

**THE MANIFESTATION OF APARTHEID LEGACY ON HOUSING
WITHIN THE DURBAN METROPOLITAN REGION,
A CASE OF KWA - MASHU TOWNSHIP**

By

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

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







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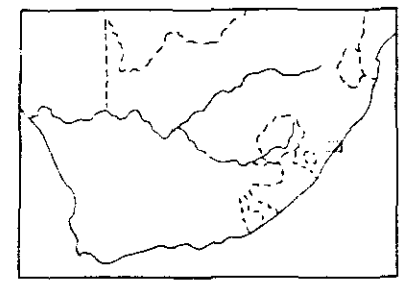
December 1994



**COASTAL SENSITIVITY
KUSSENSITIWITEIT**

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
|  | Exposed rocky headlands
Blootgelegde rotsuitlopers |  | Coarse grain sandy beaches
Grofkorrelrige sandstrande |
|  | Wavecut rocky platforms
Brandererosie-rotsstoepe |  | Pebble/Shingle beaches
Kieselsteen/gruisstrande |
|  | Fine grain sandy beaches
Fynkorrelrige sandstrande |  | Estuarine environment
Getyrvieromgewing |

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
|  | Closed estuary
Geslote monding |  | Marine nature reserve
Seereservaat |
|  | Open estuary
Oop monding |  | Sanctuary
Beskermingsgebied |
|  | Intake
Inlaat |  | Recreation
Ontspanning |
|  | Outfall
Uitlaat |  | Refer to biological key
Verwys na biologiese verklaring |



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
DFR	Durban Functional Region
DMR	Durban Metropolitan Region
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
RSA	Republic of South Africa

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

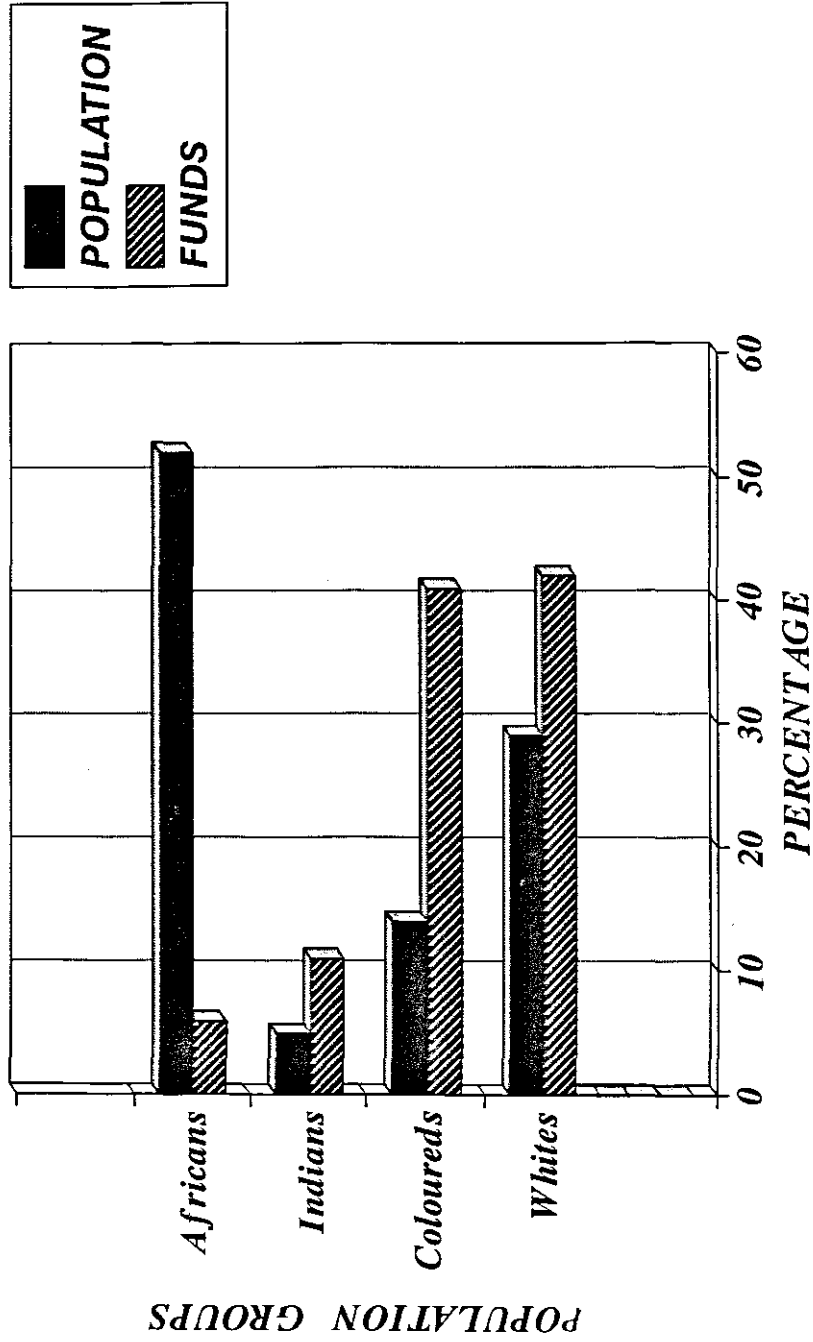
1.1 HOUSING BACKGROUND

The shortage of housing is an international crisis. It is envisaged in both Third and First World countries. The impact brought about by this crisis is more pronounced in 3rd World and in the South African situation the gravity of the effects is aggravated by the policies of apartheid.

Studies of housing, particularly in Third World countries, generally focus on the problems facing low income households. South Africa, which is economically fast growing, has the characteristics of both First and Third Worlds. Through the process of industrialization, housing has become an area of major concern. The South African arena needs to be viewed in its proper perspective because of its uniqueness. In South Africa not only is there a high positive correlation between income and race but the legislative framework, administrative procedures and financial policies applicable to each group are different.

Housing problems in other countries belong entirely to the building industries, the government is only involved by invitation. Here the situation is inverse. The government

S. A. HOUSING BUDGET FOR 1977



uses houses to segregate different population groups and hence a lot of funds are spent on the administration of this policy. Refer to the table below 1.1 and 1.2

Table : 1.1

HOUSING EXPENDITURE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, 1972-1976

YEAR	WHITES	COLOURED	INDIANS	BLACKS	TOTAL
1972	40642	20673	15074	5574	81963
1973	44041	30782	11878	5177	91878
1974	44290	41676	12777	5489	104232
1975	78794	70405	13673	10966	173838
1976	48879	86574	16213	7423	159089
TOTAL	256646	250110	69615	34629	611000

SOURCE : RIEKERT COMMISSION REPORT.

HOUSING DELIVERY IN RSA

1972 - 1976

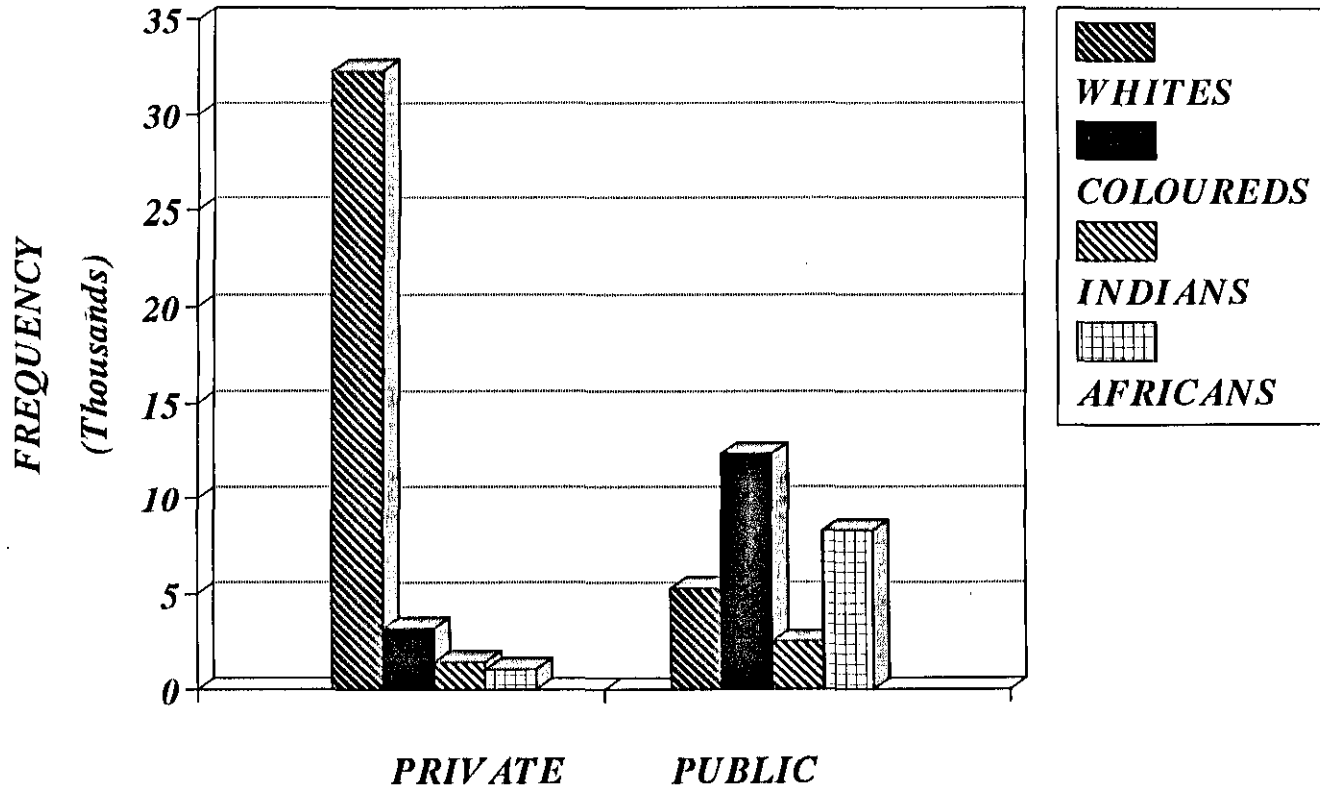


Table : 1.2

**DWELLING UNITS ERECTED BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE DEPARTMENT
OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 1972-1976**

YEAR	WHITE		INDIAN		COLOURED		BLACK	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1972	20559	6230	2600	9777	1268	2023	860	7330
1973	34766	5376	2730	12502	1643	4766	1032	8441
1974	36485	3339	3008	8243	1450	1482	1394	6994
1975	30713	5580	4049	13172	2028	1650	689	9608
1976	29655	5660	3507	17897	862	2534	1040	8489
TOTAL	161178	26185	15894	61591	7251	12551	5015	40862
APA.	32235	5237	3178	12318	1450	2503	1003	8172

A = Private Sector

B = Community Development

APA = Average Per Annum

Before focusing on the Durban Metropolitan Region which is our area of concern, a general overview of the 4 major centres of the R.S.A should be studied. The literature about these centres would be well understood provided it is borne in mind that urbanization is a natural economic and development process whereby persons from less developed areas move to more developed centres in search of greater employment or social opportunities. According to Friedman (1973) the process has two main forms:

- The geographic concentration of population and none agricultural activities in urban environments of varying size and form, and
- The geographical diffusion of urban values behaviour, organizations and institutions.

The former relates mainly to the physical presence of urban dwellers while the second relates to their absorption into the economic, political and cultural fabric of an urban society. This is referred to as the modernization process.

1.2 HOUSING CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In December 1919 a deputation representing the residents of Ndabeni an African township in Cape Town met the Minister of the now defunct Native Affairs to discuss the future of the township. A spokesperson for the delegation expressing dismay at the impending move told the minister that it appeared that Africans were not wanted in Cape Town.

".....that only their hands were needed at work, and that if some mysterious arrangement could be devised whereby only 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 their white masters better."

The unnamed forgotten spokesperson was touching upon the essential objective and the fundamental contradiction of urban segregation and apartheid. Much of state urban policy of South Africa has been directed towards attaining the unattainable. The securing of labour power without labourers. Out of this Fundamental contradiction has arisen many further contradictions conflicts and struggles. Indeed much of state urban policy over the years had to be concentrated on managing the contradictions, conflicts and struggles that have developed around urban apartheid.

Urban policies and practices in South Africa can be said to have developed and changed over four phases

- * Phase 1 Pre - 1923
- * Phase 2 1923 -1952
- * Phase 3 1952 - 1979
- * Phase 4 Post - 1979

These phases should not be demarcated too rigidly. There are threads of continuity that tie all four phases together. In some cases a new phase merely marks a tightening of these threads; in other cases there are more distinct breaks with previous patterns.

1.2.1 PHASE 1

Before 1923 there was a low level of African urbanization.

In 1904 urban African population of South Africa was about 337000 and it increased by 74% to 587 000 in 1921. There was also a high proportion of African males to females in urban areas (Refer to Table 1.4, page 10). Such a demographic pattern reflected the fundamental character of the South African political economy at the time. During this period urban economy rested largely on mining and commerce. The low level of African urbanization was not as a result of state control, in fact, a high degree of regional autonomy existed, as each province or municipality tended to devise its own regulations for controlling urban Africans.

Before 1923 there was no low nor any centralized state control over the African urbanization, instead trends towards segregation and control were only regional or local. It therefore became important to consider the dominant interests and concerns that gave rise to these trends in our four main centres and to examine the specific forms of segregation and control that emerged in these centres. In two cases the particular needs of mining capital seem to have been decisive, in the other two, social considerations were important.

Kimberly is one of the earliest cities where the most rigorous forms of urban labour control in South African history was employed. Closed compounds, accommodating African migrant works were introduced in Kimberly in the

1880s. These goal-like institutions were actually modelled on the De Beers convict station. The closed compounds were established at a time when diamond prices were falling and the mineowners were struggling to reduce the production costs. The compounds enabled them to exercise tighter discipline over their unskilled labour force preventing dissipation and diamond theft and to ensure a more certain supply of labour. Turrell argued that compounds helped to resolve a fundamental dilemma for the mineowner: "In one hand, they wanted experienced labourers, while on the other hand, they did not want an organized working class in their town". It was this contradiction that was bridged by the closed compound system. This arrangement had absolutely no political connotations. It should be noted however that Kimberly is significant only in the development of the compound as a model mechanism of labour control. Mabin noted how the Kimberly 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 mines and mining towns throughout the Southern Africa, Johannesburg being one of them.

After the South African War, compounds became tightly controlled to curb absenteeism and dissipation. A white manager was assisted by African compound police, municipal workers were also housed in the compound. A fundamental feature of early Johannesburg was that outside the compounds there was no strict pattern of

racial segregation. Sophiatown and Martindale, by 1921 provided homes for 1457 Africans and 557 Whites. The Vrededorp-Malay Location and Doornfontein were also multi-racial communities. Early Johannesburg was thus characterized by tight control exercised over mineworkers and some other sections of the labour force, but also by the absence of such control over a large proportion of its African population.

Spacial patterns and control mechanisms in both Kimberly and Johannesburg were shaped by the original material base, MINING ECONOMY. Durban and Cape Town were predominated by MERCHANT CAPITAL, hence their labour needs were different. In the late 19th century Cape Town still remained primarily a commercial centre, an administrative capital and a military headquarters. Cape Town's labour market had a highly seasonal and casual character. The economy of the town was centred around the docks, fishing and building industries. Thousands of Africans came to the city especially after 1898, hence by 1901 about 10 000 people lived there. Although the predominantly White bourgeoisie tended to live on exclusive suburban existence, rigid patterns of racial residential segregation had not been historically entrenched.

Segregation in Cape Town coincided with the arrival of large numbers of Africans. In 1890 the Dock Native Location was opened providing the compound-type accommodation for

African dock workers. It was designed to :-

- Protect the workers from other social evils of the town.
- Protect the town from the workers.

