

THE ROLE OF HOSTEL RESIDENTS IN THE POLITICS OF THE EMERGING DURBAN METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

by

Bongani Ashford Msawenkosi Dlamuka

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SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR E.M. MAKHANYA

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Bongani Ashford Msawenkosi Dlamuka, declare that the dissertation: 'The Role of Hostel Residents in the Politics of Emerging Durban Metropolitan Council' is my own work and all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

Signed:  at DURBAN this 23rd
day of JANUARY 1997.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the following

- (a) My colleagues who, under difficulties, provide service to our communities.
- (b) My children Siboniso, Lungile, Thobekile, Ayanda and Sikhulile
- (c) My parents Joshua and Bizani for instilling in me the love for education.
- (d) My wife Khanyisile for her love, encouragement and unfailing support through all my studies

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GLOSSARY OF THE KEY TERMS USED IN THIS DISSERTATION

In order to reduce the high level of ambiguity over the use of certain key terms used in this dissertation, it has become necessary to explain the following concepts:

1. Local State

The local State is broadly defined by Hoggart (1991 : 26) as "a manifestation of the State at a sub-national level". Cockburn (1977) is also comfortable with this definition because it places emphasis on the unity of the State no matter what its precise organisational forms. In this context "State" is laden with a territorial meaning.

2. Sub-National State

The sub-national State, could, in the context of the study, refer to either second or third tier of government. Looking at this concept from the South African perspective a sub-national state could be equated to a provincial level institutions.

3 Local State Institutions

The term is used to emphasise the manifold ways in which public institutions are systematically arranged at the sub-national level. For example some nations will prefer to leave some functions in the hands of the elected councils, while others will have these functions performed by government officials at the national level.

4. Local Administration

This is a very important aspect of the local government system. The local administration impinges on one's daily life to a considerable degree. Cross and Mallen (1987 : viii) believe that people interact with local administration to such an extent that things tend to be taken for granted. To substantiate their point, they mention such services as water, sewerage, roads, buses, schools, colleges, playing fields, libraries, parks, police, street lighting, etc. On the question of whether or not should services be provided by local administration instead of local government, the response is that needs of different parts of the same country vary in terms of their significance. Local administration is, among other things, concerned with planning and implementation of the government development programmes.

5. Democratic Local Government and Legitimacy

Cross and Mallen (1987 : 2) define democratic local government "as a decentralised representative institution with general and specific powers devolved on it in respect of an identified restricted geographical area within a state. "Democratic local government is a government elected by the people and for the people. Democratic local government will always promote active participation of the people whose inputs in decision-making are essential. It is in this way that a local government can enjoy the positive response of the public. The positive response depends on a number of

factors some of which are, the viability of the local government, how representative it is, fairness, equality, sensitivity and accountability (Cross and Mallen 1987: 2).

6. Multiparty Democracy

Luebbert (1986) declares that "democracies differ in the extent to which they encourage co-operation in the government or outside it". A democracy provides resolute influence the way in which the party leaders understand their options thereby indirectly influence the government formation outcome. This prompts the parties to work together.

7. Consensual Democracy

This situation is evident when the regime enjoys general acceptance, and the opposition plays its role in a manner that the policy making process is marked by consensus building. The role of the opposition parties finds expression in joint participation in the shaping of public policy. This type has been tested against all government formations in Denmark.

8. Competitive Democracy

Where legitimacy of the regime is not challenged by the opposition parties but the latter do not play the role of consensus building policy process. Luebbert 1986 says

"Competitive democracies lack the variety of institutionalised alternative sites for conflict resolution that corporation provides consensual politics that corporatism and an unpolarised system together create".

Undominated-competitive democracies do not require testing.

9. Conflictual Democracy

The conflictual system has to contend with extremely serious challenges to its legitimacy and lacks consensus building. The hypothesis of conflictual democracies has been tested against all of the governments formed in Italy between 1955 and 1975.

ABBREVIATIONS**1. Durban Metropolitan Substructures**

NC North Central
SC South Central
IW Inner West
N North
S South
OW Outer West

2. Political Parties

ANC African National Congress
IFP Inkatha Freedom Party
NP National Party
MF Minority Front Party
DP Democratic Party

3. Hostel Organisations

NAHORA National Hostel Residents' Association
KHORA KwaZulu Natal Hostel Residents' Association
SAHDA South African Hostel Dwellers' Association
HDA Hostel Dwellers' Association
LNG Local Negotiating Group

ABSTRACT

From inception hostels, as reservoirs of cheap Black labour, have attracted widespread attention from labour movements, politicians, the church, civics, and custodians of human rights. As a form of Black cheap housing, hostels have been more accessible to rural orientated migrant work seekers. For this reason and many others, hostels have become overcrowded and violence prone areas. The physical deterioration of these areas made hostel life emotionally depressing.

Very little could be done by hostel residents who had been repeatedly told by government officials that their social, economics and political needs were supposed to be catered for in their respective homelands. Their lack of political influence gave rise to either total withdrawal or quiet brooding.

The dissertation aims at investigating and determining the extent to which the rural migrant worker was predisposed to forms of exploitative relationships in the Durban Metropolitan areas. The dissertation will also seek to determine the attitude of the hostel residents towards the previous racially-based local government and the new democratic order.

The participation of the hostel residents in the recent Durban Metropolitan elections and the extent to which they influenced the voting pattern, will be dealt with in the dissertation. The dissertation, finally seeks to create the awareness of all the role players that hostels should be upgraded in a manner that takes into account existing housing standards of a city environment.

The study succeeded in establishing that there is over whelming documented evidence that hostels were created for the sole purpose to ensure a continuous flow of cheap labour. The state and industrialists jointly worked out a strategy to ensure that the system worked efficiently.

Hostel residents were systematically alienated from their township counterparts. Police used hostel residents to suppress town ship up rising. Hostel residents were perceived by townships residents as outsiders.

This was further evidence of exploitation of this sector of residents.

The emergence of the new political order brought a better understanding of why it was of utmost necessity that the hostel residents and the township residents should join hands and embark on mutually agreed programmes which aim at improving the quality of life of both sectors. More demand was voiced by hostel residents for the provision of family units within the hostels.

The hostel residents who voted for their political party candidates were optimistic that improvement in these areas would be visible if necessary support was given by all role players.

ABSTRAK

Van die begin af het tehuise baie aandag getrek van politiekuste, arbeidsbeweging, die kerk, die gemeenskap - organisasies en die bewakers van menseregte. As 'n vorm van goedkoop Swart behuising, was tehuise meer bereikbaar vir landelik-georiënteerde trek-werksoekers. Om hierdie rede, en baie ander, het tehuise oorvol en gewelddadige omgewings geword. Die fisiese agteruitgang van hierdie omgewings het tehuis lewe emosioneel bedruk gemaak.

Baie min kon deur die tehuis bewoners gedoen word omdat hulle herhaaldelik deur regeringsamptenare vertel is dat hul sosiale, ekonomiese en politieke behoeftes in hul verskeie tuislande versorg moet word. Die gebrek aan politieke invloed het gelei soms tot totale onttrekking en soms tot tremeergedruktheid.

Die doel van hierdie tesis is om te ondersoek en te peil hoe ver die landelike trek-arbeider gedwing is in uitbuitende verhoudings in die Durban se metropolitaanse gebiede. Die tesis soek ook om die houding van tehuis bewoners te peil ten opsigte van die vorige ras-gebaseerde plaaslike regering en die nuwe demokratiese orde.

Die deelname van tehuis bewoners in die onlangse Durban metropolitaanse verkiesings en hoe ver hulle die stem patroon beïnvloed het, sal verklaar word. Die tesis soek uiteindelik om die bewuswording tussen alle rolspelers te veroorsaak dat die tehuise opgegradeer moet word op 'n manier wat in harmonie is met die bestaande standaarde van die stad.

Hierdie studie toon dat daar oortuigende bewys is dat die tehuise oorspronklik geskep is vir die doel om 'n bron van goedkope arbeid te bewerkstellig. Die staat en industrie het saam 'n strategie uitgewerk wat verseker het dat die sisteem effektief werk.

Tehuis bewoners was sistematies vervreemd van die ander dorpingebied bewoners. Die polisie het tehuise bewoners gebruik om dorpingebied opstand te bekamp. Tehuis bewoners was gevolglik as buitestaanders gesien. Die is verder bewys van die onderdrukking van hierdie sektor van dorpingebied bewoners.

Die opduik van die nuwe politieke orde het 'n beter begrip laat ontstaan van die noodsaaklikheid vir tehuise bewoners en ander dorpingebied bewoners saam te werk om programme wat doelgerig is om die verbetering van lewenstandaarde. Tehuis bewoners het hul stemme dik gemaak vir die versorging van familie-eenhede binne die tehuise.

Die tehuise bewoners wat vir politieke kandidate gestem het was optimisties dat opknapping van die tehuise omgewings sigbaar sou wees as genoeg ondersteuning gegee is deur alle rolspelers.

CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The title of this study falls within the field of political geography. The political unit of study is a city. The study thus falls under the newer areas of political geography, namely, urban political geography. Urban political geography derives from urban ecology with its hidden political dimensions. Basically, the study is about the social aspects of locational conflict, i.e. with power relations and politics.

Although all the Black areas on the periphery of Durban had been marginalised, the hostels had suffered worst consequences of disenfranchisement. The study focuses on the five hostels which had suffered years of neglect, and the role of the hostel residents in trying to address spatial imbalances.

The participation of hostel residents in an integrated development programme is emphasised in the study. This being a significant breakthrough in the social, political and economic life of the hostel residents, the study covers this aspect fairly.

The dissertation highlights the role of hostel residents in identifying and prioritising their social and economic needs, while integrating such needs with the wider needs of Durban and surrounding areas.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The concept of providing Black workforce with single sex hostels, was first conceived in the mining industries of South Africa. From inception hostels have always housed rural migrant workers. It is for this reason that these areas are popular destinations for migrant workseekers who are offered temporary shelter by friends or family members already having hostel accommodation. The limited facilities which barely satisfy the needs of the existing residents have to carry an extra load of unemployed workseekers. Numerous problems come to the fore as population density increases. Violent episodes characterise hostel life as residents grope for limited resources.

The hostels served as centres of cheap unskilled labour. The rural migrants who were forced by socio-economic circumstances to seek hostel accommodation were exploited in many respects. For instance they were treated in the cities as sojourners whose socio-politico-economic aspirations had to be provided for in the homelands. This category of workers came to the city with very little or no technical training at all. They could therefore not compete freely in the open labour market. Things turned out to be extremely harsh in the urban environment that a rural workseeker was left with two options; that is to pick up those jobs that the local labour frowned at, or undercut the labour market to avoid fierce competition.

The hostels were designed to restrict and control black migrant workers in the mines. The high-handed attitude demonstrated by the mine officials rendered hostel life almost unbearable. At the hostel entrances workers suffered intense humiliation because of the

undignified manner in which they were searched (Levy, 1982). Migrants at the mine hostels were grouped and allocated dormitories on the basis of ethnic affinity. Some writers, including Levy (1982), are of a view that the sporadic episodes of violence experienced in the hostels in general, can to a certain extent, be linked to this administrative error which was subsequently adopted as a normal practice by other labour intensive companies which had to provide this form of accommodation for black rural workforce.

In terms of the Group Areas Act the hostels existed within a stone's throw of the townships where residents lived relatively normal family lives. Township residents in relation to their hostel counterparts, enjoyed more community facilities, more access to money lending institutions, property ownership, better access to job opportunities and wielded stronger political influence in matters affecting their lives. These imbalances between the two sectors were a source of sometimes open hostility. Hostel residents were led to believe that they were not only neglected by the state, but their township neighbours looked down upon them.

The increasing hostel-township violence could no longer be ignored by the state. Some politicians believed that the hostels should be eliminated once and for all. Others argued that it was unrealistic to even think of such drastic action in the light of the general housing shortage. The Central Structure of the Durban Metropolitan Council has seven single sex state controlled hostels five of which were administered by the disestablished Town Committee of Ningizimu, while the two were controlled by the KwaZulu Government.

A state of lawlessness is evident in some Durban Metropolitan hostels. In some cases there is a phenomenal increase in the number of unemployed people who have no fixed place of

abode. Although these people mill around for 24 hours a day, using water and lights, they answer to no one in authority. Incidents such as murders, armed robberies, mugging of unsuspecting residents, housebreaking of rooms when most people are at work², instil intense feelings of fear, despair, uncertainty and isolation. Individual and communal insecurity and frustration reach fever pitch as people who have fled trouble-torn areas and subsequently taken refuge in some of the hostels, are tracked down and brutally murdered. According to Haggett (1979 : 347) "Most urban areas have severe social problems-soaring crime rate, drug abuse, poverty and increasing population." The terrain of some hostels like Glebe renders the police patrol ineffective and helplessly inadequate.

The majority of the hostel residents have, over the years come to realise that to survive, they have to join dominant political organisations. Those residents who are not interested in seeking protection in the fold of political organisations, are threatened by activists and are forced to seek alternative accommodation elsewhere.

The past few years have witnessed political party representatives mounting their recruiting campaigns in the Durban Metropolitan hostels. Political organisations are focusing on the hostels to gain territorial supremacy. In this regard hostel residents who have all along been treated by the neighbouring communities like illegitimate children, have reached a new level of socio-politico-economic awareness. Their escape from political limbo culminated in the emergence of hostel grown organisations, such as the South African Hostel Residents Association and KwaZulu Natal Hostel Residents Association. These two associations are believed to be having functional links or alliance with the ANC and the IFP respectively.

1.3 THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study is based on the premises that hostel grown associations contributed significantly towards the establishment of the emerging Durban Metropolitan Council. The aims and objectives of this study are:-

- (a) To determine the attitudes of hostel residents towards the previous racially-based local government and the new democratic order.
- (b) To examine how the hostel residents influence the voting pattern in the Durban Metropolitan Council.
- (c) To create awareness of the plight of hostel residents and the need to upgraded hostels to conform to existing housing standards of the city environment.

1.4 HYPOTHESES

The dissertation is based on the following hypotheses:

1. Hostels were created by the previous government to control migrant labour and to ensure the continued supply of low cost labour for capitalist production.
2. With the emergence of the new political order, it is expected that hostel residents

will demand more freedom, privacy and the right to be visited by families, or to choose to live with their families.

3. Hostel dwellers tend to vote for the party that appeals to their aspirations

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Structured interviews formed the basis of the method of research. About 100 hostel residents in the Durban Metropolitan Area were interviewed. The sample was selected by systematic random sampling. Discussions were held with some political leaders, councillors, government organisations, non-government organisations and residents of the adjacent townships.

1.6 THE VALUE OF THE STUDY

From inception hostels have always generated controversy and widespread concern among politicians, church organisations and custodians of human rights, as structures of racial domination and institutions of black labour repression. Since hostels were associated with exploitative relationship between the capitalist mode of production and rural low cost labour, they were perceived as significant symbols of co-ercion (Levy, 1982; Van Onselen, 1982).

According to the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development report (1983) migrants were forced to live in the compounds where conditions were generally poor. Levy (1982) noted that the state played a significant role in the exploitation of the migrant workers who were housed and fed in the hostels. In order to ensure a continuous flow of low cost rural labour

to the mines, the state, among other measures, introduced a tax system, a pass system and a monopsonistic organisation of the Chamber of Mines (Levy, 1982).

The fact that the hostels were specially designed for rural migrant blacks renders them, for all intents and purposes, structures of black repression and socio-economic exploitation. In essence the creation of single sex hostels was based on the policies of apartheid. It is therefore important that awareness of the restrictive laws of the past is created to determine how these measures impacted on the lives of the blacks in general and black migrant workers in particular.

The new government has introduced a policy of capacity building and broader community participation. In the new dispensation, hostels are to be for the first time, dealt with within the context of a broader community. During the apartheid era hostels and their residents were dealt with as isolated entities. They were denied opportunities to make inputs relative to issues affecting them.

According to Farr (1988) there are nearly two million people who live in shack settlements in the Durban Metropolitan Areas. Between 1976 and 1984 the government managed to build only 3 702 houses in all the black townships, despite the population increase of approximately one million people.

For example in 1985 the findings of the Urban Foundation revealed that South Africa needed one million units to overcome an enormous housing backlock. Furthermore the study showed that approximately seven-million people in South African urban areas live in housing that did

not conform to acceptable standards. This situation was attributed to lack of access to basic inputs; such as suitable land, building materials, credit facilities and jobs.

Given the harsh realities of the South African housing shortage, all the role players reached a consensus that hostels should be improved. In this regard the government engaged people with specialised knowledge to conduct social and economic studies in order to establish the needs of the hostel residents. Government officials facilitated the establishment of Local Negotiation Committees. These committees consisted of hostel residents who were encouraged to participate in all the stages of the upgrading programmes. For these programmes to be generally accepted by the hostel residents, it was of paramount importance that role players committed themselves to overcoming violence and building peace across party political divisions. Hostel grown associations played an important role in this regard more especially in the 1970's and 1980's (Hendler, 1989).

The hostels characteristically lacked the most rudimentary residential resources and existed in considerable poverty and relative isolation. When the government recognised the need to improve and upgrade black residential areas, hostels became a priority. The hostel residents insisted that the upgrading programme should reflect a holistic approach whereby the general housing standards in a particular area are taken into consideration. This was a significant step towards the process of transformation.

According to the Department of National Housing Progress Report of May 1996, there are 183 state controlled hostels in South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 1996). The distribution in the 9 Provinces is as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Hostel Accommodation in South Africa

Hostels per Province	No. of Hostels	Number of Beds
KwaZulu Natal	24 hostels	67 791 beds
Orange Free State	22 hostels	18 609 beds
Western Cape	24 hostels	32 202 beds
Northern Cape	9 hostels	1 829 beds
Eastern Cape	5 hostels	11 160 beds
Gauteng	51 hostels	156 048 beds
Mpumalanga	23 hostels	19 432 beds
Northern Province	14 hostels	6 568 beds
North West	11 hostels	8 041 beds

Source: Department of Housing, 1996.

The appalling conditions that existed in the hostels prompted the government to set aside R425,530,000,00. Among other primary objectives embodied in the upgrading programme, was to address the problem of overcrowding and deteriorating physical conditions. The financial allocations for the hostel upgrading programme per a Province were as indicated in Table 1.2.

On the face of it, these allocations look impressive, but when considering the length of time over which the state of neglect had been allowed to develop in these areas, more funds would be required to make the upgrading programme more meaningful. For the programme to

yield maximum results, all South Africans must be prepared to support young democracy by word and deed. By their vote the South Africans have facilitated the birth of a new democratic order, more importantly, by paying for services, rates and rent they will be enhancing the capacity of the new government institutions to deliver improved services. Genuine commitment of everyone will be required to ensure constructive participation and partnerships (Hindson and King, 1996). With the support of all the communities the Masakhane campaign will go a long way to enlightening the people on their legal obligation in return of acceptable levels of service delivery.

Table 1.2 Financial Allocation for the Upgrading of Hostels per Province

Upgrading per Province	Amount Allocated (R)	Amount Spent (R)
KwaZulu Natal	59,293,920.00	54,380,958.00
Orange Free State	32,239,600.00	2 436 798.39
Western Cape	57,292,920.00	8,572,521.00
Northern Cape	4,167,599.96	5,616,843.00
Eastern Cape	15,402,391.90	472,878.00
Gauteng	213 703 237.90	210 000 000.00
Mpumalanga	25 944 237.48	14 078 823.63
Northern Province	5 902 958.02	2 188 076.00
North West	11 582 226.60	1 151 767.08
Total	425 530 000.00	298 898 666.23

Source: Department of Housing, 1996.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In the post apartheid era all sectors of the community are, in accordance with the process of transformation, to promote proactivity and ownership of problems and through their collective wisdom, establish integrated systems and resources to facilitate change and effectively manage transition.

When the socio-politico-economic imbalances existing in the hostels have been adequately addressed by the new Durban Metropolitan Council, residents in this sector, will undoubtedly be proud members of the broader community. Hostel life is associated with boredom, isolation, overcrowding, anonymity, violence and many other forms of deviant behaviour. The new democratic order allows hostel residents to be actively involved in determining how best they should lead their lives.

1.8 CONCLUSION

The new government is, in consultation with hostel residents and other role-players, committed to the development and upgrading programmes. As the new dispensation affords the hostel residents and unprecedented opportunity to articulate their needs, the demand for the conversion of single sex hostels to family accommodation, is to increase. According to Royston's "urban transition model" it is argued that transition is a process of stabilisation in which people who were formerly migrant labourers become urban residents (Royston, 1991). It is hoped that this study will provide some insight into the role of hostel dwellers in the socio-political and economic sphere throughout South Africa.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

South African social and political situations had over the years earned the reputation of being unique. For this reason caution should be taken in making generalisations about the findings of this research. The transformation of the local government is still in the embryonic stage, therefore studies dealing with the local scene were not freely available to facilitate comparison.

The study focuses on the five Durban Metropolitan hostels, whereas rent boycotts and the collapse of services are a nationwide problem. Certain aspects of the study are of explanatory nature because they are linked to some government instruments and acts.

1.8 CONCLUSION

Having outlined the conceptual framework of the study, the next chapter examines the evolution of the hostel accommodation in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION IN SOUTH AFRICA****2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter examines the socio-politico-economic factors which may induce a young, able-bodied man or woman to leave the countryside and seek gainful employment in the city where he will be expected to adapt to a new system of control. It provides a broad overview of adjustment problems encountered by the newly arrived migrant. The chapter examines the spatial inequalities and uneven distribution of resources between cities and rural areas as well as within the urban areas. Also covered in this chapter is the phenomenon of duality of the South African economy and the related dynamics of the rural-urban linkages. The objective of this historical background to hostel accommodation is to enable the reader of this dissertation to gain an insight into a Black man's progressive awareness of his socio-politico-economic problems in the urban environment.

Some scholars are of the view that the relationship between cities and rural areas may either be parasitic or generative (Mellor, 1976). Barbara Harris and John Harris in their 1982-3 reports examine the different views of Mellor and Lipton on the relations of small towns and their hinterlands, in the context of a growing agricultural economy. Contrary to Mellor's model, it became evident that the pattern of demand which had been generated by the "green revolution" had not encouraged decentralised production.

Though some scholars remained sceptical about Lipton's model postulates, there was evidence that a net transfer of resources from the countryside was taking place.

