South Africa's Internal Displacement: The dynamics of forced removals in South Africa

Hlongwane Siphiwe Solomon

210530213

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School of Social Sciences

College of Humanities

Supervisor: Dr Sybert Mutereko

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Siphiwe Solomon Hlongwane

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Dr. Sybert Mutereko

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Sibongile Mngomezulu-Hlongwane.

ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ANC - African National Congress
ASONET - Africa Solidarity Network
AU - African Union
BAD - Department of Bantu Administration and Development
CAD - Department of Cooperation and Development
CCB - The South African Civil Cooperation Bureau
ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States
IASC - UN Inter-Agency Standing Committee
HRL - Human Rights Law
ICRC - International Committee of the Red Cross
IDPs - internally displaced people/ persons
IFP - Inkatha Freedom Party
IGAD - Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IHL - International Humanitarian Law
INK - Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu
IOM - International Organisation for Migration
MiWORC - Migrating for Work Research Consortium

MSF - Médecins Sans Frontières

NFP - National Freedom Party

OCHA - Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

OHCHR - Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights

OSCE - Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RSG - The Representative of the Secretary-General on IDPs
SACTU- South African Congress of Trade Unions

SADC- Southern African Development Community

SANT - South African Native Trust

TRC - Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UDF - United Democratic Front
UN - United Nations
UNICEF – UN Children's Fund
UNDP - UN Development Programme
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WFP - World Food Programme

ABSTRACT

Internal displacement in South Africa poses a major concern and it created many anomalies because it happens and continue happening through force removals. Though the harshest phase was experienced during the apartheid era, internal displacement reared its ugly face during

Imfecane/Lifaqane era in South Africa. During Imfecane/Lifaqane era Africans were fighting for the turf. It was a kill or be killed era. The Zulus through their formidable impi under King Shaka were the main 'perpetrators' in sending other ethnic groups packing to find a place to live away from their previous dwellings. The Nguni ethnic group managed to secure the eastern part of the country, the Tsonga group settled on the north, the Sotho group settled the on the hinterland of the country, while the Khoi and the Sans secure the west and the north coast of the country. Then comes the colonisation time. Under colonial times protectorates were formed, which are Bechuanaland (Botwana), Basotholand (Lesotho) and Swaziland (eSwatini). They asked for protection from Shaka so that they are not driven away any further, until they were given their independence by Britain in 1965. Under both colonial and apartheid government there were rules that were laid down in order to enforce displacement as well as control the indigenous people. The colonial government use the Natives Land Act 27 of 1913 to support its internal displacement process on the Africans/Natives or black people. While the apartheid government applied the Group Areas Act no. 41 of 1950 (GAA) to support its segregation policy as well as removing Africans as they like from their place of birth. What is most appalling is that the apartheid legacy still persists under the democratic dispensation. Internal displacement has caused or is responsible for all dehumanising experiences to the indigenous people in South Africa including human rights violations, inequality, land dispossession, and many more. Hence, it is highly commendable of the United Nations to lay down rules such as the Guiding Principles to be followed by the countries in order to protect the internally displaced people who are the victims of the internal displacement.

Key words: Internal displacement, forceful removals, internally displaced people, indigenous people/Blacks/Natives.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The research is aiming at unpacking the difficult and trying conditions in which the internally displaced people (IDPs) find themselves in South Africa. The research will dwell on the impacts arising from Imfecane/Lifaqane, which a pre-colonial era, colonial times as well as the apartheid times. People become miserable inside their own country without the knowledge of the international world, hence, they become the internally displaced people. They also end up being confused with the refugees, thus, their plight is over shadowed by that of the refugees. Certain factors will be investigated which in turn result in perpetuating internal displacement. The study areas in South Africa will be regions among cities of Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Durban. Finally, the study will highlight any steps or actions which the South African government takes to alleviate the anomaly, if any. Furthermore, Guiding Principles which are enacted by the world body, United Nations, will also be included.

1.2 Background

South Africa was deeply affected by evictions as a representation of internal displacement in apartheid South Africa (Lwabukuna, 2012). Meskell, and Weiss (2006) state that South Africa under apartheid adopted a policy with appalling legacies such as living a history of division and manipulation of law which was based on race and, thus, the same policy is directly implicated to forced removals of the time throughout the country. However, the apartheid government had provided some justifications towards such racial displacement in the country. Modiri (2013) point out that South African apartheid regime, however, justified such displacement by portraying itself as a carrying state in promulgating development that would reach out to all races of the country. Different cities in the country were to be dominated by Whites and, yet, races such as Africans, Indians and Coloureds would own a handful number of plots of land under separate development Mosoetsa (2004). But Amisi (2009) put it on record that the African race was the most affected of them all as they were moved to the homelands (former Bantustans) which were miles away from the towns and/or cities, while Indians and Coloureds were allocated areas on the other side of the same cities as whites. The notion behind such arrangement, according to Lwabukuna (2012) was that Africans would be ferried to and

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from towns by white-owned public transport to sell their labour in the white-owned industries or factories.