These stronger imperatives towards the segregation arose from the social concerns of the middle class residents. It was these concerns and the rhetoric of diseases and sanitation that led to the construction of Ndabeni township outside Cape Town.

Cape Town and Durban had similarities before 1923. Merchant Capital predominated in both towns. Their economies centred around the docks and the labour force was largely casual and seasonal. The greater difference however was Durban's relative proximity to African reserves making for a large proportion of males migrants among the African labour force.

Table 1.3

CHANGING PATTERNS OF AFRICAN URBANIZATION

YEAR	NUMBER OF PEOPLE	% INCREASE
1904	336 000	-
1911	508 142	50.2
1921	587 000	15.5
1936	1 141 643	94.5
1946	1 181 000	3.4

Table 1.4

RATIO OF URBAN SOUTH AFRICAN MEN AND WOMEN

YEAR	MALES	FEMALES	RATIO
1921	489167	97833	5:1
1946	885750	295250	3:1

Sources : Rich (1978 : 180) Bloch and Wilkinson (1982 : 11):
O'Meara (1977 : 187)

A segregationist impulse in early Durban was directed to Indian than Africans. Swanson shows that in the late 19th century Indians competed with Whites for space and trade.

The local State's response was patterned on a three fold approach: residential segregation, political exclusion and commercial suppression. The 3rd objective was more successfully attained through the 1879 licensing Act which gave municipalities arbitrary powers to issue or withhold trading licenses.

Durban was merely concerned with controlling than segregating its African population, consequently the 'togg' labour force possessed a great deal of freedom and mobility.

Table : 1.5

**THE CLASSIFICATIONS OF DURBAN'S BLACK LABOUR FORCE AND THE
TYPE OF THEIR ACCOMMODATION :1890**

QUANTITY	LABOUR TYPE	DWELLING TYPE
9 000	DOMESTIC	EMPLOYER'S PREMISES
15 000	MISCELLANEOUS	MUNICIPAL/PRIVATE COMPOUNDS
13 500	UNDEFINED	WITHOUT ANY FORMAL DWELLING

SOURCE : Maasdorp, 1983

From the above table Durban labour force was about 37 500. African workers formed 36 per cent of the total workforce.

Durban did not follow Cape Town, viz the construction of a location instead a local bureaucratic structure of control was developed. The key to the structure was the revenue derived from the municipal monopoly of the manufacture and sale of sorghum beer for African consumption. It was only late 1915-16 that a small location comprising a mere 120 cottages for family occupation was built, the Baummansville.

If one is seeking to discover the origins of URBAN APARTHEID PRACTICE, Durban provides the likeliest source. The particularity of practices and structures that evolved in Durban, reflected the relatively high degree of municipal autonomy. In Kimberly and Johannesburg housing policy with its emphasis on the compound system was partly determined by mining capital. In Cape Town and Durban the pools of seasonal and casual labour were less easily controllable although in both towns attempts at control were made through the establishment of compounds type accommodation. The segregated townships were few in number during this early phase. One peculiar feature of the few municipal townships that had been built was their siting. The 1914 Tuberculosis Commission noted that sites were often ill chosen, 'generally...not far from the town sanitary tip, the refuse dump and slaughter polesKliptown, Western Native Township and Eastern Native Township in Johannesburg were just three examples of townships located next to sewage farms. The degree of control exercised by the local state to the lives of people

living in the townships was small compared with the restrictions that were to follow later.

1.2.2 PHASE 2

This phase is characterized by crucial developments and trends:

- * There was the growth of the manufacturing sector.
- * There was a deterioration of the reserves economy.
- * There was the dramatic increase of the Urban African population.
- * The central state increasingly intervened in the urban policy and practice

Between 1921 - 1960 there was a doubling of secondary industries relative contribution to the gross national product. Employment grew at an average of 5.3% and at a rate of 6% per annum between 1925 and 1939 and at a rate of 6% for Africans. This trend affected local and central State policies for administering and controlling urban Africans.

There was evidence of considerable outmigration from the reserves to urban areas. Between 1936 and 1946 the annual increase of the reserves population was 0,9% the small increase suggesting substantial outmigration. Between 1921 and 1951 the Africans urban population increased from 587

200 to 2 329 000 this is an increase of about 300% or a three fold increase. During the same period the percentage of urbanized Africans out of the total African population increased from 14 - 27,9% it doubled. The proportion of urban Africans living with their families rose by 8% between 1936 and 1946.

The rapid growth of African urbanization drew concerns from the Whites and hence the State intervened even more. It was uncertain as to the form of intervention. There were two poles of thinking.

- Stallard (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.'
- Liberal view states that the stabilization of the urban African population should be encouraged in preference to the continuation of the migrant labour system.
- The dominant view of the time among state ideologists and policy makers was one that fell between these two poles. This compromise recognized the impracticability and to some extent the immorality of Stallardism, but at the same time there was no recommendation for wholesale stabilization.

In 1932 The Native Economic Commission argued that it was undesirable to encourage the urbanization of the Native population but added: **'....it is perfectly clear that a considerable number of Natives have become permanent town dwellers. No good purpose is served by disregarding this fact or by acting on the assumption that it is not a fact. In the interest of efficiency of urban industries it is better to have a fixed Urban Native population to the extent to which such population is necessary than the present casual drifting population.'**

Thus the dominant official view was pragmatic: the reality of stabilization had to be recognized but migrants would necessarily have to continue. Secondary industry demanded a more skilled and therefore more stabilized labour force while the mining sector continued its dependence on migrant labour force.

The State's growing intervention in the urban sphere in the three decades after 1923 laid the foundation for the era of high apartheid and rigid labour control that was to follow from the 1950s. The 1923 Natives (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 to establish segregated African locations, to implement a rudimentary system of influx control and to set up advisory boards in which Africans would be

represented but without power to change a policy. Johannesburg and Kimberly began proclaiming segregated areas in 1924 ; Cape Town 1926 and Durban in the early 1930s. Wholesale segregation was impossible because the proclamation of segregated areas could only be enforced if alternative accommodation was available.

The 1923 Natives Act provided a framework and foundation upon which subsequent legislation and policy were to be built. The tightening of control and the process of centralisation were both taken further in the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act , the major concern here was influx control. It provided for the removal of surplus African labour to the rural areas according to labour requirements. It then became difficult for African women to enter an urban area and for work - seekers to remain in an urban area.

The trend was that of ever tightening the influx control measures. By the time the National Party came to power in 1948 a whole strategy for regulating and controlling the movement and daily lives of urban Africans had already been constructed. It was however not yet well oiled or functioning as efficiently as it was designed to. Optimal efficiency was to come closer to being in the next phase.

1.2.3 PHASE 3

This phase was from the early 1950s to the late 1970s. Here, there was intensification of the patterns that had evolved in the second phase. In particular the weakening of municipal autonomy and strengthening of the powers of the central State. The victory of the Nationalist Party did not change many policies, instead, it was a continuation thereof, however there was a shift from Fagan Commission's view towards Stallardism.

Accompanying this shift of emphasis was a greater centralization of power. From the 1950s, the central State increasingly took upon itself the task of regulating the presence of Africans in urban areas in accordance with government policy hence there were conflicts between the central State and the local State, because the latter State felt that it was being undermined.

Centralisation of state power was further advanced in 1972 with the establishment of Administration Boards and the country was divided into 22 regions each with its Administrative Board. The boards were to derive revenue from rents, levies on employers and profit from liquor sales.

While this process of centralisation was occurring, control of urban Africans was being tightened according to the

Sauer recommendations . The 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act restricted the right of permanent urban residence to Africans who :-

- Had been borne in that particular urban area and had lived there continuously since birth or
- Had legally resided in the area for 15 years or
- Had worked for the same employer for 10 years.

Even under these conditions the rate of increase of urban Africans was significant.

Morris, (1981 : 17) outlined the short term aims of state housing policy :

" To remove Black freehold rights in these areas, segregate the races, control movement and reduce the economic burden of blacks on the state and local authorities."

The principle of the residential segregation was further entrenched in Group Areas Act. According to the apartheid ideal, townships were to be built and should be sited as far as possible from the White residential areas, but reasonably close to the industrial areas. Townships were to be designed and sited in such a way that they could be condoned off in the event of riots or rebellion and the residence suppressed in open streets.

In the 1950s and 1960s the construction of Black townships was accelerated. During the late 1960s process was slowed down again because the State was to confine as many Africans as possible within the bantustans. The two main strategies were devised :-

- Where industrial centres were close to bantustans, townships would be relocated to the bantustans and the workers would commute daily to their workplaces.

- To try to induce industries themselves to relocate to boarder areas close to bantustans.

The above strategies were the last attempt to implement the ultimate aims of Stallard and later apartheid plans, namely to allow Africans into urban areas outside the bantustans only for the purpose of selling their labour.

The contradictions and crises inherent in the whole urban system of control gradually became more unmanageable from the early 1970s. Apartheid barrier like job reservations and influx control aggravated the growing shortage of skilled and semi skilled labour in urban areas. Most significant of all Black workers and urban Black communities in the 1970s mobilized and organized themselves with greater vigour and militancy than ever before. The 1973 strikes and the 1976 uprising were probably the key events leading to the eventual and near collapse of the

main pillars of urban apartheid in the 1980s.

Before moving to the last phase, it is imperative to look at the casual factor responsible for the failure of Stallardism and Sauers recommendations. The central contradiction in the whole system of segregating and controlling urban Africans to secure the labour power of Africans while minimizing their presence as people. This is the resultant of two constituencies:

- Capitals need for labour and
- Protection against the supposed dangers to their health and security arising from the urban Africans presence.

Rural or urban migration was as a result of African rural impoverishment. The size of permanent African urban proletariat grew. The provision of housing and transport facilities for these proletariat became a financial burden and the question of who should be primarily responsible for bearing this burden gave rise to struggles and conflicts between capital and labour ; between the State and the capital; between the local State and the 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.

Contradictions, inconsistencies and complexities were

deeply embedded in the system. For instance in the pass system. As Hindson has shown, the main function of the pass was never consistent :-

- * By the late 19th century they were used to maintain the migrant labour system
- * After the second World War the controls were geared to the growth of an urban African proletariat,
- * Later these were aimed at limiting the size of the surplus population in urban areas.

Influx control was a key mechanism for trying to cope with that fundamental contradiction stated at the outset : the need to secure a suitable supply of labour while minimizing the presence of Africans in urban areas . It was a contradictory objective , calling for both the inclusion and exclusion of urban Africans. The apparatus of pass control failed dismally to cope with short-term or seasonal fluctuations in labour demands.

There was more fundamental contradiction in which a vicious cycle developed during the 1950s. The increasing displacement of the surplus urban population to the reserves aggravated overcrowding and rural impoverishment. This exerted pressure on people to defy influx control by moving to urban areas where there were better chances of earning a subsistence. Greenburg said control has made necessary more controls.....There were two key elements in

the apartheid system.

- (1) To control the movement of Africans or Bantus.
- (11) To exercise tight control over the daily lives of Africans in urban areas.

Both of the above objectives were to be achieved at minimum cost, however this was contradictory to the minimization imperative. Housing on the other end represented the major component of reproduction costs. A decision was to be made whether to opt for a migrant or a stabilized labour force, that is, Stallard, Fagan / Sauer debate. Eventually a combination of the two produced a system of differentiated labour power, this necessitated a policy of differentiated housing whereby migrants were accommodated in compounds or the hostels while stabilized families were housed in formal townships. Compounds and the 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.

As the imperative towards segregation and control grew heavily, more African townships were built. With the growth of the central residential and business districts, so have these townships being removed further and further out to the peripheries. This peripherization is magnified in Cape

Town. As Cape Town expanded in the early twentieth century, it began to impinge on Ndabeni, sited on a desirable industrial land. Langa the then new township built in the 1920s was sited further out of town. Again by the 1950s White areas were again impinging on Langa, so a new township Nyanga, was established even further out. In recent years, with the building of Khayelitsha, the citing of living space has been made yet more remote. This has been the general trend in many of South African urban centres. This trend ensured not only the physical and social distance of the Africans, but also their political distance. The peripheral siting of townships raised the cost of transporting Africans to and fro their workplaces. The building of more formal dwellings involved an investment of capital. This gave rise to divisions within the State, and between the State and the capital as to who should bear these costs.

There was also a vicious cycle as to who should bear the housing costs. The fact of the matter was that the central State, the local State and the capital were benefitting from cheap African labour. Eventually during the 1920s, the responsibility lay squarely on the local State. Both the 1920 Housing Act and the 1923 Natives Act, imposed on local authorities the obligation to provide housing, however, the municipalities generally 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 Johannesburg it was due more to the city's weak financial base, here taxes on the profits of mining and manufacturing went to the central State. The African housing question became the source of tension between the central State and the municipalities from the 1920s.

The first township to be built under the 1923 Act in Durban, was Lamontville. This was only opened in 1934. The capital was still evading the financial responsibility. Africans were paid low wages, and this meant that the municipalities could not charge economic rentals for their housing. In effect, municipal sub-economic housing schemes were subsidising capital. Municipalities resented this role as shown from a Durban City Council Memorandum of 1947 :
'As a housing subsidy is in fact a wage subsidy, the municipality is subsidising Native wages, and, by housing Native employees on a sub - economic basis, the Council is subsidising in every case the employer of that labour.

The 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act had permitted municipalities to compel employers to accommodate their Black workers. The implication of this would be to build compounds and hostels more centrally, conflicting with the segregationist imperative. To counteract this contradiction, in the early 1950s a strategy was developed, whereby employers were compelled to pay the local authority

about 25 cents for every six days worked by an adult male African, this was embodied in the 1952 Native Services Levy Act. Employers of domestic workers, and employers who accommodated their own workers were exempted. The above contributions would be used to finance housing and services.

Even though the struggle between the central State, local State and the capital was going on, an undeniable fact was that **urban Africans themselves bore the major part of this cost burden**. Because of the inherent problems on housing, thousands of Africans were forced to devise their own forms of shelter. By the 1940s, vast shack settlements had emerged around many South Africa's urban areas. These settlements lacked basic water and sanitary services, were considered to be health hazards, they were also deemed to be havens for criminals and political activists (Maasdorp, 1983). The existence of squatter communities weakened the control of the local states. The state itself was aware of this, hence there followed the massive programme of urban removals and relocations that began in the 1950s.

Cooper stated that urban struggles have many facets. It reflects conflict over work discipline and housing, over conduct as to which should be legal or criminal, social relations, residence, values and cultures, and other patterns of struggle. To select one as an example, between 1916 and 1984 nearly 80 million Africans were arrested or

persecuted under the pass laws and influx control regulations. Millions more must have evaded arrest.

Most forms of resistance were centred around the housing question. Urban removals and relocations in particular, provoked resistance. When Africans were ordered to move from their existing homes in townships or shack settlements to remote, bleak townships, they often resisted the order. Hundreds of Africans in Cape Town, for instance, refused to move from Ndabeni to Langa in the late 1920s and 1930s until eventually forced to. Shack settlements themselves are a form of resistance.

From the discussion above it is evident that the State urban policy and practice has thus been riddled with contradictions and inconsistencies. At the root of these was one fundamental contradiction : **the attempt to attain the unattainable, that is the securing of labour power with the minimal presence of the labourers.**

1.2.4 PHASE 4

This phase enlists the processes responsible for the total breakdown of apartheid. During the twentieth century apartheid came to rest on four pillars, which are :-

* Control over the movement of Africans into urban

areas.

