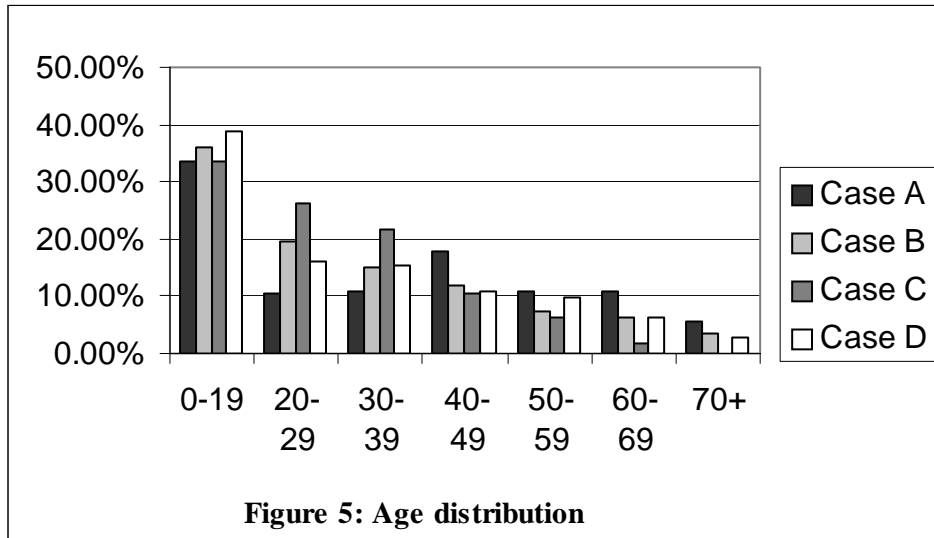


Figure 5: Age distribution

Adult education levels:

Table 10 shows that a very large proportion of residents in case study area A (51%) obtained some form of tertiary education, as opposed to less than 10% of residents in other areas. Almost 40% of residents of case area C had only primary school level education.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
No education	0.0	4.6	6.7	3.4
Pre-school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grade 1-7	4.3	21.7	32.9	20.8
Grade 8-12	45.3	64.3	58.6	68.1
Post matric	50.5	9.5	1.7	7.8

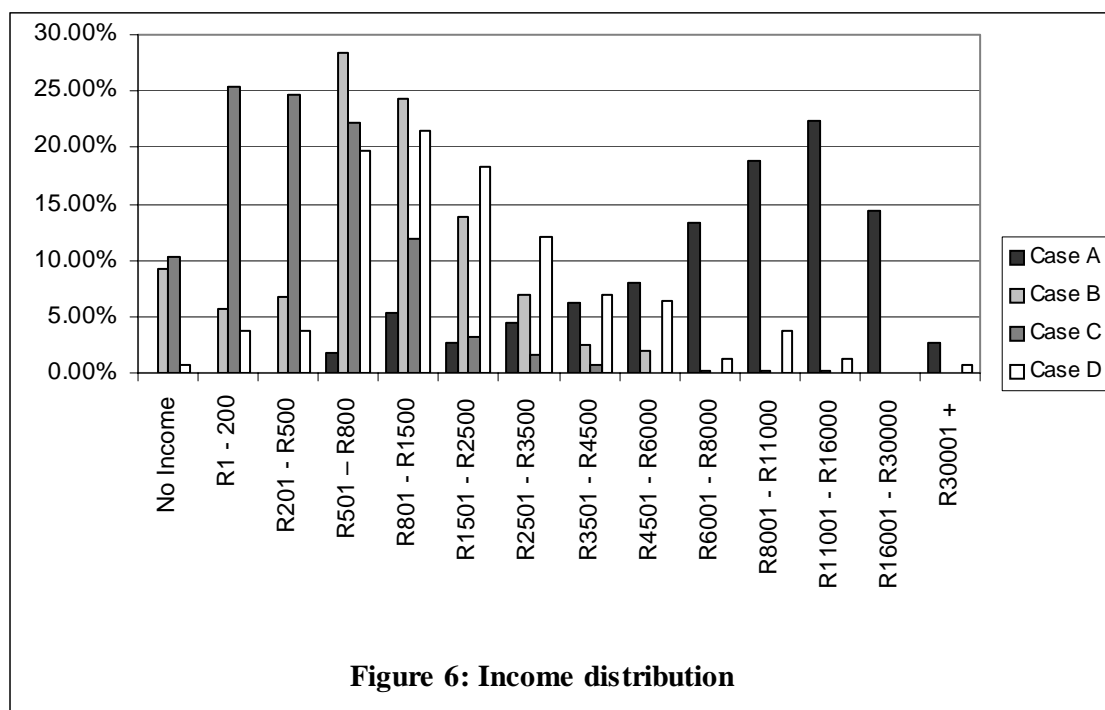
Table 10: Adult education levels (%)

