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**HOUSING DEMAND AND SUPPLY IN UMLAZI TOWNSHIP:
TOWARDS A POST-APARTHEID POLICY**

BY

BONGINKOSI BURLINGTON GUMBI

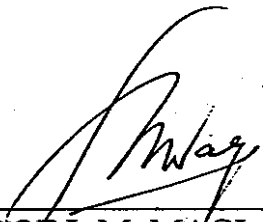
**A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in the Department of Geography
and Environmental Studies at the
University of Zululand.**

**KWADLANGEZWA
DECEMBER 1995**

(ii)

APPROVAL

SUPERVISOR:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'L.M. Magi', is written over a horizontal line.

PROF L.M. MAGI

Department of Geography & Environmental Studies
University of Zululand

DECLARATION

I declare that this research study: *HOUSING DEMAND AND SUPPLY IN UMLAZI TOWNSHIP: TOWARDS A POST-APARTHEID POLICY* is my own work both in conception and execution. All the sources that have been used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

By

Bonginkosi, B. Gumbi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project will not be complete if the direct and indirect involvement of several people is not mentioned. I would therefore like to express my indebtedness and appreciation to the following people:

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A friend Mandla Msomi who helped me with the administering of the questionnaire.

My typist Sphiwe Mkhathswa who spent her valuable time in an attempt to meet the deadline; and

All the respondents who gave me first hand information on housing problems, as they see them, in Umlazi Township.

Finally, I would be failing in my duty if I do not express my sincere gratitude to the Almighty for keeping me alive and healthy throughout the period of my conducting this study.

Bonginkosi Burlington Gumbi
Faculty of Arts
University of Zululand
30 December 1995

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated
to my mother who passed away in
1969 for all the sacrifices she made and
thus enabling me to obtain a good educational
foundation. The dissertation is also
dedicated to all the disadvantaged
communities of South Africa.

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ABSTRACT

HOUSING DEMAND AND SUPPLY IN UMLAZI TOWNSHIP: TOWARDS A POST-APARTHEID POLICY

Housing demand has been explained in this investigation as the amount of housing perceived to be required by the Umlazi populace. Housing supply is usually determined by the rate of demand, which in many instances supersedes supply. In an ideal situation, a standing post-apartheid housing policy should see to it that all residents of South Africa are supplied with conventional housing, in particular those that are poor.

In general, this research inquiry adopted and emphasised the Marxist conceptual framework or approach as its point of departure. This theoretical framework is taken up with an expectation that it would be the most suitable tool for critiquing apartheid capitalism, which has been regarded as the main cause of unequal resource distribution in South Africa. The resulting inequalities have affected the people of Umlazi in their search for housing.

The main objectives of this study were: (a) To discover the underlying patterns and causes of the housing crisis in Umlazi. (b) To highlight the extent of housing demand and supply in the township. (c) To suggest strategies that would help improve the quality of spatially related lifestyles of the Umlazi residents. (d) To contribute towards formulating a viable post-apartheid housing policy. Some hypotheses related to the above stated objectives were formulated and discussed.

The methods used for collecting data were mainly based on non-probability sampling techniques, in which 152 households were used. These were divided into four income classes: the upper middle; the lower middle; the upper working; and the lower working classes. Other sectors that were interviewed were the squatter settlement dwellers and the housing governmental authorities. The analysis of data was accomplished by using statistical techniques that were computer based. Personal computer based programmes such as the Lotus 123 and Harvard Graphics were used to generate graphs and frequency tables from the data collected.

This research study came up with various findings, the most important of which were that poverty was a creation of apartheid and in turn related to the problems in housing at Umlazi. Moreover, unemployment and underemployment were imbalances which affected Umlazi inhabitants and therefore affected their search for housing. Overpopulation within Umlazi was seen as the results of apartheid and showed itself in spatial adversities such as squatting, lack of infrastructure, and over-priced land. An important finding was that the state should be the major provider of housing, with the private sector and other players taking a supporting role.

With varied support from related literature, the broad conclusions which emerged from the study were that: (a) Equalisation of land acquisition and wealth (around employment and resource ownership) could go a long way in addressing the inequalities engendered by apartheid. (b) The state should be the key player in putting together a new housing policy for Umlazi. Other stakeholders such as the private sector, the international community, NGOs, housing experts and the people on the ground should be involved in the formulation of the policy. Finally, this research investigation revealed and concluded that political intolerance and violence in the study area has to be curbed in order to advance housing management and supply.

CHAPTER 1

THE STUDY OUTLINE AND METHODOLOGY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

By all standards, the provision of housing for any society or community is an important subject-matter which will always need to be researched or studied properly. The housing studies (Townsend, 1991; Buthelezi, 1992) that have been undertaken in South Africa and Umlazi Township in particular, have not extensively looked at housing demand and supply for a post-apartheid policy. This chapter seeks to lay a sequence of steps to be followed during the execution of this research investigation. Some of the steps which need to be observed are as follows:

(a) It is important to define lucidly the problem attempted to be addressed in this study. (b) Since each and every study has a unique way of being undertaken this one also has its own character. (c) The methodology described and followed in this study indicates how the investigation was conducted. (d) The sampling procedure adopted has to be clearly pointed out. (e) The objectives set for this study go hand in hand with the hypotheses. (f) The methods of analysis are mainly qualitative in nature and tend to overlap with the sparsely used quantitative techniques. (g) The theoretical discourse used in this study attempts to explore the global housing situation which includes the First World and Third World housing situations (h) The brief reference to the Marxist approach in the study provides a strategy for critiquing the capitalist model. (i) The South African housing scenario lays a foundation for the physical and housing situation in Umlazi. (j) The analysis and interpretation of data is derived from the questionnaires. (k) The employment of a pilot study was intended to gain insight and prepare the way for the final report of this study.

Besides the sequence of steps, mentioned above, which are attended to in this research investigation, there are also important questions and queries which are considered. Although some of these issues extend beyond the scope of this dissertation, an attempt is made to cover sufficient ground within the ambit of this research.

Some of the more interesting questions include delving into the major causes of the housing crisis in the study area. Some of the questions answered are: who is responsible for the supply and demand of housing? Who should take the criticism for the mismanagement and resultant shortage of houses? Who should control the planning and management of housing in Umlazi? Who should be responsible for financing all housing related issues and programmes in the study area. What role should the state, private sector, semi-state organs, NGOs and CBOs play in the housing sector?

A very important issue that is addressed is the legitimate and perceived sufferers and beneficiaries from the housing system. Who are the legitimate inhabitants of Umlazi? Who should benefit from housing programmes? What is the status of the migrants and squatters? Who and what building programmes should be put in place?

Associated with these questions, above, are a variety of variables that impinge on housing, directly and indirectly. To what extent, therefore, does poverty, unemployment, homelessness, overpopulation, political intolerance, crime and violence, loans and subsidies, site and service schemes, site and situation of Umlazi, influence the housing delivery system within the study area?

In order to make sense and order of these issues, they are discussed in this research investigation under four categories of hypotheses. The latter are stated later in this chapter and presented in greater detail in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. The conclusions and recommendations in Chapter 6 are also presented in terms of these hypotheses.

1.2. BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The Marxist approach, as employed in this inquiry, provides a coherent theoretical account of material interest underlying the creation of state-subsidised housing estates for blacks in South Africa (McCarthy and Smit, 1984). It attempts to expose the evils of apartheid and residential segregation.

The divisions that are prevalent within the black working and middle classes are a result of apartheid's 'divide and rule' strategy. The major portion of the country's wealth seems to be a white preserve. The housing constraints experienced by blacks result in social conflicts. The violence that broke out around 1992 between shack dwellers of Q section and hostel dwellers demonstrates the social conflict that ensues in Umlazi.

The dependency theory espouses that the unequal distribution of wealth between blacks and whites is caused by capitalism. The diffusionist theory, on the other hand, which is diametrically opposed to the dependency theory blames blacks for their backwardness as a cause for the poverty that exists amongst them. The Marxist interpretation links the greater demand for housing in South Africa to colonial capitalism which gave rise to apartheid capitalism. It has been observed that the majority of the population in the study area has been affected by apartheid capitalism, by being dependent on meagre wages earned from local industries around Durban. The paternalistic attitude of the Nationalist government in planning for Blacks, and the creation of townships like Umlazi, supports the diffusionist theory of looking upon Blacks as retrogressive, and unable to do things for themselves.

The various housing strategies that are studied from the international and South African situations seek probable solutions to the housing problem in Umlazi township. It is hoped that good lessons could be derived from both the international and South African housing scenario.

1.3. PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

The supply of conventional housing seems to be problematic in Umlazi because it is not proportional with the demand that ensues. The result is that

many people have to satisfy their demand by resorting to informal settling of the land. A situation where there is an oversupply of squatter settlements has created numerous problems. To some community leaders, the violence that exists in Umlazi appears to be a struggle for the scarce resources such as land, housing and water. One of the fundamental concerns of this study is to address such problems.

Another perspective is that the rapid urbanisation that takes place in Durban has resulted in large scale rural-urban migration and the resultant overpopulation of the Umlazi township. This urban in-migration propelled by repeal of the influx control measures and the non-supply of the four-roomed houses since the early 1980s has resulted in the exponential proliferation of squatter settlements in Umlazi. Shack-related problems of environmental despoliation and the outbreak of various diseases have compounded the housing crisis and have lowered the quality of life of the Umlazi residents.

Attempted solutions such as the introduction of home ownership schemes which target mainly the middle class and is also subsidised by the state, has exacerbated the housing demand amongst the proletariat. Further, the introduction of site and service schemes that are left entirely in the hands of the poor aggravates the demand for low-cost housing. A situation where the provision of large scale housing which should be provided by the state, has become imperative.

1.3.1 STUDY OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are derived from the global and South African theoretical housing situation. This research investigation therefore seeks to:

- a) Discover the underlying patterns and causes of the housing crisis in Umlazi Township;
- b) Highlight the extent of housing demand and supply in the township;
- c) Suggest strategies that would help improve the quality of life of the residents of Umlazi; and
- d) Attempt to contribute towards formulating a viable post-apartheid housing policy.

1.3.2 HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses of this study are related to the objectives mentioned earlier. It is anticipated that the empirical analysis engaged later in the study, will either confirm or reject the following hypotheses.

a) HYPOTHESIS I

It is hypothesised that the major cause of the housing crisis in Umlazi is based on poverty which is a creation of apartheid capitalism. The logic or argument behind this hypothesis is that apartheid has created a situation where whites have benefitted and become wealthier at the expense of blacks who have become poorer. Poverty has rendered blacks unable to supply themselves with the cheapest form of conventional housing.

b) HYPOTHESIS II

It is hypothesised that the housing demand in Umlazi will continue to surpass its supply. This continued demand is expected to result in the proliferation of squatter settlements. The present spatial distribution of shacklands on the Umlazi landscape is evidence of the past shortages of conventional housing.

c) HYPOTHESIS III

It is hypothesised that the majority of respondents or residents will perceive the formulation of a viable post-apartheid housing policy as the responsibility of the state and the private sector which have in the past collaborated to exploit the poor.

d) HYPOTHESIS IV

It is hypothesised that the quality of spatially related life of the Umlazi residents could be improved if the squatter settlements are provided with basic infrastructural services. This hypothesis is based on the notion that

the upgrading of the squatter settlements and their recognition as the beginning or part of the formal township could stimulate the improvement of the spatially related quality of life of the Umlazi residents.

On the whole, it is hoped that the confirmation or acceptance of the hypotheses mentioned above could provide this inquiry with valuable information which could lead to the probable resolution of the housing crisis in Umlazi.

1.3.3 DEFINITION OF TERMS

It is essential to operationalise and place in their proper context some of the terms that are applied in this research report. This procedure would enable this study to avoid meanings and interpretations of concepts which are ambiguous and confusing, and therefore, not worthy of application.

a) HOUSING

According to Conway (1985) housing is explained as the physical manifestation of a social face, a sign of status for the inhabitants, a symbol of progress and modernity. Johnston, Gregory and Smith (1986), on the other hand, define housing as heterogeneous, long-lasting, immobile and an essential consumer good, which is also an indicator of social status and income differentials.

In this study the term 'housing' is used in the sense that the various housing classes demonstrate varying degrees of affluence. The middle class houses are a sign of status for the inhabitants of Umlazi who view such houses as being high up in the hierarchy of housing classes. The bigger middle class houses are a symbol of progress amongst this group. The working class houses which are smaller, and the shack settlements symbolise the poverty of the proletariat. Such houses indicate that the working class is lower down in the social status of the housing classes of Umlazi.

b) DEMAND

Demand could be explained as the individual's willingness and the ability to buy a specific number of products at a given price (Johnston, Gregory and Smith, 1986). Field and MacGregor (1987) also define demand as the present number of separate households, plus increase over the given period in the number of households, due to the natural population increase. The law of demand states that the relationship between price and the quantity demanded is an inverse one (Academic American Encyclopedia, 1992).

The operationalisation of this term in this paper could be linked to the definition by Field and MacGregor (1987) who emphasise the amount of housing required by a population. There is a considerable number of conventional houses that are demanded by the Umlazi residents.

c) SUPPLY

Johnston, Gregory and Smith (1986) define supply as the willingness of individuals to supply specific resources or products at specific prices. In this study it is a desire by the Umlazi community to supply themselves or to be supplied with at least the cheapest form of conventional housing.

The law of supply indicates that the relationship between price of a product and the quantity supplied of that product is usually direct (Academic American Encyclopedia, 1992). It is therefore evident that supply is a response to demand. Supply is determined by the rate of demand. In Umlazi the greater demand for cheaper housing necessitates the supply of low-cost housing on a massive scale.

d) POST-APARTHEID

In order to put the term 'post-apartheid' in its proper perspective it is essential to explain the term 'apartheid'. Upon doing that it could then be easier to explain the term 'post-apartheid' which basically refers to an era after 1990 when the then State President of South Africa Willem de Klerk,

declared apartheid as no longer acceptable as policy and existing law in the statute books.

“Apartheid” is an Afrikaans word which means segregation or separateness. It is the name given to the South African policy of separate development, a rigid system of racial segregation designed to maintain white supremacy (Academic American Encyclopedia, 1992). Apartheid was the brainchild of the architect, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd. Under this policy whites enjoyed the highest standards of living whilst blacks experienced the worst living conditions (Johnston, Gregory and Smith, 1986). Each urban residential space was allocated exclusive occupation to a single group to ensure the perpetuation of almost complete residential segregation by race.

A post-apartheid era therefore refers to a period after 1990 when the laws of apartheid no longer exist. It is a period of democratising all aspects of socio-political life in South Africa, housing included. It focuses on future South Africa without any form of racial dominance by whites or blacks.

e) FORMAL HOUSES

This term refers to the houses that are built in Umlazi according to accepted conventional standards and specification. The ubiquitous four-roomed houses and the so called big houses form the basic element of this terminology.

f) INFORMAL HOUSES

This term refers to the houses that are in a sense built without adhering to accepted standards and specifications. It is housing that is essentially established unconventionally (Hart, 1992). In addition, site and service schemes which offer formal tenure are classified as informal (Hart, 1992).

g) SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

This term is distinct from that implying informal settlements. Knapp (1986) explains this term as being another term for spontaneous settlements, due to

the way in which they spontaneously mushroom within cities. People build homes for themselves on any unused land or marginal area of established cities. Such settlements are also called shanty towns because of the haphazard manner in which they are built (Knapp, 1986). The land in squatter settlements is illegally occupied (Hart, 1992).

In Umlazi there are numerous pockets of squatter settlements which sometimes invade the areas where formal houses are situated. The well known squatter settlements in Umlazi are Malukazi, Uganda, Zamani and Shimora, to mention a few.

h) POLICY

For purposes of this study the term 'policy' refers to a plan or course of action in directing the affairs of housing in a post-apartheid South Africa. It should be understood that policy is strongly shaped by ideology, politics and values, and is the outcome of struggles within organisations, institutes and society in general (New Nation, February 14-20, 1992).

Furthermore, for this study, policy should be guided by the integration of various housing experts and grassroots organisations in the implementation of a post-apartheid housing strategy.

1.4 DELIMITATION

This study is geographically limited to the Umlazi township area. The township is about 4340 hectares and about 25km from the centre of Durban.

A self-administered questionnaire was undertaken mainly in sections N, BB, M, and miscellaneous respondents from shack settlements, especially the M Section squatter settlement, where a large number of shack respondents was interviewed. The four sections which are a microcosm of the larger Umlazi population are divided into socio-economic classes as follows:

- (a) The Upper Middle Income Class of Section N
- (b) The Lower Middle Income Class of Section BB

- (c) The Upper Working Class of section M
- (d) The Lower Working Class of the squatter settlement adjacent to section M, and the miscellaneous shack respondents from other sections of Umlazi.

The interviews of housing managers refer to the Umlazi township housing department which is located at Section W.

1.5. LIMITATIONS

There are numerous limitations that exist whenever research is undertaken in a black township. Some of these are ascribed to the scepticism of black respondents, who tend to view research as prying into their privacy and therefore disadvantageous to them. This became evident during the execution of the field survey. The limitations that come to the fore are as follows:

- a) The predominant application of a non-probability sampling procedure due to political instability in and around shack settlements;
- b) The scarcity of books dealing with housing in Umlazi;
- c) The inadequate population and housing figures that were obtained from the township authorities and office;
- d) The vastness of the Umlazi area and its estimated population of around 1 million, as compared with the 152 respondents that answered the questionnaire.
- e) The non-responses and the incomplete answering of the questionnaire by some of the 152 respondents.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

The instrument of study was basically a self-administered questionnaire. The interviews involved the Umlazi housing department clerks and some of the residents of BB, N and M Sections. Some respondents from the shack settlements were also interviewed.

Data was analysed using computer software which dealt with statistical analysis. The qualitative method of analysis was mainly used. Quantification was used sparingly in an attempt to obtain balanced and valid findings.

1.6.1. THE SAMPLE

Large samples are regarded as having more than thirty observations (Shaw and Wheeler, 1985). Samples were stratified into four distinct housing class categories from which a total of 152 subjects was drawn. Due to the scepticism of the shack respondents and the risks involved in administering a questionnaire amongst the shack dwellers the survey was able to obtain at least 32 responses from each category.

The number of respondents that were interviewed from each housing class was as follows:

- (a) 40 subjects were drawn from sections N and BB especially amongst the respondents who own double storey houses who are perceived in this study as belonging to the upper middle income class. This group earned an income averaging R4 000 per month. Most of the respondents in this class are business people.
- (b) 40 respondents were drawn mainly from section BB and occupied the six-roomed type of houses. They are perceived in this study as belonging to the lower middle income class. The majority of the respondents in this class are professionals with an average income of R2 500 per month.
- (c) 40 subjects from section M stayed in four-roomed houses. This section is viewed in this inquiry as belonging to the upper working class which is financially better-off than the shack dwellers. This class comprises mainly of factory workers and earns an average income of R1 000 per month.

- (d) 32 respondents were mainly from the squatter settlement of section M, and a few shack respondents from other parts of the township. These respondents are considered to fall under the lower working class group. They are mainly factory, casual and informal workers who earn an income below R1 000 per month.

The effect of stratification is to ensure the proper representation of the stratification variables related to them (Babbie, 1990). This sampling procedure is likely to be more representative on a number of variables than would be the case with simple random sampling. The causes for the housing crisis become independent variables, whilst the effects are the dependent variables (Kidder, 1986). In this study apartheid capitalism could be the probable cause of the housing crisis whilst the effect could be the proliferation of shack settlements. So, apartheid capitalism could be an independent variable, whilst the mushrooming of squatter settlements become a dependent variable.

Although non-probability sampling has an element of bias, the advantages that may outweigh the risks involved in not using probability, are convenience and economy (Kidder, 1986). Because of the political situation and the scepticism of black respondents it became difficult to undertake a probability sampling technique. Although this research investigation is basically concerned with non-probability sampling, it should be borne in mind that the elements chosen do represent the characteristics of the entire Umlazi population, in one way or the other.

1.6.2. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The computer is one of the modern instruments for quicker and accurate analysis of research data. This study made use of a personal computer available in the Department of Geography and Environmental studies at the University of Zululand.

Programmes used were the Lotus 123 and Harvard Graphics which produce graphs. Inferential statistics employs programmes of frequencies. Inferential statistics aims at validating research findings of this study. It

shows graphic illustrations and tables regarding representativeness and sample distribution.

1.6.3 COLLECTION OF DATA

Data refers to all the information that is collected during the research investigation. Data collected is classified as follows:

- a) Review of notes and photocopies of readings from various libraries of the University of Zululand (Main and Umlazi campuses), Natal University (Durban Campus), Geography department libraries (Zululand and Natal universities), Town and Regional Planning and Architecture libraries (Natal), and the BP centre library (Durban).
- b) Maps from the University of Zululand (main campus) in the Department of Geography and Environmental studies.
- c) Cuttings from newspapers such as City Press, Sunday Times, New Nation, Sowetan, Ilanga, Daily News, and the Natal Mercury.
- d) Photographs of the township which were taken by the researcher. Photographs from books.
- e) Administering the questionnaire
- f) Interviews with the township clerks and some Umlazi residents.
- g) Word processing by computer.

1.6.4 THE PILOT STUDY

The pilot study was used essentially to test the comprehensibility of the research instrument. This preliminary study can be viewed as the beginning of analysis which is basically in a qualitative manner. It also gives insights that can be tested and verified by the more quantitative techniques (Perry and Perry, 1991).

Most researchers seem to agree that the pilot study provides the adequacy of the sampling frame, the variability within the population to be surveyed, the non-response rate to be expected, the suitability of the method of collecting data, the adequacy of the questionnaire, and the efficiency of the instructions (Moser and Kalton, 1985).

The undertaking of this pilot study sought to test the quality of questions that were to be answered. Improvements on the questionnaire could be done before the beginning of the final study (Babbie, 1990). When the pilot study was undertaken a non-probability sampling procedure was employed to save on time and cost. Twelve subjects were chosen and given a questionnaire to answer questions relating to housing demand, supply and policy making for Umlazi Township. The subjects were divided into four housing classes as follows:

TABLE I.1: HOUSING CLASSES FOR THE PILOT STUDY

HOUSING CLASSES	SUBJECT FREQUENCIES	SECTIONS
a) Upper Middle Class	3	N
b) Lower Middle Class	3	BB
c) Upper Working Class	3	M
d) Lower Working Class	3	CC
12		

The way in which the pilot study questionnaire was administered enabled this research study to be more clear and specific to some of the hypotheses designed for this study. The redesigned and final study questionnaire appears in Appendix B. The initial administration of the closed questions of the pilot study enabled this researcher to realise the need for the formulation of open-ended questions from various answers given by the respondents.

It became possible to identify questions that needed restructuring or cancellation. It became, evident that the closed questions which were difficult to answer demonstrated the need to formulate open-ended questions which appeared to be easy to answer. The respondents were later able to answer the open-ended questions in the final study.

The pilot study also demonstrated the necessity to formulate a Zulu version of the questionnaire. The way some of the questions were answered during the pilot study showed a lack of understanding on the part of the majority of the working class, who had low educational qualifications. Most of the respondents wanted the interviewers to translate the pilot study questions into Zulu because they did not understand English. It became evident that communication-breakdown was going to increase the rate of non-responses during the administering of the final study questionnaire, if a Zulu version of the questionnaire was not formulated.

The pilot study lays a foundation for the in-depth analysis and interpretation of the final study questionnaire. It is clear that without the pilot study it would have been difficult for the researcher to identify questions that needed restructuring. The insights that were gained during the execution of the pilot study contributed to the success of the final research inquiry.

1.7. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

It is essential to highlight the significance of this research investigation if it is hoped that it becomes a success. It is hoped that whatever is discovered could help future researchers who might wish to pursue housing-related studies in black townships.

- a) The study could facilitate the formulation of a future housing policy by making use of combined ideas from the international arena, the South African situation and people at grassroots level, who are the real victims of the housing crisis and who could provide first hand information on the housing problems.
- b) The integration of recommended views from a wide spectrum of housing experts could be a good attempt to resolve the housing crisis not only in Umlazi, but in South Africa in general.
- c) The fact that few researchers have explored a housing policy for a post-apartheid South Africa could contribute greatly to the existing body of geographical knowledge.

1.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter attempts to give a clear picture of how the Umlazi study under investigation was undertaken.

The study uses the Marxist approach as a strategy which has potential to expose the failure of capitalism to deliver housing in Umlazi. The identification of the real causes for the housing crisis which are discovered through the administering of the questionnaire in a qualitative and non-probabilistic fashion could probably reveal significant findings.

This chapter has also succeeded in mapping the methodology that is to be adopted in the execution of this research investigation. What remains to be seen is whether this method of study will succeed in enabling decision makers to benefit from the practical implementation of the research findings.

The practical implementation of this research investigation has to consider and integrate theoretical material that is pursued in Chapters 2 and 3, with the empirical study which is pursued in Chapters 4 and 5 of this study.

A proper scientific exploration of this research investigation will not only result in probable findings, but it could also result in the practical application of ideas in the real world to the advantage of the poor, who are without adequate housing. Finally, this chapter is important as it lays plain the path to be followed on doing research.

CHAPTER 2

THE GLOBAL THEORETICAL HOUSING SITUATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

It has become necessary for this study to pursue a theoretical background to housing in an attempt to put forward a framework towards resolving the housing backlog in Umlazi township. Issues of importance relating to the conceptual frameworks in housing include the exposition of the Marxist and capitalist models, which can be looked at in terms of the global housing situation and the Third World situation.

The philosophical bases of housing have highlighted the Marxist and capitalist approaches because these are diametrically opposed to each other. This study therefore explores the philosophies in terms of global housing, with special emphasis on British housing. The main victims of the housing crisis, which are the poor of the world are also addressed.

In this chapter, the British housing situation which represents the First World Scenario also demonstrates the universality of the housing crisis. On the other hand, the Third World housing situation concentrates on Hong Kong and Peruvian housing schemes as key examples. The notions of "Slums of Hope" versus the "Slums of Despair" (Berry, 1977) explore the need to treat squatter camps as slums worthy of analysis. The chapter continues to refer to self-help housing schemes which are addressed in relation to Third World housing schemes.

The Southern African situation is also briefly introduced in this chapter and is related to the historical evolution of South African urban spaces, which aims to reveal the underlying causes of the housing crisis. Finally, the international aid schemes are described as a means of focusing on attempts to resolve the housing crisis by making use of foreign aid.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS IN HOUSING

The conceptual frameworks may vary in accordance with the objectives of a particular study. As a point of departure, this study has chosen the

Marxist and capitalist approaches because the Marxist approach is a critique of the capitalist model. The capitalist approach is on the other hand viewed in this study as directly related to the causes of the housing crisis in South Africa.

2.2.1 THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASES OF HOUSING

The management of the housing question is often dictated by the dominant socio-political philosophies embraced by current policy and decision-makers (McCarthy and Smit, 1984). This situation has been found to be true to South Africa, under the influence of capitalism. This study seeks to explore some of the philosophical underpinnings associated with housing policy in South Africa. It, in essence, argues that the exploration of the Marxist approach exposes the problems of housing as caused by capitalism. This notion is reflected in the works of Harvey (1973), Millward (1977) and Peet (1977), Johnston (1980), to mention just a few. Most of these writers have blamed capitalism for most of the problems of the city.

(a) THE MARXIST APPROACH

There are many writers who have explored the Marxist approach on housing. This study would like to refer to ideas cited in the works of writers mentioned earlier (Harvey 1973; Millward 1977; Peet 1977; Bassett and Short 1980; Johnston 1980).

Many Marxists seem to agree that capitalism is a necessary passing stage towards a socialist society. They strongly disagree that capitalism is a lasting stage (Bassett and Short, 1980). These two writers (Basset and Short, 1980) continue to argue that Marxism seeks to expose the underlying economic superstructure, which governs legal, political and ideological forms of the economic infrastructure of a society. This study adopts a view that it is the capitalist economic superstructure which is controlled through apartheid which has managed housing for the South African society.

Writers such as Harvey (1973) and Johnston (1980) seem to agree that the dynamics of social change in housing is inseparably linked to a

theory of class and class conflict. Social change is evident within the South African society where a class of workers are in conflict with the class of owners of production, who pay workers meagre salaries in factories, and the resultant poor housing. A situation where the two classes are at loggerheads with each other emerges.

It is evident that the housing crisis in Umlazi is related to the apartheid policies of the past. Lambert, Paris and Blackaby (1978) argue that the whole point of Marxist analysis is the unmasking of something real. In this inquiry it is the unmasking of apartheid capitalism. The role attributed to the state and its various apparatuses is exposed by Marxism. This study therefore argues that when the state ceased to supply four-roomed housing in black townships, it was indirectly collaborating with the private sector to exploit the poor. In the process apartheid capitalism has been identified as being mainly responsible for the housing crisis in black townships in South Africa.

The Marxist approach also advocates that "it is the fundamental responsibility of the government to try to ensure that the people of a country are enabled by one procedure or another to obtain and maintain suitable shelter" (Millward, 1977 : 70)

This study agrees with the argument by Millward (1977) that the state should be the main provider of housing because the poverty of most blacks, in the case of South Africa, is a result of the laws that were promulgated by the state. These laws ensured the unequal distribution of resources within the country's rural and urban spaces. The resource inequities have resulted in the housing crisis.

(b) THE CAPITALIST APPROACH

It is the view of this inquiry that capitalism is fundamental in determining whether the residents of a country are able to afford the cheapest form of housing or not. Though most of the apartheid laws have been repealed by the De Klerk government in the late 1980s, these laws seemed to have only been repealed in principle, not in practice.

It is argued by Harvey cited in Peet (1977) that the poverty of the labouring class is the inevitable product of the capitalist law of accumulation. The capitalist ideology divides the society into owners of production and workers. The capitalist class which owns production controls the labouring class which accumulates profits for the owners of production (Bassett and Short, 1980).

The capitalist appears to purchase the worker's labour on the market in a straight forward exchange for wages (Bassett and Short, 1980). This study argues that the meagre wages usually given, enable the capitalists to accumulate as much profit as they possibly can. The low wages paid by the capitalists are necessary to the survival of the capitalist mode of production (Harvey in Peet, 1977).

It is the view of this study that the forms in which housing is provided are interlinked with the meagre wages paid by the capitalists. These wages do not allow the poor inhabitants to supply themselves with the cheapest form of conventional housing. Furthermore, these wages sustain the capitalist mode of production, and make the majority of the Umlazi population poor. In this way capitalism and its creation of artificial scarcities is directly or indirectly responsible for the housing crisis in Umlazi.

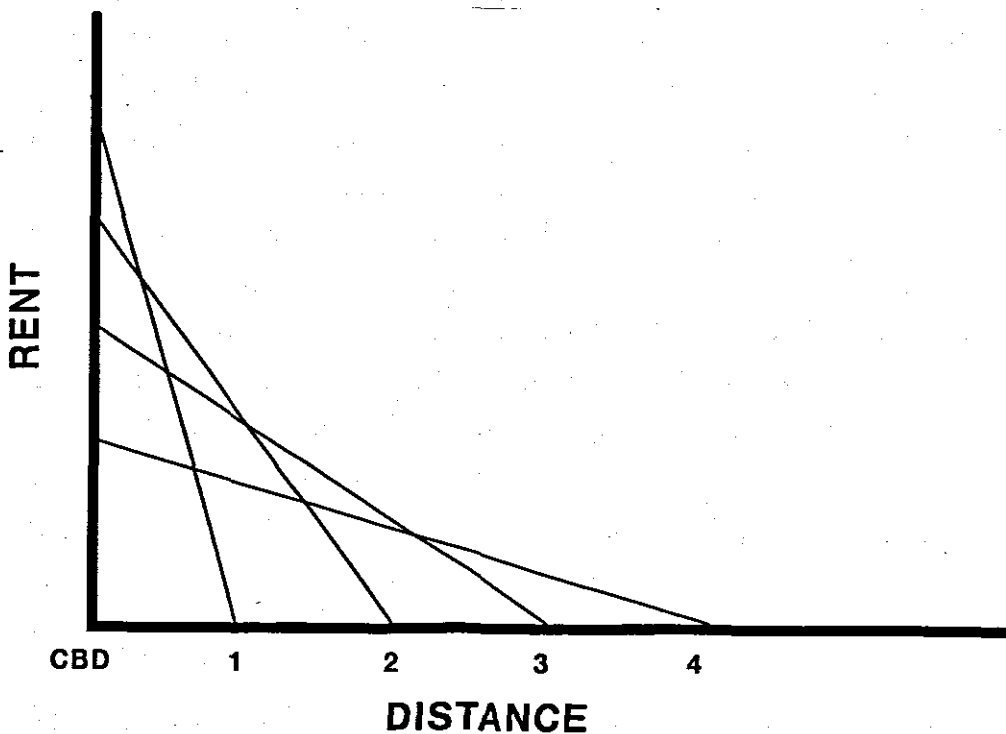
Writers such as Harvey (1973), Peet (1977) and Bassett and Short (1980) all seem to agree that housing is a commodity for capital accumulation. In other words, accumulation is the engine which powers growth under the capitalist mode of production, and tends to substantially benefit the privileged and affluent.

This research paper argues that the provision of housing loans mainly for the affluent members of society, shows that such loans are aimed at capital accumulation. In this study the demand for more houses is seen as being exacerbated when the South African government ceased to supply housing to the poor, and when private companies provided expensive houses. It is clear that such houses were beyond the financial means of the poorest inhabitants of Umlazi.

This study has therefore attempted to reveal that the policy of the state, of shunning its responsibility through the non-provision of low-cost houses, has aggravated the housing crisis in the township. It has become obvious that the policy of predominantly providing privately-owned houses is an essentially capitalistic mode of operation.

It is the contention of this research paper that a capitalist inspired model, such as the bid rent analysis illustrated in Figure 2.1., is designed to enable

FIG 2.1 BID-RENT ANALYSIS MODIFIED FOR HOUSING AND URBAN LOCATION (DERIVED FROM KNAPP, 1986:474)



planners and policy makers to recognise the impact of distance on the housing crisis. An attempt at analysing the housing crisis in the South African context, is depicted in graph (Fig 2.1) above. The various slopes of the graph are described as follows:

- (a) Point 1 represents retail enterprises around the CBD where inner city householders are employed and reside at high cost.

- (b) Point 2 represents inner city residential area for low-cost housing which is heavily subsidised by the state due to the high land values.
- (c) Point 3 represents small suburban Centres where residents on the city edges are employed and reside.
- (d) Point 4 represents outer edges of town where cheaper residential areas are located.

As a South African variation, the bid rent analysis ought to acknowledge the necessity for low-cost housing near the city where the majority of jobs are located. The South African situation does, to a certain extent, resemble that of other countries of the First and Third World where the poor are housed near workplaces. In South Africa the apartheid system has created a situation whereby the poorest sectors of the country are located in far away places on the outskirts of towns. It is therefore imperative that the bid-rent analysis should also make provision for the location of factories on the outskirts of town, near black townships. This adjusted situation could facilitate employment as well as the ability to afford cheaper houses by the poor, near factories and also to minimise costs of travelling to the workplace.

2.2.2 THE GLOBAL HOUSING BACKGROUND

The exploration of other housing schemes other than those of South Africa is essential. It is anticipated that this exploration will facilitate better knowledge of the subject from the positive and negative perspectives of the global housing situation.

Literature on global housing seems to be generally concerned with housing issues of the developed world rather than the developing world. Emphasis is placed on the historical evolution of the developed world's housing problems. Recently, an attempt has been made to link these problems with those of the developing world, with particular reference to South Africa.

a) POST INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ERA

Macey and Baker (1978) and Mantoux (1983) assert that the Industrial Revolution which took place in Britain in the late 18th century marked a turning point in the migration of rural inhabitants to cities. This study argues that migration had a direct influence on the increasing demand for housing in the population of cities.