- * Regulation and regimentation of the lives of urban Africans through such mechanisms as segregation, curfews and controlled housing.
- * Development of self-financing system where Africans had to bear a large share of their reproduction cost.
- * Co-operation of members of the African petty bourgeoisie through the creation of local institutions, such as advisory boards, community councils and Black local authorities, institutions that provided a thin veneer of participation and democracy.

The above mentioned pillars never rested on firm foundations. During the last twenty years more and more cracks have begun to appear, and there were signs that the pillars and the whole apartheid edifice was crumbling.

The formal operation of influx control was abandoned by legislative enactment in 1986. This did not eliminate all controls over the movement of Africans, but just a shift in State urbanisation policy. This shift was demonstrated by the Riekert Commission in the late 1970s. This report departed from the rigid Verwoerdian ideology by recognising the existence of a permanent urban African proletariat. Proletariat consisted of a class of urban insiders who would be given preferential access to employment and housing, while stricter control would be exercised over the

outsiders, those without permanent urban rights.

As a matter of fact, the reality and inevitability of African urban migration had to be accepted and that the market mechanism should be left to determine the movement of labour. The pass control machinery became costly during the time of fiscal constraint. In 1986 the Pass Law was replaced by a single uniform identification document for all race groups. Movement of Africans would still be pursued through indirect exercises like employment and housing, however the abolition of passes was undoubtedly a further indication that State policy had failed in its ultimate objectives.

Influx control was one of the more brittle pillars of the urban apartheid, but the whole apparatus of segregation and control forming the basic infrastructure of urban apartheid remained intact. Millions of people are still forced to live in segregated townships on the outskirts of towns and cities. There were two objectives in the planning of the townships :-

- * To site them in such a way that unrest and rebellion could be contained within them
- * To make them easily accessible to the police and troops.

The above objectives seemed to work because the spill-over

was minimal. There have been signs, very persistently that the level of control over urban Africans was gradually weakening. Eventually control depended on a military presence in the townships, which was a very costly business. In 1985-1986 the State completely lost control of some urban areas. Liberation zones were created and their control was taken over by street committees.

A further symptom of weakening was the massive growth of shack settlements around the major centres. Ghettoization itself is a form of unsurpassed resistance as stated before. It has been projected that by the year 2 000 there could be almost three million Black people living in shack settlements in and around greater Durban alone (Natal Mercury, 26 September 1984).

Revenues were derived from the profits of beer and liquor monopolies, rents, State subsidies and employer levies, however these began to decline from the early 1980s. This is the time when Africans shifted away from sorghum beer consumption to liquor or commercial outlets. During this era expenditure on Black housing increased, partly under the pressure of inflation, but also as a result of government commitment to improve facilities after the 1976-1977 urban unrest. By August 1986 about 300 000 households were involved in a countrywide rent boycott, which was costing the State R30 million a month (Weekly Mail, 15 -21 August 1986).

The government devised other structures to enable it to gain control. The strategy was that of cooperation, collaboration and puppetism. There were municipalities, Native Advisory Boards and Urban Bantu Councils. In these, very few Africans were appointed or simply coopted as members. The appointed Africans were powerless, and comprised of petty bourgeoisie who used their positions for their own interests or ends. Urban Bantu Councils were superseded by the 1977 Community Council Act. Such Community Councils were entrusted with some powers such as the allocation of accommodation and trading sites, and the maintenance of essential services. Their powers were limited by the will and the decisions of the minister. All these coopted 'Bantus' suffered one weakness, lack of popularity and legitimacy.

Weak financial base forced the Black local authorities to increase rents, which in turn fuelled popular hostility to the councils, such that during this period several Black councillors were murdered or have received death threats and their homes attacked. The system of councillors collapsed completely at certain places, and where they survived, they were protected by police or military services.

The Black local authorities faced popular rejection because they have been widely perceived as the state vehicle to compel urban Africans to accept a form of sham democracy as

a substitute for full participation in a genuine national democratic system. They performed some uncomfortable tasks on behalf of the State such as removing illegal squatters from townships and evicting rent boycotters. Community organization have grown up all over the country to challenge a system based on puppet institutions and sham democracy. The whole edifice had always been brittle, fragile and liable to break down under the strain of its own internal contradictions and subsequently collapsed.

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 and economically viable homelands, each characterized by a particular ethnic identity. The official hope was that as the economies of the homelands developed more and more Africans would move from White areas to the homelands. This would reverse the direction of African migration. This did not work.

Africans have shown that they will move to those areas where they have a best chance of obtaining a subsistence, regardless of the measures restricting their freedom of movement. There can be little doubt that the township uprising of 1976 was a shattering blow to an urban apartheid system that was already weakened by its own contradictions.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The validity of any research depends on the reputability or reliability of its data. The major concern of this chapter is thus to elucidate the methods implemented in the collection, processing and manipulation or computation of the data collected for this study. This includes, inter alia, aims and objectives, research tool, data source, processing of data and finally the limitations and delimitations on the collection of information.

2.2 THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

Apartheid legacy within the Durban Metropolitan Region is manifested in housing delivery to the black populace - A case of KwaMashu Township.

2.3 HYPOTHESIS

There are many pseudo problems in the Republic of South Africa, and housing is no exception. We look at the failure of the Nationalist government and the governments prior to it, in the provision of adequate housing for black working

class. This racist government adopted a dicotomous stance of trying to balance the economy of the country with the segregationist practices which form one of the pillars of the apartheid policy.

2.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

Sub-problem

- To examine the extent of housing shortage in KwaMashu
- To establish the causes of this housing backlog within the socio - political and economic framework.
- To look at the role played by the government and the private sector in the process of housing delivery within KwaMashu Township.
- To suggest strategies to remedy the situation or to improve the accessibility of housing to the people.

2.5 THE RESEARCH TOOL

Method

Questionnaires, interviews, formal and informal discussions were used during this study. A feasibility survey was conducted before the actual research was undertaken. This was aimed at assessing the possibility, relevance and validity if the survey in KwaMashu Township. This practice proved beyond any doubt, not only the practicality of the study but also its neccessity. Laymen needed a 'vehiclé ' or a forum where they could voice their grievances which

had accumulated from time immemorial. The responses of most interviewees served as an incentive and provided more umph for the researcher to pursue his study.

Kwa-Mashu township management office was consulted in order to retrieve some statistical information as well as a brief historical background of the study area. Educational statistics was obtained from the educational inspectorate of the Kwa-Mashu Circuit.

Personal interviews and direct exchange of words were the most fascinating part of the whole exercise because the facial expression and gestures of the interviewees revealed more than what they were expressing verbally. The questionnaire however still provided a very consistent, reliable and indispensable mechanism of collecting the information.

2.6 DATA SOURCE

This survey is primarily based on the information collected from a variety of sources through the application of a number of methods used. These sources include :-

- Primary sources such as newspaper, articles from educational institutions and history textbooks.
- Secondary sources, namely the government documents, texts on housing from both the private sector as well

as the government gazette.

The integration of information from the aforementioned sources provided the historical background to the study which influenced the presence and enabled the researcher to make inferences about the future of housing in general. The information received from the study area reinforced and supplemented that from the literature. These were from the homeowners, Township Manager, Civic Associations and other willing residents.

2.7 DATA PROCESSING

Most of the data was interpreted and processed manually by the researcher to provide a meaningful information for this study. Some statistical data was processed through the use of the computer, however this necessitated the use of Word Perfect and Quattro Pro programmes. The researcher was unfortunate because his knowledge of these programmes was very limited.

2.8 LIMITATIONS

The major obstacle of the research exercise was the language used in the questionnaire. Interviewees could not express themselves to their satisfaction because of this

language barrier. Those who answered the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher were fortunate because he interpreted the questions for them and translated them into Zulu whenever it necessitated.

The questionnaire was unavoidably long because the topic needed more information than what the researcher had initially anticipated. Interviewees were sometimes reluctant to participate because of the length of the questionnaire which had 10 pages.

``.....This government sends its agents to collect information about our sufferings and promise, promise, promise, promise, promise.....but all in vain." such attitudes of the people created further problems. People had to be reassured that the researcher had nothing to do with the said government. Some people were so adamant that the researcher had to give them some money before they could co - operate.

It should also be mentioned that people who are mostly available are those who are unemployed, bed-ridden invalids or children. This could have made the research to be imbalanced. Those who are working or employed could be found at night or during the weekends and this factor is responsible for the elongated period of research.

Verbal responses were very concise about the presence while

the perception of the past was that of gone, forgotten and irrelevant, yet the comments about the future were vague and too general, statements like "we hope the new government will help."

2.9 DELIMITATIONS

There were no serious problems encountered during the survey because the area and the people were familiar to the researcher. The information extracted from literature and other documents as mentioned above, provided a reliable foundation for research in the study area. The study area is looked against the background of the adjacent cities and towns; other cities in the Republic of South Africa as well as in comparison with similar cities of the world.

The positive yet wrong perception that the researcher was a government agent was responsible for his warm welcome at some quarters. People believed that he would provide them with houses and other wanting facilities, as it was promised before the elections.

People were so co-operative to an extent that they even revealed confidential information like their salaries and educational qualifications.

CHAPTER 3

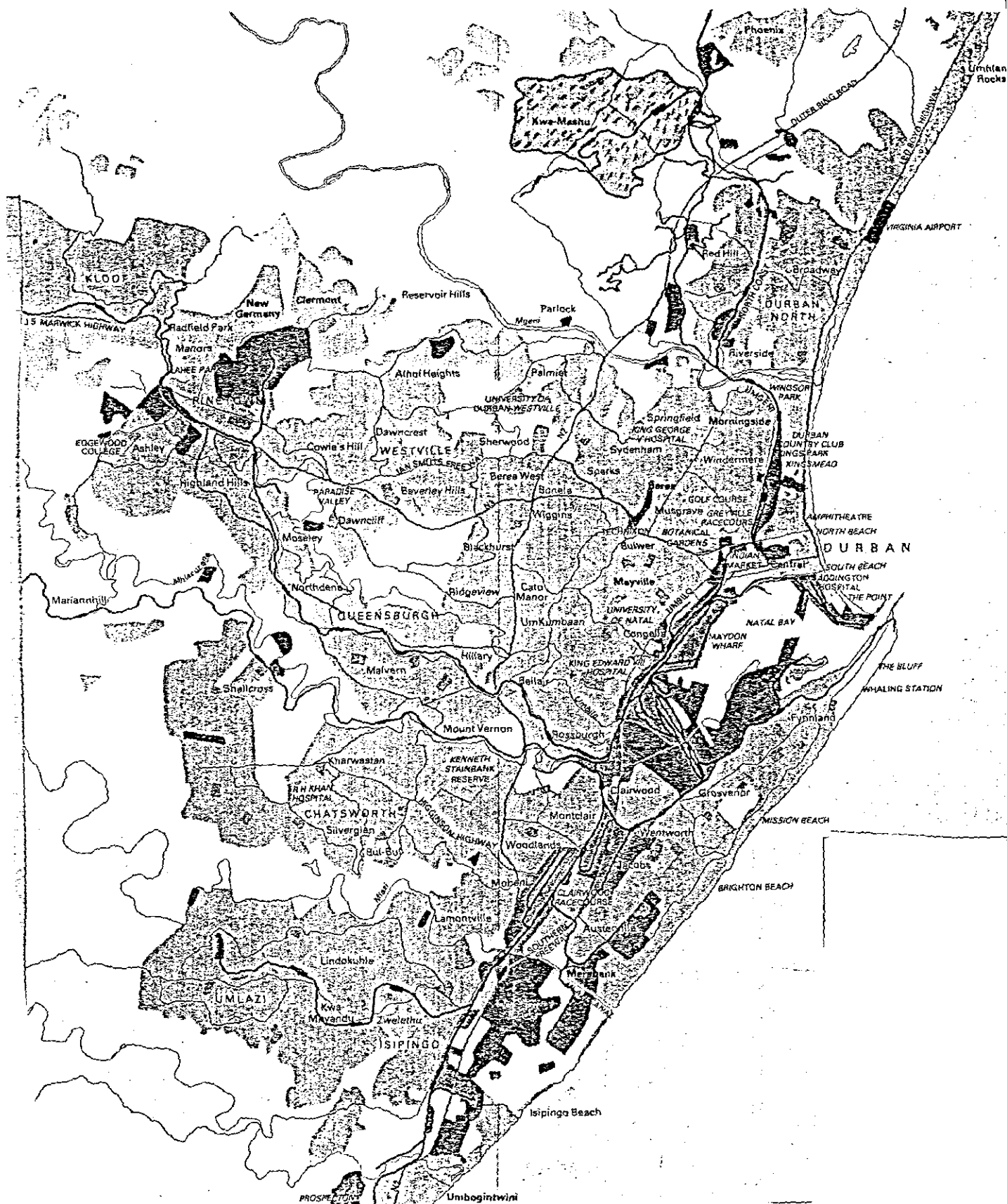
THE STUDY AREA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

African urbanization and hence housing, must be viewed within the wider context of the South African political economy. Urbanization in the Durban Metropolitan Region (D.M.R) should be followed or traced before 1940, to the present date.

"During the last three years I have had 7500 'togg labourers' with sleeping accommodation for only 450. The remainder lodged wherever they could in anyone's backyard, or with a friendHow on earth can I take charge of Natives that are allowed to squat in ever yard, hole, and corner in Durban, where everyone is allowed to go except a policemanI say send the natives out of town for Gods sake"

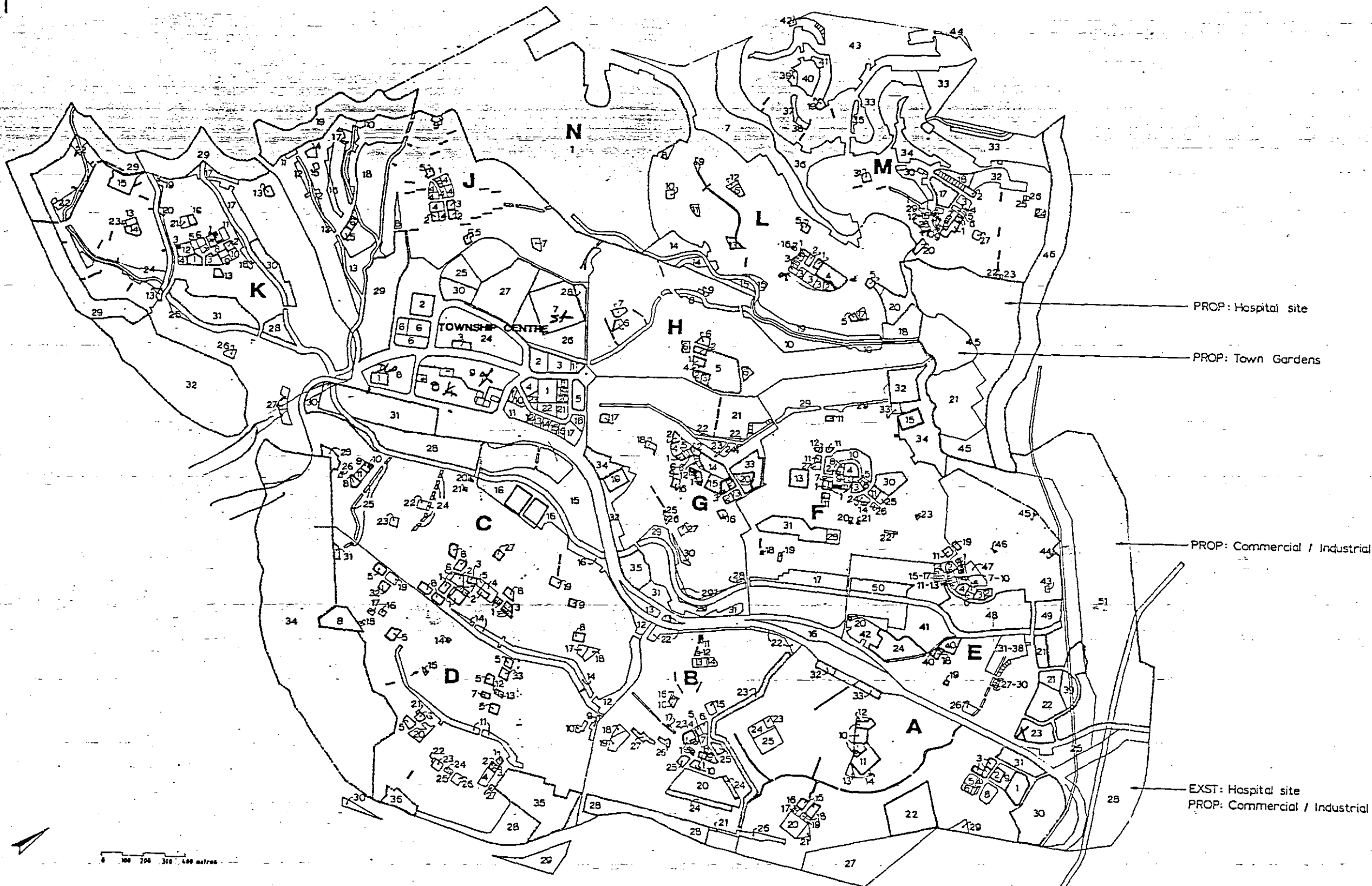
The above were the words said by a Durban Superintendent of Police to the 1903 - 1905 South African Native Affairs Commission in May 1904. Where were they to be sent ? Alexander submitted his proposal to the same Commission.



