DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN HOSTELS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Hostels have become synonymous with the migrant labour system in South Africa. They were first introduced on the mines to house workers cheaply. The significant feature of these hostels was that they were for "single" males - they did not cater for the housing needs of workers families. Their design made them useful, to the employers, in controlling their workers. As the manufacturing and construction sectors grew, hostels similar to those one the mines were replicated in most urban centres in South Africa. They were useful in reducing the cost of reproducing labour by externalising these costs to the reserves, later the bantustans. At the same time they performed a valuable political role by ridding the "white" urban areas of the "swart gevaar". This role was reinforced during the period of Apartheid, and hostels are therefore seen as "artefacts of the era of apartheid". More recently they became notorious as "urban fortresses" from which acts of violence were perpetrated, particularly on the Reef.

As the country moves towards a post-apartheid non-racial democracy the injustices and inhumanities of the hostel system will have to be redressed. The miserable and wretched conditions will have to be transformed and hostels will have to be integrated into "normal" community life. The recent violence succeeded, at great cost, in instilling a sense of urgency for the transformation of hostels, so as to reduce the potential for further conflict and violence. All the major actors committed themselves to a national development initiative to transform hostels.

Hostels however, are a complex phenomenon, serving varying functions and performing many roles. There is therefore a need for a more thorough understanding of the various features of hostels to inform any intervention if it is going to be meaningful or lasting. This dissertation examines the complexities of the hostel question with a view to informing development interventions in hostels. In this thesis the focus is on physical/spatial planning interventions.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As South Africa moves through a transition period towards a post-apartheid non racial democracy violence has become endemic to this society. In 1990 violence erupted in the hostels, between hostel dwellers and, between hostels dwellers and surrounding communities. Various analyses and explanations were offered for this violence. For the hostel dwellers, living in wretched conditions, forgotten by a society that found it convenient to do so, this violence succeeded in placing the spotlight on them, albeit in a notorious light. Analysts of the violence agreed that the causes for the violence went deeper than ethnic and political mobilisation, to the appalling and abhorrent physical material conditions in the hostels. Other analyses went further and argued that the causes of the violence could be found in the disintegration of the system of apartheid and the threat that this posed to many with vested material and psychological interests in the system. In the case of the hostels, workers, who had retained strong links to a traditional rural lifestyle and were committed migrants, were threatened by the apparent demise of the migrant labour and hostel systems. It was easy to mobilise them in protection of these interests.

Viewing the hostel situation from another angle, as apartheid came to an end, legacies of that era (eg hostels) had to be isolated and programmes and mechanisms put into place to redress the injustices resulting from such legacies. The inhumane and degrading material

circumstance under which workers were forced to live had to be totally overhauled. The unions were the strongest in their resistance to the system of hostel accommodation. But it was really the violence that succeeded, at enormous costs, in putting hostels at the top of the national development agenda.

This thesis traces the circumstances under which hostels arose and grew to house more than a million people in the country. From its origins in the mines, where they provided cheap accommodation and easy control over workers, the hostel system was replicated in most urban areas. They provided cheap accommodation and helped to keep the cities 'white' by allowing African workers into the urban areas when they were needed and expelling them when they were not needed. The conditions in the hostels were always miserable and wretched. This situation worsened as the administration of the hostels changed and hostels were passed from the white municipalities to administration boards and then to the Black Local Authorities. The social conditions in the hostels gave rise to the worst social pathologies of urban life. They also facilitated the continued oppression of women in a society already marked by its patriarchal relations. All these and other factors make it imperative, that amongst other interventions, a development intervention be made in the hostels. It should have been made even before the violence, but post the violence of 1990-91 all the major political actors committed themselves to a national development initiative for hostels, to ensure that the potential for any further conflict and violence was removed. Hostels however, are a complex phenomenon, serving varying functions and performing many roles. In these circumstances there is a definite need for a complete and thorough understanding of the various features of hostels if any intervention is going to be meaningful or lasting.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the complexities of the hostel question with view to highlighting these and illustrating that although seemingly disparate they link togethe as pieces of a puzzle to form a picture which is enigmatic and paradoxical. It is this pictur which has to be understood in its totality if any interventions are to be made. In this thesi the focus is on the need for physical/spatial planning interventions. The crux of this thesi is that whether it is a spatial/physical, health, sociological, political or humanitaria intervention, the various elements of this complex puzzle will have to be understood so tha the response or intervention can be a holistic one. Such a response will be effective an meaningful, because it will take into account the whole in targeting a part of the picture. T summarise, the purpose of this dissertation is :

i. to explore and illustrate the various facets of hostels and hostel life, from th time that hostels originated to the current day;

ii. to put together the various pieces of this complicated puzzle to form a pictur which can inform any planning intervention to transform the physical an spatial aspects of hostels;

iii. to illustrate how an understanding of this complex picture may be used t make spatial/physical planning interventions, by way of a few examples.

The method employed to undertake such an exercise, was to gather existing secondar information and empirical data on hostels. This data was analysed and relevant issues wer extracted. The writer of this dissertation was involved in the hostel upgrading initiative an undertook research and planning work on hostels as part of a professional team. Thi entailed planning the upgrading of three hostels in Durban as well as research wor undertaken to inform the activities and programme of the Hostels Working Group of th

National Housing Forum (NHF). The latter included a national monitoring exercise which examined the status of hostel upgrading initiatives in the country and the extent to which these initiatives were complying with the Short-term Guidelines for Hostels Initiatives (prepared by the NHF). This involvement and experience was incorporated into the thesis and it informed the analysis that was made.

This thesis is structured as follows : Section 2 begins by theorising hostels, examining the role of hostels, as a part of the rental housing stock, in maintaining non-institutionalised and institutionalised racism viz. apartheid, in continuing the oppression of women in society and as urban fortresses, from which violence was perpetrated and defended. This is followed by a history of hostels (Section 3), which traces their origin in the mines to the current period, in the context of urbanisation and housing policy of different periods. This history is brought up to date in Section 4, by an examination of the status of hostels in South Africa today to illustrate the complexities of current conditions in hostels which will have to be responded to by any intervention. The material conditions and events around hostels in the past three years have put into motion a national effort to transform hostels which has already begun to reshape the hostel terrain. These development initiatives in hostels are examined in Section 5 with a view to establishing what they entail, what the policies of various actors are, what the problems and constraints of such initiatives are and the relevance of these to regional and local hostel initiatives. In Section 6, the major factors contributing to an understanding of hostels are summarised. These factors which will influence any policy on hostels are the housing and urbanisation context, finances/costs, administration/ institutional mechanisms, physical conditions, housing and social factors and the views and preferences of hostel dwellers. The focus of this thesis is to inform development interventions in hostels. The

emphasis has been on spatial and physical aspects of hostel life, incorporating other aspects to the extent that they have to be responded to in the planning of development initiatives. The dissertation ends with a few examples which illustrate how the factors summarised in section 6 influence policy formulation.

CHAPTER 2

THEORISING HOSTELS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Hostels mean different things to different people. For some the thought of hostels evokes rows and rows of barracks like accommodation housing single males, for others hostels mean cheap rented accommodation in the city, and for yet others it suggests another means of control over workers by employers, more recently the thought of hostels also brings to mind urban military bases from which weapon wielding mobs attack townships and informal settlements. There are elements of reality in each of these visions, and therein lies the complex nature of the hostel question. It would therefore be appropriate to elaborate on the differing visions of hostels and use them as the base from which to develop a theory on hostels. In theorising hostels it should be noted that literature on hostels is limited with very little attention has been paid to theory. The experiences and research of other researchers have contributed to the theorising of hostels.

In this chapter, the elements of the theory that emanate are also examined with reference to the international experience in hostels. The purpose of this is examine the context within which hostels arose in other national situations, the functions that they performed in those societies, and, to extract those issues which are relevant to understanding hostels in our

society. Any theory has to be located within a particular paradigm, hence this chapter begins with a brief statement of the paradigm adopted. The paradigm or approach adopted is the radical or conflict model of society. This paradigm requires any analysis or theory to be based within a social context. Hence, a summary of the social context and the prevailing mode of production in South African is undertaken.

2.2 DEFINING THE THEORETICAL PARADIGM AND THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

The theoretical paradigm adopted in this thesis is the radical or conflict model. This radical approach argues that society has to be understood in terms of the prevailing mode of production. This mode of production spells out contradictions which give rise to conflicts. There is a continuous struggle around these conflicts which result in constant change. The resolution of these struggles is dependent on class struggle and the balance of forces in society. Using this approach all issues have to be considered within the social context, or the prevailing mode of production, in which they arise. There is a history which preceded the issues and a reality which is current to the issue, both of which inform and shape the nature of struggle. Further, all issues have to be looked at in a holistic fashion i.e. to understand an issue one must explore and understand all elements and facets of it, including the circumstances that gave rise to it.

The radical or left approach to understanding society has received a massive blow with the collapse of communism all over the world. However it is argued that although the planned

economy or centralised mode of production, as adopted in communist countries, has failed, the moral philosophy underlying the approach and redistributionary character of this approach did work. The analytical value of this approach has also been recognised and accepted as being the most sound and scientific.

For the left, the collapse of communism has resulted in a period where intense and innovative thinking will be required to formulate a new paradigm within which to understand society.

The dominant mode of production in South Africa is a capitalist one. In South Africa, capitalism has taken a very specific form, articulating with racism (Apartheid) and resulting in racial capitalism which some theorists have characterised as a colonialism of a special type. The capitalist mode of production hinges on the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour over the extraction of surplus value in the process of commodity production. This results in the historically specific process of capital accumulation. Apartheid is a form of institutionalised racism which has been entrenched over generations by the exclusion of the majority of South Africans, the Blacks, from all levels of government. Also existing are patriarchal relations which ensure the oppression of women in society.

By the end of the seventies it was clear that South African society was in crisis, a crisis which was fairly deep rooted and required fundamental structural changes. Saul (1986) comments that the crisis was in fact "organic", that is a crisis that was not merely economic but also cast in more broadly political terms. The political crisis is due to the denying of representation to the majority of the population, which is engaged in a struggle to change this. This crisis has also been described as a crisis of legitimacy and control. The economic

crisis is one of escalating inflation, rising unemployment, rising costs, balance of debt payment problems and generally one of economic growth. This crisis was worsened by the impact of global economic recession. The most overtly racist dimensions of South African capitalism which have contributed to the economic crisis are the constraining size of the domestic market and the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled black labour. (Saul, 1986, pp.5-6). The only solution to the crisis is a non-racial unitary South Africa. For a long time the South African state resisted this, responding with a strategy of reform and repression. (Smit, 1988; Swilling, 1988). By 1990 it was clear that the pressure on the government from within and outside South Africa was enormous. This resulted in a new political climate in which the State of Emergency was terminated, political prisoners were released, exiles were allowed to return home and the major liberation movements of the people, ANC and PAC, were unbanned. The Conference for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) marked the beginning of a process of negotiations. All the major and minor political parties were brought together to discuss negotiations. There have been several hiccups in this process of negotiations, but it is now clear that within the next twelve to eighteen months a fully elected Constituent Assembly will be in place to draw up a new constitution for a democratic post apartheid South Africa. It should be kept in mind that although the current phase is one of negotiations, it is the relative strengths of the various forces that will determine the form that a new South Africa will take.

2.3 THEORISING HOSTELS

The theorising of hostels begins by examining the role of hostels as part of the rented housing stock and its role in providing cheap temporary accommodation for migrant workers. It also examines the changing character that hostels have assumed over time. Hostels have been used to control the "swart gevaar" by providing temporary accommodation for workers in the urban areas and promoting the idea of their permanent homes being with their families in the reserves. These and other roles that hostels have performed are examined in this section.

In capitalist society housing is defined to be a commodity and is characterised by its use value and its exchange value. (Wilkinson, 1981; Clark & Ginsburg, 1975). As seen housing has been called on to perform many functions which go beyond its principal characterisation as a commodity. Radical theory explains this in terms of the differing social contexts within which housing theory is applied and understood. This is certainly true for hostel accommodation, which is a particular type of housing provision in capitalist societies.

The use value of a house is derived from the shelter that it provides to its occupants. A house located on a particular piece of land also affords the occupants a particular use value with regard to physical accessibility of various facilities and opportunities. But a house on its own without the provision of basic services is of little use. The provision of these services, water, waste disposal etc are best organised on a collective basis and are termed the "infrastructure of the reproduction of labour power or the means of collective consumption". Thus "'housing' in a broad sense is a critical element of the reproduction of

labour power". Shelter and the services that go with it, are basic to the survival of the worker and his family. The house is also the stable location for the processes of individual reproduction i.e. subsistence consumption and domestic labour which support the worker. (Wilkinson, 1981).

The exchange value of a house is related to its use for exchange on the housing market. There are a number of actors involved in the housing market and their interest in housing is the way in which the surplus value generated from the production of housing is distributed among them in the form of profit, interest or rent. This exchange value then makes housing an additional way in which capital accumulation can occur. It has been noted that capitalist society has a tendency to overaccumulate which results in periodic crises. Harvey notes that overaccumulation is accompanied by a tendency to under invest in the built environment. It is suggested that the surplus capital in periods of overaccumulation can be used to respond to this underinvestment. (Wilkinson, 1981).

In a capitalist society the conflict between labour and capital is over the distribution of the social product which is usually divided in the form of wages for labour and profits for capital. Capital attempts to keep wages down and increase its profits whereas labour struggles for higher wages. The minimum wages that capital should pay in the form of wages is that which is needed to reproduce labour. However, it has become clear that in capitalist economies many of the goods and services necessary to reproduce labour are not provided directly by capital, either because sufficient profit cannot be made from these eg. public transport, or because their provision is best done by the state so as to ensure the reproduction of capitalist society as a whole eg. education. For the continued reproduction

of labour, and as a result of class struggles around these services, it becomes necessary for the state, acting in the interest of capital and the process of capital accumulation, to intervene. It does so by providing these services on a collective basis for labour. This means that in addition to the wage received by labour, it receives a social wage in the form of "public goods" such as housing and health. The funds for this is extracted from labour through taxes and from taxes of the surplus value appropriated by capital. It is therefore in the interest of capital to keep this social wage to a minimum or else a smaller amount of money is available for capital accumulation. Labour on the other hand will resist any attempt to reduce the social wage, seeing it as a reduction of the overall wage. (McCarthy & Smit, 1984, pp141-143; Wilkinson, 1981).

In South African society, one theory argues that migrant labour allows capital to reduce the costs of reproducing labour. Wolpe proposed the cheap labour power thesis and in it he argues that migrant labour stimulated capital expansion through an exploitation of workers which was possible by paying them very low wages on the basis that labour was being reproduced outside the capitalist sector in a pre-capitalist economy. The cost of reproducing labour for capital was reduced to providing accommodation for workers in single sex hostels while the remaining costs of reproducing was not its responsibility. This cost is supposedly met in the rural areas. (Hindson, 1987, pp 20-21; McCarthy & Smit, 1984, p.143). Kraak (1981) also argues that the migrant labour system, which developed as the primary form of labour supply in South Africa embodied a particular form of exploitation, the "artificial reduction of the costs of reproducing labour". The migrant worker is paid a wage for his own subsistence, and not for the subsistence of his family who "hypothetically subsist by farming and whose social needs (shelter and health) are provided by a 'homeland'

government".

This theory has been disputed and criticised by many writers who argue that this is an oversimplistic analysis which ignores the strong political motivation for the migrant labour system. The fear of "swart gevaar" meant that the movement of Blacks had to be controlled, manipulated and tolerated, in small doses, only when necessary to meet the demands of capital accumulation. The theory also discounts the reservations of at least parts of capital to the migrant labour system which they believed as being contradictory to the needs of the capital accumulation process. This need was for the creation of a permanent skilled urbanised workforce which had a stake in the system and contributed to making it work.

It should be noted that the migrant labour system was established and in practice before Apartheid was introduced by the Nationalist Party in 1948. Hostels were however extended by the ideology and practice of Apartheid and are therefore seen as "artefacts of the era of apartheid". (Smit, 1991, p.3). They have contributed to the keeping of the urban areas "white" by limiting accommodation available for workers and especially for their families, thus attempting to regulate urbanisation. This was in keeping with the grand plan of apartheid, to allow Africans into the city only and when they were required for labour. However hostels have also arisen in other national contexts and they should therefore not be seen purely as creations of apartheid. (Smit, 1991).

Housing also contributes to the maintenance of social relations through the centrality of its use value in the reproduction of the individual worker. Workers require houses as a secure base from which to operate and also in which individual reproduction can take place regularly

and without disruption. This important function of the housing commodity is then used as an instrument of social control and used by the state and capital in their interests. (Wilkinson, 1981). In the South African case the state uses the African townships to control workers in the urban areas as well as control their presence in the urban areas through its control over access to housing. Capital also uses housing as a means of control over its workers, eg the compound or hostel system and through its housing allowances to workers.

This migrant labour system and control of accommodation, the hostels, means that the workforce can be controlled and prevented from organising itself to oppose unjust and unfair practices. Migrant workers are usually temporary, contracted for a specific period, they are "ethnically segregated, undermining racial and class unity and in crisis situations can be physically returned to the remote confines of the 'homelands'". The homelands have therefore been key to the migrant labour system, serving several functions - reducing the cost of reproducing labour, political repression, a constant source of labour and a dumping ground for all who are not necessary to the process of capital accumulation eg the old, the infirm and the unemployed. (Kraak, 1981, pp. 1-2).

Capitalist societies have demonstrated an inability to cope with the housing requirements of its people as evident in the critical housing shortages in most capitalist societies. This housing shortage can be ascribed to the process of urbanisation as well as to the natural growth of existing population in urban areas. The dynamics of capital accumulation secured through the workings of the housing market, ensure that the supply of housing, "where it is needed and at a price that can be afforded" is always outstripped by demand. The responses to this housing shortage can be many : the state fills the gap by providing housing that is

affordable - usually through subsidised public housing schemes; the state removes the problem from the urban areas to the rural areas by placing constraints on urbanisation (eg the influx control and the migrant labour system); the homeless tackle the problem on their own by occupying available land and providing housing for themselves, usually outside the formal housing market; or the state reduces its responsibility in the provision of housing but still controls it through the promotion of self help forms of housing provision. (Wilkinson, 1981). When people have no other solution to the housing problem they also opt to live in overcrowded conditions which increase the pressure on bulk services provided. This is the case in the African townships and in the public hostels, so that although hostels were introduced to house and control workers on the mines their role has extended beyond that.

Clark and Ginsburg (1975) note that local authority accommodation is subjectively, the ideal for many people who cannot afford the high cost of private accommodation. There are however some people who cannot even afford the local authority accommodation and have to look for cheaper and therefore more inferior forms of accommodation. Among these would be the young, the transient and the most marginalised. For many of these hostel accommodation, with all its limitations, is the only option that they can pursue.

For those in the urban areas temporarily, migrants with their ties still in rural areas, a significant part of their income is devoted to their families in the rural areas and to their investments in rural areas viz. land, livestock and housing. Their requirement in urban areas is rented accommodation that does not take up a large portion of their meagre resources. Hence hostels which provide temporary cheap rented accommodation is what they opt for. Hostels thus became part of a system of oscillating migration, which reinforced the

position of workers as temporary dwellers in the city with their families and property in rural areas. This kept wages low by reducing the social services and goods that had to be provided to reproduce workers. (Smit, 1991, p.3).

Although the twin pillars of the migrant labour system, influx control and pass laws have been abolished and there are no overt restrictions to urbanisation, it clear that contrary to the urban transition model of migration, migration of a particular kind, termed "circulatory migration" still persists. The urban transition model argues that transition is a "process of stabilisation in which people who were formerly migrant labourers become permanent urban residents" (cited in Royston, 1991).

Circulatory migration is the phenomenon in which migratory patterns involve members of households migrating from rural bases (one or more) to widely separated urban worksites (one or more). Migration occurs at varying frequencies between short to much longer-term intervals. (Mabin 1990). It is important to note that circulation includes a wide range of different types of mobility, the nature of which varies in different contexts. Circulatory migration includes movement that is temporary, "repetitive, cyclic and recurrent and concludes in the place or community in which it began" (Royston, 1991). Mabin suggests several reasons for the persistence of circular migration in South Africa. State legislation, made Africans 'outsiders' in urban areas and bantustans provided certain services eg education, which encouraged people to retain a stake in the rural areas, while migrating at intervals to work opportunities in urban areas. Economic factors, the expenses and constraints of the urban land delivery process, made rural areas more attractive to poorer people thus reinforcing circulation. For many households a home of their own was only

possible in rural areas, thus they saw the need to retain it as a base even when working urban areas. (Mabin, 1990).

Research indicates the prevalence of short-term migration in which a migrant comes to t city to search for work. If there is no work available and the migrant's resources run lo then the migrant returns to the rural areas until sufficient funds are available to make another trip to the city to seek employment. If the migrant is successful in findi employment, he/she will look for temporary accommodation, which is fairly cheap. Host or other forms of cheap rental housing (eg backyard shacks) would seem to be the m suited for this type of need. (Smit, 1991).

The prevalence of circulatory migration does not preclude the existence migrants who co to the city to take up permanent residence. Many of these migrants to the city require a ba which they can use as an urban bridgehead to better and more permanent accommodatio Having arrived in the city, they usually "lodge" with a relative or acquaintance from th home district, in the townships or in the hostels. They use this base to look for a job a until they become economically independent they often are at the mercy of the person th are living with. Having found a job, they then rent their own space in the hostels townships until they are in an economically better position to move to better and m permanent accommodation. In this way the hostels serve the function of an urban bridgehe for young urbanising migrants. The young urban dwellers who are either seeki employment or are in their first jobs and are just starting their life also requ accommodation. They usually have very limited resources, accordingly their requireme is for low-cost cheap rented accommodation. Their options are to remain in overcrowd

conditions in parents homes in townships, backyard shacks, informal settlements or hostels. As they get better employment and as they have families of their own the type of accommodation that they require changes. For them the cheapest rented accommodation is hostels.

Ramphele (1989) in her study of hostels found that many women arriving in the urban areas use the hostels as an urban bridgehead or temporary accommodation. They squat with their husbands or lovers in the hostels, some until they find and can move to more suitable accommodation, others until they return to rural areas. This presence of women in what are single sex hostels for men[1] brings into focus another function that hostels play viz. as "castles of male chauvinism" in which men lord it over women using them to cushion their complete powerlessness. As Ramphele & Boonzaier (1988, p.166) comment, "the social and political order in South Africa impacts on working class black men in a way that brings out the worst kinds of chauvinism in them...The oppression they suffer in the wider society acts as a paradigm for their domination of women, which is reinforced by an appeal to 'tradition' to justify practices that are said to be central to 'African culture'". In the South African context it is significant to note that patriarchy, the system of male domination over women, transcends class and race differences. Patriarchy is prevalent in Afrikaner households as it is in the African household, it merely takes on different forms in different contexts. Amongst Africans this male dominance takes the form of women being perpetual minors, passing through the control of different men throughout their lives, a "system of control that stretches from cradle to grave". A cornerstone of this ideology, the system of "lobola" or

[1]It should be noted that are a few single sex hostels in the country which provide accommodation only for women. These are a very small percentage of the total number of hostels in the country.

bridewealth, which secures control over the reproductive powers of women, has changed over time but is still a means of control. Ramphele argues that African patriarchs have not only 'tradition' but also Christianity available to them to legitimate the perpetuation of the patriarchal system. (Ramphele, 1989; Ramphele & Boonzaier, 1988). This could also be a contributory factor in the persistence of the circular migration, particularly in the case of men who remain committed migrants. These men can continue to exert control over women in the rural areas who remain financially dependent on them. If women also migrated to the cities and were successful in getting jobs it would make them financially independent and more able to challenge their oppression.

Of relevance to our study is that although individual women have struggled against this domination, their position in hostels make them particularly powerless. Hostels have been and continue to be male domains which women enter on male terms. Hence the migrant labour system which gave birth to these hostels inadvertently helped to reinforce a system of male domination over women. They did this by placing the control over access to accommodation in urban areas in the hands of men. In most instances it is men who are the registered bedholders[2] in hostels and they can therefore control access to accommodation. In situations of acute housing shortages, any available accommodation is taken up by the homeless, and access to accommodation in the hostels comes via the bedholder. Within the hostels this position of domination is further ingrained through a system of discipline, aimed at reducing tensions and resolving disputes within the hostels, being concentrated in the hands of elderly males. The power also manifests itself in women being denied the right to

[2]'Bedholder' is a term used to denote the registered occupier of a bed. It was devised by researchers as separate from 'household', which they felt did not apply in this context.

participate in decision making and being made solely responsible for domestic chores.

The married women in hostels oscillate between their homes in the rural areas and the hostels. They sometimes bring their children with them or leave them with relatives creating yet another conflict - between fulfilling their family responsibilities on the one hand and servicing their personal relationships with their husbands on the other. Economic reasons also bring women into the urban areas, to remind their husbands of their responsibilities in the rural areas. The unmarried women come to urban areas in search of employment to support themselves and their families. Ramphele found that to secure accommodation in the urban areas they develop relationships with men. Financial support and affection play a smaller part in such relationships. (Ramphele, 1989; Ramphele and Boonzaier, 1988)

The role of hostels has changed as the social context of which they were a part changed. In the latter part of the eighties and nineties, hostels have assumed yet another role - as "urban fortresses" or "military barracks". This is because of the violence which has come to be associated with hostels. This period has seen violence erupting within the hostels as well as between the hostel dwellers and surrounding communities. A popular notion is that the violence is between warring political factions. Morris and Hindson (1991) argue that the violence has to be understood as more than a conflict over political issues, it is also about material deprivation and the struggle over scarce resources. Other researchers also locate the reasons for violence in the socio-economic conditions of hostel dwellers and in their alienation from the communities around them (Seekings, 1991). Both these are direct products of the migrant labour system and the deplorable physical condition of hostel accommodation. Morris and Hindson (1991) maintain that because of the spatial

distribution of power, the wealthier groups are able to effectively displace the conflict to poorer black areas and limit it to a conflict over the insignificant resources allocated to black areas rather than a conflict over resources generally.

Morris and Hindson go on to argue that socio-economic deprivation in itself does not lead to endemic violence, it merely provides a context within which violence may be one of the way of resolving problems. The roots of violence may be in the "effects of the disintegration of apartheid rather than through its continued effective implementation". Hence the political causes of violence are more than political rivalry, they are about "...the breakdown of the previous mode of regulating political cohesion of the society, the changing role of the state in containing antagonisms generated by apartheid, and finally, the manner in which this throws up competing power centres at all levels of society as old and new social forces, imbued with their own inherited legacies, struggle to establish new forms of political hegemony within a new mode of regulation". Thus they argue that the response to violence cannot focus either on political or physical development interventions in isolation, but have to be part of a broader scheme to reconstruct the politics and economics of South African society. (Morris and Hindson, 1991)

In the case of the hostels a significant factor contributing to the violence is the perception that as apartheid crumbled so to would the migrant labour system and hostels. For many who were committed to their rural lifestyles and traditional values this became a major threat to their migratory lifestyles. Further, the conversion or transformation of these hostels would have the effect of placing hostels beyond their economic reach. They had to resist these changes as forcefully as they could. This combined with other more local ingredients, the

level of organisation, perceived alienation and political rivalry. (Morris and Hindson, 1991). It eventually resulted in bloodiest violence in the history of hostels and catapulted them from "anonymity to notoriety" (Smit, 1991).