"Capitalism... has shown itself to be an inherently expansionary force ... expansion means a progressive penetration of market exchange, greater quantities of accumulated surplus, and a shift in the circulation of surplus value as new opportunities are explored, new technologies achieved and new resources and productive capacities are opened up. Urbanism ... plays an important role in the process ... The city functions as a generative centre around which an effective space is created out of which growing quantities of surplus product are extracted" (Harvey, 1973).

Ideally the city should function as a growth pole for the peripheral areas. If, however, the city draws cheap labour from the rural surrounding areas, if the city prevents the circulation of its surplus resources in a way that stimulates economic growth in the surrounding areas, it is said to be having parasitic relations with the rural areas. Harvey (1973) notes that a generative city will allocate a considerable amount of the surplus value accumulated within it to forms of investment that enlarge production.

Those who control production in the city may decide whether or not to put surplus value back into circulation in such a way that certain benefits return to the rural areas. The relations of town and country will no doubt illuminate the whole process of economic growth in the region. In India a study was undertaken by Michael Lipton and John Mellor with regard to the functions of small market towns in economic development. Mellor (1976)

observed that the market town approach had been accepted as a means of taking jobs to the countryside. This scholar further noted that despite the intellectual appeal of this approach, it had generally failed to raise rural incomes.

The cities and towns in South Africa were sacred areas that rural Blacks could visit only when granted a special permit by an official of a Bantu Administration office. Despite these restrictions and many other stringent conditions placed on a black worker, Blacks are an inextricable part of the South African economy. A Black man had from time immemorial lived in squalid conditions such as in the squatter camps, compounds, backyards, garages, dark storerooms in the urban areas, in order to earn a living for himself and his family. Everyday he woke up and joined his workmates and produced a fair day's work as if he had also enjoyed a good sleep the previous night.

When the agents of apartheid were quizzed about a black man's plight in the city their reaction was sharp and simple, namely, that a black man's socio-economic needs are provided for back in the homeland. A black man was predisposed to severe forms of exploitation right from the first day he entered the city. He came with no sound education nor technical skills. He had to settle for menial jobs and treated as a subhuman being. He had to put up with harassment from the police.

The following statement clearly reflects a black man's pathetic position in a white man's work place. As indicated earlier a black worker was treated as a unit which was readily replaceable. He experienced double-edged exploitation.

"They work hard these 'mine boys' and the slacker stands no chance whatever of getting the rest of the gang to 'carry ' him ... He works much harder than he ever did at home. But he counts as his reward for that the good food, the free beer and the cash he receives. He also counts the club 'life' that is his when he is off day. And having weighed the amount of work he must do against these rewards he comes to the decision that this is the job for him." (Cartwright, 1963).

Without doubt, the economic development programmes, and the way in which resources are allocated or distributed in a particular area, are determined by the economic policies of the region. Clearly, a particular economic policy may perpetuate anomalies of imbalances or spatial inequalities. When these problems persist unchecked, a host of socio-economic problems are triggered. Rural-urban migration of able-bodied men, in most cases, leave their areas of origin with poor prospects of landing gainful employment in the city. The cities experience problems of coping with surplus rural labour. This situation gives rise to other problems, such as, increasing urban unemployment, increasing housing problem, overload and pressure on the existing limited facilities, to mention a few examples.

With very few known exceptions, migrants from the rural areas to the City of Durban, in particular, ended up being housed in the hostels previously administered by the Town Committee of Ningizimu. In desperation some migrants invaded and put up shacks on the property of this Town Committee or encroached on private land which was about to be developed.

FIG 2.1 LOCATION OF THE DURBAN METROPOLITAN AREA WITHIN KWAZULU/NATAL

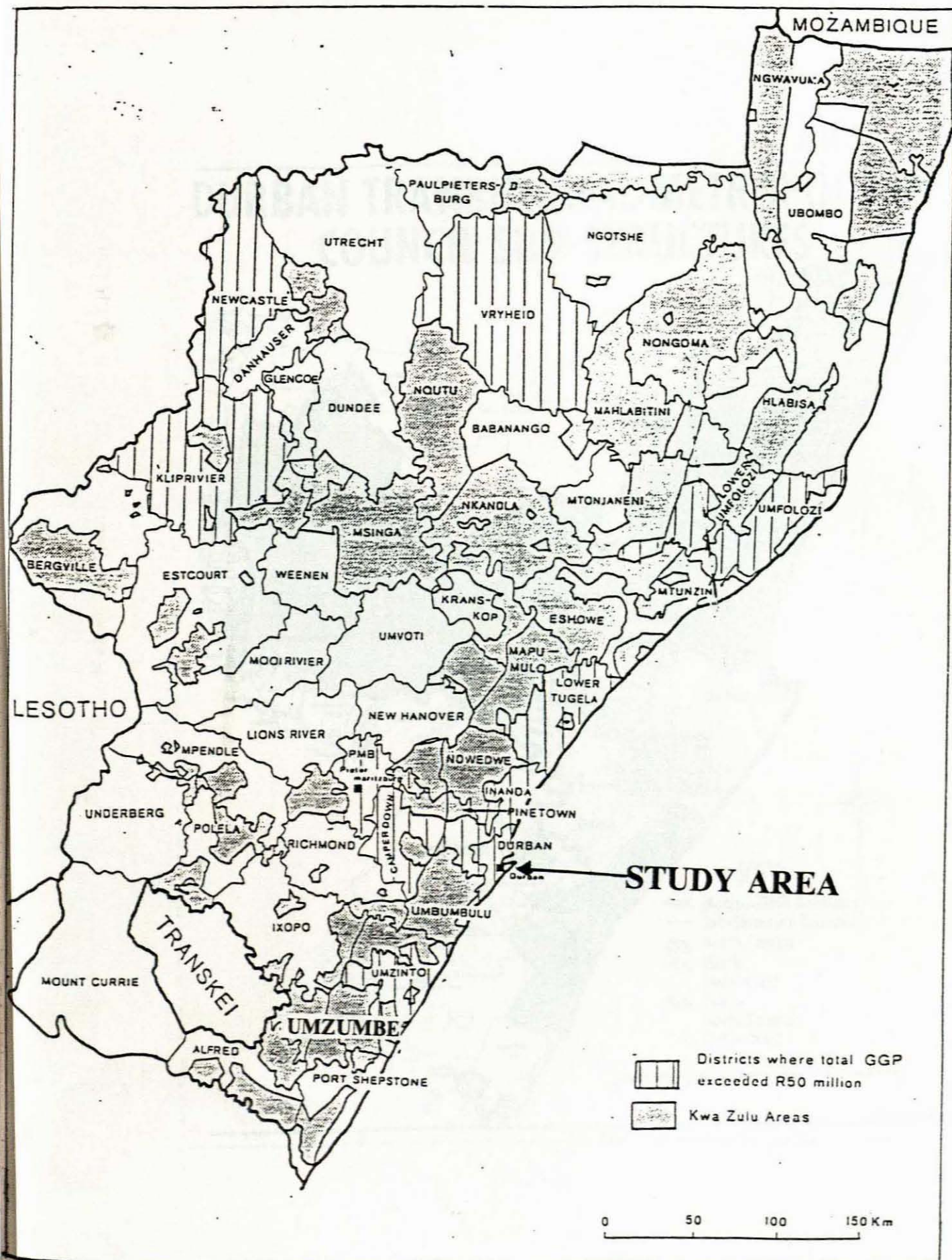
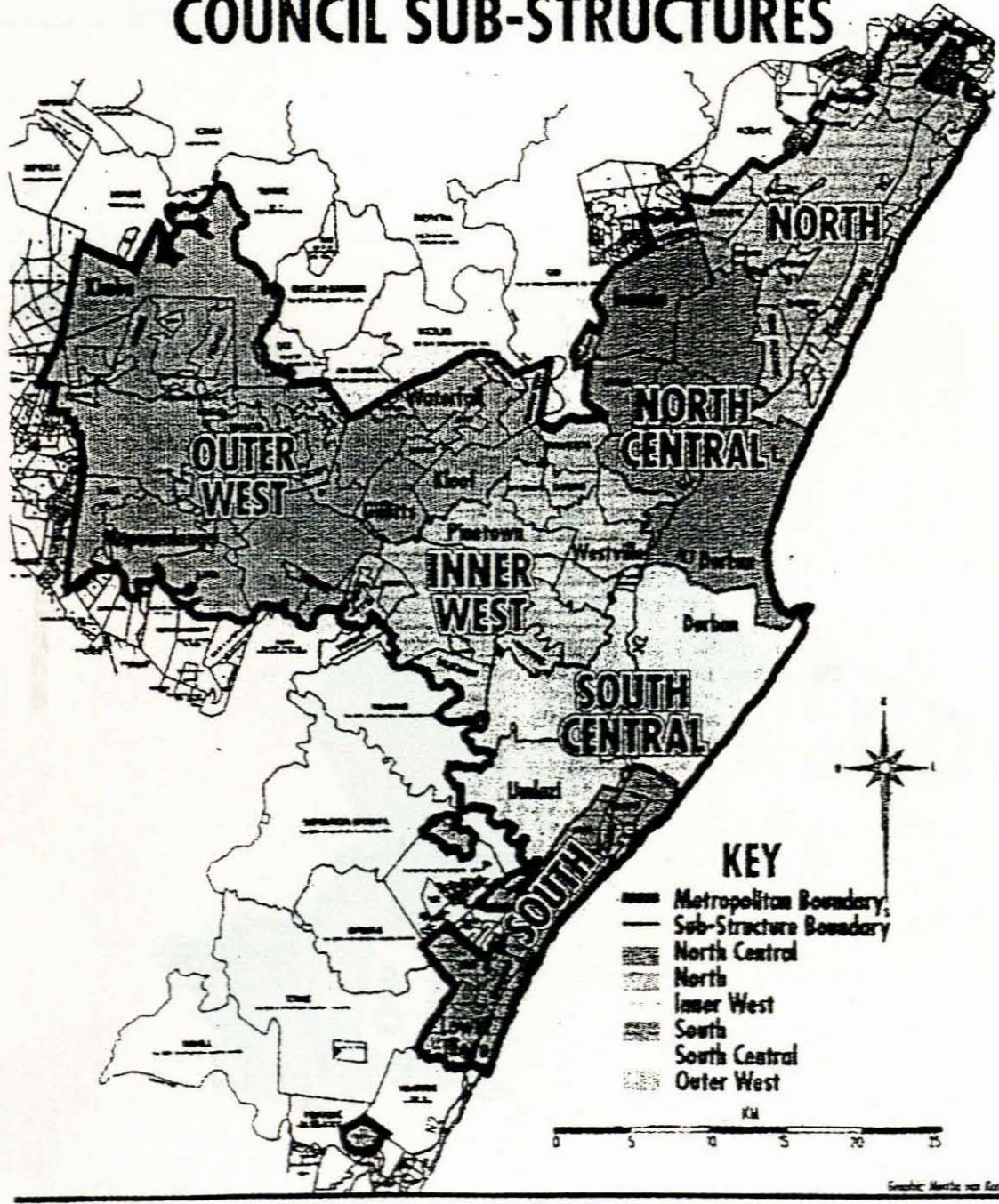


FIG.2. 2

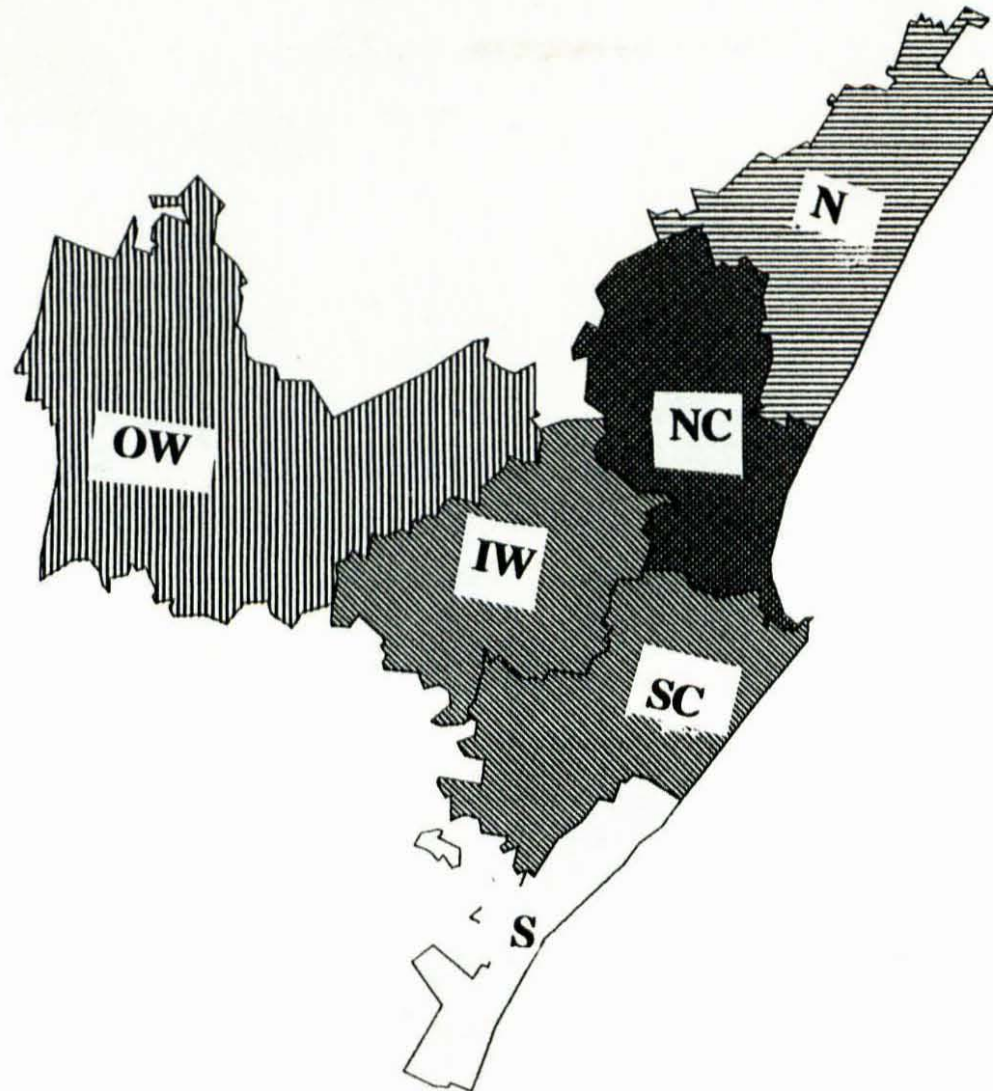
DURBAN TRANSITIONAL METROPOLITAN COUNCIL SUB-STRUCTURES



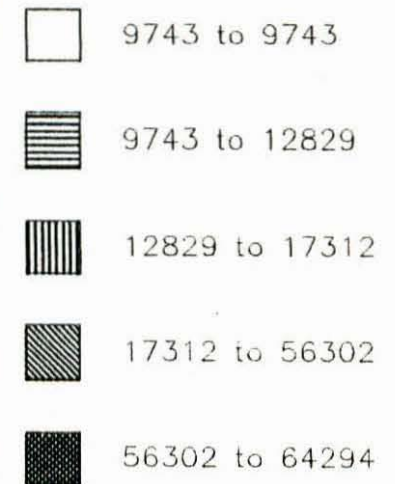
DURBAN METRO AREA

NUMBER OF HOUSES

FIG. 2.3



Legend



Source: Population Census – HSRC

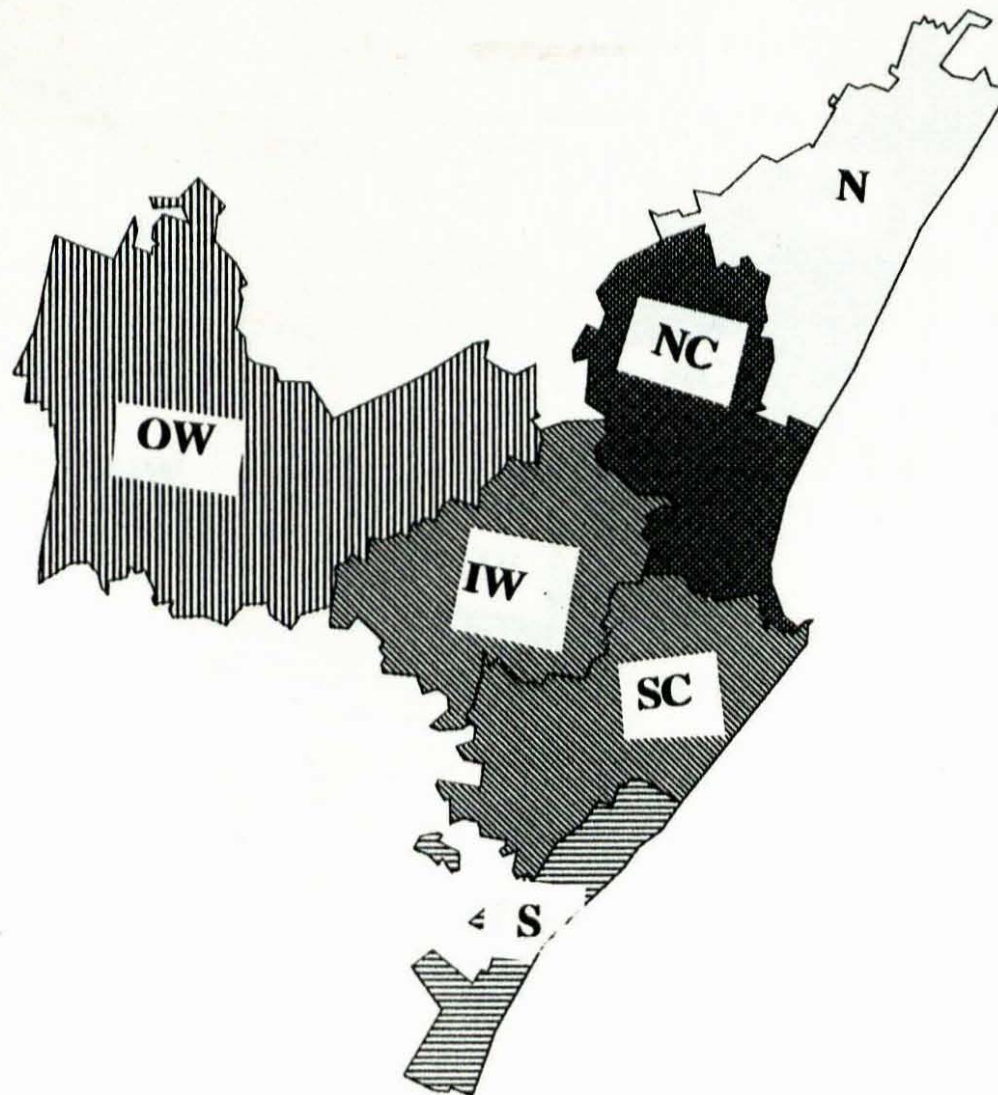
Km



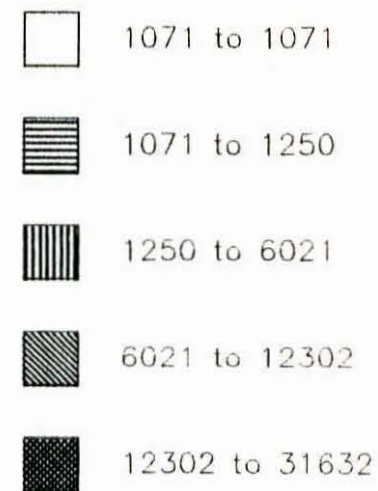
DURBAN METRO AREA

NUMBER OF SHACKS

FIG. 2.4



Legend



Source: Population Census – HSRC

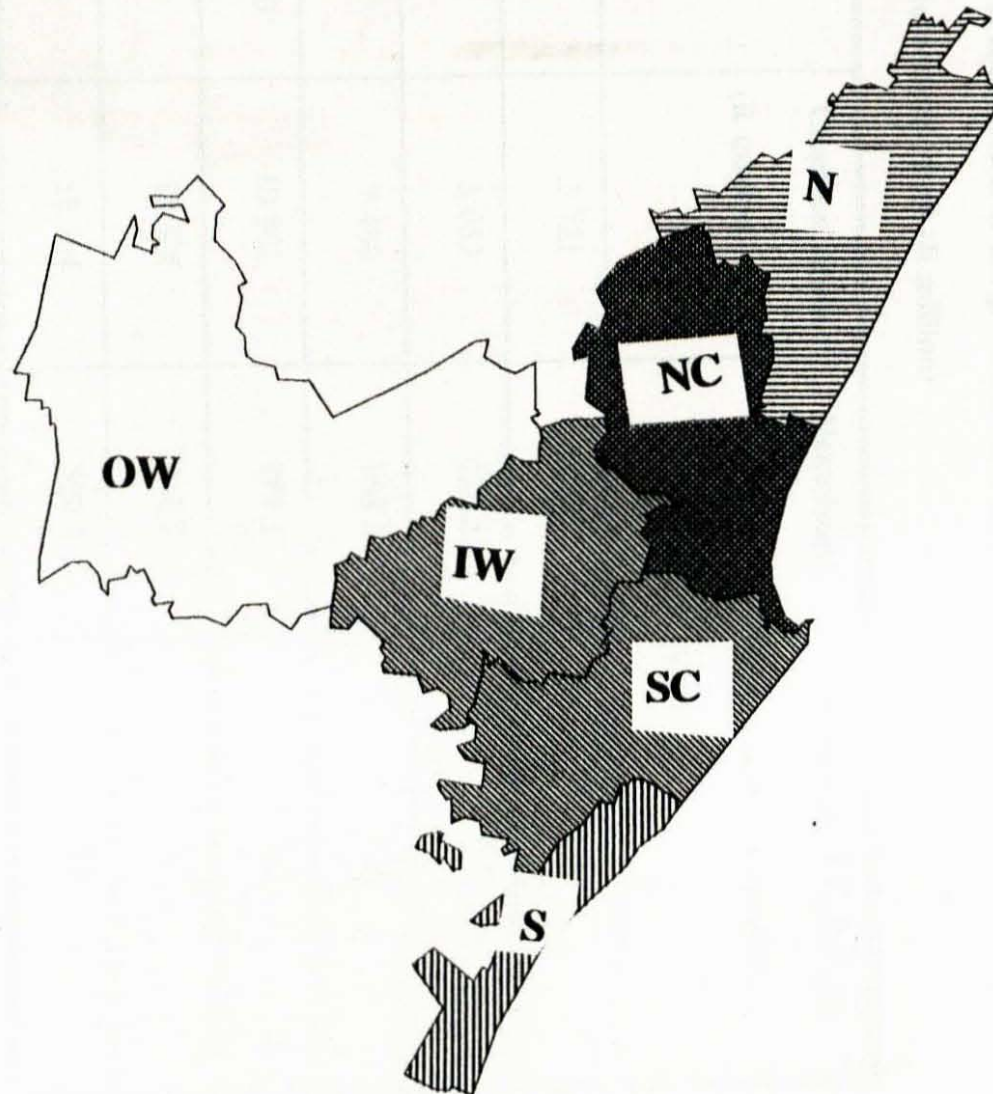
Km



DURBAN METRO AREA

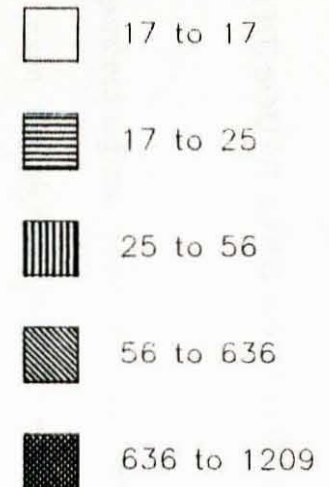
NUMBER OF ROOM HOMES

FIG. 2.5

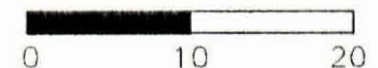


Source: Population Census – HSRC

Legend



Km



2.2 THE REALITY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

For over 45 years of the Apartheid regime, South Africans remained racially separated but economically integrated. Even the staunch supporters of apartheid could not help acknowledging this fact. The presence of blacks in the urban areas and South African cities was of mutual benefit to the economy as well. Blacks earned a livelihood by making their

Table 2.1 A comparison of the gross domestic product of South Africa's Common Areas and the Homelands/rural (R million)

Year	Common Areas (R million)	Homelands	Homeland of G.D.P. as Percentage of Common Areas
1954-5	3 721	94,1	2,5
1960-1	5 053	138,5	2,7
1965-6	7 430	168,6	2,3
1969-70	10 901	280,1	2,5
1972-3	15 305	410,3	2,7
1973-4	18 204	509,5	2,8

Source: De Crespigny, *et al*, 1978.

labour available to commerce and industry (Leistner, 1945 : 25). The economy of South Africa had features of a fully developed industrial economy but one of its most prominent

Table 2.2 Male Migrant Labour in South Africa (1970) Economically Active Population

Homeland	Present in Homeland No	Percent	Migrant No	Percent
Transkei	256 700	42,0	352 545	58,0
Ciskei	82 360	58,0	58 782	42,0
KwaZulu	324 440	57,0	246 900	43,0
Qwaqwa	3 220	48,0	3 501	52,0
Bophuthatswana	48 850	70,0	62 631	30,0
Lebowa	135 120	46,0	158 258	54,0
Venda	25 360	33,0	50 916	67,0
Gazankulu	27 120	31,0	61 515	69,0
Swazi	18 020	60,0	12 207	40,0
Total	1 021 190	50,3	1 007 255	49,7

Source: De Crespigny, *et al*, 1978.

characteristics was its dual nature. For instance, a modern and diversified monetary economy operates in the common areas alongside the backward subsistence-orientated economics often found in the rural areas (Table 2.1).