The industrial factory system which prioritised the use of machine multiplied the means of production and this resulted in the displacement of labourers (Mantoux, 1983). In the view of this paper the Industrial Revolution aggravated the housing crisis because the factory system was unable to absorb many labourers. The multiplication of the means of production was a gain for capitalists, and a loss for the labourers. Many of the labourers lost their jobs and were replaced by the new machines. Unemployment increased and large numbers of the unemployed could not afford to provide themselves with housing.

It is evident that the Industrial Revolution created class conflict. The workers were in conflict with the capitalist factory owners over the meagre wages they were paid. A dichotomy of the "haves" and the "have nots" was then created. The "haves" owned "good" housing whilst the "have nots" experienced housing shortages.

Macey and Baker (1978) and Mantoux (1983) state that until the middle of the 19th century no one thought it necessary for the state or local government to see to it that the most disadvantaged labouring classes were decently and adequately supplied with housing. There was a great demand for the state to supply housing to the labouring classes.

It is the view of this paper that the state in Britain then was not concerned with the quality of life of the majority of the population. The fact that the labouring class was not provided with decent housing shows that the disadvantaged were not catered for by the state. This situation is similar to that which existed in South Africa under the Nationalist regime. The labouring class was expected to provide itself with housing whilst at the same time being paid meagre wages. There was collusion

between the state and the private sector in exploiting the poor. The exploitation of the poor seems to have exacerbated the housing crisis in Britain, so was the case in South Africa from the time there was British influence.

From the preceding argument it is evident that the state is supposed to provide housing to the poor, if the housing crisis is to be redressed. This research study argues that the state should be the main provider of housing for the poorest inhabitants of a country. The poor cannot provide themselves with conventional housing because it is priced beyond the means of the poor.

b) POST FIRST WORLD WAR ERA

During the First World War of 1913 many houses were destroyed in Britain and the whole of Europe in general (Macey and Baker, 1978; Mantoux, 1983). The First World War resulted in the economic depression of the 1930s. During the depression many people could not afford conventional housing. When the British government promulgated the Slum Clearance Act of 1923 the main intention was to stimulate private enterprises to undertake large scale supply of houses (Macey and Baker, 1978). This proposition had its own problems.

This paper argues that the policy of destroying slums decreased the housing supply and increased the demand for more houses amongst the poor. The fact that the British government promulgated the Slum Clearance Act of 1923 demonstrates the shortsightedness of the state bureaucrats. The demolition of slums is similar to the clearance of the Cato Manor squatter camp in Durban in the late 1950s.

The bureaucrats of the Apartheid government seem not to have acknowledged that the slums provide a significant housing resource to the poorest inhabitants in town. It seems to be a better proposition for the state to renovate slums instead of destroying them (Haggett, 1983).

It is the view of this paper that the presence of slums reveals the resource inequalities that are caused by capitalism. The capitalist model has created a situation where the dichotomy of the poor and the affluent

has become characteristic of all capitalist cities. The South African cities are further divided by the apartheid system into various residential areas of different races (Davies, 1976; Waters cited in Goba, 1983). This creates a dichotomy of the poor and the rich. A dichotomy of the First World and Third World standards of living is also created within and around cities.

As was the case in the post-First World War period where the rich-poor dichotomy emerged, the apartheid system ensures that whites (rich) are well catered for. The blacks (poor) on the other hand remain poor and exploited. This system had its roots in First World capitalism.

It is evident that the inequalities that exist between blacks and whites in South Africa are directly caused by original First World capitalism, which is entrenched by apartheid. As long as these inequalities exist, the housing crisis will never be resolved. McCarthy and Smit (1984) also support the inequality contention and state that the social inequalities in South Africa have colonial origins, which have First World origins.

Another important dimension of this period is that the Slum Clearance Act of 1923 introduced subsidies which only catered for the middle class residents. The middle class bought expensive houses from private enterprises (Macey and Baker, 1978). Further support for this argument comes from Harvey (1973) and Bassett and Short (1980) who state that housing has become an area of class struggle, where the middle class is supplied with more houses. The labouring class continues to experience housing shortages.

At another level, this research paper argues that the subsidy scheme which aims at providing housing for the middle class is regressive. The state should also subsidise the poor, who really need assistance, if the housing crisis is to be resolved. Furthermore, this research investigation argues that the violence that was caused by the First World War has shown that housing is affected. The violence of the war may be associated with the violence that broke out in Umlazi on February, 1992 (Daily News, March 13, 1992). Many shacks were destroyed in the process.

A very important housing resource was destroyed. It is evident that apartheid capitalism is one of the causes of violence in South Africa, and the resultant destruction of houses.

It is the argument of this research inquiry that in South Africa the state has also attempted to provide the middle class with subsidies so that this class may act as a barrier between the state and the labouring class. The state has therefore in a way succeeded in fragmenting the black community in South Africa. The violence that prevails in the country is, amongst other reasons, a result of the divisions between the middle class and the labouring class; and between the labouring class squatters and hostel dwellers.

c) RENEWED HOUSING PERSPECTIVE

An analysis by Ball *et al.* (1988) argue that renewed interest in housing research in many developed countries has recently occurred when many countries favour owner-occupation. This does not cater for the poor majority. Ball *et al.* (1988) argue that the intervention of the state in private subsidy provision and the so called free market has illustrated that such schemes have exacerbated the housing demand in the developing world. There has been a decrease in housing supply amongst the poor. The non-involvement of the state in the provision of cheaper houses is seen by Ball *et al.* (1988) as the withdrawal by the state in supplying cheaper housing to the poor. This supports the Marxist approach which advocates the involvement of the state in the provision of houses for the poor. The capitalists on the other hand argue that it is the duty of each individual to provide himself/herself with housing.

The two conflicting ideologies demonstrate the need for future policy makers to strike a balance between the two. This study further contends that it will be to the benefit of all if the state supplied housing to the poorest inhabitants of South Africa. At the same time the more affluent inhabitants should provide housing within their own resources. The assistance by the state should therefore be channelled mainly towards the poor, with minimal assistance directed towards the wealthy.

The housing policies of the developed world have revealed that the housing crisis is a global problem because advanced countries also experience it. The housing policies of the developed world have also demonstrated that they were formulated for the primary purpose of capital accumulation. Such repressive policies have given rise to a situation where the more affluent residents have benefitted more than the poor, who really need assistance.

2.2.3 THE MAIN VICTIMS OF THE HOUSING CRISIS

The capitalist model is viewed in this paper as having created a status quo where the poor inhabitants of the world are mainly affected by the housing crisis. The main point of departure here is to highlight the fact that the main victims of the housing crisis are usually the poor members of society.

Knapp (1986) argues that the proletariat is the class that is the most disadvantaged when it comes to housing supply. The proletariat is paid meagre wages in industries. It is evident that such wages do not enable the poor to afford even the cheapest form of conventional housing. In this study the argument by Knapp is seen as relevant to the South African situation. The black population is the most disadvantaged group in the country. This group experiences a great shortage of housing. The majority of black South Africans form the labouring class.

In First World countries low income households are compelled by poverty to live in high density residential areas of the inner city (Knapp, 1986). This is also happening in most of the Third World cities. South Africa is an exception because the poor inhabitants were compelled by repressive apartheid laws of the past to stay in secluded townships.

Viewed in the Marxist perspective, it can be concluded that the past housing policies of the developed world leave much to be desired. The policies only perpetrated the existing dichotomy of the poor and the affluent. It is without doubt that the poor of the world have always been the main victims of the housing crisis in both developed and developing world.

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2.3. THE THIRD WORLD HOUSING SCENARIO

Third World housing is a very broad subject. This research investigation has decided to explore a few examples in order to put the housing issue in its proper perspective. The Hong Kong and Peru housing schemes are explored. Squatter settlements as "Slums of Hope" are also addressed, as against "Slums of Despair". The aim is to lay a foundation for the formulation of a viable housing policy for Umlazi township in a post-apartheid South Africa. Self-help housing schemes, the Southern African situation and the international aid schemes are all part and parcel of this section.

2.3.1. THE HONG KONG HOUSING SCHEME

It was decided to explore the Hong Kong housing situation because of its initial successes after independence from the British rule. The Hong Kong housing policy failures are also addressed so that South African decision-makers can learn from the mistakes of such policies.

The Hong Kong Colony came under British jurisdiction in 1843 (Pryor, 1973). Before independence of Hong Kong from British rule in the 19th century, good and expensive housing was supplied to the more affluent British colonists. This study argues that the new arrivals in Hong Kong aggravated the housing demand amongst the poor, because the poor could not afford privately-owned conventional housing.

According to Si-Ming and Fu-Lai (1989), after independence from British rule in 1949 there was a need for the supply of low rental housing from public financial resources in Hong Kong. This resulted in a policy where public housing was heavily subsidised. Subsidisation was aimed at supplying housing to the entire population. Pryor (1973) argues that because of the introduction of the subsidy scheme all Hong Kong families were no longer left on their own to use their own resources in securing housing.

It is suggested by Pryor (1973:1-42) that the state of Hong Kong improved the supply of housing by adopting the following principles:

- a) Low-cost housing schemes were placed under the control of the state.
- b) More and better designed houses were provided in order to reduce overcrowding.
- c) Large supply depots were to be provided at convenient locations with building materials in order to decrease transport costs.
- d) New industrial regions had to be established in order to facilitate the employment of the unemployed so that they (the unemployed) could provide themselves with housing capital.
- e) All unused private land had to be imposed with penalties by the state.
- f) The population had to be decentralised into new self-contained communities in order to reduce building densities. This was influenced by the high population density of Hong Kong.
- g) Squatters had to construct their houses with fire - resistant material because the density of their shacks made them prone to destruction by accidental fires.
- h) Poorer families who could not afford expensive material were allowed to use wooden material.

Some of the recommendations cited above may be applied in South Africa as an attempt to resolve the housing crisis. Low-cost housing appears to be cheap, but in reality it is very expensive if it is solely left in the hands of the poor. The control and funding of low-cost housing by both the state and the private sector might resolve the housing crisis in black townships of South Africa. The fact that supply depots in South Africa are situated in towns, which are far from black townships

increases the cost of building materials. It could be ideal to locate the building materials depots inside the townships.

Moreover, the reduction of overcrowding in squatter settlements might improve the quality of life of black residents. Fire-resistant materials may be used in South Africa. Whenever there is violence shacks bear the brunt, and they are destroyed by arsonists. It is therefore necessary that the ensuing violence should end, if the poorest inhabitants hope to use inexpensive yet easily-burned wooden material.

When private enterprises took over the provision of houses from the state, the Hong Kong housing policy failed (Si-Ming and Fu-Lai, 1989). Real estate investors who were only interested in capital accumulation saw high densities as good business in Hong Kong (Si-Ming and Fu-Lai, 1989)

In the light of the above, it is evident that housing policies that prioritise capital accumulation, above the provision of cheap and good housing for the poorest residents are regressive. Such policies exacerbate the housing crisis in South Africa. Policy makers should therefore avoid policies which cater for capital gain, at the expense of the poor.

Si-Ming and Fu-Lai (1989) further contend that in 1984, in an attempt to address the housing problem, the Hong Kong government introduced flats which cost about R33,88 in rental payments instead of the payment of the private sector rent of R145,20. This illustrated the need for the involvement of the state in supplying housing to the poor. Because of the low cost state housing and low rents the state assumed a dominant role in the supply of houses in Hong Kong. (Si-Ming and Fu-Lai, 1989).

Public housing played a vital role in the redistribution of income from the rich to the poor as a result of the government's "Robin Hood" practice of taking from the rich, in order to provide for the poor. In its attempt to supply housing to all the people of Hong Kong, the process of demand for housing decreased. This distributive function of public housing programme played a prominent role in preventing social unrest (Si-Ming and Fu-Lai, 1989).

Though the Hong Kong housing policies catered for the needs of all through the distribution of income, it should be acknowledged that when income distribution is polarised it does not serve the interests of the society but may uproot communities instead (Si-Ming and Fu-Lai, 1989). This should also be acknowledged by South African policy makers.

It is worth noting that the policy of allocating subsidies to all the people of Hong Kong may go a long way in the resolution of the housing crisis. This approach might be applied in South Africa with success. The decision taken by the state of Hong Kong to supply the entire population with housing, demonstrates the viability of such a housing policy.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) proposes to supply affordable housing to all the residents of South Africa. Such a situation is similar to the Hong Kong one where the state decided to supply housing to all the people of Hong Kong. The government funding strategy together with that of the private sector, intend to combine their funding in such a way that they will subsidise the poor more effectively (ANC, 1994). Such a subsidy scheme could be a good attempt to supply housing for the poor. This policy might be applied with the hope that the housing crisis might be resolved in South Africa, and in Umlazi in particular.

2.3.2 THE PERUVIAN HOUSING SCHEME

Latin America is a vast region which experienced the housing crisis for many years. The Latin American situation focuses on Lima in Peru. The housing strategies of Lima which are characterised by shanty towns are addressed in an attempt to draw ideas for the resolution of the squatting and housing crisis in South Africa.

Many authors have written about housing strategies in Peru. Related ideas by Owens (1966), Blakemore and Smith (1971), Ellis, (1975), and the World Book Encyclopedia (1988) are explored in this study. The housing strategies of Peru are influenced by the fact that more than half of the population here is urbanised (Blackmore and Smith, 1971). Most people of Peru are poor because of the social inequalities (Ellis, 1975).

These social inequalities have resulted in racially diverse people who live austere lives (Owens, 1966).

In an attempt to address the housing problem the government of Peru built low-rent housing in various towns, yet the housing problem remains acute, due to rapid urbanisation (Owens, 1966). Most of the dwellings are one-roomed huts, and the rate of population growth is steadily aggravating the housing deficit (Owens, 1966).

There is something South African decision-makers can learn from the housing strategies of Peru. Although the government attempts to resolve the housing crisis, it should be noted that rapid urbanisation in South Africa, which resembles that of Peru will make it impossible for the government to resolve the housing crisis. The rapid urbanisation of South African towns will continue to exacerbate the housing crisis if it is left unchecked.

The poverty of the majority of the people of Peru has forced them to use the cheapest materials for their houses. Most houses have walls built of twigs or bamboo poles and a roof of grass or palm thatch (World Book Encyclopedia, 1988). In upper and middle class neighbourhoods, people live in comfortable family homes with enclosed patios. The largest cities have high rise apartments and modern public housing (World Book Encyclopedia, 1988). The use of cheaper indigenous materials such as those used in Peru could also be used by the poorest South Africans.

Social inequalities which prevail in Peru resemble the South African situation. The Blacks in South Africa experience housing shortages because of the meagre capitalist wages paid in industries. As long as there is unequal per capita income distribution, the housing crisis will never be resolved in South Africa. There is a need for resource equity.

The government of Peru has formulated a policy of rehabilitating the shanty towns instead of demolishing them (Owens, 1966). The shacks have been installed with adequate sanitary services. The shanty towns of Lima are spatial manifestations which in this study appear to be caused by the inadequacy of the supply of conventional housing in Peru. Harrison (1983) argues that the shanty towns of Lima in Peru offer some

unique lessons for cities of the Third World. He argues that without the help of the so called experts, the squatters discovered means of improving their shacks. The fact that they have established shacks is an act of self-liberation from colonial economic bondage (Harrison, 1983). It appears that shack dwellers in South Africa have also built their shacks to free themselves from economic bondage, which made the shack dwellers poor.

The overcrowded town of Lima which compels many residents to share space with other families, or to become squatters in *barriadas* (Owens, 1966), may be associated with the overcrowding of Durban shacks. Durban is reputed to have the largest number of shack dwellers in the country. (Ntshakala, 1992).

It is said that the shack dwellers build their shacks to suit their pockets, whilst many are helped by friends to build shacks (Harrison, 1983). An important housing resource is supplied by the shacks. The fact that the government of Peru has adopted a policy of rehabilitating shantytowns shows that the government recognises the vital role that is played by shacks in supplying housing to the disadvantaged communities. Such schemes may be of great help in South Africa if shacks are rehabilitated.

Squatters are known to employ a sophisticated unofficial democracy which aims at resolving the housing crisis. Every household is given a chance to discuss whatever issue which pertains to housing (Harrison, 1983). The communal links amongst the squatters have improved the supply of houses amongst the poor and decreased the demand. There is a need for South African housing policy makers to formulate a policy that democratically involves representatives from the poorest sectors of the population. The renovation of slums appears to be a good attempt to resolve the housing crisis in South Africa.

2.3.3 SLUMS OF HOPE AND OF DESPAIR

It is one of the aims of this study to explore the dichotomy that exists between the "Slums of Hope" as against the "slums of despair". According to Mangin (cited in Berry, 1977; Johnston, 1980) slums may

be seen as a means of increasing the supply of houses in Third World cities.

This positive manner of looking at squatter settlements is also expressed by Haggett (1983). Johnston (1980) explores the argument further and states that the "Slums of Hope" are occupied by bridge-headers, who have established themselves in the urban economy. He continues to argue that the squatters have regular although small incomes. By living in squatter settlements and therefore paying no rent they avoid devoting a large portion of their income to the cost of low quality housing (Johnston, 1980).

The construction of shacks supply housing to the poorest inhabitants of the Third World. These shacks tend to decrease the greater demand for housing amongst the poor. It is imperative that South African policy makers view squatters in a positive manner. It should be acknowledged that the squatting phenomenon was directly linked to the gross wealth inequities that were further entrenched by apartheid, which ensured that wealth inequities impacted upon the increase in the number of shacks.

The negative perception of slums is seen in the use of the term "Slums of Despair" which alludes to a common tendency by the elite of the Third World to view slums negatively. Slums are seen as places where diseases, poverty and vice prevail. This viewpoint is also referred to in the work of Abu Lughod and Hay (1979) wherein they argue that the usual practice of demolishing slums rather than upgrading them shows that the city officials of the Third World are not interested in the welfare of the poor.

The "Slums of Despair" are viewed by Abu Lughod and Hay (1979) and Johnston (1980) as housing in the urban fringe of the urban economy. They view these slums as composed of people with neither permanent income nor any hope of it. For the squatters, a shack on vacant land is the only way of obtaining housing (Johnston, 1980).

The bulldozer attitude of city managers in matters concerning slums, decreases the supply of housing in Third World cities. Usually the poor, whose houses are demolished are not supplied with new housing. The

treatment of squatter camps as “Slums of Despair” is therefore regressive. It is evident that the acknowledgement of shacks as “Slums of Despair” exacerbates the demand for housing amongst the poor. A need for a policy which will improve the conditions of slum dwellers will go a long way towards the provision of housing for the poor in South Africa.

It is important for policy makers to consider the following functions of squatter settlements by Mangin (cited in Berry, 1977:44):

- a) They act as reception centres for migrants, providing a mechanism to assist in adaptation to urban life.
- b) They provide housing at rents that are within the means of the lowest income group.
- c) Their social and communal organisation provides essential social support in unemployment.
- d) They provide a means of finding accommodation in close proximity to work.
- e) They encourage and reward small scale private entrepreneurship in the field of housing.

In addition, Johnston (1980:44) further supports Mangin's views by suggesting that:

- f) The squatter settlement is an investment in a small piece of equity.
- g) It allows its residents to avoid some of the worst aspects of the rental market.
- h) The squatters can retain most of their income for the purchase of other needed goods and services, including the provision of a home base for their children's economic and social mobility.

It is evident that the “Slums of Hope” enable housing policy makers to recognise the futility of viewing slums in a negative manner. The recognition of slums as “Slums of Hope” might enable policy makers to facilitate the supply of housing in Third World cities, and in South Africa

in particular. The "Slums of Despair" increase the housing demand amongst the poor.

2.3.4 THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION

The housing situation in Southern Africa is significant in this study because of the similarity of the administration of the towns. The towns of Zambia and Zimbabwe were administered in the same manner as those in South Africa. The towns in Zambia and Zimbabwe resemble those of South Africa in as far as the history of their urbanisation laws is concerned. Such laws had colonial origins.

Writers such as Heisler (1974); Rogerson (1989) and Kay and Roberts (1992) all seem to agree that before independence of Zambia and Zimbabwe from British rule, repressive migration laws were promulgated in order to restrict the movement of African households in the towns of Harare and Lusaka. Colonial planning was against urban expansion. The urban poor's basic needs such as shelter and services were neglected (Rogerson, 1989). This seems to have resulted in a higher demand for houses due to the decrease in their supply.

Ben Turok (1992) director of the Institute for African Alternatives agrees that South Africans can learn much from the experience of Zambia. After independence from Britain, the self serving elite became entrenched in acts which used the bulk of the state finances in housing subsidies for their own ends. This was done at the expense of the poor who were not supplied with housing subsidies. This practice impacted negatively upon the greater demand for houses amongst the poor.

Writers such as Heisler (1974), Dewar, Todes, and Watson (1982), Rogerson (1989) and Kay and Roberts (1992) seem to agree that both Zambia and Zimbabwe had colonial rule imposed upon them. For instance in Zambia colonial rule transformed the country from a surplus producing peasantry to operating in the interests of British capital (Dewar, Todes and Watson, 1982). South Africa also experienced colonial rule of the kind that was experienced by Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The pass laws in Zimbabwe were established to control labour in towns (Dewar, Todes and Watson, 1982; Kay and Roberts, 1992). These authors further argue that the construction of housing in towns was tailored to the migrant worker and was usually in the form of single accommodation. The repressive laws in Zambia and Zimbabwe impacted upon the greater demand for housing in Zambia and Zimbabwe, just as they did to South African housing.

Dewar, Todes and Watson (1982) continue to argue that in later years housing became a major mechanism for influx control. Urban stabilisation was promoted through the reconstitution of privately - owned economic housing for African families.

Housing remained in short supply and squatting was not tolerated (Dewar, Todes, and Watson, 1982). In Zambia access to housing was tied to wage employment. By 1914 about 94 000 people were living in compounds. Many people who were without housing resorted to squatting (Dewar, Todes and Watson, 1982). Colonial capitalism became Zambian capitalism, and racial inequalities became class inequalities (Dewar, Todes and Watson 1982)

The pass laws that were promulgated in Zambia and Zimbabwe created social inequalities. These inequalities aggravated the housing crisis in the two countries above. Such laws also impacted indirectly upon the housing backlog in South Africa. It is evident that colonial capitalism is the direct result of the social inequalities, which led to the housing crisis in most of the countries of Southern Africa.

It is clear that colonial planning was against urban expansion. The basic needs of the urban poor such as shelter and services were neglected (Rogerson, 1989). It follows then that the neglect of urban services gave rise to a higher demand for houses, because their supply was decreased.

The urban managers of Harare and Lusaka were of the opinion that retaining First World standards of housing was the best policy to follow (Rogerson, 1989). The managers thought that these standards are the most desirable. It later became evident that such standards of housing provision were beyond the means of the poorest inhabitants of Harare

and Lusaka. The high standards exacerbated the demand for lower and cheaper standard houses which could be supplied at reasonable cost. Observations at Umlazi indicate that housing policies that favoured high-cost shelter only benefitted the elite, which were financially better off.

The urban managers of Harare and Lusaka also regarded squatter settlements as undesirable, and they were hostile to the squatters (Rogerson, 1989). The elitist attitude of the urban managers was influenced by a wish to project a progressive image to the outside world. It is noteworthy that the elite failed to acknowledge that squatter settlements increased the housing supply in towns, while at the same time decreasing the housing demand in the towns of Harare and Lusaka. A housing policy which recognised the improvement of shacks rather than their destruction was lacking (Haggett, 1983).

The preference of self-help schemes by the urban managers of Harare and Lusaka demonstrated that the bureaucracy was ignorant of the fact that the majority of the poor could not afford such schemes, without the financial aid from the state and the private sector. It should be noted that the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (ANC, 1994) which plans to supply one million low cost housing shows that the ANC is aware that such schemes are expensive to the poor. The government and the private sector ought to be involved in funding the low cost schemes.

Rogerson (1989) concludes that it was only after the economic recession of the 1980s that the governments of Zambia and Zimbabwe began to accept squatter housing. The acknowledgement of squatter housing as essential for housing supply contributed to the increase in the supply of housing. (Rogerson, 1989). This study supports a view that the recognition of squatter settlement dwellers as permanent inhabitants of a city is one of the most important requirements for any Third World housing policy. The corrupt bureaucrats who squander state finances contribute to the decrease in the housing supply. Such practices increase the demand for more houses amongst the poor. Housing policies which place the elite at an advantage at the expense of the poor are regressive.

2.3.5 SELF - HELP HOUSING SCHEMES

For a better understanding of self-help housing it is necessary to explore ideas appearing in international literature such as in Ward (1982), Turner (cited in Ward, 1982) and Conway (1985). An attempt to link ideas from these sources with the South African situation is essential.

Ward (1982) and Turner (cited in Ward, 1982) put forward different views on low-cost self-help housing. Whilst Turner argues that self-help housing should be the responsibility of the poor, Ward (1982) envisages the involvement of the state in self-help housing.

Ward (1982) argues that state help is essential because the majority of urban blacks are so poor that they cannot afford even the cheapest form of conventional housing. He goes on to say that self-help housing only justifies a continuance of low-cost housing projects which are too expensive for the poor. In line with Marxist thinking, he further argues that houses may be sponsored by major development foundations who could be conspirators, with motives of monopolistic capitalism. It is therefore conceivable that self-help housing labour is exploited twice, in the workplace and in the provision of houses by means of self-help schemes.

We may therefore conclude from the above argument that self-help schemes will not resolve the housing crisis if it is left solely in the hands of the poor and powerless. The private sector and the state should be involved in self-help housing in an attempt to reduce the financial burden of housing on the poor. The fact that self-help housing labour is exploited twice demonstrates and justifies the need for the involvement of the state and the private sector.

In supporting views by Turner (cited in Ward, 1982); Conway (1985) proposes that self-help housing is the only alternative for the poor. He further argues that though self-help housing does supply short term breathing space and allows a much larger body of the population to be catered for, it is nevertheless the only alternative for the poor.

It has become clear that low-cost housing has to be financed by both the state and the private sector if it is to meet the demand for housing amongst the poor. Though self-help housing schemes do supply housing to the poor they are not the only alternative that will decrease the great demand for housing amongst the poor.

2.3.6 THE INTERNATIONAL AID SCHEMES

It is generally accepted that the housing crisis in South Africa could benefit much from the knowledge and resources of the international community. Some viewpoints hold that South African Self-help schemes require financial aid from Western countries such as the United States of America, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Opposing views in South Africa hold that a critique of such schemes is necessary in order to expose some of the causes for their failure. It is expected that these critiques could compel such schemes to genuinely help the Third World nations, without pressing on any ulterior motives.

As from 1993 the US plans to spend R86,2 million on housing and urban development in South Africa over the next four years (Natal Mercury March 13, 1992). The US embassy announced that the project aims at helping the most disadvantaged South Africans who were affected by the apartheid legacy (Natal Mercury March 13, 1992). It was further reported that in order to help in the success of such ventures the private sector financing low-cost housing has to be increased by the South African companies.

It is contended that more international aid will become available to South Africa as the new political dispensation unfolds and the effects of international economic sanctions against South Africa are dissipated. There are many international companies which are prepared to aid South Africa in the post-sanctions and post-apartheid eras.

It is evident that the legacy of sanctions is one of the major reasons for the low economic growth in South Africa and the concomitant housing shortage. The state cannot afford to provide housing for the poor without help from the private sector and the international community. Co-operation between the state, the private sector, NGOs, the international

community, and the people on the ground is essential towards the resolution of the housing backlog.

2.3.6.1 A critique on international aid

There are two divergent schools of thought on international aid. The modernisation school of thought argues that the backwardness of Third World nations compels the IMF and the World Bank, and other developed countries like the United States of America and Britain to help the developing nations. The other school of thought (dependency theory) argues that the international aid schemes are only interested in capital accumulation at the expense of the developing nations.

The World Bank and the IMF claim that their financial aid schemes help the developing countries in resolving their problems of which housing is one of them (New African, 1993). They argue that without their financial aid the developing nations cannot resolve their economic backwardness which is caused by their ineffective economic policies (George, 1983). There is also a view from the World Bank and the IMF that the developing nations' economic plight is due to the corruption of the newly independent governments of the Third World (George, 1983). The developing nations fail because their populations consist of people who are perceived as lazy, and who will never attain the intellectual advancement and sophistication of the developed countries (George, 1983).

This study argues that the World Bank and the IMF are elitist organisations who are not genuinely interested in the welfare of the Third World nations. Their views on the backwardness of the Third World economies are one-sided because they do not explain the real causes of the plight of the developing nations. They do not acknowledge that colonialism destroyed viable indigenous agriculture in Third World economies. The self-sufficiency of the developing nations was inhibited by the introduction of colonial capitalism, hence the housing crisis in the Third World, and in South Africa in particular. There is also evidence that some Third World countries around Asia have overcome the shackles of economic dependency.

David Karanja (1992) also criticises the West for using foreign aid as a tool to control and indirectly rule Africa. He claims that this has led to a culture of dependency. He urges Africans to stop being shameless beggars and instead redouble their efforts to achieve economic prosperity.

This researcher is in agreement with the views of Karanja (1992) when he accuses foreign aid as being a form of neo-colonialism. It is obvious that the international aid schemes aim at perpetuating colonialism in a disguised new form hence the term neo-colonialism. Karanja (1992) asserts that foreign aid has done more harm than good. He charges that Africa's development plans are drawn thousands of miles away in the corridors of the IMF and the World Bank, two institutions just fronting for the masters in London, Washington, Bonn, Paris and many other Western cities. He continues to argue that the people who draw development plans for Africa are people completely out of touch with local African reality.

International aid schemes appear to be aimed at only helping the affluent who do not need their assistance. The interest rates that go with the housing loans show that they are also a means of accumulating profit from the Third World poor. If these international aid schemes are to be genuine they need to recognise that the Third World poor cannot afford to repay some of these debts which are sometimes repaid at very high interest rates. As long as these international aid schemes are aimed mainly at capital accumulation they will never resolve the housing crisis in South Africa.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Some conceptual frameworks have shown that the Marxist approach is a necessary critique on the capitalist model. The frameworks discussed earlier have suggested that the housing crisis is a global phenomenon which is addressed on an ideological plane.

It has become evident that the main victims of the housing crisis have always been the poor of the world. The poverty of the world seems to be created by capitalism which has given rise to a situation of unequal

distribution of resources between the poor and the affluent. Colonial capitalism laid foundations for apartheid capitalism and housing inequalities.

Policy planners for a post-apartheid housing policy should integrate the positive aspects of capitalism with those of socialism, if a viable housing policy is to be formulated. The fact that capitalism has created a dichotomy of the "haves and the have-nots" demonstrates the need for a kind of controlled redistribution of wealth from whites to blacks in South Africa.

The study of housing schemes of foreign countries has shown that many lessons may be learned from their successful and failed housing strategies. The international aid schemes have shown that they will only help in the resolution of the housing crisis in South Africa if they are genuinely aimed at helping the poor, without any ulterior motives.

This chapter has attempted to explore successful and failed housing policies of both the First World and Third World. What remains to be seen is an attempt to apply the foreign housing strategies in the South African situation. The practical implementation of foreign housing strategies has always been a problem in South Africa. Until such time when these foreign housing strategies are seen to be working, the housing crisis in South Africa will be difficult to resolve.

CHAPTER 3

THE HOUSING SCENARIO IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is imperative to undertake a study of the housing scenario in South Africa before we embark upon the situation of housing in Umlazi township. The study of South African housing lays an essential foundation for a detailed research investigation of housing supply and demand in Umlazi township, with the object of formulating a post-apartheid policy.

This chapter begins by exploring the historical evolution of South African housing. Emphasis is placed on colonial, segregation and apartheid periods. The de Looer Commission and its critique by various housing experts is addressed. Other views on housing considered include financial matters of low-cost housing, and subsidies.

The chapter also discusses land provision which refers to the legacy of the 1913 and the 1936 Land Acts. Other notions addressed are The Urban Reconstruction and Employment Facilitation which are pursued by Suckling and White (1988), Dan Smit (1991) and McCarthy (1991). The upgrading of squatter settlements acknowledges that the treatment of shacks as "Slums of Despair" is regressive. The treatment of shacks as "Slums of Hope" is progressive. The administration of housing highlights a need for one housing department in South Africa. Finally, some new approaches to housing, which acknowledge the uniqueness of the African environment and its people, are explored.

3.2 THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1863-1910)

The colonial era of British rule is a period which laid foundations for segregated and later apartheid housing. Relevant in this context are the works of Magubane and Yrchick (1977) which analyse the capitalist

economy of South Africa during the colonial era, Christopher (1988) on the other hand explores the colonial roots of urban segregation in South Africa. Morris (1981) espouses the history of black housing in South Africa.

The colonial period which affected black housing in South Africa begins in 1863, when the desire by whites for separate residential areas was mooted (Maasdorp and Haarhoff, 1983). When blacks were effectively prevented from obtaining the residential franchise in 1869, they were viewed and classified as temporary sojourners in the so called white cities. (Christopher, 1988). Later in 1873 Theophilus Shepstone who was the secretary for Native affairs in Natal highlighted the problem of a large influx of black casual workers who were viewed as causing insecurity to the white man in town (Morris, 1981).

The first major urbanisation and housing impetus in South Africa came with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867 (Magubane and Yrchick, 1977). This culminated in rapid immigration to the mines in towns. It is apparent that rapid urbanisation resulted in the housing backlog in towns. The Municipal Act of 1882 was then promulgated for the management of black village town boards which were concerned with black housing and the growing population (Morris, 1981). This was just an attempt by the village town boards to control the black population which since then was regarded as a threat to the well being of whites in towns.

In Natal the proximity of urban centres to the native reserves made the question of black immigration into town a central issue (Morris, 1981). This situation led to the establishment of Municipal barracks for dock workers at the Point in 1903, and was followed by the Depot Road Location (Morris, 1981; Christopher, 1988). The Depot Road Location was later transformed into the Somtseu Road Location in 1913. It was apparent that the Somtseu Road Location was inadequate for providing the rapid growing black population of Durban with sufficient housing. The housing backlog continued to exist.

Another housing dynamic which emerged was the Native Beer Act of 1908 which empowered the Natal municipality to utilise the profit from the sales

of African beer for the creation of black housing, schools and hospitals (Morris, 1981). This selling of African beer was not aimed at genuinely helping blacks to obtain housing. It was aimed at accumulating profits. Another motive behind the sale of African beer appears to lie in the separation of black residential areas from those of whites.

In concluding this colonial period, it is worth arguing that the beginning of residential segregation was obviously brought about by the British colonists. The colonisation of South Africa can be said to have influenced the origins of the housing crisis. Through colonisation large tracts of black land were expropriated by the colonists. In the process, the British colonists introduced the economic system of capitalism which created resource inequalities between blacks and whites. Capitalism can therefore be seen as a direct cause of the demand for housing amongst blacks today.

3.3 THE SEGREGATION PERIOD (1910 - 1948)

For purposes of this research inquiry the segregation period begins in 1910 when the Union of South Africa came into being. It is mainly a period of British rule in South Africa.

The numerous segregation laws that were promulgated by the British government after the Union of South Africa in 1910, initiated and stimulated rural-urban migration. This period spreads over four decades, from 1910-1948. Though urban societies were held together in a kind of symbiosis by economic interdependence and spatial proximity (Swanson, 1968), it was ironical that the state decided to house the different racial groups in separate areas of the same city. The urban milieu of the time was a great contributing factor to urban segregation. By 1910 there was a distinct demarcation between racial groups (Atkinson, 1991). After the Union, the influence of the philosophy of segregation culminated in the restructuring of South African towns. It can be argued that the towns were restructured in such a way that the residential areas for blacks experienced housing shortages because of the inadequate funds that were allocated to black housing.