Material living conditions

Income:

If one looks at the distribution of monthly household incomes between the different areas, the results are striking. Figure 6 shows that the poorest residents live in areas B and C, representing the formal African township and the informal settlement. The most common income category for case A was R11001-

R16000 per month. For the other case study areas, the most common categories were: R1-R200 (case C); R501-R800 (case B); and R801-R1500 (case D). Taking into account that the household sizes in the latter two areas are slightly higher, it is clear that households in area C are the worst-off in terms of household income.



Employment Status:

Unemployment (measured as a percentage of the total population) is around 30% in case study area and C. In area A, unemployment is lowest (some 3%).

Table 11 shows that some 43% of residents in case study area A were either formally employed or self-employed, and hardly any people were employed in the informal sector. This was in contrast to the poorest case study area, C, where there were roughly equal numbers of people employed in the formal and informal sectors (14% in each sector), and only few people were self-employed.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Missing	0.6	0.2	2.6	9.5
Self-employed	10.8	2.0	5.8	1.8
Employed part time in the formal sector	1.5	1.3	0.5	4.0
Employed full time in the formal sector	30.6	10.8	8.0	17.2
Work full time in informal sector	0.8	0.6	7.0	0.4
Work part time in informal sector	0.0	1.3	7.3	0.3
Pensioner (age/retired/sick/disabled, etc.)	15.2	10.3	3.0	12.4

Housewife	4.6	1.3	2.1	3.4
Student/scholar/child	33.3	40.5	36.0	35.5
Unemployed, not looking for work	0.0	2.0	0.9	0.8
Unemployed, looking for work	2.5	29.8	26.9	14.7
Base	474	2242	573	767

Table 11: Employment status (%)

Dependency Ratio:

Table 12 shows that average dependency ratios⁹ were highest in case study areas B, C and D and lowest in case study area A, indicating that households in predominantly White areas have fewer dependants to income earners.

<i>case study area</i>	<i>average dependency ratio</i>
Case A	0.41
Case B	0.64
Case C	0.52
Case D	0.52

Table 12: Dependency ratios

Transport:

Mode of transport as well as time taken to travel to work/place of study indicates that the main features of the apartheid city are still evident in Buffalo City. Poorest residents in the city are worst-off with respect to type of transport they use, and they typically live further away from their targets. The main mode of transport for residents in case study areas B and C is walking followed by travelling in mini-bus taxis. Most residents in case study area A travel to work or place of study by car.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Missing	0.0	1.7	1.6	2.6
Walk	3.8	33.3	35.1	20.3
Motorbike/bike	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.8
Bus	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.8
Train	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0
Minibus taxi	0.6	29.8	22.3	37.7

⁹ The dependency ratio is expressed as the number of people in household without an income (any income) divided by total number of people in household (total number of people whose income was registered) for example: household x has 10 members, only 2 of whom earn an income, but from 1 person the income data is missing (not 0!), the $7/(10-1) = 0.78$

Motorcar	84.8	1.9	0.2	13.3
Lift club	1.9	0.1	0.7	1.4
Work at home	1.3	0.4	2.1	0.0
Do not work/study	6.3	31.2	38.1	23.1

Table 13: Transport mode (%)

Type of Tenure:

With respect to type of tenure, a majority of residents in formal areas (Case Studies A and B) either owned their own land or were paying it off. Some residents, particularly those living case study area B had acquired their house with use of a government subsidy (16%). One quarter of residents in this area and just under a third of residents in case study area D were renting either through private rental/housing association or through public rental. The majority of residents in case study area C were living informally and not paying rent.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Purchased, fully paid off	38.7	30.1	0.5	42.5
Purchasing, paying off a bond	44.4	16.2	0.0	17.2
Acquired via Government subsidy	7.0	16.2	0.0	0.0
Private rental/Housing association	4.9	9.5	0.0	16.7
Public rental	0.7	16.4	0.0	15.5
Sub-tenant	0.0	1.6	0.5	2.9
Rent free	2.1	4.6	0.5	3.5
Informal, paying rent	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.0
Informal, not paying rent	0.0	0.0	98.0	0.6
Tribal tenure	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0
House sitting	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0
Acquired via Government subsidy and own contribution	2.1	0.8	0.0	1.2

