

Life in a city centre, stuck in decay

*Urban risks and vulnerability in the inner city of
Pretoria, South Africa*



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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the challenges of urban risks and vulnerability in the inner city of Pretoria, South Africa, based on the local resident's perceptions. Because of urbanization processes, urban underdevelopment and vulnerability are issues of growing importance in the debates on sustainable development. South African cities are facing challenges like homelessness, overcrowding, social fracture and drug abuse on a daily basis. Much development research has been done on the rural areas and townships of South Africa but there's a lack of knowledge about the development of city centres. This master research, with a fieldwork of three months, explores how households living in the inner city of Pretoria experience the risks and vulnerabilities that threaten their urban livelihoods, and how they cope with this. The research consists of street interviews, interviews with NGO's and the local government and the analysis of policy documents and secondary data. Financial problems, crime and violence, and infectious diseases turn out to be the biggest concern of the inner city residents. However, some subgroups seem to be more vulnerable than others. In the analysis, the sustainable livelihoods framework and the asset diagram form the basis to create a vulnerability profile of the inner city community. We can conclude that in general, the community is very dependent on instable financial and social resources. The vulnerability context shows that the national economy, corruption and a fractured society are important drivers, maintaining the community's vulnerability. The local NGO's and the local government also form important factors, and the role of their programs is also described. At last, the sustainable livelihoods framework and the asset diagram are tested for their usability in mapping vulnerability and looking for areas of improvement.

Acknowledgements

I spent three months in Pretoria, South Africa to carry out the fieldwork for my master thesis. Again, I found out that books can teach you many theories, but you will only start to truly understand development problems when you experience it personally. One of the best things about doing fieldwork, is that often you start the research with ignorance and prejudices, but the more time you spend at the location, the more you seem to understand the environment. Social research remains a challenge because the local people have to provide you with data. However, this challenge is exactly what makes me enjoy doing fieldwork so much.

There are some people that I would like to thank for their support and contribution during the research preparation, fieldwork and while writing my thesis. First, I want to thank all the respondents of the street interviews who took their time to talk about their life in the inner city of Pretoria. My questions were personal and difficult at times, thus I sincerely appreciate their contribution to this research. I hope that they will be able to have more trust in the future of the country. I also want to thank the respondents of the Social Development Department, The Lerato House, The Bethesda Dream Centre, The Golden Heart Foundation, Yeast City Housing and the Dikeletsong Citizens' Advice Bureau for their contribution and guidance in the inner city. I really appreciate the hospitality and support of the CSIR, my host institution and especially the Built Environment Unit. They welcomed me on my arrival and offered me a great place to work on my research. Willemien van Niekerk has especially been a great mentor during the progress of my fieldwork. Galaletsang has been a great all-in-one local help and research assistant. I really appreciate the friendship built, and the dedication and time she put into this research. I thank Mokgadi, Phuti, Nynke, Louis, Adwan and Mohammad for giving me their perspectives on the topic and for the great time we had together. I also want to thank Maggi Leung, my supervisor, for the supervision and feedback throughout the process. I really appreciate the infinite support of Thijs, who motivated daily. Finally, I want to thank my family and above all my mom, for her unconditional care, trust and support.

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2. Abbreviations

SDD	-	Social Development Department of the City of Tshwane municipality.
CoT	-	City of Tshwane
BDC	-	Bethesda Dream Centre
GHF	-	Golden Heart Foundation
YCH	-	Yeast City Housing

3. Introduction

Some see the city as a place of opportunities. For others, life in the city is a daily struggle with its everyday urban issues and risks. Since 2000, more than half of the world population is living in urban areas (Pelling 2003 and Wratten 1995), making urban poverty and vulnerability an issue of growing relevance in the debates on development and sustainability nowadays. Because of processes like rural-urban migration, international migration and natural population growth, urban areas are expanding and changing rapidly. Cities are getting more densely populated, causing pressure on urban facilities, social cohesion and the environment. These processes are especially putting poor urban households under pressure, creating vulnerable livelihoods that have to deal with the everyday urban risks of the city (Wratten 1995). Because of this growing importance of the development of urban sustainability, my master research is focused on how everyday risks and vulnerability are experienced in the households of people living in the inner city of Pretoria, South Africa.

South Africa is an interesting country in the significance of this subject. Since the end of the apartheid regime in 1993 the South African cities have gone through a lot of changes, of which the outcomes can especially be seen in the inner city today. During the last years, the crime and unemployment rates remained very high and the inner city faces problems like drug abuse, prostitution, homelessness, pollution and xenophobic attacks on a daily basis. These developments make the inner city a place that people rather avoid. While a lot of research on development and sustainable livelihoods has been done in the South African townships, the inner city of Pretoria received less attention. Not much literature can be found on urban challenges in the inner cities of South Africa, which also made it difficult to find thematic literature that is relevant for this case study. The residential character of the inner city has increased during the last decennium, which extend the needs of the inner city community. During the last couple of years, the local government of Tshwane has been developing inner city regeneration plans and policies to revive the inner city and its image. Unfortunately, until now not much has been achieved yet. In this context, an exploration of urban vulnerability in the inner city of Pretoria is very relevant and can be very useful for the future plans of Pretoria, and other South African cities. Next, I will explain a couple of issues that I will address in this research and that explain why exploration on the subject of urban vulnerability is so important.

3.1 Research objectives

First of all, a lot of research on poverty and vulnerability has been conducted in rural areas and in the townships of South Africa. But the number of poor people in urban areas will be growing, and in some regions it even exceeds the number of rural people living in poverty (Wratten 1995). A good understanding of the concept of vulnerability in the urban context is necessary because urban vulnerability is formed by different factors than rural vulnerability. A better insight in this subject will help to map the interplay of processes that are creating urban risks and to grasp the core-problems of urban vulnerability. This knowledge is important for local governmental institutions and NGO's to form sustainable development policy for the urban community and its environment.

Secondly, studies on human development are very often done with an economic approach. In researches on poverty, income forms an important variable in the measurement of human well-fare (Wratten 1995). But low income are not the only factor creating human underdevelopment. Poverty is just one aspect of vulnerability. A vulnerability approach forms a much more realistic measurement of human development. The vulnerability approach is much broader and focuses on the different assets that people have to maintain or improve their livelihood and several external factors (Moser 1998). Furthermore, risks and hazards are very often used with a natural perspective. I believe that we should rather explore the concepts of risk and hazard in a way that suits the urban context. With this, we should also pay attention to the risks of political, social and economic hazards that threaten vulnerable urban livelihoods. These perspectives can contribute to the development of a more realistic academic vision on human development and well-being.

Thirdly, the concept of vulnerability is mainly constructed by Western academics, and the understanding of the vulnerable people themselves is often left outside the debate. Sometimes local knowledge is even seen as an obstacle in the process of human development. The voice of the local people should get more attention in the academic exploration of urban vulnerability: "It is important that outsiders understand both sides that make up local people's perception of risk, rather than analyzing and measuring their vulnerability with outside criteria." (Bankoff et al 2004:120). This local participation in constructing development is both important for the academic understanding, as well as for the local policy development. Therefore, I chose to put the perception of the local urban community central in the research.

3.2 Research questions

To create a vulnerability profile of the people living in the inner city of Pretoria I constructed a main research question and 6 sub questions. In these questions, I tried to keep the people's perception in the centre.

Main question:

How do households living in the inner city of Pretoria experience the risks and vulnerabilities that threaten their urban livelihoods, and how do they cope with this?

Sub questions

- What is the socio-economic profile of people/households living in the inner city of Pretoria and how do they generally make a livelihood?
- Which urban risks do the people experience as most threatening to their livelihoods and in what ways do these urban risks threaten people's/households livelihoods?
- How do people cope with the urban risks and how do they respond to shocks?
- What do people perceive as the main underlying reasons/root causes for their vulnerability?
- What do people/households think can be done about addressing risk and vulnerability to strengthen their capacity for making a living?
- What is the role of the local government and NGO's in intervening in the problems of urban vulnerability?

3.3 CSIR – the internship host institute

This master research is part of a 3 months during research internship that I carried out at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in Pretoria, South Africa. The CSIR is a research institute that focuses on a variety of disciplines and multidisciplinary research. In 1945 it was acknowledged by the South African Parliament as a science council. Their objective is to contribute to the country's development, economic growth and technological innovation: "The CSIR is committed to supporting innovation in South Africa to improve national competitiveness in the global economy. Science and technology services and solutions are provided in support of various stakeholders, and opportunities are identified where new technologies can be further developed and exploited in the private and public sectors for commercial and social benefit." (CSIR 2010). Research areas that the CSIR focuses on are for example: biosciences; the built environment; defence, peace, safety and security; materials science and natural resources. They operate with both the private and the public sector. This research internship was supervised by Willemien van Niekerk, who is one

of the researchers of the CSIR doing research on the role of Christian faith-based organizations and churches of the inner city of Tshwane in building community resilience. This internship was placed within the CSIR Built Environment unit, in the area of Spatial Planning and Systems and within the research group of Urban and Regional Planning.

3.4 Thesis design

In the next part of this thesis, I will start with placing the research topic of urban vulnerability in a theoretical framework by exploring what current knowledge is already available on the topic. I will do this by examining different perspectives on the concepts of vulnerability, livelihood and urban risks. After that, I will examine the thematic and regional framework of the research topic, in which I will have a look at the economic, political and social processes in South Africa and specifically in Pretoria. Then I will elaborate on the methodology of my research. I will present my target group and discuss the methods and techniques that I used during the research, as well as mention the limitations that I faced. After that I will give a short explanation of the research area. Subsequently I will present the findings in five chapters. In the first chapter I discuss the socio-economic profile of the households living in the inner city of Pretoria and their most important livelihood resources. Secondly, I explore the three urban risks that were experienced by the respondents as most threatening: financial issues, crime and violence, and infectious diseases. Then I will discuss the underlying root causes of the inner city community's vulnerability. I will then look at the role of the local government and the NGO's in fighting the vulnerabilities of the inner city community. At last I will look at the asset diagram that I developed and the sustainable livelihood framework, and test their usability in mapping vulnerability. I will end with a conclusion to summarize the important results and notions.

4. Theoretical framework

4.1 Urbanisation and its risks

"Far more attention needs to be given to urban risk in a world which is urbanizing rapidly and where, for the first time, over half the world's population lives in cities and towns." (IFRC 2010:11). Processes like rural to urban migration and natural population growth in the cities are pushing the process of urbanization in the world rapidly forward. These growing urban environments are nodes where everything comes together and this is creating the complexity of the urban sphere: "the city is seen as a focal point for a wider complex of economic, social, political and environmental linkages and flows of power, energy and information. (...)" Indeed, it is contestation over patterns of distribution and transformation of these three flows that shape urban life and underpin geographies of vulnerability and environmental risk in the city." (Pelling 2003:20).

Although this complexity is creating geographies of vulnerability, this does not mean that urbanization is by definition a bad development. The fact is that the nations with the most successful economies and highest incomes are urbanized and nations that don't have economic success are also among the less urbanized (IFRC 2010:17). So urbanization is also a driver of human development. This means that the complex process of urbanization is not the key problem: "the key problem (underlying urban risk) is not population growth alone, but a combination of the fast expansion of informal settlements, overcrowding or declining tenements districts, failure of city authorities to ensure sufficient water supply, sanitation, waste collection, health care etc, and the failure of city authorities to adapt their institutional frameworks in order to deal with rapidly changing city form and content." (Satterthwaite, in Pelling 2003:22). Next, I will offer an insight into the characteristics of urban risks.

Because of urbanization processes, human development problems are increasingly concerning urban areas. In cities, risks appear in different sizes and intensity. Dodman et al. are splitting urban risks up into intensive risks and extensive risks. "Intensive risk is the risk from major disasters, while extensive risk is that of premature death, injury, impoverishment and destruction of buildings and infrastructure from all events whose impact is too small to be classified as a major disaster." (Dodman et al. 2013:6). In my research, I will be focusing on the extensive risks, these include very small disasters and everyday risks. Dodmund et al. also mention that although extensive risks have a low mortality rate, they do cause big damages to

housing, livelihoods and infrastructures. So these risks are logically also experienced the most in the everyday lives of vulnerable people.

Wratten (1995) mentions four areas of characteristics of urban poverty. Although urban poverty is not the same as urban vulnerability, these characteristics are also very applicable to urban vulnerability. The first area is urban environmental and health risks. Here we can think of risks caused by bad quality water and sanitation, pollution, risks of traffic congestion, overcrowded housing and inadequate waste disposal services. The second area is vulnerability arising from commercial exchange. "In general, cities are characterized by a greater degree of commercialization than rural areas (...) people are reliant on market exchange to buy basic goods and services and to earn money." (Wratten 1995:22). In this case, risks can come from changes in the demand for labour and the price of basic goods, unemployment or irregular incomes in the informal sector. The third area is social diversity, fragmentation and crime. Crime and violence can restrict ones' mobility. Besides that, we can also think of family breakdown and female repression. The fourth area is vulnerability arising from the intervention of the state and police. In this area, oppressive authorities, corrupt policemen and racial antagonism can cause risks. These risks mentioned above can all be threatening vulnerable people in the everyday life. To understand which urban people are most prone to these urban risks, the concept of vulnerability has to be examined. This is what I will do in the next section.

4.2 Vulnerability

In 'Mapping Vulnerability', Bankoff et al. are arguing that the concept of vulnerability is a much better measurement of exposure to risk and that it is "a more accurate concept than poverty in understanding the processes and impacts of 'underdevelopment'" (Bankoff et al. 2004:2). Indeed, where poverty mainly focuses on the income level of people, vulnerability is much more multidimensional. Just because of this multidimensional character, vulnerability is also more difficult to define, identify and measure. Besides the very important economic dimension, a lot of other aspects can influence the level of human vulnerability, think of social contacts, crime or health. This is especially the case in urban areas, where an interplay of a diversity of processes takes place. In the following section, I will try to get an insight in the different notions and perspectives on vulnerability, as well as present the approach that I will be applying in my research.

Nowadays, the popularity of the concept of vulnerability has increased in the studies on human underdevelopment. Because of this, a lot of definitions and approaches on vulnerability can be found in academic literature. Most academics agree that vulnerability is not the same as poverty: "Vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty, but means defencelessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress." (Wratten 1995:17). Poor people are always more vulnerable for shocks and hazards, which makes poverty a big part of vulnerability. However vulnerable people don't always have to be poor. Like I said before, poverty is just one aspect of vulnerability and can be measured as the condition of people on a specific moment fixed in time (Moser 1998). On the other hand, measuring vulnerability needs a much more forward-looking focus. So in contrast to poverty, the examination of vulnerability needs a focus on the possible future exposure to risk and sensitivity (Chaudhuri et al 2002 and Cafiero and Vakis 2006).

Pelling is having a closer look at the concept by breaking it down into three components: exposure, resistance and resilience. Exposure is a product of the built and natural environment and presents the external aspect of vulnerability. Resistance and resilience present the internal aspect. Resistance is the capacity of humans to withstand a shock, and resilience is the ability of humans to adapt to hazard stress (Pelling 2003:48). A good all-embracing definition of vulnerability, suitable for the urban context, is provided by Moser: "The urban study defines vulnerability as insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households and communities in the face of a changing environment, and implicit in this, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes. Environmental changes that threaten welfare can be ecological, economic, social and political, and they can take the form of sudden shocks, long-term trends, or seasonal cycles." (Moser 1998:3).

Different perspectives also exist on whether vulnerability should be seen as an attribute of humans. According to Piers Blaikie et al., vulnerability should be defined as "the characteristics of a person or group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural hazard" (Piers Blaikie et al. in Bankoff et al. 2004:148). This is contradictory to what Bankoff et al. are stating: "Vulnerability is often regarded as a property and not as an outcome of social relations." (Bankoff et al. 2004:2). So we shouldn't assume that vulnerability can be measured as something static or as a characteristic. Instead, it is part of a dynamic process with influences on international, national, local and even individual levels.

Bankoff et al. (2004) are examining several perspectives on vulnerability, each one with a different focus. The role of inequality in the production of vulnerability is also mentioned. Vulnerability can be seen as a product of social relations. "Social processes generate unequal exposure to risk by making some people more prone to disaster than others, and these inequalities are largely a function of the power relations operative in every society" (Bankoff et al. 2004:2). Explained in this way, vulnerability can be seen as produced mainly by social action, instead of environmental risks. In an historical perspective, human vulnerability is the consequence of political, economical and social processes and has been formed through time. Of course, present-day conditions are the result of historical factors (Bankoff et al. 2004:4). At last I want to mention the influence of globalisation processes on the examination of human vulnerability. Globalisation processes are creating a dynamic and interconnected world that is for example making it easier for people to move and stay connected. For household livelihood studies this means that a translocal perspective on the concept of vulnerability should be applied. In the context of migration processes, households can't always be studied as centred in one locality.

I just showed the multidimensionality and complexity of the concept vulnerability. Just because of these characteristics, it is important that a good definition can be constructed in doing research on vulnerability. In my research, I will apply a more 'participatory approach' (Moser 1998). This means that I will focus on the subjective views of the participants on vulnerability and use this to create a more locally interpreted construction of the concept.

4.3 Risk, resilience and coping strategies

Very closely related to the concept of vulnerability are the notions of risk, resilience, coping strategies and assets. I will shortly have a look at these notions to get a good understanding of the meaning of vulnerability. Risk is part of the external side and is in interaction with resilience in the construction of vulnerability. In simple words, risk can be explained as the threat of harm (Pelling 2003). In the context of urban vulnerability, a holistic view on risk should be employed. A variety of interrelating risks are interacting in the urban sphere and this should be taken into consideration when mapping urban risks and vulnerability.

Resilience can be seen as the response-side of vulnerability. Before I mentioned that Pelling (2003) explains resilience as the ability of humans to adapt to hazard stress. This is similar to the definition that van Niekerk presents: "Resilience is popularly understood as the capacity to accommodate, absorb, bounce back from, or adapt to some kind of perturbation." (van

Niekerk 2013:2). When becoming more resilient, people will be less vulnerable, because they learn to withstand external shocks and adapt to changing risks in the environment.