The 1913 Land Act was then promulgated by the South African government of the day, with the aim of serving the interest of white farmers as well as creating territorial segregation (Magubane and Yrchick, 1977; Butler et al, 1978). Essentially the 1913 Land Act deprived blacks of a major portion of the land in South Africa. It is known that the Land Act affected 78 percent of the population which was black, to whom it allotted only 13 percent of the land (Magubane and Yrchick, 1977). In addition, the Act created conditions within which ordinary people became peasants and landless, with deprived housing conditions. Warnock (1987) argues that the 1913 Land Act reinforced the system of segregation along racial lines. This Act in turn represents the spatial expression of apartheid ideology which culminated in the housing backlog amongst blacks.

In setting another trend through the promulgation of the 1918 Draft Bill, the Union government moved gradually towards legislation policy for urban blacks which would complement the Native Land Act (Morris, 1981). During the same year the serious influenza epidemic drew attention to the extremely bad living conditions of urban blacks (Magubane and Yrchick, 1977; Morris, 1981). The 1918 Influenza epidemic killed 500 000 Africans and other people of colour and urged the immediate attention to slums and native locations (townships) (Morris, 1981).

It can be argued that the 1918 influenza epidemic only encouraged the policy of segregation than desegregation. It enabled the white authorities to use it as a scapegoat for viewing black slums as unhealthy while in reality the segregationist policy aimed at protecting the economic interests of whites. It is clear that the influenza epidemic entrenched the policy of segregation and the resultant housing shortages that followed.

Another Draft Bill in 1922 (Urban Areas Act of 1923) maintained that the native villages should be set aside for Africans only (Morris, 1981). In the same year the Stallard Commission reported to Parliament and established the impermanence of blacks in the so called white towns (Morris, 1981). Blacks were only allowed to stay in town as long as their needs were desired. As soon as their needs were no longer desired in town they were expected to return to their native locations and reserves (Morris, 1981;

Atkinson, 1991). Stallardism appears to have been an ideology that was formulated on the grounds of racial prejudice in order to protect the residential and economic interests of whites. It is also the view of this paper that the Stallard Commission is one of the causes for the existing backlog of housing in South Africa.

Magubane and Yrchick (1977) argue that the 1923 Urban Areas Act provided for territorial segregation in urban areas. Morris (1981) seems to support Magubane and Yrchick who argue that the 1923 Urban Areas Act controlled the presence of blacks in urban areas. Morris further argues that the 1923 Urban Areas Act entrenched the ideology of Stallardism. It was obvious that blacks were going to experience housing and land shortages because this Act ensured that blacks were relocated in locations (townships) and native reserves which amounted to only 13 percent of the total land of South Africa. The 1923 Urban Areas Act also facilitated the exploitation of African labour by capitalist industries in towns. It was clear that this Act was serving the interests of capital accumulation, which impoverished blacks in towns, and the ensuing housing shortages.

According to Morris (1981) the Urban Areas Act was amended in 1930 and 1937 making it increasingly difficult for blacks to enter towns. Morris (1981) further states that in 1936 a new basis for sub-economic loans was introduced together with the Land Act of 1936. This innovation did not improve the housing shortage for Africans.

By 1930 the Native Areas Act gave the government the power to control the presence of blacks in urban areas (Hendler, 1987). Hendler also argues that the slums were a result of black poverty and housing shortage. It could be argued that though slums were infested with various diseases, they were nevertheless an important facilitator of housing supply to the poor. In a way they decreased the greater demand for housing amongst the poor. Hendler (1987) goes on to argue that the introduction of the Slums Act of 1934 caused intense personal distress amongst the poor, as many of the slum dwellers were without housing. Most of the slum dwellers became frustrated. Slum clearance exacerbated the critical housing demand

amongst the poor. The policy of clearing slums could be looked at as elitist because it only catered for the welfare of the whole elite, who viewed the slums as a housing problem.

Between 1940 and 1945 about, 900 houses were built at the Blackhurst Estate near Durban, which was later named Chesterville location (township) (Maasdorp and Haarhoff, 1983). By 1945 as a result of large population increases and rapid post-war industrialisation the concept of urban blacks as a temporary phenomenon was subject to further reassessment (Magubane and Yrchick, 1977). The supply of only 900 houses to a rapid rising black population then, can be viewed as inadequate. Instead the mushrooming of the squatter settlement of Umkhumbane in Cato Manor was evidence that the nearby formal location of Chesterville did not supply sufficient houses in the location.

The Black Urban Areas Act of 1945 repealed the 1923 Urban Areas Act, and prepared the ground for the legislation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Cloete, 1986). In 1947 it was reported that 7000 houses were provided for blacks under the auspices of the National housing formula (Morris, 1981). In 1948 the Nationalist government came into power, and there was a transformation from segregated to apartheid housing policies.

It is evident that the segregation period laid foundations for apartheid housing of the Nationalist Party. The segregation period shows that the housing crisis was aggravated by the numerous repressive laws that were promulgated by the English government in South Africa at the time. The most important of these laws being the 1913 Land Act which deprived blacks of their traditional land.

3.4 THE APARTHEID PERIOD (1948-1990)

The apartheid era began when the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948. To place this discussion in its proper perspective it is essential to relate to the evolution of the apartheid city in an attempt to link it with the existing housing backlog in the country. Also to relate to the historical

geography of South African urban space as it exposes the apartheid system as one of the major causes for the housing crisis in this country.

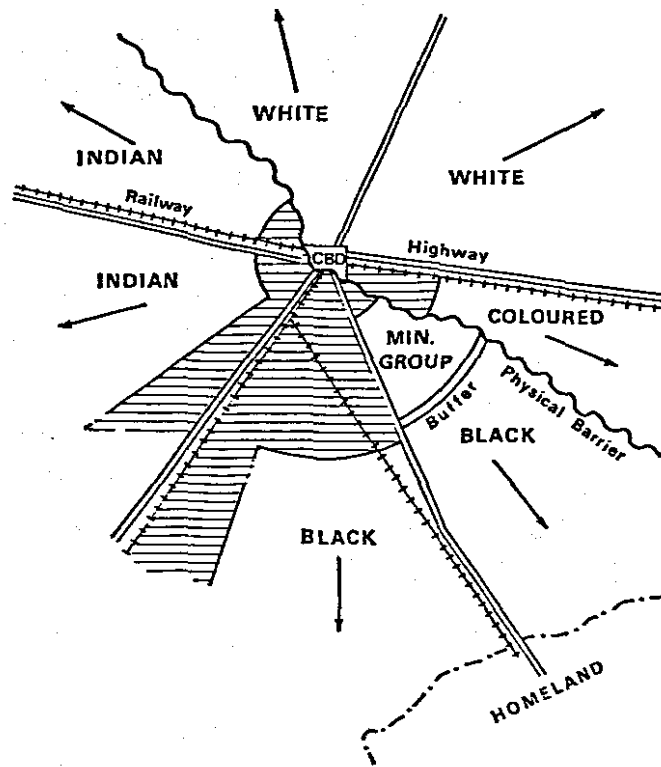
Group Areas Act of 1950 resulted in grand urban apartheid. It stands to reason that one has to consider the history of the apartheid city if one desires to link it with the existing housing situation in the country. By 1950 Hendrik Verwoerd the architect of apartheid was determined to transform the "Bantu housing problem" by applying total apartheid. Hendrik Verwoerd was aware that he was dealing with a multitude of Africans of different tribal affiliations who had to be ethnically divided and ruled. The aim of dividing blacks was to gain easy control over them hence the adoption of the infamous policy of "divide and rule". This policy culminated in the formulation of the homelands policy which suggested that Blacks can only acquire adequate housing and other amenities in their own 'reserved' areas.

3.4.1 THE APARTHEID CITY OF 1950

It is essential to make some reference to the notion of the Apartheid City by Davies (1976) which reveals how the township of Umlazi is functionally part and parcel of the city of Durban. The relationships in this city are fundamentally based on racial separation (Fig. 3.1), yet attempting to achieve maximum economic benefit for some population groups at the expense of others.

The apartheid city (Fig. 3.1.) has manifested itself in numerous problems of which the housing backlog is one of them. The city was constructed and evolved in such a way that the blacks were resettled in black townships on the outskirts of the city. McCarthy (1991) further argues that the majority of urban blacks had to commute daily to white town only to administer to the white man's needs. The state managed townships have reminded black workers of their alienated and poor condition as labour units. In the townships there was insufficient space for the provision of houses for the huge black population which worked in town. Even the establishment of more black townships and hostels could not meet the needs of housing the urban black population.

FIG 3.1 A MODEL OF THE GROUP AREAS CITY OR APARTHEID CITY.
(SOURCE : DAVIES, 1976)



By the middle of 1951, Eiselen, Verwoerd's secretary of Bantu Affairs concluded that it was impossible to control the overpopulated black townships in South Africa. In and around Durban, numerous squatter settlements had been established and were to be dismantled. Eiselen came to the conclusion that the only solution was to house blacks in properly planned native townships in an attempt to eliminate all the undesirable blacks in towns designated as white (Wilkinson, 1983). This policy later saw to the establishment of townships such as Umlazi, KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and so on.

Based on our history, it can however be concluded that Eiselen had no aim of housing blacks in "properly planned" houses. He was only interested in protecting white privileges of permanency in towns and cities at the expense

of blacks who were relocated in far away townships on the periphery of these towns.

3.4.2 THE ILLEGAL SQUATTING ACT OF 1951

In 1951 the prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 was promulgated and provided penalties for the unlawful occupation of land or buildings, and for the removal of persons concerned in such slums (Morris, 1981). This Act encouraged the destruction of shacks which aggravated the housing demand amongst blacks in South Africa. It is contented that the squatters were not included in the then new housing dispensation, with the result that it exacerbated the feeling of animosity between those who have and those who have not.

The promulgation of the Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 demonstrated the short-sightedness of the government of the day in that the squatting phenomenon could not be controlled by repressive laws. It is apparent that the state lacked insight into the real problems which caused squatting, which were interwoven with the housing backlog.

3.4.3 THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS AND BLACK TOWNSHIPS

In 1954 a further policy was introduced by the Department of Native Affairs which stipulated that all township housing was to be allocated according to ethnic groups (Morris, 1981). The Department of Native Affairs was established in an attempt to facilitate the control of black townships. It was doubtless that such a policy was bound to create divisions and conflicts between various black ethnic groups. An additional Act of parliament was passed to facilitate the control of black townships: The Housing Act of 1957 established the Bantu Housing Board to deal with the housing of blacks in townships (Morris, 1981). The Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1957 empowered the Minister of Native Affairs to draft, amend and reject regulations applicable to blacks (Morris, 1981).

The 1960s marked the establishment of black townships of which Umlazi was one of them. As many as 77 410 units were established in the townships during the decade between 1960 and 1970 at a total cost of 63,4 million rands (Hendler, 1987). The Bantu Beer Act No 63 of 1962 specified the use to which profits derived from the sale of beer could be used in the construction of black townships (Morris, 1981; Hendler, 1987).

It is generally accepted that, notwithstanding the Beer Act, the Department of Native Affairs together with its related housing Acts, failed to resolve the housing crisis in South Africa because the shortage of housing continued unabated. It is evident that this department was not solely created for the resolution of the housing crisis in black townships, but was also created to control blacks in their townships.

3.4.4 THE 30 YEAR LEASEHOLD SCHEME

In an attempt to cater for the housing needs of a select black middle class so that it could not rebel against the state for a better housing deal, the 30 year leasehold scheme was introduced. In 1975 it was announced that the right of house occupation would be for thirty years, which upon expiry could be extended for another thirty years (Morris, 1981). Participation on this scheme would be subject to the possession of a homeland certificate of citizenship (Morris, 1981). It may be argued that because the thirty year leasehold scheme was to be repaid over a long period, it was aimed at capital accumulation, as the price of the house after thirty years could be as high as three times the original price.

The Marxist argument becomes pertinent in this situation, that the 30 year leasehold scheme fails to provide housing to the poorest majority of blacks in South Africa if it has intentions of capital accumulation. In the ultimate, the scheme mainly catered for the needs of the wealthy.

3.4.5 THE ADMINISTRATION OF HOUSING BY BLACKS

The administration of housing by blacks was seen as a new approach in addressing black housing problems. Several Acts were passed through parliament.

The accumulation of capital through the African housing market has occurred within the limitations of central government policy (Hendler, 1987). Many millions of Rand were budgeted for Black housing, unfortunately the end benefitors were the white government authority and white companies. Notwithstanding that the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 attempted to provide a fully-fledged municipal authority for the black townships, this authority was viewed by Hendler (1987) as a government's ploy of shifting the responsibility of municipalities in towns into the control of housing by inexperienced black local officials. This Act was therefore thought to have failed to address the housing demand amongst blacks.

In 1984 the Black Communities Development Act provided for the Administration Boards to become Development Boards (Hendler, 1987). The Administration Boards were staffed by officials who were paternalistic towards the people they were supposed to supply with housing. The Black Local Authorities therefore failed to provide housing to the poor, mainly because their working capabilities were below the greater demand for housing amongst the poor.

Atkinson (1991) sees the latter half of the 1980s as a period when local urban initiatives attempted to restructure the urban political order on a non-racial basis. Administration Boards removed the African communities from the jurisdiction of white local authorities, and placed them under what came to be known as civics or the so called comrades (Atkinson, 1991). The administration of housing by blacks was a dismal failure because blacks did not have the working capabilities to resolve a problem that was created by apartheid capitalism. It becomes clear that the Black Housing Boards were mere extensions of the apartheid system.

3.4.6 STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS

The post Black Housing Boards period in South Africa, and Umlazi in particular, was characterised by strikes and boycotts which directly affected housing. It is imperative to look at strikes and boycotts because these were seen as a strategy of drawing attention not only to the socio-political problems but to the housing problem as well.

After 1983 civic action began to take programmes of protests which translated into the form of strikes and boycotts. In the mid 1980s there was national as well as international opposition to apartheid. It was evident that it was not going to be long before apartheid was removed from the statute books. (McCarthy, 1991). Around the 1980s conference papers dealing with a post-apartheid South Africa began to flow. It can be argued that although de Klerk had since repealed all the apartheid laws by 1983, especially the cornerstone of apartheid, the Population Registration Act, these laws have only been repealed statutorily, but not in practice. It stands to reason that the legacy of apartheid will be with us for some time before South Africa becomes a normal society. It is obvious that the housing crisis is going to be with us for some time before it is fully resolved, as it is interlinked with apartheid capitalism. The acknowledgement by whites in the late 1980s and early 1990s that the apartheid legacy was the major cause of the black problems in urban areas resulted in heated debates concerning the resolution of urban problems.

3.5 POST-APARTHEID HOUSING POLICY PROPOSALS

The housing debate by housing experts, since the repeal of Apartheid legislation, is aimed at attempting to resolve the housing backlog in black townships of South Africa. This section therefore explores some of the key initiatives put together to address housing issues: the De Loor Commission and its critique, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which was introduced by the Government of National Unity.

Other views on housing issues concern financial matters of housing, land provision and housing, urban reconstruction and employment facilitation,

the upgrading of squatter settlements, administration of housing, and a new model of housing dynamics. The topics above explore views by various housing experts such as academics, para-statal organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and many other housing experts in general.

3.5.1 THE DE LOOR COMMISSION

The de Loor Commission represents a para-statal commission which was proposed by the old South African government. Joop de Loor was chosen to head the commission towards the formulation of a post-apartheid housing policy in South Africa. The then existing housing situation, functions and finances of government and government financed institutions, the role of the private sector institutions were all issues addressed by the de Loor Report (de Loor, 1992). In a nutshell the de Loor Commission report is about new housing proposals on a policy and strategy for South Africa in the 1990s (de Loor, 1992). The objectives of the Commission's report follow a sequence in accordance with the chapters of the report, and are given as follows:

- a) to attempt to retain sustainable growth and the role of housing in stimulating development and job creation;
- b) to give an overview of relevant international experiences on housing, such as the case of Zimbabwe;
- c) to provide a brief historical outline of the past, and present housing policy and strategy, and institutional framework;
- d) to attain equality of opportunities and access to housing for all;
- e) to describe the role and functions of the state and parastatal institution involved in the housing delivery process;
- f) to evaluate the existing housing situation and institutions; and
- g) to make policy proposal based on evaluation.

Accordingly the de Loor Commission objectives are relevant to this very study. To remind ourselves, some of the aims of this study are to look at the history of housing in South Africa, which would help reveal the quality of housing among black residents. The study also aims at looking at housing in foreign countries, so as to obtain lessons from such studies.

A summary of the de Loor Commission's findings and proposals as presented to South African authorities (Cain et al, 1992:44) is as follows:

- a) All South Africans are supposed to have at least a four-roomed house with a bathroom, secure tenure, access to potable water and sanitary facilities;
- b) houses should ideally be located near employment;
- c) non-racial democratic housing should be pursued at all cost;
- d) affordable housing must be made available for all;
- e) government must assume responsibility for the achievement of the housing goal;
- f) community involvement and participation must emerge as part of a new housing policy; and
- g) the state must assume responsibility for acquiring land necessary to provide shelter.

The de Loor proposals were on the whole well-received by the general public and housing commentators. An interpretation by Cain et al (1992) reports that the de Loor Commission proposed the following:

- h) A one national housing department to replace the present eight government housing departments.
- i) An increase in government spending on housing from R1,6 billion to R3,5 billion.
- j) A graduated subsidy scheme for households with income of less than R3000 per month.
- k) Legalised informal settlements as general policy.
- l) Government supplies the bulk infrastructure.
- m) The transfer of all council houses to tenants.

The de Loor Commission proposals are reformist in the sense that they do not advocate for the complete overhaul of the housing policy in South Africa. Instead, the proposals are geared towards the minority within the black community which earns more than R1000 per month. The de Loor Commission does not acknowledge that the apartheid system of the past is directly responsible for the resource inequalities that exist amongst blacks and whites of South Africa.

The fact that the de Loor Commission was proposed and funded by the South African government suggests that there was no consultation between the Commission and the people on the ground, who are the real victims of the housing crisis. Although some of the de Loor Commission proposals appear genuine, the undemocratic manner in which they were carried out makes one sceptical of their original intention and efficacy.

3.5.2 CRITIQUES OF THE DE LOOR COMMISSION

The de Loor Commission has been found wanting by various NGOs and some housing experts. This section gives a brief critique on the de Loor Commission's finding as seen by some NGOs and black housing commentators.

If one follows the argument put forward by Cain *et al* (1992) who are associated with Operation Masakhane for the Homeless (OMHLE), an organisation representing 8 000 000 homeless people, they totally reject the de Loor Commission proposals. Cain *et al* argue that the de Loor Commission suggests that the people earning less than R1000 per month should be treated as falling outside the problem. The then Civic Association of Southern Transvaal (CAST) general secretary Dan Mofokeng, who has since become minister of housing in the Gauteng region, charges that the de Loor Commission was a waste of tax payer's money as it entrenched apartheid. Dan Mofokeng argues that the Commission was non-democratic because it did not consult the people on the ground, who are the actual victims who are directly affected by the housing crisis. He further argues that the billions that are spent to fund useless undertakings such as defence should be spent on massive housing projects.

It is worth summing up that the de Loor Commission should have acknowledged that some of its proposals are impossible to implement. The fact that the Commission proposes that people earning less than R1000 per month should not be provided with freehold rights shows that the Commission does not cater for the poor majority. The spending of South African tax payer's money in an equitable manner to benefit the less

privileged, would be a laudable way of moving towards the resolution of the housing crisis in South Africa.

3.6. OTHER VIEWS ON HOUSING ISSUES

It is imperative for this study to assess views by other housing experts other than those of the de Loor Commission. Some of these views centre around financial matters concerning housing subsidy scheme, land provision, urban reconstruction and employment facilitation. The upgrading of squatter settlements are also explored in an endeavour to resolve the housing crisis in the country. Administration of housing and new models of housing dynamics, form the last section of this chapter. The Reconstruction and Development Programme as proposed by the African National Congress and adopted by the Government of National Unity is also explored.

3.6.1 FINANCIAL MATTERS OF HOUSING

A significant amount of theory (Wilkinson 1983; Smith 1986; Smit 1991; ANC 1994) suggest that it is essential for future policy-makers to explore low-cost housing as one of the significant requirements for a viable post-apartheid policy.

a) Low-cost housing

Low-cost housing is a very popular topic which is usually given attention in situations where inexpensive housing undertakings are planned for the poor. It is therefore necessary to highlight this point by exploring related ideas by various housing experts.

In South Africa, since 1978, elements within the Department of Co-operation and Development in the South African Government have claimed that self-help low-cost housing projects are a means of overcoming the enormous shortage of housing for blacks in cities (Wilkinson, 1983). Representatives of organised capital have received the concept of self-help housing with great enthusiasm in South Africa. However the self help low-cost housing schemes, as argued by Wilkinson (1983), have met with

objections from various quarters. For instance the Department of Community Development opposed the self-help schemes on the grounds that they would create slums.

It stands to reason that the Department of Community Development's contention seems justified that self-help low-cost housing could lead to the creation of slums, if left entirely in the hands of the poor. Such a scheme could obviously lead to the exploitation and accumulation of more profits by the private companies who sell expensive building materials to the poor.

Smit (1991) argues that the demand for housing in the country had been unnaturally depressed by the apartheid regime and it will take time to provide housing for the poor. It is estimated, for example, that Cato Manor will provide 32000 sites for low-cost housing within five years' time which is rather too little considering the existing enormous housing shortage. Other housing needs, for example in Umlazi, exist in the Durban city's planning strategies. It should be noted that although housing plans, like the one mentioned above, augurs well for the future, yet they usually do not take off the ground. Unless the city authorities are prepared to transform their plans into action, the people of Durban will find it difficult to be supplied with adequate low-cost housing.

A need for a speedy execution of housing plans was demonstrated by the invasion of the House of Delegates houses by the Chesterville community in Cato Manor (Natal Mercury, November 3, 1993; Daily News November 3, 1993). The countless homeless people around Durban represent a time-bomb probably more dangerous than either unemployment or lack of education (Natal Mercury November 3, 1993). The only solution is for massive amounts to be ploughed into low cost housing. Such invasions represent a basic shortcoming in the South African housing policy, which drives the homeless to desperation (Daily News November 3, 1993). The RDP could play an important role in this regard, by speedily providing low-cost housing to the desperate communities.

It is therefore evident that the housing crisis is related to the inequalities that are prevalent within the South African society (Smith, 1986). Smith on the other hand argues that the housing schemes such as self-help low-cost housing do not solve the housing problem. Instead, he avers, that they help in the maintenance of the status quo. Smith continues to argue that low-cost housing is recognised by many blacks in South Africa as a cynical device by the state to reduce the financial burden of supplying shelter to the poor.

In its plans, the RDP intends to supply affordable houses for all by the year 2003 (ANC, 1994). In the short term the RDP aims to build one million new low cost houses within five years. These homes are expected to be funded by the government and the private sector through a national housing bank. The government intends to provide subsidies and make sure that the poor including those earning less than R1000 per month, get financial assistance for housing.

The RDP could play a prominent role in supplying low cost housing to the poor. The acknowledgement by the RDP that low cost housing is too expensive to be left in the hands of the poor is in agreement with the viewpoint that the poor need to be substantially subsidised when they build low-cost houses.

As indicated in the chapter on international housing issues, low-cost housing strategies are expected not to resolve the housing crisis if left entirely in the hands of the poor. There is a need for the tripartite involvement of the state, the private sector and the community in resolving the housing crisis in the country. It is evident that blacks will only believe in low-cost schemes if the state, and the private sector are genuinely involved in such schemes.

3.6.2 LAND PROVISION AND HOUSING

It has been said earlier in this study that the 1913 and the 1936 Land Acts deprived blacks of a very important housing resource, land. Views by Collinge (Daily News, 1992) and those by the ANC on how to put right the land inequalities, are addressed.

Collinge (Daily News, 1992) argues that the ANC carries a huge responsibility for protecting the landless and the homeless in the making of a new constitution. She goes on to concur with what has been proposed by the Witwatersrand Centre for Applied Legal Studies that:

- a) Land be treated as a special instance of property dealt with separately in a Bill of rights;
- b) Certain forms of affirmative action be specifically related to land rights;
- c) The question of compensation be looked at anew; and
- d) The constitution be used to redirect the judge's attention to forms of land rights;

The RDP has devised a land reform programme which aims at redressing the injustices of forced removals (ANC, 1994). The RDP also aims at giving access to land to those who were denied by apartheid laws. The RDP's land policy attempts to ensure that security of tenure for all is provided. It can be concluded that the granting of security of tenure to blacks could be a good attempt to redress the land imbalances of the past. This offer could facilitate the supply of sites and housing to the poor. It is clear that land restitutions are imperative.

The Indicator South Africa argues that even if 10% of South African farmland were to be appropriated it would cost R7 billion to supply 200 000 units amongst blacks (Sunday Times April 26, 1992). This estimation could supply less than a quarter of the housing units required. Farmland appropriations from whites could be viewed as compensation for land losses sustained by blacks during the era of relocations and land expropriations.

Though the various policy proposals and after the ANC had met with objections from the private and public sectors on its nationalisation policy, it has since redrafted its policy of land and property provision in its Bill of Rights (Sunday Times April 26, 1992). Its new proposals and policy aim at providing houses for all the people rich and poor alike. The ANC aspires to make land laws that will embody the principle of equity. The ANC has also

suggested that individuals who earn higher salaries and who own a larger portion of the land in South Africa should be prepared to forfeit a measure of their land (Sunday Times April 26, 1992).

The principle of affirmative action might play a crucial role in resolving the land imbalances that were created by the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts. The principle of equity will no doubt provide blacks with land rights. It is evident that the land inequities amongst black and whites have impacted upon the housing backlog in South Africa (Smith 1986). A kind of controlled land appropriation from whites is essential if enough land is to be supplied to blacks, who lack land for housing construction of low-cost housing. The principle of land equity could be a good attempt to resolve the housing crisis amongst blacks in South Africa.

3.6.3 URBAN RECONSTRUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT

Urban reconstruction involves the renewal and restructuring of apartheid cities in such a way that black townships graduate from being dormitory towns to becoming part and parcel of the so called white towns.

In an attempt to resolve the housing backlog in town, Smit (1991) argues about proposals for the reconstruction in such a way that inner city housing at the edge of the city centre is subsidised by the state due to the high land values. Efficiency in the urban areas will thus prove critical for growth and promoting equity (ANC, 1994), especially in housing provision for the poor.

The establishment of jobs in the rural-urban fringe could enable rural residents to obtain employment in these fringes (Smit, 1991). It is evident that this could relieve the pressure of urban housing as many people could stay in this fringe, where jobs could be created. The Umlazi residents could relocate to these fringes of Durban so as to alleviate the housing problem in the area. The RDP aims at creating between 300 000 and 500 000 jobs in industry, trade and commerce within 5 years. The creation of such a number of jobs could enable the poor to be able to provide themselves with the cheapest form of conventional housing, if the RDP becomes a success.

Suckling and White (1988) argue that growth centres with potential for growth should be identified. McCarthy (1991) on the other hand argues that it is better to develop existing smaller towns than to establish new ones because new towns are very expensive to establish.

This researcher agrees with the argument by McCarthy of developing existing towns, because South Africa, as a developing country does not have the adequate technological and financial muscle to develop new towns. The reconstruction of the apartheid city is vital towards the provision of housing for blacks. The facilitation of employment so that the poor could have essential finance to build their own houses, could play a prominent role in providing housing to the poor. The journey to work costs and the location of black townships away from towns have exacerbated the housing backlog amongst the poor and disadvantaged.

3.6.4 THE UPGRADING OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

The spatial manifestation of squatter settlements in Third World urban spaces symbolises the greater demand for houses amongst the poor by advocating the upgrading of shacks.

It is estimated that there are 7 million homeless people or those who live in shack settlements in South Africa (Daily News, 1994). Surprisingly out of the 7 million squatters about 3 million of them are in and around Durban. It has therefore become necessary for more land to be identified in an attempt to provide squatters with security of tenure.

It is also estimated that the country's population doubles every 30 years. This paper argues that if the squatter population figure of 7 million is doubled it means that by the year 2020 one could estimate that the population of squatters would reach the 14 million mark by then. If one considers the estimate of 7 people per household one could estimate the number of formal housing units that could be required by 2020, if the

squatter settlements are not upgraded, and sufficient land is not made available to squatters.

The figures above demonstrate the urgent need for a housing policy that will upgrade squatter settlements rather than their demolition. The upgrading of shacks could supply urban people with the cheapest form of housing. Their destruction could obviously increase the demand for more houses amongst blacks.

One could further argue that it is expedient for planners to recommend that a lower density of houses within the area of a squatter settlement is the best way to go. This could compel the state to allocate more land to squatter camps. However, it is worth noting that the conventional attitude of considering high population densities as causing poverty amongst squatters, instead of acknowledging that poverty breeds high population growth, will not enable future policy makers to formulate effective housing policies for the squatters. Policy makers should take into cognisance that squatter communities are made up of dispossessed people in a dependency relationship. It should be noted that the squatters are more politicised than the other groups because of their long suffering.

It can therefore be concluded that the upgrading of shacks will no doubt increase the supply of housing amongst the poor. Shack destruction will obviously increase the demand for more houses. A future policy should therefore consider the upgrading of squatter settlements if the housing backlog is to be resolved.

3.6.5 THE ADMINISTRATION OF HOUSING

It is imperative that housing should be properly administered if the housing demand and supply might result in the resolution of the housing crisis in a post-apartheid South Africa. Marxists view apartheid as a unique method of administering capital exploitation (Hill, 1983). These Marxists advocate the total destruction of apartheid if the housing crisis is to be resolved. They advocate a kind of social democracy where the state owns some utilities and modest privatisation, which could put an end to capitalist exploitation.

They further argue that capitalist interests should not legitimate slums and inferior housing conditions (Hardiman, 1989). This debate continues without any consensus.

Sandi (1992), the general secretary of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) recommends a single department of national housing, and one housing financing corporation. He charges that the duplication of housing into nine departments is an expensive undertaking which impacts upon the housing backlog in the country. Non-racial housing for all South Africans is proposed by Sandi as ideal towards the resolution of the housing crisis. Sandi also argues that the only solution to the housing crisis could be the removal of the policies of the de Klerk government, because the state has failed to resolve the housing crisis. Unless a new housing policy is formulated in the interim, no new housing policy will come to fruition in the long run.

The views by Sandi stated above are viewed by this researcher as Marxist in orientation and as ideal for a future housing policy. There is evidence that the de Klerk government has failed to deliver the goods in as far as housing is concerned. The fact that nine different housing departments have failed to resolve the housing crisis shows that the duplication of housing departments has aggravated the crisis. It is clear that it is very expensive to run nine housing departments. In the interim, when the de Klerk government is replaced by the Government of National Unity, a new single housing department could improve the housing crisis in South Africa. This could enable housing managers to administer a single housing department with ease.

Other notable views come from the Independent Development Trust (IDT) which maintains that it is imperative that a unitary housing policy is implemented, but it should be endorsed by the widest range of interested parties (Daily News May 14, 1992). To some degree the views of the IDT are in agreement with those of Sandi for one housing department. It is evident that these views advocate for a democratically formulated housing policy which involves a widest range of interested parties. A community-

based administration of housing could ensure proper administration of housing.

The proper administration of housing will only be a success if a new housing department is established. It has become evident that as long as the apartheid government was in power the greater demand for housing amongst the poor could not allow efficient administration of housing in South Africa. A new housing administrative body that will consider a housing policy for a post-apartheid South Africa is imperative for the resolution of some of the problems considered in this study.

3.7 SOME NEW APPROACHES TO HOUSING

It has become essential for housing experts to formulate new approaches to the dynamics of housing that take cognisance of the African environment. This section focuses on ideas by various housing experts on how a new model could be formulated.

Good housing should provide flexibility by which the poor can trade off one need against another (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982). On the other hand, Dwyer (1979) argues that there is no conceivable solution to the current housing problems along conventional Western lines. He further argues that the fundamental fact which should influence urban planning and housing supply should be acknowledgement that Third World urban populations are everywhere overwhelmingly poor, and their poverty is not similar to that of First World countries (Dwyer, 1979). It is common knowledge that administrative resources are very scarce in Third World cities. We can therefore conclude or infer that the application of Third World techniques of housing construction in the Third World South Africa, could enable the poor to use cheaper natural and indigenous building materials such as grass, wood and mud, which suit the warm climate of South Africa. Such houses are cooler in summer and warmer in winter.

Operation Masakhane for the Homeless (OMHLE), a non-governmental housing organisation, is planning depots of low-cost materials in informal settlements in South Africa. In this country it is the general practice of

many companies to develop new housing systems on their computers without speaking to the people on the ground, who are in need of housing. The latter demonstrates the necessity for the involvement of the shack dwellers in the formulation of new housing systems amenable to them.

According to Chester (1992) a South African multiracial group of housing experts claims that it has discovered the missing link in Western ideas about solutions to the black housing crisis. This think-tank believes that the close community spirit of the African society has been overlooked by housing policy-makers and planners. The team plans to challenge Johannesburg to build a new novel village to test new concepts.

Another interesting approach comes from Walter Lloyd (cited in Chester, 1992), the head of Building Project Innovations, who began his research at Midrand by bringing in experts from all housing sources such as builders, architects, geologists, quantity surveyors, civil engineers, financial specialists, and in particular black business and community leaders. Like other experts cited earlier, he argues that housing solutions should be searched in the African milieu than in the Western World. He contends that we seem to forget that we are dealing with housing problems that are uniquely African and Third World. He concludes that there was a need to address the housing backlog within an African context (Daily News March 18, 1992).

Some reports further suggests that no one has bothered to ask the families themselves how they visualised their future home and neighbourhood. Experts seem to have failed to take into account African traditions and cultures that create a close community spirit. They have failed to ask the key question: "What kind of new home was actually preferred? (Daily News March 18 1992:15). Lloyd (cited in Chester, 1992) and others suggest that the experts should concentrate on an approach that is tailor-made to suit the South African sub-continent; its climate, its environment, its traditions and its cultures.

The fact that the RDP recognises the importance of consulting civil society (ANC, 1994) in matters concerning housing is proof that the RDP is really

interested in resolving the housing crisis in an African way. The people on the ground, with their aspirations and collective determination are the country's most important resource (ANC, 1994). It is clear that a new model of housing dynamics will depend upon community participation. The community should decide what kind of houses it is looking for.

In conclusion, it has become imperative for South African housing experts to acknowledge that the housing crisis that exists in the country could only be resolved by a post-apartheid government that could greatly prioritise issues as follows:

- a) climate, as well as its culture;
- b) Umlazi housing subsidisation of the poor inhabitants by the state and the private sector;
- c) the genuine involvement of the international community in financial aid schemes which could facilitate housing provision, as well as technical aid on housing construction;
- d) the inclusion of representatives of the people on the ground in housing policy formulation and decision-making;
- e) the integration of ideas from other successful countries such as Hong Kong and Peru, with those of the South African housing experts; and
- f) the improvement of squatter settlements in such a way that they increase the housing supply.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to give an in-depth theoretical and literary analysis of the housing demand, supply and policy making of the pre- and post-apartheid South Africa.

The historical causes of the housing crisis have been explored in an attempt to link them with their present effects. It has become necessary for this study to acknowledge that this chapter contributes towards hypothesizing and setting recommendations for a viable housing policy for Umlazi township.

It should nonetheless be noted that this chapter has not been able to report on or come up with a viable economic model that is capable of addressing the inadequacies of the capitalist economic model, in relation to housing. Though capitalism appears to be the cause of resource inequalities which resulted in the housing backlog amongst blacks in South Africa, there seem to be no immediate genuine, history-proven and recorded socialist-oriented solutions. It seems clear that an integration of positive aspects of both the capitalist and socialist economic models could possibly lead to a viable economic model that could address the housing crisis in Umlazi township.