From Table 2.1 it is clear that between 1973 and 1974 the homelands containing one third of the total South African population generated less than 3 per cent of the total Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.). On the other hand the common areas, containing two thirds of

Table 2.3 Employment in Selected Sector of the Economy (in thousands)

Sector	Year	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Total
Manufacturing	1945-6	119,0	53,4	16,9	181,7	370,3
	1970	278,1	194,8	73,3	609,1	1155,4
	1975	270,4	206,8	71,9	705,0	1254,1
Mining	1945	51,6	1,8	0,6	419,0	473,0
	1971	61,8	6,4	0,6	592,8	661,5
	1975	63,2	7,5	0,6	568,1	639,5
Construction	1945-6	10,2,	3,9	0,1	25,8	39,9
	1970	58,9	44,1	4,2	237,4	344,6
	1975	61,2	54,6	5,9	325,1	466,8
S.A.R. * H.	1945	85,7	8,4	0,6	55,1	149,9
	1971	112,8	14,4	1,3	97,7	226,2
	1975	118,8	18,9	1,7	117,8	250,2
Provincial Admin.	1960	63,7	14,2	4,5	56,7	139,1
	1970	91,8	12,2	2,3	76,0	182,3
	1975	108,4	19,3	3,2	89,3	220,2

Source: De Crespigny, *et al*, 1978.

Table 2.4 Employment in Selected Sector of the Economy In Percentage

Sector	Year	White	Colourd	Asian	Black	Total
Manufacturing	1945-6	32,1	14,3	4,6	49,0	100,0
	1970	24,1	16,9	6,3	52,7	100
	1975	21,6	16,5	5,7	56,2	100,0
Mining	1945	10,9	0,4	0,1	88,6	100,0
	1971	9,3	1,0	0,1	89,6	100,0
	1975	9,9	1,2	0,1	88,8	100,0
Construction	1945-6	25,5	9,7	0,2	64,6	100,0
	1970	17,1	12,2	1,2	68,9	100,0
	1975	13,7	12,2	1,3	72,8	100,0
S.A.R. * H.	1945	57,2	5,6	0,4	36,8	100,0
	1971	49,9	6,4	0,6	43,2	100,0
	1975	44,7	7,0	0,7	47,1	100,0
Provincial Admin.	1960	45,8	10,2	3,2	40,8	100,0
	1970	50,4	6,7	1,3	41,7	100,0
	1975	49,2	8,8	1,5	40,6	100,0

Source: De Crespigny, 1978.

the population, generated the remaining 97 per cent. These statistics do not give a true picture of the duality of the economy because the figures for the homeland also include the 20 % contribution to the G.D.P. of the small white population living there. During the 1973 to 1974 the G.D.P. of the homeland Black population was only R391,5 million.

A substantial number of the homeland labour pool migrates to the common areas in search of job opportunities. The existence of extensive migrant labour is partly attributed to this duality in the South African economy. The magnitude of this trend is illustrated below:

Table 2.2 above clearly shows that all nine former homelands have a substantial number of their males working outside these homelands. Also significant to note from the table is that five homelands have more workers outside their borders than within.

It is important to note that the economy of the common areas has been created as a result the efforts of members of all race groups. By table three below this situation is illustrated.

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 confirm that the South African economy does not respect racial prejudice and other ideological considerations.

De Crespigny (1978) notes that Whites realised that they had three alternatives, namely:-

- (a) Incorporating Blacks or a segment of them into the central polity,
- (b) Retaining political power in their own hands while regulating the affairs of the excluded groups; or
- (c) Creating separate political institutions for the other groups and granting them

the maximum feasible autonomy.

The third alternative was adopted. The argument advanced by the proponents of the third alternative ranged from fear of their cultural values being harmed, fear of mass participation resulting in chaos, fear of forfeiting benefits that were provided by their government, to fear of numerically stronger groups dominating minority groups. For a successful implementation of racial separation vast financial and other resources were needed.

2.3 BLACK MIGRANT AND INSTITUTIONALISED EXPLOITATION

The capitalist mode of production was accused of building wealth on the shoulders of black migrant workers (Catholic Fund For Overseas Development report, 1983). During their period of employment migrant workers are forced to live in single sex hostels, barracks or compounds. The living conditions in these dwellings are generally poor (*ibid.*). The report concludes that "the migrant labour system is dehumanising as it is based on the premise that man can be divided into two parts, the labour unit working in the cities, separated from the other part which is husband, son and father, with hopes and aspirations" (*ibid*, p16).

Poverty is a widespread phenomenon in South Africa and the victims are farm labourers, women and children in the rural areas. The affected people are outside the formal labour market. The state of helplessness of this sector is made worse by the fact that it lacks political influence. The Canegie Commission found that 80 percent of all those families living below the measure of poverty, was in the reserves. Also found by the Commission was that in urban wage employment the gap between black and white incomes remained at

of one to four. Apart from this gap white wages were supplemented in a variety of ways - from fringe benefits of employment, state expenditure on education, medical schemes, unequal ownership of assets such as land, property shares, pensions as well as human capital.

Although blacks were absent from their areas of origin most of the time, their wage rates were further affected by much higher dependency ratios, the removal of subsidies on basic foodstuffs, commuter transport and housing had dealt a serious blow a black man's purchasing power.

Van Onselen (1982) expressed concerns about absolute poverty and acute spatial inequalities existing between white and black areas. This scholar noted that "historians of Johannesburg preferred peering into the homes and lifestyles of the Randlords, attempting to put a romantic gloss on the ceaseless pursuit of wealth at a time when elsewhere in the city, the dusty streets were bursting at the seams with a seething mass of struggling humanity".

"There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. An African should only be in the towns to minister to the needs of the white man and when he ceases to minister, he should depart" (anon, 1972).

From the distant past, cities of the world have always been haunted by fear of the urban mob. There was a general belief that urban masses would be politically radical and violent. Questions of how and under what conditions the urban poor were integrated into the existing political systems were constantly asked. In a plural society like South Africa, ethnicity,

religion, race or nationality, tribe etc; was the pole around which political organisation would almost certainly coalesce.

The white-black tension gave rise to the enforcement of racial residential segregation-leading to the large-scale relocation of "blacks, coloured and Asian families, usually to the outskirts of cities" (Smith, 1986 : 143). Adam (1971 : 111) observing the white-black tension characterising the race relations in South Africa, noted that "since the widespread unrest of the early sixties, white rule was efficiently prepared for internal conflict. The design and location of the african townships was based on strategic considerations". This is indicative of the numerous hurdles that the transformation process had to contend with.

Van Onselen (1982) is of a view that contemporary situations of poverty and underdevelopment in some regions, could not be divorced from the historical processes of underdevelopment and capitalist exploitation of black reserves. This scholar further notes that compounds accommodated rural migrants who were exploited by the capitalist mode of production. He views compounds as structures of racial domination and institutions of labour repression.

The reports of the Industrial Commission of Enquiry clearly reflected the inhuman attitude of mine-owners towards the migrant workforce. The migrants who were housed and fed in the compounds were no better than slaves.

The state collaborated with mine-owners to regulate and enforce the migrant labour system. The following was the evidence presented by a mine official to the Industrial Commission

were:

- (a) Reinforcement and emergence of the tax system,
- (b) The institutions of the compounds,
- (c) The pass system, and
- (d) Subsequently the monopsonistic organisation of the Chamber of Mines, to "acquire and maintain a continuous and docile low cost labour force, "(Levy, 1982 : 22).

It is argued that the movement of Africans from their areas of origin to the mines was beyond their personal choice. Some scholars also argued that, although the Africans were paid next to nothing, the migratory labour system with all its components was far from being cheap.

In relation to the question "Cheap in respect of what?" (Burawoy, 1976 : 71) pointed out that "a series of costs were externalised to the reserves, costs associated with the residence of a large, stabilised black population under the white supremacist state".

"Historically the state has intervened by legal and administrative means to assist the mine-owners to acquire labour and to perpetuate the partial separation of the maintenance of the labour force from the renewal of the labour force," (Levy, 1982 : 22).

Clearly the system was economically attractive to employers because the cost of reproducing the workforce was largely external to the rural areas. The migrant system may thus be

defined to some extent by this partial separation of the two processes of renewal and maintenance (Levy, 1982 : 23).

The economy of South Africa has inherited many characteristics of an advanced industrial economy, but one of its important features is its duality. South Africa has a modern and diversified monetary economy operating in the urban areas alongside the backward and predominantly subsistence-orientated economics of the homelands.

Schrire (1978) attributed the extensive existence of migrant labour partly to this duality. A substantial proportion of the homeland labour pool migrated to the urban areas in search of employment, and upon completion of their labour contracts returned to the homelands. For a variety of reasons however some rural migrants decided to settle permanently in the urban areas. They thus broke away from the tribal authority and came under the control of the town committee or council.

The government played a significant role in the economy of South Africa. In many aspects of pricing and competition the government had a major role to play. The following are some of the examples where the government played such a role:

- (a) Wage rates
- (b) Minimum prices for several commodities,
- (c) Control boards for the regulation and marketing of agricultural products,
- (d) Conditions of employment and the opportunities available to the different racial groups in the economy.

"The government was also a major producer of goods and services. The railways, harbours and airlines were all government-owned and in addition the government participated in the production of steel and chemicals ... Between 1970 and 1976 employment in government including local authorities and the provincial administrations increased from 675694 to 1 361 641 while earnings increased from R1047 million to R2 224 million" ..., (Schrire 1978 : xiii - xxiv)

2.4 THE ECONOMY VIEWED FROM A POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Preferential and differential distribution of resources in South Africa made it impossible not to view economic issues from a political perspective. A concern was repeatedly expressed that the policies of the past regime contributed to the structural failure of South African growth pattern. In this regard any attempts at depoliticising economic issues by excluding structural reforms from the agenda of the politicians would have been an exercise in futility.

The state of the South African economy had been described by concerned economists who were initiating programmes of reforms, as chronic. Some writers are of a view that the problem in South African economy were seen as the outcome of the interplay of four forces, namely:

- (a) A general recession in the world economy since the 1970s,
- (b) A specific economy characterised by low productivity growth and investment relative to the 1960s,
- (c) A set of specific government policies which had the effect of worsening the

slump, and

- (d) An unprecedented political crisis which had seriously undermined the internal and external legitimacy of the previous regime.

It may be deduced that the previous governments of South Africa, through their discriminatory policies, contributed to the exploitation of a black migrant workforce. Makhanya (1979) observed that the Lesotho nationals migrated to work in the South African mines, and their wages were so low, they could not influence the financial position back home. The migrant mine workers could only go home upon completion of their contracts. This situation prevented development programmes as some of the migrant workers were landowners.

2.5 ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WITHOUT RACIAL EQUITY

The active participation of blacks in the white-controlled economy was a classical example of marriage of convenience. In 1987 the Industrial Commission of Enquiry was instituted to investigate and hear evidence with regard to the following:-

- (a) The desirability of a labour force drawn from the rural areas to work in the mines, and
- (b) The desirability of housing these migrants in the compounds on the Rand.

Those who gave evidence before the Commission appreciated and recognised the importance of the migrant system as a crucial factor in reducing costs in the mines.

The Commission heard that the reduction of native wages was necessary for two reasons, the one was to reduce expenditure, and the second had a very far reaching effect upon the conditions which might prevail with regard to native labour in the future. The natives were believed to be receiving wages which were far in excess of their existence. The migrants were earning between fifty and sixty shillings per month. These wages were considered to be more than enough because the migrants paid nothing for food or lodging. The managers giving evidence to the Commission suggested that at that rate of wages natives could be able to save a lot of money in a couple of years. Although their wages were regarded as more than enough, they went a long way to ensuring that the natives did not become rich in a short space of time (Levy, 1982 : 23-24).

Blumer (1965 : 226) observes that the ultimate effects of industrialisation are that ascribed statuses like those associated with racial or ethnic identity vanish as factors which structure social relations. The premium placed on rational decisions will relegate racial prejudice and discrimination to the periphery of the social structure. This scholar notes the existence of a contradiction between rationality of the market and the irrationality of racialism, in both its personal form of prejudice and its institutional form of apartheid.

"The influx control also represented a major contradiction of the apartheid policy : there was an exclusionary need to obtain political security by controlling and policing the number of Africans in white areas, and an inclusionary need to ensure a supply of cheap labour within these areas" (Savage, 1986 : 181).

Government policy was that a Black labourer's needs should be catered for in the homelands.

This was the official reaction when the state was challenged for not providing facilities in the urban hostels and townships where blacks lived.

2.6 ACQUISITION OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND URBANISATION

The government's view that blacks were and should be in white towns for the sole reason of ministering to the needs of white employers, gave way to an acceptance of their permanent legal status. A 99 year leasehold scheme which was instituted in respect of blacks in urban townships was a significant step towards transformation.

According to the Built Environment Support Group (1989), when the state belatedly accepted a black man's permanence and inevitability of urbanisation, the emphasis shifted from stringent regulatory system to control and management. This group concluded that "Any evaluation of the impact of the policy of orderly urbanisation ultimately depends on how it influences the quality of life of the masses living in rural areas".

2.7 HOUSING FOR BLACKS IN THE DURBAN METROPOLITAN AREAS

In the mid forties up to the early seventies more and more single sex hostels became a common feature in and around the towns or within easy reach of the South African industrial areas. The state controlled the hostels through local or provincial institutions. At the beginning of each financial year local governments drew and submitted budget estimates to the Provincial Director of Finance for approval. In terms of the guidelines as set out by the National Finance Ministry only 9.5 per cent was allowed for growth from the previous

financial year.

In terms of the Group Areas Act the hostels existed side by side with Black townships where residents lived relatively normal family lives. There has often been tension between the hostel and township residents. The resultant hostel-township violence has been regarded with concern by political leaders and the government. While some politicians believed that the hostels should be eliminated, others felt that it was unrealistic to take such action in the light of the general housing shortage.

Table 2.5 Hostels in the Durban Metropolitan Area

NAME OF HOSTEL	NUMBER OF BEDS	NUMBER OF OFFICIAL RESIDENTS	NUMBER OF UNOFFICIAL	TOTAL POPULATION
KWAMASHU HOSTEL	18 000	18 000	± 30 000	48 000
UMLAZI HOSTEL	9 000	9 000	3 000	12 000
GLEBE HOSTEL	12 276	12 276	± 25 000	37 276
S.J. SMITH HOSTEL	4 272	4 272	± 5 000	9 272
DALTON ROAD HOSTEL	1 363	1 363	± 2 000	3 363
JACOBS HOSTEL	885	885	+ 500	1 385
THOKOZA HOSTEL	1 200	1 200	+ 500	1 700

2.8 OVERCROWDING IN THE HOSTELS

The Central Structure of the Durban Metropolitan Council has seven single sex state controlled hostels five of which were administered by the disestablished Town Committee

of Ningizimu, while the two were controlled by the KwaZulu Government. The official carrying capacity of each hostel is as indicated in Table 5.

With the repeal of the Group Areas Act there has been a drastic increase of Hostel residents. A phenomenal increase of people from various cultural backgrounds moved into the areas which were under the jurisdiction of the Town Committee, particularly the hostels. The rural-urban exodus swelled the numbers of the unemployed people in the City of Durban. The limited resources which were already overstretched had to be shared by the existing residents with people who had no legal status in these areas. Crimes ranging from dealing in drugs, illicit brew, car hijackings, armed robberies, muggings to murders, became common events in these areas. Personal safety was increasingly becoming a thing of the past.

A state of lawlessness is evident in some Durban Metropolitan hostels. In some cases there is a phenomenal increase in the number of unemployed people who have no fixed place of abode. Although these people mill around for 24 hours a day, using water and lights, they answer to no one in authority. Incidents such as murders, armed robberies, mugging of unsuspecting residents, housebreaking of rooms when most people are at work, instil intense feelings of fear, despair, uncertainty and isolation. Individual and communal insecurity and frustration reach fever pitch as people who have fled trouble-torn areas and subsequently taken refuge in some of the hostels, are tracked down and brutally murdered. The terrain of some hostels like Glebe renders the police patrol ineffective and helplessly inadequate.

At the height of violence and criminal activities, ambulances, and commercial vehicles, could

could hardly enter some of these areas without police escort. The deterioration of the security situation reached alarming proportions when contractors who were rendering the general maintenance service in these areas, were prevented from doing their work by criminal elements. To the civics and other political groupings the escalation of violence bore further testimony that the Town Committee was incapable of exercising effective control over these areas.

2.9 POLITICAL ALIGNMENT AMONG THE HOSTEL RESIDENTS

The majority of the hostel residents have, over the years come to realise that to survive, they have to join dominant political organisations. Those residents who are not interested in seeking protection in the fold of political organisations, are threatened by activists and are forced to seek alternative accommodation elsewhere.

The past few years have witnessed political party representatives mounting their recruiting campaigns in the Durban Metropolitan hostels. Political organisations are focusing on the hostels to gain territorial supremacy. In this regard hostel residents who have all along been treated by the neighbouring communities as outsiders, have reached a new level of understanding and awareness. Their escape from the past found expression in the formation of hostel grown organisations, such as the South African Hostel Residents Association and KwaZulu Natal Hostel Residents Association. These two associations as indicated earlier, are believed to be having alliance with the IFP and the ANC respectively.

Despite their ideological differences, these associations have worked towards common goals

when dealing with, otherwise sensitive issues. First steps towards breaking down ideological barriers and forging common understanding of what should be embodied in the upgrading programme of the Durban Metropolitan hostels, were evident throughout the negotiations. A further evidence of co-operation is the ongoing negotiations whereby they seek to formulate a common strategy which would ensure the safe return of people who had to flee the hostels on account of violence. Members of these associations attended and participated constructively in workshops and peace meetings dealing with hostel violence in the Durban Metropolitan hostels.

2.10 CONCLUSION

To conclude this chapter it can be stated that the housing of Black people in single sex hostels resulted from the exploitation of labour, without paying for its maintenance, by the capitalist system of production. The single sex hostels provided a cheap way of controlling the rural migrants from been urbanised. Whilst it is true that the repeal of the influx control laws was a tremendous relief to the members of the Black communities who had always been on the receiving end of Apartheid, it is also equally true that the City of Durban and the surrounding residential areas were not ready to absorb more people from the countryside. With very few exceptions, these people found their way into either the townships or hostels. The sudden concentration of new people in these areas under the jurisdiction of the Town Committee heralded a period of chaos. The limited facilities in the hostels and surrounding areas began to crumble due to overpopulation, the physical environment has deteriorated, and violence and crime has been escalating. Many hostel residents have since aligned themselves with political parties for survival.

CHAPTER 3**HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RACIALLY-FRAGMENTED LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA****3.1 INTRODUCTION**

For the study to be a worthwhile and productive endeavour, it is essential that the process of democratisation is examined against the attitudes and resultant policies of the previous regime. According to Rickert Commission on Manpower Utilisation (Republic of South Africa, 1979) it was argued that the de facto permanence of the settled township population should be acknowledged in law and members should be granted certain economic rights (Tomlinson and Addleson, 1987 : 241). By 1977 it was no longer a debatable issue whether or not Blacks were permanent in the White municipal areas. Cloete (1988: 248 -249) notes: "to further the Government's policy of separate development and the granting of self-government to the Blacks the Urban Black Councils Act 79 of 1961 was passed by Parliament. In terms of the Act Black Councils were assigned certain functions of a municipal authority by the White local authority".