Table 14: Type of tenure (%)

Access to Basic Household Services:

Most residents in the formal case study areas had access to the optimum range of household services (full waterborne flush toilets; refuse removed by the local authority once a week; and piped water from full pressure pipes).

Majorities of residents in case study areas A, B and D (90-100%) used electricity for lighting, but in some electrified areas (like Case B) a much smaller proportion (67%) used electricity for cooking. This suggests that residents in these areas may prefer other sources of power for cooking (such as paraffin and gas).

With the exception of access to refuse removal services, residents case study area C are worst-off with respect to access to other basic household services, for instance less than five percent of residents have access to electricity and piped water with full pressure.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Full waterborne Flush toilet (off site disposal)	100.0	93.5	41.3	95.4
Refuse bags removed from the house by local authority at least once a week	97.9	94.9	96.9	95.4
Piped water in dwelling from full pressure pipes	96.5	92.9	3.1	74.1
Electricity for cooking	100.0	67.7	4.1	92.0
Electricity for lighting	100.0	91.1	4.6	92.0
Electricity supply	99.3	96.2	4.6	93.1

Table 15: Basic services (%)

Access to Community Services:

Table 16 shows that access to community services differs between the case study areas. Case study area A is best-off, with 90% to 100% access to most of the relevant community services. In case study area C, however, people reported low levels of access to services such as: public telephones, housing (low and high cost), electricity, parks, stormwater drainage and public transport.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Public telephones	100.0	87.5	34.2	85.6
Postal deliveries	100.0	97.6	52.0	96.6
Post office	100.0	76.6	74.0	75.3
Police services	100.0	75.5	96.9	68.4
Hospital	99.3	71.5	98.5	76.4
Clinic	99.3	95.6	99.5	79.9
Ambulance	97.9	74.7	95.9	83.9
Fire dept	95.1	55.3	93.4	76.4
New low cost housing	9.2	21.2	10.2	68.4
New high cost housing	25.4	14.9	2.6	58.1
Water supply	98.6	97.4	70.4	95.4
Electricity supply	99.3	97.8	10.7	94.3
Street lighting	100.0	81.6	53.6	98.9
Road surfaces	100.0	68.9	87.2	98.3

Traffic flow	100.0	67.5	90.8	97.7
Storm water drains	100.0	43.0	38.3	97.1
Sign posting of roads	99.3	27.1	80.6	93.1
Pedestrian safety	100.0	38.0	85.7	87.9
Pavements	97.9	29.5	54.1	86.8
Parks/open spaces	69.7	8.1	4.1	48.3
Sports facilities	65.5	39.2	93.4	68.4
Libraries	99.3	45.4	99.0	86.2
Public schools	98.6	97.4	100.0	97.1
Community halls	96.5	55.8	99.0	90.2
Bus transport	69.7	35.8	3.1	30.5
Train service	40.1	48.9	1.5	23.6
Mini bus taxis	88.0	98.4	96.9	96.0
Refuse removal	99.3	95.5	96.9	99.4
Sanitation	100.0	92.9	63.8	97.1
Creches	99.3	83.4	94.4	85.1
Pension payout	38.7	67.7	95.4	81.6

Table 16: Access to community services (%)

Rating of community features:

Residents in case study area A showed the highest levels of satisfaction with all aspects of their neighbourhoods that were covered by the survey, followed by case study area D and then by area B. Residents in area C showed the lowest levels of satisfaction with their communities (Table 17 below).