Whatever is gained from this theoretical and literary analysis, and the ensuing Umlazi study area could be integrated with the South African housing policies in an endeavour to address the statement "housing demand and supply in Umlazi township: towards a post-apartheid policy."

CHAPTER 4

THE PHYSICAL SETTING OF UMLAZI TOWNSHIP

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The last two chapters have indicated that there is a handful of studies that have been undertaken about Umlazi township. Maasdorp and Haarhoff (1983) focused on the squatter settlement of Malukazi which is in the neighbourhood of Umlazi township. Mkhwanazi(1977) and May (1986) have studied income and expenditure patterns of Umlazi residents. It is the contention of this study that these patterns seem to impact upon the inability of the poor Umlazi residents to afford even the cheapest form of conventional housing.

Writers such as Hardie, (1964), Maasdorp and Humphreys (1975), Townsend (1991) Ivins (1991) and Buthelezi (1992), have all in one way or the other contributed towards the theoretical aspect and history of Umlazi housing. Whilst Buthelezi focuses on the "Landscape of Control in Umlazi Township", Townsend studies the "Rebounding Wave and Land Invasion in Umlazi". This chapter is divided into two parts: the intimated physical setting and the observed physical setting, within the study area. In discussing these two parts an integrative approach will be adopted, where intimated and observed aspects are sometimes treated interchangeably.

Although this research paper is mainly concerned with the human aspect of housing demand and supply in Umlazi, the paper would not be doing justice to this study if the physical aspect is not considered. The siting of Umlazi township on a hilly and undulating environment, and its situation on the outskirts of Durban, where the majority of the Umlazi people work, has serious implications for the housing crisis in the township. The topography underlines the scarcity of flat land for housing construction. The climate, soils, and vegetation demonstrate that Umlazi housing policy makers should consider the African environment and its warm climate, which seems to favour the usage of resources such as mud and grass for house construction.

The historical evolution of Umlazi housing highlights the original causes for the greater demand for housing in the township. Population dynamics show that the housing crisis is exacerbated by the increasing population in the township. The classification of residents into upper middle income, lower middle income, lower income, and the lowest income groups is a direct effect of apartheid capitalism. Land availability, the infrastructural services and the existing housing situation are also explored. The observed physical setting looks at site and situation, climate and vegetation, and land availability and housing density.

4.2 THE INTIMATED PHYSICAL SETTING

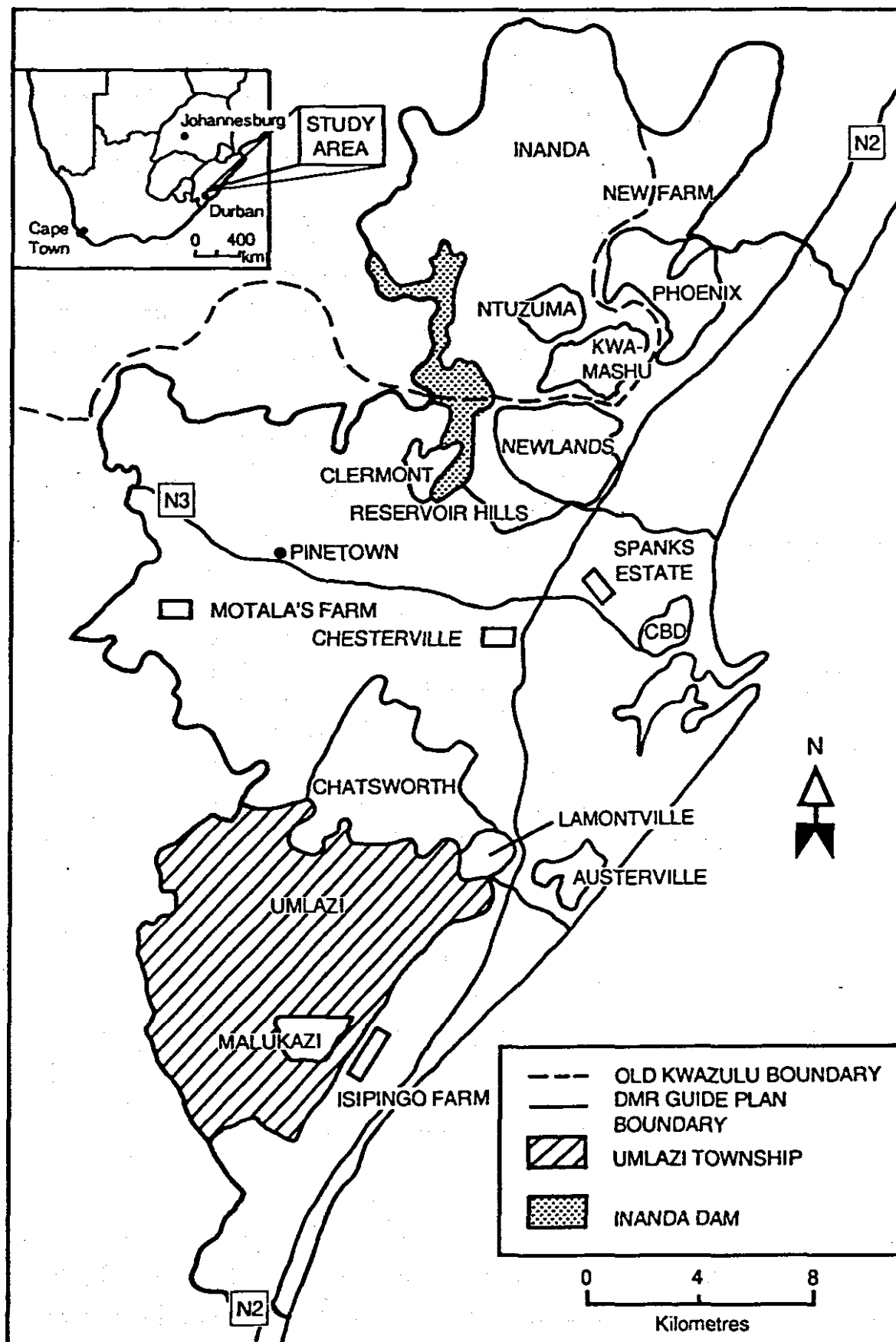
The above heading mainly refers to the theoretical aspect of Umlazi which is later supported by the empirical one. It is important to explore site, size and situation of Umlazi township in order to discover how these elements influence housing demand and supply in the township.

4.2.1 SITE AND SITUATION

Initially Umlazi had an original size of 3000 hectares (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975), but because of the ever increasing demand for housing space the township today covers an area of 4 340 hectares (Buthelezi, 1992). The precise terrain that is covered by the township is mainly hilly land which reduces suitable land for human habitation. The geographic boundaries, as evidenced by a personal exploration of the township by this researcher, are the Umlazi river in the north, and the Izimbokodwe river in the south. In between these two rivers lies the Isipingo river. This stream is characterised by its meanders mainly across sections Z and U, where a squatter settlement has mushroomed. It is clear that the Isipingo river is in its old age due to the presence of meanders which form a flood plain. This plain has attracted many shack dwellers because of the flatness of the land, and its proximity to a water resource. (See Plate 4.1)

Umlazi township is situated about 8 km south west of Louis Botha airport. The Borough of Isipingo lies just east of the township of Umlazi. Further eastwards towards the sea lies the industrial area of Prospecton.

FIGURE 4.1: DURBAN METROPOLITAN REGION SHOWING UMLAZI IN RELATION TO OTHER PERIPHERAL TOWNSHIPS (Source: Roberts, 1983)

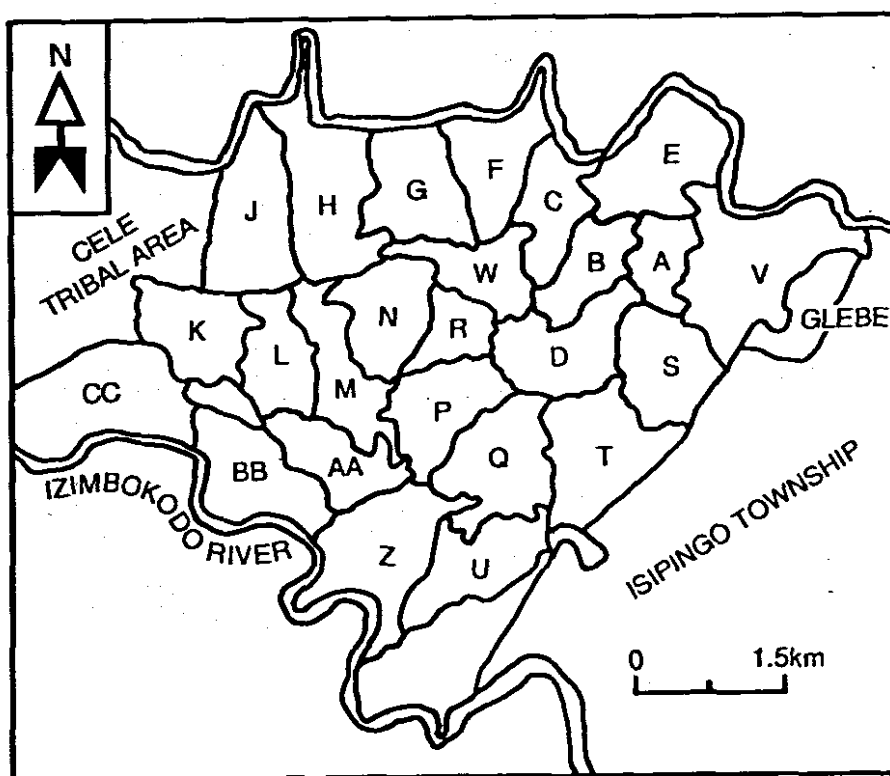


The Indian township of Chatsworth and the African township of Lamontville lie north of Umlazi township (see Figure 4.1).

The site, size and situation of Umlazi township has illustrated that the hilly site decreases the land for housing construction, hence the size of 4 340 hectare of land, which cannot cater for the high population figure of 1 million residents. The township is subdivided into some 25 residential sections (see Figure 4.2)

bordered by the Umlazi River on the northern side and the Izimbokodo River on the southern side. The eastern side is bordered by the Isipingo Township and the western side by the Cele Tribal Area (see Figure 4.2).

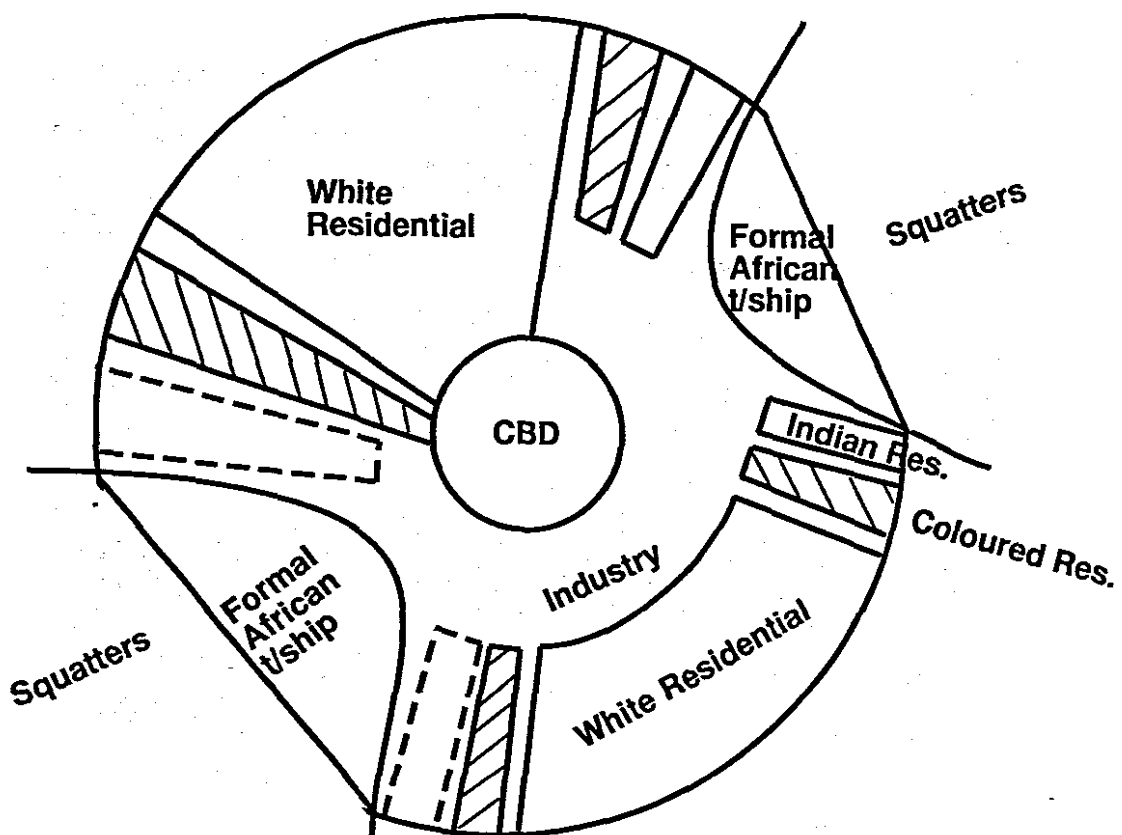
FIGURE 4.2 MAP OF UMLAZI SHOWING RESIDENTIAL SECTIONS
(Source: Townsend, 1991)



The location of Umlazi township on the outskirts of Durban shows that the township is functionally part and parcel of the apartheid city of Durban, (see

Figure 4.3). The fact that the Umlazi township was under the jurisdiction of the former Kwazulu government demonstrates that as a black township it is an enclave within the city of Durban, and is functionally an integral part of the city of Durban (see Fig 4.3). The location of the township on the outskirts of Durban impacts upon the inability of the city residents to afford the cheapest form of conventional housing. The long journeys to and from the workplaces and the homes are costly (Gumbi, 1991).

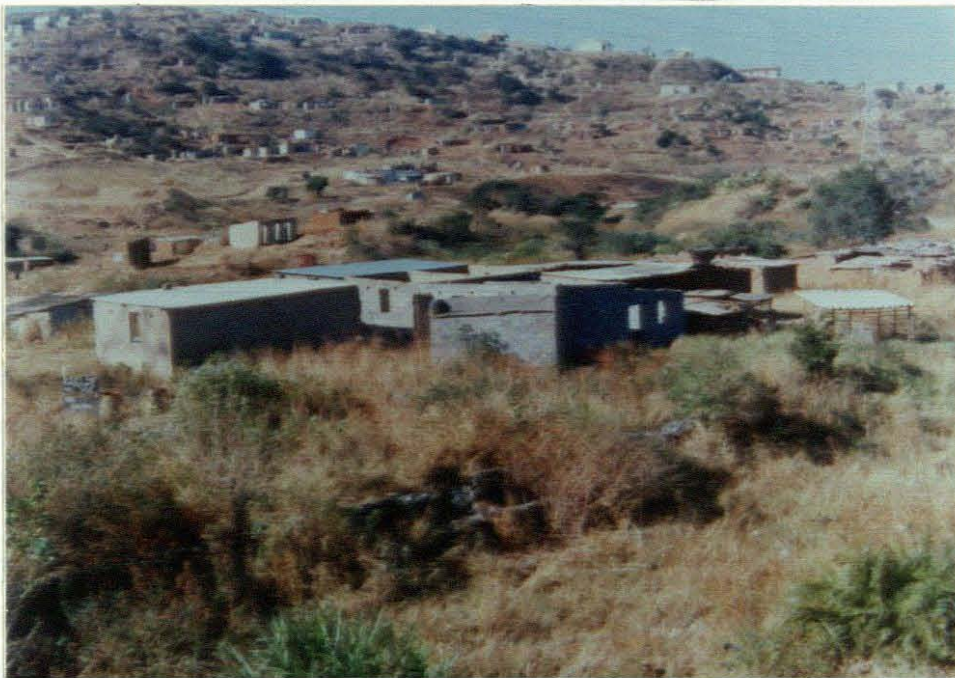
FIGURE 4.3 APARTHEID CITY OVERLAPPING A BLACK TOWNSHIP [Source: Waters (cited in Goba, 1983)]



The situation of Umlazi township 25 km away from the city of Durban makes the majority of the residents to be even more poor as they have to pay high transport costs to commute between the work place and the home. The township policy makers for post-apartheid housing have to

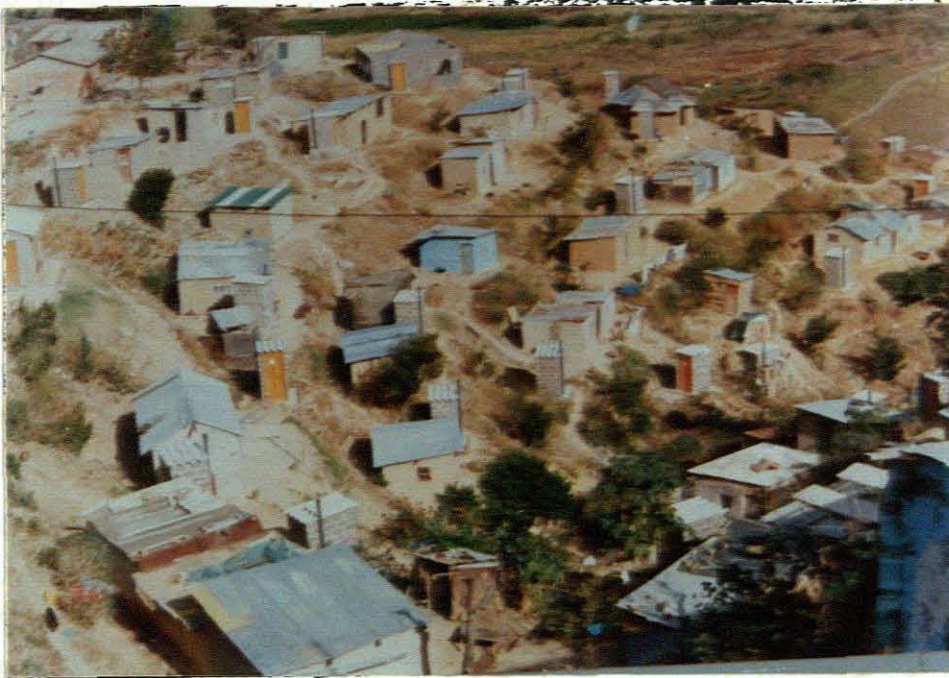
One of the typical characteristics of Umlazi is combination and co-existence of formal housing with informal settlements. This phenomenon is encouraged by the dormitory city status of Umlazi for the City of Durban. There is a continual in-migration of people from rural areas in search of employment, better housing and quality of life. The photograph (Plate 4.1) shows a typical situation where informal and squatter settlements have been established on the flood plain of the Isipingo River. The majority of houses depicted on the photograph, on the hillslope are informal, and sites with toilets are visible.

**PLATE 4.1 A SHACK SETTLEMENT ON THE FLOOD PLAIN
OF THE ISIPINGO RIVER AT SECTION Z**



In an attempt to manage as well as improve the squatting phenomenon in Umlazi township, a scheme of setting up an infrastructure of toilets is very popular. This photograph (Plate 4.2) shows the version of the improved site-and-service scheme without roads, streets and other essential services. The photograph (see Plate 4.2) shows how site, and perhaps situation, plays an important role in influencing the structuring of housing and infrastructural services. The hilly nature of the Umlazi landscape makes the construction of inexpensive, yet decent, housing hard to achieve.

PLATE 4.2 SITES WITH TOILETS IN UMLAZI TOWNSHIP



4.2.2 CLIMATE, SOILS AND VEGETATION

The analysis of soils, climate and vegetation is essential in this study because it is linked to the housing demand and supply, in one way or the other. The formulation of a post-apartheid policy could also be influenced, to some degree, by the above-mentioned aspects.

4.2.2.1 Climate

It is important to acknowledge that the climate of Durban is similar to that of Umlazi because the two urban areas fall under the same coastal region. Durban enjoys a subtropical climate (Hardie, 1964; Preston-Whyte, 1980; Preston-Whyte and Tyson, 1988). It is clear that Umlazi township also enjoys this type of climate because it is physically and climatologically part and parcel of the Durban area. The subtropical climate is a result of location of this region on the subtropical high pressure belt, which is centred at the surface at 30°C (Preston-Whyte, 1980).

The subtropical location on a coast washed by the warm Mozambique current ensures that on average the temperature will be mild in winter and warm to hot in summer (Hardie, 1964; Preston-Whyte, 1980). The annual

range about the mean temperature for Durban of 20,5°C is 8,3°C, which is evidence of the moderating effect of the Indian ocean(Preston-Whyte, 1980). Rainfall occurs from about 900mm in the drier main river valleys in the west to about 1100mm in the wetter south-western portion of Umlazi (Ivins, 1991).

In winter the climate of Umlazi is particularly good when the temperature and relative humidity are lower (Hardie, 1964). Nights become cool but not cool enough to warrant any form of heating system. Rainfall is markedly related to topographic relief and is thus largely of an orographic nature (Ivins, 1991).

It is without doubt that the climate of Umlazi has an effect on housing. The fact that this township is an integral part of the warm subtropical region suggests the need for housing policy makers to acknowledge that mud and grass houses, which are warmer in winter and cooler in summer, are suitable for the poor residents of Umlazi. The climate of Umlazi could therefore play a significant role in influencing the type of house-form that could be provided in the post-apartheid era.

The cheaper organic building materials such as grass and wood can withstand corrosion by sea air. The only disadvantage of such houses is that they are susceptible to destruction by fire, and could be destroyed by arsonists during outbreaks of political and criminal violence. Yet the inexpensiveness of the indigenous building material outweighs the risks involved in the destruction of African-styled houses. Such houses could provide an important housing resource for the poor residents of Umlazi township.

4.2.2.2 Soils and Soil Erosion

It is an undeniable fact that the type of soil and the steepness of land influences the rate of soil erosion, which impacts upon the land for housing construction.

Soil forming processes are governed by the combination of warm days in summer and cold nights in winter (Butler,et al. 1978). The warm days are

associated with heavy rains which erode the top soil. Every year huge amounts of South Africa's soil are washed away into dams or in the sea. One of the causes of soil erosion is the fact that very little natural vegetation remains to hold the soil in place (Butler, et al, 1978).

Because the soil profile of coastal regions of South Africa consists of sandy loam, poor in humus, it is easily leached of the more soluble mineral constituent (Butler, et al, 1978). Beckedahl (cited in Dardis and Moon, 1988) seems to support the argument by Butler, et al (1978), and argues that when anthropogenic influences such as the clearance of natural vegetation and agricultural lands are considered, most regions in Southern Africa are prone to soil erosion. We could therefore infer that because Umlazi is also part of Southern Africa the soil found there is also prone to soil erosion. The hilly topography of the township of Umlazi increases the rate of soil erosion. It is evident that soil erosion reduces the area of flat land for house construction, hence the increasing demand for housing space in this township.

Many of the inhabitants of Umlazi have become accustomed to constructing their houses on hilly or sloping landscapes (see Plates 4.1 and 4.2). The phenomenon of soil erosion can be combated by planting trees and general terracing of the land parcels. It has become imperative for housing policy makers to acknowledge the influence of soils and soil erosion on the Umlazi land. Methods of combating soil erosion, such as the construction of terraced sites on the hilly land could save the land from erosion. The fact that the South African Government decided to demarcate Umlazi for blacks who cannot afford to build houses that are suited for hilly conditions, is both political and uneconomical.

4.2.2.3 Vegetation and its clearance

Vegetation is one of the factors that are overlooked by policy makers when they formulate housing policies. The presence of vegetation in Umlazi is positively related to the housing supply, while its absence has a negative effect.

Umlazi township is covered with scattered evergreen deciduous trees which are common on the South-east coast of South Africa (Hardie, 1964). The natural vegetation over much of South Africa is grassland (New Nation July 11-22, 1993). Grass grows where rainfall exceeds 500mm a year. Forests along the coast grow only where rainfall exceeds 800mm a year. As indicated by Ivins (1991) in the section on climate, rainfall in Umlazi varies between 900mm to 1100mm. It is obvious that were it not for the clearance of vegetation in the township, coastal forests could be present to provide wood as a natural resource instead of buying expensive wood in town.

This investigation therefore views the clearance of forests as having compounded the problem of the scarcity of building materials in the township. This has compelled the poor residents of Umlazi to buy expensive building materials in Durban and Isipingo at considerable costs of delivery. This has clearly increased the housing demand and the inadequate supply of housing in Umlazi township. A need to conserve the natural environment wherever possible has risen.

4.2.3 THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF UMLAZI TOWNSHIP

The Marxist approach interprets history in terms of the past relationships, which were fundamental to the emergence of industrial capitalism (Harvey, 1973). In this study the spot-light is on apartheid capitalism. The historical evolution of the Umlazi township begins during the colonial era, through the segregation period until the period of apartheid rule. The fact that the housing policy of the past and especially that of the present day is linked to capital accumulation, is briefly explored in this section.

4.2.3.1 The Colonial Period

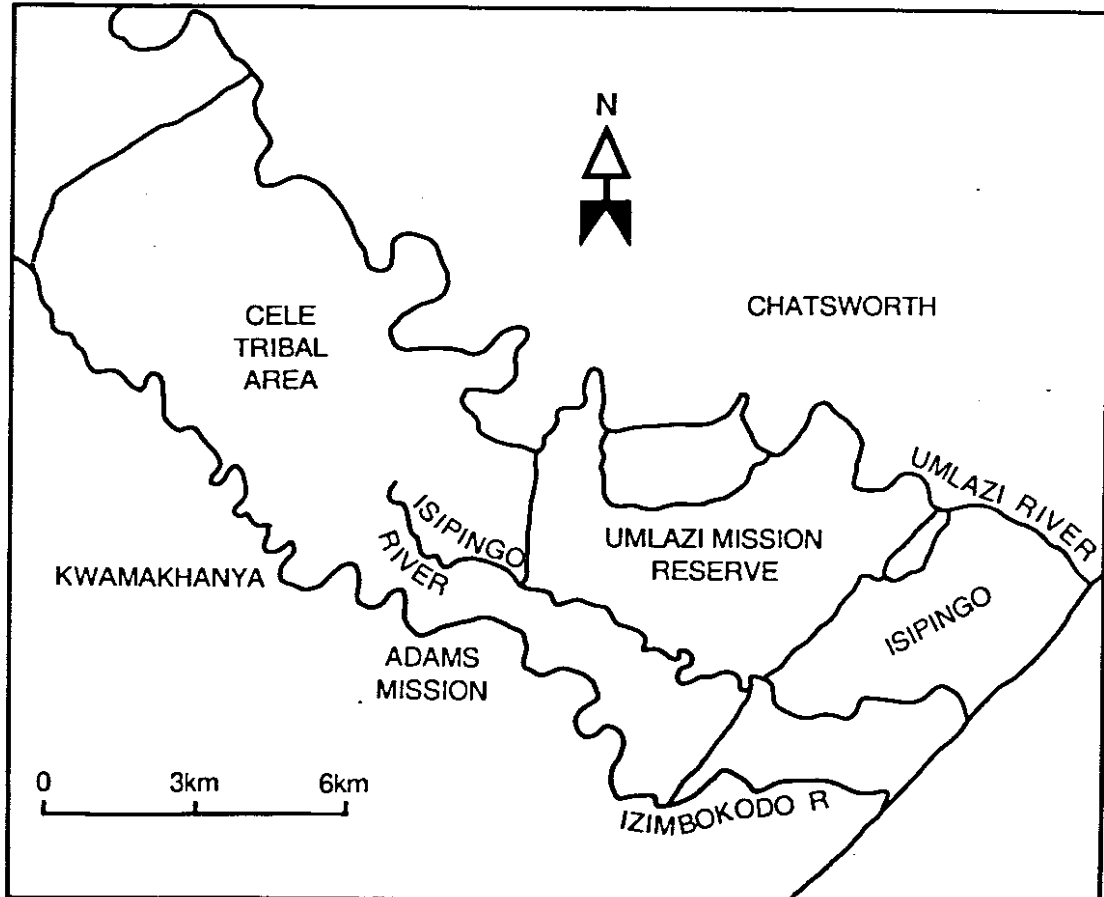
This era begins when the British colonists arrive in South Africa in 1820. The colonial era in Natal is marked by the year 1846 when Sir Theophilus Shepstone and his administration assigned all African tribes of Natal into six locations, and the Umlazi location was gazetted in 1847 (Townsend, 1991).

The Umlazi location stretched from the Umlazi river in the North and the Umkhomazi river in the South (Townsend, 1991). The Umlazi location was demarcated into numerous tribal areas which, included the strip of land which forms the current boundaries of Umlazi township, which is the area under study.

Townsend further asserts that the Umlazi location consisted of the Cele tribal area. The adjoining tribal area South of the location is the Makhanya tribal area. The strip of land along the coast was proclaimed white land. This is land that forms Prospecton and the borough of Isipingo today. The Umlazi mission reserve was located adjacent to this coastal strip.

The colonial period highlights the fact that the root cause of the housing crisis was the demarcation of the township into a very small piece of land which was to be inhabited by a larger population in future. The fact that the black population was not consulted when the boundaries were

FIGURE 4.4: A HISTORICAL MAP OF UMLAZI TOWNSHIP AND RESERVE (Source: Townsend, 1991)



dermacated demonstrates the elitist and paternalistic attitude of whites which exarcebated the housing crisis in Umlazi. The colonial period laid foundations for the repressive laws that were promulgated during the segregation era that was to follow.

4.2.3.2 The Segregation Period

This period ranges from 1910 to 1947. It is marked by the historical event when the Union of South Africa was founded in 1910 and dominated by the United Party government.

During this period, the idea of transforming the Umlazi Mission reserve into a location (township) was raised by the South African government as early as 1940, and the Durban City Council began the planning of townships or locations, as they were sometimes called (Mkhwanazi, 1977; Townsend, 1991). The Umlazi location was bought by the department of Bantu Administration and Development in 1950, which was the era of apartheid rule.

It is clear that the segregation period is only important for laying foundations for the apartheid era when the housing crisis was at its zenith.

The influx control laws that were promulgated in this period, reached their height in restricting the immigration of blacks into urban areas during the Apartheid period. This law slightly decreased the housing demand during the segregation period, only to reinforce it during subsequent periods.

4.2.3.3 The Apartheid Period

This period began in 1948 when the Nationalist government came into power and continued until its demise around 1990. It represents the time when the housing crisis was at its worst. The establishment of the black townships in the early 1950s marked the commencement of frontier commuting. Gumbi (1991) argues that these commuting practices seem to impact upon the inability of the poor residents of Umlazi to afford even the cheapest form of conventional housing imaginable.

Township construction began in what was formally known as the "G.G. location" (now called V Section) in 1956 (Townsend, 1991). According to Buthelezi (1992) the government was more concerned with the provision of accommodation than with the social upliftment of the African people. This approach was bound to lower the quality of life of Umlazi residents.

In 1960 the government announced proposals for a New Umlazi mission reserve housing scheme (Morris, 1981). The Durban City Council was to act as agent for the South African Native Trust in developing the scheme which was to cater for 10 000 black families (Morris, 1981). A year later the Urban Councils Act of 1961 was promulgated and introduced a new form of administration with the provision for nominated and elected black council members who were going to be responsible for the administration of housing in the township. Considering the size of the township, it can be argued that the Native Trust which provided 10 000 black families with housing, only supplied a very small group of residents in the township.

There was a need for a new housing board which would supply all the inhabitants of Umlazi with sufficient housing. In May 1962 the first houses in Umlazi "new" township became available (Mkhwanazi, 1977). It is estimated that by 1963 Umlazi was absorbing about 50 percent of the families that were removed from Umkhumbane shacks in Cato Manor (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975). It has been argued that slum clearance is the main element of housing loss (Balchin and Kieve, 1982). There was loss of housing units when the Umkhumbane squatter settlement in Cato Manor was cleared. It is also obvious that replacement demand is a function of slum clearance (Balchin and Kieve, 1982). The creation of Umlazi township is a typical demonstration of this process, where the demolition of the Cato Manor shacks were replaced through the creation of Umlazi.

The South African government planned to house 22 000 residents in Umlazi township which was only 3 000 hectares in size (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975). When another shack or tin-town called Malukazi was demolished, many people were relocated in various sections of the formal township of Umlazi. Those people who could not afford the rent were moved to the "new" Malukazi shack settlement near U section.

The residents of Umlazi Glebelands, which was formerly a location for single family dwellers, before it became a men's hostel, were removed from this location in 1967 and relocated in sections R and N of Umlazi township (Gumbi, 1993). With further development of the township and the migration of rural inhabitants into the township, the township was bound to grow beyond its original size. The population growth impacted upon the under-supply of housing in Umlazi township. In 1968 it was reported that the Durban City Council had requested R1 million for black housing at Umlazi but only R750 000 was made available (Morris, 1981).

In 1970 a total of 18 254 dwellings were provided in Umlazi (Morris, 1981). Yet the provision of housing did not keep pace with rural-urban migration (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975). By 1971 about 18 693 houses had been built in Umlazi township. In 1975 Umlazi had a population of 149 000, and it was announced in October of the same year that the right of occupation would be for 30 years, which on expiry would be extended to another 30 years (Morris, 1981). The introduction of a 30 year leasehold scheme in Umlazi marked the beginning of rapid mushrooming of shacks. The rapid growth of shacks was also caused by the high costs of privately owned houses. The state was no longer supplying any four-roomed or township houses.

Since 1978 only formal housing for upper income home buyers was built (Townsend, 1991). More than 9 000 houses built between 1910 and 1980 have been middle and upper income developer or owner-built houses. It can be argued that the provision of upper and middle income houses marked a shift in government policy of providing cheaper housing for the poor. It was obvious that the private sector was collaborating with the state in accumulating housing related profit at the expense of the poor. Such housing schemes have aggravated the housing crisis in the township, especially in the early 1980s. Profit motivated collaborations by the state and private sector represent an anti-housing policy stance because they do not supply housing to the majority of the poor.

According to Townsend (1991), other responses to low-cost housing in Umlazi appear to have been the proliferation of backyard shacks. On

making an observational assessment of the township it was noted that the township has pockets of shack settlements and backyard shacks in close proximity to the area of formal houses. It seems that there are at least half the number of shacks as many as formal township houses in Umlazi. The dichotomy of good and bad housing on the land of Umlazi is proof that the legacy of apartheid has aggravated the problem of housing resource inequalities among its people.

The housing department in Umlazi noted that from 1980s onwards the survey of sites could not keep up with the demand for housing. The population of Umlazi increased to a staggering figure of 194 000 in 1985, and the township had a housing stock of 23 800 low income housing units that year (Townsend, 1991). It is evident that the 1980s saw an increase in the demand for housing in Umlazi due to the non-supply of the cheaper four-roomed houses. This situation has resulted in the mushrooming of backyard shacks and the establishment of elite sections such as that at section BB, where the entire houses consist of private ownership houses which are very expensive. Because of the state policy of subsidising the middle class, the housing situation of the poor sector of the Umlazi community is deteriorating.

The historical geography of Umlazi township indicates that the housing crisis in the township was caused by a combination of natural socio-economic elements that existed during the colonial, segregation and apartheid periods. It is worthwhile to mention that the apartheid era stands out as the period that exacerbated the housing crisis in Umlazi township. The capitalist way of supplying expensive housing to the affluent middle class at the detriment of the poor, was mainly entrenched during the era of apartheid rule.

4.2.4 POPULATION DYNAMICS IN UMLAZI

The dynamics of population growth and competition for physical space and infrastructure in Umlazi township have been strongly influenced by government policies discussed in the preceding section. Two viewpoints seem to dominate the notion of population growth. The modernisation school of thought espouses that the rapid rising population amongst blacks

is a result of their inability to control birth rates. It argues that the high birth rates give rise to poverty. On the other hand, the dependency school of thought blames capitalist apartheid for the rapid population growth amongst blacks.