However, Lwabukuna (2012) states that there was a high demand of black labour due to expansion in industries, hence, townships with the inclusion of hostels were being erected in urban areas. The townships, according to Mosoetsa (2004) were meant to keep black spots in check, that is, to prevent black labour from mixing with other races in the urban areas. However, shacks mushroomed around these townships as many Africans moved in droves to them as they preferred life full of employment and services as opposed to rural life in the homelands deprived of services such as water, electricity and sanitation (Amisi, 2009). Modiri (2013) notes that under apartheid, Africans were subjected to nine forms of relocation, namely, clearance of black sports, relocation due to the abolition of the labour tenant system and squatting on white owned farms, relocation through the operation of influx control legislation, the various stages and forms of urban relocation, relocation due to the institution of betterment schemes, relocation for strategic or infrastructural schemes, relocation as resistance, homeland consolidation and other forms of relocation. However, Amisi (2009) argues that some of these forms such as relocation for strategic or infrastructural schemes did not go down with the apartheid system when it was phased out in 1994. Moreover, the fact of the matter is that urban relocation was pervasive, that is, it affected all races, as is still the case in South Africa. And, the new dispensation in 1994 as suggested by Meskell, and Weiss (2006) a new trend of displacement came in which was precipitated by foreign nationals who occupied many parts of South African cities seeking better life for their families.

1.3 Problem statement

Internally displaced people should as per anti-colonial theory, according to Butt (2013) enjoy human rights, and also be protected like anyone else as enshrined in the South African constitution and various acts. In this process, internally displaced people should be able to resettle freely in the country for better living conditions. The role of the state is critical because the state can legislate into law policies which are conducive to their well-being (Mosoetsa, 2004). Unfortunately, the issue of internally displaced people is characterised by the nature of the state concerned, may it be autocratic or otherwise. This is due to the despotic nature of the leadership of the state. This leads to the problem of inequality, poverty, marginalisation, social exclusion, underdevelopment and economic disparities.

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Data from several studies suggest that internal displacement happens mostly in countries where there is evident political tension with no democracy (Meskell and Weiss, 2006). For instance, Lwabukuna (2012) explored the internal displacement, his findings revealed that internally displaced people are like ignored community. Similarly, Khumalo (2007) examined and established that internally displaced persons are like soldiers who have lost in the battle. In another study, Kalin (2006) illustrates how the world body (United Nations) had contributed immensely in alleviating internal displacement by introducing thirty (30) Guiding Principles on the internal displacement to have the scourge under control. However, much of the research on the internally displaced people up until now has been descriptive in nature and fails to be critical into factors that cause such anomaly. Surprisingly, the internal displacement has not been closely examined, particularly when it comes to South Africa. Consequently, little is known about how to deal with internal displacement in South Africa and it is not clear what factors lead to the escalation of the scourge in the country.

1.4 Aim of the study

This study sort to investigate South Africa's Internal Displacement and the dynamics of forced removals.

1.4.1 Research questions

- What is the history of internal displacement in South Africa in general?

- What are the dynamics and causes of internal displacement in South Africa?

- What are challenges caused by the internal displacement on the people of South Africa?

- What are consequences of internal displacement in South Africa?

- What is the role played by the government in fighting internal displacement in the country?

- What is the role of UN in combating internal displacement in general?

1.4.2 Research objectives

- To investigate the history of internal displacement in South Africa.

- To determine the causes of internal displacement in South Africa.

- To investigate challenges of internal displacement on the people of South Africa.

- To investigate consequences of internal displacement in South Africa.

- To determine the role of the government in combating internal displacement in the country.

- To determine the role of the United Nations to combat internal displacement in general.

1.5 Significance of the study

It investigates delicate matters regarding Internally Displaced People in South Africa. Displaced people have been forced from their homes for many of the same reasons as refugees, but have not crossed an international border (Lwabukuna, 2012). Often persecuted or under attack by their own governments, they are frequently in a more desperate situation than refugees (Oucho, 2005). They also outnumber refugees two to one, yet, no international agency has a formal mandate to aid them (Evans, 2012). They are sometimes called 'internal refugees', but are more often known as internally displaced persons (Evans, 2012). In South Africa, the problem has been going on for far too long,

1.6 Contribution of the study

It highlights the plight of the marginalised community inside the boarders of South Africa. It has to be noted that the displaced do have special needs (Meskell and Weiss, 2006). Moreover, displacement breaks up families and severs community ties (Meskell and Weiss, 2006). It leads to unemployment and limits access to land, education, food and shelter (Oucho, 2005). The displaced are particularly vulnerable to violence (Kalin, 2006), that is, taking into consideration issues such as Imfecane/Difaqane (Masina, 2006), homelands/Bantustans and the different township formations (Ladd, 2012) as well as the escalation of informal settlements inside the country (Modiri, 2013).

1.7 Definition of key terms

Internal Displacement - It refers to the forced movement of people from their locality or environment and occupational activities. Oucho (2005) states that internal displacement is a form of social change caused by a number of factors, such as armed conflict, natural disasters, famine, development and economic changes. South Africa has endured experience of internal displacement when conflict broke out among different tribes in the country. King Shaka formed

his formidable Zulu nation through armed conflict when he conquered other tribes around him. Some of his casualties who managed to escape from his fierce ruling, settled far away from his region. For example, Mzilikazi Khumalo fled and settled across the Limpopo river in the present Zimbabwe country at the area called Matebeleland, while Harry Nkumbula settled in the northern region of the country of Zambia. Then came the era of colonialism which at the end brought about adverse policies to the indigenous people. Colonial settlers forced many people throughout the country to flee through many wars they fought with their tribes. One example is the Anglo-Zulu war which took place in 1879 between the Zulu warriors and the British soldiers at Isandlwana. Apartheid policy was one of those policies, whereby indigenous people were brutalised for not conforming to those laws which were somehow diabolic.