In summary, the theory of hostels discussed above locates hostels as part of the temporary rented housing stock which has provided cheap accommodation, particularly to migrant workers. This role has grown and given hostels a role which is more far reaching than housing in general. Hostels can be understood as

- contributing to the reproduction of labour by creating the site for individual consumption and reproduction;
- reducing the social wage paid to workers by externalising part of the cost of reproducing labour to a pre-capitalist mode of production in the bantustans;
- maintaining social relations through control of workers, controlling their accommodation and expelling them from the capitalist economy when they are not required, as well as undermining working class organisation through ethnic segregation of the hostels;
- one of the few housing options (even though overcrowded) for the homeless in the face of a massive housing shortage which cannot be realised through the normal workings of the housing market;
- an urban bridgehead for young urbanising migrants;
- an important supply of available temporary rented accommodation for circular migrants who have very particular housing requirements;
- "castles of male chauvinism" in which males use their access to urban accommodation, and existing traditional gender relations to continue a system

of patriarchy;

- "military barracks" or "urban fortresses" which are bases for the violence certain areas.

2.4 INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

A review of literature on migrants, hostels and temporary rented accommodation in oth countries proved difficult because of the limited literature available locally. From t readings that were found, aspects of the theory discussed earlier were explored as they aro in differing national contexts. These findings are summarised below.

As expected, migrancy is an international phenomenon, occurring in various forms different countries. In their discussions on Zambia (Ferguson, 1990), Zimbabwe (Potts Mutambirwa, 1990) and Namibia (Simon, 1988) all researchers mention the existence hostels and single sex compounds. In all these countries, hostels were a part of the migra labour system imposed by colonial powers that governed these countries. When the countries achieved their independence, in the last ten to thirty years, the migrant labo system was scrapped. The articles did not give any attention to the hostels and the transformation (or lack of them?) post independence. The migration patterns in the countries post-independence are discussed below.

Research in a number of countries indicate that the urban transition model of migration, fa to explain the phenomenon of persistent migration which sometimes continues ov

generations. Many researchers have concluded that circulation is "enduring" rather than "ephemeral". Ferguson (1991) comments that contrary to the findings of past research on migration in Zambia, his research found that workers were not 'permanently urbanised'. He was struck by the prominence of rural options in people's thinking. Faced with desperate conditions in urban areas, retaining rural links became a strategy for survival, and rural retirement increasingly the only option available to many workers. His analysis of census figures found that people born in urban areas had returned to their rural 'homes'. Potts & Mutambirwa's (1990) study of migration in Zimbabwe also indicated the prevalence of circulatory migration between and within rural and urban areas, with only a minority of migrants planning to remain permanently in town. It was found that households chose to retain their access to land in rural areas to optimise the economic opportunities of both rural and urban lives and minimise risks, and for reasons of security for old age and unemployment when urban expenses could no longer be afforded.

Mabin quotes the prevalence of circular migration in several countries : in Thailand where circulation involves links between particular rural bases and specific urban job sites and places to stay; in Peru where circular migration is a way of maintaining work options across a number of sectors; in Fiji where some urban dwellers retain 'residential units of reference'; in the Philippines where contractors find circular migration an efficient form of recruitment; in Mexico where households allocate members to different sectors and regions in the USA to minimise risks related to illegal migration; and in Brazil where people work for farmers for varying periods of time and over many locations. (Mabin, 1990). In Nigeria, Gugler found that workers, even in the next generation, continued to have strong ties with their community of origin and have a dual commitment to the city and the village. (cited in

Royston, 1991).

A significant element of migration in these contexts is that there is a pattern of families, instead of individuals, migrating to the cities, at least for part of the year. Another feature noted by Royston (1991) is that whereas in Africa, women have not played a significant part in migration, in Latin America and the Caribbean women have made up a large part of the migrant labour force.

Oberai and Manmohan Singh (1983) in their study of migration in a district in Punjab in India found that migrants who have just arrived in the city, have unstable and low incomes. They spend very little of their resources on housing and other amenities, saving it for food and other basic necessities. However, given time to establish themselves they move to better quality of housing and improve their overall quality of life.

In the European context, many countries have immigrant populations, who are in the country primarily for economic reasons as labour for the host country. UNESCO initiated a project in the eighties to study the status of immigrant workers in host countries and particularly to look at how the legal machinery affects the future of immigrants. As part of this study a very brief examination of the housing and social conditions of immigrants was also made. Generally the observation was that the social and other policies of the host countries and the way in which they treated immigrants was directly related to their policy on immigration. Those countries that were open to immigrants, generally treated them well and attempted to integrate them into the local society. Others with partially or fully restrictive policies made less of an effort to integrate and provide for the foreign workers. (Thomas, 1982).

Immigration to Belgium of nationals of non EEC countries is restricted, with a complex system of recruitment. As a result of this immigration policy, very little has been done to improve the social conditions of foreign workers. Only Belgian collieries provide miners with accommodation. Few other employers bother to provide accommodation although legally the employer is obliged to provide living quarters for their workers. Foreign workers usually wanting to accumulate money as quickly as possible, look for very cheap accommodation. This usually takes the form of cheap rented accommodation in old, crowded and insanitary buildings. After a few years in the country, and especially when the family joins the worker, this form of accommodation changes to more spacious and better dwellings. (Debbaut, H. and Declerk, J. in Thomas, 1982).

In Netherlands the immigration policy (except for residents of former Dutch colonies) is also restrictive, with workers being recruited abroad as required. Employers are legally obliged to provide accommodation at the time of recruitment. Minimum housing standards are based on regulations which place emphasis on space, ventilation, sanitation and safety. However the Dutch authorities found that immigrants have poor accommodation usually in the oldest and poorest sections of the town. No accommodation was available for reunited families. (Smolders,C. in Thomas, 1982).

In Germany, immigration has been stopped and German policy offers protection to those who are already working in the country and none to those who are not. Because of a housing shortage, employers are legally obliged to provide housing for their foreign workers. Minimum housing standards have been stipulated by the government for the provision of this housing. In employer provided housing several workers live in one room. This housing is

in separate quarters for males and females, so that couples cannot live together. After a period, foreign workers look for their own accommodation, initially a room and eventually their own apartment. This makes it easier for their families to join them. Most foreign workers are concentrated in districts near/in industrial zones, in accommodation which is expensive, in poor condition and in urgent need of renovation. (Honekopp, E. and Ullman, H. in Thomas, 1982).

Hostels found all over the United Kingdom, serve a very different function from those discussed earlier. These hostels were not built for migrant populations. A sample study of these hostels found that they provide housing for the homeless (21% of hostels), but they also provide housing for the women seeking refuge (18%), young people (7%), offenders (23%), infirm (9%) and drug/alcohol rehabilitators (6%), mother and babies (4%) and other (12%). Hostels were run by the private and public sectors, 63% of the hostels provided by local authorities were housing only hostels. For this discussion the focus will be on the housing only hostels. Two-thirds of these hostels are small, with less than twenty beds and only a third with more than twenty beds. The researchers found that these hostels catered for younger people. They provided short-term accommodation, which was often used by local authority homeless persons units as a 'clearing house' for people before they could move to more permanent accommodation. A quarter of the residents of these hostels were receiving supplementary financial assistance. (Berthoud, R. and Casey,B., 1988).

The literature review of migrants, hostels and single temporary accommodation in other countries suggests that where hostels exist in other contexts, the experiences are similar in countries which were colonised (Zambia and Namibia) and different in those that were not

colonised (United Kingdom and Canada). Hostels were not the only form of accommodation for migrant workers eg foreign migrants in Europe, although the physical conditions of the accommodation in which migrants were housed had many similarities. Circular migration was found to persist in many parts of the world and in differing contexts. From the findings of the literature review the following features contribute to our understanding of hostels in South Africa :

- Migrancy is an international phenomenon, occurring generally for economic reasons. The housing provided for migrants differs depending on the policy of the authorities. In the case of African countries which had restrictive urbanisation policies, housing provision was poor and restricted to single sex hostel accommodation. In these cases, housing was also used as a form of control over workers. In European countries where workers were recruited from abroad, type of housing, depended on the immigration policies. This housing was also generally poor. Thus it is evident that although capitalist countries benefit from the labour of migrant (foreign or local) workers, they treat them as 'pariahs', providing as little as is possible to get away with and use the supply of this housing as a means to control workers in various ways.

- Generally migrants arriving in cities, require cheap accommodation which they improve on as their employment and economic status advances and they become more settled in the urban areas.

- Hostels exist in contexts other than the migrant labour system. In Canada and the UK, hostels provide housing for a wide range of people including the homeless.

- Circulatory migration is prevalent in many parts of the world. This did not exclude the parallel existence of a stable urbanised workforce. Migrants chose to retain links with rural areas for varying reasons, usually economic. When no restrictions were imposed on migration, it was found that generally families migrate, at least for part of the year. Their housing requirements in urban areas were fairly specific, cheap temporary accommodation where families could also live for part or all of the year. It was found that in certain contexts women were part of the migrant labour force, in other contexts they were not.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF HOSTELS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of the African people has been one of discrimination and injustice. This was evident in every aspect of their lives -from ownership of land to their presence in urban areas to job and education opportunities. For the purposes of this thesis however it is necessary only to trace those aspects of government policy and legislation which had an impact on African ownership of land, their access to housing and their rights in urban areas. The chapter outlines the legislation which affected the urbanisation and housing of Africans, briefly traces the history of urbanisation and migration in South Africa and finally summarises the history of housing and hostels in South Africa.

Through the 1913 Native Land Act 13% of the land (a million hectares) in the country was set aside in native reserves for Africans. An additional 6,2 million hectares was added to the reserves through the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. The South African Native Trust was set up to buy and administer land for the African people. The increasing urbanisation of African people in the twentieth century, (which occurred for several reasons) was responded to by a central pillar of the South African economy, the migrant labour system. Several means of controlling African presence in urban areas were devised :

- the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 made local authorities responsible for the provision of African accommodation in segregated urban locations;

- the 1934 Slums Act laid down minimum standards for housing and allowed for eviction and expropriation of property;

- the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Bill restricted the flow of Africans to urban areas by empowering the Minister of Native Affairs to remove Africans from any area if he felt that the number of Africans was in excess of the labour requirements;

- Section 10 of the Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1952 laid down that Africans could remain in urban areas under any one of the following circumstances:
  - if he/she was born in the area,
  - had worked continuously for one employer for ten years or more than one employer for fifteen years,
  - or a person who was dependent on a worker qualifying by any one of the above criteria or who was legally living with such a worker;

- the Prevention of Illegal Squatters Act No. 52 of 1951, as amended in 1975, restricted squatting and resulted in thousand of Africans being evicted from white and black owned farms;

- the 1955 Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act abolished African freehold in white areas and the Native Amendment Act No 16 of 1955 provided for a native location

to be abolished if necessary for health, safety or town planning reasons;

- The Housing Act of 1957 gave birth to the Bantu Housing Board; Proclamation No 34 and Government Notice No 386 of 1961 established the Department of Community Development which became responsible for low income housing; and

- the Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1972 empowered the Minister of Bantu Administration to remove Africans (individual or tribes) if expedient in the public interest and without any notice.

(S A Institute of Race Relations, 1981).

The law applicable to hostels was the Bantu Laws Amendment Act No 76 of 1963 which spelt out that accommodation for Africans in "white" areas would be provided in locations for single workers in hostels, these workers would have to commute to their homes on a weekly or monthly basis. If no hostel accommodation was available the African would have to move to a homeland. In 1969 the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development proposed to the local authorities that employees should be located with their families in towns in homelands. Where homelands were too distant for this to be possible, employees should be housed in hostels in urban areas and they could visit their families periodically. In 1971 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that according to their planners it was feasible to transport workers on a daily basis for up to 113km (one way) and over weekends for up to 644km. (S A Institute of Race Relations, 1981).

The policy of giving ethnic communities their own identity and their own land in the reserves was strengthened by the passing of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No 46 of 1959. As a result Africans could only enter the "white" areas as migrants and only for a temporary period. With the passing of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act No 26 of 1970, all Africans were to become citizens of a homeland.

In Natal the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act No 21 of 1970 replaced the territorial authority in KwaZulu with a legislative assembly. Through the Bantu Affairs Administration Act No 45 of 1977 the administration of all African affairs in white areas was passed on from the local authorities to administration boards. (S A Institute of Race Relations, 1981). They became responsible for African housing in white areas and hence hostels fell under their jurisdiction. These administration boards were transformed and were eventually given black local authority status. In the case of Durban the hostels fell under the jurisdiction of the Ningizimu Town Council. (S A Institute of Race Relations, 1981).

3.2 URBANISATION AND MIGRATION

From the time that diamonds and gold were discovered in the latter half of the nineteenth century, labour supply for the mines was secured through a system of migrant labour. Capital was concerned about the free access to labour without it increasing the costs of production. In this period there were competing demands for labour from the mines, agriculture, the construction sector (building railways and harbours) and a growing manufacturing sector. Restrictions imposed on Africans prevented them from migrating to

industrial areas for employment other than mining. This assisted White farmers by providing them with their labour requirements, and protected White artisans and unskilled labour by protecting the jobs in the manufacturing sector for them. Temporary migrant labour emerged as the dominant form of African labour supply. It was characterised by the compound (hostel) system and continued links with pre-capitalist agricultural production. (Royston 1991; Hindson, 1987)

The core of state policy on urbanisation was influx control. Through this the state attempted to control the movement of African people into "white" urban areas so that they were allowed in when necessary for the process of capital accumulation and expelled when not needed, thus denying Africans free access to urban areas and "white" South Africa. This resulted in movement within their own country becoming illegal for thousands of Africans, making them criminals for being in "white" urban areas. Millions of people have been prosecuted in terms of the pass laws since the beginning of the century. Forced removals and destruction of communities were a common feature in the enforcing of influx control. Labour bureaus became the key institutions of controlling labour. They implemented influx control and directed and placed labour where it was required by capital. It should be borne in mind that it was not only the rural reserves that provided labour for the white urban areas, but that non-reserve areas (i.e. rural white areas) supplied a large proportion of migrant labour in the period from the thirties to the sixties. (Mabin, 1989)

Apartheid policies influenced African settlement in complex and contradictory ways. In the fifties, despite the introduction of apartheid controls, there was a rapid growth and stabilisation of the African working class in segregated areas on the peripheries of industrial

locations. In the period from the 1960s the state urban policy was aimed at directing the urbanisation of Africans to bantustans. Sutcliffe et al (1989) describe the spatial pattern which resulted from such a policy as being an increasing population (4.7 million in 1960 to 11.3 million in 1980) in formal and informal settlements, in bantustans, adjacent to white metropolitan areas and a pattern of rings of African settlement, surrounding white metropolitan areas. At the same time as trying to control urbanisation, the state tried to contain urbanisation by the development of industrial agriculture and the industrial decentralisation policy. (Sutcliffe et al, 1989, Hindson 1986)

In the Western Cape, in addition to the influx control the movement of African people was further restricted by the introduction of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the sixties. Through this the state pronounced that African labour was only to be recruited outside the area if the Coloured labour was inadequate or insufficient to meet the need and also if local African labour was insufficient. (Seleoane, 1985).

Mechanisation and labour specialisation had made it necessary for at least a part of the labour force to be settled in the urban areas. This resulted in the twin processes of migrant labour, through which a section of the workers were allowed into the city temporarily, and the permanent settlement of part of this labour force in the urban areas. These workers were housed in the public townships developed by the state, the majority of which were on metropolitan peripheries behind bantustan borders. (Hindson, 1986).

Despite influx control and other restrictive measures, the urbanisation of Africans increased steadily. For the first time in 1986, the government, through the White Paper on

Urbanisation and the scrapping of influx control, recognised that African urbanisation was inevitable, and in some cases possibly desirable. The new policy of orderly urbanisation was based on five principles : racial residential segregation, class differentiation within group areas, privatisation of housing, devolution and privatisation of services and industrial and residential deconcentration. Influx control was replaced by squatter, health and trespass laws which continued to control African urbanisation and channel it to settlements on metropolitan peripheries, within and outside the bantustans. These areas were integrated into the urban labour markets thus opening the markets to competition from the impoverished living in these areas. The Aliens Act continued to control the movement of persons from the 'independent' bantustans. (Hindson, 1986 & 1990).

Sutcliffe et al (1989) argue that the period since then has seen the urbanisation policy unfolding in an ad hoc fashion indicating the lack of any coherent strategy. They argue that there appears to be a shift away from considering urbanisation policy as a form of influx control. Although access to urban areas is easier for most Africans, limited access to housing, land, services and facilities is the means to control access to urban areas. This was in keeping with the new role that the state defined for itself - withdrawing from a direct role in the economy and the provision of social services to a greater emphasis on decentralisation, privatisation and deregulation. (Hindson, 1990; Sutcliffe et al, 1989).

Simkins and Graaf (cited in Mabin 1989) deduced from their extensive study of urbanisation in South Africa, that the state had succeeded in "containing" and 'displacing" urbanisation to the bantustans and that political factors had successfully shaped the state of urbanisation. Mabin(1989) argues that contrary to these positions it was economic factors or material

constraints that contained urbanward movement. Despite the political and economic constraints, the growth of informal settlements in urban areas reflect the individual and collective struggles of the poor for access to urban life. Mabin maintains that although many believe that this urbanward movement cannot be subjected to any further political control, low wages and unemployment, combined with "materially based political fragmentation" provide the basis for a new strategy of political control. (Mabin, 1989).

3.3 FOREIGN MIGRATION

Foreign migration has also been part of the economic system in South Africa. The migration from other countries has taken the form of oscillating migration, i.e. repetitive movement of workers from their country of origin to their workplace in South Africa and back to their place of origin. (Wilson, 1976). South African mines have been the major employers of foreign labour, with manufacturing and agriculture also playing a role. Up to the 1960s migrants from all the countries south of Tanzania were working in South Africa. By the eighties this had been reduced to primarily eight countries supplying labour to South Africa. These were, in order of number of workers supplied, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola. Of these the latter three countries do not permit active recruitment of workers, although they permit their citizens to seek work in South Africa if they wish to do so. (Whiteside, 1985).

The trend since the sixties has been that the number of migrants (registered) reduced steadily in number up to the early eighties, since when the number has remained constant. In the mid

eighties it was estimated that there were at least 700 000 registered and unregistered migrants from outside South Africa, in the country. Wilson (1976) explains this in terms of the introduction of the migrant labour system by the apartheid government, which also curtailed and aimed to reduce the number of foreign migrant workers. Another feature has been the change in composition of the workforce. Mining has always been the primary employer of foreign labour. In 1970 it accounted for 77,4% of registered migrants. The comparable figure in 1984 was 83,6%. Employment in manufacturing has remained constant at about 2,8%. Agriculture, in keeping with the slow growth of employment in this sector, has shown the greatest decline in employment, decreasing from 9,9% in 1970 to 3,4% in 1984. Other sectors of employment include Construction (1,7% in 1984), Commerce (1,4%) and Domestic Service (3,4%). Another significant trend has been the decrease in the proportion of female migrant workers from 17,5% in 1960 to 2,1% (7400) in 1984. There is a growing pressure on the South African state to reduce the number of foreign migrants. (Wilson, 1976; Whiteside, 1985). By 1980, 54% of the labour employed on mines was from inside South Africa. (deVletter, 1981). Although it seems that the trend is towards a greater dependence on local labour on the mines, it has been argued that it is in the interests of the mining houses to continue to have a wide number of sources of labour supply. This would ensure their labour supply whatever the circumstances.

The majority of the foreign migrants are living in hostels and their accommodation needs would be very specific. Permanent family accommodation would not be favoured because of the increase in their living costs. The broader issues that have to be examined are how the dependence of these foreign workers and countries on the revenue generated from their wages could be reduced and a shift towards greater economic independence for those

countries made. Where foreign labour is recruited, the issue of whether the workers are willing to and how they can be integrated into South African society should be addressed.

3.4 HOUSING AND HOSTELS

The discovery of minerals and the employment of migrant labour on the mines raised the problem of how workers were to be accommodated. The system of closed compounds, housing 'single' workers, was first introduced on the diamond mines in Kimberley, where the employers used this type of accommodation to control workers to prevent illegal diamond smuggling by workers, prevent drunkenness over weekends and ensure a constant labour supply. The employers found the system effective in cutting costs, ensuring discipline of workers and preventing theft. By 1889 all 10000 Black workers in the Kimberley mines were housed in compounds. These compounds were separated on 'ethnic' lines i.e. Zulu, Xhosa etc. This had the effect of increasing control by separating workers thus preventing their organisation as a class of workers irrespective of their 'ethnic' origin. (Wilson, 1976; Minnaar et al, 1992).

With the discovery of gold in 1886, the migrant labour and compound systems were also used on these mines. The compounds on the mines were not closed and initially not 'ethnically' segregated. The cause of conflict in the compounds in the early days, was attributed to the mixing of 'ethnic' groups. It resulted in compounds on gold mines being ethnically segregated. This system of 'ethnic' segregation was only abandoned in the 1970s. The continued system of mining houses recruiting from particular areas results in members

of only one ethnic group ending up in particular hostels. (Wilson, 1976; Minnaar et al, 1992).

The system introduced in mining hostels is of significance because of its role in the control of workers and because of its replication in other hostels. The system has been described as autocratic and paternalistic. It was a hierarchical power arrangement headed by a white compound manager who was assisted by black compound policemen. The chief compound policemen, known as indunas, were supposed to be in positions of leadership and guardians of people coming from the same tribe or rural areas. It has been suggested that this hierarchical and coercive control made it possible for the hostels to be manipulated by certain organisations. This was an important contributory factor to the violence that erupted in the hostels on the Reef in 1990. (Minnaar et al, 1992).

With the start of industrialisation and urbanisation of the African population on the Reef, employers and municipalities began building single sex hostels to house the workers. In Natal, labour was required in the urban areas in considerable numbers by the latter part of the nineteenth century. Many Africans, moved to the urban areas to seek employment. As no housing provision was made for workers, they built shacks to house themselves. The first formal housing for African workers, barracks for dockworkers, was built by the SA Railways and Harbours in 1878 where employers built compounds for their workers and instead of in family housing, workers were housed in single quarters. In 1902 the responsibility of administration and housing daily wage labourers in compounds was shifted from the Colonial government to the municipal authorities. The authorities refused to release finances for the building of African accommodation. In 1908, the Native Beer Act fixed the beer monopolies

in the hands of the municipalities.

3.5 ACCOMMODATION FOR AFRICANS IN DURBAN

The case of accommodation for Africans in Durban illustrates the evolution of national and local state policies and outlines the emergence of hostels within these policies. The history is looked at in three periods : prior to the first world war (prior to 1918), between the first and second world wars (1918 - 1945), and post world war II (post 1945). The role of different agencies, the local state, private sector and the individual, in the provision of this housing is noted to illustrate the extent to which African housing was provided largely by individuals themselves. The building of the five public hostels in Durban, which are part of the current upgrading initiative are also noted. These hostels are the Dalton Road, Jacobs, Thokoza, S J Smith and Umlazi-Glebe Hostels.

The first hostels in Durban were built for dockworkers, at the Point, by the municipality in 1903. In 1913 the Somtseu Road Location was built. From that period the major problem in the provision of housing was finances. In Durban the revenue generated from the sale of beer was accumulated in a Municipal Native Administration Fund and used to build African accommodation. The only family accommodation built in this period was that constructed in 1914 at Baumanville. Compounds were built by the police, provincial hospitals and schools. (Haarhof, and Morris in Christensen, 1988).

The period between the wars saw the increased urbanisation of African people. The major form of accommodation provided by the municipality continued to be in hostels. In 1932, the Thokoza Hostel providing accommodation for "single" women was built in the inner city. In 1934, another hostel, the Dalton Road Hostel, providing accommodation for single "males" was built also in the inner city. At the same time (in 1934) the township of Lamontville, providing family housing, was established. This housing provision did not meet the needs of the African population and individuals started providing for their own housing needs in shack settlements. In 1937, in an attempt to stop the growth of shack settlements and the influx of Africans into the city, Durban was declared a proclaimed area making it necessary for all Africans to live in municipal townships, hostels or on licenced premises.

The expansion of the industrial and commercial sectors in the post war period created an increased demand for labour. The continuing inflow of Africans into the city was not paralleled with the building of houses, with only 900 houses being built at Blackhurst Estate by 1945. This saw an increase in shack settlements and the growth of Cato Manor which in 1949 had about 4000 shacks. Although the authorities attempted to demolish shack settlements they soon realised that this did not solve the problems as it resulted in "shack-shifting"[1]. In 1949 the Durban City Council enforced a proclamation which prevented African people from entering areas in which there was full employment, and also provided for the unemployed to be expelled from these areas. The coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948 brought with it a host of legislation to control the movement and entry of African people to urban areas. By 1949 half of Durban's African population estimated at

[1] "Shack-shifting" refers to the phenomenon of shack occupiers finding another piece of vacant land to rebuild their shacks when these are demolished or pulled down by authorities or owners of property.

150000, lived in 12506 private houses, 25% of which were owner occupied. Only 13% the population lived in municipal housing. (Christensen, 1988).

The fifties and sixties saw the largest mass public housing programme to date in t province. The S J Smith Hostels for "single" men was built outside Lamontville in 195 The two largest African townships in the province were built in this period by the Durb City Council. To the north of Durban, the township of Kwa Mashu was built with over 000 houses and to the south of Durban the township of Umlazi was built with over 180 houses. Two of the largest hostels in Durban, located in these townships, were also bui The Kwa Mashu Hostels was built to provide accommodation for approximately 10 0 "single" males. In 1975 the Durban City Council started building the Umlazi-Glebe Hoste It was handed over to the Port Natal Administration Board, and then to the Natal Provinci Administration Board in 1986. The Umlazi-Glebe Hostel is a "single' mens hostels and h over 10 000 beds.

During the sixties the state developed townships in the urban areas as well as on t peripheries of urban areas, across bantustan boundaries. Post 1969 the only housing bu for African people was in the bantustans, funded and administered by the Ban Administration Boards. But this supply was not adequate to meet the growing demand f housing, resulting in massive overcrowding in township and hostels through subletting. the seventies an increasing number of ex-farm residents from reserve and non-reserve are were forced to urban areas to look for opportunities within the urban economy. This result in a growing pressure on existing housing in the face of a halt on state produced housin Other than overcrowding existing accommodation the rapid urbanisation also resulted in t

growth of shack populations in backyards and in open spaces around formal townships. (Mabin 1989).

By 1972, it was estimated that were approximately 100 000 Africans living in Durban as single workers. This figure included 30 000 domestic workers. The figures do not account for those living illegally in the city or in the shack settlements. At that point it was estimated that there was a shortage of 30 000 hostel beds. There were 57 privately owned compounds and over 250 other compounds each with less than 50 beds. (Wilson, in Christensen, 1988).

In the early seventies, the majority of African accommodation in Durban was located in KwaZulu. This occurred through the incorporation of existing townships into KwaZulu, the building of new housing in KwaZulu and the development of informal housing in the bantustan. In the seventies the urbanisation and growth of shack settlements continued around Durban and Pinetown (which developed with new industrial growth). The townships of KwaNdengezi and KwaDabeka were built near Pinetown to accommodate shack dwellers evicted from the black freehold area of Clermont in Pinetown.

By the seventies the state had established six townships for Africans in Durban. Only 40% of the African population was housed in these townships. The remaining population lived illegally in the city (20%), in shack settlements (30%), as domestics on employers's premises (5%) and in government and private hostels (4%). In 1980, 598 000 African were living in the formal townships and 60 000 people were living in hostels. (Haarhof, and Davenport in Christensen, 1988).

By 1990, the African population in Durban was approximately, 2,6 million persons. Over two-thirds of this population, an estimated 1,8million people, was living in informal settlements. (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1992).