According to estimates from population experts (Daily News, February 11, 1992) the formal population of Umlazi is more than a million inhabitants if the backyard shacks are also considered. Taking into consideration the formal and informal population which consists of the site with toilets and backyard shacks, it is clear that if the formal population is 0,65 million, the informal population is about 0,35 million. It should be noted that the shacks are part and parcel of the formal population. The shack dwellers demand much of the infrastructure and services of the formal residents of the township, who are forced to share resources such as land and water without compensation.

4.2.5 POPULATION GROWTH IN UMLAZI (1960 - 2000)

The concave J curve is assumed by the Umlazi population growth in an exponential fashion. It is characteristic of the Malthusian geometric progression. This population growth could be divided into two phases, the lag and log phases.

Townsend's (1991) analysis appears to demonstrate that the population growth during 1960 and 1980 was slow and relatively long. The population doubled from 70 000 in 1961 to 149 000 in 1975. From 1985 onwards the log phase began and during 1992 onwards the growth rate was at its fastest. It is argued in this study that the population will have far exceeded the 2 million mark by the year 2000.

It is important for policy makers to make use of correct population figures and planning procedures so that accurate housing requirements are met in the township. It also stands to reason that overpopulation will only be resolved in the township by means of housing policies that will acknowledge the poverty of blacks as one of the major causes of overpopulation. Policy makers ought to start searching for solutions to

black poverty, if they intend to resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi township.

4.2.6 THE CLASSIFICATION OF RESIDENTS IN UMLAZI

There are many ways of classifying residents in South Africa. Housing, in this study, is classified according to socio-economic groups, which takes into cognisance the influences of apartheid capitalism. There are extremes in the social index of the poor and the rich. Those who are rich and powerful are high up in the social class ladder (Johnston, 1980). Those who are poor are the most isolated spatially from the members of other classes.

The photograph (refer to Plate 4.3) shows the following features:

- (a) The foreground shows the double storey upper middle class house;
- (b) The top right hand corner of the photograph shows the lower middle income houses; and
- (c) The top part shows the lower working class four-roomed houses.

Only the shack settlements, as a classificatory media, are missing on this photograph.

In this study the dichotomy of the affluent and the poor is revealed by the spatial manifestation of "good" and "bad" housing (see Plate 4.3). The former is represented by section N and BB in this study whilst the latter is represented by M and CC sections and other squatter areas. These two groups are further sub-divided into smaller groups as follows:

- a) The Upper Middle Income Group of N section,
- b) The Lower Middle Income Group of BB section,
- c) The Upper Working Income group of section M, and
- d) The Lower Working Income Group of section CC and other squatter settlements.

**PLATE 4.3 PHOTOGRAPH OF SECTION AA SHOWING THE
LOCATIONS OF THREE HOUSING CLASSES**



Bassett and Short (1980) argue that the housing problem is further complicated by the tendency to segregate housing space. Section N of Umlazi is segregated from the rest of the township and has the best view, at the expense of other housing classes in Umlazi township.

Marxists argue that capitalist accumulation is a productive utilisation of land, and it is a form of land consumption, (Bassett and Short, 1980; Mingione, 1981). These authors seem to argue that the basic needs of private capital accumulation and profit always dominate the form of urban growth and planning. We can therefore argue that because the upper middle income group is allocated the biggest plots in the township, it is clear that this class consumes more land than the other classes.

In concluding this section, it is worth noting that the creation of the middle income group of sections N and BB has aggravated the demand for low income housing in section M and CC. The state and the private sector appear to collude with each other in exploiting the poor. It will be very difficult to resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi Township if the middle class housing schemes are prioritised above those that cater for the poor.

4.2.7 LAND AVAILABILITY AND HOUSING DENSITIES

It has been said in chapter three that the 1913 and the 1936 Land Acts deprived blacks a major portion of their land. The fact that many of the new arrivals in the formal township of Umlazi came from Cato Manor, underlines the necessity to explore the Cato Manor story. The invasion of the Umlazi school grounds by squatters is also discussed.

It is without doubt that the housing crisis has historically been rooted in the land question. It stands to reason that the housing crisis in South Africa is basically a political issue. Marxists believe that land scarcity is determined by social rather than natural limits to its use (Bassett and Short, 1980). It can therefore be argued that the state has created artificial land scarcities in an attempt to promote private ownership of housing by, for example, declaring Cato Manor an undesirable area, and retaining it idle for decades. Cato Manor, by virtue of its ties with the Umlazi population which was removed from this area, has therefore emerged as one of the incongruencies within the development process in Durban (Davies and McCarthy, 1984).

The Umlazi elite which consist of the township managers, councillors, prominent businessmen, and other people of note are allocated more than one plot of land, because they are privileged and can afford more plot purchases at the expense of the poor who are without funds (Interviews, 1994).

Some of the Umlazi residents have bought sites from unscrupulous housing agencies at exorbitant prices. This practice has negatively affected the allocation of sites to the poor, hence the shortage of these sites amongst the less privileged. The affluent have created a situation where the supply of housing has been left at scarcity value levels, so that the poor could be held as economic hostages. As a result, the shortage of land in Umlazi has increased land prices and housing densities. It is noticeable that housing densities are lower where the middle class resides because of bigger sites allocated. The higher densities in the shacklands are therefore a result of the lower densities in the middle and upper class areas.

Another phenomenon in Umlazi is that scarcity of land for housing construction has compelled many squatters to invade the land which belongs to the township schools. This spatial invasion of the land belonging to schools involves some of the councillors who illegally sell land to the squatters. About thirty families have claimed to have paid R1 000 to the Umlazi council for each site close to the Buyani school premises (New Nation November 20 - 26, 1992). Yet the squatter families were told by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture to leave the area not later than October 22, 1992. Such problems have occurred in Umlazi and no solutions seem to have been possible. In the mean time the issue of land scarcity has increased the demand for housing in Umlazi. The unfair manner in which the Umlazi authorities control land aggravates the housing crisis in the township.

4.2.8 INFRASTRUCTURAL SERVICES

Fundamental infrastructural services in this study entail roads, electricity, water and sewerage. These services are all part and parcel of housing demand and supply in Umlazi. Townsend (1991) discovered that 66 percent of the houses were electrified in 1990. All the formal houses were provided with toilets and running water. The fact that the shacks are not recognised as part of the formal township aggravates the scarcity of infrastructural services in Umlazi. Only the sites and service schemes are provided with toilets and there are no well-constructed roads in between the houses in these schemes.

According to May (1986) the township of Umlazi is relatively more privileged than other black townships in Natal. This view is not accurate because in reality the infrastructural services are inadequate in Umlazi. The fact that the shack settlements are not provided with basic infrastructural services shows that the services are inadequate. It is highly ironical that the adjacent KwaMakhanya rural area across the Izimbokodwe river has recently been provided with water and electricity, whilst the squatter settlements within the boundaries of the township lack such services.

It is essential to provide infrastructural services for all the inhabitants of Umlazi. This could lead to the betterment of the quality of life of the Umlazi residents. A new policy that could cater for the entire population of Umlazi, is essential. There are positive signs that the township manager is at least envisaging to provide infrastructure for the section CC residents (Buthelezi, 1992). Water pipes and pit toilets for each site have already been provided in Section CC.

4.2.9 THE EXISTING HOUSING SITUATION

The current housing situation in Umlazi is in a poor state, to say the least. Several arguments have been advanced for this state of affairs.

The policy of constructing privately owned houses first and the bull-dozer attitude of the Umlazi bureaucrats still exists today. The KwaZulu authorities have been ordered by the Durban supreme court not to demolish shacks that are built on the schoolgrounds of Sandakahle Lower Primary school in Section E. Some Umlazi councillors encourage squatters to invade and stay permanently on the school grounds.

Monty Moodley of the ANC claims that the demolition of the shacks was a plan to wipe out squatter settlements because they are viewed as ANC aligned. It should be noted that in the process of demolishing shacks a very important housing resource is destroyed. Though there are many problems that hinder the resolution of the housing crisis in Umlazi, nonetheless, there are few projects that have been started in an attempt to improve the housing situation in the township. For instance building projects valued at R16 million are planned and have not taken off in the township (Natal Mercury November 5, 1992). These projects include the upgrading of nine schools, four clinics, two halls, a stadium and the provision of 3 270 formal houses. The object of these infill projects is to give the township residents formal and permanent accommodation.

An empirical observation of Umlazi township by this researcher reveals that the township authorities have also attempted to resolve the housing crisis by making use of the formerly vacant steep slopes to establish sites

with toilets which are also expensive if they are entirely left in the hands of the poor.

4.3 THE OBSERVED PHYSICAL SETTING

In contrast to the intimated physical setting, we have the observed physical setting which is marked by the personal and practical observations of the researcher. When the researcher undertook first-hand or empirical observation of the township with the aid of a camera and a site map, the following elements were noted: site and service, climate and vegetation, infrastructural services, land availability and housing density. These elements are now discussed in greater detail.

4.3.1 SITE AND SERVICE

It is indicated in the intimated physical setting that Umlazi is basically sited on hilly land. On site observations justified this contention as shown in Plate 4.1. The plate reflects some newly constructed semi-formal and serviced settlements on a hilly landscape. This photograph clearly shows the location of houses on steep hills. The fact that in the past, these sloping hills were without site and service schemes encouraged people to squat on the vacant hills. When a policy of site and service schemes was introduced on the hills, many poor residents were deprived of free and cheaper land. They were then required to pay for these sites.

This study associates the site and service schemes that were introduced on the Umlazi hills with capitalistic motives. Before the site and service scheme was introduced on the hills the poor squatters did not pay for the inaccessible sites on hills. As soon as this scheme came into being, few residents were able to build decent housing on such schemes. The majority of the residents could only provide themselves with very small houses on such sites as in Plate 4.2.

It is also important to note that the usage of houses on hills suggests the scarcity of flat land in the township. The utilisation of hilly land by poor people further aggravates the housing crisis in the township as it becomes very expensive to construct larger and better houses on hillslopes. It could

have been a better proposition to allocate the hilly lands to the more affluent middle class, which could afford to build houses on hillslopes.

It is also evident that the smallness of the sites on the Umlazi hills, and the absence of other infrastructural services such as tarred roads and flush toilets, lower the quality of the lifestyle of the residents of such schemes. During rainy days it becomes very difficult for the residents to reach their homes due to the proliferation of muddy footpaths and gravel roads. It is without doubt that the establishment of sites and service schemes on the township hills is a functional device to control free squatting. This device has its positive and negative attributes.

The hilly nature of the Umlazi land highlights the need for decision makers on the post-apartheid period to acknowledge that it is expensive to build low cost housing on hills. Decision makers should attempt to relocate the poor residents of site and service schemes to areas where the land is less hilly. It can be reiterated that it is the duty of the state and the private sector to see to it that residents of site and service schemes are given financial aid, which could facilitate the building of low-cost housing on better sites.

4.3.2 CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

It stands to reason, as suggested in the intimated physical setting earlier, that Umlazi township continues to be part and parcel of the subtropical climate which is characterised by a typical coastal vegetation. The trees appear in the area where the four-roomed houses were earlier indicated in Plate 4.4.

It is evident from Plate 4.4 that Umlazi is basically a coastal forest area. The spatial distribution of trees within sites of four-roomed houses highlights the need to conserve the natural vegetation of the township. The trees could be used as building material for housing construction, rather than the poor residents buying expensive wood in Durban and Isiphingo. There is therefore a correlation between the scarcity of trees in the township and the expensive building material that is bought in town.

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Expensive building material therefore increases the demand for housing in the township.

4.3.3 THE INFRASTRUCTURAL SERVICES

The infrastructural services that are visible on all the photographs are in the form of roads, electricity wires, toilets of site and service schemes and footpaths. It should be noted that the formal part of the township is provided with essential infrastructural services such as tarred roads, electrified street-lights and houses, running water in toilets and water for domestic consumption.

In the informal part of the township it was observed that there is an inadequate supply of infrastructural services. For instance, on photos showing sites with toilets, there are no tarred streets in between sites. The toilets are not provided with running water, instead, they are provided with pit toilets. Only the footpaths act as through-ways from one house to the other. The contention by May (1986) that Umlazi is privileged than other townships when it comes to infrastructural services, is therefore to be rejected in this research inquiry.

The absence of the infrastructural services in the informal part of Umlazi township tends to lower the quality of lifestyle of informal residents. A need for the upgrading of the existing infrastructural services, and the provision of the services that are missing, has become imperative.

4.3.4 LAND AVAILABILITY AND HOUSING DENSITY

The scarcity of land in Umlazi is demonstrated by the high densities that exist in squatter settlements. On site observation in support, see Plate 5.3 in Chapter 5, which shows the dichotomy of high and low housing densities within the formal and informal houses. There is also a difference between the housing densities of spontaneous settlements of Section CC and the squatter settlements of Section M. The low housing densities at Section CC reveal that before the township became a formal township there was adequate land in Umlazi. The high densities that are visible at

section M squatter settlement highlight the scarcity of land within the shack settlements.

The higher shack densities as shown by Plate 5.3 which is land that was invaded by squatters at M section compels many shack dwellers to occupy small sites. The compactness of the houses in relation to one another tends to lower the quality of lifestyle of the shack dwellers. The fact that the majority of informal houses are constructed out of timber and mud underlines the significance of using indigenous building material which suits the African environment and its people.

The spatial manifestation of a dense settlement within the Umlazi open spaces demonstrate the scarcity of formal sites and housing. The proliferation of shack settlements also highlights the scarcity of cheaper houses in the township. The fact that the shack dwellers decided to allocate themselves with sites on vacant land, is a result of the inability of the erstwhile apartheid government to provide the poor with cheaper formal housing.

**PLATE 4.4 A PHOTOGRAPH OF SECTION R WHICH
SHOWS A BACKYARD HOUSE**



Another element of high density living observed in the area is the presence of backyard houses or shacks. The backyard structures within the sites of four-roomed houses [See Plate 4.4] are visible expression of the smaller size of the four-roomed houses and the need for more room. It is clear that the four-roomed houses which could not accommodate the larger families are a function of the appearance of backyard structures. It is therefore essential to acknowledge that the negative supply of formal housing to the poor can only be understood by viewing the extent of the mushrooming of backyards and squatter settlements in Umlazi township.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has laid a foundation for a detailed theoretical as well as empirical demand and supply in Umlazi township. This is done with the hope that whatever is studied in the physical and survey aspect of this study would enable this inquiry to contribute towards the formulation of a viable post-apartheid housing policy for the township.

Site and service, as a concept in Umlazi, shows that the housing crisis is a result of government policy of the past which allocated the Umlazi land to the poor at great travelling costs. Such costs have resulted in the inability of the poor to afford to pay for the cheapest conventional housing. Most of the wages of the poor are spent on the journey to work. Site also highlights the hilly nature of the township land, which is too expensive to be developed with low-cost housing.

On the whole, the historical geography of Umlazi aims at discovering the underlying causes of poverty and resource inequalities which have impacted upon the housing backlog in the township. Population dynamics explains the effect of overpopulation on the housing crisis, and the fact that it is suspected to be caused by poverty. Further, poverty impacts on the classification of residents which exposes the socio-economic divisions that prevail within the communities of Umlazi. Classification therefore places the middle class at an advantage and the poor at a disadvantage.

Observations reveal that land availability on scarcity of land is controlled by those that are in power with the affluent benefiting more than others. The infrastructural services that are inadequate in the township go hand in hand with the poor administration of the township by the elite. The existing housing situation shows that the inefficient authorities, without well defined policies, aggravate the housing crisis.

It should be noted that the integration of ideas from this chapter with those of the next chapter which emphasises mainly on the empirical and survey aspect of this study could play a vital role in providing answers to the solution of the housing crisis in the township of Umlazi.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the passing of the quantitative revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, the analysis and interpretation of geographic studies tended to favour the quantitative approach. However, since the emergence of the phenomenological and philosophical revolution in the 1980s and 1990s, analysis and interpretation has also accepted qualitative approaches as valid geographic procedures. This study is therefore mainly concerned with the qualitative analysis and interpretation of data of the study area. The qualitative technique is employed in this research enquiry because the study itself is interested in philosophical interpretation of life and human behaviour, not numerical behaviour (Kidder, 1986). The political instability that existed in Umlazi township when this research investigation was undertaken compelled the researcher to employ non-probability related sampling techniques. It became too risky to employ probability sampling.

Although non-probability sampling is less scientific than probability sampling it should be noted that there were major advantages of non-probability such as (affording as the) convenience of operation and the economy of time and money (Shaw and Wheeler, 1985). For this study, the advantages of using the non-probability sampling outweighed the risks involved in not using probability sampling. It should be noted that the difference between research that is based on probability sampling and that which is based on non-probability sampling, in terms of their relative representativeness is not always as great as is sometimes implied. (Bryman and Cramer, 1990).

Until one has a real feel for the situation in which one is working, the most sophisticated statistical techniques in the world can obscure rather than illuminate the truth. The analysis and interpretation of data follows a sequence where the objective which aims to discover the main cause for the housing crisis attempts to justify the hypothesis that apartheid capitalism is the major cause of the situation. The second objective

which endeavours to evaluate the extent of the housing crisis attempts to reject or accept the hypothesis that the supply of formal houses is surpassed by the proliferation of shack and squatter settlements in Umlazi township.

The third objective which is aimed at assessing the quality of lifestyle of Umlazi residents attempts to justify the hypothesis that the provision of basic infrastructural services especially amongst the squatter settlements, could improve the quality of life of the Umlazi residents. The final objective which attempts to stimulate or formulate a viable post-apartheid housing policy hypothesises that the state and the private sector should be the main suppliers of housing for the poor in Umlazi township.

In engaging the analysis and interpretation procedures it should be noted that the questionnaire items which are considered to be of minor significance, are not analysed in this study. For the sake of clarification this research study also uses, in most cases, rounded figures when tables are given. The tables as presented are sub-divided into four housing classes.

Let us now engage in the actual analysis and interpretation of data which, for easy handling, has been categorised into the four hypotheses and related issues.

5.2 OBJECTIVE, HYPOTHESIS I AND RELATED ISSUES

The first group of questions aiming at discovering the major cause or causes for the housing crisis and the related hypothesis which was mentioned earlier on, were analysed and yielded the following results:

a) Negative Responses

About 71 percent of the upper middle income respondents, 84 percent of the upper working class, 90 percent of the lower working class, and 57 percent of the lower middle class indicate that they were not influenced by workplace to reside in Umlazi township.

TABLE 5.1: RESPONSE TO WORKPLACE INFLUENCE ON RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

Yes/ No	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
YES	12	29	17	43	06	16	03	10	38	25
NO	28	71	23	57	34	84	29	90	114	75
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

The shack dwellers seem to be the class that is worst hit by government rules of forced removals. The long and expensive journeys between workplace and the home appear to aggravate the housing crisis. The main reason here is the high costs of travelling, instead of spending a major portion of the wages on housing construction. This negative response by the majority of the Umlazi respondents demonstrate the effects of the apartheid government relocations of the past as regressive. The majority of the Umlazi residents did not choose to inhabit the township, hence the negative responses to workplace influence on residential location.

b) Positive Responses

It appears that the majority of the middle class respondents who have indicated that they were influenced by workplace to relocate in Umlazi are the lower middle income respondents. For instance 29 percent of the upper middle class, 43 percent of the lower middle class, 16 percent of the upper working class, and 10 percent of the lower working class respondents all indicate that they were influenced by workplace to reside in Umlazi township.

It seems that some of the affluent residents relocated into Umlazi because they wanted to be nearer Durban. The poorest respondents who decided to relocate to Umlazi may have been forced by the lack of jobs

and violence in rural areas to relocate into Umlazi. To some of these respondents Umlazi is considered as being relatively stable and secure.

PLATE 5.1 AN UPPER MIDDLE INCOME HOUSE TYPE IN SECTION - N



c) The Global View

The overall picture is that 75 percent of all the respondents interviewed indicated that they were not influenced by workplace to settle in Umlazi. It could then be argued that because of the earlier theoretical contention in Chapter 4, Umlazi is part and parcel of the apartheid city of Durban. The apartheid government regulations compelled the majority of the residents to reside far away from the workplace without considering the long and expensive journeys to work. These long distances seem to render the poor to be unable to afford even the cheapest form of conventional housing.

The apartheid laws which created the Group Areas Act appear to be directly responsible for impoverishing the majority of the Umlazi residents. It was discovered that the long journeys to work are costly

(Gumbi, 1991). It has become imperative for decision-makers to consider the proper planning of new towns so that the poor could be relocated near their workplaces, in order to save on high transport costs. The relocation of the poor residents near their workplaces or the high subsidisation of transport cost could facilitate the ability to afford the cheapest form of conventional housing by the poor. It is therefore evident that the location of Umlazi residents on the outskirts of Durban is one of the main reasons for their impoverishment.

5.2.1 Violence in Umlazi

One should note that Table 5.2. reveals a picture of both the subjects who responded for each question and those who did not respond. Instead of identifying only one main cause of violence, the majority of respondents gave the causes in order of importance.

a) The General Picture

The data in Table 5.2. reveals that the majority of the Umlazi respondents identify political intolerance (61%) as the primary cause of violence in the township. This is closely followed by unemployment (58%) and the scarcity of resources is of little significance because only 42 percent of respondents indicated that it is the major cause of violence.

b) The Upper Middle Class

About 68 percent of this class point out unemployment as the major cause for violence, whilst 63 percent indicate that the scarcity of resources is the main cause for the housing crisis in Umlazi. Whilst 58 percent give political intolerance as the main cause, only 35 percent identify crime as the main cause.

c) The Lower Middle Class

This class indicates that most of its respondents give the scarcity of resources as the major cause (68%) of violence, whilst 63 percent indicates that unemployment is the primary cause of violence in Umlazi,

TABLE 5.2: THE MAIN CAUSES OF VIOLENCE IN UMLAZI GIVEN BY CLASS

Causes	Response / Non- Resp.	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total		Grand Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
CRIME	Response	14	35	17	43	18	45	15	47	64	42	152	100
	Non- Resp.	26	65	23	57	22	55	17	53	88	58	-	-
POLITICS	Response	23	58	23	58	27	68	20	63	93	61	152	100
	Non- Resp.	17	42	17	42	12	32	12	37	59	39	-	-
SCARCE RESOURCES	Response	25	63	27	68	21	53	16	50	89	58	152	100
	Non- Resp.	15	37	13	32	19	47	16	50	63	42	-	-
UNEMPLOY- MENT	Response	27	68	25	63	21	53	16	50	89	58	152	100
	Non- Resp.	13	32	15	37	19	47	16	50	63	42	-	-
		40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100	152	100

and 58 percent identify political intolerance as a major cause of violence. Only 43 percent have pointed out crime as the main cause for violence in Umlazi. It is evident that from the above that unemployment varies with levels of socio-economic levels.

d) The Upper Working Class

About 68 percent of this class has identified political intolerance as the main cause of violence whilst 53 percent indicate that both scarce resources and unemployment are the major causes. A mere 45 percent give crime as the main cause of violence.

e) The Lower Working Class

The majority (63%) have indicated that political intolerance is the main cause of violence in Umlazi. An equal number (53%) of respondents have identified unemployment and scarcity of resources as the major causes for violence in the township, whilst only 47 percent give crime as the major cause. It can be inferred from the above that violence is strongly perceived and experienced among the working class far more than in the middle class.

f) The Global Overview

An overall figure of 42 percent gives crime as the main cause of violence in Umlazi, with the upper middle income respondents giving the lowest number of respondents (36%) who identify crime as the main cause of violence in the township.

It is evident from Table 5.2 that political intolerance appears to be the main cause of violence which appears to destroy housing infrastructure in the township. It could be concluded that the violence that ensues between the ANC and the IFP does not only lead to the deaths of the Umlazi residents, it also results in the destruction of conventional houses as well as shacks. Violence that is caused by political intolerance between ANC and IFP gives rise to a greater demand for housing especially amongst the shack dwellers, whose shacks are easily burned.

Although the rate of violence has since subsided after the general elections of April 1994, it should be highlighted that violence is still going on but on a microscale. It is therefore evident that political intolerance which usually results in violence exacerbates the housing crisis in Umlazi as many houses are destroyed by fire in the process.

It is the contention of this research inquiry that the political intolerance that causes violence could be linked to apartheid capitalism which created resource inequalities between blacks and whites. The fact that conflicts over scarce resources appear high up on the hierarchy of the causes of violence amongst the lower middle income group confirms the theoretical contention that apartheid capitalism created artificial resource scarcities that led to violence which is a function of political intolerance. Violence ultimately destroys housing in Umlazi.

Unemployment as a cause of violence is also significant in this study. According to the Daily News (October, 1994) violence broke out between section CC residents and criminals who are new arrivals at this section. When some of the CC respondents were interviewed they identified crime as the main reason of violence in Umlazi. It appears that crime is a result of unemployment. Crime compelled the unemployed to attack the CC residents who in the process vacated their houses in fear of the criminals. The vacant houses that are left by CC residents tend to aggravate the housing crisis in the township as many of these houses are either destroyed or taken over by the criminal elements.

It could therefore be argued that the perpetrators of violence are the unemployed who then become criminals, who steal and destroy houses at section CC and other sections. It is evident that there is a struggle for the scarce resources in section CC and in Umlazi in general. This struggle usually leads to the destruction of houses and shacks. A need to resolve unemployment which goes with crime and violence could save the destruction of houses and shacks in Umlazi township.

In conclusion, it can be mentioned that crime, political intolerance, conflicts over scarce resources and unemployment are all symptomatic of apartheid capitalism which created conditions for the occurrence of these

ills. Until such time when the legacy of apartheid capitalism is redressed, the greater demand for housing could remain unresolved in Umlazi township.

PLATE 5.2: LOWER MIDDLE INCOME HOUSES IN SECTION -BB



5.2.2 Origins of Respondents

Another set of questions aiming at addressing the housing problem, relate to the origins of the respondents now found in Umlazi.

a) The Middle Class Respondents

About 46 percent of the lower middle income respondents originate from rural areas around Umlazi. These are areas of Umbumbulu, Folweni, Amanzimtoti, to mention the most common areas. Some people come as far as the Transkei and the rural areas around Pietermaritzburg. Only 20 percent of the upper middle income respondents originate mainly from the older sections of Umlazi township.

**TABLE 5.3: THE PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE BEFORE
RESIDING IN UMLAZI**

Place of Residence	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Umlazi/ Reserve	08	20	16	40	10	24	05	15	40	26
Rural area	12	30	18	46	06	16	08	25	44	29
Hostel	-	-	-	-	-	-	03	10	03	02
Cato Manor	05	12	06	14	24	60	13	40	47	31
NonResponse	15	38	-	-	-	-	03	10	18	12
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

b) The Working Class Respondents

A modicum number of 24 percent of the upper working class respondents originate in Umlazi reserve. Most of these respondents are second generation residents who were born in the township. About 60 percent of the four-roomed respondents of M section originate in Cato Manor and other townships like Lamontville and KwaMashu around Durban. Only 25 percent of the shack dwellers originate in rural areas around Durban, whilst a mere 15 percent originate in Umlazi. An approximate number of 40 percent of the shack dweller respondents originate from Cato Manor.

c) General Interpretation

It should be noted that Table 5.3 reflects that the greatest number of the Umlazi residents originate from Cato Manor. This confirms a theoretical contention discussed in Chapter 4 that the first new residents of Umlazi came from Cato Manor. The rest of the residents are either indigenous residents of Umlazi Reserve or are immigrants from rural areas and the

neighbouring black townships of Lamontville and KwaMashu in particular.

It stands to reason then that the fact that Umlazi is viewed as more politically stable than the other black townships around Durban, has acted as a centripetal force, which attracts most immigrants into the township. It is therefore clear that the spatial invasion of the Umlazi landscape by squatters is also characteristic of the township's centripetal tendency of attracting both rural and urban immigrants.

Decision makers should therefore take into cognisance that the majority of the Umlazi residents do not originate in the township. Many were compelled by the Group Areas Act to move away from their places of origin. Those that decided to migrate to Umlazi were forced by economic circumstances. It seems as if apartheid capitalism which compelled the majority of the residents to migrate to the townships was part of a political and economic strategy to impoverish and repress the poor at the expense of housing imbalances.

5.2.3 Squatting Phenomenon in Umlazi

Respondents in this study were required to respond to the seemingly uncontrolled phenomenon of squatting in Umlazi. Most respondents gave more than one reason as justifications for the mushrooming of shacks around Umlazi. Some gave as much as five reasons. Let us consider a few of these.

a) Inadequate supply of formal houses

When one looks at Table 5.4 one is struck by the fact that all the housing classes identify the inadequate supply of formal houses as the main reason for the rapid mushrooming of shacks in Umlazi. Whilst inadequate supply of formal houses is identified as causing the proliferation of shack settlements, 73 percent of the lower middle income group, and 63 percent of both the upper middle and upper working class respondents have also given the shortage of cheaper formal houses as causing the rapid growth of squatter settlements.

TABLE 5.4: REASON FOR THE MUSHROOMING OF SHACKS AROUND UMLAZI

Reasons	Response / Non-resp.	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total		Grand Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Increase of formal residents	Response Non-Resp.	16 24	40 60	19 21	48 52	23 17	58 42	21 11	66 34	79 73	52 48	152	100
Inadequate housing	Response Non-resp.	25 15	63 37	29 11	73 27	25 15	63 37	25 7	78 22	104 48	68 32	152	100
Immigration of youth	Response Non-resp.	11 29	28 72	6 34	15 85	18 22	45 55	11 21	34 66	46 106	30 70	152	100
Rural-urban migration	Response Non-resp.	22 18	55 45	25 15	63 37	24 16	60 40	15 17	47 53	86 66	57 43	152	100
Over- Population	Response Non-resp.	12 28	30 70	18 22	45 55	14 26	35 65	10 22	31 69	54 98	36 64	152	100
Repeal of influx laws	Resp. Non-resp.	19 21	47 53	22 18	55 45	18 22	45 55	12 20	37 63	71 81	47 53	152	100
		40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100	152	100

b) Rural-urban Migration

Rural-urban migration appears to be the second most important reason for the mushrooming of shack settlements. Whilst 63 percent of the lower middle income respondents indicate that rural-urban migration is the main cause for the proliferation of shacks, 60 percent of the upper working class respondents, 55 percent of the upper middle income respondents and 46 percent of the shack respondents indicate that rural-urban migration is the main cause for the mushrooming of shacks.

c) Influx Control Laws and Overpopulation

Whilst the repeal of the influx control laws appears to be the third significant reason for the mushrooming of shacks, overpopulation is revealed as of no significance.

d) The General Overview

It is worth noting that the group that experiences the worst housing conditions is the one that has given the inadequate supply of cheaper formal houses as the main reason for the mushrooming of shacks. This is the very group which build shacks owing to the scarcity of cheaper housing in the township. It is clear that the construction of shacks by the poor is a strategy to meet the great demand for housing in Umlazi.

It could be argued that the former government's policy of not providing additional four-roomed houses since the early 1980s has resulted in the proliferation of shacks in Umlazi. The poor residents have now opted for this cheaper form of shelter, the shacks. Oncemore, the poverty in the area can be linked to apartheid capitalism, which renders the poor residents to be homeless, hence the resultant mushrooming of squatter settlements.

Rural-urban migration could also be linked to rural poverty which forces the rural people to migrate to Umlazi. This poverty is associated with apartheid, which alienated rural areas and impoverished the rural people. The migration of rural people to Umlazi obviously increases the demand

for basic housing. So, the rapid mushrooming of shacks can be regarded as a function of the non-supply of affordable low-cost housing. The repeal of the influx control laws is viewed by some respondents as nothing else but a cosmetic change. This notion is confirmed by the low responses to related questions by shack dwellers. This inquiry argues that even if this law was not repealed the rural-urban migration phenomenon would have occurred.

The fact that overpopulation is least considered by all the respondents in this study re-affirms the earlier cited Marxist contention that poverty and not overpopulation increases the population of shack settlements. It is important for decision-makers to acknowledge this notion if the housing crisis in Umlazi is to be arrested. It has been noted that the squatter settlements which occur at an exponential rate are a function of the inadequate supply of affordable housing in the area.

5.2.4 Occupational Status and Housing

It is common knowledge that not only the level of employment, but also the occupational status of individual households, determine the housing situation in any area or country. This situation is true for Umlazi. Respondents were requested to reveal their occupational position, and this was related to their housing situation. In addition, variations in occupation are related to socio-economic levels (see Table 5.5).

a) Upper Middle Income Class

About 40 percent of the upper middle income respondents see themselves as teachers, nurses, lawyers, policemen and business persons, to mention the most prominent. The remaining 60 percent forms a combination of people who have worked in industries for a long time, and clerks who have accumulated capital for building their double storey houses over a long period. It could then be argued that upper middle income class does not really exist in the true Marxist sense. The other respondents are mainly pensioners.

TABLE 5.5: VARIETY OF OCCUPATIONS HELD BY RESIDENTS OF UMLAZI

Occupations	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Labourer	-	-	-	-	12	30	14	45	26	17
Clerk	04	10	06	16	04	10	-	-	14	09
Machine Operator	-	-	06	16	08	20	04	10	18	12
Business person	12	30	-	-	04	10	-	-	16	11
Sales person	02	05	06	16	-	-	-	-	09	05
Domestic Worker	-	-	-	-	04	10	06	20	10	07
Professional	12	30	22	52	01	10	-	-	35	23
Other (specify)	10	25	-	-	08	10	08	25	24	16
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

b) Lower Middle Class

This group is mainly composed of professionals. About 53 percent of this class sees itself as made up of teachers, nurses and policemen. The other 16 percent is composed of salespersons. Less than 20 percent are labourers.

c) The Working Class

The upper working class is a group of labourers (30%) who work in industries around Durban. Some are employed in the CBD. About 30 percent of this class is composed of domestic workers who work in white suburbs. Some of the domestic workers are either employed by Indians or by the residents of Umlazi. About 20 percent is informally employed. The other 10 percent swell the rank of the unemployed.

The lower working class which is found in shack settlements is made up of labourers (45%), 10 per cent of machine operators, 20 percent of domestic workers, and 25 percent of informally employed respondents and those who are unemployed. The reason for the higher number of labourers amongst the working class could be attributed to the lower educational standards of the majority of the working class respondents who are not qualified to perform skilled work. The poverty of most of the labourers seems to force them to quit school at an early age.

d) Overview

When one looks at Table 5.5 one notices that a large number of the Umlazi residents are labourers who are paid meagre wages in industries due to reasons mentioned earlier on. The preponderance of labourers in the township confirms the theoretical contention that apartheid capitalism has created a class of underlings who are exploited by capitalists in industries. In order to maintain domination and speed of accumulation the capitalist class exploits the labouring class (Carter, 1982) by paying the proletariat low wages. Such wages seem to impact upon the poor's ability to afford even the cheapest form of conventional housing.

It is important to note that the type of occupation determines the type of housing that exist in Umlazi. The better the occupation the better the housing class. The poorer the occupation the lower the housing class in the socio-economic hierarchy. This situation should be acknowledged by decision makers, if they hope to understand or resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi.

5.2.5 Causes of the Housing Crisis

After revealing that occupation is an important determinant of housing, it is worth considering some of the main causes of the housing crisis in Umlazi. Respondents were asked to indicate (Table 5.6) what they thought were the major causes of the housing crisis in Umlazi

a) The Middle Class

As shown in Table 5.6 about 40 percent of the upper middle income respondents blame the unequal allocation of land as the major reason for the housing crisis. This notion is further supported by the view that most of the Umlazi land is allocated to developers who sell the land and housing at exorbitant prices. The practice appears to aggravate the housing crisis in the township. Some of the respondents from this group blame the local government for not meeting the needs of the poor, such as housing supply and the allocation of sites. The other 35 percent identifies poverty as a major cause, whilst only 25 percent gives the lack of jobs in rural areas as a major cause.