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>	<i>Buffalo City</i>
Attractive neighbourhood	93.0	58.7	13.4	68.0	58.5
Neighbourhood cleanliness	90.1	51.3	9.3	59.8	49.9
Safety	78.0	19.8	2.1	35.8	32.5
Employment opportunities	43.0	1.5	3.2	4.3	8.5
Acceptably serviced housing	89.4	28.1	0.0	48.2	31.7
Standard of living in neighbourhood	92.2	22.9	0.5	53.9	35.1
Community/suburb pride	89.3	51.3	5.2	61.2	54.0

Table 17: Rating of community features (% satisfied and very satisfied)

Perceptions of Safety:

Figure 7 shows that all the case study areas perceived that the crime situation in Buffalo City had worsened in the last year. Residents in case study area B and C were most pessimistic about the crime situation.

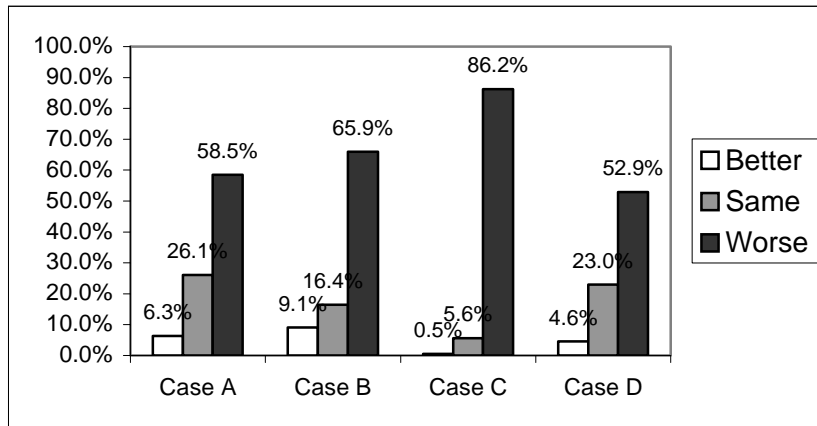


Figure 7: Perceptions on crime situation

Perceptions of safety correlate with victimization in the case study areas as Table 18 highlights. The areas that showed the highest levels of violent crime were reported in areas B and C, and the highest levels of property crime in areas C, A and B respectively.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Violent	12.6	23.9	22.9	8.1
Non-violent	41.3	37.0	50.8	13.8

Table 18: Victims of violent/non-violent crime (%)

Differences in daytime and night time safety in the four case study areas also reflected the incidence of crime (as reported in the survey) in the four areas (Figure 8). The highest crime areas (B and C) were also those areas where residents felt least safe during the day or night as Figure 8 shows.

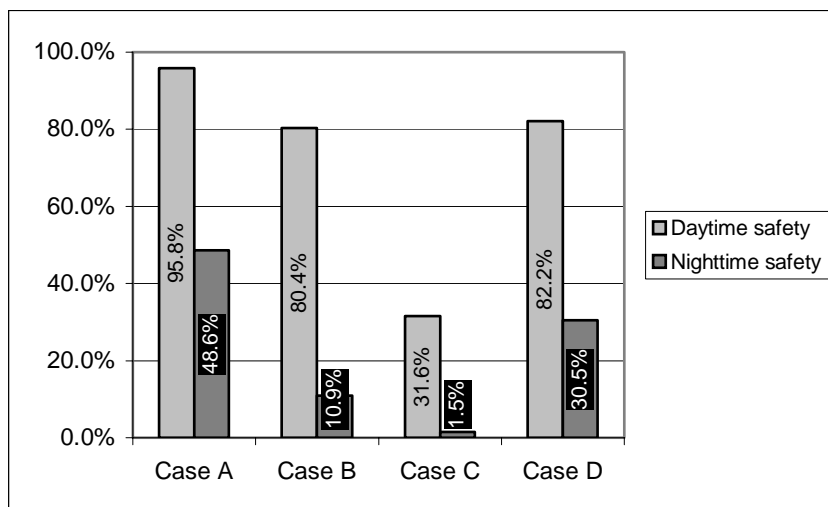


Figure 8: Perceptions on daytime/night-time safety

Perceptions of quality of life

Benefits of Living in Buffalo City and Perceptions of Community Improvement/ Deterioration:

Table 19 shows that residents of case study area C were least optimistic about the benefits of living in the new municipal entity. Just six percent of residents from this area believed they would derive benefits.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Don't know	11.3	35.3	27.0	24.7
Yes	26.8	22.6	5.6	42.5
No	62.0	42.2	67.4	32.8

Table 19: Benefits of living in Buffalo City (%)

Residents in case study area D were most optimistic about the perceived benefits of living in Buffalo City. The upper income areas (case study A) were the most pessimistic with slightly less than two-thirds believing they would not derive any benefits from the new municipality. It may be that residents from these areas perceive that any future development will be towards the disadvantaged communities in the city and therefore cannot perceive any direct and immediate benefits for themselves.