Without doubt the government and industrialists had appreciated the significance of the black man's active participation in the economy of this country, however, South African policies tended to ignore his social and political life. This presented a dichotomous situation. The proponents of Verwoerdian apartheid ideology argued that there was no justification for a black man to demand the right to participate in the central government structures as his

political aspirations were catered for either in the black local government or in the homeland.

In response to the increasing demands, this policy was substituted by a policy which emphasised the significance of both "general and own affairs". This constitutional principle, was extended to black institutions outside of the central government. The elected black local authority councils were seen in the government ranks as an option to central representation of blacks.

In 1977 the development of municipal authorities for Blacks in urban areas was taken a step further when the Community Councils Act 125 of 1977 was passed by Parliament empowering the Minister to establish a community council by notice in the Government Gazette. "The notice also detailed powers and function which the Minister, after consultation with the Administration Board concerned, could assign to the community council" (Cloete 1988 : 249). These developments heralded the establishment of the Black Local Authorities of 1982 and the Regional Services Councils Act of 1985.

3.2 GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS AT MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO

The National Party's goal in respect of South Africa's multi-national composition was formulated by the Prime Minister Dr H.F. Verwoed, and presented at a conference in May 1961 as follows:

"We do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean our survival as a white race, but we also seek a solution which will ensure survival and

full development - political and economic - to each of other racial groups".

South Africa is one of the few countries which have attracted sustained interest. The racial discrimination embodied in the policy of apartheid has over the years generated a significant interest among local and international scholars, "South Africa has a special fascination for the geographer and others concerned with spatial analysis..." (Smith, 1986 : 1).

In 1945, Professor G.A. Cronje of the University of Pretoria, wrote:

"The racial policy which we as Afrikaners should promote must be directed to the preservation of racial and cultural variety. This is because it is according to the Will of God, and also because with the knowledge at our disposal it can be justified on practical grounds...The more consistently the policy of apartheid could be applied, the greater would be the security for the purity of our blood and the surer our unadulterated European racial survival... Total racial separation....is the most consistent application of the Afrikaner idea of racial apartheid", (South Africa : Time Running Out, The Study Commission Report on USA Policy Towards Southern Africa, 1981).

"We want each of our population groups to control and to govern themselves, as is the case with other Nations. They then can co-operate as in a Commonwealth - in an economic association with the Republic and with each other. In the transition stage the guardian must teach and guide his ward. That is our policy of separate development. South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all, by means of political independence coupled with

economic interdependence" (Kleynhans, 1978 : 110).

The National Party's policy of separate development was based on the diversity of the South African population. "Although not large by international standards it is made up of several racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious groups "(Schrire, 1978 : xiii).

Lewsen (1988 : 275) stated that:

"Senator Brookes was sincerely and deeply disturbed over the prospect that the general elections would be fought on the colour issue ... Did apartheid mean doing without African labour in the mines, on the farm, in industry and in European homes? If not how did the principle of apartheid work in these spheres?"

3.3 COMPOSITION OF SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION

South African politics has been decisively influenced by the plural nature of the population. Politics has been dominated by the conflict between various ethnic groups over the control of government and its resources. Historically this conflict manifested itself between English, Afrikaners and Blacks with Coloureds and Indians playing the role of onlookers. This situation, has however changed as a result of political competition which has polarised on a narrow colour basis, De Crespigny (1978) observed. The English speaking people formed a small portion of the Whites in South African. To ensure that they won power to govern, they required a substantial support of the Afrikaners. On the other hand the Afrikaner's leadership could maintain power if Afrikaner unity could be achieved and maintained at all

times. Both groups recognised the need to close their ranks and start forming a coalition to create a winning combination. Clearly political alignments in South Africa are largely determined by ethnic and linguistic ties. "As the time went on however, the English and Afrikaner groups started concentrating on the larger issue of black-white relations", notes Schrire (1978).

The black local authorities were met with intense political opposition. The then banned African Congress and other political groupings called on the residents to make the townships ungovernable. In a desperate bid to save the black local authorities, the government, on two occasions, declared a state of emergency. The creation of institutions such as the regional services council was, in essence, a constitutional strategy to demonstrate the government's willingness to change.

To illustrate its commitment to reform, in 1985 the black local authority matters were transferred to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, relieving the Department of Co-operation and Development of this responsibility. The purpose of this move on the part of the government was, *inter alia*, to improve the living conditions of urban blacks who qualified to settle permanently in these areas. Subsequent policy changes aimed at nurturing a black middle class, allowing them free access to labour market.

"In 1982 a new local authority system whose framework was not substantially different to that which regulated the white local authorities, was introduced", (Heymans and Totemeyer, 1988 : 106). The changes in the policy were clearer in respect of its technical or welfare aspects. The policy was audibly silent on the question of political goals of a black man. The

exclusion of Blacks from the new constitution was defended by the government officials pointing out that the Black Local Authorities were a substitute for political rights at central government level.

The premise of the National Party is that black peoples in the urban areas as well should be accommodated in a different way to the way in which Whites, Coloureds and Asians are accommodated (Republic of South Africa, 1984).

The political significance of the black local authorities became even more confusing when the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1985, refused to accept that blacks were denied the right to vote as they could exercise this right either in the homelands or the local authorities (Anon, 1985).

Even at an administrative level, there was such a high degree of uncertainty, the officials were frustrated because the lines of communication among the subordinate structure, were far from clear. Schuring, Skawran and Prinsloo (1985 : 9) noted that, "... there was a lack of detailed planning for change with a concomitant reliance on crisis-handling, rather than proactive actions designed to avoid crisis".

Further ambiguities attributed to this Department created a lot of tension among the subordinate structures. Bekker and Humphries (1985) noted that the Department, in line with its responsibilities, had mediated between the conflicting claims and tensions between the board and the Black local authorities.

The unpopular standing of the local authorities led to their political and financial difficulties. According to Croeser, (1983), when proposals were made that the regional services councils were due to be introduced, there was a noticeable improvement in the way the general public perceived the local authorities. The continued delays in carrying out the proposal worsened the financial problems. During 1984 the black local authorities began to feel the effects of rent boycott.

3.4 THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT 102 OF 1982

It was against this background as outlined above that the Town Committee of Ningizimu and other black local authorities were established in terms of the Act 102 of 1982. The rationale behind the establishment of the black local authorities was that since the central government was not able to attend to all the detailed aspects of government, they were in a better position to provide services in a defined geographical areas (Heymans and Totemeyer 1988 : 13). The Town Committee of Ningizimu, was like the rest of other black local authorities, established to satisfy the "own affairs" policy of separate development. Blacks were denied participation in the central government structures. According to the National Party government a black man had no justifiable reason to demand representation in the central government as he could either vote in the homeland or in the black local government institutions.

It can never be over-emphasised that the significance of local government system hinges around its role as a sub-system of government, its ability to encourage a broad participation of the member of the community, and its ability to further economic and social progress.

This notion, however did not have much relevance to black local governments like the Ningizimu Town Committee. Racially-based, as these local authorities were, they succeeded only to incur the wrath of the militant elements in the townships. The majority of the black local authorities opted out of office because of youth militancy. In 1977, for example, the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, like most of the government-sponsored bodies, collapsed following a campaign mounted by student leaders (Kotze : 1978).

3.5 HISTORICAL JURISDICTION OF NINGIZIMU TOWN COMMITTEE

The Town Committee of Ningizimu was established and became legally functional in 1988. In terms of various government notices this Town Committee was given jurisdiction over the following areas:-

- (a) LAMONTVILLE TOWNSHIP with nearly sixty thousand residents
- (b) CHESTERVILLE TOWNSHIP with nearly thirty-five thousand residents
- (c) THOKOZA WOMEN'S HOSTEL with one thousand two hundred residents
- (d) DALTON ROAD HOSTEL with one thousand three hundred and sixty-three residents
- (e) JACOBS HOSTEL with eight hundred and eighty-five residents
- (f) S.J. SMITH HOSTEL with four thousand two hundred and seventy-two residents
- (g) GLEBE HOSTEL with twelve thousand two hundred and seventy-six thousand.

Each township or hostel was, depending on its size, divided into constituencies. The Town Committee under review had

twelve councillors representing the areas as follows:-

- (a) LAMONTVILLE TOWNSHIP had three Councillors,

- (b) CHESTERVILLE TOWNSHIP had one Councillor,
- (c) THOKOZA WOMEN'S HOSTEL had one Councillor,
- (d) DALTON ROAD HOSTEL one Councillor,
- (e) JACOBS HOSTEL had one Councillor,
- (f) S.J. SMITH HOSTEL had three Councillors and
- (g) GLEBE HOSTEL had three Councillors.

The Town Committee members elected a Chairman or Mayor and a Vice Chairman or Deputy Mayor. The Committee convened its meetings on the third week of every month. There was also a provision in their schedule for special meetings to cater for urgent issues which could not wait for the next meeting.

3.6 POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TOWN COMMITTEE OF NINGIZIMU

The Town Committee of Ningizimu had a legal capacity to sue and be sued. On the basis of powers delegated to the Committee by the Administrator of the Province, it could, subject to the relevant rules and procedures, acquire or dispose of both movable and immovable assets, if deemed to be in the best interest of the community. The Committee was responsible for the provision of services and physical development of the areas under its jurisdiction.

For the Town Committee to carry out its functions and maintain the roads, sewerage system, rented houses, perhaps more importantly pay the staff salaries, pay debts, etc., required, an annual budget of at least seventy million rand.

3.7 LEGITIMACY PROBLEM OF NINGIZIMU TOWN COMMITTEE

Local authorities are the structures through which people exercise and express their democratic will. For local authorities to be effective, they must enjoy a high degree of acceptability. Heymans and Totemeyer (1988 : 2) declared that legitimacy and viability are intimately related. "Viability as an organisational and material concept refers to local government capabilities in the field of, particularly, finance, local management and service delivery issues". The Town Committee of Ningizimu was, like most of the black local authorities, rejected by a large portion of the community who argued that it was a product of apartheid, therefore illegitimate. Mitchell (1979 : 12) defined authority as that "form of power which is based upon the acceptance of the power holder's right to command by those who are commanded. It refers to legitimate power therefore".

3.8 POLITICAL PRESSURE

The problem of illegitimacy of the black local government systems had, during the apartheid era, prompted black consciousness orientated organisations, to intensify their campaigns against all government-sponsored structures. "Ostracism of persons who are prepared to work within the framework of government policy ... boycotts of homeland governments, urban Bantu Councils, urban advisory boards..." (Kotze, D.A. 1978 : 122). Pressure groups, notably, Ratepayers' Associations, Residents Associations etc, tend to operate at the level of public opinion and affect council policies. The Town Committee of Ningizimu experienced a lot of pressure from civics organisations. The members of the Town Committee were threatened with forceful removal from office if they were not prepared to

resign on their own accord. The vulnerability of members of the Town Committee took a turn for the worst when three councillors were brutally killed in 1993.

3.9 RENT BOYCOTT AND NON-PAYMENT OF SERVICE CHARGES

Where the council structures had crumbled due to rent boycott and political pressure, the Administrators had to secure the continuation of the community services in the affected areas. In order to ensure the continued financial and administrative existence of the local authorities, the state had to provide extensive bridging finance. The Town Committee of Ningizimu was kept afloat by intergovernmental grant. Despite the continued rent boycott and the fruitless efforts of the past, the Town Committee continued to negotiate a solution with the civics. It continued to pay for bulk supplies of water and electricity.

According to a report in the Citizen (Anon, 1986), the rent boycott was seen as an integral part of the strategy to make the townships ungovernable. However, to some it was seen as a strategy aiming at removing the Committees'/Councils' financial ability to perform their functions. This situation was shrewdly exploited by the political groupings and civic organisations which mounted their campaigns against the Committees/Councils much more aggressively. "Increasing numbers of township councils were run by Administrators following the resignations of elected councils. Campaigns for the resignation of councillors were also increasing by assuming a violent character" (Swilling, *et al*, 1991 : 69).

3.10 GENERAL COLLAPSE OF SERVICES

It should be stressed that the following section is concerned with broad generalisations which are based on the interviews with the officials and civics.

If the general deterioration of the conditions in the areas administered by the black local committees/councils, and the collapse of services, was what it took to set the system up against the communities, the deterioration and collapse were, for the civics, and other political groupings worth encouraging. In the circumstances the Town Committee of Ningizimu seemed to run out of options as the civics refused to negotiate a solution to the rent boycott. The communities demonstrated and took to the streets waving a long list of complaints against the "useless" Town Committee.

In the meantime the civics insisted that they could only negotiate with the Town Committee the transfer of power to community leaders. This call was made by the local civics, the affiliates of the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO). The latter has since its inception been dealing with problems affecting the townships. The problems encountered by hostel residents were, on the other hand dealt with by the National Hostel Residents Association (NAHORA). The hostel residents who were predominantly rural-orientated, viewed township politics with suspicion. "Traditionally orientated people tend to concentrate in multi-purpose ethnic organisations which promote social integration of the members" (De Crespigny and Schrire 1978:126). It was, perhaps, due to apparent lack of a common strategy which rendered the civics' call for the transfer of power ineffective. Their campaign against the Town Committee under discussion was neutralised by the fact that eight out of

twelve councillors represented the hostel residents who suspected that their township neighbours were always trying to manipulate them. It is reasonable to deduce that it was the parallel co-existence of the two organisations which indirectly sustained the Town Committee until it was formally disestablished along with other racially-based local institutions, on 30 June 1995.

3.11 PERIOD UP AND INCLUDING PROCLAMATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT TRANSITION ACT NUMBER 209 OF 1993

This Act was promulgated with the primary objective of transforming all racially-based, local authorities in the country. The introduction of this Act was an important milestone in the transformation of the local government systems in South Africa. During this phase, to some pessimists the success of the process was a remote possibility. It was, however soon to be proved that misgivings and expressions of concern, were misplaced. Some newspapers predicted that there would be a public slanging match between political opponents. Others said the decision making process would be a nightmare.

The terms such as "negotiation, consultation, broad participation of role players, inclusivity, compromise, way forward, etc.;" were on everybody's lips. Various committees were established to help manage the transformation process. Council structures which were referred to as statutory bodies, political groups, civic associations and apolitical groups which were referred to as non-statutory bodies, began to find each other. Both statutory and non statutory bodies enjoyed almost equal representation in the committees. This was a significant milestone for all South Africans who were going to participate in the Council

structures as equal partners.

3.12 NEGOTIATION TOWARDS TRANSFORMATION AND FACILITATING INSTRUMENTS/INTERIM CONSTITUTION

The interplay of wide ranging factors culminated in the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations. The internal and external pressure brought the government and other stakeholders to a conference table. Multiparty negotiations and bilateral talks marked the birth of democracy at all levels of government in South Africa. A significance milestone was reached when an Interim Constitution Number 200 of 1993 was drawn by the government and political parties. The first democratic elections held on 27 April 1994 were in terms of the Interim Constitution. To ensure that democracy was also introduced at local government levels, the government passed the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993. In this regard racially-based local government institutions were finally put to rest.

The Town Committee of Ningizimu was, along with other local government structures, disestablished and thereafter formed part of the Durban Metropolitan Substructure Council. For the Durban Metropolitan areas, a demarcation board was established to draw new boundaries in preparation for the forthcoming local government elections on 29 May 1996. With regard to the areas which were administered by the disestablished Town Committee, there were no fundamental changes concerning the number of wards. The only area which was affected was Lamontville where the number of wards dropped from three to one.

When the demarcation board had completed its task of setting up new boundaries which were not based on racial considerations, the Minister of Local Governments and Housing issued a Proclamation. For black local authorities the only instruments used were the Government Notices.

3.13 ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW BOUNDARIES IN DURBAN METROPOLITAN AREAS

The task of demarcating and establishing new boundaries, was fraught with scepticism. The traditional leaders expressed themselves against the incorporation of their areas into the Durban Metropolitan Council, arguing that this would weaken their influence in the rural areas. They believed that their role as custodians of tradition, was God-given, while councillors were either elected or nominated on the basis of political considerations. The civics and politicians, particularly the ANC, argued that such exclusions would deprive the rural areas of much needed development. The proclamation, however, did provide for the establishment of community councils in such areas.

Within the Durban Metropolitan Council there are six Substructures consisting of disestablished racially-based local authorities. These Substructure Councils are:-

- (a) North Metropolitan Substructure Council
- (b) North Central Metropolitan Substructure Council
- (c) Inner West Metropolitan Substructure Council
- (d) Outer West Metropolitan Substructure Council

- (e) South Metropolitan Substructure Council,
- (f) South Central Metropolitan Substructure Council.

The Town Committee of Ningizimu formed part of the South Central Metropolitan Substructure Council. Thokoza Women's Hostel which was administered by the Town Committee, also became part of the areas under the Central Metropolitan Substructure Council. However, the demarcation board which completed the task of drawing new boundaries decided that this hostel should be administered by the North Central Metropolitan Substructure Council.

3.14 ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW DURBAN METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

The Durban Metropolitan Council is a multiparty democratic local government. It was formed in a manner that would reflect the character of the first and second tiers of government. The members of this new Council came from various backgrounds. Some, for example, were drawn from disestablished racially-based local authorities, while others came from political and civics organisations. The participation of the hostel grown civic associations in the Council, was a significant milestone in the process of transformation.

As indicated above the Durban Metropolitan Council consists of six Substructure Councils. Within the Substructure Councils, committees are formed to deal with and supervise specific functions, such as health and housing, physical environment, parks and cemeteries, arts and culture, water and waste disposal, transport, protection services, licensing, traffic, etc.

their position, more especially when political decisions are imminent.

3.15 CHALLENGES FACING THE NEW DURBAN METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

The demise of racially-based local government institutions and the ushering in of a new democratic order, has heightened the black people's level of expectations. Like America, South Africa has affluent whites existing side by side with deprived black neighbourhoods. In South Africa black residential areas are within a stone's throw of the booming affluent cities. Black residential areas are plagued by poor sanitation, widespread poverty, social isolation, high incidence of crime, political hostility, juvenile delinquency, etc. Problems associated with adjustment are experienced in these areas. These problems are attributed by some observers to subcultural diversities. These are some of the challenges that the Durban Metropolitan Council has to tackle with immediacy.

For example, the Housing Department has been mandated to negotiate with the civics organisations a viable solution to the whole question of restoring the culture of paying for services and rent/rates.

Programmes such as "Keep Durban clean" can only yield the desired results with the maximum participation of the community. The success of this programme can, in turn, have significant subsidiary consequences, particularly for the industry of tourism. Needless to say the promotion of tourism means the increase in job opportunities. This can be best achieved in a crime-free environment.

The Durban Metropolitan Council has embarked on a massive programme which aims at addressing spatial inequalities and the uneven distribution of resources, as it is so conspicuous in the black residential areas.

One of the most important challenges that the Council has to confront is for its members to be able to rise above party politics and consider what is in the best interest of the communities they serve.

3.16 CONCLUSION

A large body of literature on local governments emphasises the importance of the contribution made by these institutions towards the maintenance of a prosperous, orderly and enlightened society. The institution of local governments forms an important link in the relationship between the first and second tiers of government and the communities.

It became clear from the sources on the subject that local authorities provide greater opportunities for community participation. In this regard individual citizens are afforded opportunities to use their talents and develop insights and creative abilities. "Through allowing initiatives and discretion at the local level, well-developed local government serves the cause of democracy" (Richards, 1980 : 156).

Boaden *et al* (1982 : 3) and Cloete (1986 : 228) are in agreement that local government institutions allow local inhabitants to participate directly in the process of government at local level. These two scholars argue that "Democratic government is local government :

democratic government is community government".

Cross *et al* (1978 : 50) note that the close relationship that local government has to the public makes it ideally suited for the purpose of broadening the base of democracy. Since local government implies decentralisation, in turn it can promote efficiency and effectiveness in the administration of public affairs (Leemans 1970 : 17). The process of transforming the local government was preceded by the introduction of regional government system. This was seen as a part of the overall constitutional changes being effected by government to facilitate the incorporation of blacks into the mainstream of the South African politics. Such reforms would in turn ensure that sound economic infra-structure and services were provided in historically deprived areas. The newly created structures, the regional services councils, would be used as agencies of black development (Heymans and Totemeyer, 1988 : 77).

The regional council system enabled black communities to make decisions that affected whites, within a multi-racial democratic framework.

In concluding this section, one can hope for no better argument regarding the importance of local institutions, than the one advanced by Vosloo (1972 : 109), namely, "Nowhere can the art of governing be better learned than on the local government level - the true foundation on which the national political structure of a state is based".

The knowledge that participation in the local government institutions prepare one for positions in the first or second tiers of government, clearly provides a tremendous incentive to Councillors.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The nature of historical relationships between hostel residents and their township counterparts had always been characterised by tension and hostility. The hostel residents were by definition regarded as outsiders while the township residents were regarded as insiders. The township residents were reputed to be exploiting the hostel residents at the earliest opportunity that presented itself. This became more apparent when the hostel residents were charged exorbitant rent for occupying backyard shacks. The hostel residents were also reputed to be exploited severely by their township lovers.

In times of township uprisings, the hostel residents were also exploited by the state organs by urging them to form vigilant groups. In this regard the hostel residents incurred the wrath of the township youth.

The young migrants who had just arrived from the rural areas were taken care of by senior hostel residents who served as mentors. The mentor system counselled and warned the newly arrived youth against the evils of the city, more specifically, the unacceptable manner in which the township youth conducted themselves (Ramphela, 1993).

The mutual mistrust between the two sectors perpetuated psycho-social isolation of the hostel

residents. This situation effectively curtailed the hostel residents' ability to influence policies that affected their lives. The hostel residents had very limited access to money lending institutions and labour market.

When hostel residents voted in their 1996 June Local Government elections, they voted for political party candidates who, they believed, would facilitate the transformation process in the hostels. Clearly the Durban Metropolitan Council in which hostel residents were represented, was seen as vehicle to deliver democracy to the previously neglected areas such as the hostel.

The new political order at local government level, would also allow the hostel residents to participate in the formulation of policies that affect their lives, and share a broader vision with their neighbours.

This chapter will focus mainly on attempting to draw conclusions as to how the role of the hostel residents will influence the delivery capacity of the emerging Durban Metropolitan Council. In this chapter special attention will be given to the success or failure of past political opponents to commit themselves to a common vision. A fair amount of attention will be paid to examining those factors which undermine or promote a multiparty democracy. Whether or not the emerging Durban Metropolitan Council will be consensus driven, will be examined in this chapter.

