THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK TOWNSHIPS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LAMONTVILLE TOWNSHIP

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 ORIENTATION TO THE WHOLE STUDY

The problem of housing or shelter as basic need, is one of the important aspects in human geography. This aspect has also become an integral part of socio-political issues. The point often at issue is either the shortage of houses, poor development or oppressive laws governing the already existing townships. It is however, remarkable that different countries have different problems about housing. In South Africa like in any other country, the problems on housing were created by apartheid legislations. Such oppressive laws had segregated South Africans into racial groupings which enjoy different socio-econo-political rights. Blacks are, in particular the most affected society. In spite of the problem of shelter, most of the available Black townships are characterised by miserable conditions.

Houses, schools, community halls, sports fields, streets, infrastructure and the like, are all in miserable condition, wherever there are any. Most of these structures are dull, monotonous, look dusty, poorly maintained, built with inferior material and depressing to the eyes and mind of any onlooker. The

siting of much of these townships was in one way or another questionable. It was noted that sites were often ill-chosen, generally not far from the town sanitary tip, the refuse dump, slaughter poles and next to sewage farms. All these segregated townships which became prominent features of the South African landscape had no policy or systems for development or improvement. Such conditions did not come as a surprise to many Blacks for one spokesperson, unnamed and forgotten, (from the ministry of Native Affairs) had pointed out that "only Black African hands were needed at work and that if some mysterious arrangement could be devised whereby their hands could be daily brought to town for purposes of labour, and their persons and faces not seen at all, that would perhaps suit White masters.(Maylam, P)

2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The township of Lamontville is known to be the first and oldest township in Natal. It was proposed in 1929 on Wood Estate and finally opened up for occupation in 1934. Comparatively speaking, Lamontville is one of the less developed Black townships in Natal. This study will therefore analyze or look into the factors contributing to or barriers which are associative to township poor development. It will also elaborate on its creation, the role played by its community and attempts to get rid of apartheid legislations which are among the factors contributing to poor development.

3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. The primary objectives of the project are to cover the following aspects:

1.1 The facts, policies, processes or phenomena and the like which attributes to the emergence and development of Black townships in South Africa, particularly Lamontville.

1.2 The geographical zoning problem as it is opposed to solution.

1.3 The aspiration and attitudes of Black people with regard to township creation and development.

1.4 The existing relationship between a shanty town and township.

1.5 The housing problem prior to and after the emergence of Black townships.

1.6 To show how the policy and practice of urban segregation, control and apartheid have evolved and affected Blacks in townships.

4. HYPOTHESIS

1. Many are the factors contributing towards the creation and development of Black townships in South

Africa. The factors are either social or both political and economical. The motives behind creation and development of Black townships were to:

1.1 Reflect and reinforce apartheid ideology.

4.2 Make population fit the Black and White Group Areas Act and other legislations.

4.3 Put the Homeland Policy into practice.

4.4 The urban townships development was deliberately inhibited by the government in line with its view of Black people as temporary sojourners.

5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The causes of township development or poor township development are many and of unequal status. The econo-political dispensation is undoubtedly among the causes of the latter. In South Africa it is assumed that the creation of Black townships and shortage of houses for the Blacks are linked to political set-up which is characterised by apartheid or oppressive legislations. The significance of this study lies on the fact that Blacks have to have an insight of:

5.1 The devastation created by apartheid legislations.

5.2 The work lies ahead of them in order to bridge the gaps created by such legislations; and

5.3 Finally, to make Blacks aware of the fact that townships were established in order to remove Blacks' freehold rights and to reduce the economic burden of Blacks on the state and on local authorities.

6. DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study is delimited geographically to the township of Lamontville, an area which is situated along the south coast of Natal and about 17km south of Durban. This area extends from Umlazi River which runs from the western side to the southern side of the township. On the eastern side it extends as far as the National route - N2 - which serves as a boundary between the township and its neighbouring hostel, S.J. Smith and the industrial area of Mobeni. On the northern side, the township extends as far as the Indian township, Chatsworth.

This study will mainly focus on the creation and development of Lamontville township while the creation of other Blacks' townships will also be discussed for the sake of comparisons and clarity in certain aspects under discussion.

7. LIMITATIONS

The following factors served as limitations to this project:

7.1 The amount of time to collect the data in an efficient manner.

7.2 Lack of co-operation from some respondents.

7.3 The vastness of the area made it impossible to cover almost everything thoroughly.

7.4 Lack of transport, terribly unstable weather conditions and slopey landscape made it impossible for an interviewer to move freely about.

8. METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted in this study includes the sample and the instrument used to collect data.

8.1 THE SAMPLE

The random sample method was used in this study. A sample of 40 households or families, composed of men and women of various age structures, various marital status and the like, was observed and randomly selected. All the participants were residents of the township, Lamontville.

8.2 THE INSTRUMENT

The questionnaires were used as instruments to collect the data regarding the project undertaken. The questionnaires were distributed and completed with the aid of the interviewer, due to high rate of illiteracy among the respondents, some questions were asked in vernacular and the responses written down in English. Some additional information was collected and furnished by the representatives of the township Manager.

8.3 METHOD OF ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Analysis and interpretation will be done from data collected. The data will be organised and divided into various sub-sections or presented in constructed tables. Percentages and their total will be used to form adequate basis for the analysis and interpretation of data.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINITIONS

MIGRATIONS

Migration is the movement of individuals or groups from one place of residence to another, who have the intention of remaining in the new place for some substantial period of time.

Migrant

A migrant is a person who makes a permanent change in his regular place of residence. A distinction between a migrant and a mover is of vital importance. The mover changes his residence but remains in the same community, city or country.

Factors attributed to causes of various migration processes

The migration process can be of various forms. Each form is attributed to one or a few factors. It is worth mentioning some of these forms. Migration is said to be internal, international, conservative, innovative, forced or impelled, primitive, free and the like.

Internal and International migration

Internal migrant refers to the movement of people within the boundaries of some nation state while international migration is said to be movement from one state to another. On the other hand the internal migration is characterised by short distances while its counterpart is attributed to long distances. A migrant moved far enough to realise objectives and opportunities being sought. The movement from one to another was on no account passed over opportunities.

Conservative migration

This type of migration occurs when a person moves from one place to another in order to retain his existing way of life. The move is necessitated by some changes that have occurred or occurring in his current place of residence. In this case if the person were to stay, he would have to change his mode of living, so migration is an effort to conserve important parts of the existing way of life.

Innovative migration

It is defined as a movement of a person in order to obtain a new way of life.

This type of migration occurs when people are unable to cope with natural or ecological forces and move in order to survive. Primitive may be either conservative, as when people try to find a new place that is like home under earlier conditions, or innovative as when people seek out a new way of life. For example, people who move to the city after their agricultural land fails to provide an adequate livelihood are engaged in innovative primitive migration. In primitive migration the emphasis is on survival in physical sense. If people do not move they will not survive.

Forced or impelled migration

The type of migration is characterised by population movement which is forced by the state or some other political or economic power. Slave trade; flight from the government oppression and expulsion by the government are all variants of forced or compelled migration.

Free migration

This type of migration is distinguished by individual's choice. The will of the migrant is the crucial factor causing the migration.

Mass Migration

There are migrants who move because of casual forces or social patterns. In mass migration the movement is more of a group pattern than a matter of individual choice.

Due to some of the aforementioned factors rural dwellers had to move into urban areas in search of employment. The migrants faced several problems on their arrival in the urban area. These problems were in one way or another social, economical and political. Much of urban policies and practices were directed towards security of labour-power without labourers. On the other hand only their hands were needed at work. Neither their persons nor faces were needed, only their hands. Due to such conflicts, contradictions, segregation, control and struggles, accommodation seemed to be a primary problem. As a result, some were housed in compounds, disused warehouses, workshops, shanties, White-owned properties as tenants.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE FIRST PHASE IN THE EMERGENCE OF BLACK TOWNSHIPS OR THE PRE-1923 PHASE

Introduction

In the first phase before 1923 there was a relatively low level of African urbanisation in South Africa i.e. about 33 700. By 1921 this figure had risen to about 587 000. During these first two decades of the twentieth century the percentage of urbanised Africans remained fairly constant. There was also a high proportion of African males to females in urban areas. In the late nineteenth century the rural economy had experienced stress and strains. The manufacturing sector rested largely on mining and commerce had started to develop on a significant scale. The level of African urbanisation was neither low nor high. Although no centralised state control was exercised over . African urbanisation before 1923; there were regional trends towards segregation and controlling urban Africans.

1. Kimberley the Diamond Mining town

It was in this town where the vigorous form of urban labour control in South African history emerged. Closed compounds accommodating African migrant workers were introduced in the 1880's. Gaol-like institutions were

actually modelled on the De Beer convict station. These were established at a time when diamond prices were falling. The compounds enabled mine owners to exercise tighter discipline over their unskilled labour force, preventing diamond theft and desertion and to ensure more supply of labour. On the other hand, it argued that mine owners wanted experienced labours or they did not want organised workers in their own. By 1882 about half of the town's African population were accommodated in compounds and the other half living in the town or in locations. Kimberley's pattern was followed elsewhere. The strict separation of African and White workers both in the hierarchy of labour and in their residences became the model for mining towns and mines throughout South Africa.

2. Johannesburg

Johannesburg was one of these towns to follow the Kimberley model. Johannesburg's mining compounds did not follow the exact model of the Kimberley "closed" compounds. The White compound manager played a key role in trying to enforce strict discipline among the migrant workers accommodated in the compound. He was assisted by a group of African compound police. Compounds also house other Africans apart from mine-workers in Johannesburg. By the early 1920's about 5 000 municipal employees were housed in compounds. Another 6 000 African workers lived in private

compounds attached to factories and warehouses. There were still about another 60 000 Africans living in Johannesburg outside the compound at this time. A small proportion were housed in the municipal townships; Kliptown and Western Native Township. Another thousand resided in Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare or Alexandra, private freehold or leasehold townships. These residential areas had been developed on privately owned land in the early twentieth century. Thousands more lived as tenants on White-owned properties occupying shanties, out-areas or disused warehouses or workshops. These were slum-yards exploited by rack-renters and slum landlords. Outside the Johannesburg compounds there were no strict patterns of racial segregation. Sophiatown and Martindale for instance in 1921, provided home for Africans and Whites. The Vrededorp-Malay location and Doornfontein were also multi-racial communities. Johannesburg followed the pattern of early Kimberley but it did not presage the labour era of tight segregation and control.

Spatial pattern and control mechanism in early Kimberley and Johannesburg were largely shaped by the original maternal base of the two towns, the mining economy.

Cape Town

Cape Town and Durban developed from different foundations. Merchant capital predominated in each centre and their labour needs were rather different from that of the two mining towns. In the late nineteenth century Cape Town still remained primarily a commercial centre, administrative capital and a military headquarters. Industrial production was minimal; factories were few in number and small in size. The labour market had a highly seasonal and casual character. At the turn of the century there was a growing demand for unskilled labour in Cape Town ; thousands of Africans came to the town after 1898. By 1901 about 10 000 Africans lived there. Central Cape Town had been racially integrated. The beginning of residential segregation in Cape Town coincided with the arrival of a large number of Africans. In 1890 the Deck native location was opened, providing compound type accommodation for African deck workers. A stronger imperative toward segregation came in the first years of the twentieth century. In 1901 Cape Town was hit by bubonic plague. This was associated with the growing African presence in the town. After receiving a complaint from White residents the Cape Town City council decided to establish a location for Africans and in turn they could be housed under controlled and sanitary conditions. The outcome was the rapid construction of Ndabeni. Ndabeni unlike

Kimberley and Wits mining compounds, was not the creation of capital; Ndabeni was more the product of social pressure exerted through the rhetoric of disease and sanitation.