When asked whether they experienced improvement or deterioration in their communities, residents in all areas were expressed pessimism, or reported no change (Table 20).

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Improvement	29.6	21.8	2.0	7.5
No change	53.5	63.6	83.2	69.0
Deterioration	16.9	14.5	14.8	20.1

Table 20: Community improvement/deterioration (%)

Global Satisfaction with Life:

Table 21 and Figure 9 below show residents in the previously African areas (area B and C are mostly dissatisfied with life as a whole. People living in these areas are worst off across the entire spectrum of indicators of material living conditions, which is likely to have had a negative impact on their overall life satisfaction. By contrast, in case study area A, more than 87% of residents are satisfied or very satisfied with their lives.

	<i>Case A</i>	<i>Case B</i>	<i>Case C</i>	<i>Case D</i>
Missing	0.0	0.8	1.0	9.8
Very satisfied	40.9	5.9	1.0	12.1

Satisfied	46.5	17.2	6.6	41.4
Neither/nor	9.2	21.4	32.7	13.8
Dissatisfied	3.5	43.8	31.1	16.7
Very dissatisfied	0.0	10.9	27.6	6.3

Table 21: Life satisfaction (%)

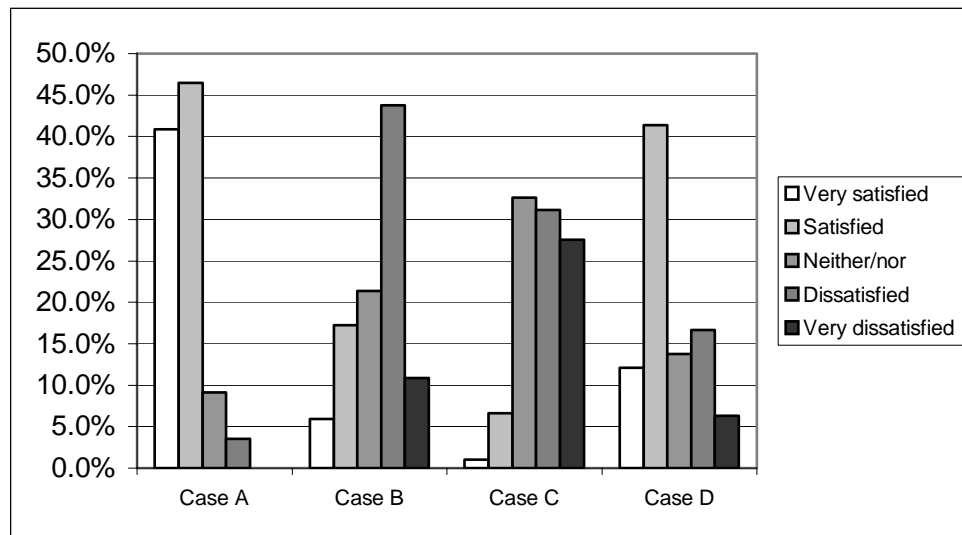


Figure 9: Life satisfaction

Conclusion

Almost ten years after the election of a democratic government in South Africa, Buffalo City like most post apartheid cities in South Africa strongly displays the characteristics of so-called ‘deracialised apartheid’. It is clear from the case studies which have been explored that Buffalo City largely remains fragmented along the lines of race, social class and place/locale.

Overall, the poorest 38% of the population (predominantly African) earned 11.7% of the income whilst the wealthiest 10.5% of the population (mainly White) earn 41.6% of the income in the city.

There are signs however that poverty is beginning to be addressed. Comparing the 2001 QoL data to the 1996 Census data, fewer African households had no income or less than R500.00 per month income. Amongst low-income households¹⁰, household income levels had risen. More households had an income of between R501.00 and R1000.00 per month (25% in 2001 compared to some 16% in 1996). Another fairly encouraging indicator is that households living in formal housing areas (in which the majority of

¹⁰ The Household Subsistence Level (HSL) for low-income households in East London is estimated at R1244,39 (Potgieter, 2001)

the African population are living) had almost full access (between 70-100%) to top-of-the range basic household services.