TABLE 5.6: THE MAJOR CAUSE OF THE HOUSING CRISIS IN UMLAZI.

Causes	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Land Scarcity	16	40	12	30	12	30	13	40	53	34.8
Lack of rural jobs	10	25	08	20	20	50	13	40	51	33.5
Poverty	14	35	20	50	08	20	05	15	47	30.9
Politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	01	05	01	0.60
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

Most of the respondents of the lower middle income group (50%) point out poverty as the main cause for the housing crisis in Umlazi. A reasonable number of 30 percent identifies land scarcity as a major cause for the housing crisis in Umlazi. Only 20 percent indicates that lack of rural jobs causes the housing crisis.

b) The Working Class

Most of the upper working class respondents (40%) reflects a situation where the lack of jobs in rural areas is viewed as a major cause for the housing crisis in Umlazi. Land scarcity becomes the second major cause that is identified by 30 percent of this class. Only 20 percent of the upper working class respondents indicate that poverty is the major cause for the housing crisis in Umlazi.

An equal number of 40 percent for each cause within the shack dwellers give land scarcity and lack of jobs in rural areas as of similar significance. A very small number (15%) identify poverty as a major cause of the housing crisis, whilst only 5 percent reveals that political problems are a major cause.

c) General Analysis and Interpretation

An analysis of Table 5.6 demonstrates that the majority of the Umlazi respondents give land scarcity as the major cause of the housing crisis (34,8%), whilst lack of rural jobs (33,5%) comes second. Poverty is ranked as the third important cause (30,9%), whilst political problems pale to insignificance (0,6%).

The fact that land scarcity is identified as the overall major cause for the housing crisis confirms the earlier cited theoretical contention that the housing crisis is basically a land issue. The demarcation of only 4340 hectares of land to a population which is estimated at more than one million residents (Daily News, February 11, 1992) is proof that the housing crisis is indeed a land issue. The land issue that tends to exacerbate the housing problem appears to be both political and economical.

Land distribution could be viewed as political because of the allocation of inadequate land by the Group Areas Act, and economical in the sense that the long distances that are travelled by the Umlazi residents to workplaces seem to impact on the poor's inability to provide themselves with the cheapest form of conventional housing.

The fact that more land is sold to developers who in return sell this land to the Umlazi residents at exorbitant prices is a capitalist strategy to exploit the poor. This strategy seems to aggravate the housing demand by the poor of Umlazi.

The identification of poverty as the major cause for the housing crisis by most of the lower middle class respondents could be attributed to their higher educational qualifications. This standpoint enables the educated to be able to understand the complex politico-economic relations that are underneath the surface that are caused by poverty. Poverty is revealed as an apartheid creation because through it capitalism ensures that blacks and whites become financially unequal. The wealth inequalities seem to impact upon the poor of Umlazi who are unable to afford even the cheapest form of conventional housing.

The four-roomed respondents seem to identify lack of jobs as the major cause because many of them are either unemployed or underemployed. The revelation that unemployment and underemployment impacts upon the demand for better housing could enable policy makers to pursue a housing policy that could facilitate the establishment of jobs in and around the townships, and the improvements of the low wages that are earned by the poor.

The shack dwellers identify land scarcity and lack of jobs in rural areas as of equal significance because both causes affect them equally. As the class which is composed of the worst victims of the housing crisis it is significant for decision makers to ensure that the poorest residents are supplied with adequate sites for housing construction, and the facilitation of jobs especially in rural areas in order to arrest rural-urban migration which seems to aggravate the housing crisis in Umlazi.

Decision makers should recognise that land scarcity, lack of jobs in rural areas and poverty are all interwoven with other causes discussed in this section. One cause cannot exist without the other. In the light of this interrelationship, it could be suggested that decision makers should attempt the formulation of a housing policy that prioritises the resolution of problems mentioned in this section, if the existing housing crisis is to be addressed in Umlazi.

TABLE 5.7 THE WORKPLACE SITUATION ILLUSTRATED BY WORKER CLASS.

Workplace s	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
CBD	08	20	12	30	02	05	03	05	25	16.4
Congella- Umgeni	04	10	08	20	12	30	-	-	24	16
Rosburgh- Clairwood	-	-	04	10	12	30	06	20	22	14.5
Jacobs- Mobeni	-	-	04	10	12	30	11	35	27	18
Isipingo- Prospecton	-	-	-	-	02	05	-	-	02	01
Umlazi	28	70	12	30	-	-	06	20	46	30.1
Non- Responses		-		-		-	06	20	06	04
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

5.2.6 Location of the Workplace

Besides the availability and status of occupation, the place where work or employment is available plays an important role in the supply and demand of housing in an area. The location of Umlazi next to the City

of Durban as a job providing area, directly affects the state, nature and adequacy of housing in the area. Table 5.7 reflects the place where many of the respondents are employed. in relation to their socio-economic levels. The place of work has important implications for the location of residences and transport cost.

a) The Middle Class

A greater number (70%) of the upper middle income respondents work within the township, whilst only 20 percent of this class works in the central business district (CBD). A mere 10 percent are employed in the industrial area of Congella-Umgeni.

About 30 percent of the lower middle income respondents are CBD employees, whilst the other 30 percent are employed within Umlazi. Only 10 percent of each group are employed in the Rossburgh-Clairwood and Jacobs-Mobeni industrial areas.

b) The Working Class

The upper working class respondents who stay in the four-roomed houses have an equal number of 30 percent of respondents who are employed in the three industrial regions of Congella-Umgeni, Rossburgh-Clairwood and Jacobs-Mobeni. The CBD and the Isiphingo-Prospecton industrial areas have an equal number of 5 percent respondents who work in these areas.

The poor shack dwellers have a greater majority (35%) employed in the Jacobs-Mobeni industrial area, whilst 20 percent from each area are employed in Umlazi and Rossburgh - Clairwood. Only 5 percent are employed in the CBD. The remaining non-responses (20%) could be associated with those respondents who are self employed or those that are unemployed who felt erroneously that this question was not applicable to them.

c) General Overview

The relationship between housing and the data given earlier in the workplace section reveals that the upper middle income class which works within the township is able to provide itself with expensive housing because of its affluence and the lower costs of travelling from home to the workplace. The intra-township distances which are shorter and cheaper tend to facilitate the supply of capital for housing construction by the affluent middle class. It is evident that the big middle class houses are a function of the close proximity of areas of employment which seem to facilitate housing construction due to the low costs of transport.

The inter-city distance that is covered by the poor who travel from Umlazi to the Durban industrial areas compel the poor to spend a lot of money on the journey to work rather than spending this money on building conventional housing. The proliferation of shack settlements could therefore be viewed as a function of the location of workplaces far away from the homes, which consume funds that are supposed to be used for housing construction.

It is ironical that very few Umlazi respondents are employed in the nearby Isipingo-Prospecton industrial area. A need for decision makers and employers to see to it that the Umlazi residents get first preference in the Isipingo-Prospecton area has risen. This would enable the poor to be able to save adequate capital for building low-cost housing. In conclusion, the employment of the poor away from their homes appears to aggravate the demand for housing to be located nearer workplaces.

5.2.7 Income Levels and Housing

It is without doubt that employment and salaries earned by respondents influenced the construction of houses in the study area. Also important is type, form and size of houses constructed. Perhaps, the number of houses produced per period of time is also important. The salaries of respondents indicated in Table 5.8 varied between the middle class and the working class.

TABLE 5.8 THE CATEGORISATION OF THE NET MONTHLY INCOME OF THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
<R500	-	-	-	-	08	20	22	69	30	20
R500-R800	-	-	-	-	13	33	04	13	17	11
R801-R1000	-	-	11	27	08	20	02	06	21	14
R1001-R2499	16	40	12	30	-	-	-	-	28	18
R2500-R3000	-	-	10	24	-	-	-	-	10	06.5
R3001-R4000	-	-	05	14	03	07	02	06	10	06.5
>R4000	24	60	02	05	-	-	-	-	26	26
Non-Responses	-	-	-	-	08	20	02	06	10	06.5
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

a) The Middle Class

A large amount of the respondents (60%) who own double-storey houses which resemble those that appear in Plate 5.1 earn net incomes of more than R4000 per month, whilst 40 percent of this group earns between R1001 and R2499.

The lower middle income group (30%) earns net salaries which range between R1001 and R2499, whilst 27 percent earns between R801 and R1000. Another 14 percent of this class earns salaries of R3000 to R4000, whilst only 5 percent earns above R4000 per month.

b) The Working Class

An amount of 34 percent of the upper working class respondents receive monthly salaries ranging between R500 and R800, whilst 20% of this class

class is paid less than R500 per month. A larger number which is estimated at 69 percent is paid salaries which are between R300 and R500. The majority of the shack dwellers earn wages which are below R500 per month, whilst only 13 percent of the shack dwellers are paid between R500 and R800 per month. The other 7 percent earns between R801 and R1000.

Most of the respondents who did not respond to questions related to earnings were those in the informal sector. These respondents were unable to estimate their monthly income as some felt that this question was not applicable to them as they were engaged in temporary work with no fixed incomes. Some of the unemployed have no source of income at all.

It should be noted that the discussion above reveals income disparities that exist within the Umlazi housing classes. It is evident that when incomes are higher for one group or class, the disparities are also pronounced. When incomes are lower the disparities are also lower.

PLATE 5.3: A DICHOTOMY OF THE FOUR-ROOMED HOUSES AND A SQUATTER SETTLEMENT IN SECTION - M



This is evidenced by the estimated income differentials between the upper middle and lower middle income groups where there is an income disparity which is estimated at R2000 and an income disparity of only R200 between the upper and lower working classes. This is also illustrated by the type of houses that are common in the township

The incomes of the shack dwellers tend to support the theoretical contention that the majority of the poor in South Africa, just like in Umlazi, earn less than R1000 per month. This fact could play an important role when decision-makers design housing systems that should be affordable to the poor majority which earns less than R1000 per month. The unemployed and those in the informal sector should also be considered when housing systems are designed.

The salaries that are paid to the middle class reflect the relative affluence of this class, which justifies a redirection of financial aid from the affluent to the poor. The low wages that are paid to the poor also justify the earlier contention that a kind of mixed economy should be introduced in South Africa.

The income differentials that prevail in Umlazi demonstrate the injustice of capitalism where the wealthy become wealthier whilst the poor become poorer. It is evident that the formulation of housing systems without considering the income differentials that exist in Umlazi would fail to redress the housing crisis in the township.

It could therefore be concluded that poverty is revealed as the major cause of the housing crisis in Umlazi. Poverty has given rise to other causes such as unemployment, crime, violence, resource inequalities, expensive journeys to work and the mushrooming of shack settlements. All these causes are interwoven with poverty.

5.3. OBJECTIVE, HYPOTHESIS II AND RELATED ISSUES

The evaluation of the extent of housing demanded and those that are supplied is a crucial objective for decision makers who are expected to formulate a viable housing policy for Umlazi township. The hypothesis

that the demand for housing in Umlazi outstrips its supply is now considered for analysis and discussion.

5.3.1 House Type and House Ownership

The type of housing and its ownership (Tables 5.9) is largely determined by a particular socio-economic class an individual belongs to. For instance all the upper and lower middle income respondents (100%) occupy privately owned houses. In Umlazi, the upper middle income class is usually housed in double-storey housing (as illustrated in Figure 5.1), whilst the lower middle income occupies the so called big houses. The upper working class respondents are mainly renters (55%) in four-roomed houses. Only 40 percent of the four-roomed dwellers own these houses, whilst only 5 percent are lodgers. The entire lower working class is housed in shack settlements.

TABLE 5.9 THE HOUSE TYPES IN UMLAZI BY WORKER CLASS

	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Private ownership (Four room)	-	-	-	-	16	40	-	-	16	11
Private ownership (Big house)	40	100	40	100	-	-	-	-	80	53
Rental house	-	-	-	-	22	55	-	-	22	14
Shack	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	100	32	21
Lodger in room(s)	-	-	-	-	02	05	-	-	02	01
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

The bigger double-storey houses appear to impact upon the scarcity of formal housing in Umlazi because these go hand in hand with the bigger sites. It should be noted that the consumption of space by the middle class impacts upon the small sites especially of the lower middle income

group. It is ironical that the smaller four-roomed houses have, in most cases bigger sites than those belonging to most of the lower middle class residents. The illegal occupation of vacant land by the shack dwellers seems to impact upon future land allocation for formal housing construction.

It is important for decision-makers to ensure equity when sites are determined and allocated to the Umlazi residents. The equal delineation and allocation of sites could help redistribute some land from the affluent and the privileged to the poor and the disadvantaged.

The fact that the majority of the four-roomed respondents rent their houses highlights that the majority of the Umlazi residents could only afford to rent houses. A need for large scale construction of rental houses by the state and the private sector has become imperative. The exponential manner in which the shacks proliferate on the Umlazi landscape demonstrates the need to upgrade them.

5.3.2 Acquisition and Occupancy

Besides house type, discussed in the previous section, housing acquisition and the time taken, as well as occupancy in Umlazi are strongly influenced by the socio-economic status of an individual. There are people who wait more than others to get occupancy. The next three tables (Tables 5.10, 5.11 and 5.12) reflect some of the revelations of the subject in this regard.

TABLE 5.10: THE RESPONSES TO THE FREQUENCY OF APPLYING FOR A FORMAL HOUSE IN UMLAZI

Yes/No	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Yes	35	88	28	71	24	60	24	75	111	73
No	05	12	12	29	16	40	08	25	41	27
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

The application for and approval of acquiring formal houses in Umlazi is a long and painful process. This experience is typical in most townships created and run by apartheid structures and authorities.

a) The Middle Class

About 88 percent of the upper middle income class subjects have previously applied for a house whilst only 12 percent have not. An amount of 71 percent which belongs to the lower middle class group of respondents did apply for housing whilst only 28 percent did not. In both these situations succeeding to get a house did come easy, however, it was better than in the working class category.

b) The working class

A great number (60%) of the upper working class respondents indicate that they have previously applied for a house. The remaining 40 percent have not. The lower working class have 75 percent of its subjects who responded positively whilst only 25 percent gave a negative response.

c) General Outlook

When one looks at Table 5.10 one is struck by the fact that the middle class subjects have the highest number who have indicated that they have applied for a house in Umlazi, whilst the upper working class has the lowest number of respondents who have applied for a house. It appears that the upper middle income group has the highest number of applicants for a house in Umlazi because they could afford to relocate from their places of origin and buy expensive private ownership housing in the township. The four-roomed residents have the lowest number of applicants who have applied for a house because it looks as if this class is satisfied with the ownership or renting of the relatively cheaper four-roomed houses.

It could be argued that the higher number of applicants amongst the middle class respondents could be ascribed to the better chances of obtaining a house by this group which sometimes had to bribe township officials for a house. The higher frequency of applications for housing

by the affluent confirms the theoretical contention that the preferential allocation of housing to the middle class exacerbates the non-allocation of housing amongst the poor. It is evident that the higher frequency of applications for housing by the middle class impacts upon the poor supply of housing amongst the working class.

The majority of the shack dwellers who have applied for formal houses is proof of their dissatisfaction with the shack units. It is a clear indication to decision makers that the greater the number of shack dwellers who have applied for housing, the greater the number of shack dwellers who aspire to own conventional houses. The upgrading of the squatter settlements could therefore be a good attempt to supply shack dwellers with conventional housing. The fact that the majority of the Umlazi respondents have indicated that they have at some stage applied for housing highlights the shortage of conventional housing in Umlazi.

Some of the upper middle income class respondents have waited for a house for an average of 5 years, whilst the lower middle income class respondents have waited for 7 years. The working class respondents have an equal number of 9 years spent waiting for a house.

TABLE 5.11: YEARS SPENT ON THE HOUSING WAITING LIST

	Mean Number of Years	
	F	%
Upper Middle Class	5	17
Lower Middle Class	7	23
Lower Working Class	9	30
Lowest Working Class	9	30
	30	100

It could be argued that the long waits for a house in Umlazi are proportional to the financial standing of the respondents. The wealthier

the householders the shorter the time spent on waiting for a house. The poorer the householders the longer the time spent on waiting for a house. Many middle income householders appear to have jumped the queue by bribing township officials for a house.

It is important to note that some of the shack dwellers have never waited for a house because their endemic poverty does not allow them to own conventional houses. Some could not even afford to rent conventional houses.

Decision-makers should acknowledge that the long waits for formal housing exacerbate the demand for housing especially amongst the poor. The shorter waits result in the supply of housing mainly to the middle class. Decision-makers should therefore ensure that the queues for housing should be as short as possible, if they hope to resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi township.

TABLE 5.12: OCCUPANCY RATE PER HOUSE IN UMLAZI

Class	Mean Occupancy Rate	
	F	%
Upper Middle Class	5	17
Lower Middle Class	8	28
Upper Working Class	9	31
Lower Working Class	7	24
	29	100

The average occupancy rate for the upper middle income class respondents is 5 persons per house, whilst that of the lower middle class is 8 persons per house. The mean occupancy rate of the upper working class respondents is 9, whilst that of the shack-unit dwellers is 7.

It is ironical that the affluent residents with adequate housing for large families have the least number of residents who occupy these houses, whilst the four roomed houses have the largest number of residents occupying each house. The higher number of residents in four-roomed houses seems to encourage the proliferation of backyard units and the extension of four-roomed houses.

The shack units have the highest density per shack as compared with the small size of each shack unit. A situation where more than 7 people occupying a single room may exist in the shack settlements. This was evidenced by some of the shack units that were visited by the researcher. It is significant to note that the mean occupancy rate of 7 inhabitants per house (Townsend, 1991) is also applicable in Umlazi as follows:

When one adds the four averages for the four housing classes, which are 5,8,9 and 7, one arrives at an average total number of 29. When this total number is divided by the four housing classes, a rounded figure of 7 is obtained

It could be concluded that the decision-makers should consider the type of housing systems that will accommodate a family of seven inhabitants per house, if they are to resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi. It is evident that the four-roomed houses are not adequate to accommodate families of 7 or more. A need exists for the state and the private sector to fund the extension of four-roomed houses and to upgrade the smaller units occupied by large families.

5.3.3 Overpopulation of Umlazi

It has been intimated earlier in this Chapter that in-migration of rural people into Umlazi because of job-related human needs, result in the overpopulation of the township. The subjects (see Table 5.13) were asked to give their views and reasons for population increase in Umlazi.

TABLE 5.13: THE MAIN REASON FOR THE OVERPOPULATION IN UMLAZI

	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
High Birth Rates	12	30	18	49	10	24	05	15	46	30
Lack of birth control	03	08	07	17	08	20	-	-	18	12
Poverty	11	28	05	13	10	24	19	60	45	30
High birth and poverty	10	26	07	17	07	18	05	15	29	19
Other (specify)	04	08	02	05	05	14	03	10	14	09
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

It should be taken into consideration that the picture that is given by Table 5.13 represents data estimates that have been interpreted by this researcher to obtain the nearest answer for the best reason given by respondents in each socio-economic class. It is worth noting that some of the respondents gave more than one reason for the overpopulation in Umlazi. The figures in Table 5.13 show the best probable answer for each socio-economic class.

a) The Middle Class

The upper middle class respondents (30%) give high birth rates as the main cause for overpopulation in Umlazi. About 26 percent of this class indicates that the combination of high birth rates and poverty give rise to overpopulation whilst 28 percent respondents identify only poverty as the main cause for overpopulation. Only about 8 percent gave other reasons for overpopulation such as apartheid and unemployment. A negligible number did not respond to this question.

The lower middle income group (49%) identifies high birth rates as the main cause for overpopulation. A mere 17 percent from this class indicated that the combination of poverty and high birth rates results in overpopulation in the township. Another 13 percent identified poverty as the only cause for the rising population, whilst 17 percent pointed out the lack of birth control measures as the main cause for overpopulation in Umlazi.

b) The Working Class

The upper working class majority (48%) gives a combination of high birth rates and poverty (24%) alone as the main reasons for overpopulation in Umlazi. About 20 percent of this group pointed out the lack of birth control measures as causing overpopulation.

The majority of the lower working class (60%) identifies poverty as the main reason for the overpopulation of Umlazi. Only 15 percent gave high birth rates, and the other 15 percent identified the combination of poverty and high birth rates. Interestingly, no one has indicated that lack of birth control measures are a cause for overpopulation.

Table 5.13 reveals that the majority of the Umlazi residents (46%) who were interviewed give high birth rates as the primary reason for overpopulation, whilst poverty is of secondary importance. The fact that a large number of respondents have indicated that poverty causes overpopulation confirms the theoretical contention that larger families appear to be a rational calculus for survival. The fact that 60 percent of the poor residents of Umlazi, the shack dwellers, identify poverty as the primary cause for overpopulation further supports the theoretical contention that overpopulation is a strategy adopted by the poor in order to survive.

It is ironical that the middle class respondents who are expected to comprehend the complex causes for overpopulation do not identify poverty as the main cause. It stands to reason that the greater demand for housing in Umlazi is therefore exacerbated by overpopulation which is thought to be caused by poverty. It could then be concluded that the

non-identification of poverty as the real cause for overpopulation which impacts upon the demand for housing aggravates the housing crisis in the township. The prioritisation of birth control measures instead of addressing the real cause for overpopulation, which is poverty, will not immediately resolve the housing crisis in the township. A need to resolve poverty in Umlazi as a matter of urgency has arisen.

In conclusion, the supply of conventional housing in Umlazi is far below its demand. This situation is linked to numerous other causes, such as the inability of the poor to afford cheaper housing, as well as the expensive journeys to work, unemployment and underemployment, violence and crime, to mention but a few. All these are poverty-related causes. It has become obvious that the housing crisis will take a long time before it is resolved in Umlazi if the problem of poverty is not addressed.

5.4. OBJECTIVE, HYPOTHESIS III AND RELATED ISSUES

As mentioned earlier, the questions that appear in this section attempt to address matters related to the quality of life of the Umlazi residents. Without the provision of infrastructural services, among other things, it could be impossible to improve the quality of life of the Umlazi residents.

5.4.1 Infrastructural Services

The accessibility of the Umlazi population to all the basic infrastructural services such as toilets, water, electricity and roads is a cornerstone towards the improvement of the quality of life of the Umlazi residents. In this study positive externalities are considered, as referring to those services that are available to the Umlazi residents. Whereas, negative externalities have opposite effects and are unavailable to the Umlazi residents who are predominantly shack dwellers.

Let us now consider the availability and perception of the basic infrastructural services responded to by the Umlazi residents in terms of their socio-economic levels. It is important to note that in cases where

the infrastructural services are not available, a non-response is indicated in Table 5.14. On the other hand, responses were recorded where the services are provided.

The data in Table 5.14 reflects that the supply of infrastructural services increases with affluence and decreases with poverty. A quick physical survey of the township revealed that all the formal houses are provided with almost all the basic infrastructural services mentioned earlier on, whilst the shack settlements are deficient of services such as flush toilets, water in house and electricity.

a) The Middle Class

The upper and lower middle class respondents are all provided with flush toilets, water in the house and electricity. All the roads are tarred. A total percentage of 100 is therefore registered for the availability of services, as indicated in Table 5.14.

b) The Upper Working Class

Although this class is provided with flush toilets, water in the house and tarred roads, it should be realised that only 40 percent of them could afford the installation of electricity in the four-roomed houses which were provided without electricity. It was therefore the onus of the four-roomed residents to see to it that they provided electricity on their own.

c) The Lower Working Class

This class mainly of shack dwellers, lack most of the infrastructural services. Only pit-toilets and neighbour's tap were seen as available. This lack of facilities could be ascribed to the non-recognition of squatter settlements by the Umlazi council as forming part of the township. About 90 percent of this group uses the unhygienic pit toilets, whilst only 10 percent of the site and service residents have water in their houses. A large number of the shack dwellers (90%) obtain water from the neighbours. The other 10 percent belong to site and service schemes who are provided with taps. Only 15 percent of the informal dwellers could afford to install electricity in their shacks.

**TABLE 5.14: ACCESSIBILITY TO INFRASTRUCTURAL SERVICES BY UMLAZI RESIDENTS
BY WORKER CLASS**

Infrastructure	Response / Non-Resp.	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Pit toilets	Response Non-Resp.	- 40	- 100	- 40	- 100	- 40	- 100	29 3	90 10	29 123	19 81
Flush toilets	Response Non-Resp.	40 -	100 -	40 -	100 -	40 -	100 -	- 32	- 100	120 32	79 21
Water in house	Response Non-Resp.	40 -	100 -	40 -	100 -	40 -	100 -	03 29	10 90	123 29	81 19
Neighbour's tap	Response Non-Resp.	- 40	- 100	- 40	- 100	- 40	- 100	29 03	90 10	29 123	19 81
Electricity supply	Response Non-Resp.	40 -	100 -	40 -	100 -	16 24	40 60	05 27	15 85	101 51	66 34
		40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

It is clear from Table 5.14 that the formal houses have adequate infrastructural services which tend to improve the quality of life of formal residents and the opposite is the case for the informal houses. The deficiency of the basic infrastructural services especially amongst the squatter settlements appears to have a negative effect on shack residents and lowers the quality of life of these shack dwellers. The fact that the majority of the shack dwellers use pit toilets indicates that the shack dwellers are prone to house-fly-related diseases which obviously lower the quality of life of the shack dwellers.

5.4.1.1 Absence of Infrastructural Services

It appears that the spatial distribution of pit toilets on the Umlazi landscape is an indication of the spatial injustice that is common in squatter settlements. This situation has encouraged the spatial invasion of open-land by shack dwellers. The formal housing residents are also affected by this invasion and filth and flies abound due to the close proximity of the shacks within the areas belonging to formal housing residents.

The non-provision of water for the shack dwellers creates problems because the shack dwellers use the water which belongs to formal housing residents, who pay for the water resource. It is highly ironical that the shack dwellers who are within the boundaries of Umlazi township are not provided with taps, whilst the KwaMakhanya reserve across the Ezimbokodweni river is provided with taps.

It is evident that the absence of tarred roads also contributes to the lower quality of life among the shack dwellers. During rainy days it becomes very difficult for the shack dwellers to reach the main roads, since mud is a major problem. A need to construct tarred roads and concrete paths within the areas of shack settlements has become imperative.

The absence of electricity within the shack settlements also lowers the quality of life of the shack dwellers. Although some shack residents have installed electricity it should be noted that there are still many shack residents who are without electricity. Absence of lights in the area exposes the shack dwellers to the danger of being mugged at night. A

need to provide electricity within the area of shacks dwellers is long overdue.

5.4.1.2 Electricity Consumption and Water Problems

When some of the middle class respondents were interviewed they complained that electricity bills are too high. The fact that electricity consumption is usually estimated compels the majority of the Umlazi residents to be sceptical of the high electricity bills. The estimates by electricity officials usually range between R200 and R300 per month. Though the provision of electricity is a necessary infrastructural service, the manipulation of accounts (estimates) is seen as a form of capitalist exploitation by many of the Umlazi residents.

The fact that the Durban City consolidated bill officials are very quick to disconnect electricity with non-payment tends to affect the quality of life of the Umlazi residents, because it is usually days or weeks before electricity supply is re-connected. The practice of estimating electricity consumption appears to and is seen as exploiting the middle class. It is the duty of the electricity department to devise a strategy to obtain correct consumption figures if the scepticism of the Umlazi residents is to be avoided. The fact that most of the Umlazi residents do not honour their water bills justifies a need for the township officials to devise a strategy of collecting water bills as they impact upon the provision of infrastructural services in the township.

It is clear that the culture of non-payment for services could be redressed by the economic empowerment of the poor through equitable wealth distribution. The provision of infrastructural services to all the people of Umlazi could improve the quality of life of the Umlazi residents. The concept of spatial justice has to go hand in hand with the supply of infrastructural services.

5.4.2 Perception of Housing Structures

Another important analysis of the provision of physical structures within Umlazi, is the perception of satisfaction or dissatisfaction about the

present house owned or occupied by the Umlazi residents. Let us consider Table 5.15 below:

TABLE 5.15: SATISFACTION WITH THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT HOUSE

Satisfied / Dissatisfied	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Satisfied	36	90	24	60	13	33	-	-	73	48
Dissatisfied	04	10	16	40	27	67	32	100	79	52
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

a) Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with the House

About 90 percent of the upper middle income group respondents indicated that they were happy with the nature of their present houses whilst only 10 percent were not. A larger number (60%) of the lower middle class respondents were happy, whilst 40 percent were not. There were 33 percent of the four-roomed respondents who indicated satisfaction with their houses whilst 67 percent responded negatively. The entire population of shack dweller respondents was dissatisfied with the nature of their shacks.

b) General Interpretation

It appears that the larger sizes of the middle class respondents' houses make them to respond positively whilst all the poor shack dwellers responded negatively. It could be argued that the spaciousness of the big houses is seen as improving the quality of life of the affluent class, whilst the small sizes of shacks seem to lower the quality of life of the shack dwellers.

The minority that have indicated that they are not happy with the nature of their houses, amongst the middle class, have given the following reasons:

- (a) One respondent indicated that due to shortage of funds to pay for his house many rooms were occupied by lodgers.
- (b) Another respondent cited the presence of a squatter settlement near his home as making him unhappy with his present home.
- (c) Some of the lower middle class respondents cited the poor condition of the houses as a cause for their dissatisfaction.
- (d) Some indicated that they are not happy with the uniform plan of their houses.

The fact that most of the lower middle income householders could not use house-plans or design of their choice demonstrates the paternalistic attitude and the non-democratic nature of most of the private company developers. The colonial attitude of planning for blacks instead of giving them the opportunity to plan houses of their dreams appears to impact upon the quality of life of Umlazi residents.

It is significant to note that the majority of the four-roomed working class respondents who said that they are not happy with the nature of their houses cited the small sizes of their houses as the main cause for their dissatisfaction. Most respondents (52%) indicate that their larger families are not adequately accommodated in four-roomed houses. It has become essential for decision makers to design housing schemes that consider the inadequacy of the four-roomed houses.

The intimation by all the shack dwellers that they are not happy with the nature of their shacks, underlines the need to recognise the reasons for their dissatisfaction. Most of the shack dwellers identify rainfall as a factor which worries them most. Some say that during heavy rains their shacks are in danger of being washed away. Hurricane winds are also known to destroy the weaker shacks. It is obvious that the shack

settlements are at the mercy of natural elements. This has necessitated the construction of strong houses and the fortification of squatter settlements so that they are not exposed to natural elements.

5.4.3 Perception of Squatting

In an infrastuctural context and in relation to their own residences and quality of life, the respondents were requested to comment on the phenomenon of "mushrooming of squatters" in Umlazi. The results are reflected in Table 5.16.

TABLE 5.16: THE EFFECT AND NON-EFFECT OF THE MUSHROOMING OF SHACKS

Effect / Non- effect	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Negative effect	32	80	22	55	24	60	22	70	100	66
Non- effect	08	20	18	45	16	40	10	30	52	34
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

According to Maluleke (1994) the squatters are a mixture of good and bad. There are those who want to be closer to work, as against those who are criminals on the run from police (As evidenced by the October violence in 1994 at section CC Umlazi). Some squatters originate from mortgaged big houses, overcrowded township match boxes, rented backyard rooms as well as from the countryside. Some squatters are from the single-sex hostels and move to 'shackland' to start a family.

a) The Middle Class

A greater majority of the upper middle income class respondents (80%) indicated that they are affected negatively by the mushrooming of shacks, whilst 20% were not. About 55 percent of the lower middle

income group respondents felt the negative effects of shack settlements whilst the other 45 percent was not affected. It is interesting to note that no respondents indicated that they were affected positively by the squatters.

b) The Working Class

The upper working class respondents who stay in four-roomed houses (40%) revealed that they were negatively affected by the proliferation of shacks, whilst 60 percent of this group felt they were not affected. The shack dwellers (70%) have indicated that they were also affected by their shacks, whilst 30 percent of the shack dwellers were not.

c) The General Picture

In Table 5.16 it is demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the Umlazi respondents are negatively affected by the mushrooming of shacks. It is interesting to note that the upper working class (60%) were somewhat sympathetic towards the squatters and shackland. But the same group would not argue that they were affected positively by the mushrooming of the shacks in their area. It appears that the most affluent residents of Umlazi were the ones that were worse hit by the proliferation of shack settlements.

The following is a generalised picture of the negative effects associated with the mushrooming of shack settlements in Umlazi:

- (a) Respondents assert that the mushrooming of shacks pollutes the environment, because of the haphazard nature of their construction. They see the invasion by shack settlements as leading to diseases.
- (b) Some respondents have argued that shack settlements harbour criminals who take refuge in these shacks, because it is difficult for the police to find the criminals hiding in shacks. Respondents further contended that shack settlements are breeding grounds for crimes such as engaging in house-breaking and theft of resources which usually belong to the formal housing residents.

- (c) The spatial invasion of shack settlements was seen as leading to violence, because of the conflicts that ensue between formal housing and squatter dwellers over scarce resources such as land and water.
- (d) The construction of pit toilets in the area of shack settlements spread fly-related diseases amongst all the inhabitants of the township.
- (e) Shack settlements are seen as increasing the population of the township, as many of the shack dwellers immigrate from the townships and rural areas around Umlazi.
- (f) The shack settlements are perceived as devaluing the properties of the middle class residents.
- (g) The shack settlements tend to increase the rate of social problems.
- (h) The shack dwellers together with hostel residents are perceived by most of the formal housing dwellers as one of the major perpetrators of violence. In addition the shack dwellers who left their violence-torn rural areas import violence into the township.

It is evident from Table 5.16 that the majority of the Umlazi residents view squatter settlements as 'slums of decay'. The negative view seems to have been influenced by apartheid capitalism which has rendered the shack dwellers poor, unemployed and homeless. It is clear that the quality of life of all the Umlazi residents is lowered by the spatial distribution of shack settlements on all vacant land.

The pollution of the environment by shack settlements, and the fertile ground that is created for crime and violence all lower the quality of life of the Umlazi residents. It is therefore evident that the mushrooming of squatter settlements goes hand in hand with the advent of crime. Although the existence of shack settlements appears to lower the quality of life of the Umlazi residents, it should also be acknowledged that the squatter settlements provide an essential form of 'temporary' shelter to the poor. The affordability of the squatter units justifies this research enquiry which views squatter settlements as slums of hope.

Crime that is rife in squatter settlements appears to be a direct result of the poverty of shack dwellers. Some shack dwellers are unemployed yet they need to survive. It is clear that the criminal actions of the majority

of shack dwellers, is indeed a rational formula for survival (Newman and Matzke, 1984). There is therefore a correlation between crime and poverty. The capitalist system of allocating and controlling jobs and housing promotes exploitation and corruption (Dewar, Todes and Watson, 1982), as well as crime.

It is reasonable to conclude from this investigation that the blame for the lowering of the quality of life of the Umlazi residents by squatter settlements, should be, to a large extent, directed at apartheid capitalism which initially impoverished the shack dwellers. Decision makers should ensure that the problem of poverty is redressed amongst the shack dwellers, if they hope to improve the quality of life of all the residents of Umlazi township. The upgrading of squatter settlements could be a good attempt to improve the quality of life of the Umlazi residents, thus increasing the supply of housing in the process.

Another important issue which respondents were asked to consider was the allocation of big sites and the building of big houses in Umlazi township. Considering the history of spatial inequalities within Umlazi township the following picture emerged. The overall impression gained was that a negligible majority (51%) of the respondents felt that the construction of the big houses is a positive and good thing. It should be noted that 49 percent of respondents felt negatively affected by the construction of the big houses.