Finally, the hostel residents who hardly had any meaningful say in the previous local government structures, will be expected to push for more concessions and demands for the

upgrading of these areas. The participation of hostel residents in the emerging Durban Metropolitan Council will find expression in the radical changes in the existing housing policy. The hostel residents are, in terms of the existing housing policy, precluded from property-ownership within the hostel-designed area.

A strong view is held by the hostel residents that the effectiveness of the new democratic Council will be measured, among other things, by its ability to work towards the integration of the hostels into the rest of the urban environment. The hostel residents eagerly await to see functional and territorial fragmentation and social isolation of the hostels being removed.

From a geographical perspective, territorial fragmentation and social isolation of the hostels within the Durban Metropolitan area attracts more attention because it is essentially a spatial phenomenon.

4.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

4.2.1 Age of the Respondents

Age in the study was considered a significant factor. Table 4.1 indicates that out of the 100 respondents interviewed in this survey, 34 per cent constitutes the youngest and the biggest group. This group was very vocal about the unacceptable conditions in the hostels. This group has a clear vision with regard to changes that were expected to be brought about by transformation. Among some of the examples of changes proposed by this group were that the upgrading programmes of the hostels should afford residents more privacy, within the

hostels, family units should be provided for those who might want to exercise this choice. The second biggest group 31 per cent expressed hope that the upgrading programme was showing some signs of success in trying to improve the hostel residents' quality of life, while age groups from 41 to 60 years showed no interest in local politics as they were looking forward to retire in their rural homes.

Table 4.1 Respondents' Age

Age Group	No	Percentage
20 - 30	34	34
31 - 40	31	31
41 - 50	29	29
51 - 60 +	6	6
Total	100	100

4.2.2 Level of Education

Like age, the level of education was considered an important factor in the study. The study focused on the respondents' educational levels in order to determine their ability to compete in the labour market and also to rate their prospects of acquiring family accommodation. It is clear from Table 2, that 64 per cent of the 100 respondents were between standards one and six, while 25 per cent were between standards seven and ten. This group was actively involved in all leadership structures. This group conducted voter education programme before

the 1996 local government elections. The upgrading programmes were drawn and implemented on the basis of the inputs of members of this category. This group kept the residents informed of changes taking place at local, provincial and national levels. It was clearly this group which help put the hostels on the national map of South Africa. The respondents comprising 11 per cent had no formal education.

Table 4.2 Respondents' Education

Level of Education	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Standard 1 - 6	64	64
Standard 7 - 10	25	25
No Education	11	11
Total	100	100

Adult education programmes were at some stage introduced in the hostel to assist residents. These efforts by organisations such as UMPATO were frustrated by political violence in these areas. It increasingly became too dangerous to be out in the evening. In this regard none of the respondents was attending evening classes nor was there any organisation known to be offering them.

4.2.3 Occupation

Table 4.3 indicates that 42 per cent of the respondents were engaged in unskilled and menial jobs, while 11 per cent and 10 per cent were clerks and drivers respectively. Only 5 per

cent in supervisory positions while the second biggest group were security guards.

Table 4.3 Respondents Occupation

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Unskilled	42	42
Clerical	11	11
Driver	10	10
Supervisor	5	5
Security	32	32
Total	100	100

Table 4.4 Respondents' Place of Employment

Place	Number	Percentage
Mobeni	26	26
Jacobs	26	26
Isipingo	24	24
Umlazi	10	10
Durban Central	14	14
Total	100	100

4.2.4 Place of Employment

Table 4.4. shows that about 89 percent of the respondents were within easy reach of their respective places of employment. The respondent who were residing at the hostels such as Glebe, Dalton Road, Jacobs, S.J.Smith and Thokoza hostels could even walk to their places of employment. Only 14,3 per cent of the respondents took between 25 to 30 minutes to get to the centre of the City.

4.2.5 Level of Income

Table 4.5 above shows that nearly all the respondents interviewed in the study earned between R800 to R1900+ a month. Although the majority of the respondents were married,

Table 4.5 Respondents' Income

Income	No.	Percentage
R500 - R 700 +	0	0
R800 - 1 000 +	29	29
R1100 - 1 300 +	31	31
R1400 - 1 600 +	27	27
R1700 - 1 900 +	13	13
Total	100	100

the idea of finding family accommodation near their respective places of employment was almost impossible. They believed that family units would be outside their affordable range.

Table 4.6 Respondents' Length of Stay at Hostel

Length of Stay	Number	Percentage
1 - 5 Years	20	20
6 - 10 Years	36	36
11 - 15 Years	44	44
Total	100	100

4.2.6 Length of stay at the Hostel

When the migratory labour system was in force to optimise the capitalist economic options, the hostel population was very unstable. It came as no surprise in the study that 79 per cent of the respondents had stayed in their respective hostels for a period ranging between six and fifteen years. Five years and below represented only 20 per cent.

4.2.7 Hostel preferences

The reasons for preferring hostel accommodation ranged from the proximity of the hostel to places of employment, rent being affordable, to the lack of alternative accommodation at the time of their arrival from the rural areas.

Table 4.7 Respondents' Preference for Hostel Accommodation

Reason for Preference	Number	Percentage
Rent affordable	23	23
Close to work	20	20
No alternative accommodation	57	57
Total	100	100

4.3 LEISURE AND RECREATION

During the study it was noted that hostel residents had no access to limited sports facilities in their own areas. After a hard day's work the hostel residents had nowhere to ease off tension as

Table 4.8 Importance of Sports Facilities to Hostel Residents

Value of Facility	Number	Percentage
Important	36	36
Absolutely Important	43	43
Not Important	11	11
Not Sure	10	10
Total	100	100

these facilities were monopolised by local associations which protected the interest of non-hostel residents. The younger respondents found this situation both frustrating and unacceptable.

Table 4.9. shows that only 6,6 per cent of the respondents said the facilities provided were adequate while 2,2 per cent believed they were fairly adequate. The majority of the respondent comprising 76,6 per cent believed that the facilities were not only inadequate but also required upgrading, while 16,6 per cent were not sure.

It came out in the study that the better educated young respondents believed that participation in sports served a good purpose for the well being of an individual. Soccer at 66,6 per cent proved to be the most popular sport, while boxing and weight lifting scored 10 per cent each. Tennis rated 3,3 per cent.

Table 4.9 Respondents' view on Existing Sports Facilities

Rating of facilities	Number	Percentage
Adequate	7	7
Fairly Adequate	2	2
Not Adequate	75	75
Not Sure	16	16
Total	100	100

Table 4.10 Personal Benefit from Participation

PERSONAL VALUE RATING	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Environment Appreciation	30	30
Escape from Boredom	30	30
No Benefit	10	10
Just Fun	27	27
Hardens Negative Attitudes	3	3
Total	100	100

Table 4.10 indicates that 30 per cent of the respondents believed that participation in sports recreational facilities were subject to the dictates of space, time and proper planning with regard to land use. This was one of many challenges that the new Durban Metropolitan Council had to face. The respondents believed that from participation an individual derived environmental appreciation. Another 30 per cent held a view that participation enabled people to escape boredom, while 27 per cent felt one derived fun from participation. Ten per cent stated that no benefits were derived from participation in sports. Sixteen per cent believed that participation enhanced self-esteem, while 80 per cent of the respondents were of an opinion that it improved interpersonal relationships. A small percentage (3 per cent) believed that participation in contact sports hardened ill feelings and participants tended to react aggressively to members of opposing teams.

Table 4.11 Social Benefits From Participation

Societal Rating Benefits	Number	Percentage
Friendship Group Develop	63	63
Common Problems Solved Easier	23	23
Larger Communities Develop	13	13
Total	100	100

Table 4.11 above shows that 63 per cent of the respondents attached great value to sports participation because it promoted friendship across a broad spectrum. Twenty three per cent believed that through participation other life skill and individual talents were identified and used to solve common problems. Thirteen per cent were of an opinion that participation in sports resulted in the development of larger communities in which common values and norms were shared, regardless of the geographical distance. Over 70 per cent believed that recreational environment induced a better understanding of man-environment relationship, while 30 per cent saw outdoor participation as improving the understanding and the value of social clubs.

4.4 PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH HOSTEL LIVING

4.4.1 Diminished self-esteem

Table 4.13 indicates that 66,6 per cent of the respondents believed that participation in sports could enable hostel residents to unwind and open up to each other and the problems of

alienation/isolation and anonymity could be overcome. In the absence of meaningful interaction among the hostel residents, 23,3 per cent believed that mutual suspicion developed, while 3,3, per cent complained about a state of withdrawal which was so obvious among the hostel residents. Six per cent of the respondents observed that a lack of meaningful and constructive communication caused decreasing self-confidence. Seventy per cent attributed perpetual anonymity to a lack of interaction among the hostel residents, while 30 per cent blamed deepening feelings of isolation to a lack of meaningful interaction among residents who might have been nurtured in communal backgrounds.

Table 4.12 Problems of Anonymity and Alienation

Rating of Problems	Number	Percentage
Non-sharing of Problems	67	67
Growing Mutual Suspicion	23	23
State of Withdrawal	3	3
Decreasing Self-confidence	7	7
Total	100	100

The respondents believed that there was a high incidence of liquor and drug abuse in the hostels, reaching nearly 67 per cent (Table 4.13). This , to some extent, accounted for violent crime. Sexual deviance which was one of the problems associated with hostel life, was rated at 10 per cent. About 23 percent were alienated, and thus resorting to quiet brooding and self-pity, while 77 per cent experienced problems of distorted self-concept and

split personality resulting in some of the residents resigning themselves into despair. These problems were believed to be compounded by soaring unemployment in these areas.

Table 4.13 Social Pathological Problems in Hostel Settings

Rating Social Problems	Number	Percentage
Liquor and Drug Abuse	67	66
Sexual Deviance	10	10
Alienation/Quiet Brooding	23	23
Total	100	100

4.4.2 Public Opinion about the Hostels

Table 4.14 shows that 23 per cent of the respondents held a view that hostels were characteristically associated with hooliganism, social disorganisation and disorderliness, while 30 per cent stated that hostels were specifically identified with violence. Sixty-four per cent of the respondents were of a view that these problems were exacerbated by their inability to own property and general exclusion from decision making structures. Thirty seven per cent felt that their life in the hostels was further compounded by public prejudice against them.

Table 4.14 The General Perception of the Public of the Hostels

Rating of Public Perceptions	No.	Percentage
Hooliganism	23	23
Social Disorganisation	23	23
Disorderliness	23	23
Violence	30	30
Total	100	100

4.4.3 Accommodation Problems

Table 4.15 indicates that 50 per cent of the respondents believed that problems associated with maladjustment could be overcome if adequate provision of accommodation for visiting families from rural areas is ensured, while 23 per cent of them suggested that the hostel residents must be actively encouraged to open up and discuss their problems among themselves. Another 27 per cent felt strongly that the problem of maladjustment could be overcome if hostel residents were organised into social clubs. Only 16 per cent of the respondents believed that hostels under review were adequately provided with accommodation for visiting wives. Eighty-four per cent said the hostels did not have enough accommodation for visiting wives. This problem of visiting wives accommodation can be illustrated as follows:

Table 4.15 Lack of Adequate Accommodation and Adjustment Problems

Rating Accommodation Problems	No.	Percentage
Visited More Frequently by Families	50	50
Actively Encouraged to Share Problems	23	23
Socially Organised	27	26
Total	100	100

Table 4.16 Rooms for Visiting Wives in the Hostels

Hostel	No. of Residents	Visiting Rooms	Ratio
Glebe	12 276	95	1:129
Dalton	1 500	33	1:46
Jacobs	889	9	1:99
S.J. Smith	4 269	50	1:85

Sixty seven per cent of the respondents felt that additional accommodation should be provided for children who might want to accompany their visiting mothers especially during school holidays. Twenty-three per cent did not think this was necessary. Another problem that was highlighted during the study was that bookings for visiting wives accommodation were made nearly two to three weeks in advance. This situation significantly contributed to phenomenal growth of informal settlements where hostel residents could enjoy family life.

4.5 FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH FAMILIES

4.5.1 Frequency of visits by wives and children

It was revealed in the study that 13 per cent of the wives of the respondents managed to visit their husbands residing at the hostels once a month. This small percentage consisted of those hostel residents who either had relatives in the neighbouring townships or shacks in the informal settlements. Ten per cent were visited by wives bimonthly, while 40 per cent came to visit their husbands when invited. Twenty-six per cent came when there was an emergency. This group consisted of respondents with strong rural orientation. According to 77 per cent of the respondents interviewed, children were keen to accompany their visiting mothers. Forty seven per cent of respondents whose families depend on subsistence farming believed that visits by their wives should be after harvesting.

4.5.2 Frequency of visits to rural homes by hostel residents

Sixty per cent of the respondents interviewed visited their rural homes once a month, while six per cent and ten per cent visited their homes bimonthly and quarterly respectively. Sixteen per cent from other provinces visited rural homes twice a year. Forty per cent respondents who had better education were hopeful that they would acquire family accommodation when funds became available, while fifty per cent would not be interested as they were looking forward to retire in their rural homes.

4.6 HOSTEL RESIDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE NEW POLITICAL ORDER

Table 4.17 Hostel Residents Political Life

Political Activity	No	Percentage
Active in Politics	20	20
No Role in Politics	40	40
Passive Interest Only	40	40
Total	100	100

A mere glance at the above table shows that only twenty per cent stated that they were politically active, while forty per cent of the respondents played no role in politics. Forty per cent showed passive interest only.

The general trend at the hostels was, according to eighty five per cent of the respondents, that political issues were discussed within circles of close friends and relatives. They believed that, with the escalation of political violence, it was almost suicidal to engage strangers in party political discussions. Without exception all those who were interviewed in the study stated that they were aware that the ANC and the IFP were campaigning for territorial supremacy. These campaigns had resulted in violent clashes and many residents being displaced.

Seventy per cent of the respondents in the study believed that newly democratically elected Councillors were genuinely committed to improving the quality of life of the communities

in their sphere of influence. This group felt that the Councillors deserved to be given a chance to prove their effectiveness. Twenty per cent consisted of people with guarded optimism regarding the effectiveness of the Councillors, while ten per cent showed some sceptism. This group believed that the majority of Councillors tended to lose touch with the people on the ground. All the hostel residents who participated in the study recognised the need for practical hands-on experience in developing their hostel grown leaders in the Durban Metropolitan Council.

Table 4.18 Councillors' Role as Seen by Hostel Residents

Rating Councillors' Effectiveness	No	Percentage
Councillors serve good purpose	70	70
Good to some extent	20	20
Sceptical	10	10
Total	100	100

4.7 THE FORMATION OF THE HOSTEL DWELLERS' ASSOCIATION (HDA)

The church of the Province headed by Father David Russel recognised the need to provide pastoral ministry to the victims of the migrant labour system. The Church had, as its primary objective to build a spirit of self-reliance in tackling needs, solving problems and healing the wounds caused by the system. This was in 1983 when HDA was born in Cape Town. Organising previously unorganised people proved to be a difficult task. This accounted for a long delay between formation of the Association in 1983 and its official

launching in 1985. Various projects undertaken by the Association were funded by various agents such as the Australian, British and Canadian embassies, international trade union groups, church organisations locally and abroad, and some American philanthropic foundations (Ramphele, 1993).

In order to remain in tune with broader political issues, the HDA established and maintained close contacts with local civics, trade union and political organisations. The concept of consultation and thus bringing all stakeholders on board with regard to the upgrading of the hostels, was echoed throughout South Africa's metropolitan areas. The participation of hostel residents in all stages of the upgrading programme marked the birth of democracy in these previously isolated entities.

On 20 February 1992, the Natal Provincial government, the civics, political groups trade unions, business, financial institutions and consultants formed an all inclusive body called "The Natal Hostel Initiatives Steering Committee". This Committee prepared local level guidelines for the upgrading. For this purpose, money was channelled by the Central Government through the Natal Provincial Administration, and the latter retained the responsibility and accountability.

At local level Work Groups were established to safeguard local interests and monitor progress. This was clearly a turning point in the lives of the hostel residents in South Africa. It was hardly surprising that hostel grown leaders emerged and demanded concrete results on the pressing issues relative to improving the physical environment of the hostels and the quality of life of the residents.

Like the HDA in the Cape Province, NAHORA and KHORA played a significant role in urging the state to provide funds for the upgrading of the hostels in KwaZulu Natal, more specifically in the Durban Metropolitan areas. Both these two organisations, tried without success, to convince the general public that they were apolitical.

The recruiting of people who had not been organised before, people who had strong rural orientation proved to be an uphill struggle. Another problem that the two organisation had to overcome, was to bury their hatchets and reach a common position with regard to the upgrading programme, how to deal with the question of displaced hostel residents due to political violence, and how to ensure that peace was restored. Needless to say where a common position could not be reached no development was possible. In the interest of development and transformation, opposing elements had to find each and share a common vision.

4.8 THE ROLE OF HOSTEL GROWN LEADERS

In the Durban Metropolitan hostels two major organisations have played a significant role in articulating the needs of the hostel residents, and these organisations are NAHORA and KHORA. Both organisations managed to sort out their differences and reached a consensus that the appalling conditions obtaining in the hostels should be attended to as a matter of extreme urgency. Seventy per cent of the respondents believed that a marriage of convenience between the two organisations facilitated participation of all role players in the upgrading programme in a manner that surpassed all earlier expectations. Thirty per cent of the respondents held a view that interaction between the two organisations should be

encouraged to work together towards transformation. The hostel residents in each of the five hostels under review, had, through Local Negotiating Groups, assumed the full ownership of the upgrading programmes. Also identified by hostel residents as an important breakthrough in the process of transformation, was the discovery of leadership talents particularly among the younger section of the hostel residents. The reasons offered by some hostel residents for this, ranged from better education, higher level of mobility to relative ability to network with other interest groups. NAHORA and KHORA were, as indicated earlier, believed to be affiliates of IFP and ANC respectively.

Sixty eight per cent of the respondents interviewed felt that both single and family accommodation should exist side by side. This group believed that for the process of transformation to maintain its momentum, hostel residents should be consulted for their inputs. The members of this group were involved at all stages of the upgrading programme and this was seen as a significant positive change which came with the newly established Durban Metropolitan Council. It was noted by this group that informed decisions would be possible if the Council interacted with people on the ground.

4.9 THE VOTING PATTERN IN THE 1996 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

The percentage poll in the 1996 Durban Transitional Metropolitan and Substructure Councils was about 46 percent. This varied from ward to ward. There was a total of 12 political parties taking part in the election. Many of these had insignificant number of voters. Only the 5 political parties that had significant votes will be discussed in this dissertation. The total votes cast for each of the major political parties is illustrated in Table 4.19. Ironically,

the five hostels were treated by the Demarcation Board as Black constituencies despite their proximity to historically White designated areas.

TABLE 4.19 TOTAL VOTES CAST BY SUBSTRUCTURE AND MAJOR PARTY

Substruct	Party Votes					
	ANC	IFP	NP	MP	DP	TOTAL
NC	81857	27007	41856	10462	10747	171929
SC	82723	23668	40696	12316	4892	164295
IW	43830	5498	21504	3574	7128	81534
N	7445	3679	8655	4035	3147	26961
OW	32223	5175	6529	464	4468	48859
S	12874	4275	9270	1461	968	28848
TOTAL	260952	69302	128510	32312	31350	522426

The total votes cast in the Durban Metropolitan Area for the Substructures amounted to 544032. The total of 522426 votes that were cast for these five parties constitutes about 96 percent of the total votes cast (Table 4.20). This means that the other seven political parties not appearing on Tables 4.19 and 4.20 shared only 4 percent of the total votes.

The total number of registered voters for the South Central substructure was 386784. The number of registered voters from the four Hostels in this substructure was 22198, which is

Table 4.20 Percentage Votes Cast by Substructure and Major Party

Substruct	Party Votes					
	ANC	IFP	NP	MP	DP	TOTAL
NC	46.3	15.3	23.7	5.9	6.1	97.2
SC	48.4	13.9	23.8	7.2	2.9	96.2
IW	50.8	6.4	24.9	4.1	8.3	94.5
N	26.8	13.3	31.2	14.5	11.3	97.2
OW	62.9	10.1	12.7	0.9	8.7	95.4
S	41.1	13.7	29.7	4.7	3.1	92.3
TOTAL	48	12.7	23.6	5.9	5.8	96

Table 4.21 Voting Pattern of the Hostel Residents in the South Central Substructure

Hostel	Registered voters	% poll	Majority Party	Votes	% majority
Dalton Road	1124	53	IFP	561	94
S.J. Smith	4649	47	ANC	1559	71
Glebe	9410	40	ANC	3445	91
Umlazi T	7015	57	IFP	3730	93
TOTAL	22198	49.3		9295	

5.7 percent that of the substructure. The total votes cast for all the parties in the substructure was 170 843 of which 9295 or 5.4 percent are from the hostel residents. This shows the significance of the votes from the hostels. This is especially so because each hostel forms a ward.

The hostel votes were shared by the IFP and the ANC. The hostel vote was more significant in the case of the IFP in the South Central substructure. Here the IFP gained only 23668 votes (Table 4.19); of which 5124 (21.6 percent) came from the hostels. What is more significant is that it gained two seats from the two hostels in which it had a majority. The other significant factor of the hostel voters is that they are characteristically "unanimous" in their voting. Either the IFP or the ANC gets a landslide victory. It is common knowledge that the two political parties are not ready yet to co-exist in the same camp. Those who are in the minority survive by keeping a low profile or seek accommodation elsewhere.

4.10 THE MULTIPARTY COMPOSITION OF THE DURBAN METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

The new Durban Metropolitan Council consists of members who were of different political and ideological persuasions. Like the first and second tiers of governments, the Council is a multiparty body. It was considered important for the study to focus, inter alia on those factors which might foist sustainable team spirit among the councillors despite their political affiliations. The process of transformation brought on board 80 per cent of the councillors who were drawn from the civics and other activists structures, while 20 per cent were from

community development forums. Forty per cent of the councillors were political party candidates, while 60 per cent were constituency candidates.

Ninety-five per cent of the councillors who participated in the study feared that their newly found democracy would contend with problems ranging from political posturing, lack of commitment to common vision to open hostility and walk outs. Eighty -eight per cent, however believed that their initial pessimism was unfounded as all members of the new council were committed to promoting and maintaining cordial working relationships. Twelve per cent, however seemed to be sceptical about the viability of the new partnership.