Some say that people develop coping strategies to withstand shocks and to build resilience to risks in their environment. Coping strategies are the strategies employed by a household during crises to deal with the risks (Dercon 2002). Whether or not households actually develop coping strategies is not agreed upon. Pelling and Wisner (2009) for example mention that often the active development of strategies is taken into question: "It is frequently noted that the poor do not take action to reduce their exposure to environmental risks because they are consumed by the immediate demands of survival and of avoiding the physical, social and psychological risks associated with poverty." (Pelling and Wisner 2009:5). In the case of my research I will look at to what extent people actually develop coping strategies to improve their resilience. At last I want to pay attention to assets, but I will include this in the next section on the sustainable livelihoods framework.

4.4 The sustainable livelihoods framework.

The livelihood approach is all about how people manage to make their living, about survival strategies in the daily life. The livelihood approach got more acknowledgement when a recognition came that households don't solely rely on financial incomes. "Drawing on Chambers and Conway (1992), a livelihood is defined as comprising '... the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living.'" (Chambers and Conway in Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002:3). From the livelihood approach, a livelihood framework is developed. To get an insight in this system, I will first present the framework that is developed by de DFID (Department For International Development).

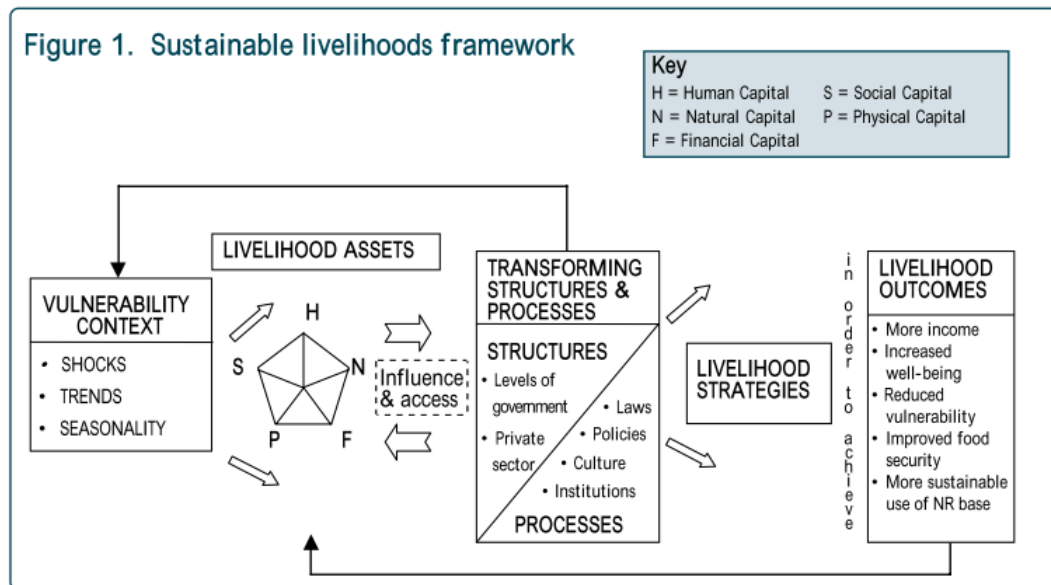


Figure 1: The sustainable livelihoods framework. Source: DFID (1999)

"The sustainable livelihoods framework presents the main factors that affect people's livelihoods, and typical relationships between these." (DFID 1999). This framework is a tool to get an understanding of the livelihood system, to facilitate the mapping of livelihood strategies and the forming of development activities. The term assets is also introduced in this framework. Assets are the resources that people can mobilize to make a living or to manage hardship. Assets form an important part of vulnerability: "The more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people's assets, the greater their insecurity." (Moser 1998:3). In the sustainable livelihoods framework, the livelihood assets are broken down into five components: 1. human capital; 2. natural capital; 3. financial capital; 4. physical capital; 5. social capital (DFID 1999). These categories of assets all contain different livelihood resources. The volume and usefulness of these capitals, differs per household and also per individual (DFID 1999). In my research I will focus on the livelihood assets and explore what the most important resources are and to measure household vulnerability. I will also pay attention to the transforming structures and processes and the vulnerability context presented in the framework, to get an understanding of the contextual factors that are influencing the households' vulnerability and resilience beyond the level of the household. In the end, I will look at the usefulness of the sustainable livelihoods framework in developing response strategies.

At last it is important to mention that the appreciation of the poor people's agency is central to this livelihoods framework: "how they actively shape their lives in particular contexts through material and non-material assets." (Kaag et al. 2004:53). Kaag is mentioning

three challenges that I will take into consideration when applying the sustainable livelihoods framework. Firstly, the poor people's agency should be taken into account. Secondly, besides agency, structural constraints in the environment should also not be forgotten. Thirdly, livelihoods should be captured in space and over time. The last point is especially important when putting the sustainable livelihoods framework in the context of modern globalisation processes.

4.5 Mapping vulnerability

Now I've discussed the concept of vulnerability and the livelihood approach that can be applied within the vulnerability debate. To be able to map the vulnerability of people, a set of indicators is needed. Different models already exist. "Wilches-Chaux (1989) identifies 11 different forms of vulnerability, including natural, physical, economic, social, political, technical, ideological, cultural, educational, ecological and institutional vulnerability" (Wilcher-Chaux in Bankoff et al. 2004:11) This model contains a lot of aspects wherein some are overlapping. For example ideological and cultural vulnerability can be very closely related. Another asset vulnerability framework is developed by Moser and includes: labour, human capital and health status, productive assets, household relations and social capital. Just like the first model, this model seems to have overlapping and missing (for example financial incomes) aspects. Moser applied this asset framework in a comparative urban communities study in Zambia, Ecuador, the Philippines and Hungary. "The asset framework goes beyond a "static" measuring of the poor, toward classifying the capabilities of poor populations to use their resources to reduce their vulnerability." (Moser 1998:14). The research results of this urban study show the possibility to identify interventions to improve the welfare of households, "based on the poor's perceptions as to the assets prioritized for consolidation." (Moser 1998:16). These models of Wilches-Chaux and Moser are similar to what Vatsa (2004) explains as access models, only this model focuses on the households' access to resources. "Each household has a range or profile of resources and assets that represent their particular access level. (...) Access to all the resources that each individual or household possesses can collectively be called its access profile." (Vatsa 2004:17). However, Vatsa notices that this is just an abstract model that has not been validated in the field and is not sufficiently dynamic to explain vulnerability.

Because I didn't find a clear model that is all-encompassing, I decided to construct a diagram myself, based on the previous models, to describe the assets of urban livelihoods. Because I will be using the livelihood approach, the five capitals of the sustainable livelihoods framework are forming the basis, but are supplemented with institutional services.

Human capital	Education level	health	skills	class	ethnicity
	culture	gender			
Natural capital	land	biodiversity	air	livestock	water
Financial capital	income	savings	remittances	credit	insurance
Physical capital	housing	transport	sanitation	electricity	
Social capital	partner	family	friends	networks	
Institutional capital	law	education	health care	police & security	waste assimilation
		infrastructure			

Table 1: The livelihood asset diagram.

I will use this diagram to search for the most important livelihood resources and the areas where urban risks are having the biggest impact in a household. Instead of an access profile, I will try to create an asset vulnerability profile of the inner city community. The combination of this diagram with the sustainable livelihoods framework will make the model more dynamic and include the importance external pressures. Every factor in the diagram can be developed or destroyed to enhance or reduce vulnerability. How the livelihood is constructed, depends on the size and/or quality of the factors. All factors are interrelated, which means that they are influencing each other in the livelihood system. For example, water is natural capital, but in an urban area, the quality of water use is very dependent on the local water management and the sanitation that is present, which belong to the institutional and physical capital. I will also explore the usability of the diagram in finding areas of improvement. An important critical remark is that this diagram can help identifying problem areas, but it doesn't touch upon the role of access, where Vatsa focused on. So when results show that education is a big risk and causing problems, the diagram won't explain whether it's for example because of bad quality education, high school drop-outs or unequal study opportunities.

I will use the livelihood asset diagram on a household level. In a society, the household is often the basis wherein people share their livelihood and develop survival strategies in collaboration with household members. "The household is arguably the most fundamental institution and basic unit of social organization." (Pelling 2003:52). A household can have a variety of compositions and doesn't always have to exist out of family members.

Like I mentioned before, models for the measurement and construction of vulnerability are mostly developed by academics, instead of the vulnerable people themselves. The livelihood vulnerability indicators that I presented will be used as a backbone in my research, but my priority will be to get insight in how the vulnerable people themselves construct their vulnerable livelihoods. In the next chapter I will explain why the voice of the local people is important in the academic debate on vulnerability.

4.6 The importance of local perceptions

In my explanation about the importance of including local perceptions in research on urban vulnerability, I would like to start with going back to the society-nature nexus. The academic practice of constructing vulnerability is a practice that is based on the scholars' cultural construction of the relation between society and the environment. This is related to the society-nature nexus presented in Bankoff et al. (2004). This nexus concerns the culturally constructed perspective of a society on the nature. "Anthropologists have documented that society-nature relationships are expressed in a wide variety of forms." (Bankoff et al. 2004:12). When talking about urban vulnerability, nature is one of the many influencing factors. Instead of talking about the society-nature relationship, I want to apply this debate to the urban context by talking about the society-environment relationship that is culturally constructed. This means that also the construction of vulnerability and environmental risks are at least partly based on cultural ideas. Some scholars even suggest that hazards are entirely socio-cultural constructions: "based on the social psychological principle that if something is defined as real, (...) its 'reality' is established by its social consequences" (Bankoff et al. 2004:17). However, a distinction can be made between cultural and material realities. The material reality of hazards and risks is the physical existence of its consequences. These physical consequences exist independently of the human perception and thereby confirm its reality. On the other side, these consequences of hazard and risks are also socio-culturally interpreted in the society which forms the cultural reality. "The perception of risk and vulnerability, and even impact, is clearly mediated through linguistic and cultural grids,

accounting for great variability in assessments and understandings of disasters." (Bankoff et al. 2004:17). From this we can conclude that the construction of vulnerability contains a physical and a cultural component.

The physical component of vulnerability is something that can be measured easily by analyzing the consequences of hazards and risks. The cultural component of vulnerability is formed by local people's perception. Because vulnerability is partly culturally constructed, the examining of the concept should not solely be done by Western academics. To get an understanding of vulnerability, risks and resilience, local knowledge and perception should also be included in the analysis. Wratten (1995) calls this the participatory anthropological approach. This way, local people can also be included more easily in development interventions and in strengthening the resilience of their own livelihoods. " Understanding vulnerability requires taking into account people's experiences and perceptions." (Bankoff et al. 2004:3). For this reason, I will focus my research on the local people's perception of risk, vulnerability and resilience in the everyday households. In the next chapter, I will put this research topic in the context of the historical and regional context of South Africa.

5. Thematic and geographical context

5.1 Historical context

For a long time, history in South Africa wasn't in the favour of equal human development. South Africa is characterized by a long history of colonialism and racial segregation. The colonization of South Africa began in the 17th century, with the arriving of Dutch and British settlers in the country (Aliber 2003:474). When diamond and gold were found in the 19th century, The Mineral Revolution rapidly turned the country from an agrarian state into an industrial state. This required a large workforce, supplied with international African migrants. The British colonies expanded and took over existing African states until it resulted in the united South African state under British control (Aliber 2003, Turok 2012).

South Africa became an independent state in 1910. The industrial growth also stimulated urbanization. In 1913, the Natives Land Act prohibited the blacks to own land outside of the African reserves, and was thereby the first law that promoted racial segregation. Through the first part of the 20th century, controlling the mobility of the black population remained a priority of the government: "Within the towns and cities, the 1918 Natives in Urban Areas Bill was designed to force blacks into outlying townships or 'locations' specifically reserved for them. The 1923 Urban Areas Act introduced the idea of residential segregation of different racial groups." (Turok 2012:7). After World War II, the racial segregation policies of the apartheid government started to become more oppressive. Racial classification got formalized by identity cards and separation of public facilities. Black people were forced to move to the African reserves, also called homelands or Bantustans (Turok 2012).

In the 1960's and 1970's the African homelands became self-governing. They got their own administrative departments and the government wanted them to also have their own economies. Because of underinvestment, isolated locations, and a lack of employment sources, these homelands became areas with hardly any economic growth and bad-quality public facilities (Aliber 2003, Huyssteen et al. 2010 and Turok 2012). This apartheid policy did not only cause unequal development, it also influenced the country's social relations: "The criminalising effects and violence of apartheid urban-influx controls have also had an enduring legacy for social norms and behaviour in the country." (Turok 2012:11).

Because of the arising of grassroots political opposition, international pressure and the harmfulness of the apartheid policy for the national economic growth, the first democratic

elections were held in 1994. A new government started, led by the ANC (African National Congress) and a new policy vision was created to erase the consequences of past unequal development and racial segregation. The Reconstruction and Development Program was created to fight poverty issues and unequal development, but was later adapted so it would suit the business sector better (Turok 2012, Aliber 2003, Huyssteen et al. 2010 and Oranje 2010). When the usefulness of the RDP for national development got questioned, GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) was introduced. According to some critics, GEAR was a neoliberal sell-out by the ANC and wasn't an appropriate approach to solve the country's economic problems like unemployment and poverty. (Aliber 2003:475).

During the following years, the fiscal deficit has been reduced and public services have improved. But: "In spite of the new non-racial policies and a radically new approach to planning, apartheid spatial patterns and inequalities persist in most metropolitan regions, cities and towns, and the contrasts between urban and rural areas remain stark." (Huyssteen et al 2010:26). South Africa is still characterized by fragmentation, inequalities between rich and poor, increased crime and an overload on basic infrastructure and services (Huyssteen et al 2010 and van Niekerk 2013). Local governments nowadays should be taking up the role of the developmental state. However, they are facing huge challenges like institutional transformations, poor financial management, lack of skills and human capacity and poor communication between the local government and other institutional departments and between the local government and communities (Huyssteen et al. 2010 and COGTA 2009).

5.2 Economic development and inequality

South Africa contains four metropolitan areas that form the drivers of the South African economy. These metropolitan areas are: Gauteng (Johannesburg-Pretoria area); Cape Town on the south-west coast; eThekweni (formerly Durban) on the east coast and Nelson Mandela Bay (formerly Port Elizabeth) on the south coast. "Together these regions produced more than 64% of the South African economic output in 2004 and provided home to 38% of the South African population" (Huyssteen et al. 2010:30). Gauteng is the most accessible and forms a central node in the country. The population in the metropolitan areas is growing fast, caused by natural growth and rural-urban migration. "The highest average growth rates were recorded in the Gauteng and Cape Town metropolitan regions at 3.3% and 2.9% respectively." (Huyssteen et al. 2010:30). Especially the group of youth and young adults is growing fast in the metropolitan areas. This growing population in the metropolitan areas is causing huge pressure on the urban facilities and environment (Huyssteen et al. 2010).

While these metropolitan areas have high population rates and economic activity, huge differences in living standards are also present: "The four metropolitan regions in South Africa are home to 24% of all people in South Africa living under the Minimum Living Level, 34% of all people in South Africa in the low-income categories and 68% of all people in the high- income categories in the country" (Huyssteen et al. 2010:32,33). As a result of the apartheid policy and racial segregation, these inequalities are also manifested in the metropolitan areas spatially. But inequality in living standards exist not only in the cities, it is a problem on the national level. South Africa had an income Gini of around 0.70 in 2008 and a consumption Gini of 0.63 in 2009, which are some of the highest in the world (The World Bank 2013). The biggest part of the chronically poor is still the African and coloured population living in the rural areas. Both in urban and rural areas, the poor population is very vulnerable for continually rising prices (Hendriks 2005). This means that food security will hardly improve in times of economic crisis. After the global financial shock in 2008/2009, national economic growth has been limited. "The unresolved set of complex economic challenges has locked South Africa into a low-level equilibrium of low growth, persistent poverty and widespread exclusion and unemployment" (The World Bank 2013). Since the democratic elections in 1994, the government has not been able to respond to this inequality problem effectively. Greater expectations arise for the government to take the role of the developmental state (The World Bank 2013 and Aliber 2003).

5.3 The HIV/AIDS problem

Besides the issues of poverty and unemployment, South Africa is also dealing with a big health problem: the HIV virus. Between 5 and 6 million HIV-infected people are living in South Africa and almost 18% of the adults in South Africa is HIV-infected (UNAIDS). In absolute numbers, this is the highest prevalence of HIV in the world. Although the number of AIDS deaths and new infections is decreasing, the number of HIV-infected people is still very large.

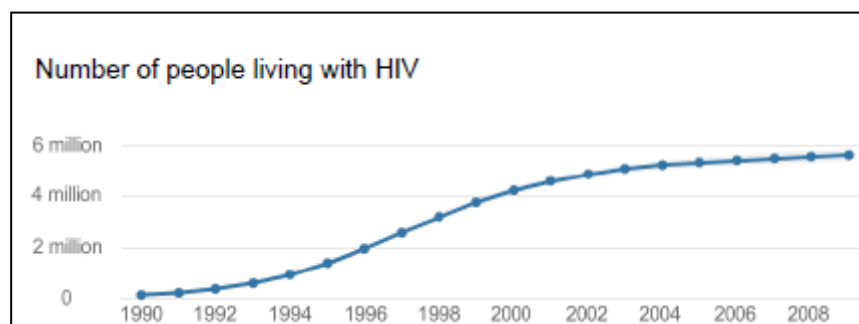


Figure 2: Number of people with HIV living in South Africa.