Durban

There were some similarities between Cape Town and Durban before 1923. The economics of both town centres around the docks and in each case the labour force, was largely casual and seasonal. The great difference was Durban's relative proximity to African reserves, making for a large proportion of male migrants among the African labour force.

The segregationist impulse found in Durban was directed more against Indians than Africans; Indians competed with Whites for space, place and trade. The local state's response was patterned on a threefold approach residential segregation, political exclusion and commercial suppression. The local state in Durban was more concerned about controlling than segregating its African population. The town's "togt" labour force possessed a great deal of freedom and mobility. Regulations requiring "togt" workers to register were first introduced in 1874. These were tightened in 1903. In 1904 the Natal Parliament had passed a Native Location Act, enabling municipalities to establish segregated locations. But Durban did not follow the

example of Cape Town in constructing such a location, except to build rather belatedly in 1915-1916 Baumanville, a small location comprising a mere 120 "cottages" for family occupation. More significant in Durban's case was the development of a local bureaucratic structure of control. The key to this structure was the revenue derived from the municipal monopoly of the manufacture and sale of sorghum beer for African consumption. The profit from this monopoly enabled the local state to finance the creation in 1916 of its own Native Administration Department. This department exercised ever-increasing control over Durban's African population. If one is seeking to discover the origins of urban apartheid practice Durban probably provides the likeliest source.

But in all four towns apart from the compounds housing workers at the mines, decks, factories and commercial businesses, there was no developed policy or system for housing the urban Black population. The segregated townships were to become such prominent features of the South African landscape, were few in number during this early phase. One peculiar feature of the few municipal townships that had been built was their siting. As the 1914 T.B. commission noted, sites were often ill-chosen, generally not far from the township sanitary tip, the refuse dump and slaughter poles. Kliptown, Western Native Township and Eastern Native Township in Johannesburg were just three examples of townships next

to the sewage farm. These few townships accommodated only a small proportion of Africans who lived outside the compounds. Many lived in private leasehold or freehold townships, others rented back-yard quarters in central areas of the town. The relative absence of control (outside the compounds) in this early phase partly reflected the limited size of the urban African population at the time. However from the 1920's the picture was to change significantly.

THE SECOND PHASE: (THE 1920'S, 1930'S AND 1940'S PHASE)

This phase is marked by certain crucial developments and trends.

First There was a significant shift in the nature of the South African economy with the growth of a manufacturing sector.

Second The deterioration in the economies of the African reserves gained pace.

Third There was a dramatic growth in the size of the urban African population.

Fourth The central state increasingly intervened in the sphere of urban policy and practice.

Between 1921 and 1959-1960 there was a doubling of secondary industry's relative contribution to the G.N.P. mechanization increasing the number of semi-skilled operation jobs, many of which were filled by African workers. This trend not only altered the old division between skilled White and unskilled African workers, but also affected local and Central States' policies for administering and controlling urban Africans. There was evidence of considerable out-migration from the reserves to urban areas. The rapid growth of African urbanization in these 3 decades drew state intervention in the whole urbanization process. However, there was considerable uncertainty and debate among policy-makers, state ideologists and other opinion-formers as to what form this intervention should be. At one extreme was the view put forward by the Stalland (Transvaal local government) commission of 1922 that the right of Africans to be in urban areas rested solely on their willingness to enter and to minister to the needs of the White man. At the other pole was the liberal view that the stabilization of the urban African population should be encouraged in preference to the continuation of the migrant labour system. But the dominant official view was pragmatic, the reality of stabilization had to be recognised but migrancy would necessarily have to continue. This view reflected not only the realities of the organization process but also the particular labour needs of different capitalist sectors. Secondly, industry

demanded a more skilled and therefore more stabilized labour force, while the mining sector continued its dependency on migrant labour.

From 1923 the central state began to intervene more in the business of regulating and controlling the urban African population, but it did so in the context of ideological uncertainty and debate. This intervention laid the foundation for the era of "high apartheid and rigid labour control that was to follow from the 1950's. The legislative framework was established and became more entrenched in the 1960's and 1923 Native (urban areas) Act represented the first major intervention by the central state in the business of managing the urban African labour force and ensuring its reproduction.

THE ACT EMPOWERED MUNICIPALITIES

i. To set segregated locations for Africans.

ii To implement a rudimentary system of influx control.

iii To set up advisory boards; bodies which would contain African elected representatives and which would discuss local issued affecting Africans, but without any power to change policy; and

iv To institute native revenue accounts into which would be paid all income derived from beer-hall sales, rent, fines and fees levied from Africans. Most of the 1923 Act provisions were met obligatory, few municipalities implemented the Act. Segregation was gradually introduced in cities". All non-exempted Africans and those not living on their employers premises to move into a municipal location or hostel. Johannesburg and Kimberley began proclaiming segregated areas in 1924; Cape Town in 1926 and Durban in the early 1930's. The significance of the 1923 Act lies more in its broader, long-term implications. It represented the first major intervention by central state in the process of African urbanization. It also provided a framework and foundation upon which subsequent legislation and policy were to be built. The key elements of later more refined, urban apartheid practices were to be found in the 1923 Act in embryonic form. During the following decades all of the 1923 Act provisions and mechanisms were to be tightened and refined and the central state encroachment on municipal autonomy was to gain grounds. The tightening of control and the process of centralisation were both taken further in the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act. The major concern of this measure was influx control. It provided for the removal to rural areas of African surplus to

labour requirements in any particular urban area. It made it more difficult for African women to enter an urban area and for work-seekers to remain in an urban area. By the time that the National Party came to power in 1948, a whole apparatus for regulation and controlling the movement and daily lives of urban Africans had already been constructed. However, while the machinery had been created it was not yet well-oiled or functioning as efficiently as it was designed to.

THE THIRD PHASE

During the third phase from the early 1950's until the late 1970's, there was an intensification of the patterns that had evolved in the second phase. In particular more and more power to control the lives of urban Africans came to be vested in the central state and its agencies, further weakening municipal autonomy in this phase. At the same time the actual controls themselves, that were imposed on urban Africans, came to be tightened even further. However it is also true that under the new Nationalist government there were shifts of emphasis and changes of approach in the whole sphere of "native policy". One important shift at the level of policy and ideology was away from the Fagan Commission's view that the growing permanence of the urban African population had to be officially recognised and back to the old stalinist notion that

Africans could only be temporary sojourners in urban areas outside the bantustans. This was the view put forward by the 1947 report of the Saner Committee which set out National Party policy on "colour question".

Accompanying this shift of emphasis was a great centralization of power. Centralization of state powers was further advanced with the establishment of Administration Boards in 1972. The Boards were to take on most of the functions previously exercised by municipalities in the administration of urban Africans. The Boards became responsible for housing, influx control and the regulations of African labour. They were to derive revenue from rents, levies on employers and profits from liquor sales and they were expected to finance all their operations out of revenue. (The Boards took over municipal liquor monopolies). Control over the presence of Africans in urban areas were steadily being tightened in accordance with Saner recommendations. Stricter influx control was to be chief mechanism for achieving this a key measure was the 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act. This restricted the right of permanent urban residence to Africans who had either been born in the particular urban area and had lived there continuously since birth, or had resided legally in the area for 15 years, or had worked for the same employer for 10 years. The Act also made stronger provision for the expulsion from urban areas of Africans who were surplus to labour requirements.

Even tougher restrictions upon entry into urban areas and more severe expulsion powers were introduced in 1964.

Hindson had argued that influx control after 1952 was not simply designed to enforce temporary migration. It also aimed to stabilise a section of the urban African proletariat, thereby reinforcing the differentiation between migrants and those with more permanent (Section 10) urban rights.. This stabilization went hand-in-hand with another dimension of the state's attempt to tighten control over urban Africans; its policy. The short term aims of state housing policy in urban areas in the 1950's have been outlined by Morris in this way - to remove Black freehold rights in these areas; segregate the races; control movement and reduce the economic burden of Blacks on the state's and on local authorities. The principle of residential segregation was entrenched and rigidified in the 1950's. Group Areas Act which made compulsory what the 1922 Urban Areas Act had recommended. The principle was put into practice with the construction of vast African townships. According to the apartheid "ideal" these townships were to be sited as far as possible from White residential areas. Townships were to be designed and sited in such a way that they could be cordoned off in the event of riot or rebellion and the resistance suppressed in open streets. In the 1950's construction of such townships in many urban areas preceded on a

considerable scale. From the late 1960's the provision of housing in urban areas outside the bantustans was slowed down as state looked to way of confining as many Africans as possible within the bantustans, without upsetting the labour supply. Two main strategies were devised. In cases where industrial centres were closed to bantustans, townships would be located in the bantustans and workers would commute daily to their workplace. The other strategy was to try to induce industries themselves to relocate to border areas close to bantustans.

These strategies were to represent a last attempt to implement the ultimate aim of Stalland and later apartheid planners, namely to allow Africans into urban areas outside the bantustans only for the purpose of selling their labour.

Contradiction and Crises in urban Apartheid

Overwhelmed by contradictions and crises the State has since been forced to abandon this objective. As the size of the permanent African urban proletariat grew the provision of accommodation and transport facilities for urban Africans became a financial burden. The question of who should be primarily responsible for bearing this burden gave rise to struggle and conflict between capital and labour; between the State and capital; between the local state and central state and

between Africans and the State. These divisions invariably arose out of efforts to shift the burden of reproduction costs from one to the other and at the centre of this contradiction was the whole housing question. The maintenance of control was linked to the nature of the accommodation provided for urban Africans; and housing represented the major component of reproduction costs. Moreover the whole debate about whether to opt for the migrant or stabilized labour force (the Stalland Fagan Sauer debate) had significant implications for African housing. As we have seen migrancy and stabilization of the two produced a system of differentiated labour power; and differentiated labour power necessitated a policy of differentiated housing. Although it was never fully realised the aim was to accommodate migrants in compounds or hostels and stabilized families in formal townships. Another contradiction bring about the question of where accommodation for urban Africans should be sited. Many employers preferred to accommodate their workers close to the workplace, in compounds. Workers were kept under tighter control; they were more immediately available, eliminating the need for transport to the workplace; reduced reproduction costs. In some cases as we have seen compounds were not just preferred by employers but deemed to be an absolute necessity. This was the case at the Kimberley diamond mines and Rand gold mines. It was also to a lesser extent, true for the Cape Town and Durban docks where short term

fluctuation in labour demands necessitated having the workforce living close at hand. However compounds and hostels, which were often located in central areas of cities, seemed to pose problems of social and political control. Enclaves of single African males were anathema to segregationists who wanted as far as possible the African presence removed from central business and residential areas outside of working hours.

During the course of the last 50 years or so the imperative towards segregation and control has gradually come to weigh more heavily. It has led to construction of more African townships and as the central residential and business districts have grown, so have these townships been removed further and further out to the urban peripheries. This part peripheralization of African living space is well illustrated by the following examples. As Cape Town expanded in the early twentieth century it began to impinge on Ndabeni, sited on what came to be desirable industrial land. Langa, the new township built in the 1920's was sited further out of town. The 1950's White areas were again impinging on Langa so a new township, Nyanga, was established even further out. In recent years with the building of Khayalitsha, the siting of living space has been made yet more remote. This has been general in many of South Africa's urban centres. It has been taken to an extreme in some areas where

commuter townships have been built often in bantustans, as an effort to ensure not only the physical and social distance of Africans but also their political distance. Both the state and Capital were concerned to minimise the cost of reproducing the African labour force. The main compound of reproduction costs was accommodation and the question constantly arose as to who should bear the main responsibility, or lay mainly with the local state. Both the 1920 Housing Act and the 1923 Natives (urban areas) Act imposed on local authorities, the obligation to provide housing but municipalities failed to fulfil this obligation.