3.6 CONCLUSION

In concluding this chapter, it is evident that the hostels were conceived out of the need to provide cheap accommodation for workers, which could also be used to control workers. As time passed they were also a convenient form of controlling the presence of Africans in urban areas. The main features of the above historical account which contribute to our understanding of hostels in current day South Africa are the following :

- hostels were first introduced on the mines in the latter part of the 19th Century to provide cheap accommodation for workers and to control the workforce;

- hostels housed single men and did not provide for the accommodation needs of male workers families, a feature which persists even today;

- hostels were ethnically segregated, dividing workers on ethnic lines, a feature which persisted until the 1970s;

- the mining hostels, providing cheap, temporary, rented accommodation, were replicated in most urban centres;

- the hierarchical autocratic system of control was also copied from the mining hostels in the municipal hostels and provided the conditions for easy manipulation by certain organisations to instigate violence;

- legislation curtailed the rights of Africans to own land, except in demarcated reserves, controlled the movement of Africans to urban areas and introduced a number of housing, building and squatter controls to prevent Africans from providing their own housing;

- significantly, from the beginning of the century, a part of the African labour force was housed in family accommodation, which was always a very small proportion and almost non-consequential in the overall housing picture;

- the provision of housing in the urban areas was used as a means of controlling the influx of Africans into the cities. The hostel system assisted in keeping the families of workers out of the white areas thereby reducing the number of Africans in the city and making even the workers only temporary residents of the cities;

- the migrant labour system, influx controls, labour bureaus and hostels were all part of a system which attempted to rid the 'white' cities of the 'swart

gevaar';

- in 1970, all Africans became citizens of a bantustan, thus reinforcing the notion of their non-permanence in 'white' urban areas;

- despite the heavy penalties associated with the controls on movement and accommodation, the controls failed to stem the flow of Africans to the cities and a permanent urban African population emerged, side by side with a section of the workers, who migrated to and from rural areas;

- this was paralleled by a growth of largely informal housing, because of the failure of the state or the market to provide for the growing demand for housing from a rapidly urbanising population;

- in 1986, the state scrapped the system of influx control and pass laws, being forced to accept that they had failed in stemming the flow of Africans into the urban areas;

- the physical legacy of this system, the hostels, remain and initiatives to transform them and re-integrate them into 'normal' life have to be planned.

CHAPTER 4

HOSTELS : CURRENT SITUATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Having traced the history of hostels it was concluded that hostels were initially designed to: provide cheap rented accommodation for single male workers; control the labour force; and keep Africans out of the urban areas by maintaining the temporary nature of African residence. This chapter continues to compile a picture of hostels, that can help inform development initiatives, by investigating the current position of hostels in South Africa. It examines the type of hostels, bed and occupancy rates, physical conditions, profile of hostel dwellers and social relations in hostels thus concretising the reality that will have to be transformed by any development initiative. Examining the current status of hostels is done within the context of urbanisation and emerging housing policies in South Africa which shape and in some cases limit the options that are available in the development of hostels.

The urban areas mirror the broader South African reality. They are a concentration of resources in the hands of the white population at the expense of the Blacks. The most blatant examples of apartheid spatial engineering are the Apartheid City and the Bantustans. The state urban policy includes, deconcentration, decentralisation, privatisation, deregulation, positive urbanisation, etc. The public authorities involved in urban areas are

the white or black local authorities and at a regional level the Regional Services Councils or the Joint Services Boards and the provincial administrations.

4.2 URBANISATION

The major metropolitan areas in South Africa are the Witwatersrand, Durban, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Pietermaritzburg, OFS Goldfields and Bloemfontein. Urban growth can be accounted for in terms of the natural growth of the urban population and the in-migration from rural areas. According to the Urban Foundation, comparisons of 1985 figures and their 2010 projections, natural population increase accounts for two-thirds of urban growth and migration accounts for a third. The Urban Foundation projects that the scale of metropolitan areas in South Africa will increase almost threefold in the period 1980 to 2000. Urbanisation is projected to increase from 53% of the population, urbanised in 1980, to 69% in the year 2010. (See Table 1). The urban population is increasingly black and youthful. In 1980, half of the urbanised population was resident in the bantustan part of the metropolitan areas. (Royston, 1991)

Table 1

Urbanisation in South Africa : 1980 - 2010

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION (millions)	URBAN POPULATION Number (millions)	%	PROPORTION IN HOMELANDS
1980	29,1	15,2	53%	1/2
2000	47,6	29,5	62%	not available
2010	59,7	38,0	69%	2/3

Source : Urban Foundation, 1990 (as quoted in Royston, 1991)

In 1986, the Central Statistical Service estimated that there were 2,5million migrants employed in South African industry. Of these 2,2million (88%) were South African and the remaining 0,3million (12%) were foreigners. This estimate does not include the thousands of migrants who were employed 'illegally' in terms of the Black Labour Relation Act of 1964 and which implies a higher number of migrants. The registered migrants, comprised 80% of the workforce in the mining and construction sectors, 27% in the financial sector and 26% in the manufacturing sector. (Royston, p. 72, 1991).

Mabin (1991) comments that some social processes affecting urbanisation, like circular migration, may persist despite the policy changes. A study of circular migration patterns on the PWV indicates that although many people commute daily, others migrate on a monthly or fortnightly basis between their rural homes and hostel and other accommodation in urban areas. Migrants also invest in land and housing in their rural home villages. A study by the

Urban Problems Research Unit in Cape Town also reveals the continuing circulation of people between bantustans, small towns, farms and Cape Town. In Royston's empirical research in Mhala in the Transvaal she found evidence of circular migration in which certain members of the household were allocated to circulate. She found that some people were supporting and visiting more than one household site in the rural areas. The maintenance of links between members of the household occurs through remittances, investment in housing and visits by the worker to the home and by members of the family to the place of work. (Royston, pp75-83, 93 , 1992).

In South Africa there are a large number of foreign migrant workers who are citizens of neighbouring states. They see their homes as being in the country of their origin and only spend part of their working lives in South Africa. Murray (1981, p.41), in his study of migrant labour in Lesotho, found that migrant workers from that country spend on the average between thirteen to sixteen years of their working life outside Lesotho. He found that individual labour histories of various workers are variations of one basic theme "the repetitive movement between a rural home in Lesotho and an industrial centre in South Africa".

The current state policy urbanisation is one of 'orderly urbanisation'. It is based on racial residential segregation, class differentiation within group areas, privatisation of housing, devolution and privatisation of services and industrial and residential deconcentration. Squatter, health and trespass laws continue to regulate African urbanisation and channel it to settlements on metropolitan peripheries, within and outside the bantustans.

4.3 HOUSING

The housing challenge currently being faced in this country is the massive housing backlog. Quantifying the housing shortage indicates the need for 1,8million houses in 1988, increasing to 4,7million houses by the year 2000. (See Table 2 for details). Dr J. Jacobs, senior deputy governor of the Reserve Bank and Mr A M Rosholt, of the Urban Foundation stated that availability of finance had become the chief constraint to the building of African housing. Dr Jacobs calculated that to remove the 4,7 million housing unit backlog by 2000, would require the construction of about 400 000 housing units per year which would require R6,9billion (at 1986 prices) each year. This made finance a greater constraint than the availability of land for housing provision. Affordability was also seen as a major problem in the provision of housing. A survey, by Real Estate Surveys, showed that only 33% of Africa households could afford a housing loan of mores than R12000. The National Building Institute estimated in 1988 that only 25% of African families could make any contribution to housing costs. (SAIRR, 1989). Only 5% of black households can afford to purchase the cheapest form of formal accommodation currently available in South Africa. (Adler, 1992).

Table 2

African Housing Shortage in South Africa

	ADDITIONAL	AFRICAN HOUSING	NEEDS TO 2000
	Backlog	**Natural Increase**	**Total**
White-designated areas	800 000	1 860 000	2 660 000
'Independent ' homelands	125 000	468 000	593 000
Non-independent homelands	892 000	535 000	1 427 000
Total	1 817 000	2 863 000	4 680 000

Supply		
Private sector (urban)	35 000	(1988)
Public sector (urban)	9 000	(1986/87)

Source : Urban Foundation, 1988 (as quoted in Adler, 1992)

The CSIR announced that in 1991 the number of formal housing structures (including flats and hostel beds) occupied by Africans in urban areas was 1,76million units and the number of informal units occupied by Africans was 1,3million units. The informal structures housed a estimated 3,6million to 10 million persons. (SAIRR, 1992). The increase in the number of squatters in the country is indicated in Table 3.

Table 3

Number of Squatters in the urban areas of South Africa (1987)

PROVINCE / TOWN	NO. OF SQUATTERS
Cape Province	
Cape Town	400 000
Port Elizabeth	200 000
Rest of the province	not available
Natal	
Durban/Pinetown	1 700 000
Rest of the Province	not available
Orange Free State	
Province	not available
Transvaal	
PWV area	1 600 000 - 2 400 000
KwaNdebele	350 000
Winterveld	600 000
Rest of the province	not available
Total	**4 850 000 - 5 650 000**

Source : Urban Foundation 1988 (as quoted in Adler, 1992)

The type of accommodation that squatters live in varies throughout the country. In Durban the majority of squatters live in informal settlements. In the PWV the majority of the squatters live in backyard shacks. (See Table 4).

Table 4

Accommodation Patterns of Informal Settlers in the PWV Area (1987)

Type of Accommodation	No. of Units
Backyard shacks	312 000
Garages	67 000
Informal Settlements	28 500
Total	407 500

Source : Urban Foundation 1988 (as quoted in Adler, 1992)

Despite this picture of an enormous housing backlog the housing policy adopted by the state in the eighties has been one of increasing privatisation. The state housing policy was a response to the political and economic crisis. The state argued that the housing problems could not be solved by the government alone because of limited finances related to a limited tax base, financial sanctions which resulted in SA exporting capital and a growth rate of less than 3% per annum. The elements of the state's new housing policy were, the sale of homes, privatisation of housing, upgrading and intensified control on illegal squatting. A significant shift was the granting of freehold tenure to Africans in urban areas for the first time through the Black Community Development Act of 1986.

The privatisation of housing endeavoured to increase individual, employer and private sector involvement in housing. The state spelt out its responsibility as being only for the very poor, aged and those needing welfare. Subsidies were to be reduced to a minimum and were to be for a limited period. The only form of housing for the poor that the state saw itself being involved in would be self-help housing. Priority was to be given to the provision of

cheap land with basic infrastructure. Housing provision on the site was to be the responsibility of the individual. State involvement occurred through the South African Housing Trust which provided loans at an interest of 9%. The provision of services and housing would be based on the principle of cost recovery. Accompanying the foregoing elements of policy were greater controls on illegal squatting through setting up of transit camps which could develop into townships and the abolishing of illegal squatting.

By the latter half of the eighties the state recognised the need for a new housing policy, and appointed the De Loor task group to formulate this policy. In April 1992, when the report of this task group was released, the new climate of negotiations required that it be released as a document for discussion. It has been suggested that these proposals are likely to inform the housing policy of a post apartheid government. It is therefore necessary to summarise the salient features of the De Loor proposals and explore the implications for housing and hostels. The De Loor proposals foresee the phasing out of the existing housing subsidy schemes and replacing them by a "comprehensive assistance scheme". This scheme will take the form of four types of housing packages for different target groups :

- Package 1 is for the very poor, the unemployed and the newly arrived migrant from the rural areas, i.e. households earning less than R1000 per month. The assistance will take the form of a site with very basic services. The state will finance the scheme with the a once-off capital grant of $\pm$R4500 per site. Second and third tier government will be responsible for administration and provision of sites. Households will contribute to ongoing consumption charges for services.

- Package 2 is for households earning between R500 - R3000 per month. The assistance is in the form of a site with basic services and a 5 year subsidised loan for a self-help house. The site will be provided as in Package 1. Loans, with an upper limit of R5000 will be provided for a superstructure. Beneficiaries must contribute 10% of their annual income. Monthly repayments must not be more than 10% of monthly income, the difference between this amount and the actual loan repayment will be subsidised by the government. Finance and delivery will be done by state, with the unsubsidised portion of the loan being mobilised from the private sector.

- Package 3 is a one-off capital subsidy for households earning between R500 - R3000 per month to purchase a formal house. Households will have to make an up front contribution of 15% of their annual income and the state will provide a grant of up to R7000.

- Package 4 is a one-off grant invested to subsidise the rental of households earning between R500 and R3000 per month. Beneficiaries contribute 20% of their annual income which is invested together with a grant of R6000 from the government. The proceeds from this investment can be used to pay monthly rental.
  (Smit, 1992; Hendler, 1992).

The way in which hostels and the need for new temporary rented accommodation can be provided has not been dealt with very briefly in the De Loor proposals. The proposals recommend that the government policy on hostels be reviewed. They recommended that the need for single accommodation be accepted in principle, and that this need should be left to

the market and employers to satisfy. It also recommended that when new hostels are erected they should be built closer to work premises and not in the midst of family accommodation. Further, the privatisation of present hostel stock should be "vigorously pursued", either before or after the upgrading exercises. (Dept. of Local Government and Housing, 1992). It has been noted that the proposals put very little emphasis on public housing for rental (hostels are part of this rented public housing stock). (Hendler, 1992). The only option for rental is through package 4 in which a joint contribution from the state and beneficiary is invested so that the proceeds can be used for rental. All the other options are for ownership. If part of the hostels are converted to bachelor units or family housing units it is possible that Package 3 could be used by hostel dwellers to purchase such a housing unit. The other option for hostel dwellers or newly urbanising migrants is a site and service scheme with/without a self help house in terms of Packages 1 and 2. Of concern to migrants seeking to benefit from the economic opportunities of urban areas is that the proposals reflect a continued concern to ensure 'planned urbanisation' and regulation'. (Smit, 1992).

4.4 QUANTIFYING HOSTELS

4.4.1 TYPE OF HOSTELS

Hostels in South Africa can be classified and grouped in various ways including, ownership, administration, single-sex/family accommodation, size, physical design etc. For the purposes of this thesis, which is to look at policy interventions in upgrading of hostels, most of these classifications would be useful. There is not sufficient research done in this regard and

therefore those classifications that were available are listed.

The majority of hostels (private and public sector) in South Africa provide accommodation for single men. Amongst the public sector hostels there are a handful of hostels providing accommodation for single women e.g. the Thokoza Womens Hostel in Durban, Alexandra Hostel in Johannesburg and the Vosloorus Hostel. Those companies that do accommodate their women workers house them in separate hostels. It has been noted by Segar (1990) in the Western Cape and by BDA (1991) in the PWV that some of these single sex hostels are being converted to family units.

There is a substantial variation in the size of hostels with very small hostels (less than 100 beds) ranging to much bigger hostels (more than 10 000 beds). The largest number of hostels are found in the PWV and the largest hostels are also found there - Meadowlands Hostel (10 432 beds), Nguni Hostel in Vosloorus (10 400 beds), Katlehong Hostel in Alberton (13 500 beds), Sebokeng Hostel in Vanderbijlpark (11 944 beds), Tembisa Hostel in Kempton Park (16 323 beds and Mamelodi Hostel in Pretoria (10 948 beds).(BDA, 1991). In Natal, the largest hostels are in Durban, the Umlazi-Glebe Hostel (10 624 beds), the Kwa Mashu Hostel (> 10 000 beds) and the S J Smith Hostel (4 264 beds). The small towns in Natal have hostels which are much smaller in size (eg Dube Hostel in Paulpietersburg has 48 beds). In the Orange Free State the largest hostels are in Thabong, Welkom (6 944 beds), Zamdela, Sasolburg (5 944 beds) and Mangaung, Bloemfontein (3 888 beds). In the Cape the largest hostels are in Cape Town (Langa Hostel - 7 740 beds, Nyanga Hostel - 7 612 beds, Guguletu Hostel - 6 608 beds), Stellenbosch (Kayamandi Hostel - 3 210 beds) and Port Elizabeth (Kwazakhele Hostel - 6 000 beds). (SSA, 1992c). The largest private hostels are

owned by the mining houses. Large private sector hostels are AECI Hostel in Modderfontein (5 500 beds), AngloVaal Hostel in Hartbeesfontein (21 647 beds), Mining Hostels in the Goldfields in OFS (> 180 000 beds). (SSA, 1992c).

The different types of hostels in South Africa include the worker hostels provided by employers (eg mining hostels), private sector hostels built and operated by industrial and commercial undertakings, public sector hostels which house only their own employees (eg municipal and railway hostels), public and private sector hostels which are open to all irrespective of employment ties, and hostels operated on a small scale by charitable and church organisations. (Pirie and da Silva, 1986).

The Hostels Working Group of the National Housing Forum classified hostels into six categories which would help in formulating appropriate, possibly different, strategic responses for each category of hostel. The categories of hostels were :

- *State-owned Open Hostels (urban)*

  These hostels are owned by local, regional or central state. They are open to the general public i.e. not confined to workers of any particular firm. They are however confined to males or females. They exist in the larger metropolitan areas and small towns. eg. Dalton Road Hostel in Durban or the Langa Hostel in Cape Town.

- *Privately-owned Open Hostels (urban)*

  These hostels are owned by the private sector but are open to any members of the public, i.e. they are run as businesses.

- *State and Parastatal-owned Closed Hostels (urban)*

  These hostels are owned by the local, regional or central state or by parastatal bodies eg. the Railways. These hostels are open only to the employees of these agencies and are closed to the general public. e.g. Randburg Town Council Hostel.

- *Privately-owned Closed Hostels (urban)*

  These hostels are owned by particular private sector firms and are open to their employees only. eg. AECI Hostels in the Transvaal.

- *Employer-owned Open Hostels (mainly urban)*

  Hostels owned by employers (eg. the state or private firms) in some instances, in addition to accommodating their own workers, are also open to other members of the public. eg. the Railway Lodge Hostel in Umlazi (owned by Spoornet).

- *Employer-owned Closed Hostels (rural)*

  As distinct from the hostels listed above, certain hostels are located in rural areas. These are usually provided by employers to house their workers. e.g. mining and agricultural hostels in rural areas.

  (NHF-HWG, 1992).

4.4.2 QUANTIFYING HOSTELS

Quantifying the number of hostels and hostels beds in South Africa proved very difficult because of the dearth of data on hostels. Research undertaken by Seneque Smit and Associates (SSA) for the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) found that most data already compiled had several limitations, the data was regionally specific and/or the data compiled was on the number of hostels beds per local authority and not on the number of hostel beds per hostel per local authority. There was also no data on hostels in the TBVC states and the self-governing territories, except from the Central Statistical Service (CSS). Table 5 tabulates the data compiled from the various sources. The number of hostel beds in the country vary, depending on which source one uses. The high number of beds listed by the CSS is due to the inclusion of hotel and boarding house accommodation. The CSIR and Dept of Health data indicate a total of between 375 000 and 450 000 hostels beds in the country. If one considers that mining hostels accommodate 98% of their black workforce, an estimated 500 000 workers (Crush & James in Royston, 1991), a major discrepancy in the quantifying of hostel beds exists. This discrepancy in the CSIR data could be explained in terms of their request for data having the highest response in urban areas, whereas many of the mining hostels would be in the smaller towns or rural areas.

The largest proportion (78% - 80%) of hostel beds are found in the Transvaal. The remaining 20% of hostel beds are located in the other three provinces, Cape, OFS and Natal. A detailed listing of hostel beds per local authority is given in Appendix 1. (SSA, 1992a). The listing in Appendix 1 indicates the prevalence of hostels in all corners of South Africa. This has obvious implication for any development initiatives aimed at hostels, they will have

to be take into account the wide range of hostels both in size and geographic terms and to be effective will have to be far-reaching in their scope and intent.

Table 5

Urban Hostel Beds per Province and Self-Governing Territory (Blacks)

PROVINCE /SGT	CSS[1] Number (%)	CSIR[2] Number (%)	Dep.Health[3] Number (%)	NPA[4] Number	BDA[5] Number
Cape	112 087 (10%)	48 931 (11%)	22 494 (6%)	-	-
Natal	157 838 (14%)	33 092 (7%)	22 559 (6%)	26 125	-
OFS	177 131 (16%)	16 432 (4%)	32 008 (8%)	-	-
Transvaal	694 098 (61%)	357 747 (78%)	300 188 (80%)	-	186 752
TOTAL PROVINCE	**1 141 154**	**456 202**	**377 249**		
KwaZulu	72 161				
Kangwane	1 650				
QwaQwa	5 658				
Gazankulu	4 080				
Lebowa	31 121				
KwaNdebele	1 511				
TOTALSGT	**116 181**				
TOTAL	**1 257 335**				

(Source : SSA, 1992a)

[1]Central Statistical Service (CSS) Population Census - 1991

[2]CSIR Housing Survey of 1990.

[3]Department of Health and Population Hostels Study - 1990.

[4]Natal Provincial Administration figures - 1992.

[5]Bernhadt, Dunstan and Associates - PWV Hostels Survey - 1991.

The government has disclosed that there are 301 061 beds in 177 public sector hostels in the country. Most of these hostels (159) are owned by the Black Local Authorities, the remainder by Provincial Administration of Transvaal (15) and Natal (3). The number of beds per province in indicated in Table 6.

Table 6

Number of Hostel Beds in Public Sector Hostels in South Africa (1992).

PROVINCE	HOSTELS		BEDS	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
Transvaal	92	52%	191 654	63%
Cape	43	24%	50 158	17%
Orange Free State	23	13%	22 898	8%
Natal	19	11%	36 351	12%
TOTAL	**177**	**100%**	**301 061**	**100%**

(Source : Dept of Local Government and Housing, 1992)

Another feature of hostels is that the number of beds are declining due to conversion to family units and in isolated instances due to physical destruction caused by violence. Segar (1990), notes that in the Western Cape the single temporary accommodation in hostels is declining as hostels are converted to family units. Such conversions to family accommodation, decreased the number of beds in Langa from 13 600 in 1976 to 3184 in 1988, and in Nyanga from 122 blocks in 1985 to 98 blocks in 1988. In isolated instances around the country, hostels have also been physically destroyed by violence eg. Botleng Hostel on the East Rand and Tsakane Hostel in Springs. (BDA, 1991). Smit (1991)

comments that the growth of number of lodgers in backyard shacks and the growth of shack settlements on the PWV may indicate these as being the places in which circular migrants are primarily accommodated. A comparison of rents, R35 in backyards and R6,60 in hostels shows that access to a hostel bed is "an extremely valuable resource" (Smit, 1991).

It is evident from most literature on hostels that a count of beds in hostels is no indication of the numbers of persons living there. Segar (1990) found that in the hostels in the Western Cape bed occupancy rates ranged from between one person to ten persons. The average bed occupancy rate for hostels in Cape Town was 2,8 ranging from 4,0 in Nyanga, to 2,7 in Guguletu and 2,3 in Nyanga. In the BDA study the average occupancy rates in the hostels, in August 1990, was 1,0 whereas a year later in July 1991 the occupancy rate had dropped to 0,7. A major reasons for this was the violence that erupted in the PWV hostels in 1990-91. Of the private sector hostels surveyed by BDA the occupancy rate in 1990 was found to 0,59. In 1991 this occupancy rate had dropped to 0,54%. (SSA, 1992c).

In a study by SSA (1992), data on occupancy rates was extracted from an exercise on monitoring of hostels initiatives in the country. The study was limited to the extent that only 92 public sector hostels were included in the monitoring exercise, 37 in the Transvaal, 18 in Natal, 12 in the OFS and 25 in the Cape. This study found that the average occupancy rate in the country was 1,2. A calculation of the extent of overcrowding in public sector hostels showed 25% of those hostels included in the monitor to be overcrowded and 31% to be partly empty. The highest occupancy rates were found in the Cape (1,9) and Natal (1,8) whereas the hostels in the OFS (0,9) and the Transvaal (0,8) were found to be underoccupied. In the 92 hostels alone, a shortfall of 42 856 beds was counted. It should

be noted that studies and articles on hostels in the PWV (eg Pirie and da Silva, 1986) generally mention overcrowding to be of significant proportions. Hence the underoccupancy noted above is a recent phenomenon. The details on occupancy rates are listed in Table 7 and occupancy rates per hostel and extent of overcrowding are listed in Appendix 2.

Table 7

Occupancy Rates in Public Sector Hostels per Province - 1992

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF HOSTEL BEDS	NUMBER OF HOSTEL OCCUPANTS	OCCUPANCY RATE	EXTENT OF OVERCROWDING NO. OF BEDS
Transvaal	135 942	113 802	0,8	-22 140
Natal	26 790	47 469	1,8	20 679
Orange Free State	20 896	18 238	0,9	-2 658
Cape	51 456	98 431	1,9	46 975
TOTAL	**235 084**	**277 940**	**1,2**	**42 856**

(Source : SSA, 1992c).

The private sector hostels included in the exercise, revealed an occupancy rate of 0,8 in the Transvaal hostels and 0,7 in the OFS hostels (no data was available for Natal and Cape). This, assimilated with the data gathered by BDA in 1990, indicated that private sector hostels did not experience the same problem of overcrowding as in public sector hostels. (SSA, 1992c). This would be in keeping with the tight security and control that marks private hostels, it would be difficult for anyone not registered to enter the premises.

Violence was attributed as the major cause for the decrease in occupancy rates in the PWV hostels from 1990 (1,0) to 1991 (0,7). Of the 40 hostels surveyed by BDA, 60% had been affected by violence. In half of these cases the occupancy had dropped as a direct result of the violence. In other cases they noted a turnover (old residents left and new residents moved in) in residents due to the violence, or the returning of old residents after the violence had subsided. (SSA, 1992c)

4.5 ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF HOSTELS

The system of administration in hostels has historically been geared to control rather than to deliver services. This was true of private as well as municipal hostels. Today this system of administration is said to be the reason for the difference in quality of life provided in private and public hostels. In private hostels a rigid control continues to be maintained and in return in most instances better accommodation is provided for the workers living in them. Whether this trade-off of greater control and better living conditions is acceptable to workers is unclear. An investigation on whether a better balance between oppressive control and better conditions in hostels is possible, should be undertaken. By contrast, public hostels are marked by a virtually non-existent system of administration with the resultant appalling and repugnant conditions that hostel dwellers have to live in. The system of control in municipal hostels becomes personalised in individual Councillors and assumes the form of patronage politics. It has been suggested that this hierarchical and coercive control made it possible for the hostels to be manipulated by certain organisations. An examination of this system of administration is not possible, and has not been found in the literature thus far scanned.

This is because of the reluctance and total non co-operation of the black local authorities to open themselves or their hostels to scrutiny. Yet, this remains an important element of the development equation and will have to tackled if development is to go beyond paintwork and repairs of hostels.

The system of 'autocratic' and 'paternalistic' control adopted in mining hostels was replicated in the public hostels. In mining hostels it took the form of a hierarchical power system headed by a white compound manager who was assisted by black compound policemen. The chief compound policemen, known as indunas, were supposed to be in positions of leadership and guardians of people coming from the same tribe or rural areas. (Minnaar et al, 1992).

In public hostels the administration passed from white local authorities to the Administration Boards. They administered the hostels through on-site staff which included the superintendent, administrative clerks, groundstaff and the hostel police. This system of administration was carried over to the Black Local Authorities when they assumed control of hostels in the late eighties. The functions of administration include the collection of rents and dealing with complaints. They are in charge of the waiting lists, of people awaiting accommodation in the hostel, and allocation of beds and rooms. They have the authority to expel people from the hostel if they are found guilty of certain 'crimes' eg stealing, brewing alcohol, smuggling women into the hostel, disregarding visitors rules and defaulting on fines or rents. (Pirie and da Silva, 1986). It becomes apparent how this extensive control of the hostels centralised in the hands of Councillors can be open to abuse.

Interviews by Bernhadt with supervisory staff in municipal hostels in the Transvaal revealed a noticeable decline in maintenance and control as the hostels changed hands from white local authorities to administration boards to black local authorities. The neglect was clearly as a result of the shaky financial state of the black local authorities. (quoted in Smit 1991). The lack of competence and limited capacity of black local authorities to administer would surely also have been contributory factors.