Source: UNAIDS

This HIV/AIDS issue is a big threat to the countries' human development. According to Arndt and Lewis (2000): "The epidemic has moved beyond its earlier status as a health issue to become a development issue, with social, political, and economic dimensions." (Arndt and Lewis 2000:380). The government has to spend a lot on the countries' health-care, which limits their investments in other developmental policies. Also the high mortality rates among the working-age population are reducing the countries' skill availability, demand patterns and economic productivity (Arndt and Lewis 2000).

When households are confronted with HIV, this has a big impact on their livelihood because it reduces their resilience and capacity to cope with other risks : "(...) sick family members cannot work, income decreases, health-care expenditures increase, care burdens increase and there is less time for caring for children" (Hendriks 2005:117). Especially black young women are vulnerable for HIV infection and in this group the mortality rates are also the highest. Within this subgroup, the risks for HIV infection are high among sex workers. Many sex workers are unskilled and come from disadvantaged backgrounds. The high prevalence of HIV in this subgroup can be seen as one of the drivers of socio-economic inequality (Wechsberg et al. 2006).

5.4 The local context: Gauteng – Tshwane/Pretoria

5.4.1 Gauteng

Gauteng can be split up in the three municipalities of Johannesburg, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni and some smaller districts (Turok 2012). Tshwane is the second name of Pretoria. Like I mentioned before, this metropolitan area forms a very accessible central node in the country. It is the biggest metropolitan region, it contains almost a quarter of the countries' population and its contribution to the national economy is almost 39%. Partly because of internal migration trends, the Gauteng regions had an average population growth rate of 3.3% in the period of 1997-2007, which is much higher than the national average of 1,8%. Because of these processes, Gauteng is facing great challenges on the issues of financial viability and urban governance. Although the Gauteng region is characterized by economic growth, there are also high poverty concentrations, lying especially in the more outlying areas that are difficult to access (Huyssteen et al. 2010). The poverty concentrations of the Gauteng region are illustrated in Figure 3.

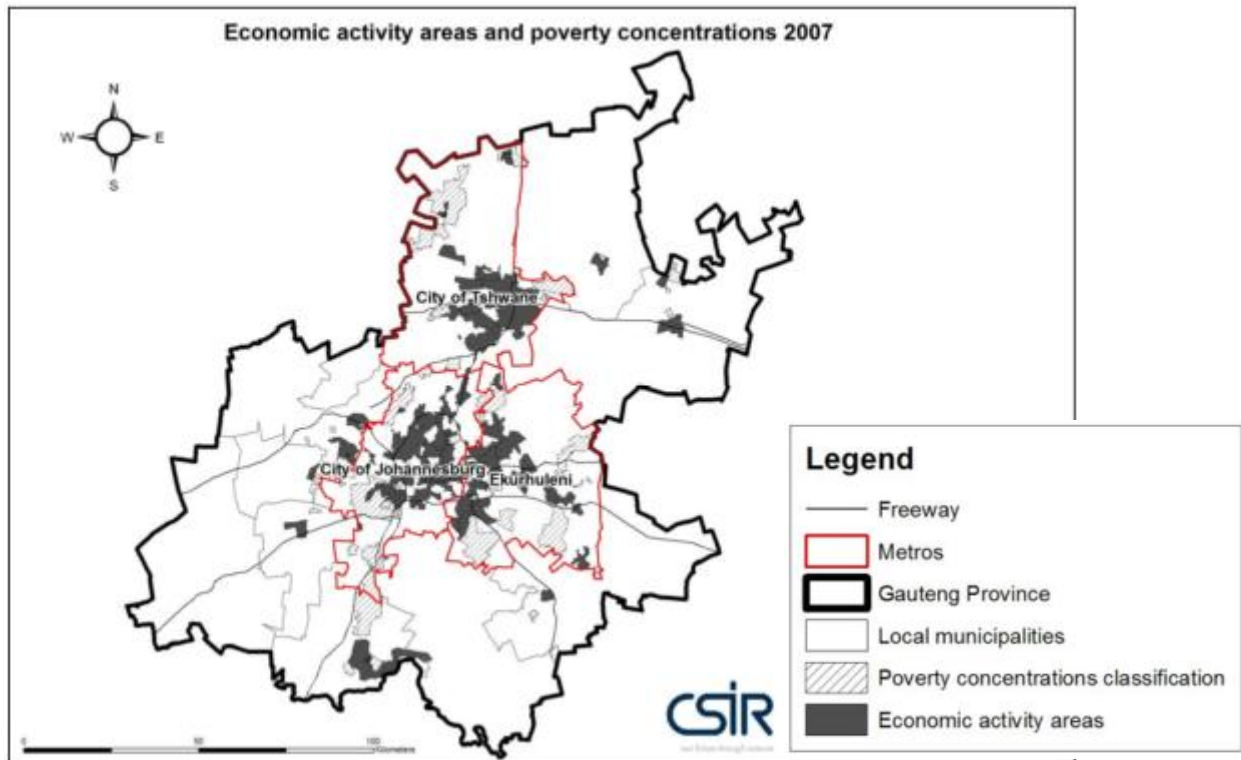


Figure 3: Economic activity areas and poverty concentrations in the Gauteng area
Source: Huyssteen et al., 2010.

This map also illustrates the spatial inequality that is present in the region. Gauteng is characterized by a fragmented settlement pattern, and it doesn't contain one central city-region. This fragmentation is caused by the lack of immediate constraints on urban growth during the expansion of the mining industry. Because of this fragmented settlement pattern and the separation of residential and employment nodes, a lot of mobility is needed in this region. All these characteristics are challenging the Gauteng region (Turok 2012).

5.4.2 City of Tshwane / Pretoria

The city Pretoria lies in the municipality of the City of Tshwane. The City of Tshwane region covers 6368 square kilometres and has a population of 2.9 million (Tshwane vision 2055 and Statistics South Africa). The name Tshwane is originally an African name of the Nbele people, who lived in the area before the Dutch and British arrived and dispersed the people. Throughout the South African history, the Tshwane region remained an important centre. Tshwane was a central point during the South African War of 1899-1902 and Pretoria became the administrative capital of the British government in 1910 (Tshwane vision 2055). Because it was the administrative capital during the struggle for freedom, Pretoria was often the stage for protests. Right now, Pretoria is still the administrative/executive capital of South Africa and houses the government and the countries' president in the Union Buildings. The Tshwane area never developed its own industrial base but has always especially housed government

employees (South African History Online). The region has a high growth rate of 3.1% and the main economic sectors are community services and government, followed by finance and manufacturing. On the other side, the Tshwane region also has an unemployment rate of 24% (Statistics South Africa).

The effects of the apartheid regime and spatial segregation policies are also still visible in certain areas of the City of Tshwane. In comparison with the national division, Tshwane has a low number of black residents (Breetzke 2010). However, the amount of black people moving to the city is slowly rising, creating racial residential change in the city (Horn and Buyisiwe Ngcobo 2003). The major townships in the Tshwane region are Soshanguwe and Mamelodi, located far away from the economic centre of Pretoria (Turok 2012). During the apartheid, Pretoria had a vibrant inner city. Just like in some other South African cities, the inner city of Pretoria nowadays has fallen into decay. A lot of businesses and almost all of the people with higher incomes have moved out towards the suburbs. The inner city of Pretoria nowadays contains mostly black people, a lot of them migrants coming from outside the city, from the lower income classes. Despite the fact that the local government has been focusing on inner city regeneration plans, the community is still facing many urban challenges and too few goals have been achieved.

6. Methodology

6.1 Target Group

The target group of the research is defined as people living in the inner city of Pretoria. The inner city includes the neighbourhoods Asiatic Bazaar (Marabastad), Pretoria Central (CBD) and Salvokop. These neighbourhoods are selected because they form the centre of the inner city, and because these are the areas addressed in the inner city regeneration plans of the local government.

A lot of people in the higher income groups have moved out of the inner city towards the suburbs of Pretoria. People from the townships and other areas have been moving towards the inner city. This means that the households in the inner city are for the biggest part in the lower income group. This already makes it a vulnerable community. I decided not to define my target group based on poverty or income level, because residents in the inner city who do have a steady and relatively higher income can also be vulnerable due to other factors in the urban environment. Furthermore, the inner city population consists mainly of black people. The changes during the last years and the processes of urban decay make the population in the inner city an interesting target group for a research on the perception of vulnerability.

I included both men and women in my research. While doing the street interviews I found out that men are more willing to participate in a questionnaire than women. In the interviews this resulted in the participation of 76% male respondents and 24% female respondents. Concerning the age, the target group includes young adults and adults between the age of 18 and 60. Because the population in the inner city is relatively young, there is a bias towards the younger population and the elderly are more left out.

6.2 Research Methods

I started the research with doing semi-structured interviews with NGO's, FBO's and people from the local government to gather context information on their view on urban vulnerability and the services provided to the inner city community. I selected 4 non-governmental organizations and 1 church organization that are located in the inner city and therefore offer services to my target group. In choosing these organizations, I used the same definition of the inner city. Because these organizations are focused on different social problems in the inner city of Pretoria, they could provide me with background knowledge on urban social issues. I

also did interviews with the ward counsellor of the inner city and with a deputy director of the Social Development Department of the City of Tshwane (in following chapters referred to as SDD). It was not possible to do interviews with employees of other governmental departments due to problems with getting in contact with them, a lack of response and the requirement to get an internal research permission first. The questionnaires that I used for the social organizations and the government employees were similar so that the data gathered could be compared. In the last week of the research period, I had a feedback session with the deputy director of the Social Development Department and two of her colleagues to get feedback and to check on my research results.

While I was working on the interviews with the social organizations and the local government, I developed a structured interview for the inner city residents together with my supervisor at the CSIR. This interview touches upon the different capitals of the sustainable livelihoods framework and is used to get an understanding of the views, behaviours and reactions of the people in dealing with urban vulnerability. The interview contains a combination of structured and open questions. Both in the semi-structured interviews of the organizations and the interview list of the inner city residents, the method of participatory ranking was used. I applied this method by first letting the participants mention urban risks that are most threatening according to them. Together with a list of urban risks that I created, I would let them rank the risks and give an explanation. The time needed to complete one interview varied between 20 minutes to 1,5 hour, depending on how much the respondent was willing to talk. All the questionnaires were completed face to face together with a research assistant. I chose to work with a research assistant because of practical and safety reasons. The research assistant was an African girl from Pretoria. She knew the urban environment and the community and could provide me with background information. Therefore, she was also an informant in my research. She was also familiar with multiple South African languages so she translated when this was needed. Most of the times one was asking the questions so the other could write down the answers. Besides, it was also safer to walk around and approach respondents in the inner city together. Due to safety reasons, we decided to take a male friend with us the day we went completing questionnaires in Marabastad, which is a more dangerous neighbourhood in the inner city. We completed the interview lists during weekdays between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. and in total we spent around 7 days in the inner city. We approached most of the respondents in the streets and parks of the inner city of Pretoria. One day was spent in Marabastad. This was after we discovering that it's difficult to find people living there since it

is not a residential area, and because of the dangerous character of some areas in this neighbourhood, we decided not to go there again. Two days were spent completing questionnaires in Salvokop and the other days in Pretoria Central. To get a variety of respondents we tried to include people of different ages and background. To paint a clearer picture of the respondents that participated in the interviews, I present the respondents with short descriptions at the end of the paragraph in table 3. In the rest of the text, I will only mention the respondent's age and refer to their number to ensure anonymity.

I read different documents of the local governmental department on the inner city of Pretoria and on social development in South Africa in general. These documents provide contextual information on the social issues in Pretoria and on governmental visions, policies and projects. Especially the local Social Development Department has useful research and policy reports on the city of Pretoria. Besides, during the last years the local government has been developing an inner city regeneration plan, which is very useful because it discusses the challenges that the inner city is facing and it presents the future plans for improving the inner city. By analyzing the content of these policy reports, I can compare the governmental visions and plans with the experiences of the inner city residents and see whether these plans are visible in the community.

When conducting the interviews with the NGO's, FBO and government employees, I used a voice recorder. I transcribed the interviews that are very useful but summarized most of them to save time. The interviews mostly took place in English and thanks to Galaletsang, language has hardly been a problem. To organize and analyze the data from the interviews, I used the software Nvivo and developed a code-tree. While conducting the questionnaires with the residents, the answers were noted down on paper. To analyze the data of the questionnaires, I created a spreadsheet in Microsoft Excel and worked out all the statistical data. The information gathered with the open questions were worked out in Word by categorizing them per question and theme. Official documents were marked in PDF- or Word-format and I also made use of the software of Mendeley to organize and search through the written documents.

As a student with a background in cultural anthropology, I learned the importance of self-reflection in doing fieldwork. I realize that my own cultural perspective can affect the way I gather and analyze my data. I did my best to not let, the fact that I grew up in a

developed European country, influence my perspective on the local visions and problems. Also the fact that I was a foreign girl doing research in the inner city, could limit my possibilities sometimes. For example, places like Marabastad were difficult to reach due to safety reasons and it also took a while for me to find out that getting in contact with the local government was a very difficult task. Luckily, Galaletsang has been a great assistant who helped me getting access to respondents, neighbourhoods and local perspectives.

Respondent	Description
1	(22) A female student with an attitude, financially dependent on her family back home. She was chilling with two friends in Burgers park and came to the inner city to study.
2	(40) A Nigerian street vendor with a bachelor in theology. He was living with his wife in the inner city for 10 years but had family back home that was depending on him. We approached him at the market place.
3	(24) A male law student that I interviewed at the market place, where he was chilling with friends. He was studying full time, had his own place in the city and received financial support from his family back home.
4	(28) A man that we talked to at the entrance of Burgers Park. He was working full-time as a quality inspector and supported his sister and kids.
5	(25) An unemployed lady who came to live with family members in the inner city to search for a job. We interviewed her in her family's living room. She has a baby who lives back home with her family.
6	(32) A man who was working in landscaping garden services and living with his pregnant girlfriend. We spoke to him in his backyard and Galaletsang translated.
7	(24) A student in accounting we spoke to at the UNISA campus. He was studying full-time and still living with his parents.
8	(24) A man who went to college to become a plumber and had a side job in public maintenance. We approached him in the hallway of a mall.
9	(24) A student sitting in the park of Church Square with a friend. He was an intern at the council for geosciences where he conducted geology research.
10	(23) The friend of respondent nr. 8. He also graduated in geology and was working full-time in policy legislation and research.
11	(26) A lady who was sitting alone in Burgers Park and who seemed to be much unmotivated. She was unemployed, living with siblings and constantly

	mentioning the problems of unemployment.
12	(28) A Bangladeshi shop owner who has been living in Pretoria for a year. We interviewed him at the counter of his shop.
13	(40) A street vendor with a very bad focus who looked much younger than 40. We interviewed him at the marketplace where he carelessly told us about his habits to drink alcohol and pick up prostitutes.
14	(22) A student who was going to college to become a medical secretary. He was living with his family in the inner city. When we approached him he was sitting near the street where his family members had a working place.
15	(20) A man sitting in the streets of Salvokop. He was working as a waiter and had to provide for his mother, grandmother and sisters. He told us about the role of gangs in Salvokop and about being a member.
16	(33) A man living with his wife and child in Salvokop. He is working as a messenger for a doctor. He was chilling with friends in his front yard.
17	(34) A man that was sitting in the streets of Salvokop. He was working in the security sector and his mother is taking care of his children back home. He was renting nine shacks in his back yard.
18	(28) A Zimbabwean female street vendor in Salvokop who was living with her boyfriend in a shack. She was trying to provide for her family and child back home. We talked to her on a street bench.
19	(28) A man who has been living and working in Marabastad for 5 years. He is working at a food stall and providing for his family in Zimbabwe. We talked to him at his working place in the streets.
20	(23) A homeless boy living in the streets of Marabastad. He came from one of the townships where his family is still living. He got an income by begging and washing taxis. We interviewed him on the street and Galaletsang translated a lot.
21	(20) A male student in human resources that was chilling in Burgers Park with a friend. His family was supporting him and he had a side-job at the McDonalds.
22	(21) An optimist man that we approached on the street in Salvokop. He was working as a pizza man and lived on his own in Salvokop for three years now. He maintains financial links with his family in another province.
23	(34) A man working as an employee of the DA. He was living with a relative in the inner city and he was supporting family back home. We interviewed him at a

	street barber in Salvokop.
24	(43) A female street vendor that we interviewed at her market stall. She was living with three children in a flat apartment in the inner city.
25	(56) A lady that was sitting in her backyard in Salvokop with a friend. She was working as a domestic worker and providing for her inner city household. Galaletsang translated a lot during the interview.
26	(34) A homeless man that we talked to at Church Square. His family in another province was supporting him but he was searching for a job so he could marry his fiancée back home and take care of his child.
27	(53) A blind and homeless man living in the streets of Pretoria Central with his wife. He lost everything when he became blind and doesn't get support from family members. He receives a weekly income from a friend. We approached him when he was sitting against the wall of a shop.
28	(27) A homeless man that is making a living through begging. He doesn't get along with his mother who is living in another province. His grandmother supported him but she passed away.
29	(21) A female law student that was chilling with a friend in Burgers Park. She came to the inner city to study and lives with other students. Her family back home supports her financially.
30	(19) A girl that was going to start with her study and just lived in the inner city for three months. She was sitting in Burgers Park with friends and not really willing to answer many questions.
31	(24) A talkative man that was waiting at a front gate. He was living with a relative and working as a medical researcher. He sends money back home to his child in another province.
32	(30) A man who just lived in Pretoria for three weeks and originally came from Zimbabwe. He left his family's farm to search for a job in Pretoria.
33	(36) A man working as an IT specialist and living on his own. He sends money back home to his son. We interviewed him at the park of Church Square.
34	(21) A male IT student that grew up in the inner city. His family is providing for him by sending money. We talked to him at the park of Church Square.

Table 2: List of respondents of the street interviews

6.3 Maps

South Africa - Pretoria



Figure 4: Location of South Africa and Pretoria. Source: Google Maps.