".....Why not put them on the spare piece of ground at our brickfield ?. It is magnificent siteThe Indian Ocean would guard them on the one side, the Umngeni on the another, and the borough police on the third. I would put my Natives in barracks and let them march into town as they do with soldiers. That has been my ambition for 25 years, and I have not allowed it."

The above subjective abstracts were said by the Whites who were in power then. Such statements form the basis of the historical events that took place in South Africa under the White government, not based on housing issues only, but in general administration of the country. These statements are directly responsible for the geographical positioning of the Black townships around the Durban Functional Region (DFR), with lower quality housing, poor infrastructure and other inadequacies typical of apartheid mentality.

Kwa-Mashu should be studied in its real context of juxtaposition of multicentrism of economic and socio-political influences. An overriding face being that of apartheid structure and its mentality.



KWA MASHU

3.2 THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF KWA-MASHU

Kwa-Mashu, meaning the place of Mashu is A black residential township situated about 25 kilometres north west of Durban city centre (Refer to Map 3.1). It is approximately 1500 hectares in size and situated on hilly terrains.

Phoenix Industrial Park is situated in the north east of Kwa-Mashu and Newlands East in the south. Kwa-Mashu comprises 14 units each of which used to be represented by a council under the old system of apartheid. Kwa-Mashu has a fairly population which is estimated at around 280 000. This figure includes both the formal and informal sectors of the population. The majority as mentioned above were relocated after being removed from Cato Manor during slum clearances.

3.3 THE HISTORY OF KWA-MASHU TOWNSHIP

3.3.1 Background

The development of Kwa-Mashu Township resulted from the mass resettlement of the slum population of Cator Manor during the period of 1958 - 1965 (Maasdorp, Humphrys 1975:61). Residential relocation has therefore been experienced by a sizeable proportion of the Kwa-Mashu

population. The resettlement experience is important in conjunction with the idea that people will always evaluate their personal situation on the light of past experiences. Bearing this type of perceptual distortion in mind, scholars of residential mobility and migration have been able to assess the residential satisfaction of immigrants and the adjustment to the new environment more accurately. By the same token, it should be noted that the idea of relative comparison tends to be used in justifying the provision of low standards in the services and amenities offered to the residents in relocations housing schemes.

Mashu was the Zulu name of Sir Marshall Campbell, who was the founder of the company that owned the land on which Kwa-Mashu stands. Sir Campbell who was the father of the late Dr Killie Campbell, enjoyed a close relationship with the Zulu living in Kwa-Mashu.

This township was proposed in 1948 but building only began in 1957 and the first people moved in mostly from Cato Manor in 1958. Kwa-Mashu has been successively administered by the Durban. City Council the Port Natal Administration Board and since April 1 1977 it was transferred to the new defined Kwa-Zulu Government.

3.3.2 A Chronological Development of Kwa-Mashu Township

The following gives a brief overview of the sequential development of the Kwa-Mashu Housing Scheme. In the inception this scheme was known as the Duffs Road Scheme.

In 1952 December 12, the Durban City Council authorised negotiations for the acquisition of approximately 5 000 acres in the Duffs Road area for Black housing purposes. In March 1954 the Cato Manor Emergency Camp was officially established. In 1954 April 20, the City Council approved the acquisition of 2 620 acres of land for a Black housing scheme at Duffs Road. In November 1953 the Minister of Native Affairs approved of the proposal. The city council in January 29 1954 resolved to develop a minimum of 200 acres in the first year 300 acres in the second year, 400 acres in the third year and 500 acres per annum thereafter.

Discussions were held with Central Government in 1955 regarding the Duffs Road development. The Minister of Native Affairs gave his approval in 1956. In the discussion it stated that 9 village units and 2 hostels units for a total sum of R 19 362 000. This sum would provide for land, services, buildings facilities, etc. The Duffs Road scheme was renamed the Kwa-Mashu Native Housing Scheme in 1957.

The scheme was to provide for approximately 123 500 people

while the hostels was to provide 2 500 beds. Over 100 houses were completed with 450 under construction on the 31st August 1958. Four roomed brick houses complete with water borne sewerage and fencing would cost less than R476.00 each. In 1959 homes were handed over to the Director of Bantu Administration. The number increased from 378 to 1595 in one year. Accommodation was then available for 10 000 people.

In 1960 the number of two roomed houses for families unable to afford the rental of the standard 4 roomed dwellings were erected. A bigger yard was provided for these houses, so as to enable the owner to extend whenever his financial circumstances improved. In 1961 N.U.8 (H - section) and N.U 10 (J - SECTION) come to a standstill because of the misunderstanding between the City Council and the National Housing Commission. In 1962 an agreement was eventually concluded that section H was to be completed by a private contractor, while section J was to be completed departmentally. In 1963 the scheme was completed as initially planned.

In 1966 Kwa-Mashu was extended. The KEG type 'Semi-detached 2-roomed houses' were erected. These were in L Section. These houses were designed initially to accommodate two families, which eventually will be combined to form a standard four-roomed house for one family. The semi-detached two-roomed houses were to replace the 2 500

temporary timber huts in N.U.2 and N.U.4

By 1970 the recreational facilities available were :-

- 9 Football fields
- 2 Football stadia
- 1 Tennis Court
- 2 Swimming Pools
- 3 Community Halls
- 10 Creches

In 1971 the take over of the Kwa-Mashu family residential area by the government was approved in principle. At that time there were 15 404 houses for a population of 107 000 and.... hostel units for 16 880 people (R. Bailey, pers. comm).

The establishment of the Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board, and the disestablishment of the Bantu Administration Committee of the Durban City Council, became effective in 1973. The development of Kwa-Mashu at later stages was effected by the private sector as explained under the historical background section.

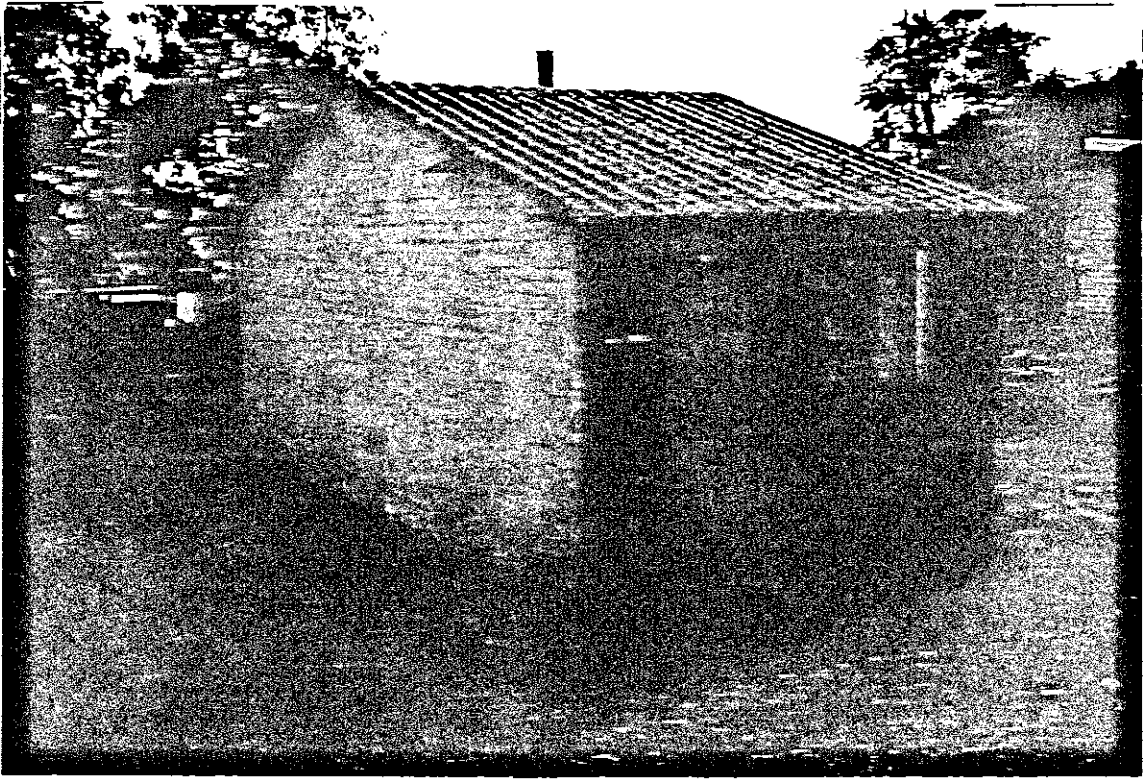
3.4 LAND-USE CHARACTERISTICS

3.4.1 Residence

It is estimated that there are about 16624 formal houses in Kwa-Mashu. A greater percentage of these are government houses which have been sold. The government four roomed house cost an average of R 1410, additional housing costs include registration fees and the cost of the land which is usually R 48. Government houses which have not been sold are very few. Twenty per cent of the houses situated in L - section, are two-roomed semi-detached government owned units which are rented to families.

Section A is divided into two, a Mens Hostel and middle class houses built by private developers during the mid of 1980s. The Mens Hostels is filled to capacity. There are 671 blocks which accommodates 16944 people. The hostel is administered by the government. There is also a tendency that people from the same reserve or those who are related stay together and an Induna is chosen for each block. The following table shows us the breakdown of some statistics.

FIGURE B1



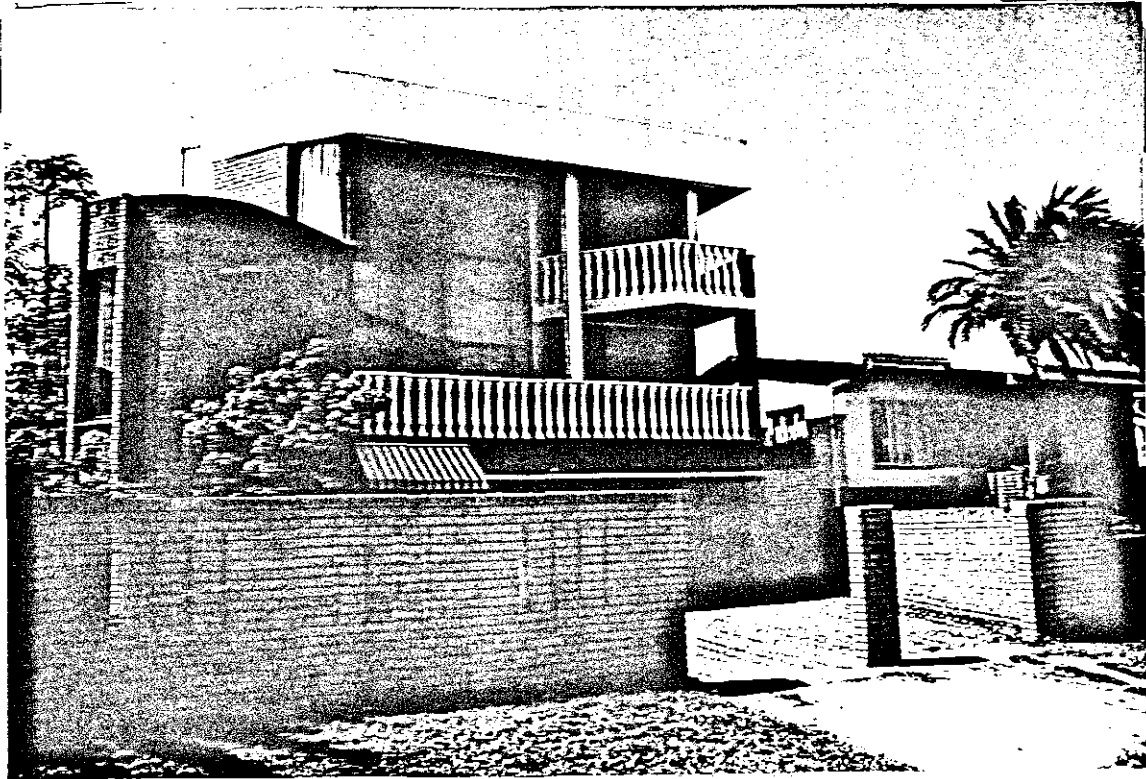
A SIMPLE TWO-ROOMED HOUSE.

FIGURE B2



A SEMI DETACHED 4-ROOMED HOUSE.

FIGURE C2



A MODERNIZED HOUSE.

FIGURE C1



AN ORDINARY 4-ROOMED HOUSE.

FIGURE A1

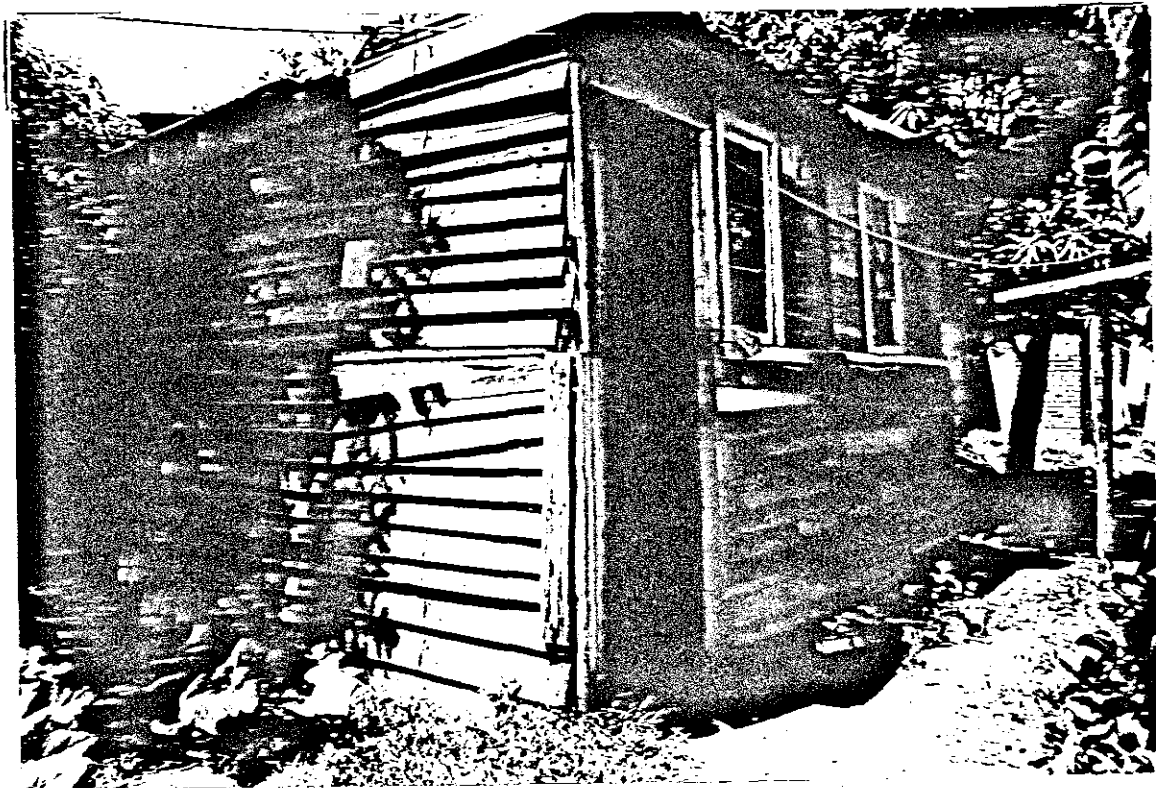


FIGURE A2



INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS WITHIN THE TOWNSHIP.