In the case of Durban this was very much an evasion of responsibility arising from the municipality's unwillingness to draw on the general borough fund for African housing. In the case of Johannesburg it was due to the city's weak financial state. The city derived little direct financial advantage from the mining industry as mining land was not subject to rates. Taxes on the profits of mining and manufacturing went to the central state. The upshot was that the African housing question became a source of tension between the central state and municipalities. From the 1920's municipalities like Johannesburg called for more effective influx central measures in order to reduce the size of the city's African population that required housing. While this was not immediately

forthcoming, the municipalities remained reluctant to shoulder the responsibility for housing. Under the 1923 (urban) Native Act, the obligation was fairly placed on the municipalities to shoulder the financial burden of providing adequate housing and urban amenities for the natives. But in the absence of any effective machinery to ensure proper carrying out of the intention of Parliament by the municipalities progress was neither uniform nor spectacular. This was certainly the case in Durban where the first township to be built under the 1923 Act - Lamont - was only opened in 1934. By the late 1940's a vast squatter settlement mushroomed around urban centres, the central state began to recognise the seriousness of the African housing crisis and the predicament of the municipalities.

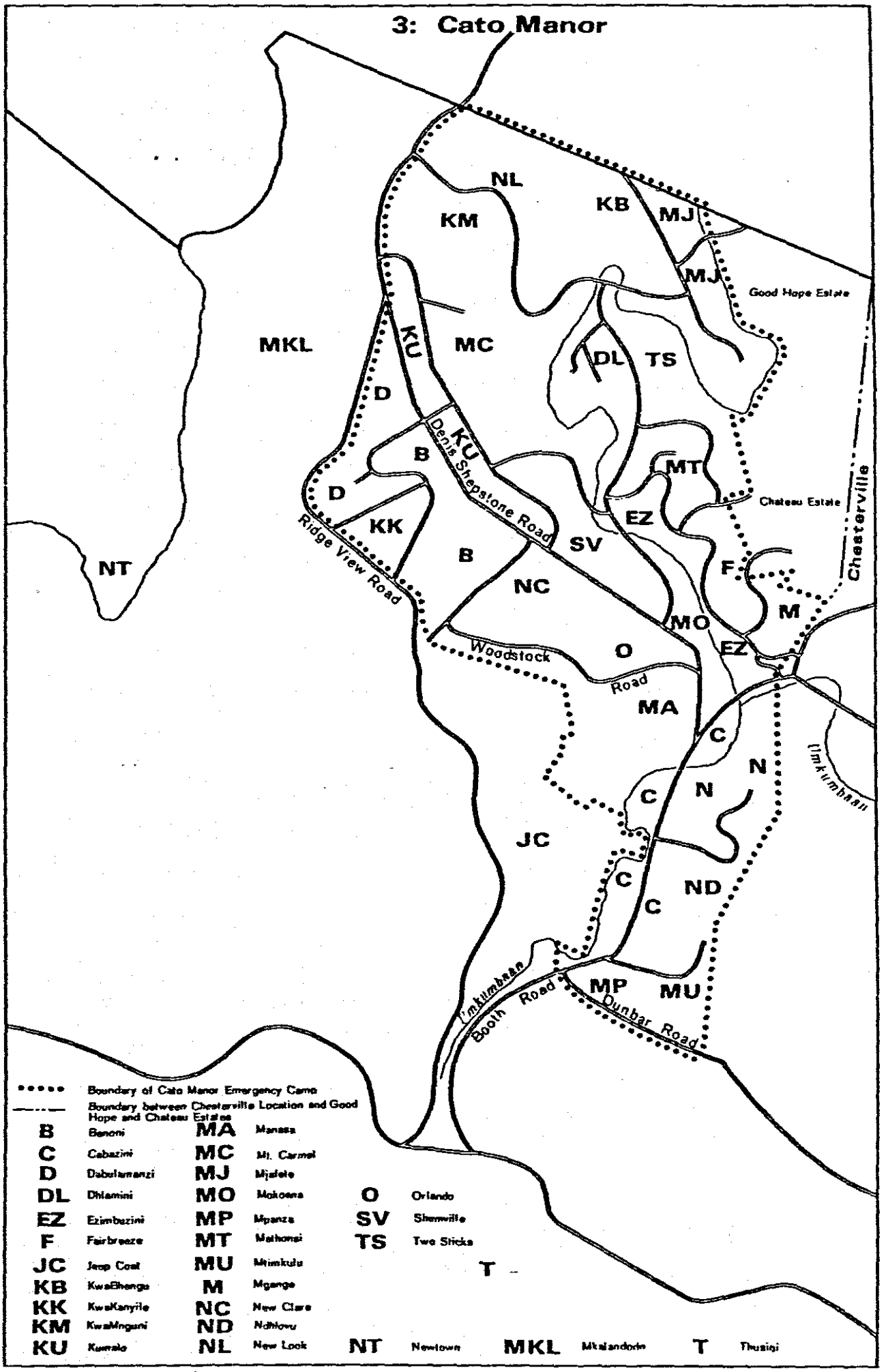
Accordingly it began to devise ways of reducing housing costs. In the early 1950's the site and services approach was officially adopted. Controlled and serviced self-help housing schemes for Africans reduced the financial burden. In the early 1950's again the state attempted to shift more of this cost to burden to capital. An earlier effort to do this had failed, so the strategy subsequently developed in the early 1950's was to compel employers to provide accommodate for Black workers, but to make direct financial contribution towards reproduction costs. This was

embodied in 1952 Native Service Levy Act. The urban Africans themselves were in this way made to bear the major part of this costs burden. The crucial mechanism here was the self-financing system of native revenue accounts. Durban was the pioneer in this system, instituting a native revenue account in 1908. The system came to be formalised at a national level by the 1923 Native (urban Areas) Act. Accruing to them were rents paid by African tenants in municipal housing revenue, from municipal beer sales and other fees paid by Africans. This money was spent on administration, the provision of services and housing for Africans. This money was never sufficient by itself to ensure the requisite provision of housing for Africans, hence the massive housing shortage that had developed by the late 1940's. Given this weak financial base along with the unwillingness of central state, local state or capital to bear the cost burden, thousands of urban Africans were forced to devise their own forms of shelter. By the 1940's vast shack settlements had emerged around many of South Africa's urban areas. Inherent in the growth of these settlements were further contradictions. On the one hand they relieved the central state, local state and capital of the considerable financial burden that would have been involved in providing more formal housing for shack-dwellers. On the other hand, the shack settlements were zones that largely fell beyond the control of the local state. The settlements, lacking basic water and sanitary services were considered to be health hazards.

The breakdown of urban apartheid

In the 1940's shack settlements had mushroomed in South African cities. From the 1950's the state began to clear these uncontrolled living zones by moving their occupants into newly built townships. In the 1980's again to the situation of the 1940's, although now it is on a much larger scale. The state has lost control of the Black housing situation. In losing that control another pillar in the urban apartheid edifice is crumbling. The fiscal base of urban apartheid has also been weakening. Until the 1980's this had generally been strong. Revenue, accruing first to municipalities and then to administration Boards was derived from a number of sources; the profits from beer and liquor monopolies, rents, state subsidies and employer levies. From the early 1980's however, revenue from these sources has been declining. First, profits from beer monopolies began to drop dramatically as more and more Africans shifted away from sorghum beer consumption and bought liquor at commercial outlets. Then the government decided to privatise the township liquor trade. Debts from housing have also risen. Expenditure on Blacks increased in the 1970's partly under the pressure of inflation and as a result of a government commitment to improve facilities after 1976-1977 urban unrest. More recently this component of the fiscal base has come under even further pressure in the shape of widespread rent boycotts.

Local government in African urban areas has in recent years increasingly become a site of struggle. Community organizations have grown up all over the country to challenge a system based on puppet institutions and sham democracy. The breakdown of urban apartheid has in part reflected the wider failure of the whole apartheid system. The ultimate objective of the apartheid blue-print was to create politically viable "homelands" each characterized by a particular ethnic identity. The official hope was that as the economies of the "homeland" developed more and more Africans would move from "White" areas to the particular "homelands" that was ethnically appropriate, thereby reversing the direction of African migration. In their own "homeland" Africans would be able to exercise political activities.


3: Cato Manor
NL
KM
KB
MJ
MJ
Good Hope Estate
MKL
KU
MC
DL
TS
D
KU
Denis Shepstone Road
B
MT
D
Chateau Estate
EZ
KK
Ridge View Road
SV
B
F
NT
NC
Chesterville
MO
M
Woodstock
O
EZ
Road
MA
C
N
C
N
Umkumbaan
JC
C
ND
C
Umkumbaan
MP
MU
Booth Road
Dunbar Road
Boundary of Cato Manor Emergency Camp
Boundary between Chesterville Location and Good Hope and Chateau Estates
B Banoni
C Cabazini
D Dabulamanzi
DL Dhlamini
EZ Ezimbazini
F Fairbreeze
JC Jeep Coat
KB KwaBhenga
KK KwaKanyile
KM KwaMnguni
KU Kumalo
MA Manasa
MC Mt. Carmel
MJ Mjalele
MO Mokoena
MP Mpanza
MT Mathonsi
MU Mtimkulu
M Mgenge
NC New Clare
ND Ndhlovu
NL New Look
O Orlando
SV Shenville
TS Two Sticks
NT Newtown
MKL Mkalandondo
T Thusini
T

CHAPTER 3

THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIVE VILLAGES, TOWNSHIPS AND OTHER FORMAL AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN DURBAN

The need for a residential area for Africans in Durban was felt as early as 1863. However, it was only after the turn of the century that municipal accommodation was provided. Municipal barracks for dock-workers were built at the Point in 1903 and were followed by the Depot Road location (Sometsu Road Location) in 1913. These projects provided for the accommodation of male migrant workers and it was not until the establishment of Baumanville in 1915-1916 that family cottages were built. In the towns of colonial African residential segregation of the rac tarted as a result of fear of epidemics sease; moreover also fundamental social and cultural differences. Durban was no exception - segregation of Africans arose from the desire on the part of the colonies to reduce illegal liquor traffic, theft, assault and the risk of fire to protect health standards and to maintain property values.

Baumanville represented the first real attempt at eliminating the undesirable conditions in which the African community was living. Africans were housed haphazardly in employers' "backyards", in wash houses,

storerooms, or private compounds. The haphazard and largely uncontrolled housing of Africans was typical of South African towns prior to 1923 when the native (urban areas) Act was promulgated. This Act vested local authorities with the sole right of and responsibility for providing for accommodation of Africans in segregated areas. All Africans other than those exempted under the Act or employed in *bona fide* domestic service in urban areas, were obliged to take up their residence in a "location", village or hostel, in premises specially licensed by the local authorities for the accommodation of Africans.

Finance was a major problem confronting the local authorities in the provision of housing. The position was alleviated by the Native Beer Act of 1908 which empowered local authorities to utilise the profits from their monopoly sales of "Kaffir Beer" for the erection of houses, schools, hospitals and other facilities for Africans. In Durban in 1923 the Native Revenue Account derived its income from beer profits, licence fees for certain occupations e.g. caterers, rickshaw pullers, "togt" labours and rent from municipal housing. During the period 1923-1927 the authorities were concerned chiefly with housing migrant workers in hostels and compounds. In 1923, 46 000 Africans were housed in such accommodation in Durban. Although a class of permanent town was largely a floating one due to proximity of the Reserves, however, in 1903 the Durban

Corporation had purchased Clairwood Estate for conversion into a residential area for Africans. In 1933-1934 as a consequence of the considerable influx of Africans following the recovery in economic activity after the depression of 1929-1933, the first of the Lamontville locations were built on Clairwood Estate; Baumanville was also completed in 1934.