The Research Area

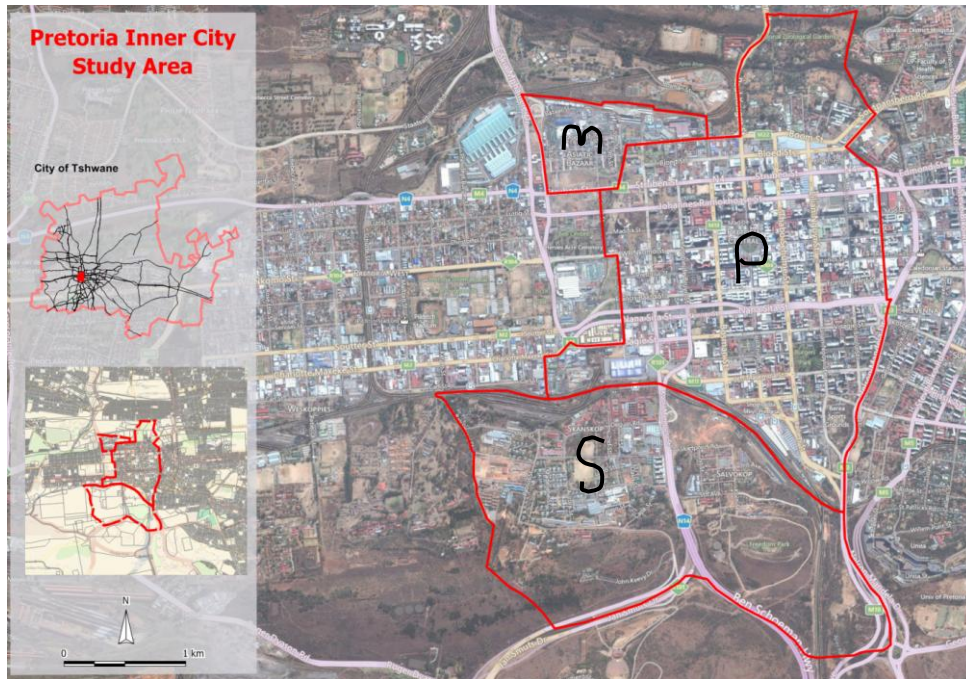


Figure 5: Pretoria inner city, research area. Source: Pierre du Plessis senior researcher at the CSIR Built Environment.

The definition of the Pretoria inner city in this research contains the following neighbourhoods:

P - Pretoria Central / CBD

Pretoria Central is forming the centre of the inner city. The Pretoria railway station borders on the south side of the district. During the day, this is a vibrant and dynamic centre with a lot of people moving around. There is a big shopping area with malls and a daily market in the area of Church Square and the State Theatre. There are many parks and governmental offices situated in the inner city. Concerning the housing, most people are living in the flat buildings.

M - Marabastad / Asiatic Bazaar

Marabastad has a popular central shopping area and it is a good place for selling business. Most of the people, who are present in the neighbourhood during the day, only come to work there and they live somewhere else. It is not a residential area and the people who do reside in this area are prostitutes and homeless people. Marabastad is a very decayed neighbourhood with buildings that are not taken care of and a lot of open areas where people hang together and practice illegal trade. On other empty sites the taxi busses are gathered and stored. There

is a lot of litter in the streets and in the empty spaces throughout the whole area, which causes a bad image and bad smells.

S - Salvokop,

Even though Salvokop is located very close to the inner city, it is a very quiet neighbourhood, located on the other side of the Pretoria Station. This neighbourhood is a residential area with more spatially designed housing units. Many shacks are also built in the backyards of the houses.

7. The Pretoria inner city community

"Do not go there alone, it is not safe." Were the first reactions I got when I came to Pretoria and told people that I was planning to do my master research in the inner city of Pretoria, on my own. They knew I had just arrived and that it was my first time in South Africa, so in some way I knew they were trying to protect me and warn me of an environment that I was unfamiliar with. On the other side, that formulated exactly the image that the inner city of Pretoria got during the last couple of years, through the eyes of a big part of the South African society. Since the end of apartheid in 1993, the inner city changed from a vibrant centre (but only for whites at that time) into an area that people rather avoid. It is this current development that makes the inner city community an interesting target group for development research.

In the next couple of chapters, I will present the findings of my research, based on interviews, official documents, observations and the street interviews wherein I spoke to a total of 34 respondents who were living in the inner city of Pretoria. I will show linkages between the empirical data on the local perspective on urban vulnerability, and the theoretical concepts and the sustainable livelihoods framework. In the end, I will discuss the role and usefulness of the sustainable livelihoods framework in understanding urban vulnerability and developing response strategies. Throughout the next chapters I will answer the main research question: How do households living in the inner city of Pretoria experience the risks and vulnerabilities that threaten their urban livelihoods, and how do they cope with this. I will first discuss the first sub question by presenting a socio-economic profile of the people and households living in the inner city of Pretoria and look at their most important ways to create a livelihood. To get an idea about the people that are forming my target group, I will pay attention to the following questions: Who are they? How do they make a living? Why do they decide to live in the inner city? What makes them so vulnerable?

7.1 The inner city community

7.1.1 *A socio-economic profile*

On certain characteristics, the inner city community can be distinguished from other people living in the suburbs of Pretoria. The first thing that stands out is that the inner city community consists mainly of a diversity of black African ethnicities. I will explain this diversity further in the next part on migrants. Coloured (people from mixed ethnic origins),

Asian and White people are forming minorities. In the street interviews, 31 of the respondents were black, and there was only 1 Coloured, 1 Asian and 1 White respondent. These people are especially in the lower and middle income classes. They have a job in the inner city or they have their own business or shop there (Yeast City Housing, YCH and Golden Heart Foundation, GHF). Besides this working class there is also the high amount of the unemployed. They are job seekers coming to the inner city to find new employment opportunities. There are a lot of institutional headquarters present in the inner city, but the employees of these institutions and government offices mostly come to the inner city to work and live somewhere else (City of Tshwane 2005). Almost all of the higher income class moved out towards the suburbs and with this, most of the White population (SDD).

In this process of spatial segregation on class and ethnicity, it is visible that inequality and the exposure to risks is a function of the power relations in a society, like Bankoff mentioned (Bankoff et al. 2004). The social power relations during apartheid put the black population in a disadvantaged position. Because nowadays the majority is still in the lower income class, their mobility in the city is more limited and they are centred in the city because of cheap housing and in search for opportunities. Even though during the last years there has been more dynamics in the ethnic segregation (Horn and Buyisiwe Ngcobo 2003), the historical processes can still be seen as the reason why especially the black population is exposed to the risks of life in the inner city.

The inner city population consists of many young people (GHF, YCH, Lerato House, Salvokop counsellor). A lot of students are residing in the inner city and there is also a high amount of younger school children. In the street interviews, I included respondents between the age of 18 and 60, and the average age of the respondents was 29. Moreover, the streets of the inner city have a majority of men than women. Only 9 respondents said that they were married or in a relationship but 15 respondents said that they had children. From this we can conclude that there is a high amount of single parents:

"I would say that the majority of the people are single parents, coming into the city because it's closer to work but also because of the schooling for their children."

(Bethesda Dream Centre, BDC).

Most of the people are living in the flats in Pretoria Central. This is also the area where most of the street interviews were completed. Only two of the respondents were living in Marabastad and a small group of the respondents was living in Salvokop. On average, the

respondents shared their unit with 3 or 4 people. Most of them were living with either close relatives or friends. In the interviews with the NGO's I asked the respondents about vulnerable subgroups in the inner city population and based on their answers, I identified three subgroups that need some more explanation because of their vulnerable status. I will elaborate on the subgroups: migrants, students and the homeless.

7.1.2 *The subgroups*

While the average age of the respondents in the street interviews was 29, the average period that they have been living in the inner city is between 6 and 7 years. This means that almost all of them moved to the inner city at some point in their life, and few have been born there. This represents the high amount of migrants living in the inner city. First of all, there is a big influx of international migrants and refugees. Many are from other African countries like Nigeria and Zimbabwe. They are known for their activity in illegal businesses like DVD's and drugs trade. Others are from Pakistan and other Asian countries, causing a big social diversity in the inner city (SDD and Salvokop counsellor). Surprisingly, the national net migration rate is not high at all: -6,27 migrants per 1.000 persons in 2014 according to The World Factbook of the CIA. This means that there is an excess of people leaving the country. In total, 141.550 temporary residence permits and 1.283 permanent residence permits were registered in 2012. From the temporary residence permits, 17,2 % were issued to Zimbabweans and 10% to Nigerians, which shows that they indeed form the biggest immigrant groups (Stats SA 2012). It is important to note that these numbers exclude the amount of undocumented immigrants coming into the country. Besides, the estimated provincial migration is much higher. In the period between 2006 and 2011, the net provincial migration rate of the Gauteng province was 800.991 (Stats SA 2013). This shows that the majority of the people moving to Pretoria are internal migrants. Many of them are from other provinces of South Africa (many respondents came from Limpopo and Mpumalanga, in the north-east of the country) or from the townships surrounding Pretoria. Most of them moved to the inner city to study or to find a job. Especially the international migrants can be seen as a vulnerable subgroup in the community because their safety is threatened by xenophobic attacks and the absence of identity papers is limiting their resources (DCAB, SDD and Salvokop counsellor).

A lot of students are living in the inner city of Pretoria because it is an educational hub. This results in a relatively young inner city population. The inner city contains a lot of schools and training institutes. For example the Tshwane North College and the Tshwane University of Technology are located at the edge of the inner city and the University of South

Africa is also close. Student respondent explained that they chose to live in the inner city because it is close to school so it reduces transport costs and the inner city has affordable housing. The students are also a subgroup that is particularly prone to urban risks. Many children grow up in more rural areas outside the city and move to the city when they grow older and want to study, explains one of the employees of SDD. They are not prepared for the urban environment and risks. They will try to fit in the life of the city and have to find ways to get money for accommodation, education and food. This makes them very vulnerable and an easy target for human trafficking, crime and abuse in prostitution (SDD and Lerato House).

When looking at migrants and students, we can conclude that income is not the only cause why these subgroups are particularly vulnerable to urban risks. Here we can already see that vulnerability is a more useful concept than poverty to explore underdevelopment (Bankoff et al. 2004). Even in the city, where life is very much income dependent, other factors are also affecting the living standards of the people. In the case of migrants, their ethnicity and status as a foreigner without South African papers is influencing their chance to get a job, social support and their safety in the city. In the case of students, their age and background can make them an easy target and more vulnerable for certain risks in the city life. These examples show that using the concept of vulnerability in understanding urban development in Pretoria will bring a more accurate picture of the system because then, these important factors will also be taken into account.



Homeless person in the inner city

The streets of the inner city also form home for a lot of unemployed and homeless people, most of them are young boys. These people are a determining factor in the street scenes of the city and contributing to a bad image. Many of them are migrants, coming from outside the country, from rural areas or from the townships. Some came to the inner city to search for opportunities, but obtain bad luck in an environment where there is already a lack of employment possibilities (Salvokop counsellor). Others chose to live in the streets or ended up homeless because of a drug addiction or alcohol problem. The social support available for

the homeless people in the city is very limited, which makes them very vulnerable (SDD). There is a limited amount of shelters and they are all full and not managed well:

"The problem with the shelter there is you'll find families starting to develop within the shelter."

(SDD respondent)

Homelessness is one of the biggest issues that the city has to face nowadays, and it is affecting the lives of the city's residents. In the next chapters I will elaborate on the links between homelessness and urban risks and the coping strategies of this subgroup.

7.2 The most important income resources

7.2.1 Jobs

Life in the city has a much more consumerist character than life in rural areas. Therefore, life in the city is characterized by a high income dependency. In the urban environment, almost everything is bought:

"People living in the inner city also need to have the money for that because living in the inner city is expensive. It is expensive compared to the rural areas because you need to pay rent and buy food."

(Lerato House).

This makes the urban community very dependent on an income and especially very vulnerable for economic hardship:

"Because you can't survive the life of the city if you are not employed. Really you can't. You just need to have an income, then you survive."

(Lerato House)

For this reason, job security is one of the biggest concerns of people living in the city.



Informal street trade in groceries

Almost half of the respondents in the street interviews were working full-time, a few were working part-time and some of the students had a part-time job. For these people, the salary they received from their job was the most important resource for making a living. A big variety of employment sectors was mentioned in the street interviews but most of them were working in the service sector. The community service sector is one of the most significant working sectors of the City of Tshwane and nationally this sector provides almost 30% of the employment (Stats SA 2014). In the inner city, the many shops and hairdresser's saloons are a big source of employment.

Besides, informal street trade was also an important source of income for some respondents. Street selling takes place throughout the inner city and is also one of the ways of homeless people to make money. Some people have bigger market stalls and are paying the municipality for the space (Respondent (43) nr.24); others just sell their little stock of candy and nuts in a corner. Informal street trade is a very accessible way for people to create an income. The biggest problem in this business is that the sellers are never sure about the proceeds. The income of a street seller can vary enormously from day to day and is very dependent on the purchasing power of the people. So even though on one side it is an accessible business for everyone, it is also a very vulnerable business due to the instability of the profits.

7.2.2 Remittances

The respondents who did not have jobs, either received an income by begging, got money from friends, were living with family members who provided for them or received remittances from family back home. The last one, remittances, also forms an important income source for many people. From the 34 respondents, 9 said that receiving remittances was their most important source of income. Most of them received around 2000 rand per month (approximately 135 euro). Since many residents in the inner city are migrants coming from outside the city, a lot of people have close family members living in other places, provinces or other countries. We can say that the majority of the people living in the city centre is maintaining financial links with family back home. This is reasonable since many migrant respondents who came looking for work, also decided to move to the inner city to better provide for their families (i.a. Respondent (25) nr.5; (34) nr.26). The money flows are going both ways, depending on the financial situation of both sides. Furthermore, there are not only male labour migrants who send remittances back home. Women are also working in the city and taking care of family back home (Respondent (28) nr.18). This can be a result of the

high amount of single mothers who have to take care of their children alone. Young students and unemployed people often receive money from their family back home. People who have a job and can provide for themselves, often send money back home as soon as they are able to. These strong financial links between the residents in the city and family back home make remittances a second important source for the people in the inner city to make a living.

These linkages with families back home show that the urban household livelihoods cannot be studied by solely looking at the inner city dynamics and resources. The households of many respondents were spatially divided, which means that livelihood resources and strategies are also spatially divided and are affected in different localities. Realizing this, we can state that urban risks are not only affecting the inner city community, but indirectly it has a much broader reach. The same can be stated the other way around. The inner city community is not only affected by urban risks, but also by external factors.

A Zimbabwean lady (28) lives with her boyfriend in a backyard shack in Salvokop and makes a living through street selling. She supports her family back home in Zimbabwe, by sending money for food and the school fees for her child. When her boyfriend got sick, he got fired because he didn't come to work. When her sister passed away, she had to borrow money from her boss to pay for the funeral. At the same time, she has to deal with the instable income from her street selling. All these things are affecting her possibility to provide not only for her household in Salvokop, but also to send money back to her family and child.

(Respondent nr. 18)

Especially cities like Pretoria, that exist for a big part out of migrants, should be studied with a translocal approach. In the last chapter I will look at what this means for the sustainable livelihoods framework.

Both remittances and income from jobs or street trade are placed in the financial capital in the livelihood assets diagram. Even before looking at the biggest urban risks, we can already conclude that the category of financial capital is the most important resource for the people to make a living in the inner city. This again confirms the income dependency and commercialised character of live in the inner city. Now I presented the inner city community, who they are and how they make a living. In the next chapter I will focus on the urban risks they experience as most threatening for their livelihoods, and how they deal with their vulnerabilities.

8. Main urban risks

The respondent explains that car hijacking, robbery and the Nyope drug abuse are the biggest problems in the inner city. There's also a lot of unsafety in the clubbing scene at night. For example, people are driving drunk and girls are drugged and raped. This last thing happened to two girls last year. They were found in one of the townships, both doing well.

(Respondent (36) nr. 33)

Crime was often the first thing that popped into the heads of the respondents when I asked them which urban risks in their everyday environment they felt were most threatening their livelihood. This matches the issues of South Africa that are often presented in popular media: high crime rates, high unemployment rates and the highest prevalence of HIV in the world.

"The paradox is that South Africa's major cities are simultaneously the main source of about 60% of South Africa's GDP, but, fuelled by a massive migration, are also the centres for open unemployment, stark social inequality, poverty, crime and HIV/AIDS and TB infections."

(The World Bank, 2014 b)

I wanted to find out whether these risks are also experienced by the local population as most threatening, and if it is correct, what these risks actually meant for the households in the inner city and how they deal with it.

For a couple of days, I went out in the crowded streets of Pretoria inner city with Galaletsang (19), my research assistant, to approach homeless people, street vendors, students, labourers and unemployed, and talk with them about their life in the inner city. Part of the interview list was a list of urban risks that, according to me and my supervisor at the CSIR, suited the local context. I would mention the risks one by one, the respondent would answer whether they experienced this as a threat in their life. The next figure shows how often respondents agreed that a certain urban risks could form a problem to their livelihood.