Internally Displaced People (IDPs) – These are the people who have been directly affected by internal displacement. In other words, internal displacement creates internally displaced people. That is, the tribulations of the internal displacement adversely affect the citizens of the country concerned. Lwabukuna (2012:213) defines internally displaced persons as "Persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict situation of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-mode disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised border". All of the above battles were meant and successfully managed to forcefully remove indigenous people from their areas. Hence, human rights were immensely violated in this regard in South Africa. South Africa is prone to fierce droughts which often happen in consecutive seasons, which results to the influx of people to the cities. There will be no point for people to live in rural areas if they livestock dies from drought and farming becomes a pipe dream. They end up with seeking employment from factories and earning a salary being the only option for survival. Notwithstanding the point that they were forced to the patches of barren regions of the country by the apartheid regime through homeland system. Such movement to the cities was met with harsh and hostile treatments from the apartheid government who felt they were defiant to the law. Thus, if found, they would be suspended from the cities and sent back to the homelands. Black (indigenous) people ought to get a permit to work and live in the cities.

Informal settlements – As provided in South Africa's National Housing Code, informal settlements are typically identified as human rights abuses on the basis of the following characteristics; illegality and informality, inappropriate locations, restricted public and private

sector investment, poverty and vulnerability and social stress (Modiri, 2013). That is, informal settlements in South Africa demonstrate one or more of the above characteristics. Life in the homelands was becoming unbearable as the number was growing in population with the new generation being born. And the townships, which were the only semi-urban areas reserved for black people in the cities could not cope with the growing population, informal settlements resulted. First of all, due to poverty, people could not afford to build decent houses, though the need was so dire. Even those who had a steady job, but there was no land reserved for that by the government of the day. That is, townships remained the same or rather were not to be developed further. The same applied to the homelands where people could not afford decent houses, and end up erecting any structure they could afford. Such structures, especially around the townships were regarded as informal settlements as they were built illegally, that is, without a plan. Initially, government use to demolish such settlements. Due to the defiance campaign which black people applied to the regime, the government gave in to the pressure. Thus, the sprawling informal settlement numbers multiplied during the liberation struggle countrywide. Hence, the current democratic government has a huge backlog in housing delivery to the masses.

Colonialism – It refers to a process by which a central system of power dominates the surrounding land and its components. Fagen (2003) argues that Western European settlers formed minority groups, which often used more advanced weaponry to dominate the people initially living in their places. South Africa is one of those countries which were colonised by the settlers from Europe. As I have mentioned the atrocities that came with the issue of colonialism in the form of wars and battles throughout the country, human rights suffered immensely. Compromising laws were applied whereby indigenous people were once not regarded as the citizens of this country. Worst of all was when the kings of the area were forced away from their subjects for years. King Cetshwayo of the Zulus was jailed for nine years in Cape Town for no apparent reason. His case was for him to conform to the British rule through the British courts. That is, he resisted to take orders from the British people who camped on his land. Again, his son, Dinuzulu who was his successor when he died, was sent to St. Helena, an island in the Pacific Ocean for ten years. While they (the kings) were away, the chiefs were installed in their place. They (chiefs) would take charge of regions allocated to them within Zululand/KwaZulu which was the land encompassing the province of then Natal. When King Dinuzulu finally came back, he was regarded as the Paramount Chief by the British. That was the result of the forceful removal. The abuse of the Zulu throne went on until it was corrected

during the era of King Goodwill Zwelithini. Besides the Natal Province/KwaZulu, South Africa was divided in three other provinces, namely, Cape Province, Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This means that indigenous people would reside within the borders of such provinces.

Apartheid - Literally "apartness" or "segregation" in English. A policy of racial segregation introduced by the National Party after its electoral victory in 1948 (Oucho, 2005). Lwabukuna (2012) states that apartheid was characterised by an authoritarian political culture based on *baaskap* (or white supremacy), which encouraged state repression of indigenous people for the benefit of the nation's minority white population. Till to date South Africa is still haunted by the apartheid policies in many spheres. That is, the South African population is still ruled by apartheid policies. Segregation reigns supreme in South African society, through residential areas, work opportunities as well as the treatment from the authorities. There are still different areas for different races. These include areas for Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Whites. When racial segregation intensified in South Africa, residential areas with mix races were phased out, for example, Sophia Town in Johannesburg, District Six in Cape Town and Cato Manor/Umkhumbane in Durban.

Forced removals – It refers to the dislocation of indigenous people within South Africa through the heavy-handedness of the apartheid government. Kgatla (2013) argues that this process signifies one of the most humiliating experiences in the history of South Africa of which black people would be removed by force from their places of birth and be resettled to unfamiliar areas. Indigenous people were forced to give space to the white suburb to be built, Indian and Coloured residential areas to be created. In all these instances, laws were passed that would enforce to legalise such removals, such as the Group Areas Act and the Immorality Act (which forbade the mixing of races in South Africa).

Town/City – These are urban places where people have settled. However, Modiri (2013) argues that apartheid as legislated racial separation, substantially changed the South African urban scene. That is, South African cities were remodelled according to race, at the exclusion of indigenous people. That is, in the cities black people as a matter of providing labour to the city industries, would only occupy the fringes of those cities or towns in places called townships. Indigenous people must have a valid reason to be in the town. Reasons would differ from coming to spend money in town through purchasing some household items or to work. While doing all that they had to stay away from other races except for business purposes. Thereafter, they had to catch buses or trains back home to the townships or rural homelands.

Townships - Townships are defined as areas that were designated under apartheid legislation for exclusive occupation by people classified as Africans. Previously called 'locations' Townships have a unique and distinct history, which has had a direct impact on the socio-economic status of these areas and how people perceive and operate within them (Modiri, 2013). These were the only residences were indigenous people would taste an urban life. In fact, that was a semi-urban life since not all activities of the city life were present. For example, ablution facilities were not of the same standard as those of the city life. Houses that were built there were too small compared to those in the white suburbs. Townships road system was managed through gravel maintenance while the white suburbs enjoyed tarred roads. All of the above battles were meant and successfully managed to forcefully remove indigenous people from their areas.