In 1937 the Native (urban areas) Act became operative over the whole of the Durban municipal area. Consequently, the Durban Corporation was compelled to arrange available municipal housing accommodation for African residents within its boundaries, and therefore embarked on a large housing programme. Thus 400 additional cottages were built at Lamont in 1937 and extensions were made to the Sometsu Road Location. Hostel accommodation for African women was provided at Grey street in 1926 while men's hostels were built at Dalton Road in 1934; Sometsu Road in 1938 and Jacobs in 1939. Such a programme was urgently needed in order to overcome the problems raised by the incorporation of the "added areas". These areas were characterised by the type of uncontrolled growth commonly found on the periphery of African cities. The dwellings were poorly constructed, overcrowded and insanitary and conditions did not fulfil municipal housing and health standards. It was after the outbreak of the war in 1939 that the most serious shortage of African housing developed. There was a large and rapid influx of population into

urban areas. This was created by growing pressure on the land and poverty in the reserves and the labour needs of the city's expanding industries and increased commercial and shipping activities stimulated by war. The results of the war were increased congestion in existing housing and the appearance of unauthorised "shanty towns" and illegal squatters' camps and shack areas. These conditions were common to all South African cities at the time. The new arrivals tended to congregate in the Cato Manor area where there had been a scattering of isolated shacks. Authorities have often been criticised for its failure to cater for the huge urban drift of Africans. Despite these the criticism and wartime restrictions and difficulties, 900 houses were built at Blackhurst Estate (later renamed Chesterville) between 1940-1945, but this fell far short of the demand for housing.

The emergence and development of Cato Manor

The new arrivals in Durban tended to congregate in the Cato Manor area where there had been a scattering of isolated shacks since 1928. Cato Manor consisted of broken and undulating land originally owned by Whites, but later sold to Indians. Before the war it was one of the main banana-producing areas of Natal. During the 1930's there was a steady growth of shacks in the Blackhurst and Booth Road areas of Cato Manor. Africans were not allowed to own land in the urban

areas and in the absence of sufficient municipal and employer-provided accommodation, were obliged to rent sites from Indian landowners in the Cato Manor. Africans were able to rent sites cheaply, upon which they could construct home-made shelters. About one half of Durban's African population was illegally housed in such shack areas. Thus the geographic proximity of Cato Manor to the city and the profitability of renting plots for shack building resulted in the rapid growth of squatter camps at Cato Manor. It was not only Africans who were shack dwelling, large members of Indians also migrated to Durban and lived in similar conditions. The shack area provided considerable scope for the existence of an informal sector. The lack of fresh water and sanitary services meant that the shack areas constituted a health hazard to the city. There were periodic outbreaks of typhoid fever, and gastro-enteritis and amoebic dysentery were rife. Because of topographical features and the absence of suitable access needs, municipal sanitary services were available only at certain central points. Prior to 1951 the city council lacked the legal machinery to prevent shack-building and the power to demolish illegally created structures. Attempts by the corporation to compel landowners to provide basic sanitation were held up by protracted litigation, moreover, many landlords would rather have evicted their tenants than provide these services. However in 1951 the City Council acquired the authority (in terms

of Ordinance 21 of 1949) to demolish shacks which were vacant. This was in the process of creation or occupation of alternative accommodation was available. The already serious African housing position was aggravated by the Durban riots of January 1949. These disturbances, involving violence between Indians and Africans, resulted in the destruction of property and rendered some families homeless. The riots were centred on Cato Manor, some Indian landlords lost control of the rise of their land and number of African shacks increased considerably. By 1950, therefore, the City Council faced a grave problem as far as the housing of the African community was concerned.

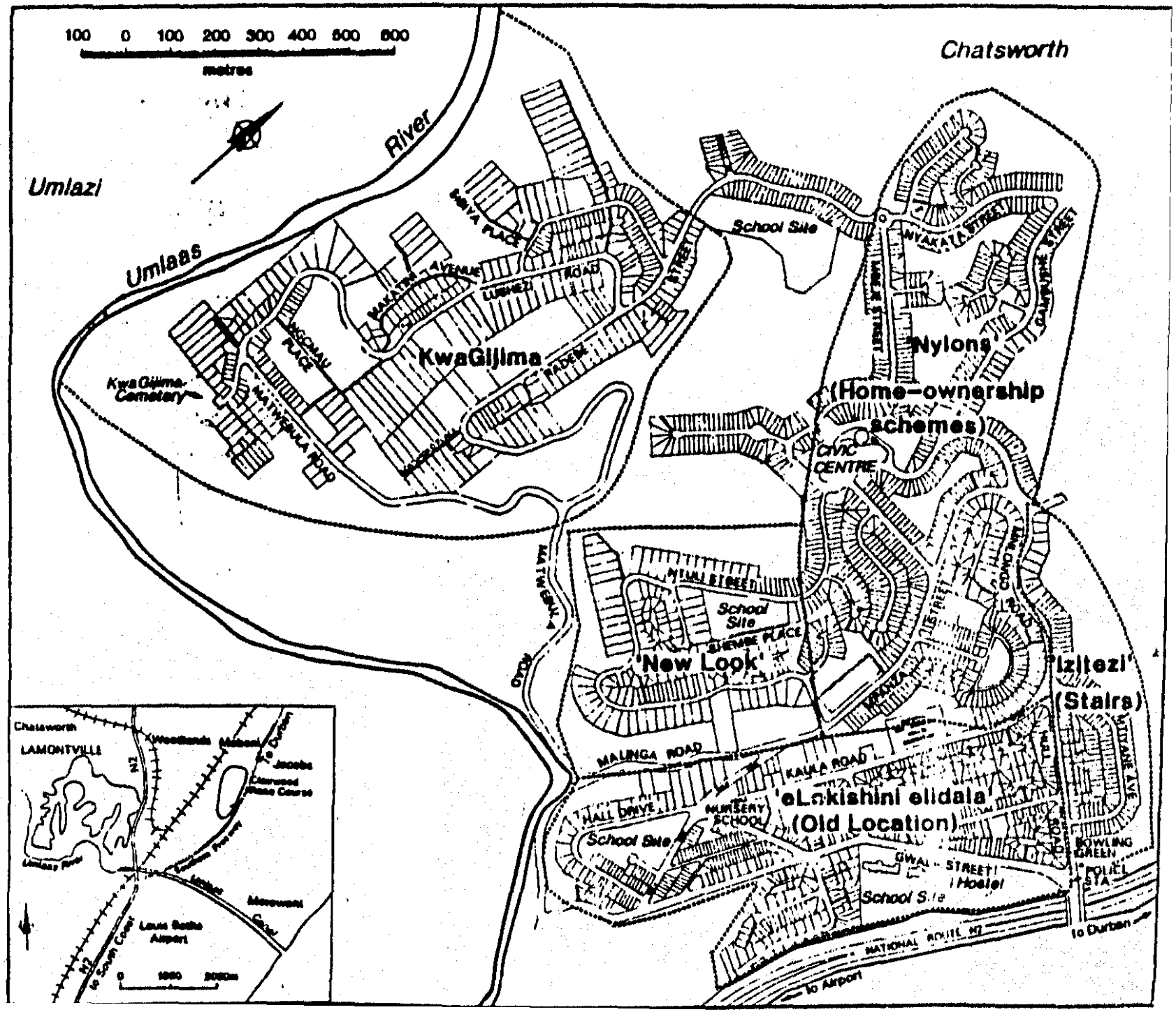
The City Control Council experienced further difficulties which delayed the implementation of a large-scale housing programme. In 1950 the City Council resolved to acquire part of Cato Manor for a permanent housing scheme. This was approved by the administrator of Natal in 1951 but was immediately rejected by the government until such time as a permanent zoning scheme under Group Areas Act had been approved. Residential segregation by race in South African cities was perhaps more complete in Durban than anywhere else. Indeed, the appearance of inter-racial neighbourhoods during the war by the so-called "Indian penetration" led to vehement protests and the passing of legislation (1943 and 1946) to control this movement. But following the advent to power of the

National Party in 1948, racial segregation was given an ideological basis (apartheid). The Group Areas Act was the instrument by which strict residential segregation of all races was to be enforced.

In the meantime, pending the Group Areas zoning. attempts were made to provide accommodation in the main urban areas through the establishment of controlled "emergency" camps. These emergency camps were temporary structures permitted to be created by the Africans and to which basic services were provided by municipal authorities until suitable permanent accommodation could be built elsewhere. Thus, after protracted negotiations, the Durban Corporation acquired land at Cato Manor in 1952 for the purpose provided by the Corporation comprised of roads, storm-water. Sites were also made available for schools, churches, community halls, sports grounds, creches, shops and transit camp which finally consisted of 183 rooms to assist residents in the building of their shacks. Loans of up to R40 were made available, repayable at the rate of R1 per month. The "emergency camps" however, proved totally inadequate to cope with the rapidly growing population of Cato Manor. The geography and topography of the countryside surrounding the camp precluded any significant expansion of camp area.

The S J Smith Hostel for single males was built in 1950 and the Umlazi Glebelands area adjoining Lamont was established as the permanent African housing area in the same year. But further expansion of Chesterville housing scheme (which adjoined Cato Manor) was not undertaken because in terms of government policy, the Cato Manor area was earmarked for occupation by Whites under the Group Areas Act. Instead, an area of sugar-cane estates, originally owned by Natal Estates Limited was acquired in 1953 by Durban Corporation at Duff's Road, 18km north of Durban for the establishment of an extensive African housing scheme to be known as Kwamashu. The Group Areas Act delayed the solution of the African housing problem in Durban by several years. It was not until 1956 that Kwamashu was proclaimed a municipal housing scheme and building could commence. As this new accommodation became available, shack households with monthly income amounting to R30 or more were transferred to the new accommodation and their shacks were demolished. The higher rentals, the increased transport costs involved because of the greater distance between Kwamashu and places of employment in Durban, led to the considerable resistance to this transfer by the shack dwellers and in 1959 there were serious clashes with the police. The removal of shack dwellers from Cato Manor and other areas to Kwamashu commenced in 1958. This process of removal became so difficult for Cato Manor consisted of a number of "localities" or "wards". To mention some,

Benoni, Cabazini, Dabulamanzi, Dlamini, Ezimbusini, Fairbreeze, Jeep Coat, KwaBhengu, KwaKhanyile, KwaMnguni, Kumalo, Manasa, Mt Carmel, Mjafete, Mokoena, Mpanza, Mathonsi, Mthimkhulu, Mgenge, New Clere, Ndlovu, New Look, Orlando, Shumville, Two Sticks, Newtown, Mkalandodo, Thusini and so forth. The removal programme which commenced in March 1958 was almost complete by August 1965. By this date shacks in Cato Manor had been cleared and shack dwellers had officially been resettled in the new townships of KwaMashu and Umlazi.