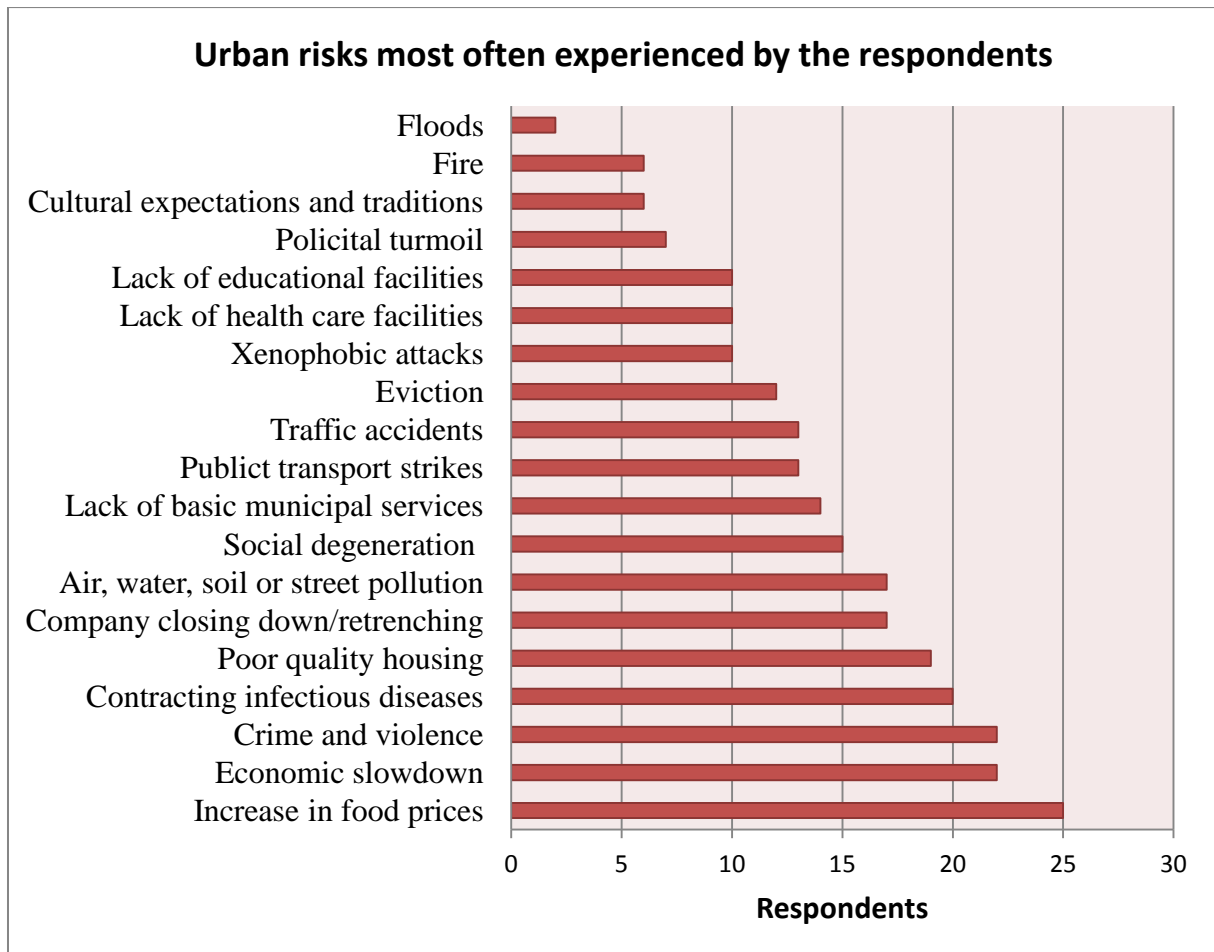


Figure 6: Urban risks most often experienced by the respondents, results from the street interviews.

Which urban risks are experienced as causing the biggest problems is very dependent on the person. For example, increasing food prices are more likely to cause problems for people with a low or instable income. Xenophobic attacks are often only a threat to foreigners. Only two respondents experienced floods as a risk and both of them were homeless. In the inner city, only small floods take place in the streets after heavy rainfall. For most of the people this is not causing any problems. For the homeless however, this is a threat since that is where their home is. This shows that for example the economical or ethnical background of a person effects the risks that he perceives in the inner city. So we can conclude that the vulnerability of people is also determined for example through the economic status or nationality of people, even though they are living in the same neighbourhood.

In this chapter, we will be looking at the four risks that are experienced as most threatening by the inner city community. Even though in the first place, people often mentioned crime as the biggest risk, more people experienced the increase in food prices as a threat to their livelihood. The second, economic slowdown, is related to price inflation. Both risks are especially causing financial problems and I will therefore take these two together and

discuss them in the first part. Crime and violence is mentioned just as often as economic slowdown, I will elaborate on this urban risk in the second part of the chapter. At last, contracting infectious diseases like HIV, cholera and tuberculosis forms a third place. In the last part I will discuss this urban health risk and also link it to poor quality housing and pollution, since these are also closely related to each other.

8.1 Financial problems

The first thing that the counsellor mentions is a lack of jobs in the inner city. "If you're not working then you don't have a place to stay." The second is food insecurity, which is linked to unemployment. The two biggest risks are having no place to sleep and having not enough food. These problems are the causes that crime is arising.

(Salvokop Counsellor)

It is not a surprise that in the inner city, financial risks are perceived as causing the biggest issues in maintaining a livelihood. Like I already emphasized before, life in the inner city is very dependent on the income resource since almost all products and services in the city are paid for. For example, almost all of the respondents were buying all the food they needed in the supermarket. In the theoretical framework I presented the four areas of characteristics of urban poverty that Wratten mentions (2005). In the second area he explains that vulnerability arises from commercial exchange. Because cities are more commercialized than rural areas, the city community gets more affected by market dynamics. The importance of this area of vulnerability for the inner city community itself is reflected in the fact that the increase in food prices and economic slowdown are experienced as the most threatening urban risks.

To get an idea of the financial situation of an average inner city resident, I will shortly give an indication of their incomes and expenditures.

In the street interviews, the average monthly salary of 17 respondents was 5218 rand (around 360 euro). Only 3 from all the respondents said that they were receiving supporting grants from the government, so financial support from the government is limited. Almost all of the respondent were paying rent for their housing. With an average of around 1600 rand per month (23 respondents), this is the biggest cost of a household. The costs of municipal services, around 700 rand, can be added to this. Around 1100 rand is paid for food every month, and the same for sending remittances that is done by 11 respondents. Students are paying a lot for their education. When adding these basic costs of housing, food and remittances, it comes to the monthly costs of 4500 rand.

(1 euro is around 14 South African rand)

From this average case, we can conclude that there is not much flexibility in the budget. I should add to this that this is an example of an inner city resident that is having one income and paying remittances back home. Not everyone is paying remittances, and some are receiving them as an income.

Rising food prices was mentioned most often as an urban threat. This threat is driven by national developments. During the last couple of years, the growth of the South African economy has decreased. The GDP real growth rate decreased from 3.5% in 2011 to 2,5% in 2012 and 1.9% in 2013 (Worldbank). This decreasing economic growth is reflected in the rising food prices, companies closing down and retrenching and because of that also a lack of job creation. Even though in the street interviews I asked about increasing food prices, it is not just the food prices that are rising. The price inflation also affects fuel prices and the costs of rent, the municipal services and education (Respondent (33) nr.16; (24) nr.31). All these price changes together can form a big risk for the households in the inner city.

8.1.1 The impacts

The thing that causes problems is that the prices are rising, but the wages stay largely the same (Respondent (24) nr.31). As a result, people can't cover all their costs of living anymore and they get stuck in their budget. They have to lower their standards of living and the flexibility in their financial situation reduces. This reduced flexibility means that they are also more vulnerable for unexpected expenditures like funerals or theft of goods. Especially since many people are not insured for anything: in the City of Tshwane, 74,2% of the population does not have a health insurance (City of Tshwane 2013). This is close to the results of the

street interviews, wherein only 11 of the 34 respondents said that they had a health insurance. To deal with the expenses of food, respondents explained that they change their eating habits by focusing more on the basic needs and having a less diversified food pattern (i.a. Respondent (33) nr.16; (36) nr.33). Food insecurity also becomes a bigger risk: 12 respondents said that during the last year, there were times when their household did not have enough food to eat.

Besides the food prices, fuel prices are also rising. This is not only affecting the costs of owning a car, but also the costs of travelling with public transport. Taxi's are raising the prices for the trips, but when prices go down, they will not lower their prices. The same goes for the rent of the housing in the inner city:

"The flats out there are not government subsidized. The rent is market-related. You find that in most of these instances, the rent is more than their income. So what will they do? They just crop up with the people so that they at least can have an accommodation."

(YCH)

This causes overcrowding in the flats, which subsequently is creating health problems and an unsafe environment for the children. When living together with multiple family members and even strangers, there is a growing risk for children to be exposed to abuse (BDC & YCH). Also the costs of municipal services are rising through the years. When households are not able to pay the bills, the municipality will shut down the services, which means that sometimes people can't get electricity and water. At last, the homeless people are also affected by these price changes. Not only since their budget is often the most limited of all, but also because people will be less willing to give money to the cities' poor (Respondent (27) nr.28).

8.1.2 Coping strategies and solutions

In the theoretical framework I posed the question whether poor people actually develop coping strategies to improve their resilience to risk or not. When asking the respondents in the streets how they dealt with their hardships, the answer often sounded: "There's nothing to do about it. You just live with it." In many cases people are limited in using their agency to improve the situation or protect themselves against risks. For example when there is a lack of food or a household loses an income due to sickness, people are often not in the position to do anything about it. In many situations, the existence of coping strategies of households should not be taken for granted. In the case of this research, we can agree with the statement of Pelling and Wisner (2009) that often people are consumed by the immediate demands of survival. Small adaptations, like changing the shopping list, do appear but there is no active

development of strategies due to powerlessness. So in these situations, resilience is very limited since people don't have the capacity to react or adapt much to the hazard stress. This does not only apply for financial shocks, but to all urban risks when a household has limited resources to improve the situation.

Even though in many situations coping strategies are absent, some forms of coping can be identified. Sharing a living can be seen as a coping strategy. One lady (43) was running a household with three kids and making a living from the income she got from her market stall. She told us that her sister supported her family in times of need:

When for a moment, she was not able to provide enough food for her three kids, she would send her kids away to their aunt for a while. Then their aunt would provide for them for a couple of days. Until the point when she had enough income again and then the kids would come back.

(Respondent 24)

People also decide to share accommodation so rent can be paid together. They share the rent with family members or even with strangers to keep the costs down. Respondent (25) nr. 5 explained that she was living with extended family members in the inner city. Her family was providing for her since she hadn't been able to find a job yet. A street vendor, respondent (40) nr. 13, explained that he participated in an informal funeral cover that he arranged with his friends. He said that they save money together every month. These informal insurances exist in different ways and are a collective way of building resilience to financial shocks.

"Insurance groups", they call them societies: a group of people coming together and bringing a certain amount of money monthly. They give each other turns to get an income on the money brought by all the members. This enables them to have a fixed amount of income on some months.

(Galaletsang)

We can conclude that in coping with financial problems, social capital plays an important role. Solutions are often found by getting support from friends and family. Another way to cope with financial problems is by creating an extra income through informal trading. Small scale informal trading is a popular way to get an income without a job. People practice informal trading as a temporary solution or to have an extra income resource (Respondent (33) nr.16).

Very creative ways to cope with unemployment and still make a living can be found in the lives of the very poor and homeless people. When driving around in the city they will show you the empty parking places or wash the front window of your car to get a small income. Some make up funny stories on paper plates or gather trash at the robots.

"The bigger masses that won't settle for crime will only be left to be stricken in poverty."

(Galaletsang)

Another important coping strategy is the use of drugs and crime (SDD, YCH). They form solutions for the poorest who do settle for crime to survive. Using drugs is one of the ways to cope with food shortage, because when people are on drugs, they will not get hungry so fast and just a sweet can be enough (Salvokop counsellor). Crime as a way to make a living also includes the prostitution sector due to its illegal status. Looking at crime and drugs as a coping strategy can be very contradictory because at the same time, it is also one of the biggest urban risks. The fact is that drugs and crime form urban risks for one person, while for the other it is a way to survive and it strengthens their resilience to financial issues. In theory, we saw the two presented as opposites, but in reality, we can find an overlap between the concepts of risk and resilience. For instance, robbery caused many respondents to feel unsafe when going out in the streets at night. For homeless boys, robbery at night can offer them a small income and improve their food security for a while. So risk and resilience should not be seen as two separate sides of one process. Therefore, it is important to look at vulnerability and urban risks with a holistic approach. Then you will find that a factor can change its role and meaning in different situations in the process of vulnerability.



Beggar at the robots in Pretoria.

According to the respondents, the best solution is the creation of more employment opportunities. They would like the government to invest more in the development of starting

businesses, facilitate farmers in food production and to promote foreign direct investments so that the national economy can get a boost and prices remain more constant (i.a. Respondent (24) nr.7; (36) nr.33). When more people in the city have a steady income, this will reduce food insecurity and housing insecurity. Labourers should also earn more according to the labour they do (Respondent (24) nr.31). Besides that, they believe that more employment possibilities will also reduce the crime rates and unsafety in the city. However to achieve this, many believe that the first step is to change the governmental top, so better leadership can step forward to guide the country and its economy (i.a. Galaletsang, Respondent (22) nr.1; (24) nr.3).

8.2 Crime and violence

8.2.1 The impacts

The second urban risk, one that is often experienced as a dangerous characteristic of the inner city, is crime and violence. Even though the absolute amount of incidents decreased from a total of 21.370 incidents in 2004 to 11.799 incidents in 2013, the South African cities are still characterized as cities of violence. Robbery and theft were mentioned by the respondents as the biggest criminal threat in the inner city. Only in Pretoria Central, there were 876 incidents of common robbery in 2013. 8 respondents said that they were robbed during the last year and most often they lost their wallet and cell phone. This happens both during the day and during the night. While almost all other forms of crime seem to reduce during the last couple of years, the number of cases of theft out of or from motor vehicles is increasing (figure 7). For example, robbers attack when cars are waiting at the robots to take bags from the front seats or steal material from the vehicles of construction builders. Besides robbery in the streets, house

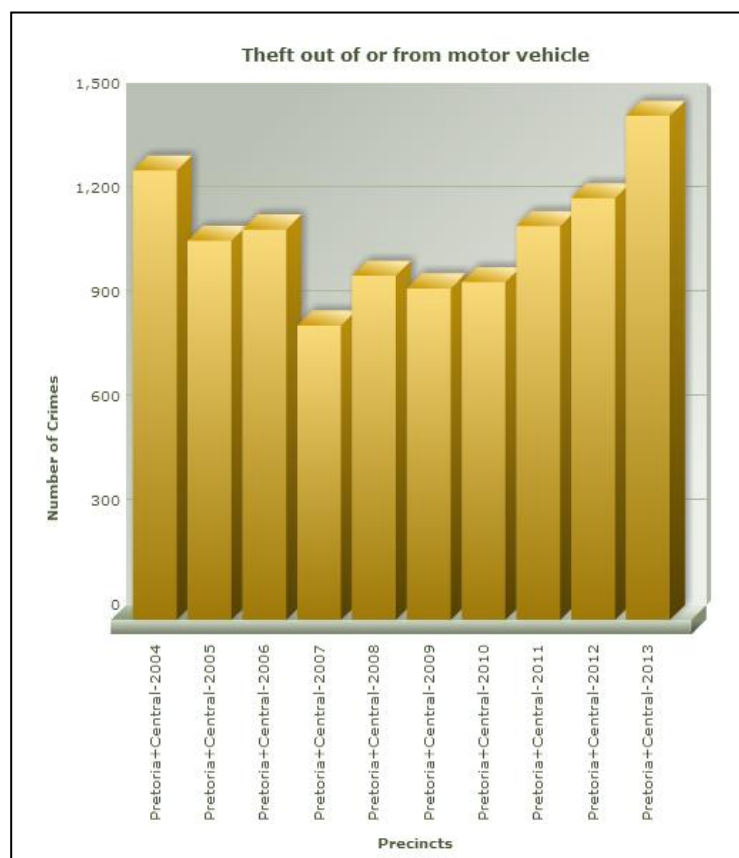


Figure 7: Cases of theft out of or from motor vehicles, from 2004 till 2013. Source: Crime Stats

breakings and car hijacking were also mentioned as forms of crime that occurred frequently. Still, both forms of crime have reduced a lot during the last ten years (Crime Stats).

Especially the homeless people in the inner city are vulnerable to robbery and theft since it is difficult for them to protect their property. Two homeless respondents told about their experiences with robbery:

Sometimes when he returns from his family in the township he brings some clothes with him to Marabastad. Often these clothes get stolen by people around very fast.

(Respondent (23) nr. 20)

A police man once took his ID book and never returned it. This makes it more difficult for him to find employment. Another time, a security guard took 200 Rand from him.

(Respondent (27) nr. 28)

The frequent cases of robbery, house breaking and carjacking are not only contributing to the people's feeling of unsafety, it is also causing sudden expenses. Things that got stolen have to be purchased anew and replacement can be expensive (Respondent (20) nr.21).

Often mentioned by the respondents were the xenophobic attacks that were causing violent incidents in the city during the last years (Respondent (40) nr.2). These attacks are especially forming a threat to the international migrant community. While the unemployment rate is very high in the whole of South Africa, migrants keep coming in from surrounding African countries to search for work.

"We can't even cope with our own population, and then we have this big migration."

(SDD)

The local population is accusing these migrants for taking their jobs. These accusations sometimes result in violent attacks and in some cases even killings of international migrants. "In 2008 these xenophobic attitudes led to mass attacks and killings of foreigners resulting in 62 deaths and the displacement of between 80 000 and 200 000 people" (Hungwe 2013:57) Even though the cases of xenophobic attacks also have reduced during the last couple of years, international migrants in the city are still more living in insecurity than the South Africans. Another perspective on xenophobic attacks as a risk was given by a South African homeless boy (23) living in the streets of Marabastad. He also experienced xenophobic attacks as a threat to his livelihood. Only he explained this threat in a different way:

The foreigners are the ones who are dealing in drugs. If they are leaving because of the xenophobic attacks, it is difficult for him to get the drugs. And he can't live without.

(Respondent 20)

This man got dependent on the presence of foreigners and their drug trade. This is another example that shows that urban risks can't be seen as something very explicit and one-sided. The xenophobic attacks can be perceived as a major threat to the livelihood of foreigners living in South Africa, while for the homeless it is threatening their provision of drugs, which can be their most important resource to survive in the city. This again shows that it is important to get a clear picture of the different functionalities and effects of urban risks.