Homelands/Bantustans – These were settlement areas reserved only for black people by white government in South Africa. Bantustans (also known as Bantu homelands)**,** South Africa homeland, or black state, any of ten (10) former territories that were designated by the white-dominated government of South Africa as pseudo-national homelands for the country's black African (classified by the government as Bantu) population during the mid- to late 20th century. Rural life meant that people would most of the time fend for themselves. They were subjected to the customary law whereby people are the subject of the local chief. The chief would not be too much visible to his subjects, hence he will have a headman who will deal with the affairs of the people on a daily basis. The chief will have a tribal office where he administers his duties on certain days and at the same time attend to local cases and complaints. Only criminal cases will be referred to the civil courts. People would depend on subsistence farming for a living, and they would struggle during the drought seasons. Also they would be liable to pay a yearly levy to the chief which was paid per family. Livestock would perish during droughty seasons while at some instances they had to sell some goats or even cattle to pay for poll tax which was inflicted by the government on indigenous males. Drought as well as dwindling of grazing land would force men to seek employment from as far as Johannesburg mines. And that would lead to family ties being broken.

Imfecane/Lifaqane – It refers to the period of great upheaval within the borders of South Africa whereby indigenous people according to their ethnicity were fighting for the turf. This period of revolutionary change, known as the Imfecane ("Crushing" or "hammering") by the Zulu and the Lifaqane ("The Crushing") by the Sotho--is also often referred to as "the time of troubles"

(Richner, 2005:31). This period was characterised by the rise of the Zulu State under Shaka (Masina, 2006). Other tribes would run for their dear lives trying to avoid the fearsome king of the Zulus. They were running out of livestock since the grazing of them would attract the attention of Shaka who would attack them and at the same time confiscate their livestock. The arrival of the colonisers, especially the British settlers came as a blessing to the weaker tribes who seek their protection from him (Shaka). Hence, three countries which were known as 'Protectorates' were formed from South Africa, namely, Bechuanaland (later Botswana), Basotholand (later Lesotho} and Swaziland (later eSwatini}. Till to date those countries are independent and enjoy their full autonomy from South Africa. However, Lesotho wants to come back and become the tenth province of South Africa. Shaka met the British settlers in 1824 in his KwaKhangelamankengane homestead in Durban. The place is now the site for the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, with the statue of King George V of England. He had good relations with the British settlers of which certain goods were barted with livestock. He (Shaka) even sent some delegation to learn the use of guns in England. As a warrior, he called the settlers 'cowards' for the use of guns, a weapon that kills people without any contact. Hence, he called the "Abelumbi" (magicians), which later as the time went by, it changed to "Abelungu" which is translated to philanthropists.

1.8 Research methodology

A desktop and/or secondary qualitative research method is used in this study. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005) this approach reinforces an understanding and interpretation of meaning as well as intentions underlying human interaction. While Newman (2000) states that as a research strategy, qualitative research is inductivist, constructionist, and interpretivist. That is, qualitative research is a research strategy that indicates the relationship between theory and research and usually emphasizes on how theories were generated (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) describe qualitative research as a multifaceted research method involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to subject matter. The multifaceted nature of qualitative research enables researchers to develop a holistic picture of the phenomenon in question. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) provide the following principles that underlie qualitative research:

- Qualitative research is holistic; it looks at the larger picture and begins with a search for understanding of the whole.

- Qualitative research looks at the relationships within a system.

- Qualitative research focus on understanding a given social setting, not necessarily on making predictions about that setting.

- Qualitative research demands time consuming analysis; it requires ongoing analysis of the data.

- Qualitative research design requires the researcher to become the research instrument. It also incorporates room for description of the researcher's own biases and ideological preferences.

- Qualitative research design incorporates informed consent decisions and is responsive to ethical concerns.

Secondary data collection

With the secondary data which I have chosen, researchers will make use of existing data (that is, data which has already been collected by other researchers (Horsburgh, 2003). While Sherif (2018) feels that qualitative secondary analysis is a relatively under-used method in education and the social sciences, often due to the lack of easily accessible, relevant, trustworthy, and complete data.

Advantages

I have opted for the secondary data collection system because one can refer to the data already collected. I could visit the data which was used in the past and compare to what is happening now, that is, whether things have changed. The system is cheap, while at the same time providing large amounts of data. In my case though I chose the secondary data collection to compare the previous findings to mine. Finally, I opted for it because of financial constraints.

1.9 Data collection process

In this study, the researcher has the internet to decipher relevant and useful information from the journals and books. In addition, the researcher has consulted library books which are relevant to the topic to get information. Moreover, hard copy information from newspapers has also been added to the study.

1.10 Data analysis

My data analysis highlights particular historical, social and political condition of the internal displacement in South Africa. This study applied discourse analysis. Within this discourse analysis the aim is to provide interpretative claims based on power relations within a particular historical context. Since, discourse analysis always involves power, the researcher has connected the past and the current context of internal displacement which involves forceful removals on indigenous people. The reason being to find the correct and more reliable findings in the end.

1.11 Limitations of the study

In this study limitations of note include, time constraints, financial resources as well as no interviews of the people since it is a desktop research.