The respondents comprising 95 per cent believed that, for the new Council to be effective, its members had to rise above party politics and consider what was in the best interest of electorate. Ninety-nine per cent of the members of Council interviewed held a strong view that racially based local governments perpetuated apartheid policies. Eighty-nine per cent of the respondents were of an opinion that the experience obtained by councillors who also served racially based councils, would strengthen the new Council, while eleven per cent argued that the previous experience would have no bearing on the business of the new Council. Without exception, all the respondents stated that for the transformation to yield the desired results, the councillors should interact with the communities so that the needs could be identified with the affected people. Ninety-eight per cent of the respondents believed that culture, religion, race, sex and values might separate or draw people closer. All the respondents were in agreement that the Council's effectiveness would be greatly enhanced if the advantage of cultural diversity, collective wisdom drawn from the past and commitment to change, was taken into consideration. The respondents comprising 100 per

cent in the study were adamant that the disestablished councils were illegitimate and lacked community participation. In this regard they operated by imposing their decisions on the people. According to eighty-five per cent of the respondents believed that all black designated areas, in terms of the previous policies, had no prospects of viability as they had no tax base. Seconded officials were believed to be lacking genuine commitment. Identified as the main ingredient to ensure the success of the Council, was that the members of the Council should break from the past ideologies, co-operate with each other and support the Masakhane drive. All those who participated in the study stated that the imbalances in the so called black areas, could be successfully tackled if the affected people were involved in the identification of their own needs. This group also believed that as members of Council, they were required to find and allocate funds so that urgent attention could be given to the problems of spatial inequalities.

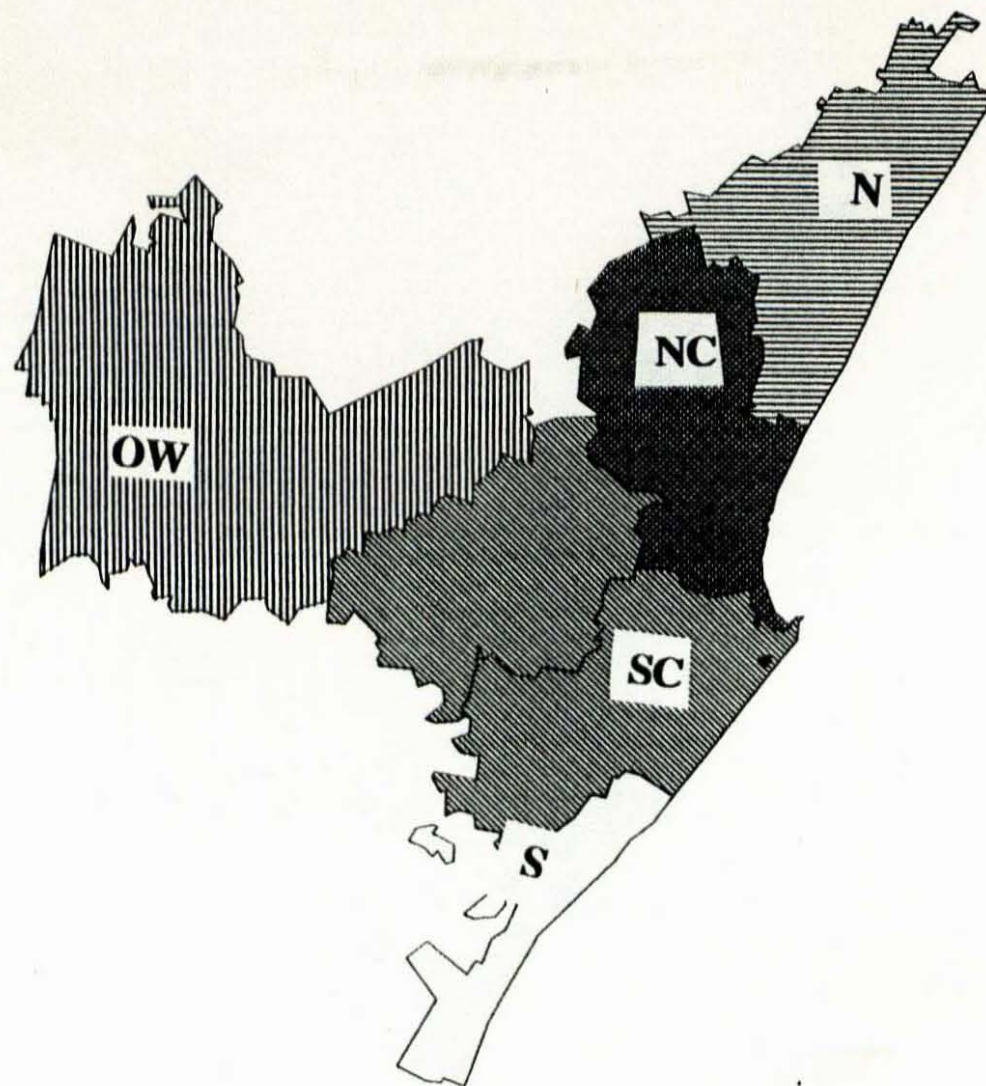
Almost 99 per cent of the members of the Council stated that they would continue to enjoy the support of the electorate, if, inter alia, services improved, community empowerment programmes were initiated and the principle of transparency was upheld. All the members of Council were in accord that they were not expected to react to change as and when it occurred, nor were they expected to manage conflict when it arose, but they should deliberately provoke and direct change positively.

Given the history of the hostels and years of neglect 100 per cent of the members of Council interviewed accepted that these areas required urgent attention. Also identified by 80 per cent of the members of Council as priorities were appropriate steps to deal with soaring crime wave, increasing urban unemployment, state of lawlessness and street children.

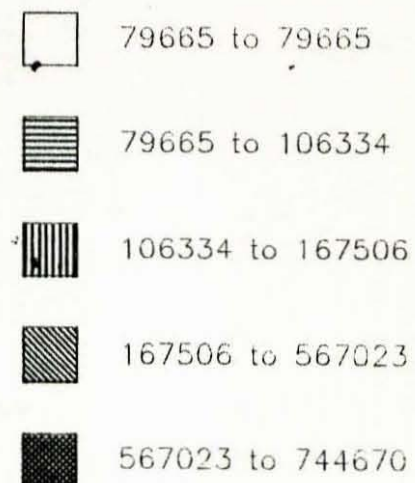
DURBAN METRO AREA

Total Population

FIG. 4.1



Legend



Source: Population Census – HSRC

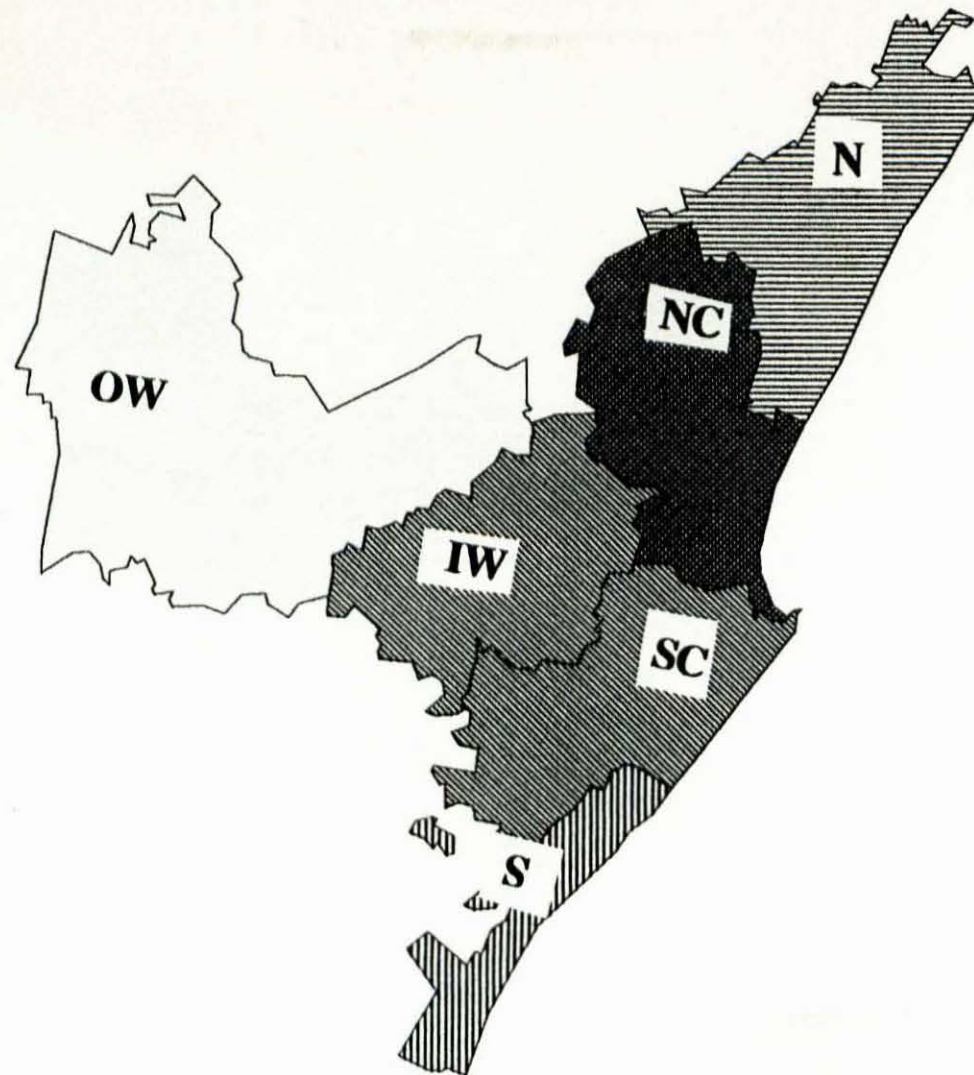
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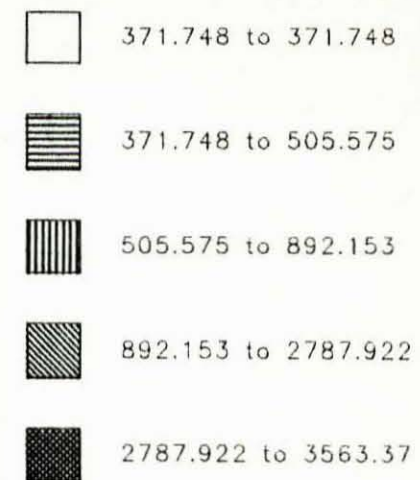
DURBAN METRO AREA

Population Density

FIG. 4. 2

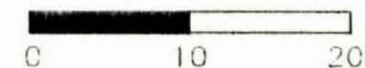


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Source: Population Census — HSRC

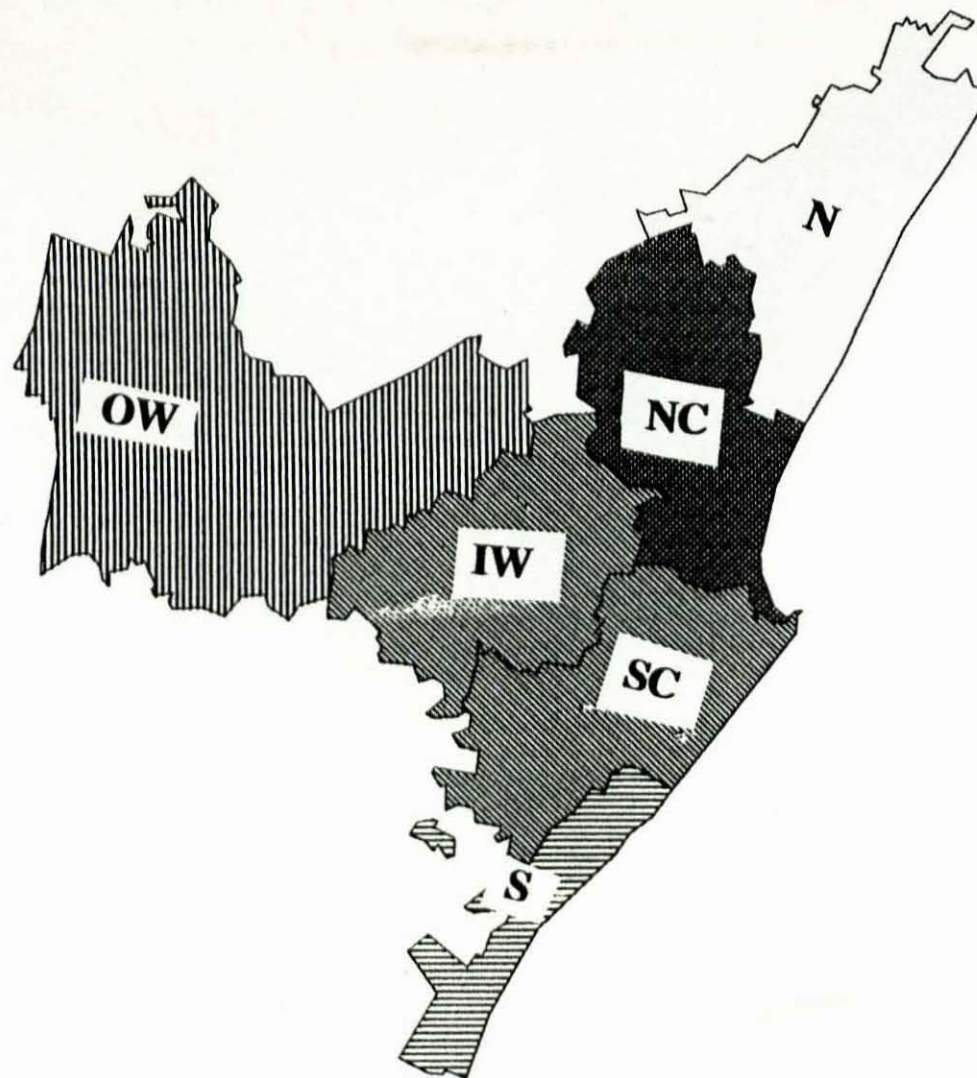
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DURBAN METRO AREA

Black Population

FIG. 4.3

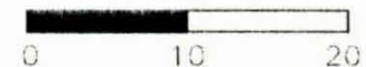


Legend

	21320 to 21320
	21320 to 22047
	22047 to 130883
	130883 to 252287
	252287 to 405619

Source: Population Census – HSRC

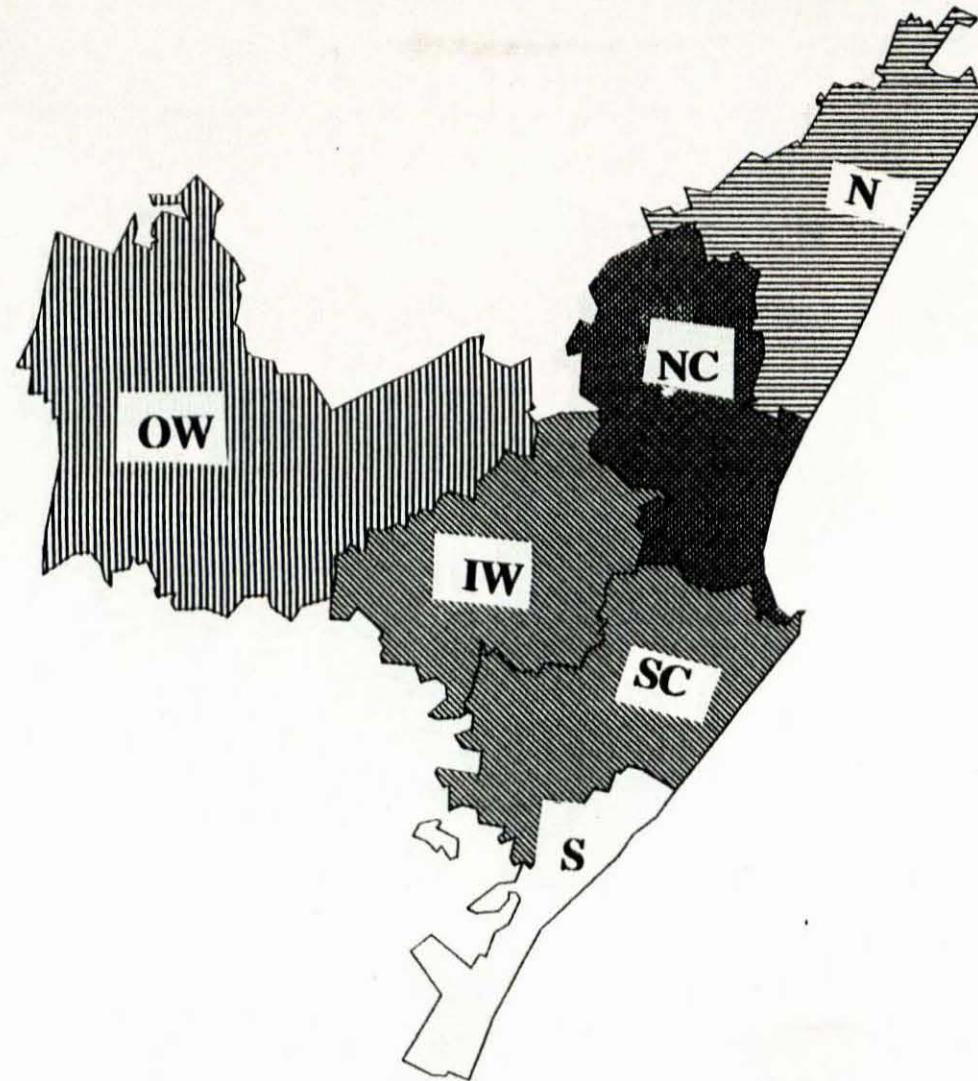
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DURBAN METRO AREA

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PEOPLE

FIG. 4.4



Legend

	35343 to 35343
	35343 to 46037
	46037 to 70445
	70445 to 262362
	262362 to 346763

Source: Population Census – HSRC

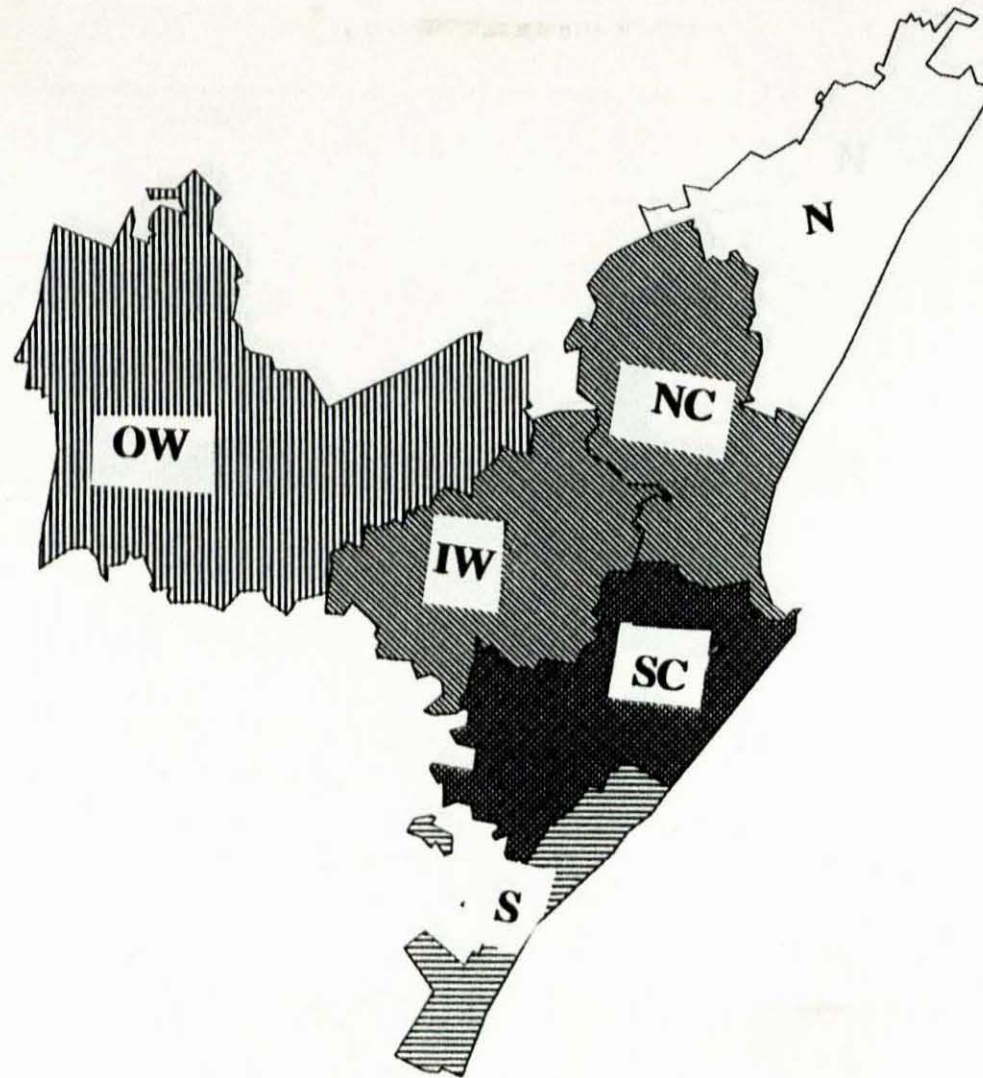
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0 10 20

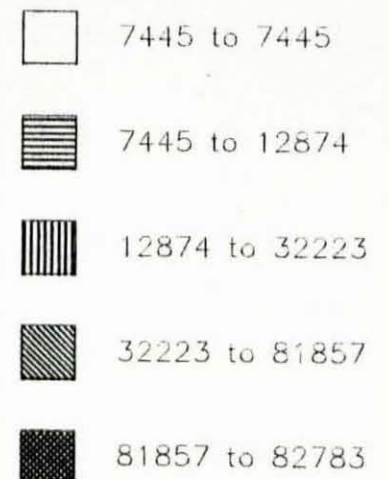
DURBAN METRO AREA

ANC VOTES

FIG. 4.5

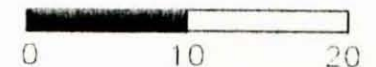


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Source: Population Census – HSRC