100 0 100 200 300 400 500 600
metres
Chatsworth
Umlazi
Umlaas
River
KwaGijima
Kwa Gijima Cemetery
School Site
'Nylons'
(Home-ownership schemes)
CIVIC CENTRE
'New Look'
'Izitezi'
(Stairs)
'eLakishini elidala'
(Old Location)
MALINGA ROAD
KAULA ROAD
HALL DRIVE
NURSERY SCHOOL
School Site
Hostel
NATIONAL ROUTE N2
to Airport
to Durban
BOWLING GREEN
POLICE STA
Chatsworth
LAMONTVILLE
Woodlands
Mobeni
Jacobs
Clairwood Race Course
Umlaas River
Merewent
Louis Botha Airport
to South Coast
N2

A LIST OF FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO LAMONTVILLE AT THE END OF 1993

1. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

	Facilities	No.
1.	Soccer fields	5
2.	Junior Soccer fields	1
3.	Netball fields	1
4.	Swimming pool	1
5.	Halls	2
6.	Cinema	Nil
7.	Tennis Court	Nil
8.	Tribal dancing ground	Nil
9.	Stadium	Nil
10.	Playgrounds	1
11.	Parks	1
12.	Snooker room	1

2. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

	Facilities	No.
1.	University	Nil
2.	Technikons	Nil
3.	Technical Colleges	Nil
4.	Teachers' Training Colleges	Nil
5.	Schools	
5.1	Creches	5
5.2	Pre-Primary School	1
5.3	Primary	6

2. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES (continued)

	Facilities	No.
5.4	Secondary	2
5.5	Adult Centres	1
5.6	Private schools	Nil

3. MEDICAL FGACILITIES

	Facilities	No.
1.	Hospitals	Nil
2.	Clinics	3
3.	Surgeries	Nil

4. WELFARE FACILITIES

	Facilities	No.
1.	Old-age homes	1
2.	Orphanage	1
3.	Special schools	1
4.	Other facilities	

5. OTHER FACILITIES

	Facilities	No.
1.	Churches	13
2.	Alcoholic Centre	Nil
3.	Youth Centre	Nil
4.	Other	Nil

6. LICENSED BUSINESSES

	Facilities	No.
1.	Hawkers	3
2.	Painters	Nil
3.	General dealers	7
4.	Butchers	4
5.	Building contractors and Brick layers	
6.	Taxi operators	
7.	Market stalls	
8.	Miscellaneous mechanics	
9.	Dry cleaning depots	1
10.	Driving schools	Nil
11.	Tailors or dressmakers	2
12.	Bookkeepers	1
13.	Attorneys	Nil
14.	Tearooms	Nil
15.	Liquor stores	7
16.	Eating house	1
17.	Shoemakers	1
18.	Herbalists	Nil
19.	Supermarket	1
20.	Photographer	1
21.	Post Office	1
22.	Patent medicines	1
23.	Wood, coal and paraffin	1

HOUSES

5-Roomed houses	242
4-Roomed houses	2 047
3-Roomed houses	468
Total number of Government-built houses	2 757
Privately-built houses	564
TOTAL	3 321

POPULATION	46 000

CHAPTER 4

THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF LAMONTVILLE/WOODS ESTATE (ESTD.) 1934

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

The period prior to 1920's

Prior to the 1923 Native (urban areas) Act, little formal provision was made for the accommodation of African families in urban areas, particularly in Durban. The migrant labour system and its concomitant cheaper housing for single men in controlled compounds ensured that employers and local authorities were relieved of the financial burden of providing accommodation for African families. A foundation of this policy had been the dependence of the urban labour force for part of its subsistence from the reserves. However, rural impoverishment increased urbanization and rapid industrialization after World War I undermined this dependence. The urban nexus itself became fundamental in the reproduction of labour-power. This was signified by the provision in the 1923 Act for local authorities to set aside land for "Native Villages" in urban areas.

Before the 1923 Act townships or locations were created under the pretext of preserving public health. The "Sanitation-Syndrome" provided the excuse to remove Black people from the urban fabric to a location beyond the urban periphery. Plagues were seen to emanate from slums and Whites clamoured for the containment of Africans, especially whom they labelled as public health hazards. The fear was given concrete expression with the outbreak of bubonic plague in Cape Town in 1901, Durban in 1903 and Johannesburg in 1904. In this way Ndabeni location was established, 8km from the Cape Town city centre and at Klipspruit 20km from Johannesburg city centre, while in Natal the Native Location Act was passed in 1904, enabling municipalities in this province to provide locations for their African population. The fact that Ndabeni was located as a site selected for disposal works, that Klipspruit adjoined such a site and that Western native townships was constructed at the Newlands depositing site in 1918 did not perturb the health conscious White residents. This therefore, suggests that the "Sanitation Syndrome" provided the ideological justification to move Africans beyond the urban periphery to locations where land was valueless and to contain and control their presence within townships, thus preserving property interests in the inner city. These locations also constituted an effective means of segregated and controlled urban locations and decreased the possibility of Community based political Activity

and Trade Union organization and reinforced the paternalistic control in the workplace.

The "Durban System" and the Housing Debate in the 1920's

Durban took ten years to respond to the provision in the 1923 Native (urban area) Act for the establishment of the township for Africans. The "Durban system" of African Administration was founded before Union. In 1908 Natal Beer Act provided for the establishment of a municipal beer monopoly, the profits of which would accrue to a Native Administration Fund for the purpose of defraying African Administration and Welfare costs. By 1916 the "Durban system" boasted an elaborate system of control and administration, embodied in the Native Affairs Dept created that year. The "Durban system" soon gained its notoriety for the large profits which accrued to its Native Revenue Account from the municipal beer monopoly and the 1923 Natives (urban Areas) Act obliged municipalities to emulate Durban's financial formula by the establishment of separate Native Revenue Accounts.

The 1923 Act made provision for the creation of townships for the permanently urbanized labour force, but it made no provision for the financing of these townships. This cost was to be borne by the local authorities. The local authorities attempted to give

concrete expression to the belief that urban Africans should themselves bear a substantial portion of their housing costs. The local authorities were not willing to commit themselves to financing a large township. Durban ratepayers too, were unaccustomed to subsidising its Africans labour force. Between 1915 and 1927, 120 cottages for African families had been created at Baumanville on the proceeds of Durban's profitable Native Revenue Account. These were, however, entirely inadequate for the growing African population.

Liberal Ideology, the aspirant African Petty Bourgeoisie and agitation for a village during the mid and late 1920's

Liberal organizations were at the forefront of the move to establish a village for African families. The joint Council for Europeans and Natives especially exerted pressure on the Durban Town Council to establish a village for Africans along the lines prescribed by the 1923 Act. The White members of the joint council reflecting small commercial and industrial interest concluded that migrancy was not conducive to labour productivity. J H Nicholson pointed out that migrant workers retiring to their "kraals" at weekends often failed to return to their duties on Monday mornings. He maintained that there was considerable wastage of money, time and energy in commuting between the rural, family environment and the urban workplace. He

believed that the money could be better spent within the borough. He believed that since a large number of Africans were employed in the Borough it would be advantageous to the European if the Council made better provision for accommodating these natives by the establishment of a native village.

An investigation by the Joint Council in 1928 found that at least 75% of Africans in the peri-urban areas were living in family groups. Liberals were concerned about the African petty bourgeoisie and discerned the need to separate this class from the proletariat, since these two classes co-existed in backyard premises. Lower wages; exorbitant rentals charged by the petty landlord class, lack of control in the area, overcrowding, and unhygienic conditions made living conditions wretched. Another feature noted in the peri-urban district was that buildings were not arranged accordingly, no community building or activity and no service centres provided.

During this era the concern over housing was expressed *in terms of social control. The previous neglect of* housing and community services had exacerbated African labour militancy which in turn generated concern about regulations and control over this sphere. White ratepayers were anxious about the growth of unplanned settlements. This led to an attack on slum conditions and indirectly on the petty landlord class. Besides

the outcry against squalid housing, crime and drunkenness, these slum areas undermined the soundness of the N.R.A. African liquor sellers, hawkers and Indian petty landlords channelled away a potential source of revenue from the municipality's N.R.A.

The Municipal beer boycott and the emergency of Lamontville The co-option of the African petty bourgeoisie

During the 1920's increasing African land hunger, eviction and exceptionally low wages resulted in further migration to urban areas. By the end of the decade African worker resistance in Durban assumed a heightened intensity, since it was in this city that the oppression and the exploitation of African labour was in this city that the oppression and the exploitation of African labour was at its most advanced. Under Champion, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) gained much support. In 1927 dock-workers joined the resistance to the arrest of Africans for tax offenses. Between 1926 and 1930 the ICU and the Natal African Congress (NAC) collaborated to take up the grievances of the urban African working class. Popular opposition was mobilized around the beer monopoly which served as the symbol of Africans oppression in Durban and was translated after 1929 into overt popular opposition to the "Durban system". In June 1929 concerted boycotts

of the beer-halls ensued. These were sustained for eighteen months, as the Anti-kaffir Beer Manufacturing league co-ordinated the boycott. Demands made at a mass meeting of 5 000 workers on 16 June 1929 at Cartwright Flats reflect a perception and consciousness of the exploitation inherent in the "Durban System" and its beer monopoly. Africans in Durban demonstrated profound politicization in 1929 as ultra-low wages and economic hardship fuelled the residence to the monopoly system. An important stimulus to this popular militancy came from the Communist Party of S.A. which was active in Durban under the leadership of Johannes Nkosi after 1929. African workers in Durban were responsive to a nationwide call for a pass-burning campaign on Dingaan's Day in 1930. The death of Nkosi and three others at the hands of the police at a mass meeting at Cartwright Flats on 16 December 1930 and the repression which ensued was the state's response to a highly organized and sustained resistance movement.

The local and central state offered a dual response to African worker militancy in Durban. On the one hand a police of Amelioration was adopted as the local authorities sought to gain the support of the African petty bourgeoisie. The De Waal Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the riots of 1929, vindicated the Durban system of African administration and the beer monopoly. De Waal, however, castigated the Durban municipality for having the most negligent of all the

major industrial towns in providing housing and welfare facilities for its African population. De Waal concluded that "residential native township" was imperative for the "better class native". De Waal strongly endorsed a policy of ameliorating the social conditions of Africans as a means of gaining social and political control. This amelioration was to be seen through the provision of differential housing facilities and the establishment of a Native Advisory Board for middle-class Africans.

On the other hand, the state's repressive response to African resistance was characterised by the passing of apartheid laws. These were enforced by the municipal NAD after 1930. These laws aimed at curbing the influx of Africans to towns and tightening the control over Africans in urban areas. The 1930 Amendment to the 1923 native (urban areas) Act provided for the deportation from towns of idle dissolute or disorderly Africans. Over 1 000 African workers were expelled from Durban in 1930, while the rights of women without entry certificates to urban areas were severely curtailed. During the 1930's various parts of the city were systematically proclaimed segregated areas, in terms of these proclamations all Africans other than these exempted under the 1923 Act were required to reside in a native location, hostel or village (May 1 a m 1981). However, these regulations could only be effected if such accommodation was available. Such was the

onslaught against unexempted Africans to vacate their premises that the ICU succeeded in obtaining a temporary interdict against eviction notices because the Council had not fulfilled its obligation in providing adequate alternative accommodation.

The militancy of 1929 had suggested to the local authorities the dangers of a frustrated aspirant African petty bourgeois class. The "Goodwill Advisory Board" created in 1930 was an attempt to co-opt and incorporate this petty bourgeois leadership in the hope of defusing the militancy and breaking the boycott. The boycott undermined the ability of the local authorities to provide for the accommodation of labour. The need to placate and co-opt the African petty bourgeoisie and to alienate from the militant working class, was the final pucipitant in the council's drawn-out negotiation to acquire land for the township.

The Acquisition of land for the "Native Village"

The use of valuable land was never anticipated for the township. Rather the council sought land that was not suitable for either industrial purposes or for White residential areas. The use of law investment or unsuitable land for townships was not new. For example, Ndabeni in Cape Town, Klipspruit in Johannesburg and in Durban locations were to be established or proposed in the vicinity of rubbish and sewerage depot.