Table 3.1

ACCOMMODATION IN KWA-MASHU

TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION	NO. OF ACCOMMODATIONS	NO. OF PEOPLE ACCOMMODATED
TWO-ROOMED HOUSES	2 593	20 744
SEMI-DETACHED TWO-ROOMS	5 500	44 000
FOUR-ROOMED HOUSES	13 500	108 000
SEMI-DETACHED FOUR ROOMS	2 245	17 960
HOSTEL (MEN)	671	16 944
INFORMAL HOUSES	8 000	80 000
TOTAL	32 509	287 648

SOURCE : Kwa-Mashu Administration Office.

As depicted from table 3.1 above, there are people unaccounted for from an estimated total population of Kwa-Mashu. These people are the people in the squatting areas within Kwa-Mashu as well as on its peripheries. Squatting is found on the buffer strips between Phoenix and Kwa-Mashu known as Siyanda on the peripheries of D section known as Love Zone: Between Kwa-Mashu and Matendeni known as Nhlungwana as well as between K section and Newlands West which is known as Siyanda [an extension]. The number of

shacks within Kwa-Mashu as well as its peripheries is estimated at more than 10 000 with a population just above 100 000 people.

There is a substantial number of houses at Kwa-Mashu that have been built by the private sectors, which includes Time Housing, Home Housing, Essam, Hyper Homes and others. These houses are mainly two, three and sometimes four bedroom units. They cost between R 50 000, R 120 000 or even more. It is unfortunate that the majority of the population is unable to buy these units, which explains why government housing is so popular.

The prospects of further expansion in Kwa-Mashu are very limited because it is tightly bound by Phoenix, Ntuzuma, Inanda and Newlands east however within the location itself there are many plots that are vacant and which could be utilized for residential purposes.

3.4.2 EDUCATION

Western civilisation in the sub - Saharan region was predominantly brought about by Europeans. In the Republic of South Africa the British were the pioneers . After colonization and annexation, missionaries were then sent, as a matter of principle, hence there was no difference between religion and education. Education during the

colonization era was of a high standard, even though it was hardly beyond standard 6, black education was equivalent to that of the Whites.

The Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 under General Hertzog. In 1949 the Commission under the chairmanship of Dr Eisellen was to investigate the designation and provision of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs were taken into consideration. The Commission was to function on the premises that a clear distinction should be drawn between White and Black education.

The findings of the Commission led to Bantu Education Act of 1953. This embraced the very heart of apartheid, which was segregation and suppression. Nationalists claimed that education should assist the Bantus to develop their own semi - autonomous societies, which would ever be subservants to Whites. This attitude was vividly expressed by the first Minister of Education of the Apartheid regime three years before the Party took office, in a Parliamentary debate. According to Rose (1973) in Mbambo (1993), H.F. Verwoerd said :-

" We should not give the Natives an Academic education, as some people are prone to do. If we do

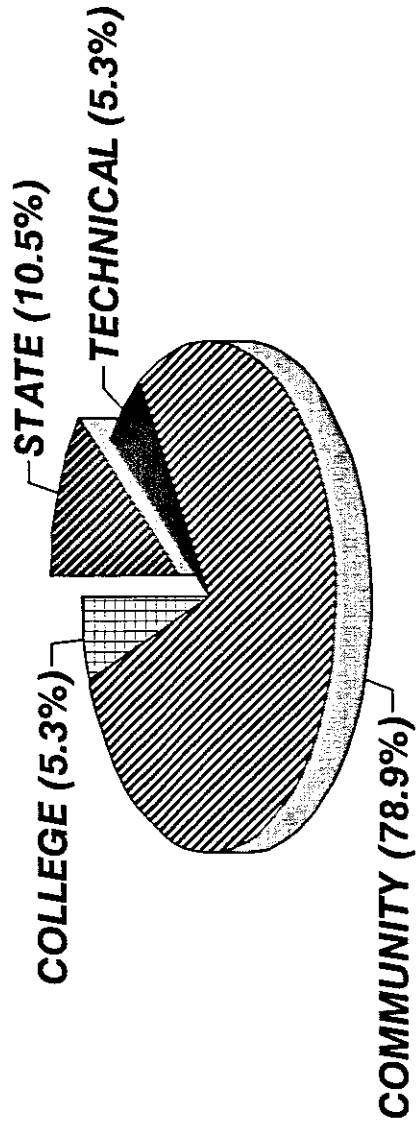
this, we shall be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non - Europeans, and who will do the manual labour in this country ...? I am in through agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the Natives who attend them will know at a great extent that he must be a labourer in this country."

He further remarked in 1953 by maintaining that:

" The Bantu schools must only equip the Natives to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on himThere is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour For that reason, it is of no avail for him to receive training which has as its aim absorption in the European community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze. What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics, when it cannot use it in practice ? When I have control of Native Education, I will reform it so that Natives will be thought from the childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them."

When these pillars of apartheid education began to crack in the early 1980s and eventually crumbled in 1986, Kwa - Mashu was one of the areas which was deeply affected.

SCHOOLS IN KWA-MASHU
1994 STATISTICS



Pupils and students were directly involved in this and hundreds of them lost their lives. The culture of learning diminished almost to nullity until to date.

Table 3.2

TYPES OF SCHOOLS IN KWA-MASHU

TYPE OF SCHOOL	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENT
Community	15	79
Technical	2	11
College of Education	1	5
State	1	5
TOTAL	19	100

SOURCE: KWA-MASHU INSPECTORATE OFFICE

The above-mentioned schools at the of 1994 had an enrolment of 53 984 with 1487 teachers which gave a TEACHER-STUDENT ratio of 1:37 . The average ratio for 1992 - 1994 is 1:36. There is also a general trend of reducing the number of schools from Lower Primary Schools to Tertiary Schools. For instance in 1994 it was as follows:

PERCENTAGE ENROLMENT OF KWA-MASHU SCHOOLS

This shows that even the number of pupils at schools decreases as from primary to secondary schools.

3.4.3 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The main shopping facilities in Kwa-Mashu township are concentrated at the O K Shopping Centre. These include inter alia OK Bazaars, Bee Gee, First National Bank, NBS, Frasers Furnitures, a Take Away Restaurant, Select-A-Shoe, Lexana Dry Cleaners and Horse Racing Betting facility.

Permanent Building Society, United Building Society, Standard Bank and One - Up Liquor Store moved away because of the 1986 uprisings in this township.

Most of the businesses are privately owned. These businesses have been sold to the residents of the study area through some schemes similar to the housing schemes which have been in operational in this township. In addition to these formal commercial services, the informal activities are predominating in this township. The Kwa-Zulu Finance Corporation supports a number of these small businesses. There are about 236 of such businesses which are officially registered, according to the Township Office.

The informal sector has crippled the formal sector, in the sense that the Spaza and Tuck shops are directly involved for the downfall of General dealers and other shops. This is associated with the introduction of the Free Trade Bill (Law) which allowed people to trade as they wish, around stadia, railway stations, at their homes and other feasible areas.

At E - Section Kwa-Zulu Financial Corporation has a project where it rents out mini factories to panel beaters, small bakeries, florists, car repairs and other businesses. In P - Section Kwa-Mashu Bakery has proved to be a very successful KFC enterprise.

The transportation business is dominated by the Taxi Industry. This business is run by the Africans only, and as such is not financed by any scheme. This means of transport is responsible for transporting about 70 per cent of the commuters on daily basis.

3.5 CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that Kwa-Mashu Township might be considered typical of many other black townships which have come into existence by official decree during the ongoing decentralization process occurring in South African cities. Despite the fact that the majority of its inhabitants work

in the greater Durban Metropolitan Area, Kwa-Mashu has been conceived as a reasonably self sufficient residential settlement and not as a mere dormitory suburb of Durban. However as in many other parts of the world people tend to look at the dominant urban centre which provides them with employment and many other facilities and services required and this is particularly true for Kwa-Mashu which due to its recent establishment among other factors is ill-equipped to meet all the educational, health, recreational and consumer needs of a fast growing community.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned primarily with the analysis and the interpretation of data collected for this study. The information received is analyzed extensively and very objectively. The interpretation shows the consistency of certain trends which are in accordance with the historical events. There were deviations which were recorded, but these were not strong enough to alter the central trend.

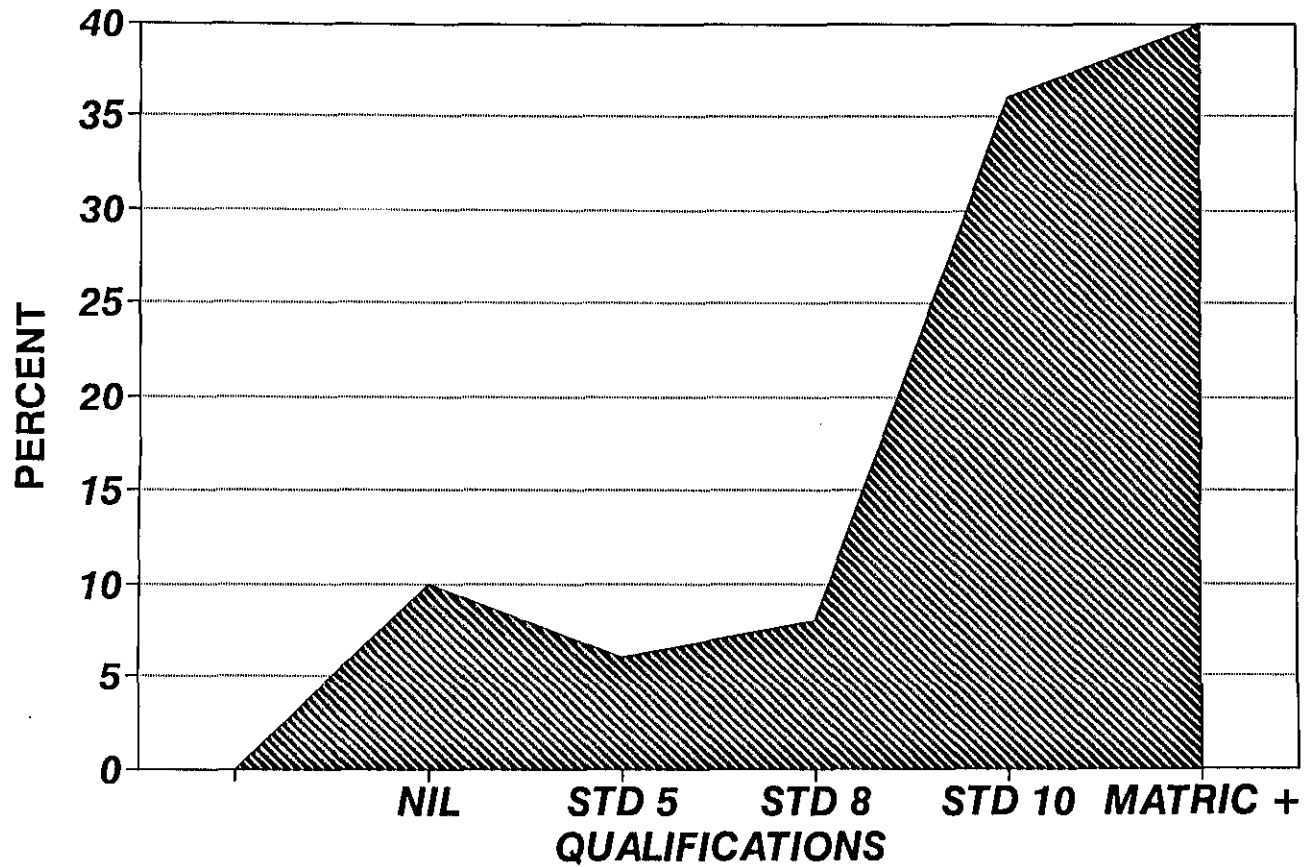
4.2 SOCIO - ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

There were 44 per cent males and 56 per cent females interviewed. Out of all the people interviewed, 52 per cent were between the ages 31 to 40. Between 41 and 50 years of age there was only 12 per cent , while above 60 years there was 4 per cent. Also 56 per cent were not married, but having children. Most of the children viz, 76 per cent were between the ages 1 to 4.

The above information shows that the results are almost balanced between males and females with a deviation of 6

RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION LEVELS

1994 - SURVEY REPORT



per cent above or below the 50 per cent mark, but still females, though, form the greater percentage. The fact that 52 per cent of those interviewed were 30 to 40 years of age is indicative that the culture of house ownership amongst the blacks is relatively new. One wonders: Where are the houses of the older generation ?

It should be made clear from the very onset that this study was problem and need oriented. It should never be surprising therefore when its tone is more radical. The scope of the problems however, and the intensity of responses convinces us that notwithstanding the less unfavourable aspects, the quality of life in the township like Kwa-Mashu leaves very much to be desired.

The chief problems identifiable by the respondents are related to community, crime, housing, security of tenure, education, community facilities and services. It was very evident that virtually all of Kwa-Mashu problems are linked together. The absence of the feeling of belonging because of inadequate housing facilities, lack of services and facilities, vulnerability to crime, ambulance services, policy of the area and others.

Above all, Kwa-Mashu cannot accommodate itself, that is, it does not provide its residents with sufficient security which is residential or physical, which is the worst failure. Most people especially the old generation claim

that they had been reluctant to move from their slum homes at first, but had to conform with the relocation scheme and had hoped for more permanent homes. Kwa-Mashu had since jeopardized their aspirations for security.

4.3 HOUSING AND DELIVERY SYSTEMS

Kwa-Mashu has both public and private housing scheme deliveries. The residents have many complaints about specific aspects of their housing. It is understandable and conceded that for the public housing scheme, the monthly rental costs of housing are relatively low and as such the housing represents a distinct advantage for a socio - economically depressed community as is the case all over the world, public housing cannot meet the varying needs and preferences of differentiated urban groups. Kwa-Mashu carries this emblem of low living standards.

The uniformity of public housing, the box shaped, is but one factor among a range of others which impose constraints on the quality of life. One of the major advantages of modern urban living, that of choice between alternative lifestyles, is denied urban Africans in South Africa, not only as regards housing form, but in virtually all spheres of normal day to day living. One might argue that choice is inevitably limited in direct proportion to the economic means of different urban groups. Respondents, nevertheless,

did pinpoint area where they were unnecessarily restricted.

Township residents seem to be acutely aware of their lack of choice in matters of daily living in town, most of the interviewees are committed to town and none opted to solve their problems by going to the homelands. Compared to the country, the city has much more to offer by the way of the economic and occupational opportunities, even if these advantages are often meagre and inaccessible. In this view, working in town is a necessary evil and the general township environment is a catalyst to hardships under which many urban blacks live when attempting to make a living.