1.12 The structure of the dissertation

The study comprises five chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the introduction, background, research problem, research questions research objectives and chapter layout. Chapter 2 deals with literature review which examines the main causes to displacement, namely, Conflict-induced displacement, Disaster-induced displacement, Development-induced displacement as well as Environmental Displacement. Chapter 3 covers theoretical framework which deals with theories underpinning the study, namely, anti-colonial theory, critical race theory, Marxist theory and functionalist theory. Chapter 4 gives the history of internal displacement in South Africa, causes of internal displacement in South Africa, challenges of internal displacement on the people of South Africa, the role of the government in combating internal displacement in the country and finally, the United Nations final solution to combat internal displacement. Chapter 5 provides the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW IN GENERAL

The internal displacement is a phenomenon which affects the citizens of the country without the knowledge of the outside world. In the last chapter of the study, the plight of the internally displaced people which is a result of internal displacement comes to the fore. However, this chapter will examine the push-pull factors of as far as internal displacement is concerned. This is crucial in the aim of the research question in order to get to the bottom of the internal displacement problem in South Africa. The section will begin by examining the definitions of types of conflicts, then move to view how these were applied in the study. First of all the section explains the orientation to the research process, positioning it as a critical scholar deliberation. Then the chapter explains the study, arguing that internal displacement is an anomaly. Lastly, the chapter examines in details how internal displacement brings upheaval in the society as well as violating human rights in general.

2.1 Conflict-induced displacement

International displacement is a recurring theme, for example, in Kenya's recent history. Starting from the colonial period, there was a concern about the British land policy which in a way favoured White settler agriculture (Klopp et al, 2010). This entails the dispossession of many indigenous community's land, mainly the Kalenjin, Maasai and Kikuyu across the Rift Valley and Nyanza, Western and Central provinces (Klopp et al, 2010) Till to date those areas are bearing a colonial name which is White Highlands. The situation was aggravated when this process was legalised with the implementation of an individual freehold title registration system at the expense of customary mechanisms of land tenure (Oucho, 2005).

People from other political parties might end up treading on the opposing party's area, thus, causing violence. However, certain distinctions need to be drawn in order to bring the environmental displacement to the level it deserves. Fielden (2008) feels that a thorough investigation is needed to the actual causal links between the environmental factors and migration. Thus, measuring the extent to which the migration is forced in this phenomenon. Moreover, if such a bold step is not taken, the existence of environmentally displaced persons will remain not universally acknowledged. Hence, Kristin (2005) views the concept of environmental displacement as a myth, while Fielden (2008) posits that millions of people are forced to flee their homes by environmental factors. Nonetheless, an emerging consensus about

the environmental factors being the cause or at the least contributing to more direct causes of forced displacement put much emphasis further clarification and/or research (Kalin, 2006). Examples such as hurricane Katrina and the tsunami in Sri Lanka and Indonesia show the serious distraction of the environmental displacement (Oucho, 2005). The main problem though in this regard is that most affected states could not cope with the damage caused without the outside intervention (Oucho, 2005). In addition, it also depends on the relations of the country concerned with the international world for the affected people to get assistance.

For example, in Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta's government aggravated the land grievances of colonial dispossession. That is, Kenyatta maintained the system of freehold land titles without questioning how the land had been acquired (Oucho, 2005). However, in order to appease the displaced, the government introduced the compensation process, though on a market system. The system turned to be biased towards those with the financial means to acquire land. The bone of contention is that corruption and ethnic politics supported patronage networks and favoured certain communities, particularly the Kikuyu, who settled in the fertile areas of the Rift Valley, at the expense of others, such as the Lu, the Maasai and the Kalenjin (Klopp et al, 2010).

As if it was not enough, Daniel Arap Moi, Kenyatta's successor as president further exacerbated the land tensions. The political tensions of the 1990s was resuscitated under his leadership. That is, Moi (a Kalenjin) sought to portray the opposition as Kikuyu led, while at the same time portraying the multiparty politics as an exclusionary ethnic project to control land (Oucho, 2005). This entails evoking *majimboism,* which is a type of federalism system that promotes provincial autonomy based on ethnicity (Klopp et al, 2010). Hence, in order to recover stolen land, Kikuyu were evicted from areas they had settled in the Rift Valley and western Kenya (Klopp et al, 2010). (Oucho, 2005) reports that associated clashes of the 1990s left thousands dead and over 350 000 displaced, which allowed Moi to manipulate elections in 1992 and 1997. The situation in the country became anarchic because the customary mechanisms of land governance was further underestimated by rampant land grabbing of the time. This situation created more violence and fresh displacement in Kenya.

Such conflict situation carried on to the Democratic Republic of Congo. The DRC has internal displacement which is extremely complex and it resulted from a number of different situations

with varied patterns of violence. Almost all of the forced displacement in the DRC originates from the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. Oucho (2005) summarises the main periods of conflict in the DRC that induced displacement as follows; between 1992 and 1994 interethnic clashes, especially in Katanga and North Kivu ensued, between 1996 and 1997 saw the Alliance de Forces Democratiques pour la liberation (AFDL) advanced through the use of force, and that 2003 was a particularly devastating year for displacement, when it was estimated that a total of 34 million people were affected.

According to Oucho (2005), the DRC now hosts one of the largest internally displaced people (IDPs) population in the world. He further states that there is a worrying grievance in that this displacement has steadily grown over time to the point which estimates to appropriately 10 per cent of the EDRC population is currently displaced. The internal displacement in the DRC is extremely dynamic, that is, people are further re-displaced and in some other instances, they return when they feel the situation is calm (IDMC, 2007). In fact, many IDPs in the DRC have moved from location to location for many times. Ultimately, this trend of insecurity in the DRC has led to large numbers of people leaving the country as refugees.