Estate that their tenants, the Illovo Sugar Estates, release 425 acres of land for the purpose of establishing a "Native Village". A further condition of purchase involved the satisfactory conclusion of arrangement with the government for control of the township. The Durban Council sought, through an Amendment to the Urban area legislation, [powers of control over a township to be established in an area of jurisdiction of another local authority. In its option to purchase, the council stipulated that the purchase was dependent upon the passing of the amending clause. Section 5 of Act 25 of 1930 passed in May gave the Durban Council full control over the township proposed on Woods Estate. In 1931 the land ceased to be under the control of the South Coast Junction Area local administration and Health Board (SCJA LAHB). With these protracted negotiation the local authorities in Durban attempted to bring the problem of informal housing into its orbit by an extension to the borough boundaries, and by wresting the vestiges of control over African housing from the local Health Boards and the petty landlord class on the urban periphery. The "Native Village" was finally realised in Durban in 1934 when Lamontville was opened up for occupation.

The interests of urban ratepayers were threatened by the spectre of Africans living and owning property in urban areas as this meant a decline in the value of their investments. (Rich 1978) urban segregation therefore protected the interests of this group while the creation of townships on unprofitable land absolved local authorities of financial outlays.

During the late 1920's the local authorities had been thwarted in its attempts to acquire suitable land for a township. By the early 1930's the necessity for its establishment was no longer in doubt. The 1929 riots and concern over public order on the urban periphery brought into sharp focus the urgent need to remedy Durban's shortage of housing for its African population. By 1930 the scheme was on the card but the local authorities still had to overcome some difficulties. These centred around the old question of financial responsibility, the position of the township and the related problem of control over the area.

The council was not prepared to buy proposed land for a native village, (i.e. Wood Estate) if the township scheme could not be realised, because the Council did not wish to be burdened with unusable land. For this reason the steep inaccessible land not suitable for industry was to be secured for the "Native Village". A precondition for the purchase of Woods Estate by the corporation was the guarantee by the Executors of the

CHAPTER 5

INTRODUCTION

Data Analysis and interpretation

Analysis and interpretation is done from data collected from 40 respondents. The data will be organized and divided into various subsections. This will be presented in tables. Possible solutions will be suggested in the last section of the whole study.

Table 5.1

SEX	%
Male	40
Female	60
	100

The above table shows that 60% of respondents were female and 40% males. Such distribution can be associated with a number of factors. For example; it is tradition among many Blacks that women have to remain at home and perform traditional activities such as child minding, midwifery and the like. Men are often to be found in various occupations during the course of the day. This is perhaps why the percentage of females is higher than that of males.

Table 5.2

AGE	100%
20 - 30	6
30 - 40	24
40 - 50	11
50 - 60	16
60 and above	43

This survey does not follow a particular trend in as far as the age structure is concerned. It is of course random. Nevertheless, 43% of the respondents are above 60 years of age. Interestingly 6% of those interviewed are between 20 and 30 years of age. At this point it is important to emphasise that age is no obstacle to the collection of data. Lastly, the rest of the other respondents fall between 30 and 60 years of age.

Table 5.3

MARITAL STATUS	%
Single	17
Married	33
Widow/Widower	47
Divorced	3
Other	-
	100

The table above indicates that 47% of the respondents are widows. This is followed by 33% of the married respondents. 17% of the respondents are neither

widow/widowers, nor married but single, and the lowest percentage is that of the divorcees which is 3%. It is, however, interesting to point out that one could conceptualize the associative factors contributing to such a high rate of widows. Most people at Lamontville specifically men, are so frustrated, such that they are addicted to alcoholic drinks. From a medical point of view such a habit tends to dwindles one's life expectancy in one way or other.

Table 5.4

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	%
Primary	37
Secondary	50
Tertiary	10
Other (no education)	3
	100

It is clear from this table that the educational levels are unfavourable, 3% of the respondents have no formal education and a further 10% have tertiary or lower. At this point it is necessary to emphasise that education is essential to development and success. A low level of education may in one way or other affect individuals' ability to contribute towards the development of whatever nature within the society he /she lives. The contributions made by a well educated personality are more acceptable than the one made by

the unwell educated. The development and success of any nature in any aspect of life are determined by higher and advanced education.

Table 5.5

OCCUPATION	%
Unemployed	70
Labourer	20
Professional	6
Skilful	3
Other	-
	100

The survey covers a wide range of occupations and these have not been listed but classified in the manner shown above. About 70% of the respondents are unemployed. Nevertheless, they do have various sources of income from which they earn their living. This category comprises of people who are dependent on pension, selling, child minding, midwifery and the like. 20% of the respondents are employed as cheap labour. This category comprises of people who are enjoying certain rights as workers while considered to be unskilled. 6% of the respondents are professionals. This class, in this case, includes people like teachers and nurses. Lastly, but not the least, 3% of those interviewed are skilful people. These are the people who are trained to do certain jobs in the industrial world, and people with some skills.

Table 5.6

SOURCES OF INCOME	%
Rental	-
Salary	40
Pension	47
Welfare grants	-
Other (self-employed	13
	100

Sources of income are of various forms. 47% of the respondents derive their income from their employers as salary. The data on income per capita has not been collected or furnished. 40% of the people interviewed obtain their income from pension fund. In this category there is an outcry. About 100% of the pensioners had complained about the amount they receive and the inequality of the amounts in terms of races. Lastly about 13% of the respondents are self-employed. They are involved in informal sector activities which provide them with income. Only a certain percentage among the self-employed respondents indicates that their families are fully supported through income derived from the informal sector activities. None of the respondents in the above indicate that he/she derives a certain amount of income from welfare societies and the like.

Table 5.7

PLACE OF BIRTH	%
Rural	63
Urban	37
Other	-
	100

Many of the urban dwellers are originally from rural areas. In the late nineteenth century the rural economy had experienced stresses and strains. On the other hand the manufacturing sector rested largely on mining, and commerce had started to develop on a significant scale. This resulted in more and more Africans migrating from rural to urban areas.

The above table indicates that about 63% of the people interviewed are originally from various rural areas of Southern Africa. Most of them migrated to urban areas for they were no longer able to cope with rural life. Only 37% of the respondents are originally from urban areas.

Table 5.8

REASON FOR LEAVING PLACE OF ORIGIN	%
Family ties	10
Legislation	60
Unemployment	20
Migration	10
Other	-
	100

Many people in the world are found where they are due to a number of pushing or pulling factors. When asked, some have indicated that migration from rural to urban was the only solution for they were unable to cope with natural or ecological forces which prevailed in their environment by then. However, some have been forced by state or other political or economic powers to leave their places of birth and the like. The above table provides a more reliable data and displays various reasons behind people leaving their places of origin. Seemingly, the above table indicates that the pushing factors, legislations predominate pulling factors, family ties and employment. About 60% of the people interviewed in Lamontville indicated that they were born and bred in various parts of the town due to the apartheid legislations. About 10% of the respondents indicated that they are where they are, due to family ties while the other 10% of the respondents migrated from rural to urban areas in order to leave and the remaining 20% of the respondents were pushed out of their birth places by the unavailability of employment.

Table 5.9

PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE	%
Emergency camp	6
Shack building	23
Compound	6
Hostel	26
Storeroom	-
Wash house	-
Other (Township)	30
	100

A housing problem in South Africa has prevailed some decades ago. Blacks in particular, have been the victims of the latter. Both the government and the local authorities (municipalities) were not prepared to provide housing or any permanent accommodation for the Blacks. Both the state and the municipalities had sound reasons to substantiate their refusals. The so-called *Group Areas Act and the other related apartheid* legislations were, as far as the state and local authorities are concerned, substantial. So long they could achieve what they were designed for; (a White South Africa that is free of Black spot.) In the absence of sufficient accommodation informal settlements, shacks, squatter camps and the like mushroomed around urban centres. The above table displays a number of residential areas in which people reside prior to and after the existence of Lamontville. About 23% of the respondents were previously

accommodated in the shack buildings. Another 23% of the people interviewed were previously residing in the hostels. About 6% of the respondents indicated that their previous accommodation was a compound while the other 6% of the respondents were kept in emergency camps. Lastly, about 30% of the respondents were previously residing in townships.

Table 5.10

REASON FOR LEAVING PREVIOUS RESIDENCE	%
Shortage of / Availability of accommodation	20
Lower Rent	-
Closer to job	-
Resettlement	65
Other (Miscellaneous)	15
	100

About 65% of the respondents, especially those who previously resided in emergency camps, compounds, shack buildings and "townships" pointed out that they were forcefully removed from their respective residences and resettled at Lamontville. Even in the case of Lamontville the "Sanitation syndrome" was used as a justification to remove Africans from urban centres to areas beyond urban periphery and where land was valueless. It was however noted that the main aim was to contain and control the African presence within the townships, segregate Africans entirely from the city. Thus preserving the property interests in the city.

This township, Lamontville and the other proposed townships were to be used as effective means of controlled segregated and controlled urban locations and would also decrease the possibility of community based political activity and Trade Union Organizations and reinforce the paternalistic control in the workplace. Unfortunately such aims were partially achieved. The above table also indicates that about 20% of the respondents had to leave their previous residential areas for there was available accommodation at Lamontville. Lastly, about 15% of the respondents had to leave their previous residential areas merely for various reasons and of which had no political undertone.

Table 5.11

TYPE OF BUILDING	%
% of Houses which are of -	
1-Room type	-
2-Room type	3
3-Room type	27
4-Room type	70
5-Room type	-
Other	-
	100

By and large South Africa has one type of house for the urban Black people. It varies here and there when the number of rooms in the model four-roomed house is

increased or reduced. This also applies to Lamontville where houses vary little in size and shape. They range from two to four-roomed houses. Some four-roomed houses have both front and back doors whereas some have one door leading out. This is also applicable to 2-roomed and 3-roomed houses. There are 2 or 3-roomed houses with both front and back doors whereas some have one door leading out. These are the only doors that can be closed. The other openings are fitted with door frames and the occupants must instal their own means of providing privacy between rooms. The windows of these various types of buildings have a squint look. One window is bigger or smaller than the other. All the houses, except the newly built, have the outside bathrooms and the toilets. There are spaces for bathing facilities to be fitted by the occupants. In some instances toilets are being shared and this at some stage encourages conflict between the two families.

Table 5.12

BUILDING CONDITION	%
Plastered houses	20
Unplastered houses	80
Painted	10
Unpainted	90
	100

Most of the houses at Lamontville are dull, monotonous and very depressing to the eyes and mind of an onlooker. They stretch on a hilly, barren land and look dusty and grey from a distance. It stands to reason that all first occupants of brand-new houses received them unplastered and unpainted. In some instances bricks were white-washed inside with a powdery substance which rubs off with the slightest touch and which for some reason or another, has a capacity for breeding fleas. Imagine these excited occupants confronted with this negative experience. It is also noticeable that a vast majority of houses are falling apart and nobody is prepared to fix them. Both occupants and authorities are pointing fingers at each other. Roughly 80% of houses in Lamontville look so bad and clumsy.

Table 5.13

QUALITY OF MATERIAL	%
Good building material	7
Poor building material	93
	100

It is obvious even to a layman who is not qualified to analyze building material that Lamontville houses are built with inferior material. Occupants have to spend a fortune not on alteration, but just on making the house habitable, as well as maintaining it so that it remains so. There are some of the items on which

occupants have to invest money to improve their lot - plastering; floorboards; ceiling; adjustment to windows; bath; hand-basin; hot water system; electricity etc. By all standards these are not luxurious but have bare necessities for everyday living in any home. According to this survey 93% of the houses in Lamontville are built of poor and inferior material and 7% is said to be much better. Issues concerning the quality of material are summarised in the table above.