Some of the respondents blamed the foreign migrants for causing violence and trouble in the city:

The respondent complains about a group of migrants staying in a certain area of Salvokop. They are building shacks and causing problems in the neighbourhood. The police is afraid of approaching them. Once they held a drinking party at the side of the street and someone got killed.

(Respondent 25)

The lady explained that these incidents make it difficult for the families in the neighbourhood to raise their children in a safe environment. Besides, these incidents creates a culturally divided society wherein communities get stereotyped. As a result, prejudice makes it difficult for foreign migrants to integrate in the South African society (Respondent (28) nr.18). This is not contributing to the social cohesion. These issues with foreign migrants are a good example of what Wratten (1995) mentioned as the third area of the characteristics of urban vulnerability: social diversity, fragmentation and crime that is restricting people's mobility.

Many respondents also blamed drug and alcohol addicts for causing trouble in the inner city. Drug abuse is one of the drivers of crime: "The recent escalation of drug use in Marabastad means more residents are at risk of becoming victims of crime such as robberies and smash-and-grabs as the addicts admitted that crime was the only way they could feed their habit." (Sibiya 2013). In South Africa *nyaope* (a mix of heroin and marihuana) and glue are especially popular in the disadvantaged areas and townships (BDC, Sibiya 2013). Since many users are homeless and unemployed, robbery is a way to get money for the drugs. At the same time, these addicts can get more dangerous when they are using.

"Further down in the city we have quite a number of young homeless boys. There is something called nyaope, which is a type of drug. They drink and they use the drugs. They become a safety risk for the families in the area. Because you know you will have breakings, you will have rapes; you will have all sorts of things."

(BDC)

8.2.2 Coping strategies and solutions

When I asked the NGO's how people in the city seem to cope with crime and the unsafe environment, they gave me an answer comparable to the respondent's comments on dealing with financial issues: "You just live with it":

"Obviously all of them, everyone fears these things. So they rather turn a blind eye and just keep away from all those things to avoid being part of them. I don't think they act and report the thing. Everybody just tries to protect themselves."

(GHF)

Crime and violence in the inner city are in the first place affecting the resident's feelings of safety. Respondents explained that they felt limited in their freedom and mobility in the inner city. This particularly means that people are more careful with going out at night and some areas and streets of the city are avoided. When talking to the respondents I found out that some people do find other ways to protect themselves from the threat of crime, besides avoiding certain secluded areas of the city at night. Respondent (24) nr. 31 explained that house breakings form a risk when you are away and you leave your home unattended. That is why he would always make sure that there is someone in his home to guard the house while he is travelling. The homeless respondent (53) nr. 27 told us that he was an easy target for robbery because he is blind. To protect his possessions, he leaves his phone, cash and other valuable stuff with a shop owner while he is out.

I heard people mentioning that the amount of criminal incidents wasn't as bad as a couple of years ago (Respondent (28) nr.19.) Concerning the unsafety in the streets of the city, things have improved during the last years as we saw in the statistics of Crime Stats. However, this is not because the police force got more authority. According to the respondents of the SDD there is even less police than before. Instead, collective forms of action seem to develop:

The community is helping each other in cases of theft because they will catch the thief together and then beat him up. This reduced the crime rates. Also taxi drivers deal with the thieves.

(Respondent (28) nr. 19)

So when in the community, people see someone committing the crime or they suspect someone of committing a crime, they will catch the suspect together. Because they do it in a group, they can't blame one person for the attack (Galaletsang, Lerato House). The benefit is that this form of community justice is scaring perpetrators and it can reduce the crime rates. On the other side, it is unlawful and serious injustice can be done when people get killed without evidence or the right to defend themselves. Forms of collective action can also be noticed between shop owners, who create alliances to protect each other. The development of these forms of collective action is a sign that the government is incapable of offering the people the security they need. Whether it is or it isn't a good development can be questioned. Before, we noticed the importance of social capital in coping with financial issues by sharing a living. Here, we see the importance of social capital again in the form of collective action to fight crime and violence. This shows us that besides financial capital, social capital seems to be the second most important resource in the people's livelihood.

Crime is often driven by the same financial issues as why rising food prices are causing problems. That is why some respondents believed that the creation of more jobs would also reduce the crime rates. Having a way to make a living would make it unnecessary for people to develop survival strategies in crime. Another thing that would improve the situation according to the respondents is the development of a better immigration policy:

Also, there should be more control on the immigration movement in South Africa. Right now, the government doesn't know who's coming in and their identity is not registered. This makes it difficult to track criminals. It's also important to control immigration to avoid survival strategies. Since a lot of migrants are coming in with too high expectations and have to resort into crime after they can't find employment and housing.

(Respondent (34) nr. 23)

Controlling the immigration flows would make it easier to track down foreign criminals and to reduce the amount of desperate people in the city who have to resort to crime to survive. Besides, a better registration system that would allow all migrants to get a residence permit

and identity papers, would also make it easier for them to legally participate in the South African society.

Many people also had critique on the current police force. For them to be able to create a safer environment in the streets, they believe that the police should be given better salaries first. This is needed to avoid corruption and bribery and create a police system that will implement the rules (Respondent (34) nr.23). People also would like the police to be more present in the streets, especially to patrol in the city during the night. Together with better street lightening, people believe this would make the city safer during night time (i.a. Respondent (24) nr.8; (22) nr.14, (21) nr.22).

When talking about problems like crime and violence, sometimes I felt like people were disappointed because they could see some form of social degeneration developing in the society. Some respondents believed that investments in education and social cohesion could improve the way people treat each other in the community. They would like to see more education available on social diversity and how to live together with different cultural backgrounds (Respondent (40) nr.2). This can be very important in a city that exists mainly of migrants.

People who live around the city aren't originally from Pretoria. Some come from different provinces of South Africa so they are bringing different backgrounds at home. (...)It is all about social perceptions and acceptance.

(GHF)



Street pollution

8.3 Infectious diseases

Contracting infectious diseases was the third most often mentioned urban risk by the respondents of the street interviews. South Africa is known for its high HIV rates, but the World Factbook of the CIA mentions 4 other major diseases in South Africa: bacterial diarrhoea, hepatitis A, typhoid fever and schistosomiasis. All of these

diseases can be transmitted through infected water. Besides, tuberculosis is also a significant threat to the health of South Africans. In 2002, almost 300.000 new cases of tuberculosis were registered. South Africa has also known cholera outbreaks in the years 2000, 2001 and 2003 (WHO). Even though infectious diseases often form a threat to rural communities, there are also multiple factors in the inner city that make the respondents put this urban risk in the third place. There are three factors that I want to highlight: The high HIV rates, pollution and overcrowding.

8.3.1 *The HIV problem, pollution and overcrowding*

First of all, South Africa is very often related to the HIV problem because the country rate of HIV infected is around 30%. The rate in Pretoria is lower, but still 26% in 2010 (CoT 2013). Remarkably, when asking about sickness in the household, none of the respondents told that either they or a household member were infected with HIV. This is surprising since the HIV problem gets a lot of attention in the media and in research. The fact that respondents do not mention it can mean two things. First, it can show that the disease is still rather hidden. This can be explained by the fact that the disease is still much stigmatized in the South African society. Mokgadi (24), a South African friend, explained to me that people are still ashamed of admitting that they are infected. The result is that people don't get treated and this is causing many deaths, taking away parents and breadwinners. Besides that, the stigmatization can also make the treatment expensive. Poor people go to public hospitals, but they don't want to stand in line to get the treatment pills:

"Public hospitals are free, but offer no privacy. So what other people do is that they choose to go to public hospitals in maybe two cities away from theirs, which then is a cost on transport, weekly or monthly, to get this treatment."

(Mokgadi)

So not only talking about the disease seems difficult, getting treatment also forms a big challenge for people who are infected. Another possible reason why respondents did not mention HIV infection as a health problem could be because in their experience, it is just not the biggest threat. Through the use of popular media, HIV infection is launched as one of the world's biggest health problems. It is possible that in relation to South Africa's high infection rates, the disease is very much stereotyped. Other health issues can form a much bigger threat in the experience of the local community. So drawing from the research results, instead of the much discussed HIV problems, the second and third factor seemed to be a bigger health threat to the people. I will discuss these factors now.

McMichael (2000), professor of epidemiology, explores health issues in urban environments of development countries. He states that, because of rapid urbanization, cities become gateways for infections. "Crowding and unsanitary conditions are important amplifiers of the transmission of infectious diseases: many infectious diseases thrive where there is a lack of water, and inadequate drainage, sanitation and solid waste removal." (McMichael 2000:1120). Here we see the relevance of the factors of overcrowding and pollution. Also the migration dynamics form an important factor in urban health issues. Rural to urban mobility can offer infectious diseases spreading opportunities. "Research in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa, has shown that the vector-borne disease schistosomiasis is spreading to urban areas through the migration of the rural population to informal settlements around the cities." (McMichael 2000:1120, Johnson and Appleton 2005).

The second factor that I like to elaborate is the pollution of water, air and the streets in the inner city. Waste is dumped in the streets, causing a bad smell. Partly, this is caused by homeless people, who use the streets as their living environment and hence also as their toilet and waste bin. Besides, there are the industrial activities causing pollution in urban areas (McMichael 2000). This is causing health risks both for the homeless people and for the rest of the inner city community. Most of the major diseases in South Africa are waterborne diseases, and also clean water from the tap is not always assured (Respondent 40 nr.13).

It is difficult to drink the water and cook with clean water. The water that comes out of the tap is sometimes brown. Therefore, they cook it first before they drink it.

(Respondent (20) nr. 15)

Also in this situation, homeless people are obviously more vulnerable. They are even more limited in their access to clean water, even for basic things like bathing or drinking water. Both street pollution and water pollution can cause infectious diseases. Air pollution is caused by the high amount of traffic in the inner city and also forms a health risk (Respondent (36) nr.33).

A last factor, that was more often mentioned by NGO's then by the respondents, is the problem of overcrowding. In the inner city, there is a lack of proper affordable housing that people with a low income can afford. Sharing a flat unit with others is a solution to financial limitations but it can also increase the health risk. When too many people are living in a small place, this can cause outbreaks of infectious diseases and it spreads easily (YCH, BDC).

Just like crime and violence, the risks of infectious diseases are very interrelated with financial issues in the city. We can notice this from the consequence that families can lose breadwinners because stigmatization of HIV makes treatment difficult. Financial issues are the reason why the health risk increases in case of overcrowding, and financial issues are the biggest consequence when sudden expenses appear from hospital visits or funerals. In the theoretical framework I mentioned the importance of a holistic view on risk: a variety of interrelating risks are interacting in the urban sphere and this should be taken into consideration when mapping urban risks and vulnerability. So we should not look at financial issues, crime and health risks as separate factors affecting the livelihoods of the inner city community. Instead, one risk reinforces the other for example when financial risks are forcing families to live together in small units. In this urban case we find that risks like crime, infectious diseases, overcrowding and xenophobic attacks are all directly related to financial issues, which are caused by the high degree of commercialisation and income dependency in the city.

8.3.2 Solutions

The respondents would like the government to contribute more in fighting the issues of pollution and overcrowding. They should run the street maintenance service more smoothly and on time to make sure that bins don't get too full and cause a bad smell and a mess in the streets (Respondent (28) nr.19; (19) nr.30). They suggest that more people, or even the homeless, could be employed to pick up trash in the city. Respondents also mentioned that they would like the government to invest more in the renovation of houses or creation of more proper cheap housing (i.a. Respondent (22) nr.1; (22) nr.14). This would reduce the problems of overcrowding and it would also reduce the related health risks. According to two respondents, air pollution was caused by the high amount of traffic that is present in the inner city. Air pollution and the subsequent health risks could be reduced by improving the public transport possibilities in the inner city (Respondent (24) nr.8). This way, the use of private cars could be reduced.

Remarkably, some respondents also emphasized the role of the community in reducing health risks. Concerning the risk of HIV infection, they reckoned the community's responsibility:

This isn't something that the government can control. The community should be responsible for this and control it better themselves.

(Respondent (24) nr. 31)

So instead of expecting the government to do something about it, they believed that changing the personal behaviour of the people was a first step. Now we discussed the most important urban risks: financial issues, crime and violence and infectious diseases. To get a better understanding of the whole system and the drivers of urban risks and vulnerability, I will explore the underlying root causes that I found while doing this research, in the next chapter.

9. Looking at the vulnerability context

9.1 The main underlying root causes.

In the sustainable livelihoods framework, the livelihood assets are forming the core. Next to it, the framework presents the transforming structures and processes. These are "the institutions, organisations, policies and legislation that shape livelihoods" (DFID 1999). They are forming the context that is influencing people's access to

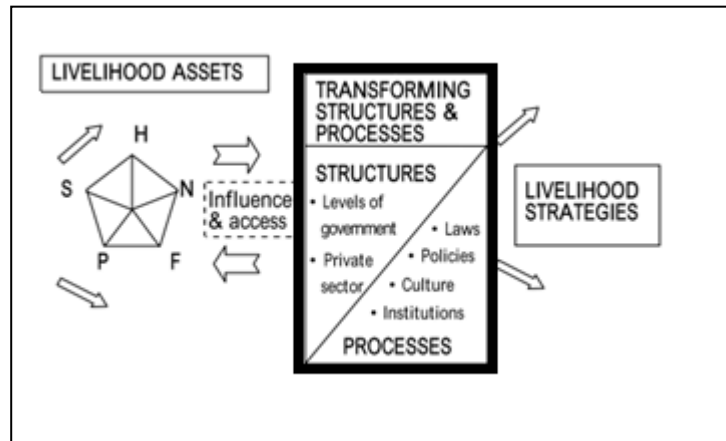


Figure 8: Transforming structures & processes. DFID (1999)

assets and their ability their ability to develop it. This context is also a part of the system where I found some of the underlying root causes of the vulnerability of the inner city community. First of all, there is the national economic market that is one of the main causes of the financial issues. Secondly, there is the process of social degeneration. Both the dynamics of the national economic market and social degeneration can be placed in the box of processes. A third factor that I would like to mention is the governmental system. I will elaborate on each of these factors shortly to explain how they are contributing to the creation and maintaining of vulnerable livelihoods.

9.1.1 The national economy

When talking with the NGO's about the underlying reason of the community's vulnerability, most often they mentioned the problem of unemployment. The high unemployment rates are a direct result of the national economic slowdown. Just like the rest of the world, South Africa is dealing with the effects of the global financial crises of 2007/2008 (Powell and Steytler 2010). The slow growth affects the private sector a lot and results a lack of job opportunities. According to the SDD, the government does prioritize projects that stimulate the creation of employment, but apparently the national economic slowdown is still forming a big obstacle for a true economic reinforcement.

These national economic developments are reflected on the ground when looking at the livelihoods in the inner city of Pretoria. People, who do have jobs, are afraid to lose them in bad economic times. 7 respondents believed that losing their job or funds to study would be a threat in the next year. For the people who make their living by informal trading in the

streets, the income is very dependent on the spending of the community. Economic slowdown will also affect the business of street trading a lot. In discussing the first urban risk I mentioned the link between the economy and increasing food prices. Economic slowdown causes inflation and worsens the purchasing power of the community. At last, because wages are low, it can happen that a certain working sector strikes for a certain amount of time. As a result, the public transport in the city can be down or the municipal services, like the trash pick-up service, are not taken care of (i.a. Respondent (28) nr.4; (24) nr.9). All these issues are indirectly related to the developments in the national and international market.

9.1.2 Corruption

A second underlying reason is the attitude of the leadership and governmental corruption in South Africa. Corruption is a huge problem in multiple levels and sectors of the government. While doing the street interviews, I noticed that the people don't have trust in the government at all. They see bad and unfair politics as one of the reasons why they are more vulnerable (i.a. Galaletsang; Respondent (53) nr.27). Respondent (33) nr.16 even said that even though crime in the streets is a problem, "president Zuma can be seen as the biggest example of a criminal." The problem with the president is that while the people get more and more stuck in their budget due to the economic slowdown, the president is planning a 7th marriage and spending money on extending his homestead. Furthermore, there are a lot of high politicians who are using the money for themselves and a luxurious lifestyle. People get jobs in politics via their contacts. As a result, the government employees are there for the money and they are not chosen because of their skills. This is creating an incompetent top structure in the national government (SDD). Corruption happens not only in the political top, but also in the lower governmental institutions. One example is that a lot of bribery happens when dealing with governmental institutions and the police. For example, you have to pay a bribe to get your driver's license or to avoid fines of security guards and police officers:

One afternoon, I was completing the last questionnaire of the day with Galaletsang while sitting in one of the parks in the inner city. Our next respondent (nr. 21) was a young male student who was spending his free time with a friend. They brought a package of snacks and cheap red wine. Halfway the interview, a security guard came up to us. He pointed at the red wine on the floor and had a conversation with the respondent's friend. I assumed that drinking alcohol in the park wasn't allowed. We continued the interview and after a few minutes the friend walked with the security guard to the side of the park, and the guard left. Afterwards he told us that he gave him 20 rands (+/- €1,30) and they could continue enjoying their red wine.

Furthermore, a lack of trust in the judicial system results into underreporting of crime incidents. "Victims' surveys in South Africa consistently uncover between 60% and 70% more crime than reported by official sources, with upwards of 50% of crime in many serious categories being unreported." (Breetzke and Horn 2006, McCafferty 2003).

Nevertheless, the municipality does pay attention to the social problems of Pretoria and the decay of the inner city. Many good inner city regeneration plans and social development policies have already been written. Unfortunately, there is no budget and infrastructure to actually do something with it (SDD). This way, the South African system is full of rules and policies that are not applied well or not applied at all. This governmental structure even can form a risk in the lives of the inner city residents, for example when unexpected bribes are leading to high costs. When asking the people in Pretoria what support they wish to get from the government they answer: "We don't expect anything from them" (Respondent (34) nr.17). They see the government failing to deliver its promises every year. The trust in the government is far to seek.