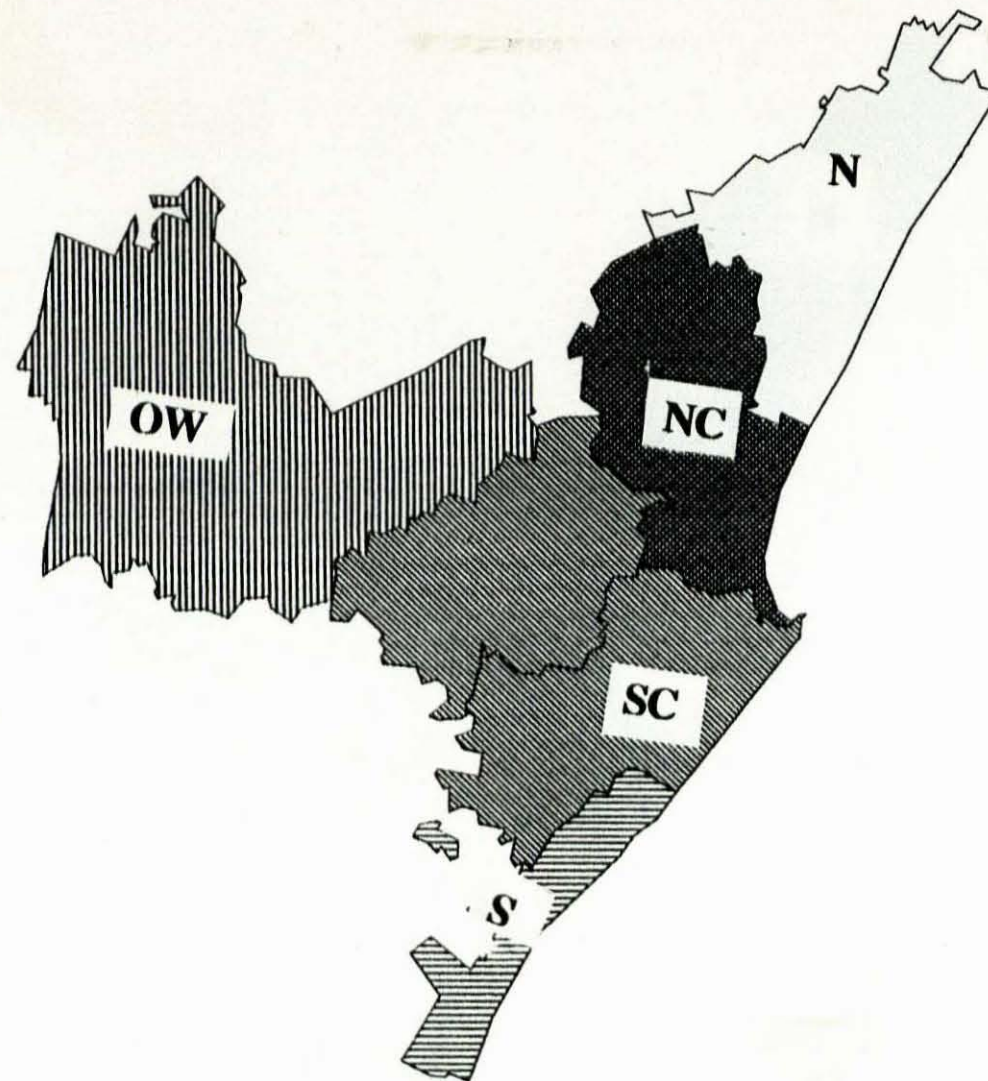
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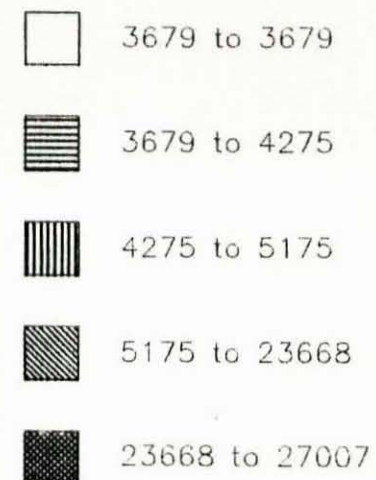
DURBAN METRO AREA

IFP VOTES

FIG. 4.6

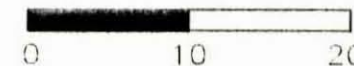


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Source: Population Census — HSRC

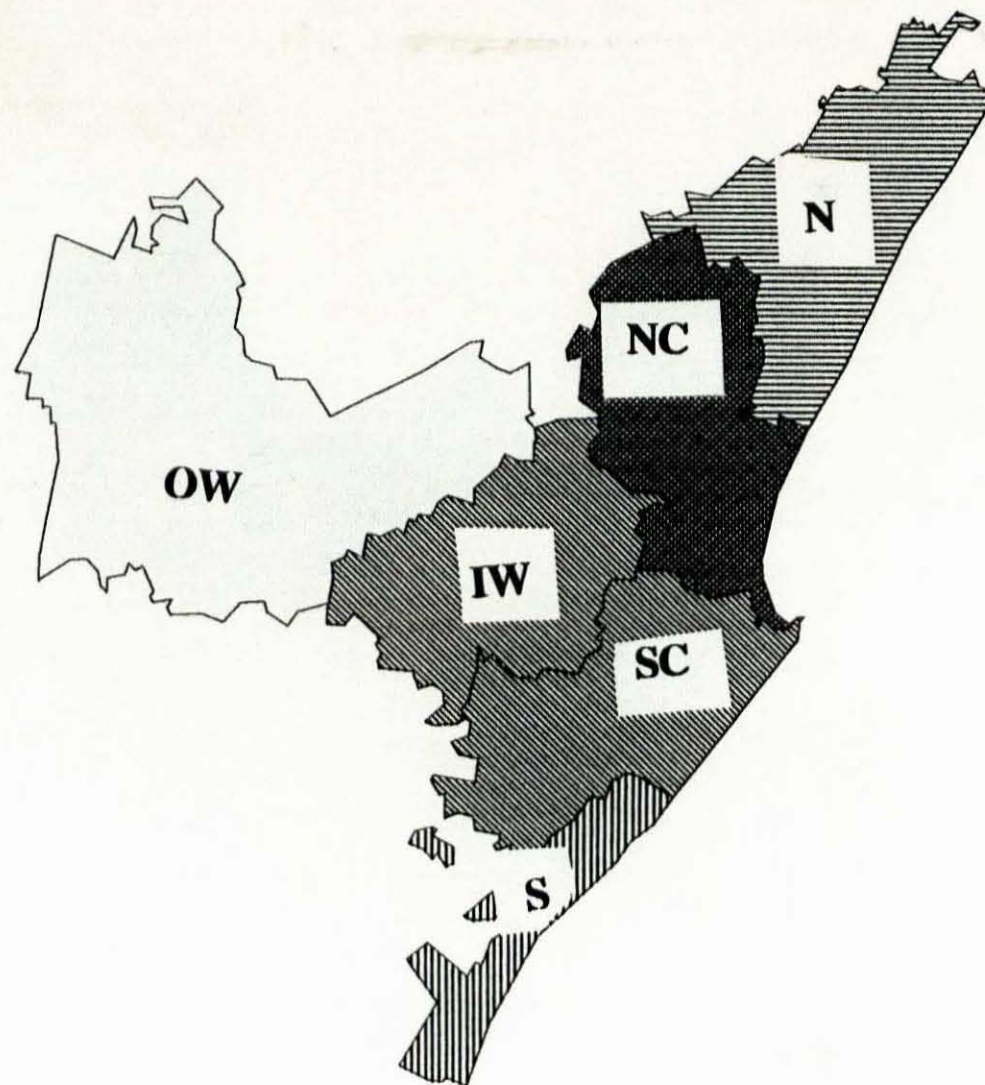
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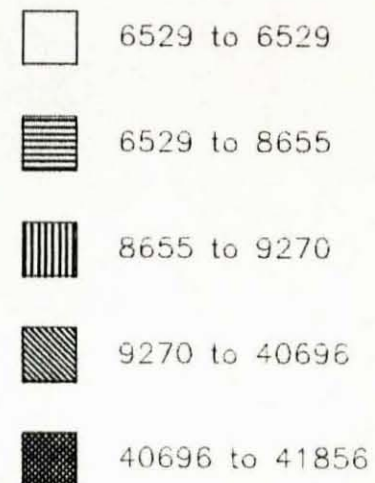
DURBAN METRO AREA

NP VOTES

FIG. 4.7

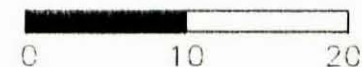


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Source: Population Census – HSRC

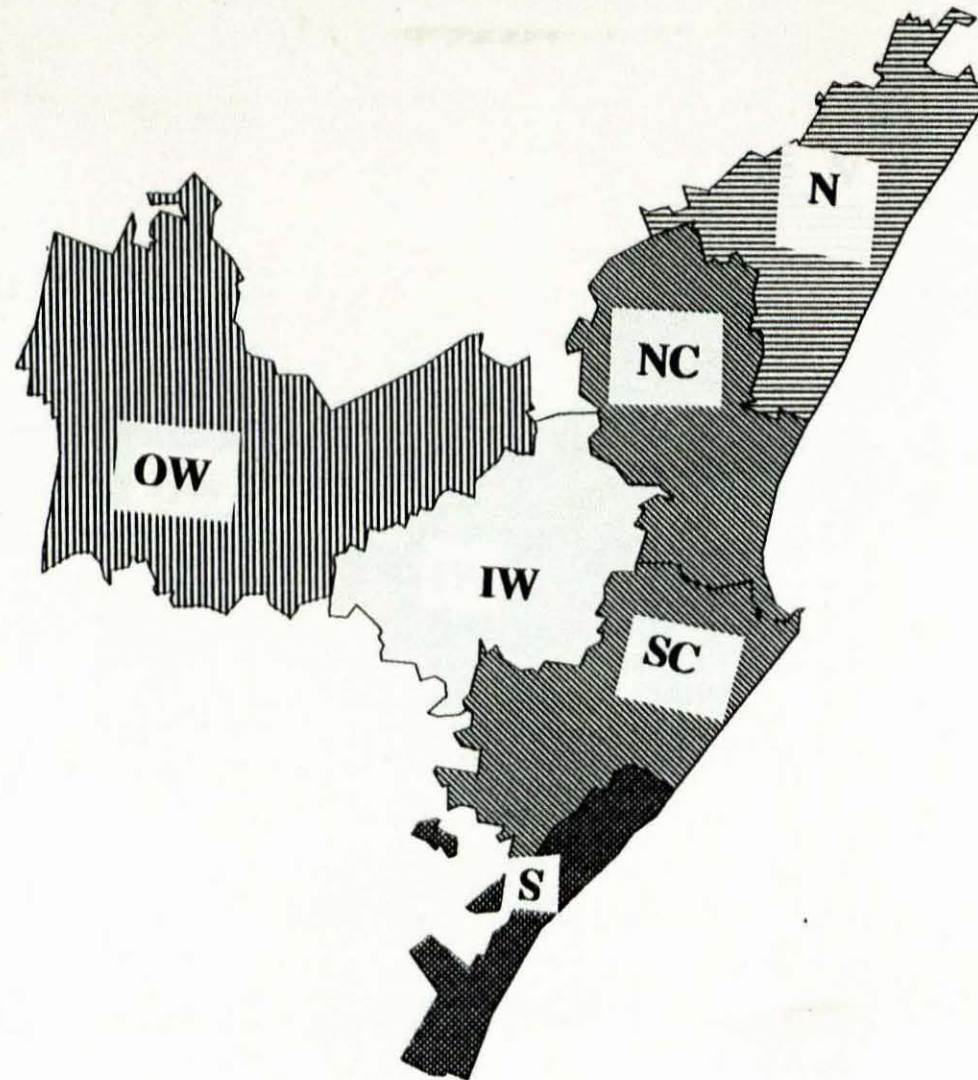
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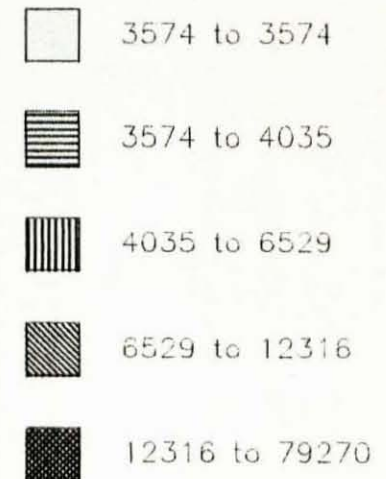
DURBAN METRO AREA

MINORITY FRONT VOTES

FIG. 4.8

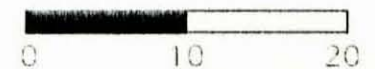


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Source: Population Census – HSRC

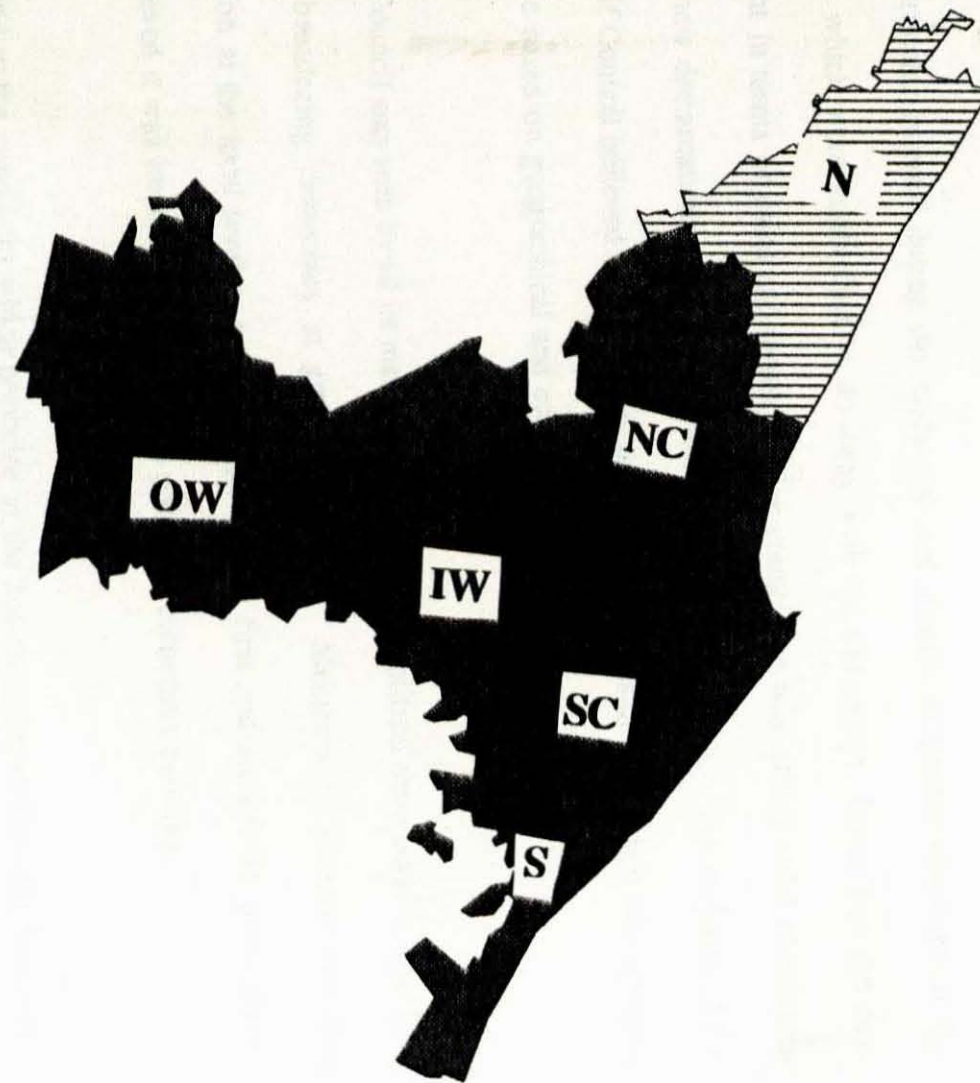
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DURBAN METRO AREA

MAJORITY PARTY

FIG. 4.9

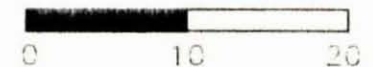


Legend



Source: Population Census – HSRC

Km



There was a consensus among the members of Council that, communities could benefit from the transformation if, among other things, they accepted that, improved service delivery gave rise to a corresponding responsibility on their part.

Seventy-seven per cent of the members of Council who participated in the study, expressed concern about socio-economic problems facing the City of Durban and how these would impact on tourism and foreign investments.

Also of particular interest during the study was the attitude of certain members to the boundaries which were established to do away with the old order. Some saw the new arrangement in terms of gains and losses. Other councillors with strong rural orientation perceived new demarcations as a threat to tribal leadership structure. The majority of the members of Council believed that, in reality the new boundaries of the Durban Metropolitan areas, were based on geographical and economic considerations.

The new Council was seen by all its members as facilitating political devolution at local level and also broadening democracy at grass roots level. Members of Council saw their participation at the local level as a training ground for first and second tier participation. They believed it was important to promote a policy of consensus building.

With regard to the conditions which prevailed at the hostels under review, the members of Council believed that the situation could be improved by, among other things, speeding up the upgrading programme. Along with the physical improvement of the hostel, the members felt that the hostel residents should be prepared to pay revised tariffs.

Some members of Council, about 50 per cent, believed that the current upgrading that is taking place at the hostels should also include the provision of family accommodation, while the other 50 per cent supported the status quo.

Know your new councillors . . .

South Central Ward Representatives



Ward 3SCA1
R Ramdheen



Ward 3SCA2
B H Jacobs



Ward 3SCA3
H Blom



Ward 3SCA4
M Riddle



Ward 3SCA5
T G Wright



Ward 3SCA6
K M Nair



Ward 3SCA7
S Rajbally



Ward 3SCA8
C V Murugen



Ward 3SCA9
K Pillay



Ward 3SCA10
B Govender



Ward 3SCA10
G Govindsamy



Ward 3SCA12
G Moopanar



Ward 3SCA13
S Pillay



Ward 3SCA14
N Rajaram



Ward 3SCA15
M D Prentice



Ward 3SCA16
S M Burrows



Ward 3SCA17
G N Oldfield



Ward 3SCA18
J D Alizart



Ward 3SCB1
S S Zungu



Ward 3SCB2
C B Zulu



Ward 3SCB3
M J Mazeka



Ward 3SCB4
B M Mhlongo



Ward 3SCB5
S N Gumede



Ward 3SCB6
F F Mkhize



Ward 3SCB7
B E Xulu



Ward 3SCB8
G M Sithole



Ward 3SCB9
B L A Mncube



Ward 3SCB10
M S Nyawose



Ward 3SCB11
M J Nene



Ward 3SCB12
M S Ntuli



Ward 3SCB13
M I Nkala



Ward 3SCB14
T G Ntuli



Ward 3SCB15
T Mthembu



Ward 3SCB16
K M T Mavundla



Ward 3SCB17
N T Gumede



Ward 3SCB17
M B Mkhungo

South Central Elected Party Candidates



E R Ezra



M Govender



B P Jaglal



T Jokweni



T P Majola



N A Maphalala



J G Maree



E I Moola



J M Mile



O T Mlaba



N Moodley



R Morar



P P N Mshengu



N F Mvuyana



M P Naidoo



S Naidoo



F P Ngobese



C S Pillay



B D Prinsloo



L A Raynard



N F Shabalala



K R Shezi



I D Vorster



P Zulu



E Z Zuma

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 EVALUATION

The hypothesis postulated in this study were:

- (a) Hostels were created by the previous government to control migrant labour and to ensure the continued supply of low cost labour for capitalist production.
- (b) With the emergence of the new political order, it is expected that hostel residents will demand more freedom, privacy and the right to be visited by their families, or choose to live with their families.
- (c) Hostel residents tend to vote for the parties that appeal to their aspirations.

This chapter is concerned with the evaluation of the hypotheses against empirical evidence.

5.1.1 Hypothesis One : Hostels were created by the previous government to control migrant labour and to ensure the continued supply of low cost labour for capitalist production.

From inception hostels had always been associated with the highest forms of racial discrimination. This hypothesis is supported by Levy (1982). Savage (1986) mentions the

Group Areas Act as a means of controlling the influx of Blacks in the urban areas. Further support of this hypothesis is given in the report of the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (1983).

In the post apartheid era, the existence of the hostels was in view of a severe housing backlog, a necessary evil. In 1985, for instance, the study by the Urban Foundation revealed that South Africa needed one million units in order to overcome the backlog. According to the study, approximately three million people lived in houses that did not conform to acceptable standards. Between 1976 and 1984 the government built in black townships only 3,702 houses, despite the phenomenal population growth of approximately one million. In the Durban Metropolitan areas nearly two million people were forced to live in informal settlements.

The stringent regulations to which hostel residents were subjected all pointed at controlling them physically and isolating them economically, socially and mentally. They were treated by the authorities as outsiders and their township counterparts as insiders. In many ways hostel residents enjoyed severely reduced legal status in the urban environment. Although they lived side by side with their township neighbours, they were treated by the law differently.

This situation generated tensions between the two sectors. Hostel residents were harassed in the township by both the law enforcement organs and the general public. This, however, could not be said of the township residents who freely visited the hostels. Levy, (1982) notes that hostel residents were treated as prisoners and were denied access to the outside world.

There is undoubtedly ample documented evidence that hostels were instituted to serve the state and capitalism. The migrant worker who was systematically denied a forum to articulate his needs was told that these would be provided for by his homeland government. He was literally cordoned off from external influence.

There was thus no meaningful exchange of information between him and the outside world. This severely limited his ability to compare and make informed decisions about his life. For a long time during his stay, he was made to see pressure groups, labour movements, and civics as undesirable forces which were out to manipulate him.

Dlamuka (1994) observes that the migrant worker arrives in the city ill-equipped with regard to education and technical skills. According to Ramphela (1993) the low education of hostel residents is a reflection also of the relative poverty of the rural areas which have been systematically impoverished over years of migrant labour and under provision of basic education facilities. The migrant workers whose rural educational environment is systematically impoverished join the ranks of unskilled and low income earners on arrival in the city. Low paying menial jobs are performed by this category of workers whose impoverished rural background predisposes them to exploitation in all aspects of their stay in the city. Their families left in the rural area, hardly benefit from the kraal-heads' gainful employment. The meagre income is just about enough to pay rent, basic food, and bus or train tickets.

It is therefore clear that **Hypothesis one** as presented in the study is valid.

5.1.2 Hypothesis Two: With the emergence of the new political order, it is expected that hostel residents will demand more freedom, privacy and the right of be visited by their families, or to choose to live with their families.

With the emergence of a new political order, as Van Onselen (1982) aptly notes, the Hostel residents are demanding programmes that will address poverty and acute spatial inequalities. It was quite natural that the demise of the old political order, and the birth of democracy brought in its wake resurgence of hope with regard to service delivery by the Durban Metropolitan Council. The question of the political goals of a Black man is highlighted by Heymans and Totemeyer (1988).