North Kivu: The situation in North Kivu was so tense people were not willing to risk their lives by trying to go back to their villages. Conflict was between troops loyal to Laurent Nkunda and militia groups. According to Akamo (2012) Laurent Nkunda was an officer in the rebel Rally for Congolese Democracy (RDC). This is a faction which broke away in the Goma region and intensified its offensive attack in the Second Congo War which spread from 1998 to 2002. The mission of this rebel group was to overthrow the government of Laurent Kabila, the then Congolese President. And it got its backing from the Rwandan army. The situation prevailed until 2003 when the truce was made and the war, finally, came to an end. Then a transitional government of Congo came into effect which saw the integration of the national party. Nkunda joined the integrated force and he got promotion in 2004 to the position of a Colonel.

However, peace did not last in the eastern part of DRC as Laurent Nkunda soon rejected the authority of the government and retreated to the Masisi forests of North Kivu. In forming his faction army group, he took some of RDC-Goma troops with him. Mineral wealth of the DRC seems to be in the centre of all the endless fighting in the country. Hence, Oucho (2005) asserts that Western companies that source minerals are said to be buying them from traders

who finance both rebel and government troops. People of Africa instead of benefitting, are suffering heavily due to their countries' natural resources. DRC is rich and known for exporting minerals such as gold, coltan cassiterite {Oucho 2005). Reports says that in mid-2004, a number of attacks had forced about 20 000 Congolese people to flee their homes.

South Kivu: The conflict in this region is fermented by foreign militia as well as the Congolese army. Again foreign militia groups are to blame in the conflict. They normally take sides, weighing out which side benefits them the most. Traders are only interested in maximising profit, without taking into cognisance the suffering of the people. Besides Westerners who are exploiting mineral proceeds of the DRC, other African countries that share borders with the DRC seem interested in the affairs of the country. hence, fighting is ongoing even after several ceasefires had been reached (Akamo, 2012). Like in the case of Laurent Nkunda who left a position of being an army colonel and retreated to the forest. He preferred money from the black market than working for the state. Both North and South Kivu clashes involves mostly outside forces. Like in the case of President Laurent Kabila who used the (FDLR) as a proxy force against the foreign Rwandan armies operating in the DRC, for example, the Rwandan Patriotic Army military wing and Rwandan backed Rally for Congolese Democracy (Akamo, 2012). The FDLR units from its Kinshasa held territory moved into North and South Kivu. Hence, it would unleash attacks on Tutsi forces both in eastern DRC and across the border into Rwanda.

Ituri: While the involvement of the outside forces in both North and South Kivu was a norm, the Ituri province, in the north east of the DRC, clashes there could have multiple ramifications. During the Ituri war which took place between 1999 and 2003, the tension or clashes broke out in the territory of Djugu which pitted the two main communities in the region, namely, Hema and Lendu against each other (OCHA, 2007). The in this case the massacre took place between these two ethnic groups, with associated militias on both sides. That fierce fighting attracted external forces from North Kivu province as well as bordering countries. Multitudes of citizens were displaced while others had died and maimed. The truce was finally made which brought calm to the area. However, the problem of the external forces would not leave them forever as the other party would accommodate them further. In this Ituri case, Lendu ethnic group does not stop its offensive stance as its militia continue to expand till to date. Hence, most assailants are still recruited in the Ituri from within the Lendu community and are brought together in an association called Cooperative for the Development of the Congo (Akamo, 2012). On the other

side though the Hema have not mounted any systematic reprisal activities. The only move they (Hema) are engaging in is that their youths are organising themselves into self-defence groups. It is, however, worrying that such Hema youth self-defence groups are engaged in erecting roadblocks in Ituri. Such gesture could be translated to be a forewarning of the risk of ethnic confrontation.

However, after all these clashes, I applaud the input or resolution of the UN in this matter which states that anyone supporting illegal Congolese armed groups through illicit trade of natural resources should be subjected to sanctions including travel restrictions and assets freezing.

The other example happened in Zimbabwe whereby several incidents led to internal displacement. Two incidents of note include Gukurahundi and Murambatsvina.

Gukurahundi: In its formation Gukurahundi was the strategy which was used by ZANU-PF in combination with the ideology of Chimurenga in fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe from the colonial rule. Madebwe et al (2005) explain that Gukurahundi, was the strategy which entails violent and physical elimination of enemies and opponents of the ZANU-PF. However, several problems engulfed the organisation and threatened its unity, which at some stage led to other political formations such as the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in Matebeleland. Such counter narrative of Matebeleland region continued to grow resulting in the formation of labour movements as well. Hence after attaining power 1980, Gukurahundi violent activities were directly unleashed mostly to the Matebeleland region, where it instilled fear, hostility and brutalise its citizens. However, as the organisation was now in power, state security forces were used in the Gukurahundi massacre. It was not necessarily the clash between Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups as it used to be in most countries. What was amiss in this case is that the world organs like the United Nations did not raise alarm loudly about the incident. Maybe it was because the hype was still too high about Zimbabwean democracy with President Robert Mugabe, a black leader, at the helm.

The other incident of note which was undertaken by the Zimbabwe government was the deployment of troops in the DRC during the year 2000 (Ndlovu, 2005). Since Zimbabwe like any other country had its own problem, there was no need for Zimbabwe to get involved in the affairs of the DRC, especially in the conflict situation. And inside the country, though the

conflict was over, overall conditions in the country were still in shambles. For example, the GDP was falling down since the country could not afford to pay for its diplomatic missions, nor for petroleum energy since 1999, while also experiencing one of the highest HIV/AIDS rates in the world (Ndlovu, 2012). So, the decision by the Zimbabwe government to send troops to the DRC was an outrage, since there was no apparent rationale to do so. That is how conflict wreaked havoc in Africa.