A survey undertaken by Markinor in the hostels on the Reef, in 1990, found that most hostel respondents were not aware of the existence of hostel committees. Some of the respondents acknowledged the existence of some authority, which to them took the form of hostel committees, superintendents, block men and security guards. On the hostel committees, the survey concluded that the hostel committee system had become discredited as it was seen as being "ineffective and virtually non-existent". A hostel superintendent was seen in a better light than Committee and block men. The Ward Councillors were unknown and viewed with suspicion especially since the recent unrest. (Bureau for Information, 1990).

4.6 QUALITY OF LIFE IN HOSTELS

4.6.1 PHYSICAL CONDITIONS IN HOSTELS

The physical conditions in hostels have been decried graphically and vividly by many writers. Adjectives such as drab, dull, repugnant, appalling, shocking, alarming, overcrowded and grimy, all aptly describe the conditions to be found in most public hostels. In 1991, the S A

Medical Journal described them as a "national scandal". It has become evident that the quality of accommodation varies between hostels and analyses distinguish between private and public sector hostels with condition in the former generally considered to be far better. (Segar, 1990). Descriptive accounts of hostels by writers help paint such a picture :

Hostels in the Transvaal :

"Hostel complexes comprise grounds and buildings drawn together in unimaginative and utilitarian styling. In Soweto the unenticing hostels blend with the bleak, regimented surroundings; in Alexandra, they clash boldly with the forlorn decay about them. At Mzimhlope, ...the smell hanging in the air, the stench of rotting rubbish, urine, dirty water and neglected toilets, an unhygienic mucky atmosphere."
(Pirie and da Silva, 1986).

A hostel in Somerset-West in the Western Cape :

"There are no streets, no houses, and no gardens at Lwandle. There are no fences, no parks, no playgrounds, and no pillar-boxes. There are even no trees and grass. Lwandle consists of little more than row upon row of hostel blocks, most of which are indistinguishable from one another in respect of their size, shape, colour, and state of disrepair."
(Jones, 1990).

The dehumanising nature of hostels in general :

"Matshoba has penned a vivid portrait of hostels as institutions which 'kill a man's pride' and produce 'dehumanised people' who live as hogs or wild dogs."
(quoted in Pirie and da Silva, 1986)

One account of a private hostel was as follows :

"They are not standardised like government hostels and are usually of superior quality and offer better facilities...These facilities are...indoor toilets, hot water, cooking facilities, neatly covered floors, well maintained ceilings as well as a pleasant environment with lawns and painted outer walls ... However... these hostels are distinguished by the presence of high

fencing and security guards. Access is therefore restricted to bona fide residents only and this rule appears to be more or less strictly enforced at all employer hostels".

(quoted in Smit, 1991).

From a study of hostels on the Reef, Bernhadt cautions against generalisations which suggest that private sector hostels are in a better condition than public sector hostels. He sites examples of private sector hostels on the Reef which are in a worse condition than neighbouring municipal owned hostels. (quoted in Smit, 1991). More concretely, research indicates the following conditions in hostels.

Although hostels were first introduced around the turn of the century, most were built in the Apartheid era. Some hostels are fairly old (up to eighty years). In Durban, most municipal hostels are thirty to forty years old. On the PWV, about 11% of the hostels included in the BDA (1992) study were less than ten years old, the majority (77%) were between 20 and 40 years old and 11% were more than 40 years old.

In Durban most of the hostels are multi-storeyed buildings with internal, badly lit, central passages which have dormitories and rooms on either side. In the smaller towns of Natal, the hostels are usually single storeyed, row upon row of long barracks like structures or cottages. On the PWV, the hostels included in the BDA (1991) study were single storeyed (40%) , multiple storeyed (34%) and single + multiple storeyed (26%). In Cape Town the hostels are made up of rows of single storey brick structures. Internally the structures do not have ceilings. Leaking roofs is a common complaint. Cracked walls which allow the elements into the room are also a source of complaint.

(Segar, 1990).

Most rooms in hostels in the Cape, have two or three beds which because of the occupancy rates sleep between six and nine people. With the overcrowding that is prevalent in some hostels every space in the hostels is used, for sleeping, activity and storage. Hostel dwellers sleep on beds (single beds which are often shared), on the floors between beds and under beds (these residents are referred to as the 'mechanics') on improvised bunk beds, in kitchens and dining areas. The residents try and create some privacy by hanging curtains to screen off their bedspaces. (Segar, 199O). A complete lack of privacy was also the experience of Durban hostel dwellers. A survey of hostels in Durban found that 38% of the respondents lived in a dormitory, 42% in a room with 3 or 4 beds, 12% in a room with two beds and 8% in rooms with a single bed. (CSTP, 1992). The overcrowding in Durban hostels, at least of the order of 2 persons to a bed, implies the lack of privacy is worse than indicated above.

Most hostel rooms and dormitories have overhead lights but no wall sockets for other electrical appliances. As a result hostel dwellers draw on the electricity through the lights, which end up 'fusing' the electrical system and causing power failures. Leaking pipes and blocked lavatories are a common aspect of daily lives. (Segar, 1990) This is also the situation in hostels in Durban.

Kitchens and toilets (and shower) are communal and are shared between 22-43 people. The kitchen is usually unfurnished, having at most a tap with a basin, a gas stove and a few tables in a grimy, poorly lit area. Most residents cook on primus stoves in their rooms. Given the overcrowding this has serious implications for health and safety. (Segar, 1990). It is not uncommon to find high person to toilet ratios. In Lwandle Hostel in the Western Cape the ration was 1 : 120. (Jones, 1990). In most hostels these toilets/showers are located outside

the buildings which have the beds. The showers usually have only cold running water and in instances where these showers are uncovered, bathing in inclement weather would prove impossible.

The areas around hostels in usually unkept and littered. Pools of water and mud are common sights, with very little grass and hardly a tree to be seen. Inside and outside the buildings, municipal hostels are littered and dirty, overflowing garbage bags are not removed and a general lack of hygiene prevails. The general filth in the hostels is however not "a reflection of the personal hygiene of residents", with most hostel dwellers grooming themselves and their limited personal space with great care. (Segar, 1990). It is the overcrowding, lack of facilities and lack of supervision and care over of communal space which results in dirt, filth and squalor. The existence of informal economic activity in all corners of the hostel - in the rooms and passages, on the grounds - is not uncommon as residents battle to eke out a living.

4.6.2 PROFILE OF HOSTEL DWELLERS

Research in Cape Town hostels indicate that age of bedholders is fairly evenly distributed between the ages 20 and 60. The majority ($\pm$ 60%) of the male dependents (i.e. those dependent on the bedholders) are between 20 and 29 years whereas the female dependents are evenly spread between 20 - 49 years. A survey in ten Durban hostels found that 57% of the hostel dwellers were under 35 years old, 32% were between 35 and 55 years and 10% were over 55 years old. (CSTP, 1992).

In Cape Town hostels, 37% of the population was females who were wives, girlfriends and children of bedholders. Children comprised 23% of the population. More than two-thirds of the adult dependents of the bedholder were women. (Segar, 1990). In the Durban hostels only 16% of the respondents were female (CSTP, 1992).

Although only half the hostel dwellers (47%) interviewed in Durban were married, almost four-fifths of them had children. (CSTP, 1992). 59% of the hostel population in Cape Town hostels were dependents of the bedholder, thus outnumbering the bedholders. 60% of these dependents were adults. Most of these dependents were related to the bedholder emphasising the point that "hostel residents are linked to each other by networks of kinship and intimacy". (Segar, 1990).

A pattern of low education level was found among the Cape Town hostel dwellers, almost three-quarters having only up to Std 6 education. (Segar, 1990). A similar pattern was noted in the Durban hostels, with 59% of the respondents having education up to Std 5. (CSTP, 1992)

Hostel dwellers were found to fill the lower echelons of the job market being employed as labourers in factories and building sites and as security guards or nightwatchmen. Low educational level, unemployment and economic depression imply low job mobility. The majority of bedholders (78%) were in formal employment, 5% were self-employed and 9% were unemployed. Only 28% of the dependents of bedholders were in formal employment. (Segar, 1990). One-third of the hostel dwellers in Durban were unemployed. Comparable to Cape Town, Durban hostel dwellers were also employed in the lowest skill jobs, 42%

were employed as labourers, 21% in semi-skilled and skilled positions and 4% as professionals. (CSTP, 1992).

Only a third of the hostel dwellers in Durban hostels had lived in the hostel for more than ten years. 31% had lived in hostels for between 5-10 years and 35% for less than five years. (CSTP, 1992).

4.6.3 SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN HOSTELS

The majority of hostel dwellers (97%), interviewed in the Durban survey, stated that their home districts were rural, more than 200km away (for 60% of the respondents). (CSTP, 1992). More than two-thirds said that they visited their families only at long intervals, once a month or even less frequently.

In a study in the hostels in Cape Town it was noted that more than two third of the adults dependent on bedholders were women. The age distribution of these women (ranging from 20-49 years) indicate that women are dependent on the bedholders for a long time, if not for all their lives. In the case of Cape Town where it is virtually impossible for a women to acquire a bed in her own right and where it is very difficult to secure permanent employment the personal mobility of women is almost non-existent. It is these factors, in the context of hostels, which make it possible for pre-existing patriarchal relationships to be further reinforced and the oppression of women to continue. (Ramphele, 1989).

In this context male female relationships take on different forms, depending on whether the woman is the wife or the girlfriend of the bedholder. Married women enter either warm, loving environments or cold, hostile ones. In the case of the former, the wife makes many visits, staying for varying lengths of time. In the latter case, women come to hostels seek their husbands out in desperation to save their families from "disintegration or starvation or both". Women in these categories have to adopt various strategies to come to the hostels. A common one cited, is the 'sick' role adopted by either the woman or a child which ensures that the man will have to fulfil his responsibility to them. Single women come to the urban areas to earn income for them and their families. They develop relationships with men to secure access to accommodation and financial support. Most of these relationships are characterised by mutual abuse where each partner gets what they can out of it. For the men, the woman is someone to do their domestic chores and an outlet for their sexual needs. Relationships between women are marked by competitiveness and jealousy over men. On the other hand these relationships are also supportive in times of need, eg during childbirth or illness. Relationships between men have shown the retention of kinship ties, which forms a supportive network especially of newcomers. The conclusion drawn by Ramphele, is that despite their position, women are not "hopeless victims of a vicious system that they can do very little about; on the contrary, their ingenuity and survival strategies are proof of their strengths". (Ramphele, 1989).

There is also a stratification between men in age terms, where older men are placed in positions of authority in organisations within the hostel. Older men are consulted on all important issues and they keep a check on the younger men, reminding them of their responsibilities. (Ramphele, 1989). A feature of the violence on the Reef was the reversal

of this 'gerocentric' rule. The study by Segal in the Transvaal indicated that it was generally the older men who were more conservative and considered in their opinions. They were more keen to mediate than to rush onto the battlefield, whereas the younger hostel dwellers took the lead in organising the violence. It was the younger men who went out to fight while the older men were left to guard the place. (Segal, 1991).

Generations of segregation within hostels and separation from families have resulted in disintegration of families and serious urban social pathologies like bigamy, prostitution, alcoholism, violence, corruption, gangsterism, as well health problems of sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis and malnutrition. (Smit, 1991). A survey of the health status of hostel dwellers in the Western Cape found that the child and infant mortality rates in hostels were high in comparison with figures for Africans in Cape Town and particularly high when compared to the World Health Organisations standards for urban populations. They fall within the range which is symptomatic of impoverished social conditions which is often associated with the rural bantustans. The occurrence of Tuberculosis amongst hostel dwellers was also high in comparison to township dwellers. These findings suggested that hostel dwellers were not experiencing the improved health status associated with permanent urban living. Other illnesses like diabetes, hypertension and sexually transmitted diseases were well within the range expected of a given population. Tests indicated that other habits eg alcohol and smoking were not excessive. The study noted that hostel dwellers in Western Cape have a problem with access to health care which in addition to not being able to obtain prompt medical care disrupts continuity of treatment of conditions like TB. Overall, the health status findings suggest that the urban hostel dwellers of Cape Town are relatively healthy. (Heap, 1989).

Hobbies or personal interests of hostels dwellers included sport (48%) and music (18%). Other hobbies/interests listed by a smaller number of hostel dwellers included religious activity, drinking, reading, household chores and listening to radio. (CSTP, 1992).

The hostel dwellers (76%) in Durban described their relationships within the hostels to be good (including qualified good). A very small minority (8%) felt that the relationships were bad. In contrast, views on relationships with people in the townships were divided, 39% feeling the township residents looked down on them and 41% felt that township residents were friendly/ brotherly. They felt that they regarded the township residents in a better light. (CSTP, 1992). A study by Segal (1991) of hostel dwellers who had been affected by violence provided a useful insight to the problem. The study revealed that hostel dwellers were not totally isolated from the township and almost all had several points of contact with township residents. These were through friendship networks, church and political meetings. However, hostel dwellers felt that their feelings were not reciprocated by township residents which was marked by animosity.

In the Durban survey, the strongest organisational involvement for hostel dwellers appeared to be religious activity (38%). Sporting (16%) and burial societies (14%) were also organisations that they were involved in. Almost a third of the respondents, reported an involvement in political organisations, the majority (21% of the total) to organisations left of centre (eg ANC and its allies) and a smaller proportion (11%) to political organisations right of the centre (eg Inkatha). Almost half (44%) of the hostel dwellers were unionised, the majority belonging to COSATU/NACTU. A significant proportion (40%) of the respondents were not unionised. (CSTP, 1992).

Segar (1990) comments that interpersonal violence is part of daily life in the hostels, and it is women and children who are often the victims of violence. The lack of space and privacy, pressure on limited facilities and the dependency of women and children on bedholders were seen as contributing to this violence. A study at the Lwandle Hostel in the Western Cape, by Jones (1990), examining the violence in the hostels and its impact on the daily lives of children found that physical factors contributed significantly to the occurrence of violence in peoples' daily lives. Overcrowding in hostel rooms, and the resultant lack of private space which is safe and secure, was cited as a cause of violence by residents. The wider physical conditions also contributed to the violence. The dense and overgrown buffer strip, that separated the hostel from the town, the inadequacies of the external system of lighting, the distance of the toilets from the hostels, the lack of doors and lighting in the toilet blocks were all conditions suitable for robbery and assault. Alcohol was another factor contributing to violence in the hostels. The system of order and discipline which exists within hostel rooms and its non-existence at a cross-bungalow level was cited as another factor contributing to violence. The system is said to perform a contradictory function of controlling and deterring violence and also sanctioning violence in the form of physical beatings. There is also no effective means of cross-bungalow discipline. Thus visitors to a bungalow are not bound to abide by the discipline of that bungalow because no punishment is meted out for contravening rules. Finally, no rules or authoritative bodies govern and control behaviour outside hostel buildings. Jones concluded that exposure to violence was inevitable. The major reason cited for this was the fundamental characteristic of hostel life which is the "impossibility of any clear spatial divide between public and private". This was seen to render the distinction between domestic and other forms of violence meaningless. These conditions expose children to a wider experience of violence than would be the case in

normal circumstance. In these circumstances, "quite simply, parents cannot shield their children, and children cannot always shield themselves from the violence that takes place around them. (Jones, 1990).

In the PWV and in Natal, hostels have also become the loci of broader violence in the community. In Natal hostels have been used as launching bases from which attacks on neighbouring communities have been planned and executed. Examples of these include, Hambanati Hostel and the surrounding township, S J Smith Hostel and the neighbouring Lamontville township, Kwa Mashu Hostel and Section B and E of the Kwa Mashu township, Bruntville Hostel and the township in Mooi River and the Umlazi Unit 17 Hostel and the surrounding shack settlements. On the other hand hostels have themselves also been targets of neighbouring formal and informal settlements. Zulu attributes this conflict between hostels and shack settlements and townships to be as a result of the hostel dwellers having no interest in township politics and being single men, without families, who are not interested in the struggles for better facilities or more resources. (CSTP, 1992).

In hostels on the Reef, a sharp increase in the incidence of violence was marked from the end of July 1990. Most writers cite two events which fuelled this violence. The first was the launch of Inkatha as a national political party and its commencing an aggressive campaign of recruitment in the Transvaal hostels and the second was the declaration of Inkatha as the 'enemy' by pro-ANC organisations (eg ANC Youth Congress) and the attack on Inkatha members in the Transvaal. The trigger for the start of the violence was the events that occurred after an Inkatha Rally in the Vaal Triangle. Clashes between rally-goers and township residents in Sebokeng, launched a 'full-scale' war which spread to other areas and

in the past two years have left hundreds dead and many more injured. Non-Inkatha supporters barricaded the local hostel and refused entry to Inkatha supporters, who sought refuge in an empty, disused hostel in the area. This use of hostels as a base, and exclusion of opposing factions spread to other hostels. In most hostels it was the Inkatha supporters that took over hostels, expelled non-Inkatha supporters and from the hostels launched attacks on the neighbouring township or shack settlements. Inkatha supporters in these townships and shack settlements fled their homes, for fear of being attacked by township residents, and sought refuge in the hostels. In response to attacks from the hostels township residents and refugees from the hostels then launched counter-attacks on the hostels and so the spiral continued. Hostels, because of their physical design were easy to barricade and defend. (Seekings, 1991).

It should be noted that the first clashes occurred between hostel dwellers themselves. The alienation, fear and isolation of hostel dwellers made the situation an easy one to manipulate in party political interests. The traditionally coercive and hierarchical organisations within hostels laid them open to manipulation and resorting to violence to resolve differences. Ethnicity became a key mobilising factor, especially for Inkatha. A large number of Zulu migrants, who wish to remain migrants, were mobilised without great effort against the threat to dismantle the migrant labour system and convert hostels into family units. There seems to be an un-researched but popular view that non-Zulu migrants are less committed to migrancy than their Zulu brothers. Inkatha also concentrated its initial recruitment amongst Zulus and during the course of the conflict ethnic political mobilisation deepened and sharpened divisions. Partisan policing of these situations of conflict has been mentioned by many as increasing the conflict instead of stopping it. (Seekings, 1991; Minnaar et al, 1992,

Segal, 1991).

The violence in the latter half of 1990 was concentrated in the East Rand, in Tokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong, KwaThema and Tembisa and to a lesser extent in Sebokeng, Kagiso, and Soweto. In 1991 many of the Johannesburg hostels, became fiercely contested as the violence spread. Other events in the Tansvaal, eg the assassinations of leaders of ANC and Inkatha factions continued to fuel violence. Rallies and funerals often spilled over and resulted in violence. Most analysts of the hostel conflict point to the poor socio-economic and material circumstances of hostels dwellers as well as their alienation from the township community as the context which allowed the violence to thrive. Yet, this was not different from the circumstance of township residents. An important political factor which helps the analysis, was the growing marginalisation of hostel residents within township politics. Civic and youth organisations failed to organise the hostels. On the other hand many of the concerns of township residents for better facilities etc were not shared by the hostel dwellers. The role of unions, which played an important organising role in the hostels in the early eighties, was also noted to have declined in the late 1980s. (Seekings, 1991; Segal, 1991). An important point to note is that not all hostel dwellers are involved in violence, nor are all members of Inkatha. Many hostel dwellers became involved in the violence as a means of survival. (Minnaar et al, 1992). The result has clearly been a complete change in the profile of hostel dwellers in contested hostels. Those that lived in the hostels prior to the violence are no longer there and many of those that currently live in the hostels have only recently moved in. What has happened to those that were expelled is unclear, however what it does highlight is that the notion of community participation in development initiatives in this context becomes meaningless, when the supposed 'community' is not there, having being

forcefully expelled by the 'community' currently living there.

4.6.4 VIEWS OF HOSTEL DWELLERS

When hostel dwellers in Durban were asked why they had chosen to live in hostels, two-fifths stated that they had no option because of no other accommodation. Another two-fifths gave economic (near to the workplace, rent is cheap) reasons for living in hostels. Other reasons included, knowing homeboys, voluntary choice, and hostels being peaceful. If they had a choice, 44% of the hostel dwellers would choose to live in the township, 33% would live in a single room in the hostel, 14% would live in a flat in town, 7% would live in a white suburb and 5% would live in a rural area. (CSTP, 1992).

While a third of the hostel dweller interviewed did not offer anything positive about hostels the others did find some positive aspects in hostels. These included cheap rent (31% of respondents), near to place of work (18%), no crime or violence (19%) and the company in the hostels (18%). A small percentage mentioned the freedom to go to work (5%) and women not being allowed in hostels (5%) as positive aspects. Featuring strongly in the dislikes of hostels were the physical conditions viz. untidy, filthy and dirty (38%), overcrowding, rowdy (34%), lack of privacy (29%) and physically uncomfortable (11%). Other dislikes included the presence of women (11%) who were seen as disrupting their environment; the control, like a prison (9%), violence and crime (9%) and political prescription (5%). Hostel residents felt that these conditions could be improved by providing single or double room (58%), improving the sewerage system and installing furniture (31%),

creating family accommodation (19%) and abolishing hostels (3%). 10% of the respondents chose not to comment on how the situation could be improved, whereas 7% said that the hostel should be left as it is. (CSTP, 1992).

The majority of the respondents indicated that if they had a choice they would bring their families to town and, live in a flat or house in town or in the townships (32%), have their own house (18%), live in a shack or hostel (1%). Others felt that they would bring their families only if the violence stopped (6%) while a significant proportion of the respondents (41%) indicated that they would not bring their family to town. The major reason for not wanting to bring their family to town was because they were attached to rural life (30%), conditions in town were seen as bad for the children (16%) and the expenses in town (5%). (CSTP, 1992). A study of largely Zulu speaking hostel dwellers in the Transvaal, indicated that most of them would not bring their families to live with them in the towns. The reasons mentioned were the expenses of city life and lack of freedom in the city. (Segal, 1991).

With respect to the future of hostels, the majority (61%) of residents of hostels in Durban felt that hostels should exist, with 36% feeling that they should not exist. On the issue of converting hostels into family units, half the respondents did not want to see this happen because they were committed migrants (17%) or felt it was not a good idea (33%). More than half the respondents felt that it would be a good idea to convert the hostels so that they could have their own house (57%) and/or it would reduce the violence (3%). A proportion (6%) of the respondents mentioned that costs of conversion as being expensive. (CSTP, 1992).

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter summarised the context, within which hostels currently exist, as being characterised by :

- rapid urbanisation, due both to natural growth of the population and in-migration from the rural areas;
- persisting circular migration side by side with a stable urban labour force;
- a massive housing shortage;
- increased privatisation in housing;
- lack of finances being the biggest constraint to housing delivery; and
- minimal subsidy packages for the very poor.

The conditions in hostels were discussed in the following sections :

- quantifying hostels (types and numbers);
- administration and control in hostels;
- quality of life in hostels (physical conditions, profile of hostel dwellers, social conditions and views of hostel dwellers).

The significant features from this discussion are synthesised and listed in chapter six. At this point it needs to be said that these conditions illustrate the urgent need for development interventions in hostels. The next chapter examines what work has already begun in this regard.

CHAPTER 5

DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN HOSTELS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The history and current situation in hostels, outlined in the last two chapters, make it evident that hostels are indeed an unfortunate and shameful legacy of our past, particularly of the Apartheid era. The migrant labour system had been recognised as totally unacceptable to normal community and family life and as such had been rejected by community, political and worker organisations for a long time. It was only by the late eighties that the struggle to scrap the migrant labour system, influx control and pass laws, was successful.

By the late eighties it was also clear that discontent with the hostel system of accommodation was growing, particularly within the progressive union movement. The unions called for an end to the migrant labour system and the hostel system of accommodation. Within the private sector also there was talk of dismantling the hostel system and replacing it with family accommodation. In 1987 the mining houses announced a shift in accommodation policy from a hostel system to family accommodation. Post influx control, the government encouraged housing authorities to turn housing for single persons into family housing. However, it was the hostel wars, which erupted on the Reef in 1990, that propelled hostels to the top of the national development agenda.

Hostels have been and remain a much debated, contested, and controversial issue. From the initially emotive calls for the 'destruction' of hostels more rational and serious debate emerged, resulting in a national programme for development initiatives in hostels. It to these development initiatives that we turn our attention in this chapter. The National Housing Forum (NHF) was formed by all the major actors to look at housing policy for a post apartheid South Africa. Hostels, as one component of housing were included in the programme of the NHF. Being the major force behind hostel upgrading, the NHF is discussed in this chapter. The Government, initially part of the NHF, chose not to participate in this forum and instead launched its own hostel initiative. The government initiative is significant in terms of the money that has been made available for hostels upgrading. Although most actors are part of the NHF and party to the Short-Term Guidelines for Hostels Initiatives, it was found that at implementation level, numerous differences and problems surfaced. In looking at development interventions, it is therefore necessary to understand the policy position of major actors, as these influence the actual outcome of hostel upgrading at the local level. The process of transforming hostels has already begun, and several upgrading efforts are off the ground in various parts of the country. The current status of these hostels initiatives is summarised. Finally, since it is at the implementation level that problems surface, two case studies which illustrate the various issues within development initiatives are documented.

5.2 NATIONAL HOUSING FORUM AND THE HOSTELS WORKING GROUP

The violence and continued potential for conflict associated with hostels made it critical for the hostel issue to be addressed collectively by all the actors associated with or having an interest in hostels. A National Hostels Discussion Forum was convened in August 1991 to begin to formulate a response to the hostel situation. Represented at the meeting were members of government (central and provincial departments of housing, black local authorities), extra-parliamentary groups (ANC, IFP, AZAPO, PAC), civic groups, (SANCO and Hostel Dwellers Associations), Unions (COSATU and NACTU), private sector (SACCOLA, Chamber of Mines, CBM, Anglo American, AHI, BIFSA, IHSA), development agencies (DBSA, IDT, Kagiso Trust) and others. The meeting acknowledged the seriousness of the hostels problems but noted that it had to be addressed within the context of a broader national development and housing strategy. In the interim, the meeting agreed on the need to formulate short-term guidelines which would guide hostels initiatives within a local housing and urban development context. The meeting also appointed a working committee to formulate proposals for a broadly based representative National Housing Forum. This saw the beginning of a process which led to the formal constitution of the National Housing Forum (NHF) in November 1992.

The major purpose for constituting the NHF was to develop policy and strategy on housing within an overall development framework. It was realised that in the transition period, moving towards the formation of a new Constitution for the country, the formulation of policy would have to involve all parties and achieve consensus on the major issues. There

was also a recognition that the participants had to develop interim mechanisms to give effect to and to implement decision taken during the transitional period. At the onset, the guiding principles identified by the NHF were that all parties should agree to decisions within the NHF being taken by consensus, participation should be inclusive rather than exclusive, the Main Actors should be groupings which have a national and broad perspective on housing issues, and specific interest groups should be identified and they should be asked to participate in issues pertinent to them, when they arise. Central to its approach was participation and community empowerment. It was clear the NHF was attempting to be as inclusive and broad based, as it could be, choosing not to take positions on any substantive issues. (NHF, 1991a).

The NHF recognised that in the process of formulating policy it would have to respond to key events and policy issues in respect of housing in the short-term and on an ongoing basis. It would have to draw effective linkages between housing, development, and economic growth policies and plans. The NHF spelt out the objective of its initial programme of work as being the formulation of a short-term (1-5 years) plan of action, within the framework of its Founding Agreement, for housing provision through a process of negotiation and which:

"i. demonstrates immediate, visible and appropriate delivery on the ground;

ii. addresses historical imbalances and backlogs in respect of housing with particular focus on members of the disadvantaged communities;

iii. promotes an effective housing process for all;

iv. integrates the cities;

v. facilitates access for the poor to social and commercial amenities;

vi. enhances the effectiveness of state intervention;

vii. maximises non-state delivery capacity (including private sector);

viii. maximises the participation of the community in the housing process;

ix. has quantifiable targets and identifiable accountability;

x. links proposals to national development and economic growth strategies."