Table 5.14

SIZE OF HOUSES	%
Percentage of respondents mentioning small size of housing units	80
Percentage of respondents mentioning big size of housing units	20%
Other	-
	100

In these houses the space in the individual rooms is lamentably limited. Rooms usually measure three by three metres, or three by four metres to accommodate sitting, moving and sleeping. All these activities can be a nightmare with a visit of one or two extra relatives. The chief source of discontent here is that Lamontville homes are generally too small for the number of persons living under one roof and this deprives the individual household members of their privacy and the like. Features such as inter-

connecting rooms, inadequate partitioning within the housing units and insufficient space between the units, are also cases in point. Rooms are used for multiple purposes and a common complaint is that the various functions assigned to any one room are not compatible at hours of use. The forced sharing of ablution facilities causes tension between neighbours who under other circumstances, might be considered congenial. According to this survey some children sleep with their parents and others even sleep under the tables in the lounge. In some instances a family plus or minus ten is sleeping in two rooms. This is ridiculous out of 100%; 80% of the houses are so small, such that they cannot meet the ever-increasing demand of accommodation and space. Those household members who can escape from the constant rubbing of shoulders, do so by joining the city's formal work-force or alternatively, roaming the streets or engaging in informal activities.

Table 5.15

ROLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL (NPA) AND WARD COUNCILLORS TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWNSHIP	%
Adequate	0
Inadequate	100
None	-
Other	-

It has been pointed out in the previous discussion that according to survey respondents, the problems facing

the township are deliberately caused by the management. The so-called councillors are just ornaments. They are also the cause of misery and frustration. Most of them are known to be practising favouritism and accepting bribes. Such a structure is seen chiefly as a means of achieving individualistic goals, such as material wealth and does not consider the community's needs and priorities.

From this discussion an impression is created that the relationship between administration and residents is a distant one. It is therefore thought that due to this gap the residents view the administration as a humiliation and as means deliberately dragging down any township development. It is also a general feeling of the respondents that the administration's presence is to see to it that the apartheid legislations are carried out and no township development is taking place. The table above is an evidence to this.

Table 5.16

HOUSING FORM AND ITS EFFECTS ON FAMILY LIFE	%
Lack of privacy	40
Overcrowding	80
Juvenile delinquency	20
Diseases	-
School drop-outs	20
Imbalanced citizens	10
Balanced normal citizens	10

In this context overcrowding may be defined in terms of inadequate; sex separation and minimum floor space for sleeping purposes. It needs to be stated that the problem of overcrowding has certainly become serious since a century ago. According to this survey 80% of the dwellings in Lamont are over-crowded and have insufficient rooms for the households living in them. Overcrowding in homes tends to intensify already poor relations between members of the household to the point where they may become unbearable (C.F. Freedman 1971). Those household members who can escape from the constant rubbing of shoulders do so by joining the city's formal work-force or alternatively, roaming the streets or engaging in informal activities (C.F. Mitchell). There are indications that some young couples prefer to abandon township living completely and joint the "city overspill" migratory movement to the formal settlement on the per-urban fringe (Möller 1978 b). It is a well-known fact that the provision of township housing has not been able to keep up with the population increase in town. The housing shortage tends to further aggravate the problem of privacy by halting the residential mobility of grown children and young married couples, which would normally relieve the crowding in established homes (C.F. Möller 1978). Overcrowding of the ten forces married. One can imaging a whole family of nine sleeping in only two rooms. It is ridiculous. There is nothing confidential one can say without being overheard by

children or visitors. When one speaks on one side those on the other side could hear. These dwellings are really dehumanising. As a result children are exposed to practices which are beyond their comprehension. They ask no questions and accept certain practices as the way of life. The over-growing rate of illegitimacy, rape, abortion which is so freely spoken of, and other problems are borne out of this type of housing and environment.

The problem of overcrowding in Lamont tends to force youngsters into streets throughout the day and night. Most of the parents miss the only opportunity they have to build up a relationship with their children in the evenings. There is no adequate place to read and attend to school work. Some houses have poor lighting, which adds to the problem of drop-outs. The whole township depends on one newly-established library and which is not well equipped. Some children have left school with no employment and deteriorated into juvenile delinquents, and even criminals. It is indeed a miracle that this old township, after a period of 60 years in existence, can produce well-balanced citizens. One can tell at a glance that some of the adults in Lamontville have never known a relaxed and balanced home life, normal neighbourhood and the like. Some of the families are bitter, disgruntled, grudging, unhappy and frustrated. They never had a chance to succeed at home, at work, in the community, etc. It needs to be

stated that according to this survey all Lamontville residents have accepted, as a way of life, to live in a township so old and displays no signs of speedy recovery or development.

Table 5.17

FAMILY SIZE	%
Percentage of respondents with -	
Small family	20
Big family	80
Other	-
	100

The Lamontville township is characterized by a lower class society. Such a society is dominantly characterized by rapid population increase which on the other hand generates hunger, poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and lack of accommodation. Thus the household sizes are relatively big in Lamontville and overcrowding is therefore a phenomenon. About 80% of the respondents maintain that their families are overcrowded and accommodated in inadequate dwelling units.

There are cases where married couples have to share their sleeping space with young children. As a result children are exposed to practices which are beyond their comprehension. They ask no questions and accept practices as the way of life. The horror of the growing

number of diseases, ever-growing rate of illegitimacy and abortion which is freely spoken of, are borne out of this type of housing environment. (Khuzwayo, E).

Table 5.18

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RESIDENTS AND ADMINISTRATION	%
Approachability of administration	14
Inapproachability of/Degradation of and inconsiderateness of administration	86
	100

The impression gained from this survey is tat the relationship between residents and the administration is a distant one. They both meet on unequal footing and the residents are always on the losing side. According to the survey residents are made to suffer insecurity and degradation at the hands of administration. They have to put up with corruptive practices and intrusion into their privacy in order to keep a roof over their heads. 85% of the respondents are dissatisfied with management and control in the area. A huge number of problem areas exist, viz. provision of services, maintenance and rent. Regarding the provision of facilities the most urgent need seems to be electricity, enlargement of and improvement of residential areas and favourable maintenance of houses. 5% of the respondents maintain that they pay too much rent. There are complaints about facilities and

services on one hand and complaints about too much rent on the other. (Cf Table 3.16)

Table 5.19

RESIDENTIAL SECURITY	%
Eviction on account of arrears	
Eviction of widows	
Indefinite residents status	

Eviction due to outdated rent payment, rent boycotts, automatic loss of urban status upon the death or desertion of their husbands and the like poses no more threat to residents. At the time of this survey such an issue was no more topical except rent boycotts. According to survey respondents, the manner in which such evictions and night raids conducted was considered humiliating and offensive to all household members' sense of privacy, sense of humanity and the like.

Table 5.20

GRIEVANCES CONCERNING RENT - PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS MENTIONING RENT	%
Fluctuation in rental	47
High Rentals	50
Low Rentals	3
Other	-
	100

Because rentals constitute a very large proportion of the urban African budget, any fluctuation in the rent

drastically reduces his spending power for the following month. As service charges, which are calculated on the basis of actual consumption, are included in the rent, residents never know in advance the exact sum of money they will have to pay for the next month's rent. This seems to create feelings of tremendous insecurity for many respondents, even for those who understand how to account for the inconsistency in their rent. What distresses respondents most, is that if ever they have had reason to query the service charges, they have found their grievances are not receiving a sympathetic hearing by administration. Fifty percent of the respondents pointed out that the rent is high and constantly going up. On the other hand, 47% of the respondents pointed out that the rent is not fixed and one does not know exactly how much on will have to pay. As a result one cannot plan one's things properly. There has also been concern that there is an unfair recording of electricity meter readings. It appears as if the clerks simply take readings on a few first homes and then generalise on them. As a result of such grievances, rent boycotts is an ongoing process in Lamontville.

Table 5.21

PROGRESS OVER THE PAST YEARS - % OF RESPONDENTS MENTIONING -	%
Progress	
Economic situation	27
Residential situation	13
Family	20
Other (No information)	
No progress	
Economic situation	73
Residential situation	87
Family situation	80
Other	

It is obvious from the above table that respondents are expected to view progress from monetary aspect, housing aspect, family aspect and personal aspect. Different respondents expressed different views on different aspects. 72% of the respondents do not feel that they have achieved economic progress over the past years. Some of the reasons put forth are the increased rate of unemployment, government's attitude towards Blacks or unequal economic dispensation. 87% of the respondents also feel that no housing progress has been achieved over the past year; 80% of the respondents have not achieved any family progress; some of the respondents arrived in Lamontville as early as the 1940's and 1950's and they have never witnessed progress of any nature in their family situations, housing situation, economic situation or in the township itself. They even pointed out that they received houses some decades

ago un-plastered, unpainted or white-washed with a powdery substance, un-electrified, dull, monotonous and depressing, and most of them look worse to date. As far as the respondents are concerned the township is moving neither forward nor backward, but a "zone of decay".

Table 5.22

PROGRESS OVER THE PAST YEARS IN -	%
Progress	
Educational facilities	40
Health facilities	25
Welfare facilities	15
Recreational facilities	10
Other (Slow / Fast) None	10
	100

According to the survey of the respondents, progress is seen in the accessibility, adequacy, availability and service of high esteem in these facilities. About 40% of the respondents feel that there is progress in the educational facilities. Comparatively speaking, about 60% of the respondents say no discernible progress in educational facilities. The whole township is served by one Senior Secondary, one Junior Secondary and one small, ill-equipped public library. There are no tertiary institutions available.

Only 25% of the people interviewed feel that health facilities are adequate and displaying characteristic features of progress. The remaining respondents feel in a different way.

Table 5.23

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS PROGRESS - RESPONDENTS MENTIONED -	%
Government	-
Community leaders / Wards councillors	-
Community - e.g. Educated people	-
Other (newly established Political structure)	100
	100

Should a township make a breakthrough or progress or vice-versa, questions are often asked as to who is responsible. Authorities? or Community? In some instances answers to such questions avail themselves with ease. Community leaders such as ward councillors serve as channels for liaison between residents and community administration. However, respondents appear to have no faith in this body and do not feel that it provides adequate service in their (residents) interests. Their councillors are corrupt, accept bribes, practise favouritism and the like. The majority of the people feel that they are useless and no longer functional and existing. Surprisingly, one hundred percent of the respondents feel that the newly and democratically established structures which have replaced councillors are more progressive and

representative. The township has at this point in time achieved some progress through their efforts and role. They appear to be more respectable than previous councillors. They also display strong qualities of leadership. As a result, people tend to put more faith in them, for they deliver the goods. The more lively the communication channels, the more progressive the township will be.

Table 5.24

FACTORS HAMPERING PROGRESS	%
Government attitudes and legislation	60
Community	3
Community leaders (councillors)	37
Other	
	100

Seemingly, there are a number of factors hampering progress or development in Lamontville. In the previous discussions, a lot has been said on the role of councillors as part of the township administration. Many respondents expressed their dissatisfaction about councillors. Many respondents feel that councillors are corrupt; un-respectable and moreover, used as token of. About 37% of the respondents feel that councillors are among the leadership denying possible chances for the township development. The majority of the respondents also feel that there are no community leaders (councillors) in Lamontville whom they can

approach with their grievances or problems, except the newly founded community structures (L R A).

The government's racial attitudes and legislations have a greater impact on the development of the township. Surprisingly in my findings, about 60% of the respondents feel that the community itself has an impact on slow township development. A few respondents feel that the community ought to take an initiative in bringing about progress and development. They also feel that it is the obligation of every citizen to expose, denounce and eliminate any social elements which are dragging down the development of the township.

Table 5.25

ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL (NPA) AND WARD COUNCILLORS TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWNSHIP	%
Adequate	-
Inadequate	100
None	-
Other	-
	100

It has been pointed out in the previous discussion that according to survey respondents, problems are caused by the management. The so-called councillors are just ornaments. Most of them are known to be practising favouritism and accepting bribes. Such a structure is seen chiefly as a means of achieving individualistic

goals such as material wealth and does not consider the community's needs and priorities.