9.1.3 Social degeneration and a fractured society

A last factor that is contributing to the vulnerability of the community, that I want to discuss, is the fracturing of the community. First of all, there are a lot of teen pregnancies and young women getting children without being in a relationship. The share of female headed households in the inner city of Pretoria was 48.5% in 2001 (Eramus, 2004). A result of these young pregnancies is that children often end up being raised by their grandparents. From the 15 respondents in the street interviews who had children, only 3 said to be living together with them. For example, it happens often that children stay with the grandparents outside the city,

while the parents move to the inner city to find a job (i.a. Respondent (34) nr.17) .

Galaletsang, my research assistant, told me her own story:

Galaletsang lives with her grandparents, together with her two sisters. When I asked her about her own parents, she told me that they left them when they were young. "My mother lives with her boyfriend in Johannesburg and my father lives with relatives." I noticed that when she contacted them, it was often because she needed money.

As a result, the community exists of many fractured families. When parents are moving to the city, this can contribute to the household's financial resilience. However, at the same time it can create emotional vulnerability for the children. Teen pregnancies cause early school drop-outs because young parents have to raise kids or they have to work. These young people end up without diplomas which limits the development of their human capital and reduces their chances on getting employment.

Galaletsang told me that for a few years ago, it was a trend for high school girls to be pregnant. Peer pressure also plays a role in young pregnancies as the youth is trying to 'fit in'. Others explained that these youth pregnancies have roots in the cultural background of the African people, wherein it is common for a young lady to prove that she is fertile (SDD, Mokgadi). Some say social degeneration is taking place in the community and people are losing morals and family values (GHF). However, young pregnancies should not naturally be judged as bad. In the theoretical framework I mentioned the role of the cultural reality. When thinking of cultural perceptions of vulnerability, the African population may look at young pregnancies as a way of improving their resilience. Like the proof of fertility can maybe increase their chances on a reliable husband. Yet, in reality, the developments taking place in South Africa seem to contribute more to creating social and financial risks, and a vulnerable community.

Young pregnancies are not the only cause of fractured families. Children can also lose their parents for example through HIV infection or crime incidents. This is causing many child-headed families and street children:

"What we also find is a lot of households that are headed by children. That's a serious concern. You find a child of 12 or 13 that leaves school to look after his/her siblings. We see more and more of those cases coming forward on a daily basis, which is quite concerning."

(SDD)



School children

In 1993 a study was done wherein street children in Pretoria were interviewed. "Children interviewed cited the following reasons for leaving home: family violence, parental alcoholism, abuse, poverty, and personal reasons." (Le Roux 1996). This reflects clearly the fracturing of families. The consequence of these fractured families, whether it is due to early pregnancy, HIV, abuse, crime or

other reasons, is that many children don't get the chance to grow up in a stable and secure home and they lack the feelings of family bonds, safety and support. This can be seen as one of the drivers of unemployment, school dropouts and crime. The relation between crime and family structures is also presented by Breetzke and Horn in a study on offenders in the City of Tswane Metropolitan Municipality. Their research results show that factors like large households, young families and parental absence are significantly creating a more favourable environment for offenders (Breetzke and Horn 2006).

Now we looked at three underlying root causes of the urban vulnerability and drivers of urban risks in Pretoria. These are root causes that are probably not only applicable to Pretoria but can also be generalized to other urban areas or even to the national level. At the local level, two very important actors in fighting urban risks are the local government and local NGO's. Both the local government and the local NGO's can be placed in the box of structures in the sustainable livelihoods framework. In the next chapter, I will look at their contribution to reducing urban vulnerability in the inner city of Pretoria and discuss some of their projects and policies.

9.2 The role of the local government and NGO's

9.2.1 The local government

"Unfortunately, further challenges exist in the fact that the CBD has lost its status as the focal point of commercial and office related activity within the metropolitan area. (...)This has

partially led to a gradual process of urban decay within the CBD and surrounding areas."

(City of Tshwane, 2012:20)

The awareness that the inner city of Pretoria is falling into decay was already present at the municipality of the city of Tshwane a couple of years ago. In 2005, they wrote the Tshwane Inner City Development and Regeneration Strategy. Subsequently, in 2011 the Integrated Development Plan 2011-2016 appeared. The goal was to develop a vision and action plan to make the city a vibrant urban node again. The main objectives mentioned in these policy documents are to provide basic services, stimulate economic growth and develop a sustainable community in a multicultural city that will also form an international capital. When comparing the building blocks in the Inner City Development and Regeneration Strategy (2005) with the perceptions of the respondents, some similarities can be found. Included in the building blocks are creating a safe environment and fighting crime, provide residential facilities for all income groups and create a facilitating environment for investors, which stimulates the job supply. On the other side, only one sentence is written about providing shelters for the homeless, while improving and promoting the city's identity seems to be one of the priorities in the rest of the text. Furthermore, they present the idea to "Appoint Safety Ambassadors to conduct visible policing as part of an elite Inner City task force within the Metropolitan Police Department." (p.35). Instead of introducing a new safety team, they could also focus on fighting corruption, strengthening the current police force with education and manpower and the revision and implementation of security policies. In the end, the question is also whether the ideas presented in the policy documents and reports are actually applied in reality. I will shortly look at some of the projects of the local government in Pretoria and look at the gaps that I found.

The SDD emphasized the lack of budget and infrastructure that they have to cope with. This is perceptible when for example comparing the Homelessness Policy for the City of Tshwane (2012) with the stories of the homeless respondents in the street interviews. Some of the objectives presented in the Homelessness Policy are: to provide temporary and overnight accommodation to the street homeless in the form of transit centres; to implement a uniform shelter program at the shelters that includes recruitment, assessment, treatment, skills development and the linking with job opportunities (Homelessness Policy for the City of Tshwane, 2012). In the street interviews, I talked to 4 homeless respondents in total. None of them was making use of a shelter during the night or talked about any kind of transitional support available for the homeless. The homeless and blind man at the age of 53 (Respondent

nr.27) told us that he was searching for housing for him and his wife, but he experienced many difficulties when looking for support and social organizations send him away. Two other directives that are mentioned in the Homelessness Policy are undertaking regular awareness campaigns throughout the city and develop partnerships between NGO's and other actors. When talking to the NGO's, I didn't find signs of any of these directives. Instead many emphasized the lack of support for homeless people, including the SDD itself.

"The city doesn't know what happens on the ground."

(SDD)

Both YCH and the BDC said that they were trying to open a shelter. Instead of getting support from the local government in achieving this, both had difficulties with getting the management over new buildings to run a shelter:

Their administration is not complete and the communication of the information to the organization is bad. This way it is difficult for the organization to obtain new buildings or it just takes a lot of time.

(YCH)

Another program of the SDD is the Indigent Policy (2012). If the members of a household together earn less than 2700 rand a month, and they rent from the municipality or they live in a self-owned unit, they can apply to participate in this program. In this program, the municipality will subsidize a certain amount of water and electricity every month, pay for refuse removal and offer training activities. This is a good initiative since many respondents seemed to have problems with the increasing costs of the municipal services. Unfortunately, this program isn't always applicable in the inner city because many people live in private rented flats or shacks. Besides, participants in the program have to be South African citizens. This means that a very vulnerable group, the foreigners, are already excluded from this service.

The last program that I want to pay attention to is the financial support that is available for young girls having babies. Galaletsang told me that the children grant system sometimes is one of the reasons for young girls to get pregnant. The SDD agreed with this, even though the grant does not level up to the costs of a baby. Suprisingly, according to an analysis of Human Sciences Research Council, there is no relationship between teenage fertility and the children grant (Makiwane 2006). Revising the policy is difficult since in a lot of cases, this children grant is very much needed. Instead they added a project recently, specifically for young

mothers, wherein 300 teenage mothers not only get children grant but also financial support to continue their education. According to the SDD this project is monitored strictly to make sure that the girls actually attend school. If this is true, it can be a sustainable additional project to support the teenage mothers and build more resilient livelihoods.

From the stories of the Social Development employees and the policy documents we can conclude that many good policy documents have been written and some good projects are already running. Yet, the social projects that are running sometimes exclude subgroups that are in need or contain procedures that are not applied well. To really achieve the change needed to reduce the vulnerabilities of the whole inner city community, much more needs to be done. Many policies and ideas are not realized because information is not documented well, there is not enough manpower at the department and most of all, the department does not get enough money (YCH, SDD).

*"Sometimes the frustration is that we're not bringing anything to the party other than plans."
(SDD)*



Flat building, common accommodation for inner city residents.

9.2.2 NGO's in the inner city

The inner city of Pretoria houses a variety of NGO's that are working on different social and urban issues. In some ways, they are filling in the gaps where the local government is falling short in their social service provision. I will discuss some of the projects available at the local social and faith-based organizations.

One of the biggest actors in the field of NGO's in Pretoria is the Tshwane Leadership Foundation, an overarching faith-based organization that started multiple projects to offer support to the vulnerable subgroups in the inner city community. One of their institutions is Yeast City Housing, a housing organization that provides affordable housing. Their core goal is to provide decent housing for the low-income group with rent costs below 750 rand per month (YCH). To prevent the problems of overcrowding, the government should facilitate more affordable housing units. However, because the government is not taking care of this enough, YCH is trying to fill in a part of this

gap. Yet it is a small part because only people with a South African ID can make use of the services of YCH. This is a criterion because of the government subsidies they get (YCH). This again excludes many foreigners from getting social support. With the huge migration flows into the inner city, the international migrants are forming a big vulnerable subgroup that is not reached by the governmental and organizational social support.

Even though it was not one of the main threats mentioned by the respondents in the street interviews, throughout the fieldwork I heard people mentioning the process of social degeneration and I noticed the signs of a fractured family system in the community. Remarkably, multiple NGO's said that they were offering support and training in life skills wherein they supported especially young people in dealing with problems and making decisions. This social life support that is offered by NGO's is apparently often missed by the youth in their direct environment. This is conceivable if many lack the support and safety of strong family bonds.



Many projects target specific vulnerable subgroups like AIDS patients, youth or orphans. For example, the Lerato House is taking care of girls who have been in prostitution, abused or who for some other reason are not able to go back home to their family. They also form part of the Tshwane Leadership Foundation. Still, there are some people who are difficult to reach. For example, many of these organizations put the age limit at 18, just like the Lerato House does. So ones the youth turns 18 they have to take care of themselves again.

The Lerato House. On the upper poster is written: Free HIV counseling and testing on Fridays.

"But especially in Salvokop, we have a lot of street children there. NGO's focus on the street children but ones they turn 18, it's an adult homeless person."

(SDD)

So some target groups slip through the net of social services, like the youth turned 18 and the migrants without South African ID papers.

At last I want to mention the challenges that the NGO's are facing. Besides funding issues and the difficulties in the cooperation with the local government, even providing basic needs can be difficult. Multiple organizations have a drop-in centre where they offer food and clothing for the most marginalized. Yet some people don't want to stand in line to receive food due to pride issues, or because they prefer to be independent. This way, it can be very difficult to reach all the people who are in need. We can conclude that the support offered by the NGO's correspond on some aspects with the vulnerabilities that I found. Yet, the challenges that they are facing, like limited funds or limitations from the government, are making it difficult to optimize the services to the extent that they would like to. So there are still some services absent that seem to be very needed in the inner city.

10. Creating a vulnerability profile

In previous chapters, I presented the vulnerabilities of the inner city community, discussed the projects of the local government and NGO's and took a look at the underlying root causes of the community's vulnerability. Thereby, I tried to focus on the local perspectives on urban risks. In this chapter, I will link this information to the asset diagram that I developed, and the sustainable livelihoods framework, to explore the usability of these models in creating a vulnerability profile and searching for areas of improvement. At the same time, this will provide us a clearer image of the dynamics of the vulnerability of the Pretoria inner city community.

10.1 The asset diagram

12.1.1 *Filling in the boxes*

I will start with restructuring the asset diagram in order of importance, by looking at the most important resources and most vulnerable assets. Because of the urban commercialization, the main resources of the inner city community to make a living are income from a job and remittances. Both assets belong to the financial capital, which is therefore put in the first place. The second most important is social capital. This category has a very important role in remittances, in the coping strategies of sharing a living and in collective action against crime. However, these two most important capitals are very two-sided. They also contain areas where urban risks are having a lot of impact, due to economic slowdown and the issues of fractured families and social degeneration. Many urban risks and obstacles also affect the human capital because of the risks of infectious diseases, xenophobic attacks based on ethnics and the consequences of a low educational level. Natural capital is hardly of any relevance in the urban context so it is placed at the bottom. I restructured the diagram in order of importance and used the green colour to indicate important resources and the red colour to point out assets that are either prone to urban risks or can form an obstacle itself.

Financial resources	income	remittances	insurance	credit	savings
Social capital	family	friends	networks	partner	
Human capital	education level	health	ethnicity	skills	class
				culture	gender
Physical capital	housing	electricity	sanitation	transport	communication technology
Institutional capital	police & security	law	health care	education	infrastructure
					waste assimilation
Natural capital	air	water	livestock	biodiversity	land

Table 3: Asset diagram filled, ordering based on results.

The vulnerability of a household is dependent on their ability to develop and use a diversity of assets. Moser said: "The more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people's assets, the greater their insecurity." (Moser 1998:3). So the access to a diversity of resources contributes to a sustainable livelihood. In the case of the inner city community of Pretoria, the most important assets are focused within the category of financial capital. Because of the economic slowdown, increasing food prices and high unemployment rates, this is also the capital where the main urban risks hit, causing the biggest vulnerability of all. Social capital is very important when coping with financial issues and crime. At the same time, the developments of fracturing families and social degeneration are eradicating the social capital. From this diagram we can conclude that both the financial and the social capital are important in the making of a livelihood, but at the same time they also form very unstable resources. The instability of the main resources and the lack of diversified resources explain the vulnerable status of the households.

10.1.2 Identifying areas of improvement on the household level

As I showed, an asset diagram can be useful to identify the most important resources of a livelihood, find the areas where the urban risks are having the biggest impact and this way find an explanation for the limited resilience of households. When you combine the two, it is also possible to search for possibilities to improve resilience on the household level. In this urban case, financial capital is very important and it will also remain important. The

vulnerability of this capital could be reduced by developing other assets within the same category. For example by providing affordable insurances and easy saving possibilities for the less privileged. This can strengthen the financial capital of a household and improve their resilience because people will be able to deal with shocks towards other income resources better. The projects in life skills that the NGO's offer could also be extended for example to schools, to support young people in strengthening their social and personal development. Now I used the interviews with the local population to fill in the asset diagram and look at its usability, but this diagram focuses on the resources only on a household level. To get a clear picture of the whole system of vulnerability it is important to also take the contextual processes into consideration.

10.2 The vulnerability context

10.2.1 Filling in the boxes

Now we discussed the livelihood assets, we can place the diagram in the bigger image of the sustainable livelihoods framework. Here, we can also pay attention to the context and look at the usability of the sustainable livelihoods framework.

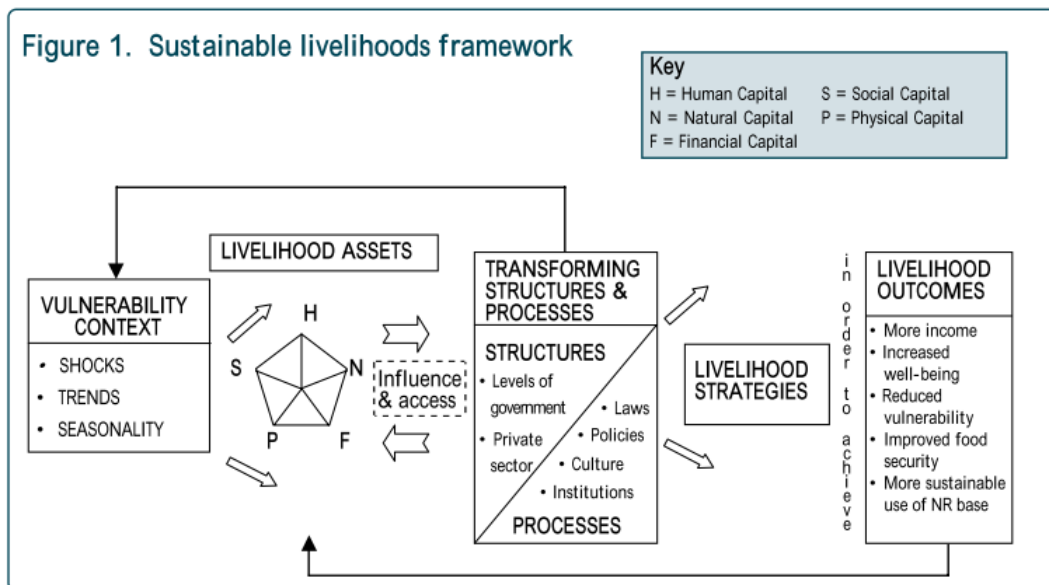


Figure 9: Sustainable livelihoods framework. Source: DFID (1999)

I already discussed the role of some transforming structures and processes in the vulnerability of the inner city population before, because this is where some of the root causes of the community's vulnerability could be found. The influential processes that I mentioned before are the national economic slowdown and the social degeneration in the community. I would like to add to this the process of international immigration. The big amount of international migrants moving to the inner city is causing pressure on the social cohesion, environment and

urban facilities like housing and employment. The structures that we saw are most affecting, are the incapable governmental system in general and the local government (the municipality) and the local NGO's. We saw that the projects and policies of the local government and NGO's are targeting some urban issues that are also experienced by the inner city population, but still leaving some important gaps.