Murambatsvina: It was officially known as the Operation Restore Order by the government, and was meant to rid the urban cities of informal structures in both housing and business (Madebwe et al, 2005). The operation which was led by the police is one of the examples of the human rights abuse. It mostly targeted women and children because women could not afford decent houses due to patriarchy in the workplaces. Therefore, such structures were all they could afford as shelter for their children. That was the harshness of forceful removal by the government which showed grave human rights abuse in Zimbabwe. Just like the justification by the apartheid government in South Africa that keeping indigenous people out of the cities, meant to rid the place of black spots which were threatening the tranquillity of those environments, Zimbabwean authorities justified their actions as cleaning up the area.

However, conflict situation is not limited only to Africa as the following paragraphs will highlight the same conflict situations in both Bosnia as well as Columbia. Bosnia suffered immensely under conflict-induced displacement which saw the city of Sarajevo being under siege with conflict which ran from 1992 until 1995 (Betts, 2009). Out of 4.4 million of the displaced people at the end of the war, 1.3 million were internally displaced while 1.2 million became refugees. What is of significance in this case as compared to South Africa, is that UNHCR coordinated an operation whereby 950 000 tonnes of humanitarian relief supply were delivered around the country. Like in any situation of the entire world, the government turns a blind eye on the issues caused by the internal displacement.

For example, Colombia has been affected by the conflict situation for a long time. To broker such turmoil, the country tried very hard to foster peace through democratic elections. Thus, the re-election of the President Juan Manuel Santos in 2014, precipitated peace dialogue between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and the Army of National Liberation (Davis, 2010). An agreement was reached which gave voice to the victims of violence. Such an endeavour resulted in the government implementing Law on Victims and Land Restitution

(Victims Law). The objective of this Law was to enable the government to improve its response to forced displacement. Hence, it is women and children who suffered the most (sexually) during the conflict era, found protection.

Therefore, conflict can lead to displacement as shown above.

2.2 Disaster-induced displacement

It refers to displacement of people due to natural disasters (floods, volcanoes, landslides, earthquakes), environmental change (deforestation, desertification, land degradation, global warming) and human-made disasters (industrial accidents, radioactivity). In the midst of the climate change, South Africa is not spared some time, hence, there is an extensive rush in housing projects that will help alleviate the problem (Oucho, 2005). Sometimes referred to 'environmental refugees' or 'disaster refugees', most of those people displaced by either environmental factors or disasters do not leave the borders of their homeland (Butt, 2013). This category includes people displaced as a result of natural disasters (floods, volcanoes, landslides, earthquakes), environmental change (deforestation, desertification, land degradation, global warming) and human-made disasters (industrial accidents, radioactivity) (Butt, 2013).

There is, however, a group of internally displaced people that faces the danger of being left out of protection from other groups, namely, the environmentally displaced group. Kristin (2005) argues that since environmentally displaced group's plight is tangled up with the forms such as regular migration, voluntary environmental migration, and climate change migration, it does not get the recognition it deserves. The mistake made here would be looking at this displacement as a slight or common anomaly resulting from nature, without considering the havoc it causes to the society. It is taken as a regular thing and that people migrate voluntarily to its effect. The point is that ultimately, environmentally displacement mostly results in urban IDPs (Kristin, 2005). This takes us to one beat twice shy concepts, that is, people do not expect the same disaster to befall them again. Fagen (2003) blames the effect of environmental displacement as the factor behind political conflicts in some areas.

2.2.1 Sudden disasters

There are sudden disasters which lead to internal displacement of people (Lwabukuna, 2012). The world at its entity had and is still experiencing such catastrophe. Southern African Development Community (SADC) region as well as South Africa had gone through the same fate of heavy rainfall and running veld fires for example (Cheng-Hopkins, 2009). South Africa

with its topography full of slopes, people living in low lying areas are prone to be relocated to safer areas. In 1987, South Africa, especially the province of KwaZulu-Natal suffered one of the heaviest floods of the season which left huge damage with lots of lives being lost. People were buried alive due to heavy avalanche coming from the hilltops running down to the low lying area, and finally to the flooded rivers, washing away everything on its way. As if that was not enough, northern KwaZulu-Natal experienced yet another heavy flooding in the areas of Zululand when low lying areas of Mozambique immersed under heavy floods that shocked the whole world in the year 2000. The most significant incident was that of a woman who gave birth on a tree on the Mozambican side. South Africa played a major rescue role in that situation, even on the Mozambican side.

2.2.2 Slow-onset disasters

They may start at a very slow pace and not one might take them seriously but then when they reach the final stage, the result would be a displacement of people in one way or another. When the drought season is still at its initial stage, no swift measures are put in place since no one knows how long it is going to last but when famine which is a result to that strikes, it creates displacement (Oucho, 2005). South Africa has suffered heavy human influx to the cities due to people running away from drought in the rural areas. Hence, the cities are overcrowded with people crammed boundaries.in their relatives residing in the townships. Those without relatives or friends in the cities resorted to erecting shacks or informal structures for shelter at any space available within the city boundaries. Since there was no arable land for farming, they had to move to the cities to seek employment.