The fact that the upper middle income class residents have sites which consume more space in the township impacts upon the smaller sites of shack settlements. It is evident that the big sites create artificial scarcities of land in some parts of the township. The exploitation of the middle class who pay bond interests which are exorbitant relative to the environment in which they live, lowers the quality of life of most of the lower middle class respondents. It is clear that the construction of the big houses in an environment of relatively small plots or sites, has led to the non-construction of the relatively cheaper four-roomed houses.

It is evident that the construction of the big houses impacts negatively upon the quality of life of small site holders and especially of the shack dwellers. A need for a more equitable housing scheme that concentrates

on low-cost housing construction has become imperative. This could improve the situation of all the Umlazi residents, whilst at the same time supplying affordable housing to the poor majority of Umlazi.

5.5 OBJECTIVES, HYPOTHESIS IV AND RELATED ISSUES

The attempt to formulate a viable housing policy for Umlazi goes hand in hand with the hypothesis mentioned earlier on. This section seeks to analyse questionnaire issues that attempt to accept or reject the hypothesis that the resolution of the housing crisis will be resolved mainly by the combined efforts of the state and the private sector.

5.5.1 Subsidisation of Housing

The state is usually expected to play a leading role in the financing of housing. Many institutions that are government and private sector related are expected to assist in the subsidisation of housing purchases. Since this practice was already known in Umlazi, respondents were requested to reveal their situation (see Table 5.17) regarding their housing subsidies.

TABLE 5.17: THE SUBSIDISATION AND NON-SUBSIDISATION OF HOUSE OWNERS

Resp.	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Low-Work		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Subsidised	12	30	28	70	08	20	-	-	48	32
Not Subsidised	28	70	12	30	32	80	32	100	104	68
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

a) The Middle Class

Considering the question of housing subsidisation about 30 percent of the upper middle income class revealed that their housing is subsidised whilst the greater number in this class (70%) is not subsidised. This could be ascribed to the fact that most of the upper middle class houses have either been fully paid up, or were constructed on a cash basis and with short-term loans.

The lower middle income group is one class that is heavily subsidised (70%), whilst only 30 percent of this group is not subsidised. The higher the rate of subsidisation amongst this group could be associated with the fact that this is the group that has been targeted by the state for subsidisation. Their occupational and professional status affords them the benefit of housing subsidy.

b) The Working Class

Most of this class works in the private sector. An interesting observation is that only 20 percent of the upper working class respondents who stay in four roomed houses are subsidised, whilst the entire remainder of 80 percent is not subsidised. All the lower working class shack respondents (100%) are not subsidised.

c) The General Picture

One notes that Table 5.17 reveals that the majority of the respondents of Umlazi (68%) are not subsidised, whilst only 32 percent are subsidised. The class that is subsidised more than the other class is composed mainly of professionals such as teachers, nurses and policemen.

The lower middle class has no alternative but to resort to the exploitative bond payments that are repaid over long periods of between 20 to 30 years at exorbitant interest rates. Such bond payments appear to be aimed at capital accumulation for the financial institutions at the expense of the lower middle class residents.

The majority of the four-roomed residents are not subsidised because most of them do not qualify for the state subsidy and mortgage bonds. The redlining of the proletariat by the financial institutions seems to be exacerbating the housing crisis in Umlazi. It is clear that the subsidy scheme which does not cater for the poor majority is not ideal.

There is a reflection that the targeting of the middle class by the state subsidy provision is a means to ensure social stability amongst the middle class. This is a means of dividing the Umlazi community into housing classes. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (ANC 1994) envisages to devise a viable subsidy scheme which caters for the poor. It is evident that a subsidy scheme which will cater for the population of Umlazi should be devised by policy makers as a matter of urgency.

5.5.2 Individual Expenditure on Housing

In order to understand the level of housing quality and quality of life in general, it is necessary to get to know what amount of money is spent by Umlazi inhabitants on housing. Tables 5.18 and 5.19 indicate individual monthly and total cost on a house, respectively, by the Umlazi residents. These results would help us determine the extent to which individual households are prepared and can afford to spend money on housing.

a) The Middle Class

On considering the monthly housing expenditure it emerged that the upper middle class respondents (10%) do not pay for their houses. This figure could be associated with those who have fully paid their houses. About 50 percent of respondents in this class pay less than R300 per month, whilst only 10 percent of the respondents pay more than R800 per month from their own pockets.

The majority of the lower middle class respondents (45%) pay monthly instalments of more than R800, whilst 25 percent pay less than R300. The other 20 percent pays between R501 and R800, whilst 10 percent of the respondents do not pay at all. Again the group that does not pay is ascribed to those who have fully paid for their houses.

TABLE 5.18: MONTHLY EXPENDITURE ON HOUSING BY CLASS

Expenditure	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Non-payment	04	10	04	10	02	05	17	53	27	18
< R300	20	50	10	25	18	45	15	47	63	41
R301 - R500	04	10	-	-	12	30	-	-	16	11
R501 - R800	-	-	08	20	4	10	-	-	12	08
R > R800	12	30	18	45	4	10	-	-	34	22
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

b) The Working Class

The upper working class respondents who stay in four-roomed houses have a 44 percent majority paying less than R300 per month for their houses. About 30 percent pays between R301 and R500, whilst 13 percent falls in the bracket of between R501-R800. Only 13 percent have payments exceeding R800 per month.

A very high number of shack respondents (83%) do not pay anything for their shacks. The 17 percent who pay are those shack dwellers who rent their shacks from squatter landlords. The majority of the shack dwellers build their shacks on a cash basis.

c) The General Overview

The majority of the upper middle income group appears to pay less than R300 per month for their houses because most of the householders do not have mortgage bonds. The fact that they are able to provide themselves with adequate capital for kick-starting the building of a house enables this class to use short-term loans which are usually required to finish the

house. The class that pays more than R800 per month could be associated with those who have mortgage bonds.

The fact that the majority of the lower middle income respondents pay more than R800 per month justifies the contention that this is the house-bond class that is most exploited by financial institutions. Some respondents indicated that they pay more than a net quarter of their salaries to the financial institutions. The fact that the World Bank proposes the payment of a quarter of salaries for a house by householder shows that the upper middle class is paying too much for its housing.

The majority of the respondents occupying four-roomed houses pay less than R300 per month, because most of them only rent their houses without an intention to purchase them (see Table 5.18). About 30 percent of the respondents in this class who pay between R301 and R500 can be associated with the group that has taken time to extend their four-roomed houses to five or six rooms. This extension of house-size is achieved through borrowing housing loans from financial institutions on a short term basis. The group that pays more than R500 per month was thought to be those householders who have converted their four-roomed houses into big houses, and have since been granted mortgage bonds.

Unlike the groups discussed above, the shack dwellers do not pay much for establishing their houses and completing construction, they virtually become free from any payment. They also indicated that they have no intentions of improving their shacks to a level of the official four-roomed houses or the big houses. However, the only shack dwellers who pay continuously are those who have rented the shack from squatter landlords.

Regarding the paying of bonds, it transpired from the survey that the lower middle class residents were the most financially committed and indebted group. The high bond rates that are payable over periods ranging from 20 to 30 years were perceived as a serious financial stranglehold that would in the long run cost the householders thrice as much as the original price of the house. The shack dwellers seem to remain in a state of hopelessness and homelessness since they admit that they are so poor that they do not hope to qualify for home loans in their

life time. However, some were hopeful that the Government of National Unity would devise a solution for their housing predicament.

There is general agreement among the respondents that decision makers and the government must compel the financial institutions to establish housing loan packages that will ensure that the poor pay affordable rates for their houses. Recent reports in newspapers indicate that indeed the government is working on this very proposition cited above. It is expected that within the next decade the government's initiative with financial institutions will lead to most working class individuals getting affordable houses.

Now that the estimated monthly expenditures on housing has been analysed, it becomes necessary to look at the total cost of houses relative to each socio-economic class.

TABLE 5.19 THE TOTAL COST OF A HOUSE IN DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES

AMOUNTS	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Less than R2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	63	20	13
R2001 - R4000	-	-	-	-	-	-	02	07	02	01
R4001 - R10000	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	30	10	07
R10001 - R25000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
R25001 - R50000	12	30	06	15	35	87	-	-	53	35
More than R50000	28	70	34	85	05	13	-	-	67	44
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

a) The Upper Middle Class

About 70 percent of the upper middle class respondents indicated that they owned houses in the more than R50 000 level. The majority of the respondents were quite aware that the double-storey houses in Umlazi cost in excess of R150 000. Further, only 30 percent of the respondents in this class indicated that they owned houses costing R50 000 or less.

b) The Lower Middle and Upper Working Class

A significant majority (85%) of the lower middle income group indicated that they have their houses costing more than R50 000, whereas a majority (87%) of the upper working class indicated a value between R25 000 and R50 000. The majority of the houses owned by the working class are the four-roomed houses. Only 13 percent of the respondents in the working class had four-roomed houses, somewhat improved, that were costing more than R50 000.

c) The Lower Working Class

It was interesting to note that the poor shack dwellers, comprising this working class, experience difficulty in estimating the cost of their shacks. The researcher during the interviewing period had to use various techniques of estimating building costs. About 67 percent of the shack dwellers gave R2000 as the overall cost of their shack. The estimated price of the shack was found to be low because most of the owners used "throw-away" materials to build their dwellings. These shack dwellers used materials such as plastic sheets, canvas pieces, cardboard boxes, African beer cartons and a variety of paraphernalia.

To construct a wall using beer cartons, the cartons are taken and filled with mud and used as bricks. The roof is often covered with waterproof canvas or huge plastic sheets. A few of the respondents (7%) indicated that their shacks were slightly more expensive costing between R4000 and R5000. These respondents owned shacks that were more sturdily built than usual. These shacks were made of carton mud bricks

combined with cement. Other materials used include strong wooden-poles, corrugated iron roofs, and some masonite boards.

d) General interpretation

The ability of most of the middle class respondents to afford houses costing more than R150 000, supports the argument advanced in this study that this group is fairly well-to-do and therefore not desperate for financial aid. The other three socio-economic classes are far more dependent on, though unable to afford, financial assistance from banks. One other important form of assistance that these groups could do well with, is the introduction of new and innovative low-cost building materials and building strategies. The responsibility of improving the lot of the poor house seekers and shack dwellers rests, not only on the government, but also on the financial institutions, private enterprise and various non-governmental and community based organisations.

It is worth noting that throughout South Africa the four-roomed houses have been rented out to families for many decades. There is a strong argument advanced by many families that the length of time they have been paying for these houses and their concomitant deterioration should render them fully paid off. However, in view of the fact that these houses are relatively expensive the respondents prefer to continue renting them or discard them and move into the squatter settlement. It has already been mentioned that the conversion of the four-roomed houses into big designer-houses is viewed as expensive and not worth pursuing by many of the respondents.

Both the public and the private sectors are gatekeepers of urban resources (Saunders, 1981). That is why when the state ceased to supply four-roomed housing in Umlazi in the late 1970s the state was accused of colluding with the private sector in exploiting the poor by supplying only privately owned houses. The non-affordability of the privately owned houses seems to have increased the demand for the supply of cheaper houses in Umlazi.

It must be reiterated that it has become necessary for decision-makers to concentrate on low-cost housing schemes that are affordable to township

dwellers. Table 5.19 demonstrates that the majority of the poor shack dwellers could only afford housing which cost less than R10 000.

5.5.3 Builder-Utilisation Practices in Umlazi

The supply of houses and their quality is determined by various practices perceived and actually used by the Umlazi inhabitants. Table 5.20 shows some of the patterns of using builders in the area.

TABLE 5.20: EMPLOYMENT OF HOUSE BUILDERS IN UMLAZI

Types of Builder	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Members of Household	-	-	04	10	-	-	12	37	16	11
Workers paid by Household	12	30	04	10	-	-	11	33	27	18
Contract Builder	28	70	32	80	-	-	-	-	60	39
Communal Builder	-	-	-	-	-	-	09	30	09	06
Other (Specify)	-	-	-	-	40	100	-	-	40	26
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

a) Middle Class

There are various ways of getting a house built. Respondents in this investigation revealed that about 70 percent of the upper middle income group and 80 percent of the lower middle income class have their houses built by a formal contract builder. Whereas 30 percent of the upper and

10 percent of the lower middle income class houses were built by private workers paid by the house owner. Only 10 percent of the lower middle class houses were built by members of the household (see Table 5.20).

b) Working Class

In contrast with the middle class the working class have most of the four-roomed houses (100%) built by the state. On the other hand, 37 percent of the shacks were built by members of the household. The other 33 percent of the shack respondents indicated that their shacks were built by workers who were paid by the householders.

c) General Overview

In Table 5.20 it is revealed that most of the middle class houses in the township were built by formal builders. It could be argued that the high labour costs that are charged by formal contract builders seem to increase the demand for conventional housing by the middle class residents.

When some of the respondents were asked how they built their houses they intimated that they employ workers on a part time basis who do the work only during weekends, as most of them are fully employed by private companies during the week. These builders could be employed by the householder on a part time basis at cheaper labour costs. It appears that the majority of the upper middle income group who paid cash for their houses applied this strategy.

Although it could take years before the house was complete, it is argued that the employment of part time builders over the weekends was the cheapest strategy of building expensive houses. Some of the owners of the middle income houses were qualified builders who built houses for their neighbours over weekends. This study argues that this strategy is similar to the communal strategy that is Afrocentric, where friends and relatives give a helping hand in the building of a house.

Most of the shack dwellers also apply communal effort as it is the cheapest method of building a shack. The non-recognition of communal effort by some of the Umlazi respondents could be blamed on colonial

capitalism which destroyed indigenous practices and technology in South Africa amongst blacks, and the positive acknowledgement of Afrocentric housing strategies.

There is a need for decision makers responsible for a new housing policy to recognise the significance of communality as part of African culture that could resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi. What could be done is to integrate the Western strategies of house building with the indigenous ones. It is evident that the application of indigenous technology on housing construction could be a good strategy to assist resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi township..

5.5.4 Housing Loans in Umlazi

On the whole, housing acquisition and improvement in Umlazi depends on the success of acquiring house loans, either from banks, employers, government or private individuals or companies. Respondents were asked to indicate (see Tables 5.21 and 5.22) the frequency of acceptance or rejection of their loan applications, as well as who they think should carry the responsibility of providing housing loans.

TABLE 5.21: FREQUENCY OF REJECTION OR ACCEPTANCE OF HOUSING LOANS

Rejections Acceptance	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Rejected	08	20	06	15	13	33	09	27	36	24
Accepted	32	80	34	85	27	67	23	73	116	76
	40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

a) **The Middle Class**

Normally, it takes a long time before an application for a housing loan is accepted or rejected in townships. In Umlazi 80 percent of the upper middle class respondents indicated that they were eventually granted housing loans, whilst 20 percent were rejected. About 15 percent of the

lower middle income respondents were rejected, whilst 85 percent were accepted. The reason for the acceptance was that they qualified for the state subsidy scheme, by virtue of being state and para-statal employees.

b) The Working Class

The upper working class respondents who own four-roomed houses have also indicated that they were rejected by financial institutions (33%), whilst 67 percent of this group who were not rejected indicated that they never applied for a housing loan. The 27 percent of the shack dweller respondents who were rejected were those that applied for a housing loan, whilst the 73 percent who were not rejected never applied for a housing loan. Many of the respondents from shacks who did not respond to this question seem to be those who were so poor that they felt this question did not apply to them. The reason could be that they never dreamt of applying for a loan which they could not afford to pay back.

c) General Outlook

It appears that the majority of the Umlazi respondents who were accepted by financial institutions for housing loans are those that are perceived by these institutions to be `job secure. It is clear, as indicated earlier on, that the redlining of the poor when they apply for loans highlights the need for decision makers to persuade the financial institutions to grant loans that are repayable by the poor. The informal sector which is usually not considered when loans are granted, should also be considered as many of the members of this group could afford to pay reasonable housing loans.

a) The Upper Middle Class

On being asked who should provide for housing, about 50 percent of the upper middle income group respondents indicate that the state should provide housing for the poor. Only 10 percent of this group suggest the involvement of the private sector. About 20 percent identify the international aid schemes as a strategy that could provide housing in Umlazi. A 30 percent sample identifies the state, the private sector, the grassroots and the non-governmental organisations to work together to

TABLE 5.22: THE MAIN PROVIDER(S) OF HOUSING FOR THE POOR

Providers	Response / Non-Resp.	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
a) State	Response	20	50	24	60	40	100	21	67	105	69
	Non-Resp.	20	50	16	40	-	-	11	33	47	31
b) Private Sector	Response	4	10	-	-	8	20	11	33	23	15
	Non-Resp.	36	90	40	100	32	80	21	67	129	85
c) People themselves	Response	-	-	-	-	3	7	-	-	3	2
	Non-Resp.	40	100	40	100	37	93	32	100	149	98
d) International Aid	Response	8	20	2	5	5	13	4	13	19	12
	Non-Resp.	32	80	38	95	35	87	28	87	133	88
e) All of the above	Response	12	30	-	-	3	7	-	-	15	10
	Non-Resp.	28	70	40	100	37	93	-	100	137	90
f) a and b	Response	4	10	12	30	-	-	6	20	22	14
	Non-Resp.	36	90	28	70	40	100	26	80	130	86
g) Other (specify)	Response	4	10	2	5	-	-	-	-	6	4
	Non-Resp.	36	90	38	95	40	100	32	100	146	96
		40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

supply housing in Umlazi. Only 10 percent of the upper middle income class suggests the combined involvement of the state and the private sector in providing houses for Umlazi, whilst 10 percent stated that the RDP was a good strategy to provide housing for the poor in Umlazi (see Table 5.22).

b) The Lower Middle and the Upper Working Classes

About 60 percent of the lower middle income respondents saw the state as the main provider of housing whilst 30 percent identified both the state and the private sector as the main provider of housing in Umlazi. A 20 percent sample identified the private sector whilst 13 percent suggested the international aid schemes. The upper working class respondents, have suggested the private sector and international aid schemes as main providers of houses for Umlazi residents. Only 7 percent identified the grassroots as the group that should provide housing in Umlazi.

c) The Lower Working Class

A group of 67 percent of the shack dwellers feel that the state should be the main provider of housing in Umlazi. About 33 percent has indicated the involvement of the private sector and 20 percent identifies both the state and the private sector, that all the above should be the main providers of housing in Umlazi.

d) General Interpretation

The overwhelming response that the state should be the main provider of housing by all the socio-economic classes (69%) supports the theoretical contention that the central government is the primary facilitator of housing supply as it is mainly responsible for the decision making towards housing provision (Johnston, Gregory and Smith, 1986). The fact that the state holds the key to the housing crisis confirms the overall response by the Umlazi respondents, that it should be the main supplier of housing in Umlazi.

As the government of South Africa is the main owner and distributor of urban land, its managerial role which is expressed through the formation

and execution of housing policies is critical (Johnston, Gregory and Smith, 1986), in the supply of housing for Umlazi residents. It is evident that the apartheid government was identified as the primary creator of the housing crisis in Umlazi. The apartheid government therefore used to be a key variable in its role as the national and regional manager (Johnston, Gregory and Smith, 1986). The intervention by the state in supplying housing should be seen as altering the class relations of capital accumulation (Hill, 1983).

It is the considered opinion of this paper that the Government of National Unity, which is led by the ANC, should ensure the intervention of the state as the main supplier of the housing resource, if it hopes to redress the housing imbalances that were created by the apartheid government of the past.

One should note that whatever is done by the housing managers of Umlazi, such as the corruption that is demonstrated by the non-transparency of this department, when this researcher visited the housing department of Umlazi, such corruption would remain unresolved if the state did not fully intervene in checking the corruption that prevails.

Although the private sector has not been overwhelmingly identified as a key provider of housing by all the Umlazi respondents, this paper suggest the involvement of the private sector as the secondary provider of housing for the poor in Umlazi. The main reason is that the private sector appears to have collaborated with the state in exploiting the poor. The poor are paid meagre salaries by the private sector: commerce and industry.

It is evident that due to the low economic growth that exists in South Africa at the moment, the provision of housing requires the combined efforts of all, with the state and the private sector as the main suppliers of housing especially to the poor. Although the international aid schemes are significant in rendering financial and technical aid, the earlier contention by Karanja (1992) that some of these aid schemes are aimed at capital accumulation at the expense of the poor should not be forgotten. As long as this aid is genuinely aimed at resolving the housing crisis, it

should be carefully considered for adoption, particularly in areas such as Umlazi.

5.5.5 Perceived Housing Provision Strategies

The preceding tables in this section have emphasised how Umlazi residents saw the existing financial schemes and procedures for providing housing by the government. In the rest of this section we consider the community's strategies and perceptions of schemes towards the provision of houses in Umlazi.

a) The Upper Middle Class

A total number of 70 percent of respondents in this class identify the involvement of employed workers, in building houses as a good strategy. Fifty percent of this class accepted involving the unemployed in building houses for them. In addition, 50 percent of the respondents in this class favoured the establishment of the informal sector in order to employ the unemployed, and also accepted the use of technical aid from housing experts as a viable strategy. Only 20 percent of the upper middle class respondents suggested the stokvel concept as a strategy that could be applied by the Umlazi community in building houses.

b) The Lower Middle Class

Responses of this group were very similar to those of the upper middle class. An 85 percent majority of this group identified the use of the unemployed as a viable strategy that could involve the Umlazi community in supplying housing in the township. A deviation from what was favoured by the other class is that, about 55 percent of the respondents in this group indicate that the stokvel concept should be used as a strategy for providing housing.

c) The Upper Working Class

A total number of the upper working class (100%) supported the stokvel concept as a viable strategy for housing. The same upper working class respondents (55%) favoured using the unemployed to build houses for

TABLE 5.23: COMMUNITY STRATEGIES IN THE PROVISION OF DWELLINGS IN UMLAZI

Strategies	Response	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Stokvel strategy	Yes	08	20	22	55	-	-	06	20	36	24
	No	32	80	18	45	40	100	26	80	116	76
Building operations by unemployed	Yes	20	50	34	85	22	55	18	55	94	62
	No	20	50	06	15	18	45	14	45	58	38
Employed workers to build houses	Yes	28	70	26	65	14	35	16	50	76	50
	No	12	30	14	35	26	65	16	50	76	50
Technical aid by experts	Yes	20	50	30	75	14	35	11	35	75	49
	No	20	50	10	25	26	65	21	65	77	51
Informal sector employment of the unemployed	Yes	20	50	30	75	04	10	16	50	76	50
	No	20	50	10	25	36	90	16	50	76	50
		40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

N.B.: Subjects gave more than one response in this Table.

Umlazi, as a strategy. It is sufficient to say all other strategies were not favoured. A group of 65 and 75 percent respondents identify both the involvement of the employed workers and technical aid from housing expert as an unnecessary strategy for the Umlazi community. The use of the informal sector as strategy was also not supported.

d) The Lower Working Class

In general, the responses of this class were similar to those of the upper working class. Interestingly, the stokvel concept, employed workers, technical experts and informal sector organisations were not outrightly favoured as viable strategies for acquiring housing. The only clearly favoured strategy was use of building operations by the unemployed. Possible reasons for these confused responses could be that the question was not well understood by the respondents. Also, that the shack dwellers tend to be negative towards anything official and well structured.

e) General Picture

The data in Table 5.23 paints a picture that the majority of the respondents of Umlazi identify the employment of the unemployed in the building of houses as the number one strategy that could be employed by the grassroots in Umlazi. The second strategy appears to be the involvement of the employed in the building of houses. The technical aid by experts seems to be third in significance. The establishment of the informal sector to employ the unemployed follows behind, whilst the stockvel concept is the least significant strategy as evidenced in Table 5.23.

In the light of this analysis it could be concluded that decision makers should consider the involvement of the unemployed for building houses as an important requirement for a new housing policy for Umlazi. It is clear that the people that experience the worst housing conditions are the unemployed. It has therefore become imperative for policy makers to formulate a housing strategy and policy that takes into cognisance the feeling of the Umlazi residents.

The time is over where decision makers take decisions without involving the actual victims of the housing crisis and the marginalised residents of Umlazi. In conclusion, this study advocates that the combined consideration of employing the unemployed in building houses, the technical aid by housing experts, the establishment of the informal sector to employ the unemployed, and the introduction of the Afrocentric stokvel concept, could all facilitate the supply of houses in Umlazi for the people by the people.

5.5.6 Government Housing Schemes

On the whole housing provision and improvement in Umlazi is seen as the responsibility of various role players: the government, private sector; employers; and other semi-state organisations. The respondents were asked to indicate (see Table 5.24) what they thought about government related housing schemes.

a) The Middle Class

A majority of the upper middle income respondents (80%) indicated that they favour the construction of complete houses for ownership a good strategy, whilst 50 percent identify the construction of complete blocks of houses for renting as an ideal strategy to supply housing. It is interesting to note that the middle class did not support both site and service scheme and open land for self-development as good strategies which should be provided by the government. This attitude could have been encouraged by politicians urging people to accept nothing less than big, complete and fully built houses.

Half of the lower middle class respondents (50%) gave the construction of complete housing for ownership as a good housing strategy that could be provided by the government.

b) The Working Class

The upper working class did not favour the building of complete housing, whereas 75 percent of the lower working class favoured this form of housing. This outcome could be justified by the fact that

the upper working class are four-roomed house owners and do not see it as a good strategy adopted by the previous government in supplying housing to the poor of Umlazi. About 50 percent of this class indicated that houses for renting should be constructed.

c) General Interpretation

In Table 5.24 it is revealed that the overall impression given by all the respondents of Umlazi is that the construction of houses for ownership is the best strategy. The construction of housing for renting appears to be the second best strategy. Open land for self-development and site and service are the least popular strategies.

The overwhelming response (59%) to the construction of housing for ownership revealed that the majority of the Umlazi residents aspire to own housing. Although housing for renting is cheaper, it appears that even the people that are paying rent are doing it as a second alternative to owning houses. The fact that even the poorest shack dwellers identify the construction of housing for ownership as first choice, demonstrates the high expectations of the majority of Umlazi residents to have houses of their own. The new political dispensation has encouraged this perception and expectation.

The identification of the site and service scheme by a few respondents reaffirms the theoretical assertion by Ward (1982) that site and service schemes are unpopular because they are too expensive to be left entirely in the hands of the poor. The poor of Umlazi seem to acknowledge the non-viability of site and service schemes. This is reflected by the small number of residents who occupy sites with toilets. Instead the poor appears to opt for cheaper shack units.

Deducing from the arguments put forward in this study and Table 5.24, it should be accepted that decision makers should formulate a housing strategy that should concentrate on home ownership schemes which should be affordable to the poor residents of Umlazi. The second option could be the construction of large scale housing for rental, by the state and the private sector. This investigation also revealed that although the

TABLE 5.24: PERCEPTION OF GOVERNMENT HOUSING SCHEMES IN UMLAZI

Housing supply/scheme	Response	Upper Middle		Lower Middle		Upper Working		Lower Working		Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Building complete housing for ownership	Positive	32	80	20	50	14	35	24	75	90	59
	Negative	08	20	20	50	26	65	08	25	62	41
Building houses for rental	Positive	20	50	12	30	20	50	16	50	68	45
	Negative	20	50	28	70	20	50	16	50	84	55
Sites and service only	Positive	12	30	04	10	12	30	06	20	34	22
	Negative	28	70	36	90	28	70	26	80	118	78
Open land for self-development	Positive	12	30	08	20	08	20	11	35	39	26
	Negative	28	70	32	80	32	80	21	65	113	74
		40	100	40	100	40	100	32	100	152	100

majority of the Umlazi residents aspire to own houses, most of them cannot afford such houses. They can only afford housing for rental.

Due to the unpopularity of the site and service schemes, this research suggests the conversion of site and service schemes into complete affordable houses for ownership by the poor of Umlazi. A very small area should be allocated to open land for self-development because only a small number of the Umlazi residents could afford to use this scheme. A kind of controlled state-intervention in supplying large-scale rental housing could be a good strategy to decrease the greater demand for housing, whilst increasing its supply.

5.6 FINDINGS

The following findings of this research inquiry are related to the hypotheses stated at the beginning of this study. In an attempt to highlight the significant findings, a sequence of findings related to each hypothesis are explored.

5.6.1 Hypothesis I

The hypothesis that apartheid capitalism is the major cause of the housing crisis is proven and therefore accepted. The latter is based on the following findings:

- a) In terms of the responses, poverty appears to be an apartheid creation which is responsible for the housing crisis in Umlazi. This research enquiry therefore accepts the hypothesis that apartheid capitalism has influenced the

increase in the housing crisis. The proliferation of squatter settlements seems to be a function of poverty which in turn is thought to be caused by apartheid, which created resource-imbalances between blacks and whites in South Africa.

- b) The unemployment and under-employment of the majority of the Umlazi residents by industries that pay meagre wages, seems to impoverish the poor at the expense of housing supply. The fact that the high paying jobs were the preserve of whites during the apartheid era, is proof that apartheid capitalism is the major cause for the housing crisis in Umlazi township.
- c) The location of the Umlazi township 25km away from the Durban city, where the residents work, is perceived in this study as a product of the Group Areas Act which is an apartheid creation. The fact that the residents have to pay high costs for travelling to and from the workplace is deduced to be a capitalist strategy to further exploit the poor. The result is that residents are rendered unable to provide themselves even with the cheapest form of conventional housing.

In conclusion, the findings mentioned above support the notion that apartheid capitalism is the major cause of the housing crisis. It remains for the decision makers to acknowledge this fact and attempt to address this problem.

5.6.2 Hypothesis II

The hypothesis that the extent of the housing crisis in Umlazi is revealed as, and is synonymous to the proliferation of shack settlements which seem to supersede the supply of formal housing in Umlazi. The findings that follow attempt to show the extent to which the analysis support this hypothesis:

- a) The overpopulation of the township has a bearing on the number of residents demanding conventional housing in the Umlazi township. It is discovered that overpopulation, which increases the number of backyard units and squatter settlements is a rational strategy by the poor for economic survival. The greater extent of informal houses is therefore a result of overpopulation, which is also linked to poverty.
- b) The greater supply of privately owned houses goes hand in hand with the higher earning power of the middle class. Such houses which cannot be afforded by the poor are revealed as exacerbating the demand for cheaper housing in Umlazi.
- c) The dichotomy of the "haves" and the "have-nots" is reflected as having influenced the creation of the four housing classes in the township. The "haves" appear to have adequate housing whilst the "have-nots" are short of conventional housing.
- d) This research investigation revealed that the political intolerance between the ANC and the IFP operates most among the shack dwellers and has resulted in many houses being destroyed. This increases the greater demand for housing amongst the poor.

The hypothesis that the greater demand for conventional housing is surpassed by shack supply, is therefore accepted by this research investigation.

5.6.3 Hypothesis III

The next hypothesis states that the quality of life of the Umlazi residents seems to be affected by the deficiency of the basic infrastructural services. The following findings support, and are related to the hypothesis mentioned above:

- a) The population of shack settlements and the absence of basic infrastructural services such as tarred roads, running water, and electricity among the Umlazi dwellers is revealed

as having an effect on the quality of life of the Umlazi residents.

- b) The perception by most people that Umlazi has a reasonable infrastructure and no restrictive influx rules when compared with other black townships around Durban, seems to act as a centripetal force which attract even the undesirable elements into the township. This phenomenon is revealed as lowering the quality of life of the residents particularly when elements such as squatters, criminals and murderers immigrate into the township. In the process the demand for housing is also exacerbated.
- c) The topographical unsuitability of steep slopes in Umlazi contribute to the poverty of the infrastructure in that it becomes too expensive to construct suitable low-cost houses. The situation therefore increases the demand for housing in the area.

It is reasonable to say that the hypothesis that the infrastructural services which are lacking around shack settlements in Umlazi tend to cumulatively lower the quality of life of the residents. This hypothesis is therefore confirmed.

5.6.4 Hypothesis IV

The final hypothesis that the state and the private sector should be the major suppliers of housing in Umlazi is accepted as proposed. Some of the findings supporting this hypothesis include the following:

- a) The subsidisation of the middle class was revealed as a strategy that was used by the former state and the private sector for their apartheid related ulterior motives. Subsidisation in the hand of a good government would stand to benefit the upper and lower working classes.
- b) The unpopularity of site and service schemes among the former authorities and respondents was found to worsen the housing crisis. The schemes were seen as beyond the financial means of the poor. However, it is not conclusive

that such schemes are not an ideal housing strategy, and would not work in a post-apartheid situation.

- c) The involvement of the grassroots people in the formulation of a new housing policy supported by the state and private sector would introduce a new process where the democratic manner of policy-making is invoked. The practice would take into cognisance the actual victims of the housing crisis. The grassroots people would provide valuable first-hand information for decision-makers.
- d) It was found that the majority of the Umlazi residents feel that the state should be the major player in funding housing for the poor.

From the above findings it is evident that the hypothesis that the state and the private sector should be the major players in funding housing for the poor is confirmed. However, it is the view of this study that the hypothesis should be partially accepted.

It is partially accepted because it was revealed that the state and the private sector seem to have colluded in exploiting the poor. The state and the private sector should therefore be responsible for providing housing as they have contributed most in causing the housing crisis in Umlazi. It is also partially accepted because it was discovered that due to the country's low economic growth other parties such as the NGOs, the international aid schemes and the people on the ground should all work together to resolve the housing crisis in the township. But it should be borne in mind that the state and the private sector should be the major funders.

5.7 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

From the analysis and interpretations discussed earlier, it is important to draw some policy implication that could influence the housing problems in Umlazi, for the future. It is anticipated decision-makers would find the implication useful.

In order to discuss some policy related factors based on a sound theoretical framework, a housing delivery formula by Field and MacGregor (1987) is incorporated in the discussion. The formula is modified for our purposes:

$$FS = ES - PS + IS$$

Where FS = Future stock (representing housing delivery).

ES = Existing stock (representing what exists and planned).

PS = Poor substandard (housing and houses existing, in plan, vacant and other losses).

IS = Improvable substandard (housing and houses existing, in plan and other benefits).

It is possible to apply this formula if correct figures are available from the township authorities and some of the following policy and strategy considerations could be made:

- a) The poor substandard houses worthy of being excluded could be most of the shacks which could be relocated from the township to other vacant areas preparing for planning, like Cato Manor. This could lower the housing density in shack settlement areas.
- b) The estimation of the number of shack units that are likely to mushroom in the future, could be worked out so that the estimated number could be excluded from future plans.
- c) The number of shacks that are to be improved by upgrading, could form part of a future stock. The renovation of existing old formal houses such as the four-roomed houses could form part of the stock that is likely to be improved in future.
- d) Housing losses such as those houses and shacks that were destroyed during the political violence of 1992 could be estimated so that they may be excluded from the current stock. Sections such as Q, T, U and Z, which were mainly affected by the political violence of 1992 could be targeted, without forgetting the houses and shacks that were destroyed at section CC in October 1994.

- e) Probable conversions of residences could be linked to the conversion of unit 17 hostel at section T into family units. The unit 17 hostel which is made up of four-roomed houses consumes a lot of horizontal space in Umlazi. Vertical space could be utilised by constructing high rise buildings which could cater for the hostel residents. The four-roomed houses of section T could then be converted into family units. Other conversions could be the upgrading of shacks or their conversion into formal houses. The site and service schemes could also be converted into complete houses for renting.
- f) The consideration that South Africa has a population growth rate of about 3 percent per annum, could help to forecast the stock that could be needed annually for housing the additional members of the Umlazi community.
- g) The non-availability of immigration and emigration figures for Umlazi hides the true extent of the housing demand in Umlazi. Decision makers should therefore design a strategy of overcoming this problem.
- h) In addition, other important considerations should include establishing policy about putting legitimate and honest people in authority, setting standards and procedures for applying for and acquiring houses in Umlazi, putting into place multi-varied housing schemes that would suite all people, setting standards for constructing houses in the area, and controlling the influx of new comers to Umlazi.