According to the framework, these transforming processes also form the shocks, trends and seasonality wherein the urban risks can appear. In this case study, I did not notice the role of seasonality in the main urban risks. Shocks and trends however can be found in this case study. Shocks are often unexpected and sudden. Shocks that could be identified in the life of respondents were the death of a family member, the loss of valuable goods due to theft or the loss of a job. The process of national economic slowdown manifests itself in a long lasting trend that has taken place also on the international level during the last couple of years. Galaletsang also mentioned the trend of a few years ago, when many high school girls got pregnant. Also statistical data shows that xenophobic attacks formed a trend for a certain period of time. This trend can be linked to the process of social degeneration.

10.2.2 Improvement possibilities

The usefulness of the sustainable livelihoods framework shows in the fact that, if you fill in the framework, it gives you a clear image of the whole system of vulnerability and you can find underlying root causes that are affecting people's access to resources. Just like the asset diagram, you can identify areas of improvement. This time we don't focus on the household level but we can use the model to search for improvement possibilities in the bigger system that could be addressed in government policy or the projects of local social organizations. One area of improvement, that was already mentioned by the respondents, is the national immigration policy. The development of a better controlled immigration policy by the national government can lead to: a better population registration; a more precise assessment of the local population to develop social policy; diminishing of the pressure on urban facilities; easier ways to fight crime; the reduction of crime as a survival strategy and better integration of incoming immigrants.

The area of livelihood strategies maybe contains possibilities for the local NGO's to work on. We saw that within the community, collective forms of action arise when dealing with shocks. When these collective forms of action are controlled and guided by institutions, it can improve the resilience of households in an organized and legal way. For example,

security measures can be developed by creating agreements on a ward or street basis, to easily identify criminals, warn each other and warn security institutions or the police. Another opportunity to build resilience for households can be found in the idea of informal insurances. When this is organized and guided by an organization, it can offer solutions to financial shocks on a very small-scale basis and in a cheap way.

10.2.3 Critical remarks to the framework

Even though the sustainable livelihoods framework gives you a better understanding of the whole system, a few things should also be taken into consideration when applying it to a certain case study. Firstly, a critical approach to livelihood strategies is important. In the case of vulnerable livelihoods in the inner city of Pretoria, I found out that in some situations, households don't consciously develop livelihood strategies to cope with the everyday urban risks. Multiple coping strategies could be identified but there are also situations wherein powerlessness has the upper hand. In these cases, the people's agency can be suppressed by the influence of external factors. The same goes for livelihood strategies, which should therefore not be seen as naturally present in every situation.

Secondly, the importance of translocality is not included in the model. Especially in communities that exist of many migrants, livelihoods often expand over multiple localities that can reach to rural areas and even other countries. I included the role of translocality in my street interviews by also paying attention to the household 'back home'. Besides research, the role of translocality should also be taken into consideration in the development of projects and policies to build community resilience. For example, when breadwinners in the inner city have better chances to employment, it's easier for them to provide for their children back home, and when there are many people in the townships with a funeral and medical insurance, this can reduce the sudden expenditures of the working class in the inner city. What's also important to notice, is that translocality does not necessarily contribute to a household's resilience. Remittances can lead to more financial security, but the fact that a family is dispersed over several places can also increase a household's or even community's vulnerability. The impact of urban risks are able to reach out to townships and rural communities and being apart can also worsen family bonds.

Thirdly, the sustainable livelihoods framework presents the five capitals as the core of a livelihood. The importance of the capitals can vary a lot dependent on the context of a community. Factors like cultural background or a rural or urban environment play a big role.

We saw that natural capital has hardly any meaning in an urban community and is therefore not really relevant to study. An asset diagram like the one I used can give a better insight in the relevance of the several capitals.

At last, like I explained before, there is a very thin line between risk and resilience. In the theoretical framework, I explained that risk is the external side of the process and it is in interaction with resilience, the response side of the process. So the two are presented as opposite concepts. However, in reality it appears that these two are not always separated and sometimes overlap. Important factors cannot always be identified as either risk or resilience. Instead, some factors can have a different meaning for different households or individuals, and crime is a good example. So instead of viewing them as opposite processes in the same system, the two should be seen as interwoven in one system.

11. Conclusion

In this thesis I presented an insight in the complexity of the urban vulnerability in the inner city of Pretoria by looking at its people, their livelihoods and the surrounding system. I used the concept of vulnerability as the main point of view with the sustainable livelihoods framework as a backbone. This made it possible to discover the importance of factors like social networks, cultural background, ethnicity and the political system. The concept of risk was also placed in the urban context, where we saw that natural hazard has hardly any meaning, but economic threats even more. The developments of decay in the inner city of Pretoria since the end of the apartheid regime are making this South African city an interesting case for the study of urban vulnerability. A vulnerability profile of the inner city can contribute to fighting the socio-economic problems that the inner city is facing and to the development of future city regeneration plans. While exploring risk and vulnerability in the inner city of Pretoria, I tried to keep the perspective of the residents as the main reference point. With the sustainable livelihoods framework and the asset diagram as a backbone, this thesis explores how the households in the inner city of Pretoria experience risks and vulnerabilities and how they deal with the threats and issues.

This inner city community is characterized by a big diversity that can be explained by the fact that it consists of many migrants. Many have a job in the centre of the city and many others are unemployed but busy searching for opportunities. Income from a job and remittances turned out to be the most important resources to make a living, which reflects the income dependency in the urban environment. The family back home turned out to be very important in the ways that households make a living. Within the inner city community, three vulnerable subgroups could be identified: the migrants because of their ethnicity and lack of papers, the students because of their age and ignorance about the urban environment and the homeless because of their very limited access to resources. These vulnerable subgroups can be seen as evidence that urban development research based on only the financial factor does not suffice.

The most experienced urban risks by the respondents did not differ much from the expectation about what would be the biggest urban threats. According to the respondents, the rising food prices and economic slowdown were the biggest threats to their livelihood. Which is rational because of the high commercialization in the inner city and the international

financial crisis of 2007/2008. The national economic slowdown was often mentioned as the biggest underlying root cause of urban risks. The second most experienced urban risk, crime and violence, can not only be viewed as a risk, but is mostly also a coping strategy for many unemployed and homeless. This again reflects the complexity of urban vulnerability but it also shows overlap between the concepts of risk and resilience. The third most experienced urban risk, contracting infectious diseases has its threats in street and water pollution, and in over crowdedness. The HIV problem turns out to be either less experienced as a risk than expected, or still a taboo and very much stigmatized. The financial issues seem to be a core problem, forming the driver of many other urban risks like crime, overcrowding, infectious diseases and xenophobic attack. When looking at the projects of the local government and NGO's, we saw that the local government lacks capacity and budget to fully implement its new rules, policies and visions and work together with the local NGO's successfully. As a result, not all people in need are also reached by the social services.

The importance of financial capital also showed when the asset diagram that I developed was filled in with the results. Social capital got its importance because of its relevance in remittances and coping strategies like sharing a living and collective forms of action. The asset diagram supports in structuring the most important and most vulnerable resources on a household level. This diagram gets us to the conclusion that the vulnerability of households in the inner city can partly be explained by the fact that there is a lack of diversification in the resources, and the most important resources are at the same time also very unstable. Subsequently, the asset diagram gave the opportunity to find improvement possibilities on the household level. Some very relevant factors in the process of urban vulnerability can be found in the contextual structures and processes. Relevant structures in this case are the local government and NGO's. In the future, these two need much better joint cooperation and more capacity and budget because right now, they are leaving gaps in their services and some vulnerable groups slip through the social service net. One of the root causes of the community's vulnerability can also be placed in the contextual structure: corruption in the different government levels. This is leading to an incapable government structure, policies that are not applied and the loss of people's trust. The two other root causes: fracturing society and the economic slowdown, can be placed in the contextual processes. The sustainable livelihood framework helped us to get a clear picture of the whole context. Just like the asset diagram, it can be used to find areas of improvement, but then on a broader level. However, I mentioned four critical points that need attention. When making use of the

sustainable livelihoods framework it is important not to take livelihood strategies for granted. In many situations, people's agency is overpowered by external factors and active coping strategies are not present. Secondly, translocality has to be taken into consideration. Third, we should realize that the livelihood capitals can differ a lot in relevance dependent on the context. At last, it is important to realize that risk and resilience can be overlapping factors in reality.

The results of which urban risks are most experienced as a threat, turned out not to be very much surprising. As expected, livelihoods in the inner city are very much dependent on financial resources. However, looking at how people make a living and how they cope with risks and shocks, this research gives us a better insight in the dynamics of vulnerability and urban development problems. We found out that in reality there can be a thin line between risk and resilience. Furthermore, it is important that the translocal existence of urban households gets enough attention in further research in urban vulnerability. Especially in the development of urban socio-economic policies this insight can contribute to the creation of a resilient urban society. I do believe that the voice of the local people should always form the core focus. As we saw, a lot of media and research attention to an issue like HIV, can launch it as one of the biggest health problems, while other health issues can be experienced as just as threatening to the local population. Both an asset diagram and the sustainable livelihood framework can be very useful in future research when adapted to the specific case study. In research on urban vulnerability they can be good instruments to map vulnerability and structure the relevant factors. Subsequently, they can be used to search for areas of improvement for the local government and NGO's to work on. In the case of Pretoria, and other South African cities, I hope that in the future the government and community will find the resources, manpower and will to actually do something with the many opportunities of improvement.

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13. Appendices

Appendix 1: The community questionnaire, used for the street interviews.

Questions for interviews with people living in the Pretoria inner city

Date: _____

Place: _____

Introduction

I am a Dutch student studying International Development at the University of Utrecht and presently doing an internship at the CSIR (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research). As part of my master program, I'm conducting interviews for my research into the vulnerability of people living in the inner city of Pretoria. You are kindly requested to participate in this research.

The results of this research will be used for my master thesis and other publications by the CSIR. Your name will not be written on the questionnaire or be kept in any other records, therefore it remains anonymous. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from this research any time you wish or skip any question you don't feel comfortable answering, without having to provide reasons for doing so.

This questionnaire will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete. Do you agree to participate in the research?

Personal information

Respondent is female / male

In which neighbourhood do you live?

- Salvokop
- Pretoria Central/CBD/Pretoria inner city (east of Eskia Mphahlele and west of Nelson Mandela Drive)
- Asiatic Bazaar/Marabastad

Of which race do you consider yourself: Black White Asian Coloured

Other: _____

What is your marital status? Single Married Divorced/separated

Widow/widower Other _____

How old are you? _____

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

What are your main reasons for deciding to live in the inner city of Pretoria?

How long have you been living in the inner city of Pretoria?

_____ years _____ months _____ weeks

How many other people live in the same unit as you? _____

What does your urban household set-up in the city look like (this refers to the people you live with here in the inner city in a unit/flat)?

- I live on my own
- I live with my spouse/partner
- I live with close relatives/friends
- I live in a commune/hostel/student accommodation with shared facilities
- I share a unit with other individuals/families who used to be strangers to me, but now we share resources and function as a household
- I share a unit with people who are total strangers to me
- I am homeless
- Other _____

If you have children, do they live with you?

- Don't have children
- Yes, they live with me
- No, they don't live with me

Do you also have a household back home (rural/another city/township/another country) that supports you/ depends on you for a livelihood?

- No
- I am mostly dependent on my household to support my livelihood
- I am supporting my household's livelihood – they depend on me

If yes: where do they live (name of the village/town and province/country)?

Which household is your main dependant/supporter for a livelihood – your household here in the inner city or your household back home?

- Inner city
- Back home

(All the questions below about their households refer to the household that are most dependent on you, or you on them.)

In which ways is your household depending on you/ you on them for a livelihood?

Urban risks

Which urban risks in your everyday environment do you feel are most threatening to your livelihood? (A risk is something external to your household, over which you have no control.)

Apart from the risks mentioned above, which other risks mentioned below are a threat to your livelihood?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Company closing down/retrenching | <input type="checkbox"/> Air, water, soil or street pollution |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Economic slowdown | <input type="checkbox"/> Public transport strikes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Eviction | <input type="checkbox"/> Poor quality housing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Xenophobic attacks | <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of health care facilities |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Increase in food prices | <input type="checkbox"/> Crime and violence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Social degeneration in the community accidents | <input type="checkbox"/> Death or injury due to traffic accidents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Contracting HIV, TB, cholera or other infectious diseases | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of basic municipal services | <input type="checkbox"/> Fire |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Floods | <input type="checkbox"/> Political turmoil |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cultural expectations and traditions | <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of educational facilities |

Of all these risks, which are the three most serious threats to your livelihood?

In what ways do these three risks threaten you and your household's livelihood?

1.
2.
3.

In your opinion, what can be done to reduce these threats?

1.

2.
3.

Employment status

Which of the following best describes your present employment status?

- Studying
- Working full time
- Working part-time
- Unemployed and looking for work [*go to part E, question 30*]
- Unemployed and not looking for work [*go to part E, question 30*]
- Keeping house or raising children full-time [*go to part E, question 30*]
- Retired [*go to part E, question 30*]
- Other _____

[If employed or studying]:

What kind of work/study do you do?

How long have you been holding the job/studying?

Where is your job/studies located?

During the last 3 years, were there periods that you were unemployed or for other reasons unable to work/study? Yes / No

[If yes to previous question]:

What were the reasons for your unemployment/ inability to study?

--

How did it impact you and your household?

How did you and your household cope with these impacts?

[If no to question 24]:

Do you think that losing your job/funds to study is a threat in the next year? Yes / No

If yes, why do you think so?

Unemployment

[If unemployed/retired or keeping house]:

Before you became unemployed/retired/keeping house: what kind of work did you do?

What are the main causes of your present unemployment/decision to retire or keep house?

How long have you been unemployed/retired/keeping house? _____

[33 and 34 only if less than 3 years in previous question]:

How does the loss of income impact you and your urban/rural household?

How do you and your household cope with these impacts?

[35 and 36 if unemployed]:

What do you think are the main constraints for getting employed in the next few months?

What support do you need to improve your chances of getting employment?

[if yes to question 20 'Unemployed and not looking for work']:

Why have you given up on looking for work?

Financial situation

What is your main source of income? _____

What, and how much, is your total income before taxes and other deductions, on average in one month, including from salary, rent, remittances, grants, mini loans, bursaries, etc.

Salary/bursary	Rand
Social grant/pension	Rand
Receiving remittance	Rand
Mini-loan	Rand
Rental income	Rand
Other	Rand

- Don't know
- No response

How much of your income do you spend on the following things:

Housing	Rand
Food	Rand

Transport	Rand
Municipal services (electricity, water, sanitation, refuse removal)	Rand
Cellphone	Rand
Education	Rand
Furniture	Rand
Clothing	Rand
Stokvel, burial policies, insurance or similar	Rand
Paying back credit, debts and loans	Rand
Paying remittances	Rand
Entertainment, leisure	Rand
Other	Rand

- Don't know
- No response

During the last year, did you have any unexpected big expenditures that threatened the financial position of your household? Yes / No

If yes: what was it for?

If yes: in which way could the impact of these unexpected expenditures have been prevented/reduced?

Do you make use of any kind of formal or informal financial insurance systems? Yes / No

If yes: can you describe these insurances?

Did your income decrease during the last year? Yes / No

If yes: what were the main causes for this decrease?

If yes: how did your household cope with this decrease?

Do you have reasons to believe that your income will decrease during the coming year? Yes / No

If yes: what could be the reasons for this?

If you lost all your current source(s) of household income, how long could you continue to live at your current standard of living?

- Less than 1 week
- Less than 1 month
- 1 to 2 months
- 3 to 6 months
- 7 to 12 months
- More than 1 year

Housing

Do you live in formal or informal accommodation?

- Formal
- Informal

How many bedrooms are there in your unit/flat/dwelling? _____

How do you pay for your accommodation?

- Paying a homeloan/bond
- Paying rent
- Rent it in exchange for goods or services
- Sub-lease it and use the income to pay the rent
- Occupy without paying rent
- Own accommodation
- Other (specify): _____

Which of the following municipal services are absent where you live?

- Electricity
- Running water in the dwelling unit
- Flush toilet in the dwelling unit
- Refuse removal
- None
- Other (specify): _____

Is there any reason to believe that you will be evicted in the coming 6 months? Yes / No

If yes: what would be the reason for the eviction order?

If yes: where will you find alternative accommodation?

Food security

In which ways do you and your household obtain the food needed for your household? Can you indicate this in percentages?

____ % Buy it in the supermarket

____% I produce my own

____% Begging

____% Food support from institutions

____% Food support from social contacts

____% Exchange food for services

During the last year, were there times when your household did not have enough food to eat?
Yes / No

What were the main causes for this shortage?

How did your household cope with this shortage?

How can food shortage be prevented in the next year?

Mobility

What modes of transport do you make use of in general?

What are the main challenges with regards to transport in the inner city?

Health

Were you, or one of your household members too sick to carry out your daily activities during the last year? Yes / No

If yes, for how long? _____

If yes, did you receive sick leave with full pay? N.a./ Yes / No

If yes, how did it impact on your household?

Do you have a medical insurance/aid or do you benefit from such a scheme? Yes / No

Where do you normally go to receive health care?

Would you remain in the city, or return 'back home' to be cared for if you were too sick to work?

- Stay in the city
- Return 'back home'

Crime

In the past year, were you or one of your household members the victim of any kind of crime or violence in the inner city? Yes / No

If yes: Can you describe these situations?

Which forms of crime are the biggest threats to the wellbeing of people living in the inner city?

Household composition

Did the composition of your household change or fracture during the last year? Yes / No

If yes: in which way did it change or fracture?

If yes: how did this impact you or your household's ability to look after itself?

External support

Does your household get any financial or social support from relatives, friends or other social contacts outside your household, that benefit your household? Yes / No

If yes: Please describe.

Do you receive a social grant or pension from Government? Yes / No

If yes: please specify?

Do you receive support from other institutions or local organisations? Yes / No

If yes, what kind of support and from whom?

Future livelihood

What challenges do you expect to face in the future in providing for your household's livelihood?

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What improvements in your household's livelihood are you striving for?

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How can the following actors contribute to the strengthening of your household's livelihood security?

1. Local government
2. Private sector
3. Charity and other social organisations