Hostel residents who had been previously excluded from participation in governing bodies which formulated policies, which affected their lives, expected changes to come with a big bang. The spade work preceding the formulation and finalisation of the upgrading programme, and the resultant delays in the implementation, are not understood by ordinary hostel residents who tend to be intolerant and even suspicious of the officials' intention when conducting social surveys in order to establish their needs and income profile. The establishment of local negotiating groups whose task is to safeguard the interests and monitor the upgrading programme, is, due to politics, a difficult task. In some instances the legitimacy of a local negotiating groups is challenged on the question of its inclusivity.

Sometimes consultants and project managers who have been awarded a tender to upgrade a

particular hostel, get frustrated with some members of the group who tend to manipulate the situation for party political gains. The KwaZulu Finance Corporation was awarded a contract to upgrade Glebe hostel in 1993, and because the hostel interest groupings failed to resolve their ideological differences, the above company had no option but to pull out in 1995.

During the study it became clear that the hostel residents aligned with the ANC views regarding the upgrading programme, expressed themselves in favour of 50 per cent of hostel accommodation being converted to family units. They contended that this would be a significant break from the apartheid era. Also top on their list was that, the upgrading programme should focus on improving the quality of life of these areas by affording the residents more privacy.

Although the respondents who were sympathetic to the IFP were in favour of the general upgrading programme, they were not supportive of the idea of converting hostel accommodation to family units. They however felt that more visiting wives accommodation should be provided within these areas. It is common knowledge that the hostels have always been regarded as the IFP strongholds, and they therefore feared that changes suggested by the ANC were designed to weaken their power base.

Another argument in favour of converting part of the hostels to family accommodation, was that if this idea was accepted and implemented, levels of violent crime would be reduced, as hostels residents would be owning property.

Some residents believed that because of their poor social-economic status, such changes

would render family accommodation out of their affordable range. They hasten to argue that the change would benefit mostly non-hostel residents who enjoyed more access to home loan schemes. The younger and better educated segment of the hostel residents interviewed during this study, both ANC and IFP were in agreement that hostels should be upgraded in such a way that people should be in a position to exercise their choice with regard to the class of accommodation they wanted.

The reality is that all the four single male hostels visited during the study had, though in varying degrees, women milling around. Their unofficial presence became obvious when the researcher found that part of the Glebe hostel community hall served as a creche for 95 children whose mothers were part of the hostel population.

The fact of the matter is that hostel residents were insisting that they should in terms of the current upgrading programme, be afforded privacy so that their families could have uninhibited access to them. The new Durban Metropolitan Council seemed to be adopting a view that the changes in the housing policy would be based on the needs of the hostel residents themselves.

On taking a closer look at demographic profile of hostel residents, one notices that the majority of the people living in these areas come from KwaZulu Natal, and the dominant language spoken is Zulu. A substantial proportion of the hostel residents originates from the Eastern Province. Each hostel resident or bedholder (Ramphele1993) may have one or three relatives who are sharing space with him. The dependants who are usually unemployed, come from the rural areas.

To survive, this category of people join informal trade, the most popular, being, illicit sale of liquor and drugs.

Ramphela (1993) acknowledges the presence of residents in the hostel, who have the capacity for transformative action. She, however, expresses concern that the influence of these creative hostel residents is limited by the magnitude of the problems around them.

Hypothesis Two is therefore valid.

5.1.3 Hypothesis Three: Hostel residents tend to vote for the parties that appeal to their aspirations.

Episodes of violence in the hostels and the increasing tension between these areas and the neighbouring township, prompted the state to do something about the appalling conditions. In order to avoid the mistakes that the state had made in the past, it acknowledged the fact that members of the newly established democratic council and residents who participated in the study were all in full agreement that the Durban Metropolitan areas were faced with unprecedented challenges. There was also a consensus that the Council was expected to draw from the experience of its senior officials to ensure proactive and strategic planning. The residents believed that the current housing policy and some legal limitations that the hostel residents were faced with, called for the attention of the new Council. It was suggested by the respondents that the proposed provision of family units in the hostels, should be given due attention. There was a general feeling among the respondents that hostels in their present form symbolised discriminatory policies of the past. With the demise of the apartheid system, the Council should, according to the respondents, speed up the

transformation of the hostels.

In the Durban Metropolitan areas the ANC won the elections with an overwhelming majority. In this regard voters expressed their confidence in the ANC-led Council to provoke and manage the process of transformation. Despite the magnitude of the problems that were still to be tackled in the hostels, the hostel residents were showing confidence in their new councillors. With necessary support and co-operation, the hostel residents believed that the councillors would facilitate long overdue changes.

From the empirical analysis of the voting behaviour of hostel residents in Chapter 4, it is clear that the hypothesis presented in the study that Hostel residents tend to vote for the party candidates who appeal to their aspirations, is confirmed.

5.2 SUMMARY

Despite their stigmatised past, hostels will for a long time to come continue to provide accommodation to those workers, who due to their socio-economic circumstances, are absorbed in low skilled menial jobs. Their disadvantaged background and lack of access to basic inputs such as land, building materials and financial assistance, render family accommodation out of affordable range for them. In the study an attempt at highlighting problems that will continue to haunt hostels, was made.

Some of the problems are inherent in the very system of hostels, while others are the effects of social isolation of these areas. What follows, takes the form of a vicious cycle which is

difficult to break. Featuring high on the Durban Metropolitan Council agenda are some of the following problems which have direct bearing on the life of a hostel resident, lack of personal safety, lack of effective access control, and resultant overcrowding, physical deterioration of environment, crime and political violence, etc. The magnitude and the complexity of these problems, makes it difficult to offer a comprehensive package of viable solutions. Each of the five hostels under review are experiencing a phenomenal increase of illegal residents who either come from the rural areas looking for jobs or flee trouble-torn neighbouring areas. The infrastructure which is outdated, is with the extra load, put under severe pressure.

Episodes of violence are to a large extent due to an excess number of people who scramble for limited facilities. Given that the very purpose of upgrading the hostels was a response to the urgent need to improve the quality of life in these areas, and also alleviate the problem of overcrowding, the presence of illegal residents negates the efforts. All these initiatives are frustrated by the influx of more people coming into the hostels and the incidents of violence. It is common knowledge that no meaningful development is possible in an environment where there is violence and political instability. No question is therefore more central to the Durban Metropolitan Council agenda than that of upgrading the hostels. In some areas the programme has taken off well, while in others a lack of consensus and common vision have obstructed progress. In Glebe hostel where leaders on the ground failed to agree on the details of what the programme should entail, no progress could be reported. The escalation in the cost of labour and materials prompted the KwaZulu Finance Corporation, who were awarded the upgrading contract, to resign. During the study the residents of this hostel had still not resolved their differences.

Some respondents in the study suggested that the Masakhane Work group should incorporate some creative residents who are already involved in various transformative projects. There was also a strong view that hostel residents should be exposed to capacity building workshops so that mental liberation occurs concurrently with the upgrading of the physical environment. Some residents felt that they must be involved in finding solutions to their own problems. They added that this task could not be left entirely in the hands of external agents who might have a different, undeclared agenda which was not meant to serve the interest of residents.

The respondents interviewed in the study suggested that residents who were engaged in informal trade, should be encouraged and be assisted financially by the Durban Metropolitan Council. They believe an economic incentive would be most welcome to alleviate problems associated with unemployment.

The hostel residents voted in recent local government elections for their constituency candidates, that they believed, deserved to be entrusted with the mandate to champion their course in the Council chamber. Councillors who were non hostel residents would invariably rely on the inputs of the hostel councillors. It was often stated by the hostel councillors during the study, that their fellow councillors should familiarise themselves with the conditions obtaining in these areas, so that informed decisions could be made. To achieve this objective, councillors had invited and urged their fellow councillors to visit the hostels, so that they were all on the same wavelength regarding what should be done. When funds were allocated to do interim emergency repairs in the impoverished black areas, particularly the hostels, the entire Council support, was ensured. Needless to say, these visits played a significant role in enabling the Council to understand the magnitude of the problems that the

hostel residents had to contend with.

In response to the severe state of disrepair in the hostels and other black areas, the Durban Metropolitan Council allocated 30 million rand for emergency repairs. Electricity and plumbing were priority areas. The Council, for this purpose, allocated 5 million rand to deal with the hostels. Then considering the fact that, almost without exception, all black areas spread over a vast Durban Metropolitan Area are also in dire need, 5 million rand voted by the Council to alleviate the poor conditions in the four hostels, under review, was relatively substantial.

From the empirical data presented in the study it is very clear that the hostel residents, who have been on the receiving end of the discriminatory system, will play a significant role in the politics of the emerging Durban Metropolitan Council. During the study it came out that, the majority of the hostel residents recognised their obligation to pay rent and other service charges. For example, to upgrade the hostels the Councils accesses capital subsidies from the state, for the Council to recover administrative and maintenance costs, charges are levied to hostel residents.

5.3. CONCLUSION

Since human geography is broadly defined as the study which concerns itself with interaction between man and his environment, it is fitting in this study to examine the complex relationships between the hostels and migrant policies. In order to capture the essence of exploitation of hostel residents by the system, one would look at a deep sense of self-pity and

poor self concept inherent in the hostel way of life.

In the study the role of both internal and external pressure groups, in enabling the hostel residents to get out of their social and political limbo, was highlighted. The study also shows that the hostel residents, through interaction with politicians, labour movements, residents associations, succeeded in recapturing their creativity so that they did not only become part of transformation, but they also deliberately provoked and directed change positively. It will be noted in the study that the Durban Metropolitan Council is faced with the enormous challenge of addressing spatial imbalances that are so glaring in the so called black townships, more specifically the hostels. For the Council to succeed in this task, the inputs of the hostel residents themselves will be crucial. While members of Council from other constituencies are coming up with development plans, the Councillors representing the hostels are insisting on upgrading the physical environment of these areas.

The hostel councillors now part of the democratically established Durban Metropolitan Council, are on the threshold of facilitating unheard of changes in the lives of hostel residents. Such changes can, however, be possible if the hostel residents themselves support their councillors by paying rent and other service charges such as refuse removal, water and lights.

One would conclude this section by recommending to the council to revise the current housing policy so that hostels conform to the city environment. Serious consideration should be given to provide both single and family accommodation. Those residents who are desirous of purchasing property, must be encouraged and helped to do so. Residents will

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APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND : DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

CONFIDENTIAL

QUESTIONNAIRE ON A HOST OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS AFFECTING HOSTEL RESIDENTS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE EMERGING DURBAN METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

1. Name of Hostel

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2. Ward

--

3. Sex

--

4. Age

20 - 30	
31 - 40	
41 - 50	
50 - 60 +	

5. Highest Education completed at School

Std 1 - Std 6	
Std 7 - Std 10	
No Education	

6. Highest Education completed after School

Std 1 - Std 6	
Std 7 - Std 10	
No Education	

7. Employment: Occupational Category

Artisan		Semi-Skilled	
Unskilled		Domestic	
Driver		Clerical	
Shop Assistant		Security	
Professional		Supervisor	
Other (Specify)			

8. Place of current employment

Mobeni		Durban Central	
Jacobs		Isipingo	
Durban Suburbs		Umlazi	
Other (Specify)			

9. Monthly Income

R 300 - R 500 +	
R 600 - R 800 +	
R 900 - R1 100 +	
R1 300 - R1 500 +	

10. Family Details:
Marital Status:

Married

Divorced

Widowed

Single

Living with girlfriend

11. Where is your home District?

Natal

Transkei

KwaZulu

Lesotho

Ciskei

Transvaal

Cape

O.F.S.

12. Where does your wife live?

Hostel for females

Home District

Employer's place

13. Where do your children live?

Rural Home

Boarding School

Flat in Town

With Relatives

14. For how long have you lived in this Hostel?

1 - 5 years	
6 - 10 years	
11 - 15 years	
16 - 20 years	
21 +	

15. Why do you live in this Hostel?

Rent affordable	
Close to work	
No alternative accommodation	
Single accommodation preferred	

LEISURE AND SPORTS

16. Is the provision of Sports facilities important for the Hostel residents?

Important	
Absolutely Important	
Not important	
Not sure	

17. Is your Hostel adequately provided with Sports facilities ?

Adequate	
Fairly Adequate	
Not Adequate	
Not Sure	

18. Which of the following Sports facilities are popular among the hostel residents ?

	Most Popular	Less Popular	Hardly Used
Soccer Field			
Tennis Court			
Boxing Gymnasium			
Cycling Track			

19. In which Sporting activities do you participate ?

Soccer	
Tennis	
Boxing	
Road Running	
Weight Lifting	
None	

20. Do you derive any personal benefit from Sports participation ?

Environmental appreciation	
Escape from boredom	
No benefit	
Just fun	

21. Participation in recreational activities

Enhances self esteem	
Improves interpersonal relationships	
Hardens negative attitudes	

22. Societal benefits derived from recreational participation

Friendship groups develop	
Common problems are solved easier	
Larger communities develop	

23. A recreational environment induces

Ecological awareness	
Appreciation of nature	
Better resource management	

24. Outdoor recreation participation improves understanding of

Man-Environment relationship	
Value of Social Clubs	
Interdependence and systems	

ANONYMITY AND ALIENATION

25. A lack of meaningful communication among the Hostel residents results in

Non-sharing of problems	
Growing mutual suspicion	
State of withdrawal	
Decreasing self confidence	

26. A lack of meaningful interaction among the Hostel residents

Perpetuates anonymity	
Preserves self respect	
Deepens feelings of isolation	

27. Among problems associated with Hostel life are

Liquor and drug abuse	
Sexual deviance	
Alienation and quiet brooding	

28. Further alienation from Hostel environment is associated with

Inability to own property	
Public prejudice towards hostel dwellers	
Exclusion from decision - making	

29. Hostels are generally associated with

Violence	
Disorderliness	
Hooliganism	
Social Disorganisation	
Low income groups	
Quiet surroundings	

30. Unresolved emotional problems may drive a Hostel residents to

Lead a double life	
Have a distorted self concept	
Resign himself to despair	

ACCOMMODATION PROBLEMS

31. Maladjustment - related problems can be overcome if the residents are

Visited by their families more frequently	
Actively encouraged to open up and discuss problems	
Socially organised	

32. The Hostel is adequately provided with visiting wives/family accommodation

Adequately provided	
Fairly adequately provided	
Inadequately provided	

33. How often does your wife come visiting?

Monthly	
Bimonthly	
When invited	
When there is an emergency	

34. Extra accommodation for children wishing to accompany their visiting mother is

Necessary	
Absolutely Necessary	
Not Necessary	

35. Are your children keen to visit with their mother during school holidays ?

Very keen to have a feel of urban life	
Fairly keen	
Not keen	

36. What times of the year are appropriate for such visit?

After harvesting	
When crop is ripe	
Whenever invited	

37. How often do you visit your rural family ?

Monthly	
Bimonthly	
Quarterly	
When on annual leave	

38. Do you consider acquiring family accommodation and relocating closer to Durban ?

Yes, when enough funds are available	
Not at all	
Undecided	

39. If yes, what would you do with your rural home ?

Sell it	
Rent it out	
Would be cared for by relatives	

POLITICAL LIFE AT THE HOSTEL

40. Do you have any role to play in politics ?

Yes	
None	
Passive interest only	

41. Are you aware of interpolitical groups rivalry at the hostel ?

Yes	
Not aware	
Not sure	

42. If yes which groups are competing for membership ?

.....	VS	
.....	VS	
.....	VS	
.....	VS	

43. Are the Councillors serving any meaningful purpose ?

Yes	
To some extent	
None at all	
Not sure	

44. External political agencies at

Promoting Democracy	
Eliminating Apartheid Structures	
Exploiting Hostel Dwellers	

45. The role of the hostel residents associations such as NAHORA and KORA

Check external interference	
Protect Authentic Interest of Residents	
Improve Quality of life of Residents	
Protect Status Quo	

46. With which of the following views would you associate ?

Existing Hostel accommodation should

Remain as it is	
Be converted to family units	
Provide for both single and family accommodation	

47. Hostels will still serve a useful purpose in a post apartheid S.A.

Due to general housing crisis	
Provided upgrading is done urgently	
Not sure	
Provided stringent rules are relaxed	

48. The hostel initiative committee have been established to

Reconcile the needs of residents	
Monitor upgrading programmes	
Not sure	
To facilitate co-operation between interest groups	

49. How soon would you like these changes to be completed ?

Two	Years	
Three	Years	
Four	Years	
Five	Years	

50. For the new Durban Metropolitan Council to succeed

Residents must pay rent and services	
Residents must co-operate with officials	
Residents must report criminal activities	
None of the above	
All of the above	

51. For the new Council to be able to deliver quality hostel residents must :

Sit back and criticise	
Be actively supportive	
Not sure	

52. Besides upgrading hostel physical environment residents need to be :

Exposed to Technical skills	
Empowered socially and economical	
None of the above	
All of the above	

53. Residents should refrain from

Politicising everything	
Conflict situations	
Violating human rights of others	
None of the above	
All of the above	

54. The upgrading programme will have achieved its goal if hostels are

converted to family units	
provided with more visiting wives accommodation	
divided into single and family units	

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND : DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

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FOR COUNCILLORS ONLY

1. Before joining the Durban Metropolitan Council were you ?

an active member of the civics	
activist of Residents' association	
a member of a development forum	
a member of KORA	
a member of NAHORA	
none of the above	

2. Were you nominated by your political party to the Council ?

Yes	
No	

3. As past political opponents, having to work together, what were your fears ?

lack of commitment to common vision	
political posturing	
failure to see what is best for the people	
open hostility	
walk outs	
all of the above	
none of the above	

4. Were initial fears/concerns founded ?

Yes	
No	

5. If, not founded, please explain

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6. How should individual Councillors enhance the process of transformation ?

agree to differ in good spirit	
consider best options regardless of the source	
accommodate other view points	
all of the above	
none of the above	

7. Members of the Council should strive to :

rise above part politics	
push for their party policies	
support their colleagues only	

8. Racially-based local governments enhance

own affairs policy	
effective service delivery	
unity among South Africans	

9. Experience obtained from racially-based councils will to some extent :

strengthen the new Council	
weaken the new Council	
not affect the new Council	

10. Councillors, having come from different ideological backgrounds will contend with levels of :

Mistrust	
intelerance	
sceptism	
conflict	
all of the above	
None of the above	

11. For the transformation to yield the desired results, the Councillors should be concerned with :

identifying community needs with affected people	
promoting party political needs	
showing their opponents in bad light	

12. Culture, religion, race, sex, values are some of the factors which may be :

centrifugal	
centripetal	
Both of the above	
None of the above	

13. For the new Council to be effective it must take advantage of :

cultural diversity of its members	
collective wisdom drawn from the past	
commitment to change	
all of the above	
None of the above	

14. Racially-based councils were regarded as illegitimate because

they lacked community participation	
no inputs from communities	
Decisions were imposed on residents	
all of the above	
None of the above	

15. What do you think was the previous government's reason to have fragmented local government institutions?

perpetuate separation among racial groups	
avoid racial domination	
ensure self-actualisation of each group	
develop each group to full potential	

16. Fragmented local government insitutions did not work for the blacks because :

areas under their jurisdiction had no tax base	
blacks lacked the necessary experience	
seconded white officials lacked genuine commitment	
all of the above	
None of the above	

17. The negative effects of rent boycott in the black areas was offset by :

good planning by Council	
loans from financial institutions	
allowing the basic services to collapse	
intergovernmental grant	

18. The success of the Durban Metropolitan Council will be measured by :

co-operation among members	
willingness to break from past ideologies	
community participation in decision making	
embarking on the Masakhane drive	
All of the above	
None of the above	

19. The Durban Metropolitan Council will be measured by its ability to :

tackle the imbalances in the black areas	
seek community co-operation	
identify pressing needs with the affected people	
all of the above	
None of the above	

20. The problems of spatial inequalities will require the Durban Metropolitan Council to :

plan properly	
consult with community leaders	
find sufficient funds	
all of the above	
none of the above	

21. The Durban Metropolitan Council will enjoy the support of the electorate if :

service delivery improves	
community empowerment programmes are initiated	
there is transparency	
all of the above	
none of the above	

22. The Durban Metropolitan Council should sit back and react to crisis

Yes	
No	
Not sure	

23. At best the Durban Metropolitan Council should :

react to change when it comes	
manage conflict when it arises	
provoke and direct change positively	

24. What environmental problems that the Durban Metropolitan Council sees as top on the list?

restoration of community structures (halls)	
repair roads in black towns	
reduced health hazard conditions	
all of the above	
none of the above	

25. What other social problems require the Durban Metropolitan Council's attention?

soaring crime wave	
unemployment	
lawlessness	
providing programmes for street children	
all of the above	
none of the above	

26. Benefits associated with transformation at local government level can be enjoyed :

if the culture of paying for services is restored	
if communities appreciate their responsibility	
if community workshops are conducted	
if people refrain from politicising everything	
all of the above	
none of the above	

27. Would you agree that the present stage of transformation requires the Durban Metropolitan Council to :

Put politics on slow track	
Put economics on fast track	
Put both on fast track	
Put both on slow track	

28. For the Durban Metropolitan Council to attract investors :

Durban City must be crime free	
more police must be brought in	
influx control must be enforced	

29. When Councillors display mutual trust among themselves :-

this will radiate to prospective investors	
this boost confidence of investors	
this will ensure good returns for investors	
all of the above	
none of the above	

30. Conscious efforts by Councillors to break from the past :

will ensure improved quality of life	
will lead people to take things for granted	
will cause people to demand more	

31. People will be supportive if the Durban Metropolitan Council

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32. The task of the Durban Metropolitan Demarcation Board became a complicated and a sensitive exercise because :

politicians saw it in terms of gains or losses	
it come with more new challenges	
tribal leadership structures felt threatened	
none of the above	
all of the above	

33. The new boundaries of the Durban Metropolitan areas are based on :

geographical and economic considerations	
political and racial considerations	
level of development of the affected areas	

34. The Durban Metropolitan Council will be committed to facilitating

political devolution at local level	
broadening democracy at local level	
preparation of individual councillors for first and second tier participation	
none of the above	
all of the above	

35. The Durban Metropolitan Council in pursuance of a multiparty democratic principle will :

encourage hostility among political parties	
encourage divisive competition among political parties	
promote a policy of consensus building	

36. The Durban Metropolitan Council will be measured by its ability to :

tackle the imbalances in the black areas	
seek community participation	
identify pressing needs with the affected people	
all of the above	
none of the above	

37. The hostels in the Durban Metropolitan Council have over the years suffered physical deterioration. What plans does the new Council have to improve the situation in these areas?

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38. What will the new Council do about the social isolation that the hostels have to contend with?

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