These aims and objectives were to be met through a three phase programme of action. The bulk of the work was to be undertaken within working groups of the NHF. The NHF's intention was to complete the three phase programme within thirty-six weeks of its formal constitution as a forum. (NHF, 1992a). The six working groups established by the NHF were : land and services; end-user finance and subsidies; housing types and delivery systems; institutional structures, roles and fund mobilisation; housing : restructuring the built environment; and hostels.

The Hostels Working Group (HWG) of the NHF was the first to be constituted and was mandated to proceed with a variety of short and medium term initiatives. The NHF had drawn up Short-Term Guidelines for Hostel Initiatives to guide the development initiatives in hostels. The points of departure of the Short-Term Guidelines are : the need to give urgent attention to the hostel issues so as to resolve conflict or the potential thereof; the need to address the problem of families living in hostels; the need to locate hostels initiative within a national development framework and in the absence of such a framework and the urgency of the situation to formulate short-term guidelines to facilitate the current and new hostel initiatives; to include hostel initiative processes within the process of reconstructing viable and integrated cities; to recognise "process" to be as important as "product" and to give due regard to this in implementation. The objectives of the guidelines were to provide them to funding agencies to help them determine which local initiatives they should support and to provide them to local initiatives to help them structure their initiatives to be eligible for support. (See Appendix 3).

The guidelines proposed that :

i. hostels initiatives be negotiated at two levels, by those directly affected by the initiative (eg hostel dwellers, hostel owners and surrounding communities) and by regional structures having an interest in hostels (eg political, civic, trade union, business, local government, employers etc);

ii. initiatives recognise that a need exists for accommodation for single people as well as families;

iii. those involved in the initiative must demonstrate, within their proposals, the ability to provide sufficient and appropriately located accommodation for those persons affected (displaced) by the development;

iv. the government as the agency responsible for ensuring that society is adequately and decently housed; should also provide housing assistance to those in hostels at the same level as others in an equally disadvantaged position;

v. appropriate institutional mechanisms be set up to implement the project and to ensure the participation of those affected by the development and those actors discussed in (i) above; the costs of this to be included in the overall development costs;

vi. where substantive hostel accommodation agreements exist between the private sectors and unions, the hostels will not be monitored on condition that they comply with the guidelines;

vii. a moratorium be placed on hostel demolitions unless sanctioned by parties involved.

When first drafted the guidelines envisaged that the NHF would raise R150million in grant finance to support hostel initiatives. In the process of constituting itself, the NHF did not involve itself in raising these funds. In the meantime, the government launched its own initiative, independent of the NHF, to upgrade hostels in the country. In its most recent terms of reference the HWG identifies its aim as being "to assist the NHF in bringing a developmental perspective to the major hostels initiatives currently underway in South Africa with a view to reducing the potential for hostels-related violence". It further identified the following objectives:

i. to ensure effective dissemination and discussion of the short-term guidelines;

ii. to improve the profile of the guidelines and to institutionalise their implementation;

iii. to monitor compliance of initiatives with the guidelines and investigate the extent to which the guidelines are helping to reduce the potential for conflict;

iv. to compile and present to the NHF a summary of existing research material on hostels;

v. to make recommendations to the NHF with the aim of helping it to refine existing strategies and develop new strategies to address the hostel question;

vi. to develop strategies to respond to the negative impacts of party political interest being pursued through hostels initiatives.

(NHF-HWG, 1992a).

It was recognised that whereas the focus of the NHF was the formulation of a short-term plan for housing provision in SA, and hostels had to be part of such a plan, there were many more issues on the ground (pertaining to hostels) which needed an urgent response and

intervention. Its objectives (spelt out above) and a three phase programme, outlined in its terms of reference, clearly demonstrate this. The HWG has already begun the process of data collection and with the assistance of the DBSA has undertaken a monitor of hostels initiatives in the country to assess whether they were complying with the guidelines. The details of these findings will be discussed later.

5.3 GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE

The government was initially part of the discussions on hostels and the formation of the NHF. It became apparent that speculation in the media about the NHF assuming the role of the government in formulating housing policy proved to be a point of contention. Further, it was unlikely that the government was going to bind itself to implementing decisions taken by the NHF whether they were reached by consensus or not. The government therefore withdrew its participation in the NHF subject to certain conditions. These were spelt out in a press statement released by the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing, Mr Leon Wessels, in which he stated that the government would "not allow interim government by stealth". The conditions which Wessels listed were the continued sovereignty of the parliament and the acceptance that the Forum would not be an extension of the Cabinet, the government would not be prepared to renounce its powers, the Forum must be inclusive, be run on the basis of consensus, and must harmonise with the proposed multi-party conference. (Wessels, 1991). It is interesting to note that although the government withdrew from the NHF they indicated that they wanted to continue to be part of the Hostels Sub-Committee of the NHF. This was rejected by the NHF. There has been a recognition

by the NHF and the government for bi-lateral discussions, which have been continuing.

Having pulled out of the NHF, the government developed its own strategy on the hostels issue. The aim of this strategy was to "create decent living conditions by means of upgrading of existing facilities for single persons and/or the conversion of hostels into family units". The strategy also made provision for the privatisation of hostels. As part of this strategy the government allocated monies from its budget and from the oil reserve fund, an amount of R324,6million to upgrade/convert 177 public owned hostels in the country. The government commissioned the HSRC to undertake a research project to obtain a scientifically based perspective on the hostel issue. (Dept of Local Government and Housing, 1992).

The government adopted the approach outlined in the short-term guidelines and has stated on numerous occasions that it was party to the drawing up of these guidelines and accepts them. In addition the government stated that the preference of hostel dwellers and other interested groups will be decisive in determining the outcome of any hostel initiative. They saw it as their role to facilitate the negotiations at a hostel level as promptly as possible so that no were no delays in implementing programmes. In providing assistance to hostel dwellers the government said that it had to guard against favouring them at the expense of other on waiting lists eg backyard shack dwellers. The problems that the government identified and foresaw with regard to the hostels initiatives were, the context of violence within which the initiative was unfolding; the demands of negotiations slowing down implementation; the demands by certain groups for hostels to be demolished; the call for all hostels to be fenced; the question of illegal hostel dwellers; and the difficulty in reaching consensus between opposing political viewpoints. In its submission to the Goldstone

Commission, the Department of Local Government and Housing stated that the need for action on violence was not for the Dept to make an input on, however it felt that "from a housing point of view, the limitation of freedom of movement (for instance by way of fencing) or the closing down of hostels with accompanying demolition (except of course with the concurrence of all parties concerned), is not the answer both in the short and long term". (Dept of Local Government and Housing, 1992).

5.4 POLICY POSITIONS OF VARIOUS ACTORS

A discussion on hostels initiatives should note the policies of all the major actors, the government, the extra-parliamentary organisations and the private sector. The policies of the National Housing Forum and the government have been discussed above. It was not possible to obtain a clear statement of policy from the private sector or the civics (SANCO). The policies of three influential groupings, the African National Congress (ANC), Inkatha Freedom Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and its affiliates, are summarised.

The ANC has been at the centre of controversy around the issue of hostels. Various representatives have been quoted as calling for the abolishing of hostels, the conversion of all hostels to family housing and the most recent and controversial call was to fence all hostels in response to the violence associated with hostels. In a submission to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, the ANC spelt out its position on hostels. (ANC, 1992). The ANC spelt out two guiding principles used in addressing and resolving the hostels issue, firstly that

it has to be born in mind that one was dealing with human lives and aspirations and, secondly the issue had to be addressed within a broader development and housing framework. They made a distinction between two types of hostels, viz. hostels recently associated with violence and all other hostels, and spelt out different responses to each. It identified 18 hostels that had been associated with violence, in which the original hostels dwellers were forcibly evicted or had fled due to intimidation. The ANC view was that the Committee investigating violence in the hostels (of the Goldstone Commission) establish who the residents of those hostels are, who the legal tenants are, which tenants have taken occupation by displacing others and which of these hostels have arms and ammunition stored in them. Having established who did not have a legal right to the hostel, the Committee should look at how they could be removed to allow the displaced residents to return. The ANC recommended access control to, and a satellite police station at, each of the hostels. They felt that a monitoring committee, reporting to the Goldstone Committee, and comprising hostel dwellers and others be established in each hostel to monitor violence in these hostels.

For hostels not associated with violence, the ANC's view was that accommodation for migrant workers should be "affordable, provide privacy and the capacity for recreation, as well as offering security of tenure and safety, In particular, both single and family accommodation must be provided." Hence they felt that the "phasing out of the hostels, over the longer term, is the reverse side of the phasing in of decent accommodation for migrant workers". The ANC believed that the community involvement and negotiation were essential. They were concerned at the government proceeding with its programmes within a "policy and process vacuum". They were also concerned that the process would suffer from a "terminal lack of legitimacy" because the Black Local Authorities were the

implementing agents for the hostels initiatives. The ANC stated that it was party to an accepted the short-term guidelines. The ANC's recommendations on hostel upgrading was

i. a neutral administrative body, the secretariat of the NHF, be given th authority to oversee the process of consultation and transformation;

ii. this body should receive applications for funding, assess the level o consultation and the local recommendations, and make allocations;

iii. consultation and implementation of plans should happen locally under th supervision of the secretariat of the NHF; the local body had to ensure tha temporary housing was provided for future tenants;

iv. part of the money allocated should be used for facilitating the process o negotiations, dissemination of information and capacity building;

v. an ombuds position be established to receive complaints from any person wit regard to the ongoing administration of a hostel;

vi. subsidies should be paid directly to individuals so as to promote their freedon of choice with regard to accommodation;

vii. levying of global charged should be stopped so that people can know wha they are paying for and those receiving funds accounted for all service provided. (ANC, 1992).

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) also spelt out its policy on hostels in its submission to th Committee of the Goldstone Commission. The IFP felt that hostels and hostel dwellers as migrants should be understood in a broader context. These migrants, a substantial number were an important segment of the South African workforce. They were the life-line links between cities and rural areas, and were helping to keep poverty at bay in these rural areas.

They had an important role in staving of the collapse of subsistence economies and making a contribution to the central cash economy. The IFP felt that migrants should be treated as people and not as problems. The stereotypes painted of them should be disregarded and they should be understood. The migrants, in opting to migrate, were exercising rational choices so as to maximise their benefits. Although apartheid gave rise to the migrant labour system, the migrant of today was not a remnant of apartheid, instead he was doing something for himself, his family and his community and he should therefore be helped to overcome his problems. Subsequent to the changes introduced in 1990, "migrants have been subjected to new forces, and are faced with threats to who they are, what they are, and what for them, life is all about". The IFP felt that it was mass action which "forged migrant labourers into self conscious constituencies which became alienated from unemployed township dwellers who supported mass action because they had less to lose". (IFP, 1992).

The IFP felt that migrants were exercising their democratic rights in choosing to migrate, and it would be a gross violation of human rights to make this impossible by demolishing hostels. They felt that there should be no decisions about the future of hostels with which migrants did not concur. The IFP also found the notion, of a hostel being surrounded by security fences and hostel dwellers being guarded as if they were inmates of some dangerous place, to be offensive. The IFP agreed that there was a need to upgrade hostels and that this should be done in consultation with hostels dwellers, residents, civics, political groupings, the owners of hostels government authorities and employers. However, the IFP felt the Goldstone Commission should "specifically examine the representational credentials of a great many civic associations and other township groupings which have mushroomed since 1990" and the question of legitimacy. The IFP called for "an integrated approach to the

solution of hostel problems and social reconstruction, as a vital beginning to solving the broader problems of violence". (IFP, 1992).

As noted earlier, the unions were among the first organisations to call for an end to the hostel system of accommodation. In 1987, a Resolution of the Congress of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was to ask the mine houses to "make a clear statement of intent to dismantle the migrant labour system within a reasonable specified period of time" and to involve the union in planning alternative forms of accommodation to the hostels. The union further demanded that in the interim, hostels should be improved, the union should be part of the running of the hostel and ethnic representation should end. (quoted in James, 1987). At a COSATU Central Executive Committee Workshop on violence in October 1990, "the abolition of the entire compound and migrant labour system, in rural as well as urban areas" was proposed. The workshop also proposed that the alliance (ANC, COSATU and SACP Alliance) set up a committee, involving hostel dwellers, to initiate a project to rehouse hostel dwellers. The workshop proposed that after the issue was discussed with hostel dwellers, a public campaign for the phasing out of the hostel system be launched.

Thus, COSATU and its affiliates were quite instrumental in the struggle to transform hostels. It should be noted that an end to the hostel system did not mean the physical destruction of hostels as explained by Schreiner[1]. He explained that hostel dwellers, have "widely divergent views of the future of their families as urban dwellers. They consequently have very different needs and aspirations with regard to urban accommodation which will have to

[1]Schreiner was the secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) at the time that the article was written.

be taken into account". He said that there were various ways to transform hostels, "ranging from abolition through to refurbishing". Different ownership forms, "private vs collective, ownership vs rental", would also have to be considered and provided to different degrees. His view was that hostel dwellers and their organisations must be fully consulted and involved in the transformation of their hostels. Affordability and security of tenure would have to be taken into account because it would be useless to develop options which hostel dwellers could not afford. He felt that the government has the responsibility for housing provision and would have to make the transformation of hostels possible. (Schreiner, 1991).

Having examined the policy of various organisations it is clear that all these organisations agree on the need to transform hostels and they all accept the short-term guidelines. It is in the interpretation of these guidelines at a ground level that the differences emerge, as will be seen in the next section.

5.5 THE STATUS OF HOSTEL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN THE COUNTRY

The major focus in this section is on projects initiated in public sector hostels using the government grant monies. The private sector hostels have been less forthcoming with the details of upgrading in their hostels and maintain that they see upgrading as an ongoing process and are therefore not involved in major upgrading initiatives at this stage. The money allocated by the state, for 1992/1993, was distributed per province as follows:

Transvaal	R202 054 560
Cape	63 142 840
OFS	25 887 360
Natal	29 115 240
Total	**R325 605 000** (making provision for VAT)

The state is planning to allocate more money to the hostels upgrading initiative in the coming years. The progress on initiatives in each of the Provinces is summarised. All the information and data used below is drawn from a monitoring exercise undertaken by Seneque Smit and Associates (SSA, 1992b). The Natal initiative is discussed in slightly greater detail because it offers important insights into the hostel upgrading process.[2]

The monitor found that the initiative in the Transvaal was in its planning stages, with only initiatives that had been ongoing for some time, proceeding. The initiative was handled by the Transvaal Provincial Administration, who had set up an internal committee to receive and process all applications for funds from local authorities wishing to undertake an upgrading initiative in their hostel. The criteria to be used in allocation of funds were unclear. Where initiatives were underway, the only consultation (if any) appeared to be with hostel dwellers themselves. The most serious problem in the Transvaal was the violence. An implication of the violence has been the displacement of hostel dwellers and their replacement by 'illegals'. Thus consultation with hostel dwellers totally ignores the needs and interests of those who were displaced due to the violence. It appeared that broad consultations were

[2]The information for the Natal report is gathered from the personal experience and involvement of the writer of this thesis in the Natal hostels upgrading initiative.

more of a priority in outlying regions where the hostels had not become so politicised. Th focus in the upgrading appeared to be on single accommodation because the TPA believe there was a need for single accommodation and that was what hostel dwellers wanted. I outlying areas there appears to be a consideration of both single and family accommodatio A serious issue that emerged in the Transvaal monitor was the selling off of hostels to priva developers in a manner that did not address the shelter needs of hostel dwellers c community residents.

In the OFS the monitor established ten initiatives that were underway with funds from th central government via the Provincial Administration of the OFS (PAO). At the outset th PAO had convened a broad meeting to explain the process it wished to adopt in th upgrading of hostels. It stated that it wanted the process to be inclusive and it wanted th local authorities to establish representative working committees for each of the initiative Decisions in these working committees would be by consensus. The short-term guideline were not distributed to any of the participants. A problem with this approach has been tha the black local authorities have been unwilling or unable to successfully set up inclusiv structures. Apart from 3 initiatives which were able to set up working committees, th others have reached a deadlock. The civic associations have prepared their own proposal on how the upgrading should occur. An acceptable process will have to be negotiate between the authorities and the civic associations and the ANC, if any progress is to b made.

In the Cape, the monitor found 15 initiatives that had already begun, and in some instance local authorities had applied for funds, but were awaiting a response from the Cap

Provincial Administration. Most of the bigger local authorities were aware of the short-term guidelines, whereas the smaller ones had not heard of them. The CPA was handling the application for funding and the allocation of money. The nature and extent of negotiations varied from area to area, with limited negotiations in most initiatives. Negotiations were often handled informally thus reducing the administration costs, but often resulting in the community having no negotiating power. Most initiatives were considering both types of accommodation, single and family. The overspill caused by upgrading was being discussed by initiatives but there seemed to be no solution to the problem.

In Natal, the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) initiated the hostels upgrading/conversion initiative and included only hostels owned by the black local authorities and the NPA. Hostels in the former Department of Development Aid areas and in KwaZulu were excluded. Seventeen hostels in Natal were earmarked for upgrading/conversion. These seventeen hostels have a total of 26 125 beds with an estimated population of 47 267 persons. The average occupancy rate in the hostels in the greater Durban area is approximately two. The other hostels in Natal do not report any overcrowding.

The NPA set up the Natal Hostels Initiative Steering Committee with representatives from all the major political / civic groupings to oversee the initiative. This implies that although the final decision on hostels upgrading issues is made by the NPA Exco, it acts on the advice of the Steering Committee. The Steering Committee agreed that the hostels initiatives be undertaken in terms of the short-term guidelines formulated by the National Housing Forum. It further agreed that at a hostel level, a Working Group would be set up with representatives from all interest groups to guide the upgrading at a local level. (See Appendix 4). This

approach was subsequently amended to : a mass meeting being convened in each hostel, and a working group being elected at the meeting. This latter approach has worked in only a few of the hostels.

The government allocated a total of R29,115 million for upgrading/conversion of hostels in Natal. The NPA decided that all hostels under its jurisdiction would be included in the upgrading programme. The NPA, advised by the project managers, prepared allocations per hostel, based on the number of beds in the hostels and the physical condition of the hostels. This allocation list was presented to and accepted by the Natal Steering Committee.

The NPA was successful in involving the major actors in the upgrading initiative at a Natal level. The Steering Committee includes representatives from NPA, Ningizimu Town Committee (NTC), ANC, IFP, South African Hostel Dwellers Association (SAHDA), South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) - Natal, PAC and other organisations/ authorities. The functioning of the Steering Committee did not proceed smoothly. The primary reason for this was the diverse viewpoints that were represented on the Committee. This has made it difficult to reach consensus on issues or to resolve differences. In September 1992, the ANC (Southern Natal) called for a suspension of all activity of the Steering Committee for the following reasons: the increasing violence in the hostel situation, the action of certain members of the Steering Committee and the way in which the upgrading process was followed. At a meeting of the Steering Committee it was agreed that representatives of ANC, IFP, SAHDA, SANCO and NTC would visit each hostel and discuss the problems with the hostel dwellers and decide how best to proceed. Following this meeting, the killing of Councillors in S J Smith Hostel made it difficult to proceed with the

programme. The Steering Committee subsequently re-constituted itself with six core members (ANC, IFP, SAHDA, SANCO, PAC and NTC) with the NPA acting as facilitators. Any additions to the Steering Committee were to be agreed on by the six members. The Steering Committee agreed to allow the Durban City Council and the DBSA to participate in the Committee as observers.

The progress at a hostel level has varied from hostel to hostel. The NPA has reported that for hostels for which it was the project manager, with the exception of the hostel at Bruntville in Mooi River, progress was being made. The Kwazulu Finance Corporation (KFC) and the Urban Foundation Informal Settlements Division (UFISD) are the project managers for the five hostels in Durban viz. Umlazi-Glebe, Thokoza, S.J.Smith, Dalton Road and Jacobs. The Thokoza Hostel (the only hostel for women) elected a Working Group at a mass meeting held in the hostel. The ANC expressed its dissatisfaction with the composition of this working group, alleging that it was biased in favour of the IFP and the IFP's viewpoint on hostels upgrading. This matter was resolved by all parties agreeing to the appointment of a neutral chairperson and an acceptance of the other members of the working group as elected at the mass meeting. The upgrading for this hostel is now proceeding. There have been reports of violence at the hostel. Violence has taken the form of clashes between IFP and ANC supporters. How this violence has/will affect the upgrading is unclear.

In the Umlazi-Glebe hostel a working group consisting of the Councillors and block chairmen was constituted by the project managers. The Umlazi-Glebe civic movement objected to this structure and called for the establishment of a more representative working group. At a mass

meeting held in Umlazi, hostel dwellers were informed about the upgrading initiative. The mass meeting was not successful due to a rumour of an impending attack - only $\pm$ 1000 people attended. The meeting was called off when a group of people waving weapons and banners approached the venue at midday. The group was stopped by the police. Later that day, clashes between this group, the police and hostel dwellers were reported. Several people were allegedly killed in the clashes. The project managers decided that due to the failure of the mass meeting they would request organisations to nominate representatives for a working group. The last Steering Committee meeting decided that a committee, with representatives of its six members, meet with the Project Managers and the local hostel dwellers to look at how to constitute a Working Group and how to move forward.

A combined working group was set up for the Dalton Road and Jacobs hostels. This working group was made up of representatives of all the organisations affected by/or having an interest in the upgrading process. A problem for the long term is that the some of the actors are reluctant to obtain views of hostel dwellers in ways other than through mass meetings. In S J Smith Hostel a difficulty in setting up the working group was that the Councillors from the hostel were unwilling to participate in a working group with other organisations. Subsequent to this, the hostel was affected by violence which made it very difficult for any upgrading programme to proceed. In September 1992, the chairperson of the ANC branch in the hostel was shot dead in his room in the hostel. In October 1992, two Councillors were shot dead in the hostel and three others were injured. There are reports of continued violence in this hostel. The Steering Committee has agreed that an approach similar to the one for Umlazi-Glebe will be used to constitute a Working Group in this hostel.

The upgrading initiatives in Natal are generally proceeding in terms of the short-term guidelines. The process has attempted to be inclusive at a regional level and local level. Not all actors participate in the Working Groups at a local level although the opportunity is available for all groups to do so. The hostel dwellers have participated in the upgrading process through their representatives on the working groups and steering committee. The views of hostel dwellers have been canvassed through public meetings, suggestion boxes and inspections in loco. The Councillors have resisted any other form of consultation for example surveys, workshops and smaller meetings. This issue will have to be negotiated between the various actors at the local and regional level.

There is also reluctance from some actors in the Steering Committee to accept the option that family accommodation be provided in hostels. They are of the view that those wanting family accommodation should go and live in the townships. At public meetings in some of the hostels, hostel dwellers have stated a preference for hostels providing only single accommodation. All the project managers have been asked to plan the upgrading in such a way as to accommodate all persons living in the hostels, including "illegals". Hence, at this stage there are no plans to displace any persons.

A serious problem in the Natal hostels initiative has been the lack of progress due to divergent viewpoints of the six members of the Steering Committee. This has resulted in an entire year (1992) passing without substantial progress in any of the Durban hostels. The Steering Committee introduced two measures in an attempt to resolve this problem. The first was that all members must submit their policy on upgrading. The second was the acceptance of a Code of Conduct which all members had to abide by. Whether this will help the

upgrading initiative to progress is still to be seen.

In some hostels the aggressive attitude and actions of local actors in relation to their political competition is cause for concern and is delaying progress in the implementation of projects. As far as S J Smith and Glebe hostels are concerned, severe difficulties are being encountered in constituting working groups mainly due to the aggressive political contestation of the terrain. It is apparent also that positions agreed to at the Steering Committee are being flouted at local level.

A matter of serious concern is the continuing violence or threat of violence in the hostels. Lives of hostel dwellers and of participants in the upgrading programme have been lost. The code of conduct attempts to address this issue by suggesting ways of preventing violence and suggesting the need for a grievance procedure if the code is not adhered to. At least in one hostel, S J Smith (the second largest hostel), the level of tension related to violence makes it almost impossible at this stage to continue with the upgrading.

To summarise, the hostels initiatives are fraught with problems and are actually moving very slowly on the ground. In the past year, very little work has been done which has resulted in the improvement of the material circumstance of hostel dwellers. Table 8 which paints a more optimistic picture than actual reality, nonetheless illustrates this point.

Table 8

A Summary of the Status of Hostels Initiatives in Public Sector Hostels in South Africa

	Natal	OFS	Cape	Tvl	TOTAL
No of Hostels	19	23	43	92	177
No of Beds	36 351	22 898	50 158	191 654	301 061
Determination of Needs					
Finalised	6	13	9	10	38
In Progress	9	2	28	26	65
Preparatory Talks	4	8	5	48	65
Not yet commenced	0	0	1	8	9
Planning					
Finalised	2	13	1	8	24
In Progress	4	0	8	2	14
Project Approvals					
Requested	2	4	0	7	13
Granted	0	1	0	4	5
Construction					
Finalised	0	0	0	0	0
In Progress	0	0	0	1	1

(Source : Dept of Local Government and Housing, 1992)

The major findings of the monitoring exercise, viewed nationally, were that provincial administrations were responsible for hostels initiatives in their province; this meant that there were provincial differences in the way that initiatives were handled and progressed; in some cases the administration (Natal and OFS) allocated the money it received to all hostels, in the other cases, local authorities were asked to apply for funding; the administrations

(excluding Natal) have internal committees to handle upgrading and at a local level, the majority of initiatives involved only the local hostel dwellers and not the surrounding communities and interest groups with instances where even local hostel dwellers were not involved in the upgrading process. The majority of initiatives were not aware of the short-term guidelines. The biggest stumbling block to the initiatives were that they were being managed at a local level by the black local authorities. These authorities were rejected (rightly or wrongly) by the civic groupings and there is therefore a problem of legitimacy. The alternative appears to be for an independent party to steer the proceedings. A further problem is that although the guidelines emphasise participation, there were no funds for this. This limits the involvement of voluntary organisations like civics. In the PWV and Natal the emphasis is on single accommodation which is being called for by Inkatha controlled black local authorities who are not prepared to consider both single and family accommodation options. Privatisation of hostels without the knowledge or involvement of hostel dwellers emerged as a problem. The overspill resulting from upgrading also surfaced, and it appears that because of limited access to land and finances it remains a problem.

5.6 CASE STUDIES

Having examined the national context within which hostel initiatives are occurring, two case studies of hostel development initiatives are discussed. The first case study is of the Dalton Road Hostel Upgrading Initiative in Durban. It is an example of upgrading in public sector hostels and the problems and constraints related to such development. As a very different kind of hostel initiative, the second case study examines the issues arising from a private

sector company hostel development.

5.6.1 DALTON ROAD HOSTEL UPGRADING INITIATIVE

BACKGROUND

The Dalton Road Hostel was developed as a hostel for single males in 1934. The location of the hostel, distinct from most other public sector hostels in the country, is on the periphery of the Durban central business district (CBD)[3]. It is situated on the corner of Dalton and Sydney Roads. Similar to other hostels it is located on major public transport routes, on a bus route and within a kilometre of the Dalbridge Railway Station. Unlike many public sector hostels, it is located within an area zoned for industrial use, with special permission having to be sought from the City Council for any other use. The nearest residential areas are the inner city housing areas and the neighbouring area of Glenwood/Umbilo, formally a white group area.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The Dalton Road Hostel has a total of 1331 beds arranged within 3 multi-storey blocks. The estimated occupancy in the hostel is double this i.e. 2662 persons. These blocks (A, B and C) have dormitories, with each dormitory having 10, 15 or 18 beds. Each bed has a mattress, which is very old and in poor condition, and a small locker. The level of lighting is very poor, with no plug points within the dormitories. As a result, residents draw on the

[3]In Durban the Thokoza Womens Hostels is also located within the inner-city.

power supply from the light fitting in the ceiling. There is no power supply in Blocks B and C. In Block A, there are two kitchens per floor, each serving 90 beds or 180 people. Each kitchen is fitted with eight stoves and two basins with only cold water. In the Blocks B and C, there are no kitchens and residents have to cook in their rooms. The ablution facilities for Block A are housed outside the building in a separate single storey building. One part of this building has twelve showers (cold water) and the other has only toilets. This implies a shower - person ratio of 1:90. In Blocks B and C, two bathrooms are located on each floor, with each bathroom having 6 showers, 4 wash basins and 5 toilets. This implies a shower-person ratio of 1:27 (Block B) and 1:33 (Block C) and toilet-person ratio of 1:17 (Block B) and 1:20 (Block C). This physical description is summarised in Table 8. (See Figures 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix 5).