From this discussion an impression is created that the relationship between administration and residents is a distant one. It is therefore thought that, due to this gap the residents view the administration as a humiliation and as means deliberately dragging down any township development. It is also a general feeling of the respondents that the administration's presence is to see to it that the apartheid legislations are carried out and no township development is taking place. The table above is evidence of this.

Table 5.26

VIEW ON AN IMPROVED LAMONTVILLE ADMINISTRATION. DO YOU THINK THINGS WOULD BE BETTER IF WHITES OR BLACKS ARE IN CHARGE IN LAMONTVILLE'S ADMINISTRATION?	
RESPONDENTS	%
Things better with Black in charge	40
Things better with Whites in charge	-
Things better with both in charge	60
Other	-
	100

If the Administration does not live up to the residents' expectations, the community's morale may sink (Möller and Schlemmer, 1978). At the time of this survey rumours were circulating that certain structures made up of Blacks should interfere in the

administration and management of the township. From the respondents' point of view the so-called Black councillors and the White township administrators are jeopardizing the chances of success and development. About 40% of the respondents do not want Black residents to handle affairs regarding administration and management themselves. Many respondents feel that if Blacks or Whites have unilateral control they will tend to misuse power or misrepresent the interest and aspirations of the residents as a whole. As a result 60% of the respondents believe that more are the chances of success and development if both Blacks and Whites are in charge in the management and administration of the township. They (respondents) seem to be putting little faith in Blacks alone, or Whites alone. Furthermore, there is an indication that the percentage of respondents who wanted a Black man in charge consist of young age group and whose reasons are politically inclined.

Table 5.27

COMMUNITY NEEDS AND PRIORITIES	%
Educational facilities	-
Recreational facilities	-
Health facilities	-
Welfare facilities	-
Community Development Scheme	-
Other	-
	100

Most of the respondents are not concerned about the shortage of schools in their township as it is the case in other townships. In other townships, each year at the beginning of the school term children are turned away because they cannot be accommodated. According to the respondents it is pointed out that there is a tremendous outflow of pupils from Lamontville to Whites, Coloured or Indian schools. This constant outflow is orchestrated by inadequate school or learning and teaching facilities, the type of syllabus, high teacher-pupil ratio or large classes, shortage of staff and the like. One can imagine how difficult it is for one small and ill-equipped library to serve the whole community of Lamontville.

Apart from the issue of educational facilities, Lamontville lacks other facilities and amenities which are of dire need. Communication services such as telephone booths, recreational facilities such as sports fields, cinemas, swimming pools, tennis courts, hotels, night-clubs, parks, halls and recreational centres for all ages, and youths in particular, are urgently required.

According to the respondents welfare societies and other community development projects are also required in Lamontville. The problem of shops, liquor stores and the like is no more a threat due to the availability and proximity of informal sector

activities such as shebeens and spaza shops. Although the communication links connecting the township and the nearest hospital, Clairwood, are favourable, many respondents feel that the medical service at hospital level has to be made available within their township, Lamontville. In short, they (respondents) wish to have their own hospital which will serve and put their interests first, as residents.

Table 5.28

ATTITUDES TOWARD LIVING IN THE TOWN - ATTITUDE WITH REFERENCE TO -	%
Desire to leave town for good / no future in town	10
Cost of living is too high	15
Country life is preferable	5
Security in town / future in town	30
No knowledge of country life	15
Town life preferable	25
	100

Some respondents are able to cope with problems which confront them in their daily lives, whereas some are not. 30% of respondents prefer to leave for good. Most of them indicate that town life is so expensive, so much so, that they fail to cope. They also point out that town life is characterized by urban insecurity i.e. material, physical, residential and possibly emotional. This group of Black Africans has been affected or demoralized by socio-economic changes which are built upon the parallels of political turmoil. They still believe that the rural areas maintain the

nature of the life they have been longing for and could have achieved in their life-time. One of the objectives behind these "return migration" is possibly the revival of the broken community ties, family ties, love, a dwindling father figure and the like. Some respondents further argue that they expected a lot to have been done in Lamontville to date, but they have realised when it is too late, that this is no Black man's home but a "dumping zone".

On the other hand, a group of about 70% has adopted this slogan: *Town forever and country never.* According to this group of respondents town life is relatively preferable for it has a future, provides security for both young and old; they also felt that urban areas provide adequate and free political activity, freedom of association, freedom of speech and the like.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Sixty years after its inauguration, Lamontville is a township torn by conflict and popular resistance. The seeds of this conflict are inherent in the official concept of the "model township" implies paternalistic and more recently, coercive control. Unrepresentative bodies such as ineffectual (NAD) Native Advisory Board and later Community Council did not reflect the community's grievances, most of which have a history as the township itself.

It is indeed a miracle that this old township, after a period of 60 years in existence, can produce well-balanced citizens. One can tell at a glance that some of the adults in Lamontville have never known a relaxed and balanced home life, normal recreation in their community or immediate neighbourhood and the like. Some of the families are bitter, disgruntled, grudging, unhappy and frustrated. They never had a chance to succeed at home, at school, at work, in the community etc. It needs to be stated that according to this survey all Lamontville residents have accepted as a way of life, to live in a township so shabby and displays no signs of speedy recovery or development.

An in-depth survey of the problems hampering any form

of Lamontville township development leaves us with a clear picture of the quality of life in this township. It is poor by many standards. The survey findings also indicate that, oppressive laws, Group Areas Act, to say the least, have given birth to such poverty, poor quality of life and poor development of the township. Such a situation tends to increase in an urban rural society where opportunities within reach are reserved for other races.

The chief problems identified by Lamontville respondents are related to the state of housing, educational facilities, recreational facilities, roads, community administration or government representation, community facilities and other services. A key area or problem outlined for improvement in Lamontville is community administration. According to survey findings the latter does not serve the interests of the community or rather, deliver any goods. It is a factor among a range of others which impose constraints on the quality of life and township development in general.

The respondents also indicated that the stigma of apartheid laws cause many Lamontville residents to feel isolated from urban community. Thus many people articulate a "rural dream", a desire to escape the city and its frustration or else a reaction to the fact that their future security in town is under threat. This perception is however, threatened by occupation and

political opportunities which are so limited in rural areas.

Since the representative bodies such as community council and administrative Boards are identified as a chief problem, the future government should see to it that such bodies or structures reflect the community grievances and serve in the interest of the community.

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UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

QUESTIONNAIRE

THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK TOWNSHIPS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LAMONTVILLE TOWNSHIP

A survey conducted by A.S.M. DLUNGWANE, in partial fulfilment of B.A. (Hons.) 1993

1. SEX

Male ☐ Female ☐

2. AGE

20 - 30 ☐ 31 - 40 ☐

41 - 50 ☐ 51 - 60 ☐

60 and above ☐

3. MARITAL STATUS

Single ☐ Married ☐ Widow ☐

Divorced ☐ Other (specify) ☐ _____

_____

4. **LEVEL OF EDUCATION**

Primary Education ☐ Secondary Education ☐

Tertiary Education ☐ Other ☐

5. **OCCUPATION**

Unemployed ☐ Professional ☐

Skilful ☐ Other ☐

6. **SOURCES OF INCOME**

Wages ☐ Salaries ☐

Rentals ☐ Pensions ☐

Welfare Grants ☐ Other ☐

7. **EXPENDITURE PATTERNS**

Food ☐ Furniture ☐

Clothing ☐ Transport ☐

Rent (specify) ☐ Medical Care ☐

Other (specify) ☐ _____

_____

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN / BIRTH PLACE

Urban ☐ Rural ☐ Other ☐

9. REASON FOR LEAVING PLACE OF ORIGIN

Family ties ☐ Legislation ☐

Unemployment ☐ Other (specify) ☐

_____

10. PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Emergency camp ☐ Shack building ☐

Compound ☐ Hostel ☐

Storeroom ☐ Wash house ☐

Other (please specify) _____

_____

11. REASON FOR LEAVING PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Shortage of of availability accommodation ☐

Lower rent ☐ Closer to job ☐

Resettlement ☐ Other (specify) ☐

_____

12. **TYPE OF BUILDING**

1-Room ☐ 2-Room ☐ 3-Room ☐ 4-Room ☐

Double Storey ☐ Reduced or extended ☐

13. **BUILDING CONDITIONS**

Plastered ☐ Unplastered ☐

Bricks - white-washed ☐ One/two-door ☐

General appearance: Satisfactory ☐

Unsatisfactory ☐

14. **QUALITY OF MATERIAL**

Satisfactory ☐ Unsatisfactory ☐

Other ☐

15. **SIZE OF BUILDING / HOUSE**

Small ☐ Big ☐ Adequate ☐

Inadequate ☐ Other ☐ Other ☐

16. **MAINTENANCE AND STATE OF REPAIR**

Adequate ☐ Inadequate ☐ Other ☐

17. **HOUSING FORM AND ITS EFFECTS ON FAMILY LIFE**

Diseases ☐ School drop-outs ☐

Juvenile delinquency ☐ Lack of privacy ☐

Balanced or imbalanced life ☐ Other ☐

18. **FAMILY SIZE**

Big ☐ Small ☐ Other (specify number) ☐

19. **COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RESIDENTS AND ADMINISTRATION**

Inapproachability of Administration ☐

Degradation ☐

Inconsideration on the part of clerks ☐

Other ☐

20. **RESIDENTIAL SECURITY**

Eviction on account of arrears ☐

Eviction of Widow ☐

Indefinite resident status ☐

21. **RENT**

High rentals ☐ Low Rentals ☐

Fluctuation in rentals ☐ Other ☐

22. **GENERAL PROGRESS OVER THE PAST YEAR**

Progress

Economic situation ☐ Personal situation ☐

Residential / housing situation ☐

Family situation ☐

No progress

External factors and blocking progress ☐

Wage situation ☐ Job situation ☐

Personal (Health, misfortune) ☐ Other ☐

23. **GENERAL PROGRESS OVER THE PAST YEARS**

Educational facilities ☐ Health facilities ☐

Welfare facilities ☐ Recreational facilities ☐

Other ☐ Slow ☐ Fast ☐

24. **FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS PROGRESS**

Government ☐ Community leader ☐

Other ☐ (How)_____

_____

_____

25. **FACTORS HAMPERING PROGRESS**

African position in the society ☐

Government's attitude and legislation ☐

Community ☐ Other ☐ (How) _____

_____

_____

26. **ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL (GOVERNMENT DEPT) TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWNSHIP**

Adequate ☐ Inadequate ☐ Other ☐

(How) _____

_____

_____

27. **CONCEPTION OF AN IMPROVED LAMONT ADMINISTRATION**

Blacks in charge ☐ Whites in charge ☐

Both the latter in charge ☐ Other ☐

28. **COMMUNITY NEED AND PRIORITIES**

Educational facilities ☐

Recreational facilities ☐

Health facilities ☐

Welfare facilities ☐

Progressive local leadership ☐

Community development schemes ☐

Residents and local authorities ☐ Other ☐

29. **ATTITUDES TOWARDS LIVING IN THE COUNTRY**

	Positive	Negative
Future in town	☐	☐
Security in town	☐	☐
No future in town	☐	☐
Desire to leave town for good	☐	☐

ATTITUDES TOWARDS LIVING IN THE COUNTRY (cont'd)

	Positive	Negative
Cost of living is too high	☐	☐
Cost of living is too high	☐	☐
Country life preferable	☐	☐
No knowledge of country life	☐	☐
Other	☐	☐

30. **ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD?**

Yes ☐ (Specify) _____

_____

No ☐