Our study reveals the apathy of the unsuccessful older generation which has lost its grip on life and dreams of a peaceful existence without restrictions. On the other hand, youths find themselves continuously facing barriers when trying to improve their life chances, and are subsequently profoundly frustrated. The township facilities offer very few outlets to alleviate this frustration (Refer to the figure 4.1). This was once a swimming pool). The only sporting activity that has been catered for, is football. Violence, delinquency and drink presents themselves as temporary solutions.

A substantial proportion of our sample appear to face a crisis of morale in the sense that they lack friends a, husband or a wife, advices or comfort in times of grief.

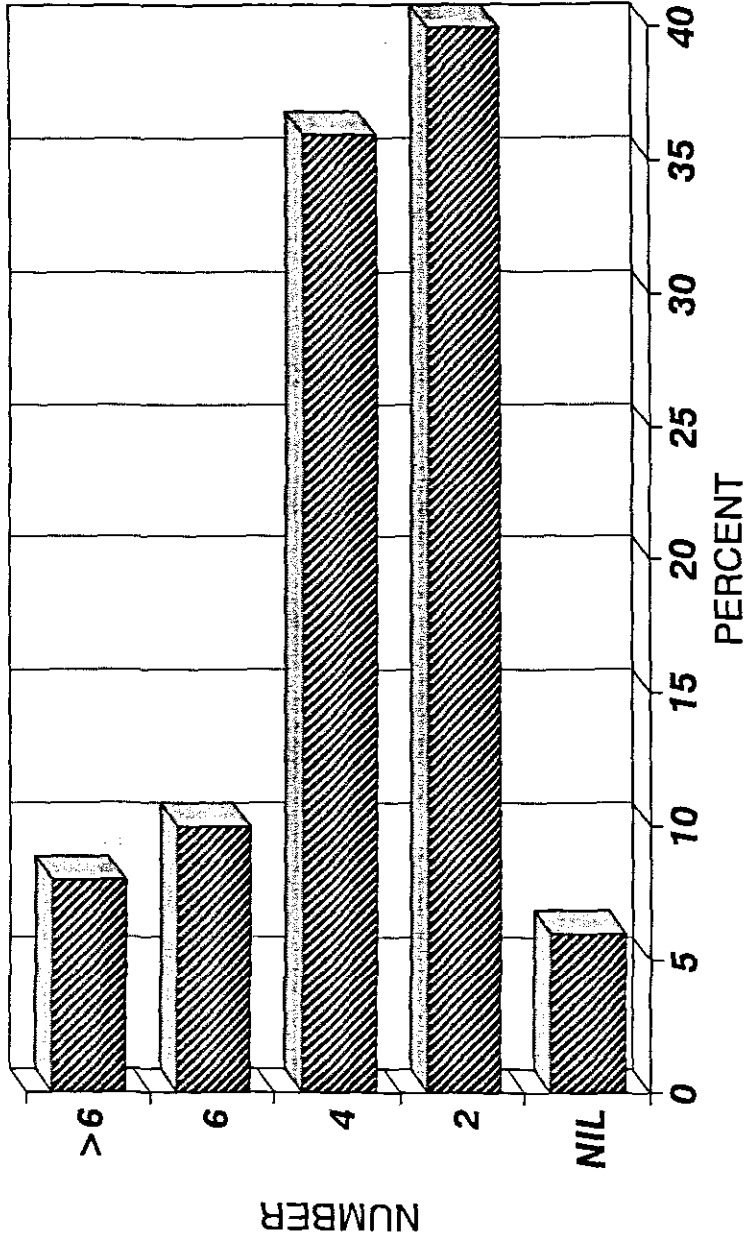
Major problems in Kwa-Mashu, such as violence, delinquency and alcoholism might be interpreted as a withdrawal from social standards made inevitable by the impediments to satisfactory personal adjustment, in short, the problems encountered, are directly responsible for the generation of either demoralization or personal rebellion.

Residents of this location are wanting in a 'sense of place' which is essential for people the world over. The anonymity and bleakness of "matchbox" housing along with residential insecurity contributes to this feeling of occupying a temporary shelter instead of a permanent home. The township administration is completely unresponsive to the needs of the people and this adds to the sense of civic alienation.

The salient characteristics of the culture of "NOT BELONGING" include a high incidence of social "pathologies," family disorganization and breakdown; mother dominance and male marginality in the family; the weakness or absence of male models in child socialization ; self control bring no rewards, leading to wasteful hedonistic lifestyles; a belief that life is ruled by luck or supernatural forces. The slum "culture" may be seen as encouraging a particular type of inter - personal or inter - sexual competitiveness, and an emphasis among men on toughness, machismo, cunning and "being smart".

DEPENDANTS PER HOUSEHOLD

1994 SURVEY



Because of the aforementioned signs of a genesis of the culture of being without residential security or shelter, the aspirations of the respondents were generally low, but it was surprising that they were dedicated to educate their children at any cost.

The research revealed that more females are heads of their families and out of all the respondents only 8 per cent did not have dependent, so 92 per cent had dependants 76 per cent of whom fall between ages 1 - 4. This undoubtedly is an indication of low morale because if 56 per cent are unmarried or single, then the children are obviously illegitimate. The promiscuous behaviour is because of the exposure of young children to secondary and even "primary" sexual behaviour because of the lack of privacy. This is depicted from the statistics that 44 per cent live in the houses which have two bedrooms or less. Elders have to share their bedrooms with old children because the average occupancy is 8 per house. Referring to the same statistics, the housing delivery system still have a long way to go because of this far it has encouraged polarity of the society since as stated above 44 per cent live in two-bedroomed houses while on the other hand there are 36 per cent who are staying in houses with 3 bedrooms or more. These are mostly government servants with subsidized houses or business people or a few "well to do,s".

4.4 HOSTELS

There are 671 blacks at Kwa-Mashu Men's Hostels and according to the information collected from the Administration 16 944 males reside there. However, taking into consideration the fact that each block has 8 compartments and each compartment accommodating 4 people, it is then evident that 32 people live in each block, Simple computation reveals that 21 472 residents should formally be residing in this hostel. Each hostel dweller pays a rental of R4.50 per month.

An estimated 50 per cent of the hostel dwellers is unskilled, according to Zulu (1993), and about a third of these people is unemployed. This hostel was exclusively for men, but has since ceased to cater for single sex accommodation due to a dramatic increase of the number of the womenfolk residing with men. This is a source of ill-feeling from a number of residents who claim that the increasing presence of women in these hostels is an abrogation of moral standards and an encroachment of their privacy. This dramatic increase of women has contributed to an escalation of informal sector activities within the hostel. In absolute numbers there may be more informal than formal sector activities. Spatially, the hostel appears overcrowded and aesthetically objectionable. There is a terrible stink from the ablution blocks and the uncollected garbage which spreads all over within the premises, all of

FIGURE 4.3

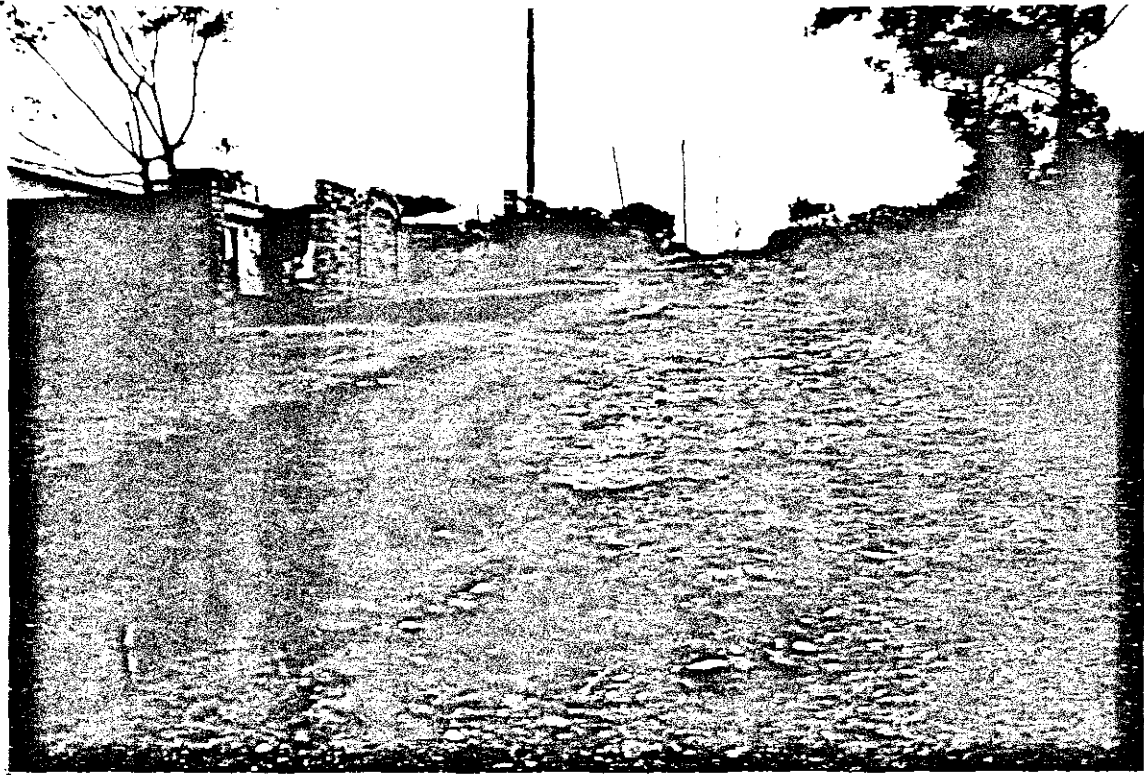


FIGURE 4.4

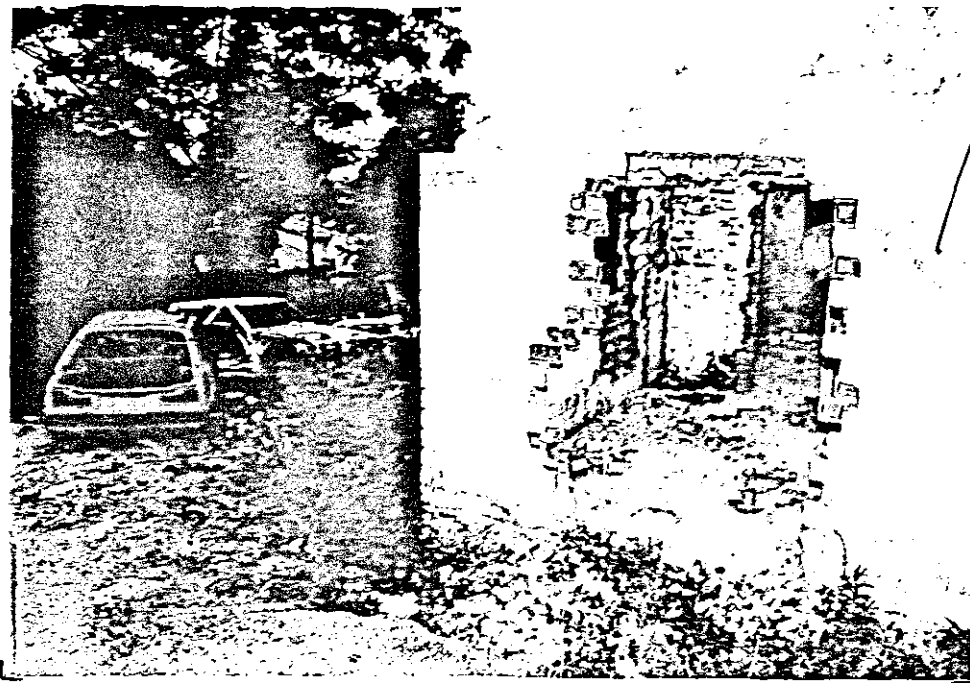
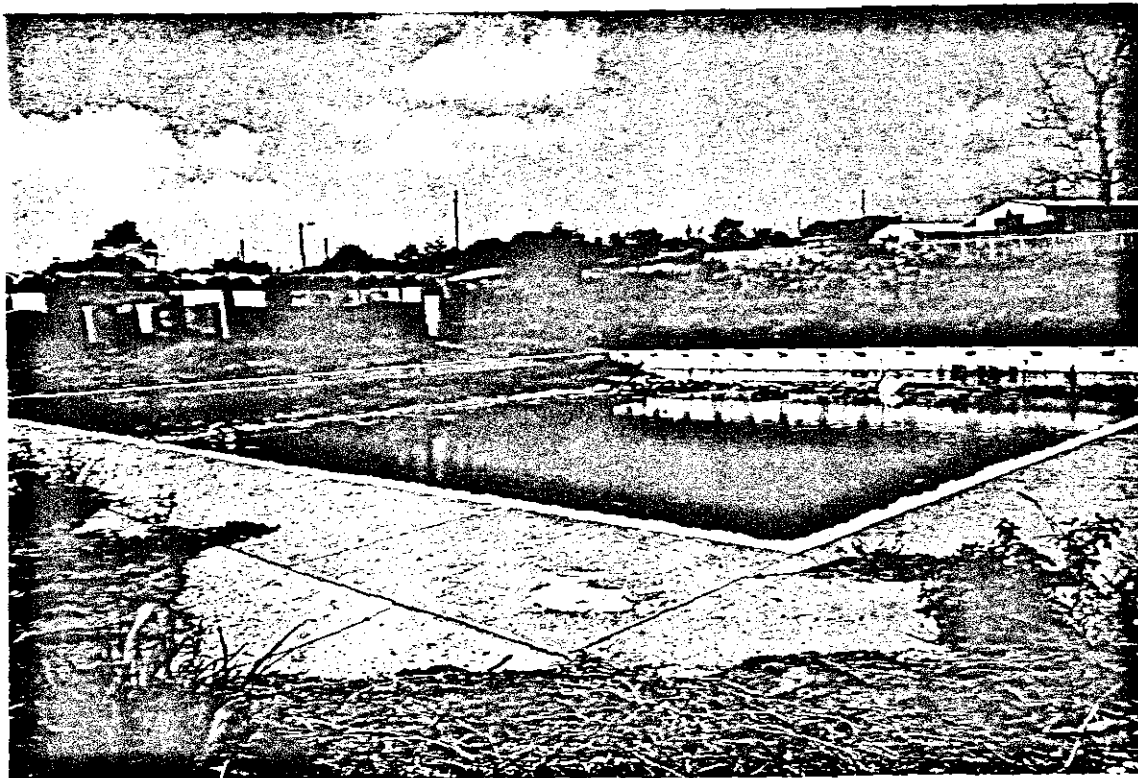


FIGURE 4.1



THIS WAS ONCE A SWIMMING POOL IN SECTION D.