Residents in informal and traditional areas have much less to celebrate and people living in traditional settlement areas are marginally worse-off than those living in informal areas with respect to access to full water borne flush toilets, piped full pressure water supply and refuse removal. However, residents in traditional areas had better access to electricity than those living in informal areas (79% vs 12% respectively).

The picture which emerges is clear: African residential areas on the periphery of Buffalo City –especially those in the informal and traditional settlement areas are the least developed and worst-off with respect to access to basic services. Poor access to such services entrenches socio-economic fragmentation of Buffalo City's residents. Access to services such as a reliable electricity supply has important outcomes for per-capita income and productivity. For example in households with informal sector enterprises, access to a reliable electricity supply may facilitate the development of these businesses. The provision of basic infrastructure therefore results in more than just an immediate improvement in quality of life.

The four case studies explored in this paper highlight the way space, class and race continue to define the post-apartheid South African city. The worst-off areas in the city are the African informal and formal housing areas of Duncan Village (Case C) and Mdantsane (Case B). Wealthiest areas and with the best access to the full range of basic household and community services were the formerly White suburbs (Case A: Beacon Bay, Gonubie and Vincent)

With respect to other measures of poverty (including income measures), the case studies show that in the African areas of Mdantsane and Duncan Village, unemployment was highest, income levels were lowest and dependency ratios (number of dependents per household) were highest. Education levels were also the lowest in these areas.

The fragmented post-apartheid Buffalo City defined by material inequality across space and place also appeared to shape residents' perceptions of their quality of life. Some 85% of White residents were satisfied with life as a whole while only 26% of African residents were satisfied. Exploring subjective indicators of quality of life within different locales (residential suburbs) in Buffalo City throws into sharp relief the way place, space and social class influenced residents' perceptions of QoL. Predominantly White suburbs (Case A) were the most satisfied group across all of the listed features measuring community/suburb satisfaction. Lowest levels of satisfaction were found in Duncan Village (Case C). Residents in Case B and C were also most pessimistic about crime in their areas and residents in Case C were least optimistic about living in Buffalo City, believing it would bring them few benefits. Residents of Cases B and C were also most dissatisfied with their life as a whole.

References

Books:

Cook, G., and Opland, J. (1980) *Mdantsane Transitional City*. Occasional Paper Number Twenty-Five. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University Grahamstown

Lemon, A (1991) *The Apartheid City*, in *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities* Anthony Lemon (editor). Indiana University Press

Smith, D.M. (2003) *Urban Fragmentation, Inequality and Social Justice: Ethical Perspectives*, in *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratic Society*. Phillip Harrison, Marie Huchzermeyer and Mzwanele Mayekiso. University of Cape Town Press

Journal articles:

Proshansky, H.M, and Abbe K. Fabian (1986). *Psychological aspects of the quality of urban life*, in Sirgy, M.J. Rahtz, D.R., Cicic, M., Underwood, R. *A method for assessing residents' satisfaction with community-based services: A quality of Life perspective*. Social Indicators Research 49: 279-316, 2000

Møller, V. and Dickow, H. (2002) *The Role of Quality of Life surveys in Managing Change in Democratic Transitions: the South African Case*. Social Indicators Research 58: 267-29.

Reports and other sources:

Bank, L. (1996) *Poverty in Duncan Village, East London: A Qualitative Perspective*. Report Prepared for the World Bank's Qualitative Poverty Assessment in South Africa, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University Grahamstown.

Richards and Kamman (forthcoming -2003) *Living in Buffalo City: A Quality of Life Needs Assessment Survey*. ISER –Fort Hare/Rhodes

Richards, R., Kamman, E. (2001) *Monitoring poverty and inequality in Buffalo City*. Institute of social and Economic Research, ISER Research report Number 8, Rhodes University, East London.

Potgieter, J.F. (2001). *The Household Subsistence Level In The Major Urban Centres of the Republic of South Africa*. Health and Development Research Institute, Fact Paper 109 UPE .

Watts, H.L., and Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I. (1970) *Border Port A study of East London, South Africa, with Special Reference to the White population* . Occasional Paper Number Thirteen. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University Grahamstown

South African Cities Network, 2003 *Peer Review of Buffalo City Local Municipality* 4-8 November 2002