Table 9

Physical Description of the Dalton Road Hostel

Block	No. of storey	No. of room	No. of Beds/ Room	No. of Beds	No. of Person	Kit-chen	Bath-room	Electri city	Rent/ bed/ month
A	3	30	18	540	1 080	6	*	yes	R6,65
B	3	49	10	490	980	0	6	no	R9,85
C	3	20	15	300	600	0	6	no	R6,65
D	1	7	1	7	14	0	2	yes	22,65
Total Averag	3	106	13	1 337	2 674	6	14 #	-	10571,05 R7,90

* the bathrooms are located outside the block

\# including the bathrooms on the outside

(Source : Urban Foundation, 1992a).

There is a block to accommodate wives visiting hostel dwellers. This "married quarters" has 33 rooms with a single bed, and no electricity. There are communal kitchens with cold running water and electricity. The ablution facilities are also communal. The hostel residents have to book in advance to use these rooms and they are allowed to use a room for a maximum period of two weeks at a rental of R7,00 per week.

In addition to these residential blocks the hostel also has 2 canteens (with attached kitchens), 4 shops (butcher, tailor, barber, 3 grocery stores), 1 recreation hall, a security office, a SAP office and a Administration Office. There are also many informal businesses in all parts of the hostel.

The hostel is administered by the Ningizimu Town Committee (NTC) which falls under the jurisdiction of the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA). The NTC has 17 persons employed on site, 1 Hostel Superintendent, 2 Administrative Clerks, 1 Induna (cleaning) and 13 general assistants for cleaning. The hostel Superintendent is in charge of running the hostel and the collection of rent. The maintenance of the hostel is carried out by the NPA Community Services Division on the receipt of formal requests by the Hostel Superintendent. The duties of the cleaning staff include the cleaning of ablution facilities, passages, hall and grounds of hostels.

THE HOSTEL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

In 1991 the NPA appointed the Urban Foundation Informal Settlements Division (UFISD) as the Project Managers for the Dalton Road Hostel Upgrade Initiative. A total of

R2,98million was allocated to the Dalton Road Hostel upgrading for the 1992/1993 period. The UFISD convened a Working Group[4] for the Dalton Road Hostel in March 1991 with representatives from all the actors that were invited to participate in the Natal Hostels Initiative Steering Committee. The participation in this Working Group has been variable with the most consistent participation being from the local Councillors and a few hostel residents, representing the S A Hostel Dwellers Association (SAHDA). The SANCO, PAC and ANC have participated erratically. As a result a serious problem with the functioning of this Working Group is the consistency of participation of all sectors and political shades of the hostel population. The problem that this results in, is that decisions taken at meetings are subsequently disputed by members not present.

At a public meeting convened in the hostel by the Working Group the hostel residents were informed about the upgrading initiative and asked for their views and needs. The UFISD informed the residents that they had no preconceived plans for the upgrade and wanted the residents to participate in the upgrading of the hostel. The UFISD view on the process of upgrading was, to inform residents of the initiative, explore with hostel dwellers what they wanted and what they could afford, use this to prepare some preliminary proposals, discuss these proposals with the hostel dwellers, change and adapt proposals, and implement proposals. The participation of hostel dwellers was seen as key to each phase, from planning to implementation. (Urban Foundation, 1992b).

[4]The Dalton Road and Jacobs Hostels have a joint working group - The Dalton Road and Jacobs Hostels Working Group.

The public meeting was attended by ±300 residents. There was general agreement on the need for upgrading, but the residents were unclear and unfamiliar with the issues of participation. They wanted concrete plans on the upgrading to be prepared by the project managers. The meeting felt that the hostel should remain a males only hostel, with those wanting family accommodation seeking it in the townships. The residents expressed a need for greater privacy and space. They wanted the maximum number of beds per room to be four, the preference being for single or two persons per room. The residents were also concerned that no one should be displaced by the upgrading. Other issues raised were, the need for regular cleaning of the hostel, increased and improved accommodation for wives and families, provision for informal business in the upgrading, provision of health and recreational facilities, a night school for residents, and the provision of daily rented accommodation for people seeking temporary shelter. (Urban Foundation, 1992b).

The UFISD felt that the public meeting was the first step in the upgrading programme and that several other forms of contact and participation of hostel dwellers should be initiated to inform the preparation of upgrading proposals. This issue became a contentious one within the Working Group, with a strong resistance from the Councillors and the SAHDA for a socio-economic survey or any other form of one-to-one or small group contact with hostel dwellers. They felt strongly that the public meeting was adequate participation. They also stated that as representatives of the community they adequately represented the needs of the residents. The issue was discussed in the Steering Committee and no resolution was found. The UFISD prepared development options for the upgrading of the hostel.

UPGRADING PROPOSALS

The professional team involved in the upgrading of the Dalton Road Hostel prepared three broad development options. These were:

Option 1 : A new residential building be built, with a capacity to accommodate between 128 and 180 persons.

Option 2 : Part of the hostel (Block A) be renovated and the community hall and Blocks B and C be partially renovated.

Option 3 : Partial Renovation of the entire hostel - including the community facilities.

(Urban Foundation, 1992b).

The working group opted for the building of a new wing to the hostel. A public meeting in the hostel also chose this option. The options and the views of the Working Group will have to be considered and ratified by the Steering Committee.

There are several issues and problems that arise from the above developments. The grant of R2,9million amounts to a subsidy of R2 240/bed or R1 120/person. It is unclear whether there will be additional money allocated to hostels upgrading. The use of R2,9million to accommodate 128 - 180 residents amounts to a subsidy of R16 111 to R22 656 per person and no subsidy for the remaining 2 480 to 2 532 residents in the hostel. To adopt an approach that benefits only a very small part of the hostel residents is unfair to the other residents. It is also inappropriate in terms of the availability of resources and their

allocation. Numerous problems will arise in determining a bed allocation procedure, spelling out how and who the new beds will be allocated to. This raises a few general issues which should be noted here, others will be discussed in the later sections.

The Dalton Road Hostel Upgrading is occurring in the absence of an overall policy approach or transformation plan. The only exception to this is the calculation of costs for a full physical upgrade of the hostel over four phases, which will eventually accommodate 1 710 persons at a cost of R34 119 620. This amounts to a cost of R19 953 per person. It is unlikely that such money will be available as a grant or subsidy. If financed from loans the cost will be unaffordable to a fair proportion, if not the majority, of the hostel dwellers.

A major problem in this upgrading is the refusal on the part of the Councillors to agree to any form of participation of hostel dwellers in the upgrading process, other than through public meetings. Public meetings have a role and a place, but are by no means the answer to involving hostel dwellers in the transformation of living conditions which is going to affect their every day lives. The lack of any other forms of involvement of hostel dwellers, also makes it difficult to gauge whether they require single or family accommodation. The participation of hostel dwellers in the upgrading so that they may help develop options that are both acceptable and affordable is imperative. The CSTP study indicates that the hostel dwellers are not a monolithic homogenous group as the Councillors would have one believe. To upgrade in the absence of such participation will result in physical developments which are unacceptable, unsuitable and costly to say the least.

5.6.2 PRIVATE COMPANY HOSTEL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

A case study, which demonstrates the significance of struggle in shaping the outcome of a development initiative is of a private company hostel in the Transvaal. All the data in the case study that follows is drawn from an article by T. Adler (1992). In 1990 the Company[5] involved employed 7128 black workers, of which 4640 were migrants living in company hostels and 2488 were locals living in neighbouring townships. The single sex hostels had been designed such that they could easily be converted into family accommodation. Part of the hostel was used to accommodate visiting families. In 1988, in keeping with its policy of phasing out the migrant labour system, one part of the hostel was converted into rented family accommodation. In 1988 the Company also took a decision to develop two large townships to provide permanent urban residence for its largely migrant labour force.

There were several issues/problems that arose from this - which were taken up by the union representing the workers, NUMSA. The first of these was the assumption that workers rejected migrancy as a way of life and wished to live in the urban areas as permanent urban residents. The type of accommodation wanted by the workers was also assumed to be a house. In response to the company's actions, the workers held meetings to protest the integration of hostels and demanded that the women be taken out of the hostels. It was clear that although the national political climate in the country rejects migrancy as a way of life and there are calls for hostels to be phased out there were individual instances where this was not the case. The correct procedure would have been to consult and involve the local

[5] The company concerned was kept confidential because the author drew on a project undertaken by Labour and Economic Research Centre for the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) and the project was confidential to the parties concerned.

recipients of any such policy. A survey of workers showed that many wished to maintain their land, livestock and homes in the rural areas and are diverting the major part of their wages to this end. Their accommodation needs in the urban area was a "demand for affordable rented accommodation near to work, with facilities for family accommodation for between three to six months a year". The subsidy attached to rented accommodation was available only for hostel residents, others living in the townships did not get any housing subsidy for rented accommodation.

A second issue which emerged was the demand for security of tenure. This manifested itself in a refusal to want to move to make way for family accommodation or for any other reason. This was a direct result of the experience of workers who had been moved around at the whim of management or the local authority. A further issue related to their security was the high cost related to family accommodation. It was calculated that family accommodation, whatever the subsidy, would result in an increase of up to 245 percent in accommodation costs alone. For family accommodation in a house this figure was even higher. For workers who were just managing to make ends meet, this massive increase in accommodation costs was unacceptable. The union argued that even though the company subsidy made this housing affordable, in the event of the worker not being employed by the company they would face a massive increase in bond repayments which would be unaffordable.

The third issue related to the provision of houses in townships developed by the Company. The Company intended providing development capital for the project and also providing housing loans in a manner which ensured that all their employees would be able to afford to purchase their own homes. They had indicated that they preferred home-ownership which

increased the stake of their workers in the urban area - rather than the ongoing cost of maintaining and running the hostels. The Company also reserved the right to refuse loans and housing was not seen as a right but as a means to retain the services and loyalty of the workers. Housing assistance was given only for the home in which the worker and his family stayed - home loans were not given to workers for homes in rural areas. Migrant workers had the option of a loan for which they had to use their pension fund as collateral. For this to be feasible workers had to have worked for the Company for at least eight years to build up sufficient funds in their pension fund to qualify for the loan. This requirement was not necessary for workers buying homes in urban areas. Home loans in rural areas are also difficult to obtain from financial institutions because of the nature of the tenure system which does not allow a mortgage to be registered against communally owned land. The Company did not make loans available for the purchase of land and or site and service development. Loans were available only for formal housing. The loans were available to male and female breadwinners. Single females and married women were excluded from the policy.

In response to these issue the Union formulated demands to put to management. These demands "must be seen in the context of the twin crises of affordability and availability of accommodation as well as the structural position of the workers" (Adler, 1992,p.8). The Union demanded :

i. housing loans should be made available to workers wishing to buy or build housing in rural areas;
ii. secure and affordable rental accommodation should continue to be made available to migrants in hostels;
iii. loans be made available for the purchase of land only and the company should facilitate site and services schemes and an incremental building process;

iv. the union accepted that loans not be extended to single persons with no dependents but they argued that loans should be extended to any breadwinner, male or female, married or unmarried;

v. the union proposed that only one stand per worker be allocated for those wishing to buy in the townships being developed by the company; the union also proposed a system of allocation of sites based on need rather than "first come first served".

The first two demands are still under discussion and negotiation between NUMSA and the company management. The company has responded to the third demand by extending the time before formal building commenced on a newly purchased site from 12 to 24 months and they have stated that if the demand for site and service development grows they will reconsider their position on it. The company still excludes married women from their housing policy. The company accepted the fifth demand proposed by the union.

Adler (1992, p.9) argues that "the structural linkages of the workforce, both into the rural areas through the migrant labour system or with underprivileged urban groups through family or residential integration has, to date, ensured that it was strengthened rather than destroyed by trade union demands and action". Organised workers resisted changes which affected their rural bases, and through struggle and union negotiation with their management, are successfully managing to control their own lives.

5.7 CONCLUSION

Having outlined the conditions in hostels in the previous chapter, this chapter elaborated on the current hostels development picture by outlining the upgrading initiatives that are already underway. It is clear that the National Housing Forum has emerged as a powerful and legitimate structure. It reflects the commitment of political parties, civic organisations, unions, the private sector and development agencies to sit together and decide by consensus the most appropriate housing policy for this country. This is a positive occurrence within which hostel development initiatives can unfold.

It has also become apparent that for groupings and interests with differing political positions and ideologies to reach consensus is a difficult task, and it is more than likely that consensus will be reached at a very general level, leaving room for varying interpretations of any single decision or agreement. This is the case with the Short-Term Guidelines, which were accepted by all parties. The need for participation at two levels was spelt out in the guidelines. At the implementation level, differing and contradictory views on the issue of participation emerged. The NHF will have to address this issue and discuss whether it is in a position to go beyond generalities. At the same time, at a hostel level, progressive organisations will have to strengthen their organisations to ensure that hostel dwellers are allowed to effectively participate in and control the upgrading programmes to ensure that the needs of all hostel dwellers are met. These are some of the issues that arise from this chapter which will have to be taken into account in the development of policy. These and other issues are summarised and discussed in the next chapter which also looks at how such issues can be taken into account in determining policy.

CHAPTER 6

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO POLICY FORMULATION

IN HOSTEL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES : SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis was to piece together the various elements of the complex picture that constitutes hostels. The primary need for such an exercise stemmed from a requirement for an accurate and scientific understanding of the totality of hostels as well as its component parts, which can inform the development of policy to transform hostels. Compiling such a picture of hostels has been done in the preceding chapters. To summarise :

The theory of hostels revealed that although hostels originated on the mines to provide cheap "single" accommodation for workers and to serve a control function over workers, they assumed several roles over time. Reducing the cost of reproducing labour, being a part of the migrant labour system which contributed to keeping the cities "white", and becoming military bases from which attacks were launched and defended, were the major roles that hostels have performed.

The history of hostels demonstrated how and in what context hostels originated and as time has passed the roles they have assumed. The most significant of these was as "artefacts of the era of apartheid". The history of African housing and hostels in Durban was documented. The agencies involved in the provision of housing and the type of housing they provided was outlined.

The current status of hostels brought the history up to date. There was an elaboration on the housing and urbanisation context within which hostels currently exist and the constraints and opportunities that these imply for the development of hostels. The current status established the types, numbers and physical conditions of hostels thus quantifying the magnitude of the problem that has to be responded to by any initiative. The current administration of hostels and its capacity to manage hostels on an ongoing basis was noted. Any development initiative will have to formulate policy on administration to ensure that the conditions in hostels do not revert to what they were before the upgrading. The quality of life, the profile and views of people who live in the hostels and the social conditions, particularly those that are directly dependent on the physical and material conditions in hostels, were also examined and discussed. This promoted an understanding of who one is upgrading for, the way in which physical conditions impact negatively on the social conditions in hostels and hence, indicated what had to be addressed by any development intervention.

The previous chapter, identified the work that has already been done in the transformation of hostels. Significant for development initiatives was the formation of the National Housing Forum, which provided the impetus for the hostels initiative. The participation of all major actors in the NHF was a positive indication of the commitment of all actors to attempt to

resolve the housing challenge facing the country. The allocation of grants by the government made it possible for the first phase of upgrading to begin, while financing for complete upgrading still has to be secured. The policy of actors influencing the outcome of initiatives on the ground was also noted. The status of initiatives in the country was assessed to determine the extent of the work that was still outstanding with regard to hostels initiatives and to identify problems being experienced in the implementation phase of the initiatives. Finally two case studies which demonstrated the possibilities and constraints for transforming hostels and integrating hostels into "normal" community life were presented.

It is evident from the monitor of initiatives in the country that the major part of the work to transform hostels, is yet to be done. The lack of an overall policy framework, more explicit than the Short-term Guidelines, to guide such work is required. Such a policy needs to spell out among other things, financial policy, institutional mechanisms to facilitate the process of upgrading and spatial and housing options of what hostels can be transformed into. The case studies point to the need for upgrading initiatives to be undertaken within clearly formulated policy plans which respond to the uniqueness of the local (hostel) level situation while at the same time being framed by a broad national policy plan for hostels. Such policy plans will have to take into account the context, financial constraints, the physical status and social conditions within the hostel as well as the views and preferences of hostel dwellers. It is clear that the National Housing Forum is currently the only body with the legitimacy, acceptability and capacity to be able to undertake the development of the national policy plan for hostels initiatives.

This final chapter synthesises the research in the earlier parts of this thesis and presents a list of factors which inform the development of any policy to transform hostels. It discusses these factors under six sections : context related factors, financial/ cost factors, administration/institutional factors, physical conditions in hostels and housing factors, social factors, and views and preferences of hostel dwellers. The way that these factors can be incorporated in the drafting of policy for hostels initiatives is illustrated through of a few examples.

6.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING POLICY

6.2.1 CONTEXT

Legacy of Apartheid : Hostels are an abhorrent part of the apartheid legacy. The untold misery caused in the lives of millions of families will have to be redressed. It is therefore unacceptable to retain the status quo within hostels. They will have to be transformed and integrated into 'normal' community life.

Urbanisation : South Africa has an increasing rate of urbanisation as a result of the natural increase in the urban population as well as migration from rural areas.

Urban Rural Divide : It has become clear that not all migrant workers wish to settle in the urban areas permanently. Many see migrancy as a way of earning cash wages for a specific period in their lives which helps them support their families (urban and rural) in that period

and also save for their retirement in the rural areas. Many hostel dwellers place great value on the traditional lifestyle. The problems that migrants have in urban areas are the prohibitive cost of maintaining their families in these areas and the disrupted education often associated with urban living. (Adler, 1992; BDA, 1992; Mabin, 1989, Segal, 1991).

Circular Migration : Recent research suggests that, even in the absence of prohibitive legislative controls, many households will continue their pattern of circular migration, retaining a rural base and migrating to one or more urban bases. They appear to find informal residences the most suitable form of accommodation in the urban areas. (Mabin, 1991).

Availability of housing : There is a massive shortage of accommodation both in physical terms and in affordability terms nationally. It is also clear that hostels are not the primary providers of single accommodation. Backyard shacks and informal settlements provide a home to many single persons. The state policy of privatisation implies, that at least for the foreseeable future, many households will have to continue to provide their own housing in the best way they can.

Changing views and needs of capital : The system of migrant labour and control of labour through the hostels or compounds was for a long time advantageous to companies/business. However, the high cost of labour, changes in skill content of the production process and the high cost of maintenance of hostels have made hostels expensive and unprofitable. Major private enterprises are now keen to see these hostels being phased out and replaced by family accommodation, owned by workers, which would increase workers' stake in the system and

reduce the ongoing subsidy and costs of maintenance for the company. (Adler, 1992).

Variable and differing needs of hostel dwellers : The differing local and regional circumstances, unique locations, differing physical attributes, level of services and facilities, imply variable hostel situations. This suggests the need for localised and hostel specific responses within a broad development framework for hostels in the country. Hence uni-dimensional 'blue-print' solutions will not be successful. Local specificity will have to be considered. (Smit, 1991).

6.2.2 FINANCIAL/COST FACTORS

Financial constraints for housing : It has been noted that finances are seen as the most serious constraint to housing development. The most recent housing proposals from the government, which are supported (with certain reservations) by other major actors, suggest a system of subsidies which will continue to place the onus of provision of a large part of housing in the hands of the individual.

Optimising economic options : Migrancy has been used by migrants to optimise their economic options by retaining a rural base - maintaining strong cultural, familial and economic links while being based in the urban area. The demise of migrancy and single sex hostels is seen as a threat to this and is in fact limiting the economic options available to workers. (Adler, 1992; Morris and Hindson, 1991).

Cost and Affordability of Upgraded Accommodation : Single sex accommodation in the hostels is amongst the cheapest accommodation that is available to the very poor. Any upgrading and or conversion of these hostels will no doubt have an impact on the costs and the rents that people pay. This will definitely determine the choices that residents can exercise no matter what they wish to have. This will have to be borne in mind in the development of various options, because it is no use developing options that hostel dwellers cannot afford. (BDA, 1992; Royston 1990, Schreiner, 1991).

Equity and Sustainability : In light of the financial constraints and housing shortage, the grant finance allocated for hostels upgrading should benefit all, or the majority, of hostel dwellers. Development options must be financially feasible, and they must be sustainable. Housing options for hostel dwellers should be comparable to housing assistance to equally disadvantaged persons, because the creation of 'islands of privilege' has great potential for ongoing tension and conflict.

6.2.3 ADMINISTRATION/INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Current status of administration : The administration in public sector hostels is virtually non-existent. There could be several explanations advanced for this : limited finances of Black Local Authorities (BLA), limited capacity of BLAs, legitimacy problems making it difficult for them to 'govern' etc.

Control over hostels : Despite the problems with the BLAs the control over the hostels rests in the hands of these Councils and their Councillors; this power is extended to control over allocation of beds, space and resources in the hostels; the current system of administration of hostels reflect a lack of control over their living environment by residents. (WCHDA, 1987).

Control over upgrading initiatives : In the Transvaal and the OFS, the BLAs have been central to and therefore controlling the upgrading initiatives. They have demonstrated neither the capacity nor the inclination to make the process a broad and inclusive one. The non-governmental organisations and civics see participation and control of upgrading initiatives to mean joint problem resolution and decision making whereas the BLAs believe that consulting widely is an adequate form of participation and in this way they retain control over the upgrading process. (SSA, 1992b).

Widely divergent viewpoints of major actors : Even in situations where the different parties have agreed to work together and reach decisions by consensus (eg in Natal), the widely divergent points of views and various contentious issues have slowed down the upgrading process; the contentious issues usually revolve around the nature and extent of community participation and the need for single and family accommodation; (SSA, 1992b).

Institutional mechanisms to facilitate upgrading : The provincial authorities have chosen to retain control over the upgrading process at a regional level; all these factors imply that appropriate institutions which can guide and oversee the upgrading process are lacking;

Inclusive approach and inclusive structures to facilitate upgrading : The notion that any one political grouping represents the views and interests of the hostel dwellers is not true. Whilst there appears to be a broad spectrum of political affiliations, most hostel dwellers do not ascribe to any political party. (BDA, 1992; CSTP, 1992). This points on the one hand to the need to create structures that are inclusive of all the interests and on the other hand to ensuring other forms of participation of the hostel dwellers not represented through any of these structures.

Capacity building/empowerment : Despite the stated intention of the short-term guidelines to build capacity of the community organisations and empower the people, lack of resources for this makes it very difficult to put into practice.

6.2.4 PHYSICAL CONDITIONS IN HOSTELS / HOUSING

Regimented, barracks style design : Most hostels in the country have a rigid barrack style physical design, with rows and rows of buildings situated in bare and stark surroundings. In most instances the entrance to the hostels is limited to one or two which can be easily controlled in times of unrest or conflict. This results in the hostels being cut-off and isolated from their surroundings.

Poor physical condition of Buildings : The single and/or multi-storeyed buildings are usually dilapidated, with little or no maintenance. Most building have no ceilings. Leaking roofs and cracks in walls are common complaints. The communal spaces within and surrounding

hostels are unkempt and untidy and the general level of hygiene in the hostels is poor.

Lack of privacy and control over private space : Within the buildings, there is little privacy in rooms which have between 2 and 16 beds. Overcrowding is a serious problem in many public sector hostels, although it might vary from hostel to hostel. The control over private space and the lack of separation between private and public space is common to most hostels. There is virtually no safe and secure storage space for personal belongings.

Poor level of Services : The level of services in hostels is poor. Ratio of persons to services is (kitchens, toilets, showers) high. Services are often not functioning well or are out of order eg. leaking pipes, overflowing and clogged toilets, toilets and showers that don't work, frequent power failures (electricity). (Jones, 1990; WCHDA, 1987; Segar, 1990; BDA, 1992)

Lack of facilities : With the exception of a hall and a sports field, which are provided in some hostels, there are no community facilities for hostel dwellers. There are no health, education, sport, recreation and community facilities.

6.2.5 SOCIAL FACTORS

Poverty and Unemployment : Hostel dwellers are amongst the poorest and most marginalised in the community. They have low levels of education and often occupy the lowest echelons of the labour market. Unemployment is a major problem for many hostel dwellers.

Impact on family life : Murray comments on the impact of migrant labour on family life in the areas of origin of the workers. His case studies and research in Lesotho found that it is the women, wife or widow, in the rural homes who perform the role of an anchor and around whom the boundaries of the household ebb and flow. His other observation was of the "dialectical interplay of two temporal processes : the oscillation of wage labour and the cycle of human reproduction... On the one hand, the economic viability of conjugal relationship in practice requires the separation of spouses. On the other hand, the prolonged separation of spouses is most conducive to the destruction of the conjugal relationship." Other studies describe single men who express the "deep pain of separation from his family". (Murray, 1981, p.64; BDA, 1992).

Health and Social Pathologies : Physical and social conditions within hostels give rise to many serious social pathologies like bigamy, prostitution, alcoholism, violence, corruption, gangsterism etc. as well as health problems of sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis, malnutrition etc.

Male - female relationships : The needs and views of male migrants point to a continued need for single rented accommodation in urban areas. This does not address the needs and views of their families in the rural areas, more specifically of the women who are left behind in the rural areas. To accept the needs of the women and families as being the same as that of their spouses is incorrect and discriminatory to the women. On the other hand for women in the rural areas who have known no other life it is not simply a question of a choice from various academic options posed by supposedly liberated/progressive urban dwellers. It has to be part of a broader and longer term exposure to other options and other ways of living.

Only then can any choices be meaningful.

Male - female relationships : Within hostels there are specific circumstances which reinforce the oppression of women by men. Access to accommodation and the autocratic, hierarchical power structures are some of these features.

Informal sector : There is a presence of 'legal' and 'illegal' informal business activities in all parts of the hostel, in the rooms, in the corridors and passages and in open spaces outside the buildings. Informal trade ranges from sale of perishables and non-perishables (groceries, fruit and vegetables, cold drinks, meat, beer, cleaning supplies, cosmetics) to services (shoe repairs, welding, barber). (BDA, 1992; UF, 1992b).

Alienation from townships and township life : Hostel dwellers perceived an alienation from the township dwellers and township life. There are instances of various forms of contact between hostel and township dwellers. Generally they felt that they regarded township residents in a better way, than township residents regarded them. (BDA, 1992; CSTP; 1992; Segar; 1991).

Violence : Studies on violence within hostels found that physical factors contributed significantly to the occurrence of violence in peoples' daily lives. At a broader level, hostels have been launching bases but have also been the targets of violence. Living conditions, and not ethnicity, was seen by most as the cause of the violence. The alienation of hostels from the townships was also seen as contributing to violence. The threat to vested material and sometimes psychological interests disrupting the maintenance of the status quo in hostels was

also seen as a cause of the violence. A common thread in all the responses of hostel dwellers affected by violence was the need for safety and security. Thousands of hostel dwellers were displaced by the violence, their needs and views will have to be taken into account.