FIGURE 4.2

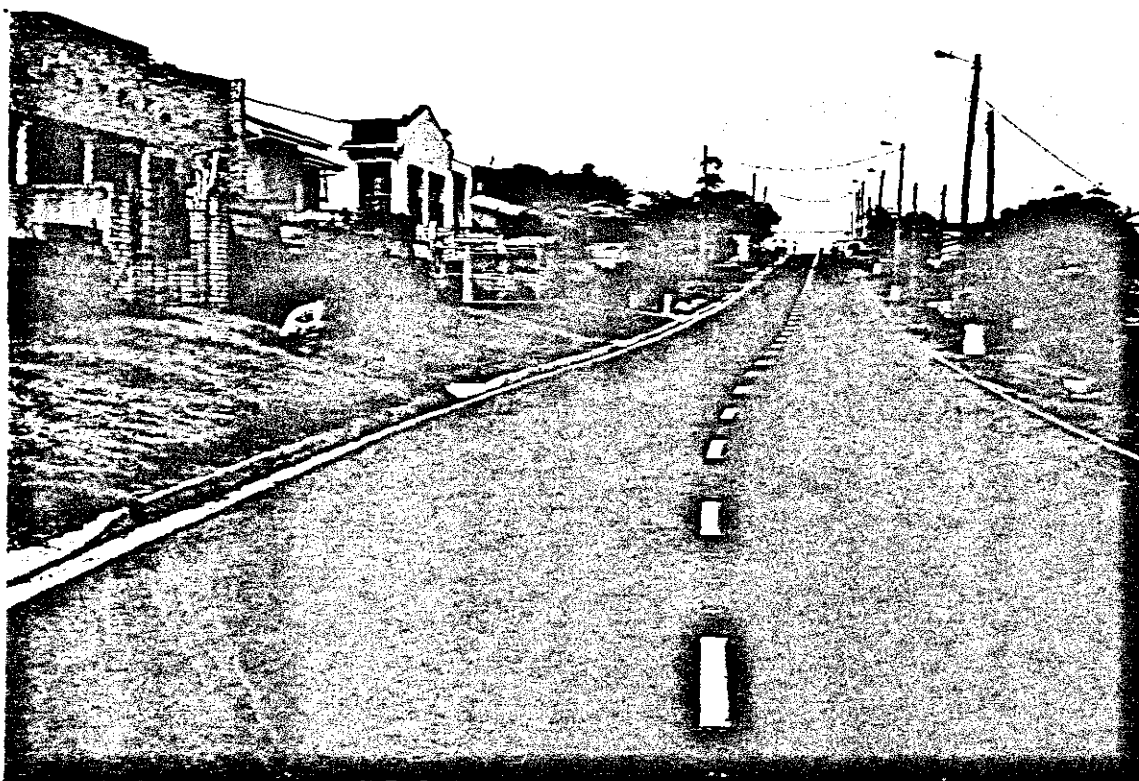


FIGURE 4.8a

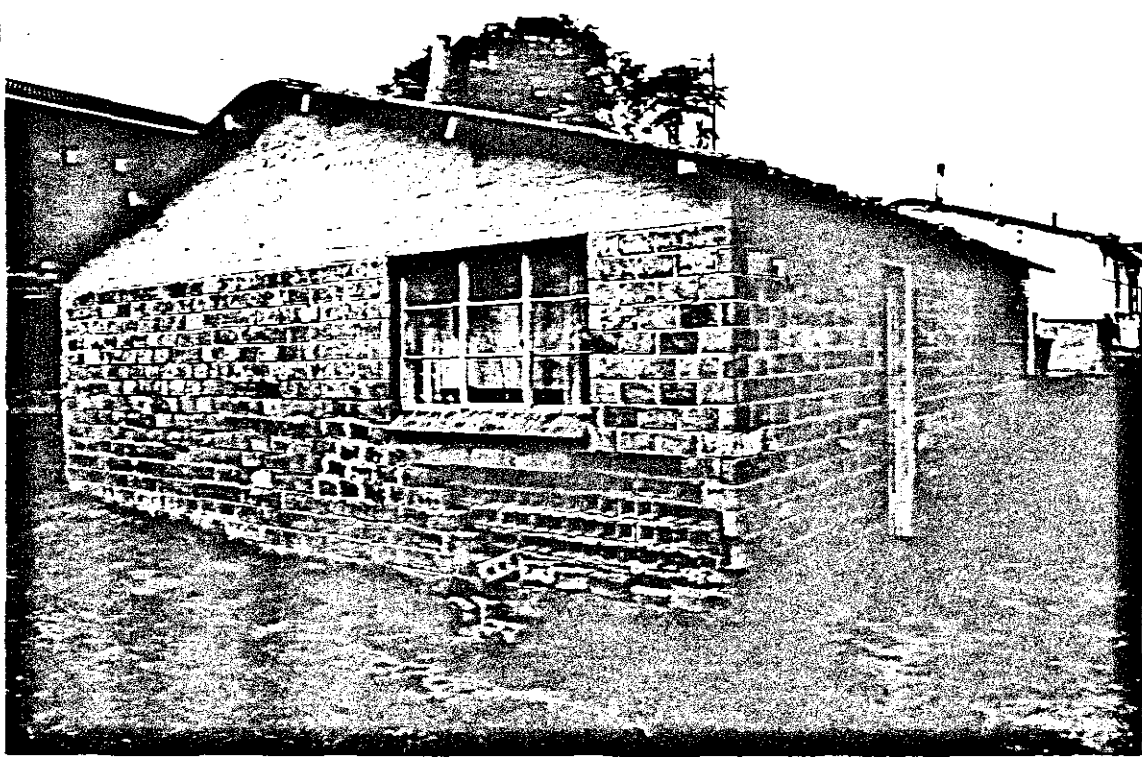


FIGURE 4.8b

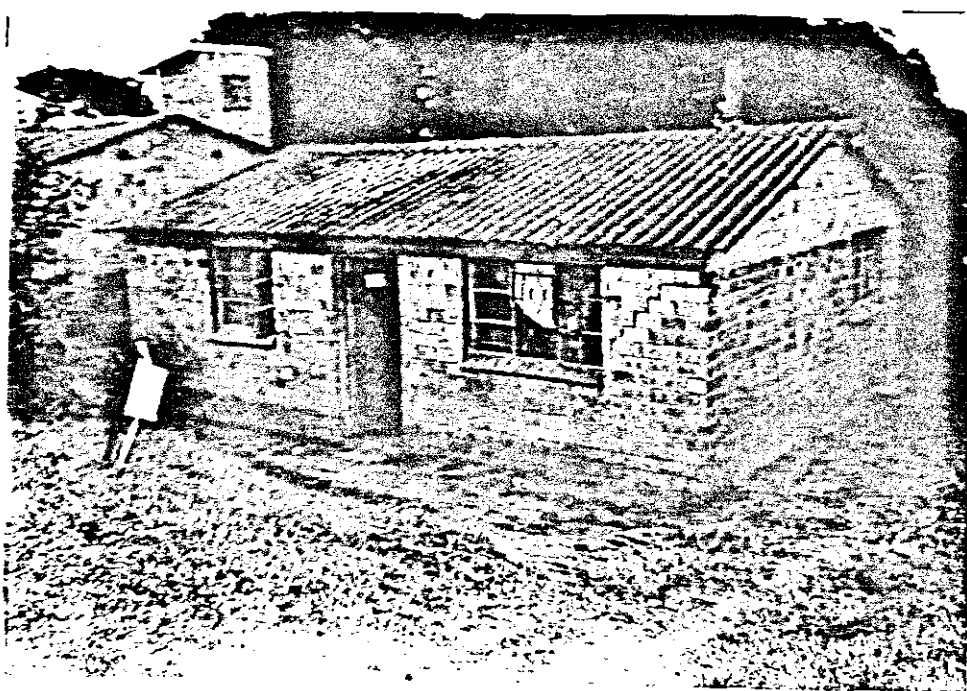


FIGURE 4.7b

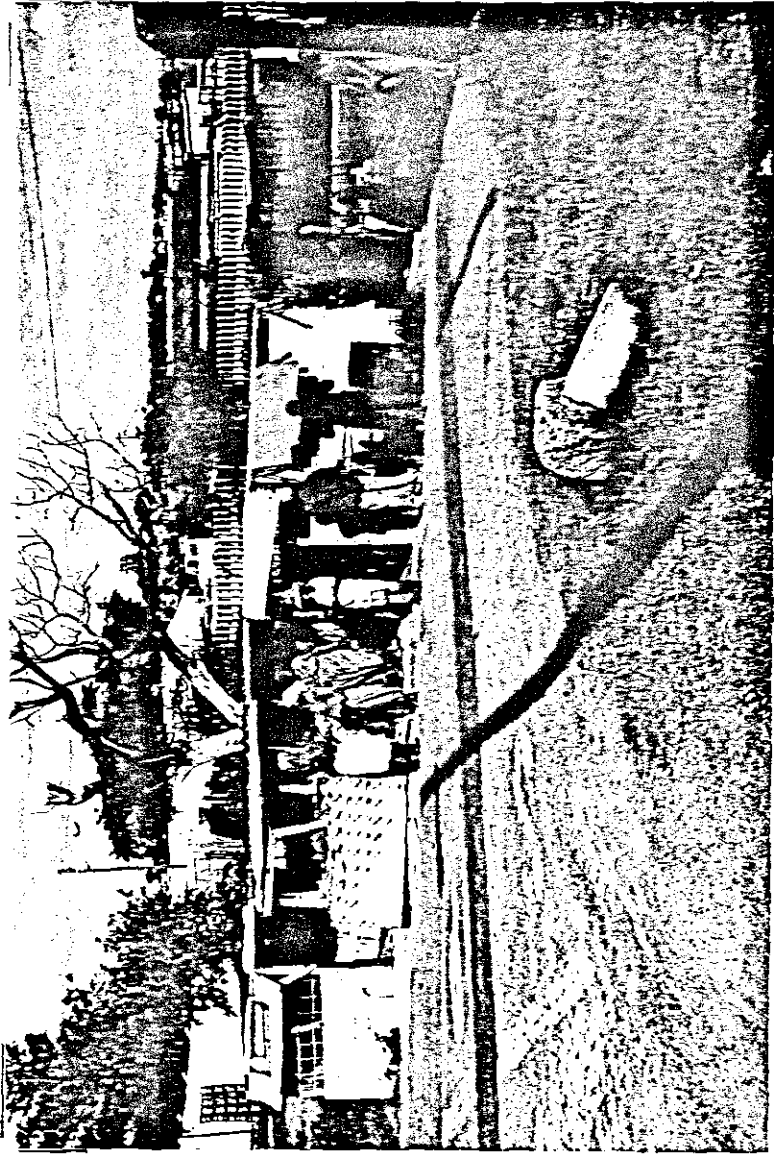


FIGURE 4.6



FIGURE 4.7a



which contribute to this poor state of affairs.

4.5 SERVICES

The sewerage system and refuse collection do not always render hassles, with a few exceptions however. Opposite Zakhe High School in L section the road is always under the sewerage water which has been there for time immemorial. The green algae has dominated the area and the usable part of the road is only about half of the standard size. A resident commented: "...here we live only by God's grace, from the mosquitos, flies and headbreaking stench. We are now tired of reporting this....."

For tourists roads in Kwa-Mashu are well maintained (as seen figure 4.2). This was the strategy of the now defunct Kwa-Zulu government to "window dress" the services. All the main roads where most of the people travel are well maintained. The side roads are a shame (as seen on figure 4.3). The refuse is emptied on the roads to fill in the potholes so that the road could at least be used by the residents. The side roads while are very well maintained are those where the "high society" lives or where the councillors live, because high profiled people visit such places.

The anger of the youth about what the government had been

FIGURE 4.5a

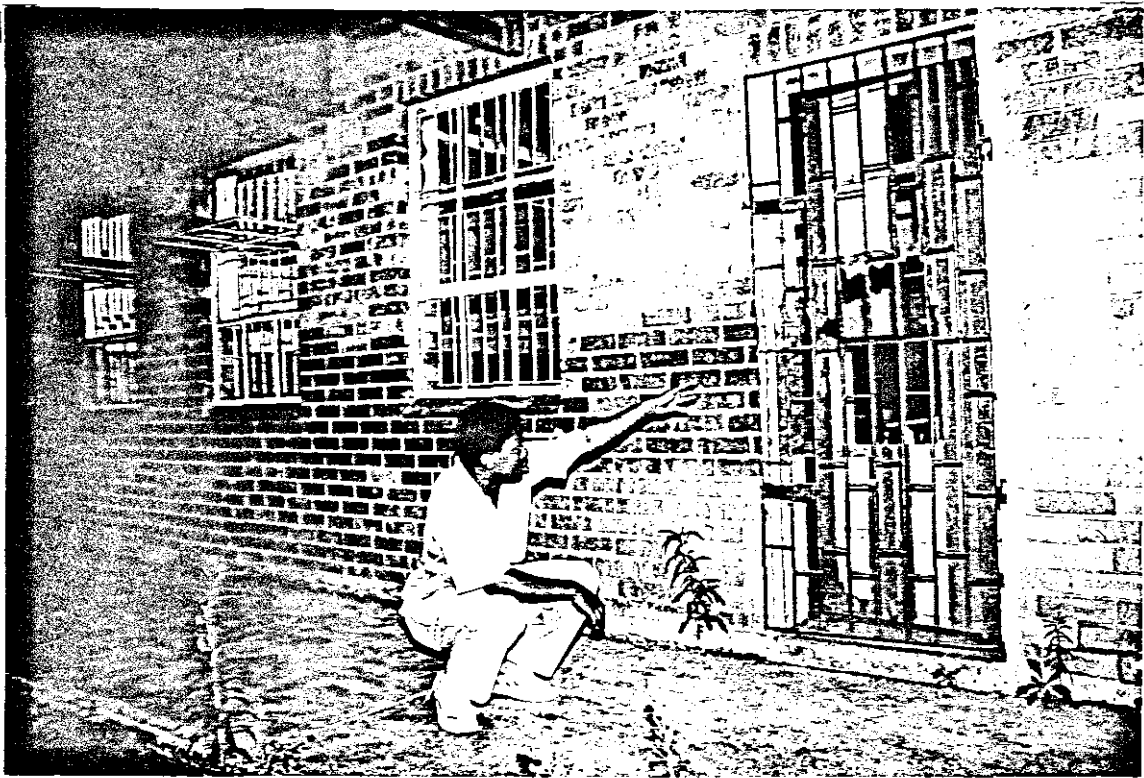
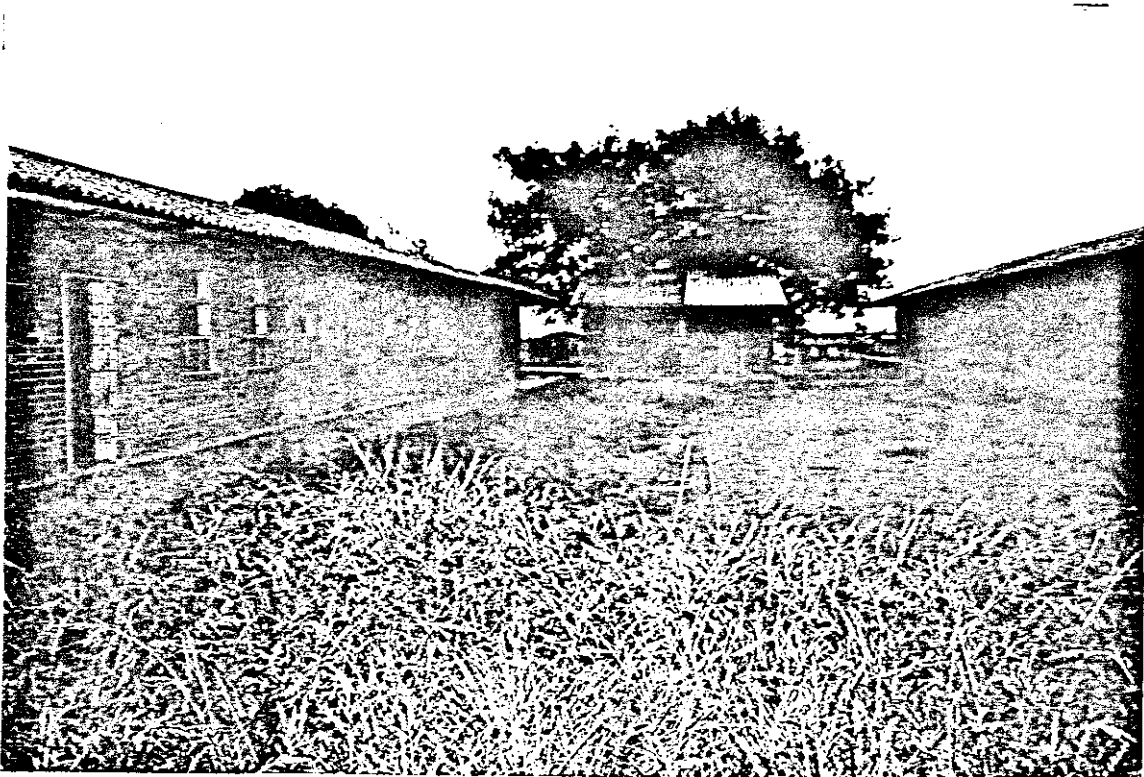


FIGURE 4.5b



doing for decades to humiliate the Blacks as a people, manifests itself through the destructions that followed after 1986. Schools, Shops, houses and even churches (Refer to figure 4.5) were destroyed. The house (in figure 4.4) was destroyed during that time and it is now used as a sanctuary for car thieves and hooligans.