It should be noted that the information relating to policy given above should be viewed as a guide, as many as other policy options as proposed by this study.

5.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to obtain empirical data through administering questionnaires to a sample of Umlazi respondents as well as interviewing some township authorities and people on the ground. The section has attempted to analyse the data acquired in relation to the theoretical materials used in chapter 2, 3 and 4. It should be mentioned

that the absence of information from the housing manager of Umlazi township compelled this inquiry to employ other related sources and general theory on urban managerialism that is linked to the empirical aspect of this study.

The issues that appear in the questionnaire were analysed and interpreted on the basis of objectives and hypotheses of this study. It is worth noting that this study discovered that, to a larger extent, the main contributory cause to the housing crisis is poverty that was created by apartheid capitalism which in turn created resource inequalities. A dichotomy of the affluent and the poor results in housing classes. The subsidisation of the middle class impacts upon the non-subsidisation of the working class.

Finally it can be reiterated that a viable post-apartheid housing policy for Umlazi should revolve around one large scale supply of low-cost housing.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

There are many issues of importance related to the patterns and dynamics of housing that are highlighted for conclusive discussion in this chapter. Although it is usually common to discuss the conclusions which only refer to the research population actually covered (Moser and Kalton, 1985), this study also recognises that there are theoretical matters of importance which impact upon the population that was studied.

Conclusions are drawn mainly from the analysis and interpretation of the self-administered questionnaire which was undertaken in Umlazi township. The unsuccessful attempts to interview the Umlazi township housing manager compelled this study to explore and utilise theories on urban managerialism for making deductive conclusions. The interplay between theoretical and empirical data is an important device in enhancing the validity and relevance of this study. Whatever is concluded and recommended in this chapter emanates from the dissertation in its entirety, although, most of these recommendations have to a large extent been extracted from Chapter 5.

In summary, some of the problems experienced during the execution of this research investigation include: the non-responses of some respondents; the relative bias that goes hand in hand with the application of purposive sampling; the inaccuracy of population and housing figures obtained from the township office is noted as a problem that tends to lower the validity of this study; and the scepticism of the majority of the Umlazi respondents towards research in general created problems.

Some of the matters revisited are the need for future research projections which aim at helping future researchers who intend pursuing studies

similar to this one. Finally, the success and failure of this research investigation are highlighted in this chapter.

6.2 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It is essential to note that this research study has enabled the researcher to draw meaningful conclusions which relate to housing demand, supply and policy making for Umlazi township. The conclusions also take into cognisance the objectives and related hypotheses connected to the study as a whole.

The finding that **poverty** as function of apartheid capitalism stands out as the major cause for the housing crisis justifies a conclusion that the endemic poverty among Umlazi residents compels a significant number of the population to be housed in informal and squatter settlements. It is evident that the spatial proliferation of shack settlements all over the Umlazi landscape would not have been possible if the majority of the Umlazi residents had a good means of living. For instance, land scarcity can be associated with many of the inequalities experienced.

In addition, it is clear and conclusive that poverty-related problems such as crime, political intolerance and violence have all exacerbated the housing crisis in Umlazi township. To a certain extent, the fact that most of the black residents are paid meagre salaries in the workplace has largely been associated with poverty in the township. It can further be concluded that an economic system that does not address the plight of these poor residents will not alleviate the existing housing problems in Umlazi.

The revelation that there is an **inadequate supply of new houses** in Umlazi could be linked to other related problems such as overpopulation, and in-migration which are all a result of rural-urban migration which occurs at an exponential rate. It could then be concluded that the arithmetic supply of formal houses in Umlazi is a function of the geometric increase of squatter settlements.

It appears that the quality of life of the majority of the Umlazi residents is lowered by the **absence of the basic infrastructural services**

especially among shack dwellers. The residents in formal houses who are well supplied with infrastructural services seem to enjoy an elevated quality of life. It is therefore evident that the provision of basic infrastructural services in Umlazi to all the residents of the township, and the upgrading of squatter settlements, could not only improve the quality of life of the privileged house owners, but also of all informal house owners.

Another general conclusion from the findings is that Umlazi respondents are calling for viable post-apartheid **housing policy** for the township, which they believe will benefit their state of affairs substantially. It is thought, *inter alia*, that a viable policy would be that which recognises a home ownership scheme that favours all residents, and particularly the less affluent. There was an overwhelming response that the state should be the main provider of housing. It also became conclusive that if low-cost housing funding were to be solely left in the hands of the poor and not involve other structures, the problems of non-subsidisation of the poor, the non-supply of the relatively inexpensive houses, the long waits for new houses, the non-provision of housing by the state and the private sector, could all aggravate the demand for housing in Umlazi.

The above general conclusions highlight the need for decision makers to take into cognisance the information that has been collected in this research inquiry. Emerging from these general conclusions are some recommendations which attempt to address some of the initial objectives of this research study.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Although it is difficult to establish an ideal modus operandi associated with a process of putting the housing policy into place, the following recommendations could act as guidelines for decision-makers. It is by no means the aim of this paper to give cut and dry prescriptions for a post-apartheid housing policy.

6.3.1. The overall identification of poverty which is caused by apartheid capitalism as the major cause of the housing crisis justifies this study to

recommend a new economic system that could address the failure of the market system to supply housing to Umlazi.

A mixed economic system is recommended which it is believed will ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed (Perry and Perry, 1991). In a mixed economy government intervention can be justified on economic grounds by market failure (Bigg, Fischer and Dornbusch, 1991).

6.3.2. Policies aimed at redistributing housing related resources could prevent the marginalisation of the poor. It is recommended that such a policy be considered. Housing related wealth could be distributed in such a way that there is an equitable income differential among people (Perry and Perry, 1991). These interventions should only aim at correcting the imbalances that were created to favour the privileged through apartheid.

6.3.3. It is recommended that the subsidised housing schemes are put into place by future decision-makers. Although the Reconstruction and Development Programme plans to subsidise even the residents earning below R800 per month, it should be noted that a larger majority of the poor in the informal sector, and those people that are unemployed could still be marginalised.

6.3.4. It is recommended that housing and employment generating strategies be put into effect. The presence of most of the unemployed in shack settlements underlines the need for decision-makers and town planners to plan Umlazi in such a way that jobs are provided within and around Umlazi. For example, the establishment of agro-related industries in rural areas could arrest the rapid rural-urban migration in Umlazi.

6.3.5. The mushrooming of shacks demonstrates a need to view squatter settlements as "slums of hope". The conventional attitude of viewing shacks as "slums of despair" is regressive. Until such time when shacks are fully integrated in a new housing policy dispensation, the housing crisis could continue unabated. A recommendation to, for example, upgrade squatter settlements should be adopted and implemented in

such a way that the problem of space and housing standards is resolved. Squatter settlements should be provided with basic infrastructural services for all inhabitants to benefit.

6.3.6. It is recommended that an aggressive land acquisition policy is adopted and implemented. For example, the Cato Manor development project should be speeded up and some shack dwellers from Umlazi be relocated to Cato Manor and similar places. The majority of Umlazi residents originally come from Cato Manor.

6.3.7. It is recommended that the Government of National Unity adopts a multi-strategic policy of providing infrastructural services and site and service, and houses on an incremental basis. No government can afford providing high level housing to all its inhabitants at a single go.

6.3.8. Government decision makers should persuade and assist financial institutions to make housing loan packages that are manageable and that can be afforded by the Umlazi households. They should ensure that the poor will afford to pay back these loans.

6.3.9. The government and all the structures affected, directly or indirectly, should find ways and means of ending the violence in the township. Violence is a major contributory factor in the destruction of houses.

6.3.10. It is essential to establish a democratically elected township and housing management structure. This structure should reflect the whole township spectrum, from the grassroots, political groups, Umlazi council, central government, and the private sector, if it is to resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi.

6.3.11. It is recommended that financial aid from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund should be sought, if it will genuinely assist with the resolution of the housing crisis in South Africa, without any ulterior motives linked to the funding.

In conclusion, the acknowledgement of the complexity of land, housing, unemployment and poverty issues, by the powers that be, and their

preparedness to tackle them directly , could augur well for the resolution of the housing crisis in Umlazi township. The provision of housing requires the combined efforts of all housing experts and related groups concerned with housing, with the government and the private sector being the main providers of funding and security. When all the recommendations mentioned above are met, the quality of lifestyle of all the residents of Umlazi will be improved.

6.4 PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED DURING THE STUDY

It is important to highlight some of the problems that were encountered by this researcher. It is hoped that the identification of such problems could help future researchers to be wary of such problems for the betterment of conducting future research.

There were numerous problems that were experienced during the execution of this research investigation. The preliminary plan was to undertake a probability systematic sampling procedure. The non-responses during the pilot study, and the scepticism of black respondents forced this researcher to undertake a non-probability sampling procedure. Only the convenient and accessible respondents were administered. Because of the difficulty of obtaining adequate shack dwellers from one section, due to their politicisation, shack respondents were obtained from various shack settlements of the township. A limited number of shack respondents was obtained.

Some respondents believed that the researcher was using them for the purpose of financial gain. Some of the respondents expected to be paid for answering the questionnaire. It was difficult to convince them that the findings were aimed at the probable improvement of their housing conditions. The high expectancy rate that was raised by political organisations during elections of April 1994, that houses would be provided to all the people of South Africa played a vital role in obtaining responses especially amongst the working class respondents and shack dwellers.

Some of the respondents blatantly refused to answer the questionnaire because they felt that they were putting themselves in danger. They did

not want to commit themselves to something that they thought could make them suffer in future. They thought that the research findings had ulterior motives of relocating them away from where some respondents had established their shacks.

Until such time when research is seen to be genuinely aimed at resolving the problems experienced by blacks in South Africa, black respondents could remain sceptical of the so called pure research. There is an urgent need for social scientists to inculcate a culture of more applied or action research, so that research could be more functional. Academic research for purposes of passing degrees, rather than solving problems experienced by blacks should be discouraged.

6.5 FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

It is without doubt that future related housing research has to be undertaken with the problems experienced in this study in mind. Geographic and other spatial processes need to probe deeply into social, political and economic forces which influence housing demand in Umlazi.

This research study has without doubt failed to address all the aspects of housing in Umlazi, in any case that was not its intention. In order to broaden and focus on specifics, it could be important in future to check the arguments forwarded by the people on the ground who actually experience the housing crisis. It could be useful to find out what the Umlazi community actually proposes for the modification and renewal of any existing or established housing policy.

An important research area which could be pursued in future is that which seeks to establish the impact of financial components in relation to the location of houses in the Umlazi township and on the outskirts of Durban. Such research could help in linking the housing crisis to the long distances that are travelled by the Umlazi commuters to and from the workplace and the home. Maasdorp and Pillay (1977) argue that it could be to the advantage of resolving the housing crisis if the data related to spatial distribution of employment, travel time, and travel costs to and from the workplace and the home is gathered. This study

supports a view that costly journeys to and from the workplace and the home impact upon the inability of the Umlazi residents to afford to provide themselves with the cheapest form of conventional housing.

It will not be easy to resolve the housing crisis in Umlazi due to the complexity of the underlying causes. Future research has to devise a strategy to bring to the surface all the underlying causes. There is a long way to go before the true extent of the housing crisis is revealed in Umlazi township. As long as population and housing figures are inadequate, and a proper random sampling technique is not employed, future housing studies could experience problems of statistical inaccuracies and biased findings.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter attempts to highlight the major conclusions that were revealed by this study during its execution. Without doubt poverty, immigration of people into Umlazi, squatting, unemployment, financial and land inequalities, and many related factors have been identified as the major problem that causes the housing demand in Umlazi township.

It still remains a fundamental truth that the housing problems in Umlazi, and in South Africa at large, can be overcome if the Government of National Unity with its Reconstruction and Development Programme, in collaboration with the private sector and all communities involved, begin work on a joint strategy.

Notwithstanding the weaknesses of this research study, it has attempted in a fairly significant way to draw attention to the housing needs of the Umlazi inhabitants, and their general views on what future housing policy should be. In addition, it should be noted that this study lays a foundation for further housing research in Umlazi and related places for a more progressive post-apartheid South Africa.

When future decision-makers take time to consider and convert, in a modest manner, some of the ideas expressed in this study into practical applications and solutions, then this researcher would be proud to say: "This research endeavour was worth the time and energy spent".

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APPENDIX - A

BB 1109 Umlazi Township
P.O. Umlazi
4031

20th November 1994

The Housing Manager
Umlazi Township Council
P.O. Umlazi 4066

Dear Sir,

I am a Master of Arts student of the University of Zululand who is undertaking research on the Umlazi housing.

I would like to be furnished with the following information if available:

1. Total population of Umlazi township
2. Number of housing units supplied
3. Number of housing units demanded
4. Ownership housing units
5. Rental housing units
6. Number on waiting list
7. Number of years waited
8. Number of immigrants per annum
9. Number of emigrants per annum
10. Number of houses destroyed
11. Causes for the housing crisis
12. People who should formulate a new housing policy
13. Future plans concerning the Unit 17 Hostel

I hope that you will be able to furnish me with the above information. Let me assure you that all information will be treated with confidentiality necessary.

Yours faithfully



B.B. GUMBI

APPENDIX - B

QUESTIONNAIRE

[IN ENGLISH]

Hallo

I would like to thank you in advance for allowing me to take some of your time.

This questionnaire attempts to obtain information from you, as one of the people of Umlazi, who have experienced, and who are still experiencing the housing problem. It is hoped that valuable information will be obtained from you, which could enable policy makers to resolve the housing problems in Umlazi Township.

QUESTIONNAIRE 1994

1. State the reasons for building the type of house that you live in.

(a) Could not afford rent for a four-roomed house

☐

(b) Could not afford to buy another formal house

☐

(c) Wanted to build a house on cash basis

☐

(d) Have been on waiting list for a long time

☐

(e) Other (specify) wanted to build a house of my dreams

2. Was residential location influenced by workplace?

(a) Yes ☐

(b) No ☐

(c) Not sure ☐

3. Do you wish to improve your present house?

(a) Yes ☐

(b) No ☐

(c) Not sure ☐

4. Improvements in your home have not been made because of:

(a) Lack of funds

☐

(b) Regulations

☐

(c) Lack of space

☐

(d) Other reasons (specify)

5. Are you thinking of moving?

(a) Yes ☐

(b) No ☐

(c) Not sure ☐

6. If yes, give reasons in the order of importance

- (a) To be closer to workplace ☐
- (b) To have a better neighbourhood ☐
- (c) To own a house ☐
- (d) To have better urban facilities ☐
- (e) To have a better house ☐
- (f) To emigrate from a black township ☐
- (g) To stay with people of my own social class ☐

If no, give reason(s)

7. What do you think is the main cause of violence in Umlazi?

- (a) Crime ☐
- (b) Political intolerance ☐
- (c) Conflicts over scarce resources i.e. food, water, land ☐
- (d) Unemployment ☐
- (e) Other reasons (specify)

8. Before residing at Umlazi where did you reside?

- (a) In Umlazi reserve ☐
- (b) In a rural area (specify name)
- (c) In a hostel ☐
- (d) Other area (specify)

9. What forced you or your parents to emigrate to Umlazi Township?

- (a) A need for a new home ☐
- (b) Employment south of Durban ☐
- (c) Political conflicts ☐
- (d) To have a better quality house ☐
- (e) Other reasons (specify)

10. What is the main reason for the rapid mushrooming of shacks in Umlazi Township?

- (a) Increase in the number of households in formal housing ☐
- (b) Insufficient supply of cheaper formal houses ☐
- (c) Young people desiring independence from their parents ☐
- (d) Rural urban migration ☐
- (e) Other (specify)

11. House type

- (a) Private ownership (four room) ☐
- (b) Private ownership (big house) ☐
- (c) Rental housing (four room) ☐
- (d) Lodger in room(s) ☐
- (e) Other (specify)

12. Are you happy with the nature of your present home?

Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Are you subsidised?

Yes ☐ No ☐

14. Type of subsidy

- (a) Private company ☐
- (b) State ☐
- (c) Bank/Building Society/own arrangement ☐
- (d) Other (specify) ☐
-
-

15. How much do you pay from your own pocket for your house per month?

- (a) < R300 ☐ (c) R501-R800 ☐
- (b) R301-R500 ☐ (d) > R800 ☐

16. Number of people employed in the household

17. Total cost of the house

- (a) < R2 000 ☐ (d) R10 001 - R25 000 ☐
- (b) R2 001 - R4 000 ☐ (e) R25 001 - R50 000 ☐
- (c) R4 001 - R10 000 ☐ (f) > R50 000 ☐

18. Where did you obtain the housing loan?

- (a) State ☐ (c) Private company ☐
- (b) Bank ☐ (d) Other (specify)

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

19. Does the construction of the so-called big houses affect you in any way?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure ☐

20. Does the mushrooming of shacks affect you?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure ☐

21. Building materials used in the construction of your house.

(a) Mud and Wood	<input type="checkbox"/>	(f) Planks	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Grass	<input type="checkbox"/>	(g) Bricks	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Cardboards	<input type="checkbox"/>	(h) Blocks	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Asbestos	<input type="checkbox"/>	(i) Other (specify) _____	

22. Who built your house?

(a) Members of household	<input type="checkbox"/>	(d) Communal effort	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Workers paid by household	<input type="checkbox"/>	(e) Other (specify) _____	
(c) Formal builder	<input type="checkbox"/>		

23. Sanitary facilities

(a) None	<input type="checkbox"/>	(d) Flush toilet	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Pit	<input type="checkbox"/>	(e) Bucket system	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Septic tank	<input type="checkbox"/>	(f) Other (specify) _____	

24. Water supply

(a) In the house	<input type="checkbox"/>	(c) Neighbour's tap	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Tank	<input type="checkbox"/>	(d) Other (specify) _____	

25. Have you ever applied for a formal house in Umlazi?

Yes ☐ No ☐

26. How long did you wait / have you waited for the house?

5 years ☐ Other (specify) ☐

27. Were you ever rejected by any financial institution when you applied for a housing loan?

Yes ☐ No ☐

28. Who should provide housing for the very poor in Umlazi?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) State | <input type="checkbox"/> | (e) International aid schemes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) Private sector | <input type="checkbox"/> | (f) All the above | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (c) People themselves | <input type="checkbox"/> | (g) (a) and (b) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) NGOs | <input type="checkbox"/> | (h) Other (specify) | <input type="text"/> |

29. How should the Umlazi community be involved in the provision of housing?
(Give a - f in the order of importance)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| (a) Building of houses through stockvels | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) Unemployed to be employed to build houses for the employed. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (c) Employed should be involved in the building of low-cost housing | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) Experts to help the poor with technical know-how | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (e) Establishments of the informal sector to employ the unemployed | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (f) Other (specify) | <input type="text"/> |

30. What housing scheme / strategy should be provided by the government?

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| (a) Construction of complete houses for ownership | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) Construction of complete blocks of houses for renting | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (c) Site and service only | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) Open land for self-development | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (e) Other (specify) | <input type="text"/> |

HOUSING PROBLEMS

31. Number of people in the home
32. What do you think is the main reason for the over-population of Umlazi township?
- (a) High birth rates ☐
 - (b) Lack of birth control measures ☐
 - (c) Poverty ☐
 - (d) (a) and (c) ☐
 - (e) Other (specify) _____
33. What do you think is the major cause of the housing crisis in Umlazi?
- (a) Land scarcity ☐
 - (b) Lack of jobs in rural areas ☐
 - (c) Poverty ☐
 - (d) Political problems ☐
 - (e) Other (specify) _____
34. What do you think is the major reason for rural-urban migration?
- (a) Land scarcity in rural areas ☐
 - (b) Lack of jobs in rural areas ☐
 - (c) Poverty ☐
 - (c) Other (specify) _____
35. How can rural-urban migration be curbed?
- (a) Re-imposition of influx measures ☐
 - (b) Economic improvements of rural areas ☐
 - (c) Other (specify) _____

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

36. Sex of head of household

(a) Male ☐ Female ☐

37. Occupation

(a) Labourer	<input type="checkbox"/>	(g) Business person	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Technician	<input type="checkbox"/>	(h) Salesperson	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Clerk	<input type="checkbox"/>	(i) Domestic worker	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Machine Operator	<input type="checkbox"/>	(j) Professional	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) Foreman	<input type="checkbox"/>	(k) Other (specify) _____	
(f) Manager	<input type="checkbox"/>		

3. Age category

(a) < 21	<input type="checkbox"/>	(d) 50 - 60	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) 21 - 35	<input type="checkbox"/>	(e) > 60	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) 36 - 49	<input type="checkbox"/>		

39. Workplace situation

(a) CBD	<input type="checkbox"/>	(e) Merewent	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Congella-Umgeni	<input type="checkbox"/>	(f) Isipingo-Prospecton	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Rossburgh-Clairwood	<input type="checkbox"/>	(g) Other (specify) _____	

40. Is the spouse employed?

(a) Yes ☐ No ☐

41. Net monthly income of head of household

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|--------------------------|-----|-----------------|--------------------------|
| (a) | < R500 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (e) | R2 500 - R3 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) | R500 - R800 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (f) | R3 001 - R4 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (c) | R801 - R1 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (g) | > R4 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) | R1 001 - R2 499 | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

42. Net monthly income of relation

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|--------------------------|-----|-----------------|--------------------------|
| (a) | < R500 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (e) | R2 500 - R3 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) | R500 - R800 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (f) | R3 001 - R4 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (c) | R801 - R1 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (g) | > R4 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) | R1 001 - R2 499 | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

Thank you again for your co-operation !

APPENDIX - C

QUESTIONNAIRE

[IN ZULU]

SAWUBONA

Ngicela Ukubonga ukunginika isikhathi sakho sokuphendula imibuzo elandelayo.

Imibuzo elapha yakhelwe wena sakhamuzi sasemlazi esike sahlupheka noma

esisahlupheka

ngenxa yokwentuleka kwezindlu Emlazi. Ngethemba ukuthi uzokwazi ukuphendula

imibuzo elapha ngaphakathi ukuze kuzanywe ukuba inkinga yokwesweleka kwezindlu iphele Emlazi.

1. Shono isizathu/izizathu zokwakha uhlobo lwendlu ohlala kuyo

- (a) Angikwazanga ukuba nemali yokuthelela u-four-room ☐
- (b) Angikwazanga ukuthenga indlu ngenxa yokweswela imali ☐
- (c) Ngangifisa ukwakha indlu ngokheshe ☐
- (d) Ngabhalisela indlu ngalinda isikhathi eside ☐
- (e) Okunye (Kusho) ☐

2. Kwabangelwa ukuba seduze komsebenzi lapho uhlala khona?

- (a) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐ (c) Angazi ☐

3. Uyafisa ukulungisa indlu yakho?

- (a) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐ (c) Angazi ☐

4. Awukawulungisi umuzi wakho ngenxa

- (a) Yokwesela imali ☐
- (b) Yemithetho kahulumeni ☐
- (c) Yokweseleka Kwendawo yokwakha ☐
- (d) Okunye (Kusho) ☐

5. Ucabanga ukuthutha lapho uhlala khona?

- (A) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐ (c) Angikazi ☐

6. Uma uthi yebo, shono izizathu uzilandelise ngokubaluleka kwazo.

- (a) Ukuba ngibe seduze kwalapho ngisebenza khona ☐
- (b) Ukwakha endaweni engcono kunalena ☐
- (c) Ukuba ngibe nomuzi wami ☐
- (d) Ukuba seduze kwezidingo zasedolobheni ☐
- (e) Ukwakha indlu enkulu ☐
- (f) Ukusuka elokishini labantu abansundu ☐
- (g) Ukuba ngihlale nabantu abasezingeni lokuphila elifana nelami ☐

1. Shono isizathu/izizathu zokwakha uhlobo lwendlu ohlala kuyo

- (a) Angikwazanga ukuba nemali yokuthela u-four-room ☐
- (b) Angikwazanga ukuthenga indlu ngenxa yokweswela imali ☐
- (c) Ngangifisa ukwakha indlu ngokheshe ☐
- (d) Ngabhalisela indlu ngalinda isikhathi eside ☐
- (e) Okunye (Kusho) ☐

2. Kwabangelwa ukuba seduze komsebenzi lapho uhlala khona?

- (a) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐ (c) Angazi ☐

3. Uyafisa ukulungisa indlu yakho?

- (a) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐ (c) Angazi ☐

4. Awukawulungisi umuzi wakho ngenxa

- (a) Yokwesela imali ☐
- (b) Yemithetho kahulumeni ☐
- (c) Yokweseleka Kwendawo yokwakha ☐
- (d) Okunye (Kusho) ☐

5. Ucabanga ukuthutha lapho uhlala khona?

- (A) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐ (c) Angikazi ☐

6. Uma uthi yebo, shono izizathu uzilandelise ngokubaluleka kwazo.

- (a) Ukuba ngibe seduze kwalapho ngisebenza khona ☐
- (b) Ukwakha endaweni engcono kunalena ☐
- (c) Ukuba ngibe nomuzi wami ☐
- (d) Ukuba seduze kwezidingo zasedolobheni ☐
- (e) Ukwakha indlu enkulu ☐
- (f) Ukusuka elokishini labantu abansundu ☐
- (g) Ukuba ngihlale nabantu abasezingeni lokuphila elifana nelami ☐

UMA UTHI CHA, NIKA ISIZATHU/IZIZATHU

7. Ucabanga ukuthi yini ebanga udlame emlazi?

- (a) Ubugebengu ☐
- (b) Ukungabekezelani kwezombangazwe (Politics) ☐
- (c) Ukubanga izidingo zenhlalo ezinjengokudla, amanzi nomhlaba ☐
- (d) Ezinye izizathu (Zisho) ☐

8. Ngaphambi kokuba uhlale Emlazi, Ubuhlalaphi?

- (a) Emlazi, Ngaphambi kokuba kube ilokishi ☐
- (b) Emaphandleni (Shono indawo) ☐
- (c) Ehostela ☐
- (d) Emkhumbane (Cato Manor) ☐
- (e) Elinye ilokishi (Lisho) ☐

9. Yini eyaphoqa wena noma abazali bakho ukuba nizohlala Emlazi?

- (a) Ukudinga umuzi omusha ☐
- (b) Uukuba ngibe seduze komsebenzi ongasemlazi ☐
- (c) Udlame olubangwa yipolitiki ☐
- (d) Ukuba ngibe nendlu engcono kunalena engabe
Ngihlala kuyo ☐
- (e) Ezinye izizathu (Zisho) ☐

10. Ucabanga ukuthi yini emqoka ebangela ukwanda kwemijondolo ngokushesha Emlazi ?

- (a) Ukwanda kwesibalo sabantu abahlala ezindlini
Okuthiwa zisemthethweni ☐
- (b) Ukunikezwa kwabantu izindlu ngendlela engenelisi ☐
- (c) Abantu abasebasha abafuna ukukhululeka emakhaya
akubo bazakhele izindlu zabo ☐

11. Uhlobo Lomuzi

- (a) U-four Room othengiwe ☐
- (b) U-four Room othelelwayo ☐
- (c) Indlu enkulu ethengiwe ☐
- (d) Indlu enkulu ethelelwayo ☐
- (e) Olunye uhlobo (Lusho) ☐

12. Iyakwenelisa indlu ohlala kuyo?

- (A) Yebo ☐ (B) Cha ☐

Uma Uthi Cha, Shono Izizathu

13. Ixhasiwe (Subsidy) Indlu Yakho?

- (A) Yebo ☐ (B) Cha ☐

14. Uhlobo Lomxhaso

- (a) Uhulumeni ☐
- (b) Efemini ☐
- (c) Olunye uhlobo lokuxhaswa (Lusho) ☐

15. Ukhokha malini ngenyanga imali yendlu eqhamuka kwelakho iphakethe ?

- (a) Ngaphansi kuka R300 ☐
- (b) R301 - R500 ☐
- (c) R501 - R800 ☐
- (d) Ngaphezu kuka R800 ☐

16. Inani Labantu Abasebenzayo emzini wakho _____

17. **Ibiza malini indlu yakho ?**

- (a) Ngaphansi kuka R2000 ☐
- (b) R2001 - R4000 ☐
- (c) R4001 - R10 000 ☐
- (d) R10 001 - R25 000 ☐
- (e) R25 001 - R50 000 ☐
- (f) Ngaphezu kuka R50 000 ☐

18. **Wayiboleka kuphi imali yokwakha indlu ?**

- (a) Ebhange ☐
- (b) E-Building Society ☐
- (c) Efemini ☐
- (d) Enye indawo (Yisho) ☐

19. **Kuyakuthikameza ukwakhiwa kwezindlu ezibizayo ezinkulu ?**

- (a) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐

20. **Kuyakuthikameza ukuqhibuka kwemijondolo Emlazi ?**

- (a) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐

21. **Yakhiwe ngani indlu yakho?**

- (a) Udaka nezingodo ☐ (e) Ukhethe ☐
- (b) Utshani ☐ (f) Amapulangwe ☐
- (c) Ama - Cardboard ☐ (g) Izitini ☐
- (d) U-Asbestos ☐ (h) Ama-Blocks ☐

(I) Okunye (Kusho).....☐.....

22. Ubani owakha indlu yakho ?

- (a) Uwe nomndeni wakho ☐
- (b) Abantu abaqashwa nguwe ☐
- (c) Umakhi osemthethweni ☐
- (d) Ukusizana komakhelwana ☐
- (e) Okunye (Kusho) ☐

23. Uhlobo lwendlu encane (toilet)

- (a) Ayikho ☐ (d) Elishaywayo ☐
- (b) Umgodi ☐ (e) Okunye (Kusho) ☐
- (c) Ibhakede ☐

24. Amanzi uwatholphi ?

- (a) Endlini Empompini ☐
- (b) Kumpompi kamakhelwane ☐
- (c) Ethangini ☐
- (d) Enye indawo (Yisho) ☐

25. Wake wayibhalisela indlu ehhovisi lelokishi ?

- (a) Yebo ☐ (b) Cha ☐

26. Sekuphele/Kwaphela isikhathi esingakanani ulindile ?

Iminyaka Ewu _____ ☐

27. Wake wenqatshelwa ukubolekwa imali yokwakha yibhange?

- (A) Yebo ☐ (B) Cha ☐

28. Ubani/Obani okufanele akhele/bakhele abampofu izindlu Emlazi?

- (a) Uhulumeni ☐
- (b) Izinkampani ☐
- (c) Abantu Abampofu ☐
- (d) Izinhlango ezingaxhasiwe uhulumeni ☐
- (e) Usizo lwamazwe aphesheya ☐
- (f) Konke okubhalwe ngenhla ☐
- (g) u (a) kanye No. (b) ☐
- (h) Okunye (Kusho) ☐

29. Ungasiza kanjani umphakathi wasemlazi ekunqobeni inkinga yokuntuleka kwezindlu ?

(Nika izizathu ezingezansi uzilandelise ngokubululeka kwazo)

- (a) Abantu bangakhelana izindlu bedlala izitokofela ☐
- (b) Abantu abangasebenzi bangakhela abasebenzayo izindlu ☐
- (c) Abasebenzayo bangasiza omakhelwana ekwakhiweni kwezindlu ezingabizi ☐
- (d) Ochwepheshe ekwakhiweni kwezindlu bangacobelesa ulwazi lwabo kubantu abampofu ☐
- (e) Ukusungulwa kosomabhizinisi abancane ukuze kuqasheke abangasebenzi ☐
- (f) Okunye (Kusho)..... ☐

30. Yiluphi uhlobo lwezindlu ezingakhiwa nguhulumeni ?

- (a) Ukwakhiwa kwezindlu ezithengwayo ☐
- (b) Ukwakhiwa kwezindlu zokuqashisa ☐
- (c) Ukulungiswa kwezitende zifakwe amanzi nama toilet ☐
- (d) Ukunikeza umhlaba ovulekile kubantu abampofu ukuze bazakhele bona ☐
- (e) Okunye (Chaza) ☐

31. IZINKINGA EZIQONDENE NEZINDLU

Inani labantu abahlala endlini yakho _____

32. Ucabanga ukuthi yisiphi/yiziphi isizathu/izizathu kulezi ezingezansi esibanga/ezibanga ukwenyuka kwesibalo sabantu basemlazi ?

- (a) Izinga eliphezulu lokuzalwa kwabantu ☐
- (b) Ukungadli amaphilisi okuvimba inzalo ☐
- (c) Ubuphofu ☐
- (d) u (a) no. (c) ☐
- (e) Ezinye izizathu (zichaze) ☐

33. Ucebanga ukuthi yini emqoka ebanga ukuntuleka kwezindlu Emlazi ?

- (a) Ukusweleka komhlaba wokwakha ☐
- (b) Ukusweleka kwemisebenzi emaphandleni ☐
- (c) Ubuphofu ☐
- (d) Izinkinga zepolitiki ☐
- (e) Okunye (Chaza) ☐

34. Ucabanga ukuthi yini ebanga ukufuduka kwabantu emaphandleni belibangise emadolobheni ?

- (a) Ukusweleka komhlaba emaphandleni ☐
- (b) Ukusweleka kwemisebenzi emaphandleni ☐
- (c) Ubuphofu ☐
- (d) Izinkinga zepolitiki ☐
- (e) Okunye (Chaza) ☐

35. Inganqotshwa kanjani inkinga yokugcwala kwabantu basemaphandleni emadolobheni?

- (a) Ukubuyiswa komthetha ovimbela abantu ukuba bangezi edilobheni (influx control laws) ☐
- (b) Ukuthuthukisa izindawo zasemaphandleni ☐
- (c) Okunye (Chaza) ☐

E. OKUPHATHELENE NOMNINIMUZI

36. Ubulili

(a) Owesilisa ☐

(b) Owesifazane ☐

37. Uhlobo lomsebenzi

- (a) Umsebenzi ongaqeqeshiwe ☐
- (b) Uchwepheshe wezandla (Technician) ☐
- (c) Uumabhalane ☐
- (d) Umsebenzi osebenza ngomshini efemini ☐
- (e) Imfolomane ☐
- (f) Imenenja ☐
- (g) Usomabhizinisi ☐
- (h) Umdayisi (Salesperson) ☐
- (i) Umsebenzi wasendlini (domestic) ☐
- (j) Umsebenzi uqeqeshiwe (Professional) ☐
- (k) Omunye (Chaza) ☐

38. Iminyaka yomninimuzi

- (a) Ngaphansi kuka - 21 ☐
- (b) 21 - 35 ☐
- (c) 36 - 49 ☐
- (d) 50 - 60 ☐
- (e) Ngaphezulu kuka -60 ☐

39. Indawo lapho usebenza khona

- (a) Edolobheni ☐
- (b) Congella-Umngeni ☐
- (c) Rossburgh - Clairwood ☐
- (d) Jacobs - Mobeni ☐
- (e) Merewent ☐
- (f) Isiphingo - Prospecton ☐
- (g) Enye indawo (chaza) ☐

40. Uyasebenza umyeni / unkosikazi wakho ?

a). Yebo ☐

(b) Cha ☐

41. Imali eholwa umninimuzi esala esandleni

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) Ngaphansi luka R500 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) R500 - R800 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (c) R801 - R1660 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) R1001 - R2499 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (e) R2500 - R3000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (f) R3001 - R4000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (g) Ngaphezu kuka R4000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

42. Imali eholwa isihlobo sakho esala esandleni

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) Ngaphansi luka R500 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) R500 - R800 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (c) R801 - R1000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) R1001 - R2499 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (e) R2500 - R3000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (f) R3001 - R4000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (g) Ngaphezulu kuka R4000 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Ngiphinde ngibonge futhi ngokuchitha isikhathi sakho.

THE END