6.2.6 VIEWS AND PREFERENCES OF HOSTEL DWELLERS

Investment in Housing in the rural areas : Many migrants want to maintain their land, livestock and a permanent home in the rural area. The bulk of their income is directed to the rural areas to invest in their land, livestock and house. (Adler, 1992; Murray, 1981; BDA, 1992).

Ongoing need for single accommodation : Many migrants see themselves as migrants wishing to retain their rural ties and ultimately wishing to return to their rural homes. Their accommodation need in the urban areas is therefore very defined -cheap single accommodation with space available for the rural family to visit for lengthy (three to six months) periods. (Smit, 1991; Adler, 1992).

Need for family accommodation : There are many people currently living in the hostels, who given the chance would prefer family accommodation. Studies in the Western Cape, PWV and Durban, all indicate that although some persons prefer single accommodation, a large number (varies per hostel) prefer family accommodation. (BDA, 1992; CSTP, 1992, Smit, 1991).

Retrogressive nature of demands by residents of hostels : The retrogressive nature of demands for single accommodation by residents of hostels should be seen in the context of availability and affordability of accommodation available to the poor. It should be seen in the context of the poor maximising their economic options to survive in the best way they can or know how to. (Adler, 1992)

Displacements due to upgrading : Any development which will displace people without providing feasible alternatives is likely to be viewed suspiciously by hostel dwellers.

6.3 EXAMPLES OF POLICY OPTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT OF HOSTELS

6.3.1 FINANCIAL

From the context related factors it becomes apparent that the historical injustices and inequities of the hostel system will have to be redressed, but that this will have to occur within the following context

- a massive housing backlog with a need for an additional 4,68 million housing units, for African people, by the year 2000,
- lack of finances being the major constraint in the provision of housing,
- a state housing policy which is marked by increased privatisation and limited assistance only to the very poor.

On the other hand it has been argued, that the hostel dwellers are amongst the poorest in the community. Hence policy is required to acknowledge that hostel dwellers should be guaranteed a right to improved living conditions. Policy should specify the amount of grant and loan finance. It is now widely accepted that subsidies should have horizontal (people with equal income must be treated equally) and vertical (poorer people must receive greater assistance) equity as well as be sustainable.

The policy for assistance to hostel dwellers should be clearly spelt out and accepted by the government and all the major political actors, so that a phased programme of action around such assistance can be planned. This can be done without fear of disruption by a government that finds it politically expedient to withdraw funding to hostels or by an interim or post apartheid government that identifies other priorities.

The Dalton Road case study and other instances in the country highlight the problem of grants allocated by the government being used to build new hostel blocks, resulting in excessive subsidies to a few and none for the majority of hostel dwellers. Policy should spell out how subsidies are allocated. One option is for the grants to be made per hostel dweller and not per hostel. In this way the needs of each hostel dweller (and his/her household, hereafter referred to as household) will have to be catered for. Such a subsidy should then be used to formulate a phased transformation plan. Thus planning should cater for all hostel dwellers and not for any one portion of the hostel population. Since money is allocated per household, those not catered for within the hostel, i.e. those displaced by the upgrading, will still have the subsidy for use on an alternate site. In practice this means that planning should proceed on the basis of a specified grant allocation per hostel dweller (and his/her

household), eg R7500 per household as in the IDT capital subsidy scheme. If further loan monies are obtained, these should also be allocated per household. The improved conditions for any household and the choices available to that household will then be in terms of this grant and loan money available to each household.

The persistence of circular migration and the desire of some persons to invest in housing in rural areas should also be responded to by policy. This could be done by introducing flexibility in where and how subsidies are used. Mechanisms to prevent the granting of double subsidies to the same household have to be explored.

The spatially fixed nature of existing hostel accommodation implies that the transformation of such hostels may require higher subsidies than currently being given through the IDT schemes or proposed in the De Loor proposals. Such higher amounts will have to be negotiated with the government. These subsidies should not result in widely disparate assistance to people who suffer an equal disadvantage (eg between hostel dwellers and shack dwellers).

It has been stated that hostel dwellers are amongst the most marginalised section of the community. The finances available should be used to prepare housing options which are affordable to the household. Such options do not have to be complete options, but could be such that households could build on them as and when they have the means (eg securing additional space or services). Policy should spell out the way in which the ongoing maintenance of such housing should be financed eg. a specified proportion of the household income.

The policy for transforming hostels should also address the issues of unemployment and the reliance on informal business activity in hostels by incorporating into the upgrading plan, job creation, entrepreneurial development and transfer of skills through training and employment of local labour.

The funding of 'process' in the hostels initiatives was accepted as important by all parties. Such 'process' should be aimed at capacity building and empowering the communities so that they may assume effective control over their lives. From the monitoring exercise it was clear that because of a lack of funds, upgrading is proceeding largely in the absence of any capacity building and empowering of communities. Policy will be required to spell out the type and extent of these process issues. From this a budget can be formulated and finances for this will have to be raised separately from the grant or loan assistance to hostel dwellers. The National Housing Forum is best suited to negotiate with the government, private sector, development agencies (local and foreign) and local government for such funding. The control of monies for this purpose by the NHF will also ensure that these monies achieve what they were raised for and are not monopolised by any one party or used to promote party political interests.

6.3.2 ADMINISTRATION / INSTITUTIONAL

It is, and should continue to be, the role of local government to administer housing for those whose needs are not met through the normal workings of the market. However, experience thus far has shown that Black Local Authorities are not capable of administering the hostels.

The sooner this is accepted by all parties, the better it will be for those having to live with the consequences of such administration. In the long term, fully democratic local government will, hopefully, resolve the problem. A short term policy on administration will be required. In addition to service provision and the day to day running of the hostel, such policy will also have to address issues of accountability and control over hostels. One approach might be for the 'white' local authorities to assume responsibility for administration of hostels. In this way the capacity, expertise and resources of these local authorities can be deployed towards improving the lot of the poor, and they can assume some responsibility for undoing a legacy which they were very much part of creating.

The issue of appropriate institutional mechanisms during the hostel development initiatives is also key to the success of these initiatives. The insistence of certain provincial administrations to pursue upgrading through the BLAs has not worked. The government has also clearly stated that it has no intention of relinquishing control of the funds set aside for hostel upgrading. There is undoubtedly a need for regional structures to oversee, guide and monitor hostel initiatives at a regional level. These structures can take into account regional specificities and sensitivities. The most acceptable approach might be for all parties at a regional level, to constitute themselves as a forum. An alternative may be for the NHF to convene such a forum in each region. This forum can then appoint a facilitator who is acceptable to all parties. In this scenario, the role of the BLAs and the government will be as one of the actors, with no special powers, privileges or power to veto. Decisions in this forum will be taken by consensus. Such a regional forum can decide on the most appropriate structure for the local hostel level. The relationship between the regional and local structures will have to be discussed and agreed to.

The privatisation of hostels to private developers has not taken into account the interest of the hostel dwellers or the surrounding communities. Until a clear policy on privatisation is developed, a moratorium should be placed on privatisation of hostels. The local authorities should retain control of the hostels and within this individual units could be sold to residents as is the case in public townships. Policy on privatisation should facilitate greater control by residents over their living environments. Hence the sale of hostels or blocks of hostels to community organisations or housing associations should be encouraged. An example of this is the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association which is in the process of purchasing hostels in the Western Cape, subject to obtaining finances.

6.3.3 PHYSICAL / SPATIAL

The spatial and physical policy will have to respond to the following features which are prevalent in hostels :

- the isolation of hostels from communities, by investigating ways of reintegrating them into the township and/or its environment,
- the separation of public and private space so that residents have greater control over their space and greater privacy,
- the security of the hostels and its residents;
- the dormitory and barracks like design of hostels, needs to be reconceptualised so that hostels are seen as integrated urban communities, and as a part of a broader community,
- the use of the strategic locations of hostels on well serviced public transport

routes in the best interest of residents, eg. by providing opportunities for informal trading which benefits from the commuters passing by,

- the various parts of the hostels, the roads, building and open spaces and the way they relate to each other should be reformulated to increase the sense of community and increase communication within the hostel and with the surrounding area,
- open spaces and the way in which they have been used (collecting garbage, old cars etc) has helped to create an atmosphere of desolation and gloom, the use and management of these open spaces should be investigated,
- the buildings in the hostels are dilapidated and generally in a poor state of repair, they will have to be assessed and repaired and refurbished within an overall plan for upgrading the hostel,
- the internal space in these building will have to be carefully redesigned to make economic and efficient use of space and provide for various housing options,
- the availability of land is a constraint, all land will have to be efficiently utilised and additional land will have to be secured for those who are displaced by the development,
- the upgrading plan should make provision for temporary accommodation, for residents, during the construction period.

6.3.4 HOUSING

Housing options will have to offer the residents variety and choice at costs that are affordable. For the hostel dweller, the upgrading should

- Φ offer greater privacy
- Φ increase individual space
- Φ reduce overcrowding
- Φ separate private space from public space
- Φ improve the level of services
- Φ renovate and refurbish buildings
- Φ improve the hygiene in the hostels
- Φ provide for individual, or very limited sharing, of ablution and kitchen facilities
- Φ provide furnishings within rooms
- Φ improve the level of facilities in the hostel.

Housing will have to be provided for single persons and families. A range of units varying in space and number of rooms will have to be developed. The preference of hostel dwellers requiring single accommodation was for a single bed per room, with a maximum of two beds per room. Couples might prefer a single room with shared ablution facility and kitchen or an individual unit with its own facilities. Families might prefer their own individual unit with its own facilities.

Provision of services will have to be dependent on preferences of residents and costs. For example, piped water supply and electricity should be supplied to each housing unit. The provision of showers, toilets and kitchens will have to be offered in different combinations. This design must ensure control of these facilities by a specified group of units. Some options are shared (between 2 to 6 units) ablution and kitchen facilities, individual facilities in a bedsitter arrangement, individual facilities within a unit of one or more rooms i.e. a flat. Additional space in the form of a living room will have to be negotiated depending on the availability of space. The provision of such additional space will also have to take into account the cost implications.

Housing tenure should offer choice of rental or ownership. All unit types should be available for rental and ownership. There should be no pressure on persons to purchase units as this will not provide for the needs of those wishing to retain rural links and homes. Communal and other forms of ownership should also be investigated.

Allocation of housing should promote womens' access to accommodation in urban areas. Single accommodation should also be available to women living in 'mens' hostels. No discrimination in the allocation of housing should be made on the grounds of gender.

There should be a mix of the various housing types viz single and family, rental and ownership to facilitate integration of all housing and to avoid the concentration of single accommodation, housing large numbers of single men, who can be easily mobilised into violence.

Upgrading should not result in a substantial change of lifestyle. so as to put such housing out of reach of those currently living in hostels. This could also be a source of tension and conflict and defeat the purpose of the upgrading programme which is to improve the quality of life of hostel dwellers.

Ways of reintegrating and housing hostel dwellers displaced by violence will have to be devised.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The institution of hostels in South Africa go back over a century. It has impacted substantially on the fabric of African society. It has been a major pillar in assisting in the implementation of the policies of apartheid. Transforming this institution in ways that finds acceptance from various components of South African society is a major challenge. This study has attempted to contextualise this transformation challenge. It is more than apparent that a whole range of issues will need to be considered in the transformation and policy formulation processes that lie ahead as we move towards an integration of hostels into wider community life and arrive at a level of normality in our society.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

Urban Hostel Beds per Magisterial District (Blacks) 1990

Table a : CAPE (Region A)

Source : Seneque Smit & Associates (1992a)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE
Cape Town	Cape Town		14808	
Belville	Durbanville	40		
Caledon	Grabouw	79		
Caledon	Villiersdorp	70		
Ceres	Nduli	315		
George	George	15		
George	Thembalethu	800		
Hermanus	Gansbaai	114		
Hermanus	Zwelihle	620		
Kuils River	Mfuleni	1805		
Montagu	Ashton	40		
Montagu	Zolani	20		
Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	5000		
Namakwaland	Aggeneys	800		
Namakwaland	Hondeklipbaai	80		
Namakwaland	Kleinzee	600		
Paarl	Mbekweni	1344		
Piketberg	Velddrif	144		
Robertson	Nkqubela	20		
Stellenbosch	Kayamandi	3200	128	
Strand	Lwandle	1965		
Swellendam	Bonnievale	20		
Vredenburg	St Helena Bay	397		
Walvisbay	Kuisebmond	6400		
Worcester	Zweletemba	684		
Sub Total Region A		**24572**	**14936**	**0**

Table b : CAPE (Region B)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE
Barkly West	Tidimalo	10		
Gordonia	Kakamas	460		
Gordonia	Pabalello	128		
Kimberley	Galeshwe	750		
Kimberley	Kimberley	1448		
Postmasburg	Boichoko	68		
Postmasburg	Sesheng	3544		
Postmasburg	Tlhakalatlou	56		
Richmond,CP	Sabelo	110		
Vryburg	Huhudi	800		
Vryburg	Reivilo	160		
Sub Total Region B		**7534**	**0**	**0**

Table c : ORANGE FREE STATE (Region C)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE
Bethlehem	Bohlokong	1200	1200	
Bloemfontein	Mangaung	2048	7784	
Bothaville	Kgetsong		15	
Dewetsdorp	Morojaneng	2		
Fouriesburg	Masjaing	20	40	
Harrismith	42nd Hill	300	304	
Heilbron	Phiritona	112		
Henneman	Phomologong	250		
Hoopstad	Tikwana	33	33	
Koffiefontein	Koffiefontein	200		
Koppies	Kwakatsi	25		
Kroonstad	Maokeng	720	728	
Ladybrand	Manyatseng	58		
Odendaalsrus	Nyakallong	20		
Parys	Tumahole	64	256	
Sasolburg (H)	Zamdela		7938	
Senekal	Matwabeng	220		
Theunissen	Masilo	15		
Viljoenskroon	Rammulotsi	760	760	
Virginia	Meloding	1920	2610	
Vrede	Memel	319		
Welkom	Thabong	8000	10340	
Wesselbron	Monyakeng	146		
SUB TOTAL OFS (REGION C)		**16432**	**32008**	**0**

Table d : CAPE (Region D)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE
Alexandria	Kwazenzele	184		
East London	Gompo Town	2048	1970	
Fort Beaufort	Fort Beaufort	8000		
Graaf-Reinet	Umasizakhe	185		
Humansdorp	Jeffreys Bay	15		
Molteno	Nomonde	600		
Port Elizabeth	Ibhayi	5744	5000	588
Somerset East	Kwanojoli	8		
Sterkstroom	Masakhe	6		
Steynsburg	Khayamnandi	30		
Uitenhage	Kwanobuhle	5		
Sub-Total Region D		**16825**	**6970**	**588**
SUB TOTAL CAPE (REGIO A,B,D)		**48931**	**21906**	**588**

22494

Table e : NATAL (Region E)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE	NPA PUBLIC
Camperdown	Cato Ridge	27			
Dundee	Sibongile	1712			1712
Durban	Durban	6651	6360		17823
Durban	Lamontville	15480	14260		
Durban	Lower Illovo	640			
Estcourt	Estcourt	2000	1260		2160
Estcourt	Nkanyesi	293			293
Glencoe	Sithembile	575			575
Klipriver	Steadville	967			967
Lions River	Howick	260			
Lower Tugela	Darnall	180			
Lower Tugela	Shakaville	169			169
Lower Tugela	Stanger	170			
Mooi River	Bruntville	832			832
Mount Currie	Bhongweni	384			384
Mtonjaneni	Melmoth	387			
Mtunzini	Mandini	8			
Paulpietersburg	Dumbe	40			48
Pietermaritzburg	Pietermaritzburg	704	679		679
Pinetown	Klaarwater	608			
Pinetown	Kloof	22			
Umvoti	Enhlalakahle	483			483
Vryheid	Bhekezulu	500			
SUB TOTAL NATAL (REGION E)		**33092**	**22559**	**0**	**26125**

Table f : TRANSVAAL (Region F)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE	BDO PUBLIC	BDO PRIVATE
Balfour	Siyathemba	280	39	4222	280	
Barberton	Emjindini	1293				
Belfast	Siyathuthuka	482				
Bethal	Emzinoni	800				
Carolina	Silobela	342				
Ermelo	Wesselton	2010				
Highveld Ridge	Embalenhle	5775				
Highveld Ridge	Lebohang	60				
Lydenburg	Masising	786				
Middelburg	Kwazamokuhle	240				
Middelburg	Mhluzi	4500				
Pelgrimsrus	Graskop	400				
Piet Retief	Ethandakukhanya	999				
Standerton	Sakhile	540				
Volksrust	Vukuzakhe	300				
Waterval-Boven	Emgwenya	35				
Witbank	Kwaguqa	10508				
Sub Total Region F		29350	39	4222	280	0

Table g : TRANSVAAL (Region G)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE	BDO PUBLIC	BDO PRIVATE
Messina	Nancefield	440				
Potgietersrus	Mookgophong	531				
Soutpansberg	Louis Trichardt	400				
Thabazimbi	Regorogile	322				
Warmbad	Bela-Bela	268				
Waterberg	Phagameng	1020				
Sub Total Region G		2981	0	0	0	0

Table h : TRANSVAAL (Region H)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE	BDO PUBLIC	BDO PRIVATE
Alberton	Katlehong	12800	12304	974		162
Alberton	Tokoza	10920	11576	216	6700	200
Benoni	Daveyton	2785	100	125	2785	1269
Benoni	Wattville	2573	2400		2573	
Boksburg	Boksburg	10000	18604			1900
Boksburg	Vosloorus	15222		1006	11000	
Brakpan	Tsakane	5237	204	1564	0	
Brits	Hartebeespoort	16				
Bronkhorstspruit	Zithobeni	700			610	
Cullinan	Refilwe	526			526	
Germiston	Germiston	5912	1524	5010		
Heidelberg	Ratanda	400	8000	900	400	
Johannesburg	Diepmeadow	9906	29651		15680	
Johannesburg	Johannesburg	12251	21829		16854	
Johannesburg	Soweto	26380	24113		24111	
Kempton Park	Modderfontein	3800	450	663		
Kempton Park	Tembisa	19587	18990	4383	16374	665
Krugersdorp	Kagiso	4524	5382	5464	4524	8500
Krugersdorp	Munsieville		720		768	
Nigel	Duduza	1635	860	1502		
Oberholzer	Carletonville	23451				
Oberholzer	Khutsong	2348				
Pretoria	Mamelodi				12000	
Pretoria	Atteridgeville	10213			12000	800
Randburg	Alexandra	8460	80		8460	
Randfontein	Mohlakeng	4006	6140	8315	4140	
Roodepoort	Dobsonville	5460	4656		4000	
Roodepoort	Roodepoort	18550	589	7309	674	9500
Springs	Kwathema	9089	9070	4836	3000	
Vanderbijlpark	Refengkgotso	16	250			
Vanderbijlpark	Sebokeng	13275	11910			258
Vanderbijlpark	Vanderbijlpark	11017		4893		
Vereeniging	Meyerton	875	25	2681	12386	
Westonaria	Bekkersdal	896	896		896	
Westonaria	Westonaria	37841		55763		
Wonderboom	Mamelodi	14108				
WestRand	Kokosi				2757	
Sub Total Region H		**304779**	**190323**	**105604**	**163218**	**23254**
			295927		186472	

Table i : TRANSVAAL (Region J)

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	LOCALITY	CSIR	D.HEALTH PUBLIC	D.HEALTH PRIVATE	BDO PUBLIC	BDO PRIVATE
Delareyville	Delareyville	120				
Klerksdop	Jouberton	3660				
Klerksdop	Kanana	624				
Klerksdop	Khuma	1232				
Klerksdop	Orkney	9000				
Lichtenburg	Bokhutso	556				
Marico	Ottoshoop	28				
Potchefstroom	Ikageng	1957				
Potchefstroom	Kokozi	3111				
Schweizer-Reneke	Ipelegeng	80				
Swartruggens	Borolelo	8				
Ventersdorp	Tshing	146				
Wolmaranstad	Kgakala	32				
Wolmaranstad	Tswelelang	83				
Sub-Total Region J		**20637**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
SUB TOTAL TRANSVAAL(F,G,H,J)		**357747**	**190362**	**109826**	**163498**	**23254**
TOTAL (ALL REGIONS)		**456202**	**266835**	**110414**		

APPENDIX 2

Occupancy Rates in Hostels per Province (1992)

Source : Seneque Smit & Associates (1992c)

OCCUPANCY RATE IN TRANSVAAL HOSTELS

(PRIVATE SECTOR) JUNE 1992

No.	NAME OF COMPANY	TOWN	NO. OF BEDS	NO. OF OCCUPANTS	OCCUPANCY RATE
1.	JCI	Ranfontein&Westonaria	unspecified	unspecified	1.0
2.	Genmin	Various towns	unspecified	unspecified	emptying
3.	AECI	Modderfontein	5500	2400	0.4
4.	Iscor	Various towns	unspecified	unspecified	1.0
5.	Spoornet	Various towns	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified
6.	AngloVaal	Barberton	2000	1600	0.8
7.	AngloVaal	Steelpoort	200	160	0.8
8.	AngloVaal	Johannesburg	640	640	1.0
9.	AngloVaal	Hartbeesfontein	21647	17871	0.8
10.	Anglo American	Various towns	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified
11.	SASOL	Secunda & Sasolburg	unspecified	unspecified	1
	TOTAL		29987	22671	0.8

OCCUPANCY RATE IN TRANSVAAL HOSTELS

(PUBLIC SECTOR) JUNE 1992

No.	NAME OF HOSTEL	TOWN	NO. OF BEDS	NO. OF OCCUPANTS	OCCUPANCY RATE
1.	Denver	Johannesburg	3521	3521	1.0
2.	George Goch	Johannesburg	3103	3103	1.0
3.	MBA	Johannesburg	416	416	1.0
4.	Wolhuter	Johannesburg	3101	3101	1.0
5.	City Deep	Johannesburg	3400	3400	1.0
6.	Huddlepark	Johannesburg	210	210	1.0
7.	Klipspruit	Johannesburg	94	94	1.0
8.	Nancefield	Johannesburg	1400	1400	1.0
9.	Northern Sewrage	Johannesburg	142	142	1.0
10.	Olifantsvlei Sewera	Johannesburg	258	258	1.0
11.	Orlando Power Sta	Johannesburg	908	908	1.0
12.	NTA Industria	Johannesburg	2800	2800	1.0
13.	Selby West Street	Johannesburg	1400	1400	1.0
14.	Van Beek	Johannesburg	1100	1100	1.0
15.	Kempton Park	Johannesburg	370	370	1.0
16.	Daveyton	Benoni	2679	2010	0.8
17.	Wattville	Wattville, Benoni	2573	2573	1.0
18.	Diepkloof	Diepmeadow, Soweto	5248	unspecified	unspecified
19.	Meadowlands	Diepmeadow, Soweto	10432	unspecified	unspecified
20.	Alex–Mens 1	Alexandra, Johannesburg	2668	250	0.1
21.	Alex–Mens 2	Alexandra, Johannesburg	2948	1474	0.5
22.	Alex–Womens	Alexandra, Johannesburg	2844	2844	1.0
23.	Tokoza 1	Tokoza, Alberton	2000	2000	1.0
24.	Tokoza 2	Tokoza, Alberton	1700	1700	1.0
25.	Tokoza 3	Tokoza, Alberton	3000	3000	1.0
26.	Vosloorus	Vosloorus, Boksburg	10400	5000	0.5
27.	Bekkersdal	Bekkersdal, Randfontein	832	424	0.5
28.	Kagiso	Kagiso, Krugersdorp	5744	5744	1.0
29.	Khutsong	Khutsong, Oberholzer	768	1200	1.6
30.	KwaThema	Kwa Thema, Springs	7000	1000	0.1
31.	Katlehong	Katlehong, Alberton	13500	11102	0.8
32.	Sebokeng	Sebokeng, Vanderbijlpark	11944	6938	0.6
33.	Mohlakeng	Mohlakeng, Randfontein	800	800	1.0
34.	Ratanda	Ratanda, Heidelberg	400	400	1.0
35.	Tembisa	Tembisa, Kempton Park	16323	15803	1.0
36.	Saulsville	Atteridgeville, Pretoria	9692	12115	1.3
37.	Mamelodi	Mamelodi, Pretoria	10948	10948	1.0
	TOTAL		146666	109548	0.8

OCCUPANCY RATE IN TRANSVAAL HOSTELS (PUBLIC SECTOR) 1990-1991-1992

No.	NAME OF HOSTEL	TOWN	NO. OF BEDS	June 1992 NO. OF OCCUPANTS	June 1992 OCCUPANCY RATE	July 1991 NO. OF OCCUPANTS	July 1991 OCCUPANCY RATE	August 1990 NO. OF OCCUPANTS	August 1990 OCCUPANCY RATE
1.	Denver	Johannesburg	3521	3521	1.0	3521	1.0	3521	1.0
2.	George Goch	Johannesburg	3103	3103	1.0	3103	1.0	3103	1.0
3.	MBA	Johannesburg	416	416	1.0	416	1.0	416	1.0
4.	Wolhuter	Johannesburg	3101	3101	1.0	3101	1.0	3101	1.0
5.	City Deep	Johannesburg	3400	3400	1.0	8711	2.6	8711	2.6
6.	Huddlepark	Johannesburg	210	210	1.0	205	1.0	205	1.0
7.	Klipspruit	Johannesburg	94	94	1.0	78	0.8	78	0.8
8.	Nancefield	Johannesburg	1400	1400	1.0	1284	0.9	1284	0.9
9.	Northern Sewrage	Johannesburg	142	142	1.0	142	1.0	142	1.0
10.	Olifantsvlei Sewera	Johannesburg	258	258	1.0	419	1.6	419	1.6
11.	Orlando Power Sta	Johannesburg	908	908	1.0	1227	1.4	1227	1.4
12.	NTA Industria	Johannesburg	2800	2800	1.0	2126	0.8	2126	0.8
13.	Selby West Street	Johannesburg	1400	1400	1.0	1248	0.9	1248	0.9
14.	Van Beek	Johannesburg	1100	1100	1.0	1067	1.0	1067	1.0
15.	Kempton Park	Johannesburg	370	370	1.0	347	0.9	347	0.9
16.	Daveyton	Benoni	2679	2010	0.8	2679	1.0	2679	1.0
17.	Wattville	Wattville, Benoni	2573	2573	1.0	2573	1.0	2573	1.0
18.	Diepkloof	Diepmeadow, Soweto	5248	unspecified	unspecified	3936	0.8	5248	1.0
19.	Meadowlands	Diepmeadow, Soweto	10432	unspecified	unspecified	10432	1.0	10432	1.0
20.	Alex-Mens 1	Alexandra, Johannesburg	2668	250	0.1	250	0.1	2668	1.0
21.	Alex-Mens 2	Alexandra, Johannesburg	2948	1474	0.5	1474	0.5	2948	1.0
22.	Alex-Womens	Alexandra, Johannesburg	2844	2844	1.0	2844	1.0	2844	1.0
23.	Tokoza 1	Tokoza, Alberton	2000	2000	1.0	1800	0.9	2800	1.4
24.	Tokoza 2	Tokoza, Alberton	1700	1700	1.0	1530	0.9	2380	1.4
25.	Tokoza 3	Tokoza, Alberton	3000	3000	1.0	2700	0.9	4200	1.4
26.	Vosloorus	Vosloorus, Boksburg	10400	5000	0.5	1307	0.1	4543	0.4
27.	Bekkersdal	Bekkersdal, Randfontein	832	424	0.5	832	1.0	832	1.0
28.	Kagiso	Kagiso, Krugersdorp	5744	5744	1.0	5744	1.0	5744	1.0
29.	Khutsong	Khutsong, Oberholzer	768	1200	1.6	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified
30.	KwaThema	Kwa Thema, Springs	7000	1000	0.1	2000	0.3	3000	0.4
31.	Katlehong	Katlehong, Alberton	13500	11102	0.8	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified
32.	Sebokeng	Sebokeng, Vanderbijlpark	11944	6938	0.6	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified
33.	Mohlakeng	Mohlakeng, Randfontein	800	800	1.0	696	0.9	736	0.9
34.	Ratanda	Ratanda, Heidelberg	400	400	1.0	325	0.8	400	1.0
35.	Tembisa	Tembisa, Kempton Park	16323	15803	1.0	15283	0.9	16323	1.0
36.	Saulsville	Atteridgeville, Pretoria	9692	12115	1.3	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified
37.	Mamelodi	Mamelodi, Pretoria	10948	10948	1.0	10948	1.0	10948	1.0
	TOTAL		146666	109548	0.8	94348	0.9	108293	1.0