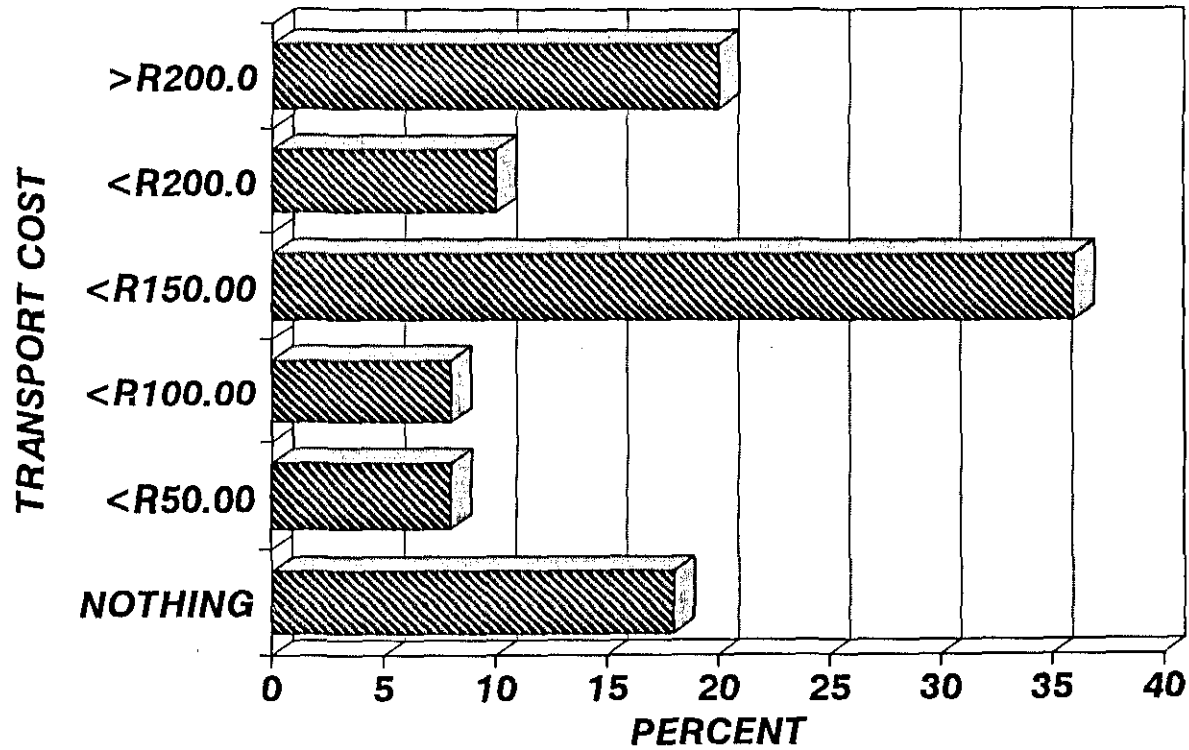
As stated above, destruction of shops, butchers, and bottle - stores resulted with the failure of the formal business in general. This prompted people to embark on the provision of the basic needs through an informal business sector. this crippled big businesses especially because the informal sector had fought for a bill on free trade. Referring to the figures 4.6 and 4.7 opposite. Majiya Supermarket finally closed down, while Sandos Spaza Shop gained momentum.

The plan structure and building material used for housing construction in Kwa-Mashu and other Black townships in general, are of a low standard and quality. The foundation is non - existent. The houses are cracked and bricks fall apart (Refer to figure 4.8).

Every child should at least obtain a standard 10 certificate in any civilized nation. For the education planners the number of primary schools; secondary schools and high schools should all be equal. This is not the case with Kwa-Mashu. It tapers toward the top as seen from Table

TRANSPORT EXPENDITURE

KWA-MASHU - 1994



3.4.1 below young people have been forced out of schools indirectly others had to go to adjacent schools in Phoenix (an Indian Location) or Newlands East (Coloured Location adjacent to Kwa-Mashu) or to the schools for Whites for a few who could afford.

The other trend in Kwa-Mashu has been to politicise every thing. A young man would resist to go to school and would say it is because of political reasons. This is evident when one looks at the average ratio of TEACHER: PUPIL which is 1:36 This reveals that there is no shortage of teachers at all but there are more children on the streets than in class (Refer to figure 4.2).

The position of Kwa - Mashu relative to the Durban Central Business District (CBD) is very far. This is in accordance with the policies of apartheid legislation. This becomes very clear if one looks at the travelling time spent between the place of residence and the place of work. According to the survey 56 per cent of the respondents spend more than 60 minutes on their daily journey to work, spending an average of R150.00 per month on transport.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Despite the multiplicity of obstacles, it is surprising that many respondents are utterly determined to succeed in

their endeavours to improve their life situation. If this determination and optimism can be channelled into organised attempts to secure collective progress for township residents, much frustration and apathy might be counteracted.

This survey has been conducted at a very crucial period in the history of the whole of the Republic of South Africa (RSA). It would appear that great anticipation is attached to the take over of the whole of the country by the wave of democratically elected government and this seem to represent a ray of hope in the gloom of life. If the new government does not deliver what it promised before the elections, community morale may deteriorate even further in reaction to the disillusionment following the raised expectations.

The pervasive perception that opportunities for improvement of occupational and material status are severely limited, introduces inevitable tensions. As already indicated, these tensions are resolved in different ways, some active and others passive. One active response is that of many of youth involvement in 'anomic' behaviour in the sense described by Merton (1957), a rejection of community norms and the use of robbery and violence for achieving the legitimate goals of self-assertion and material gain. The other side of the coin, in a sense, is the reaction of the older residents who express themselves in the excessive use of alcohol and other diversionary activities, a tendency to

'retreat' from the tensions and anxieties of their lives in the city.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Kwa-Mashu as a black residential area within the Durban Metropolitan Region will always be outstanding as symbolic to apartheid. In Chapter 1, page 15, of this text, it is stated: '....If one is seeking to discover the origins of URBAN APARTHEID PRACTICE, Durban provides the likeliest.....'

This township is situated on the peripheries of the city of Durban and away from the city centre or white suburbs. Kwa-Mashu has only two exits, in case a need arises to condone the area for many reasons. People are poor and live under conditions that are unbearable, compared to their white counterparts who are also living in Durban. Every community activity has been politicised, including education and commercial activities.

A considerable number of youth is out of school, in the streets, without a matriculation certificate. Morals are at minimum and the culture of learning is yet to be re-established in the entire area. Drugs indulgence are at its peak and hooliganism and theft are a way of life.

The older generation was taken by a wave of supporting Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), one of the South African political parties, when the Kwa-Zulu government took over the control of Kwa-Mashu in 1975. The most of the young population of this area were staunch members of the African National Congress (ANC). Kwa-Mashu was transformed to a stronghold for ANC during the early 1980s. The hostel still remained under IFP. The whole exercise resulted in a lot of bloodshed. This resulted with the location being controlled and manipulated by the youths who, with their iron hands converted the whole political perception to favour the ANC's ideology and beliefs. Since Kwa-Mashu is engulfed by one political ideology, there is relative peace.

5.2 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, most of the respondents concluded by saying that they hope the new government would improve the living conditions in this township. At this juncture the researcher feels he should say that " it is true that the RDP is the solution to most of the problems of the black population of this country," but it is stated very clearly that PEOPLE THEMSELVES SHOULD SPECIFY THEIR NEEDS AND INITIATE ACTIONS and, the government will take it from there as one of the principles of the RDP rests on the paradigm of self-help.

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Appendix A

The Questionnaire

**THE MANIFESTATION OF APARTHEID LEGACY ON HOUSING WITHIN THE
DURBAN METROPOLITAN REGION - A CASE OF KWA-MASHU TOWNSHIP**

The aim of this study is to investigate the housing problem of the residents of Kwa-Mashu and its socio-economic and psychopolitical impacts. This questionnaire attempt to secure information from prominently placed persons as well as through an eye of a laymen.

Your cooperation in completing this questionnaire as honestly as possible, will be highly appreciated. It is not necessary to write your name on this form, however if you feel you should, please do. All the information will be treated confidentially. This information will be used for research purpose only.

Please indicate your choice by making a (X) in a box that c corresponds to your choice.

SECTION A: PERSONAL PARTICULARS

1. Gender

Male
Female

2. Age

15-20
21-30
31-40
41-50
51-60
61+

3. Marital status

<input type="checkbox"/>	Single
<input type="checkbox"/>	Married
<input type="checkbox"/>	Divorced
<input type="checkbox"/>	Separated
<input type="checkbox"/>	Widow(er)

4. No of dependents.

<input type="checkbox"/>	None
<input type="checkbox"/>	1-2
<input type="checkbox"/>	3-4
<input type="checkbox"/>	5-6
<input type="checkbox"/>	7+

5. Place of birth

<input type="checkbox"/>	Kwa-Mashu
<input type="checkbox"/>	Within Durban Metro Area
<input type="checkbox"/>	Within Natal (Specify).....
<input type="checkbox"/>	South Africa (Specify).....
<input type="checkbox"/>	Outside South Africa

6. How long have you been living at Kwa-Mashu

<input type="checkbox"/>	0 - 11 Months
<input type="checkbox"/>	1 - 5 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	6 - 10 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	11- 15 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	16- 20 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	21+ years

7. Why did you choose to live at Kwa-Mashu?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Due to forced removals
<input type="checkbox"/>	The only place availed to me.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Is coser to my workplace
<input type="checkbox"/>	Had cheapest accommodation
<input type="checkbox"/>	It was my ideal choice
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (Specify)

SECTION B: SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND8. Are you employed? Yes
 No

9. If employed, for how long?

<input type="checkbox"/>	0 - 11 months
<input type="checkbox"/>	1 - 5 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	6 - 10 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	11 -15 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	16+ years

10. If unemployed, how do you earn a living?

Receive pension allowance
 Depend on your parents
 Depend on temporary employment
 I am self - employed
 Other (Please Specify).....

13. If self-employed, what kind of work are you doing?

Shopkeeper/Butcher
 Taxi Operator
 Hawker
 Artisan
 Other (Please Specify).....

14. Highest educational qualifications.

No education
 SSA - Std 2
 Std 3 - Std 5
 Std 6 - Std 8
 Std 9 - Std 10
 Std 10 +Diploma/Degree
 Other (Please Specify).....

15. What means of transport do you use to work?

I walk
 Bus
 Taxi
 Train
 Own Transport
 Two of the above (Specify)

16. How long do you travel to work?

Less than 30 minutes
 1 - 2 hours
 2 - 3 hours
 More than 3 hours

17. How much do you spend for transport per month?

Nothing
 R1.00 - R50.00
 R51.00 - R100.00
 R101.00 - R150.00
 R151.00 - R200.00
 R200.00 +

18. How many income earnings do you receive per month?

<input type="checkbox"/>	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	More

19. How much is your total income per month?

<input type="checkbox"/>	R1.00 - R500
<input type="checkbox"/>	R501.00 - R1000.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	R1 001.00 - R1 500.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	R1 501.00 - R2 000.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	R2 001.00 - R2 500.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	R2 500 +

SECTION C : HOUSING

20. Type of the house occupied?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Formal
<input type="checkbox"/>	Informal

21. The head of house?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Male
<input type="checkbox"/>	Female

22. The house is made of?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Corrugated iron
<input type="checkbox"/>	Mud
<input type="checkbox"/>	Bricks/Blocks
<input type="checkbox"/>	Wooden Material

23. How big is the house you occupy?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Single room
<input type="checkbox"/>	2 room
<input type="checkbox"/>	3 rooms
<input type="checkbox"/>	4 rooms
<input type="checkbox"/>	5 rooms +

24. The house you occupy is.....

<input type="checkbox"/>	Owned
<input type="checkbox"/>	Rented
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (Please Specify).....

25. Is the house electrified?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

SECTION D : HOUSE OWNERS ONLY

26. Who obtained the house you occupy?

Myself
 Private company
 Parents
 Other Please Specify)

27. When did you occupy the house?

1959 - 1965
 1966 - 1976
 1977 - 1987
 1988 +

28. If the house was bought, was it through

Cash
 Subsidy
 Bank loan
 Other (Specify).....

29. How much was the value of the house?

R1.00 - R500.00
 R501.00 - R2 000.00
 R2 001.00 - R10 000.00
 R10 001.00 - R30 000.00
 R30 001.00 - R50 000.00
 R50 000+

30. If a subsidy was received, from whom?

Government
 Employer
 Other (Specify).....

31. If you are holding a bond, how much do you pay per month?

R1.00 - R500.00
 R501.00 - R800.00
 R801.00 - R1 000.00
 R1 001.00 - R1 200.00
 R1 201.00 +

32. How long is the term of repayment?

1 - 10 years
 11 - 20 years
 21 - 30 years
 31 +

33. What problem did you encounter when purchasing the house you occupy ?

- No problem
- Difficulty in finding the site
- Delays by the employer
- Delays by the construction company
- Other (Please Specify).....

34. Under whose name is the house registered?

- My name
- Husband
- Wife
- Parents
- Other (Specify).....

35. The land where the house is located is...

- Rented
- Owned
- 99-year lease
- Other (Specify).....

SECTION E : QUALITY OF LIFE

Comment about the following facilities at Kwa-Mashu.

36. Transport facilities

- Very adequate
- Adequate
- Not adequate
- Poor

Please comment.....
.....
.....
.....

37. Recreational facilities

- Very adequate
- Adequate
- Not adequate
- Poor

Please comment.....
.....
.....
.....

38. Educational facilities

Very adequate
 Adequate
 Not adequate
 Poor

Please comment.....

39. Medical facilities

Very adequate
 Adequate
 Not adequate
 Poor

Please comment.....

40. Housing facilities

Very adequate
 Adequate
 Not adequate
 Poor

Please comment.....

41. Do you have problems with water supply?

No problems
 Many problems
 Sometimes

42. Is your refuse collected regularly?

Very regularly
 Regularly
 Not regularly
 Not at all

43. Is the sewerage system always in order?

No
 Yes
 Sometimes
 Not sure

Appendix B**QUESTIONS TO KWA-MASHU TOWNSHIP MANAGER**

1. How many 4-roomed houses in Kwa-Mashu ?
2. How many 2-roomed houses in Kwa-Mashu ?
3. How many 4-roomed semidetached houses ?
4. How many 2-roomed semidetached houses ?
5. How many hostel blocks are at Kwa-Mashu ?
6.
 - a) How many houses have back - rooms which are in plan? (those with approved plans)
 - b) Can you give an estimate of the number of unregistered back - rooms ?
7. What is the rental in each of the houses referred to in 1, 2, 3 and 4 above ?