OCCUPANCY RATE IN NATAL HOSTELS (PUBLIC SECTOR) JUNE 1992

No.	NAME OF HOSTEL	TOWN	NO. OF BEDS	NO. OF OCCUPANTS	OCCUPANCY RATE
1.	Sibongile	Dundee	1712	1712	1.0
2.	Sithembile	Glencoe	575	575	1.0
3.	Steadville	Ladysmith	967	967	1.0
4.	Hlobane	Vryheid (family accomoda	57	57	1.0
5.	Dumbe	Paulpietersburg	48	48	1.0
6.	Bruntville	Mooi River	832	832	1.0
7.	Enhlalakahle	Greytown	483	483	1.0
8.	Bhongweni	Kokstad	384	384	1.0
9.	East Street	Pietermaritzburg	679	679	1.0
10.	Zampumpu	Estcourt	2160	2160	1.0
11.	Nkanyezi	Colenso	293	293	1.0
12.	Shakaville	Stanger	169	169	1.0
13.	Glebelands	Durban	10624	21624	2.0
14.	Thokoza	Durban	689	1378	2.0
15.	Dalton Road	Durban	1361	3000	2.2
16.	Jacobs	Durban	885	2500	2.8
17.	S.J.Smith	Durban	4264	10000	2.3
18.	Klaarwater	Pinetown	608	608	1.0
	TOTAL		26790	47469	1.8

OCCUPANCY RATE IN ORANGE FREE STATE HOSTELS (PUBLIC SECTOR) JUNE 1992

No.	NAME OF HOSTEL	TOWN	NO. OF BEDS	NO. OF OCCUPANTS	OCCUPANCY RATE
1.	Thabong	Thabong, Welkom	6944	>6944	>1.0
2.	Zamdela	Zamdela, Sasolburg	5944	5944	1.0
3.	Mangaung	Mangaung, Bloemfontein	3888	>3888	>1.0
4.	Meloding	Meloding, Virginia	1040	312	0.3
5.	Bohlokong	Bohlokong, Bethlehem	1199	839	0.7
6.	Rammulotsi	Rammulotsi, Viljoenskroor	760	137	0.2
7.	Maokeng	Maokeng, Kroonstad	612	86	0.1
8.	42nd Hill	42nd Hill, Harrismith	304	7	0.0
9.	Phiritona	Phiritona, Heilbron	112	48	0.4
10.	Monyakeng	Monyakeng, Wesselsbron	14	14	1.0
11.	Tumahole	Tumahole, Parys	64	4	0.1
12.	Masilo	Masilo, Theunissen	15	15	1.0
	TOTAL		20896	18238	0.9

OCCUPANCY RATE IN CAPE HOSTELS (PUBLIC SECTOR)

JUNE 1992

No.	NAME OF HOSTEL	TOWN	NO. OF BEDS	NO. OF OCCUPANTS	OCCUPANCY RATE
1.	Nduli	Ceres	420	630	1.5
2.	Zwelethemba	Worcester	1152	1300	1.1
3.	Zwelihle	Hermanus	172	900	5.2
4.	Zolani	Ashton	70	70	1.0
5.	Mbekweni	Paarl	4352	4147	1.0
6.	Mfuleni	Eesrste River	1824	3200	1.8
7.	Kayamandi	Stellenbosch	3210	4800	1.5
8.	Lwandle	Strand	1984	5000	2.5
9.	Guguletu	Cape Town	6608	11008	1.7
10.	Nyanga	Cape Town	7612	15616	2.1
11.	Langa	Cape Town	7740	30960	4.0
12.	Ibhayi	Port Elizabeth	4788	3472	0.7
13.	Kwanobuhle	Uitenhage	1392	246	0.2
14.	Gompo Town	East London	752	752	1.0
15.	Kwanojoli	Somerset–East	10	10	1.0
16.	Huhudi	Vryberg	836	382	0.5
17.	Biopelo	Reivilo	100	36	0.4
18.	Nonzwakazi	DeAar	14	32	2.3
19.	Biochoko	Postmasburg	56	27	0.5
20.	Tlhakalatlou	Danielskuil	72	61	0.8
21.	Galeshewe	Kimberley	1480	1322	0.9
22.	Paballelo	Upington	50	50	1.0
23.	Kwazakhele	Port Elizabeth	6000	12000	2.0
24.	Kwanojoli	Somerset East	10	10	1.0
25.	Gompo Town	East London	752	2400	3.2
	TOTAL		51456	98431	1.9

OCCUPANCY RATE IN PUBLIC SECTOR HOSTELS
JUNE 1992

OCCUPANCY RATE	HOSTELS									
	TRANSVAAL		NATAL		ORANGE FREE STAT		CAPE		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
>2.0	0	0%	5	28%	0	0%	7	28%	12	13%
1.5–2.0	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%	4	16%	5	5%
1.0–1.5	1	3%	0	0%	2	17%	1	4%	4	4%
1.0	28	70%	13	72%	3	25%	6	24%	50	53%
0.5–1.0	8	20%	0	0%	1	8%	5	20%	14	15%
0.0–0.5	2	5%	0	0%	6	50%	2	8%	10	11%
TOTAL	40	100%	18	100%	12	100%	25	100%	95	100%

APPENDIX 3

Short-term Guidelines for Hostels Initiatives (NHF-1991)

COMPILED BY THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING FORUM

1. TERMS OF REFERENCE

1.1 Mandate

The National Hostels Discussion Forum (1 August 1991) directed a Working Committee to formulate short-term guidelines to address current and new hostel initiatives within a local housing and urban development context.

Such a guidelines document was submitted to and discussed by the National Discussion Forum – Hostels and Housing (1 November 1991). The meeting referred the document to the NHF Working Committee for clarity in terms of wording with regard to some paragraphs. **The meeting adopted the Guidelines with immediate effect (1 November 1991).**

1.2 Points of Departure

1.2.1 Urgent attention must be given to the hostel issue because of the need to resolve conflict or the potential thereof. Furthermore the hostel issue needs to address the problems of families living in premises designed for high-density single accommodation.

1.2.2 While the hostel initiative process should take place within a national development framework, in recognition of the urgency there is a need for short-term guidelines to facilitate current and new initiatives.

1.2.3 The hostel initiative process should constitute part of the reconstruction towards viable and integrated cities and towns.

1.2.4 With regard to a hostel initiative, "process" is as important as "product". The process by which implementation will take place should therefore be given due regard.

1.3 Objectives of the Short-Term Guidelines

1.3.1 To provide guidelines to funding agencies within which local initiatives would be supported.

1.3.2 To provide guidelines for local hostel initiatives regarding the basis on which such initiatives would be supported.

1.4 Scope

Hostel initiatives should not be limited to those people currently living in hostels but should also respond to some of the consequential problems in surrounding communities.

2. GUIDELINES FOR IMPLEMENTATION AT LOCAL LEVEL

2.1 Local hostel initiatives are to be negotiated at two levels. The proposed initiative must be developed and agreed to by those parties directly involved e.g. hostel dwellers, surrounding residents, hostel owners and administrators. In order to ensure that such initiatives meet regional needs these participants must secure the support of regional structures e.g. civics, trade unions, political groupings, local government, business, major employers etc.

2.2 Recognition must be given to the fact that the need exists for accommodation for single people as well as for families.

2.3 The concerned parties in development of their proposals must demonstrate that they will secure sufficient and appropriately located accommodation for those individuals and families affected by the hostel initiative process.

2.4 The Government is responsible for ensuring that the society is adequately and decently housed. The method of achieving this is a critical subject for the National Housing Forum to discuss. Families and individuals within a hostel initiative should be subject to the same level of State housing assistance as equivalently economically disadvantaged people.

2.5 A hostel initiative should provide for appropriate institutional structures that would ensure public accountability and be legally constituted to:

- facilitate participation among those who are to be accommodated within the initiative
- provide for negotiation between the various levels (as in 2.1 above and
- accept the responsibility as implementing agent for the project.

The attributable administrative costs of such an institutional structure should be provided for as part of the overall costing of such an initiative.

2.6 Where there is a substantive hostel accommodation agreement between private sector employer and employee representatives the hostels will not be specifically monitored on condition that they comply with the standard guidelines.

2.7 A moratorium should be placed on hostel demolitions unless representative (as envisaged in 2.1 above) local negotiations sanction such action as a necessary part of a hostel initiative.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations were adopted at the National Discussion Forum – Hostels and Housing, 1 November 1991, and the NHF Working Committee was instructed to make amendments contained in this document:

3.1 the securing of approximately R150 million in grant finance to support an initial phase of sustainable and viable hostel initiative, nationally;

3.2 the establishment of a Hostels Sub–Committee to the National Housing Forum once it is formed. However, if the National Housing Forum has not been constituted within six months, the NHF Working Committee must convene a further National Hostels Discussion Forum to report back;

3.3 and mandate the Hostels Sub–Committee to be responsible for taking whatever action is necessary to secure the support for a series of hostel initiatives to be undertaken nationally within the framework of these guidelines. Its responsibilities would include

- to promote the implementation and a proper understanding of the above guidelines
- to monitor actions on the ground
- to assist with communication processes
- to bring new initiatives into being
- to liaise with responsible government departments and officials
- to introduce a skills transfer/training element inclusive of job creation and entrepreneurial development through Hostels Initiatives.

jv920311/1

APPENDIX 4

Local Level Guidelines for Hostels Initiatives adopted in Natal

LOCAL LEVEL GUIDELINES FOR HOSTELS INITIATIVES PREPARED BY THE NATAL HOSTEL INITIATIVES STEERING COMMITTEE

DISCUSSION ON RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN REPORT DATED 20 FEBRUARY 1992

The Chairman explained that the money allocated for this initiative has been channelled through the NPA which demands that the responsibility and accountability therefor remain with the NPA.

The Chairman thanked Dr Sutcliffe for the report of the Work Group and invited discussion on the recommendations.

After discussion, the following was agreed upon:

The initiative will operate on two levels:

* A Natal-wide Steering Committee (which is this committee in session)
* Work Groups per hostel or group of hostels, which will function at local level.

A REPRESENTATION AT AND FUNCTIONS OF NATAL-WIDE STEERING COMMITTEE

REPRESENTATION

1.	Government	:NPA, KwaZulu Government, Durban City Council, JSB and UCAN.
2.	Civics	:Civic Working Committees, Hostel Dwellers Associations.
3.	Political Groups	:ANC, IFP, SACP, AZAPO and PAC.
4.	Trade Unions	:UWUSA, COSATU and NACTU.
5.	Business	:KwaZulu Natal Business Forum.
6.	Others	:Development Bank of SA, IDT.
7.	Consultants	:As appointed by the NPA.

It was understood that some of the organisations might have more than one representative.

FUNCTIONS

1. To develop policy in order to guide the development of the hostel initiative. It was understood that the main objective is to ensure that the available funds are evenly distributed amongst all the hostels.

2. To formulate briefs to be followed by the Working Groups dealing with the specific hostels. It was understood that the briefs would pertain to the identity of parties who are to participate in the Work Groups. Mr Mike Lemon was appointed as liaison person with the Work Groups and he will report to the Steering Committee on the progress of the Work Groups.

3. To help in the development of an overall, integrated and co-ordinated approach to housing. It was understood that this had specific reference to the displacees resulting from the upgrading process, who will need additional accommodation, which might include family accommodation. It will only be concerned with local housing, but might make recommendations to the National Housing Forum, based on its findings at local level.

4. To monitor the activities of the Work Groups.

5. To help in securing and where needed, administering funds.

6. To engage in discussions with other relevant authorities (government and private sector) to ensure that the conditions in all hostels are adequately addressed. It was understood that the objective was not to be prescriptive, but to assist such other organisations through a co-ordinated effort. It was further understood that they would have to find their own funding sources and cannot benefit from the funds allocated to the NPA.

7. To consider and provide recommendations on dealing with urgent issues (such as maintenance) associated with the hostels. It was noted that the NPA has an ongoing maintenance program for hostels and that this function will attend to emergencies not catered for by the said maintenance program.

8. To devise strategies to resolve any conflict which may exist between the various parties involved within the Work Groups.

9. To issue press releases on behalf of the Steering Committee and the Work Groups. It was noted that Dr Rajah MEC was responsible for press releases for the NPA and the Chairman undertook to obtain a mandate for the Steering Committee in this regard.

It was agreed that press releases would be issued for the benefit of the hostel dwellers and not to obtain political mileage.

The modus operandi of the Steering Committee will be developed and will be consensus driven.

B. REPRESENTATION AT AND FUNCTIONS OF WORK GROUPS

REPRESENTATION

Organisations undertook to make their representatives known, upon receipt of the list of hostels, which will be finalised within a week from today.

It was noted that the consultants for the Glebe complex is KFC and for Dalton Road and Jacobs hostels, the Urban Foundation. Other consultants will be appointed in due course and in some of the smaller hostels, the work will be done departmentally.

FUNCTIONS

1. To canvass the views of the following groups on the development of housing opportunities for hostel residents and improved living conditions of those presently living in the hostels; hostel dwellers, surrounding residents, hostel owners\administrators and local authorities.

2. To develop the Work Group into a local forum where relevant parties can be involved in the issue of hostel upgrading and the development of housing opportunities.

3. To formulate recommendations on development opportunities for submission to the Steering Committee.

4. To monitor the implementation of any local development program.

D. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

19 March 1992 at 17:30 in the Board Room, 17 Buro Crescent, Mayville Durban

E. CLOSURE

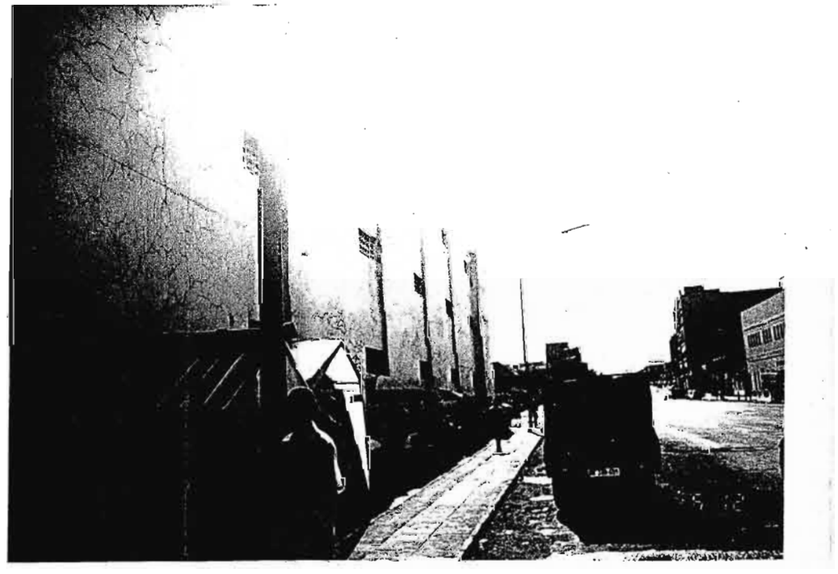
The meeting closed at 19:08

CHAIRMAN _____ DATE _____

SECRETARY _____

VIEW FROM SYDNEY ROAD

CORNER SYDNEY & DALTON ROADS



CORNER SYDNEY & CANADA ROADS

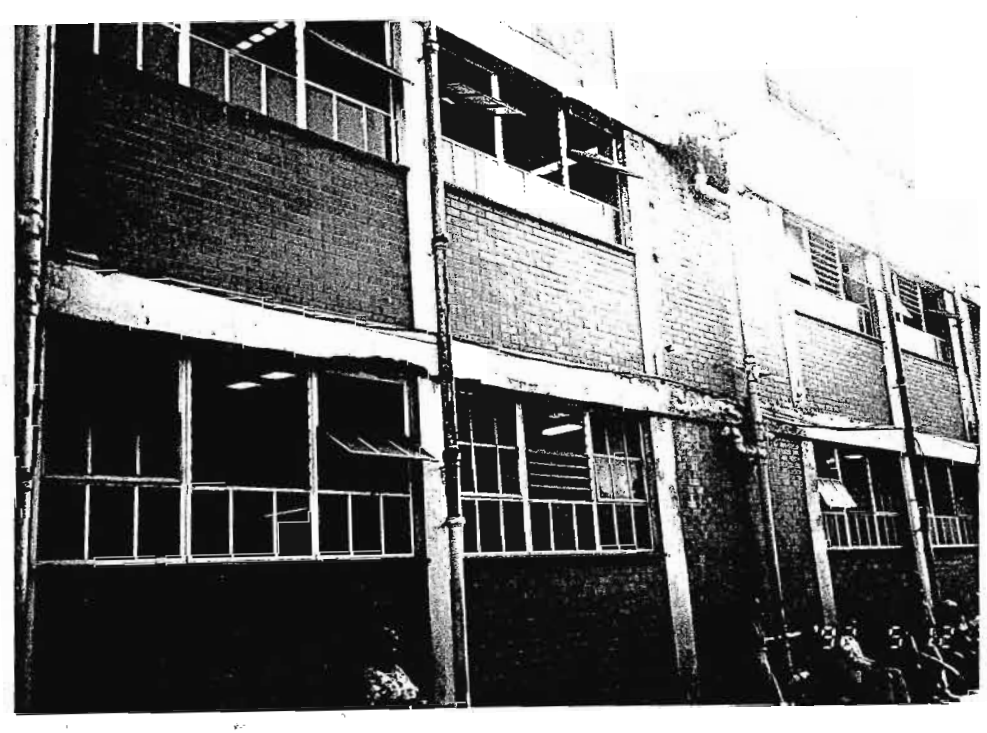
APPENDIX 5

Dalton Road : Figure 1

Source : Urban Foundation 1992a

BLOCK A

BLOCK A



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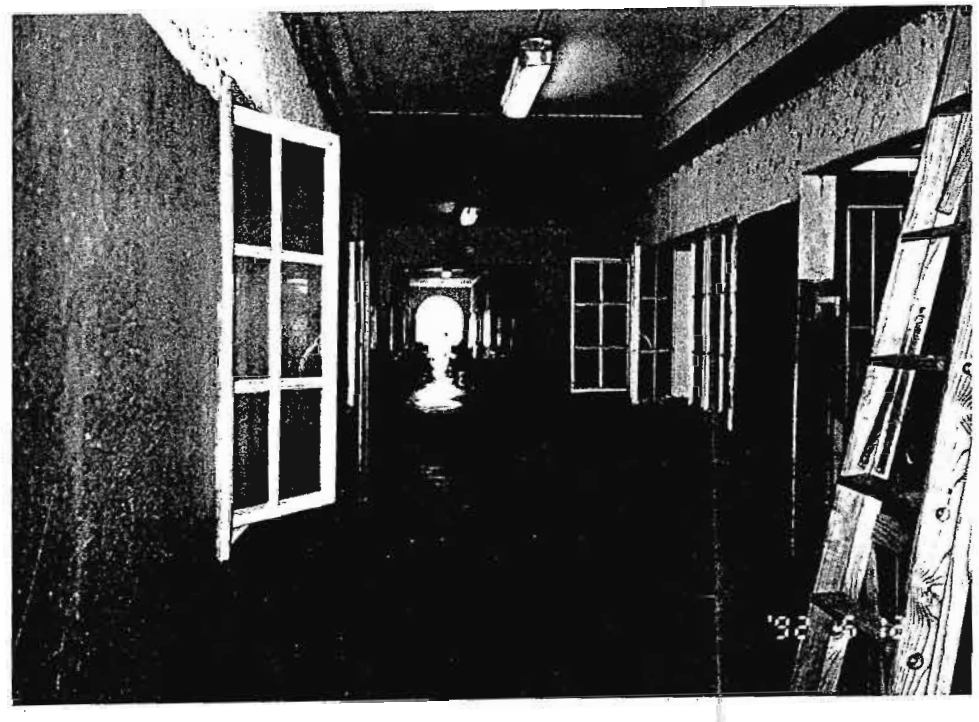
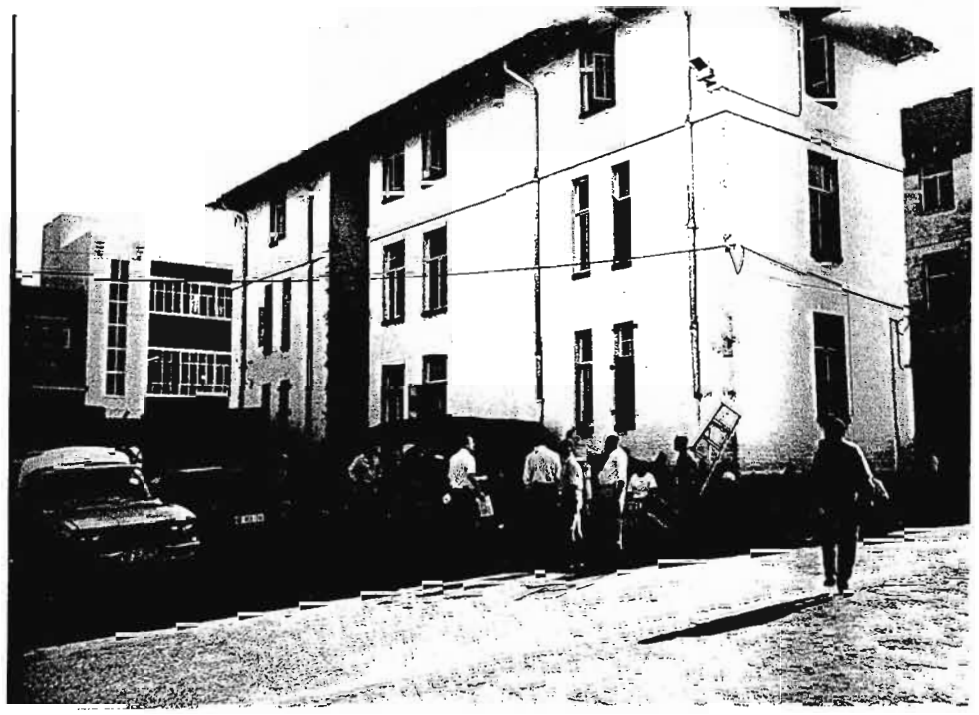


APPENDIX 5

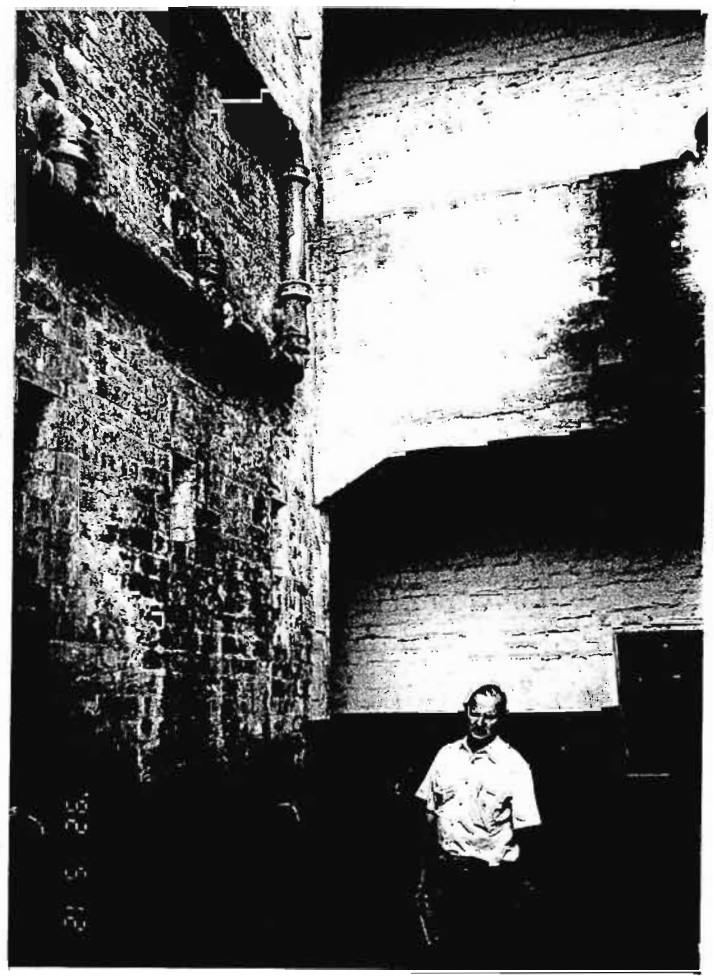
Dalton Road : Figure 2

Source : Urban Foundation 1992a



BLOCK B

BLOCK B



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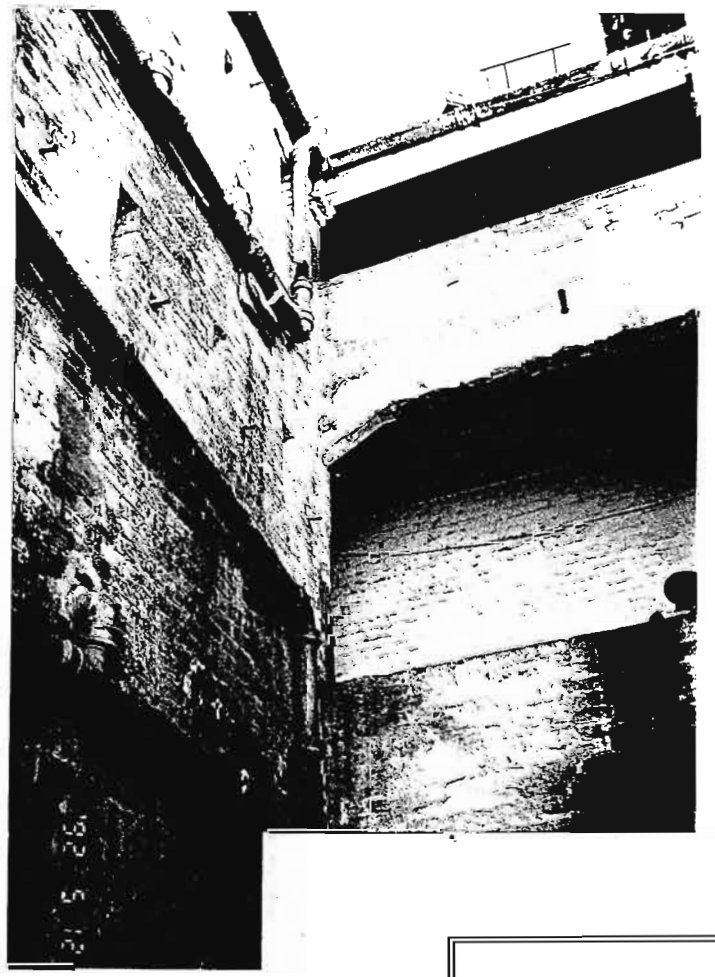

BLOCK C

APPENDIX 5

Dalton Road : Figure 3

Source : Urban Foundation 1992a

HALL · INTERIOR

HALL

HALL

VISITING WIVES &
BLOCK C

APPENDIX 5
Dalton Road : Figure 4

Source : Urban Foundation 1992a