2.2.3 Epidemic disasters

Such displacements are prevalent in African countries and, South Africa as part of Africa, is not spared from such disasters which include pandemics such as cholera, malaria and HIV to name a few (Cheng-Hopkins, 2009). The scourge of HIV is the one that has been proven to be present in South Africa and has done much damage. It has ravaged Durban and the surroundings areas in that caregivers are being deployed to help administer HIV medications to home based patients as hospitals cannot cope (Lwabukuna, 2012). South African rural areas were the most affected to the pandemic as compared to the citizens of the cities. This because they were far from the health facilities like clinics and hospitals. So it would take some time before the health personnel to reach out to them to offer some assistance. Some of the places in the rural areas are just not accessible for transport. Hence, HIV/AIDS continue unabated to

ravage those areas. Moreover, political interference reign supreme in South Africa during the era of President Thabo Mbeki, who as the head of state was in denial that HIV can cause AIDS. And the whole world was in shock by Mbeki's stunt. However, South Africa reached some reprieve since HIV/AIDS abated when President Zuma succeeded Mbeki as the head of state and agreed to the ARVs roll-out in 2009.

2.2.4 Industrial/technological disasters

African countries, especially the SADC region had been hit hard by such disasters and, South Africa falls victim to it usually in the form of pollution and spillage of hazardous substances that course displacement to people (Cheng-Hopkins, 2009). Durban as a busy seaport suffers the same fate that see its angling population moving away to Cape Town looking for fish which its life is being destroyed in Durban due to a big number of ships docking at its bay which results in volume of oil spillage (Lwabukuna, 2012). Much efforts had been made to curb pollution in the Durban harbour through the improvement of the Richards Bay harbour to alleviate traffic at the Durban harbour. Moreover, much development is underway to improve the Durban harbour. For example, more space has been reserved for development at the Clairwood Race Course which was completely closed.

2.2.5 Complex emergencies

Consisting of both natural and human-made disasters, such disasters include different kind of wars as well as political conflicts in the case of the latter while in the former countries like Zimbabwe suffered under food insecurity as a result of the land grab strategy (Oucho, 2005). Food insecurity adversely affects agricultural population which in turn seek refuge to the urban areas, hence displacement is being promulgated (Cheng-Hopkins, 2009). And thus, the displacement that South Africa is experiencing results from such assortment of disasters. In fact, complex emergencies conflate both conflict-induced displacement as well as environmental factors. During the apartheid era, indigenous or rather black people were forced to leave their rural homelands due to droughts and/or floods that damaged their crops to seeking employment in the cities. On the other hand, political violence drove them to the cities where they could cluster together and form self-defence units. Of late, the South African forced removal has changed quite dramatically, whereby the dimension is no longer limited within its borders, but across borders. South Africa has become home to millions of African refugees from different countries in the continent due to instability in their regions. So, political trend has taken another dimension in the country, for example, sporadic xenophobic attacks are being

experienced, something that never happened in the history of the country. South African unemployment rate has sky rocketed, and South Africans feel that they jostle for work with unskilled migrant labours. Moreover, South African government is found wanting in solving the situation, which has become a recurring incident in the country. The situation is, however, compounded by refugees from as far as Asia, namely, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and many more, where there is no fighting though.

Therefore, disaster can lead to displacement as shown above.

2.3 Development-induced displacement

This category refers and includes people who are compelled to move as a result of policies and projects implemented to enhance development. People displaced in this way are sometimes also referred to as 'ousters', 'involuntarily displaced' or 'involuntarily resettled' (Smith, 2005). The issue of urbanisation and social change in South Africa comes to the fore, that is, in the formation of the cities under apartheid rule with the different township on the peripherals (Smith, 2005). However, development seems to be an ongoing issue all over the world. Hence, South Africa still experiences development-induced displacement to date.

2.3.1 *Concepts and themes in development-induced displacement*

The theme on this chapter is about the issue of development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR). In this case the developer plays a major role, whereby he directly controls the land which was previously occupied by the group of people. A large quantity of land is needed for many developmental projects, such as to extract natural resources, urban renewal and other development programmes, infrastructure projects, that is, dams highways, bridges, irrigation land and wild-life re-introduction schemes which come the creation of game parks (Downing, 2002). In all these instances, people are forced to move, thus losing their homes. These projects a two-pronged effect on affected communities. That is, they are well received by the immigrants who got attracted for employment opportunities, while adversely affect the host communities who find their space being invaded. In fact the project has got both beneficiaries as well as victims of the system. However, the World Commission on Dams (WCD) report refers not only to physical displacement but also livelihood of displacement which deprives people of their means of production and displacement from their socio-cultural milieu (Stanley, 2014).

2.3.2 *Global Overview*

Though precise data on numbers of people affected by development-induced displacement throughout the world is sketchy, the World Bank Environment Department estimates that about 10 million of people are displaced each year due to dams' construction, urban development, and transportation and infrastructure programmes (Stanley, 2014). Shocking as they are, but these numbers fail to account for large numbers of displacement. This is because displacement tallies almost always refer only to persons who are physically ousted from the legally acquired land wanted for the planned project, while at the same time ignoring those living in the vicinity of the projects, whose livelihoods and socio-cultural milieu might be adversely affected by the project. Those that are physically displaced by the projects have to be resettled somewhere. Most of the time the place of resettlement is not favourable to their style of living. It is a new environment altogether. Moreover, the representation report from the research seems biased to other regions of the world, depending on which part of the world might be covered and what projects are covered (Downing, 2002).

Asia and the Pacific

As reported before that development-induced displacement occurs throughout the world, two countries of this region take centre stage, as they are responsible for a large portion, namely, China and India. Calculations by the National Research Centre for Resettlement is that in China alone over 45 million people were displaced by dam projects between 1950 and 2000 (Fuggle et al, 2000). Whereas in the history of India, it is estimated that 21 million to 40 million displacement has taken place due to dam projects alone (Taneja and Takkar, 2000). The other most talked about project involves the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam Project in India, which is set to displace about 127 000people (Fuggle, et al, 2000). He further states that China's Three Gorges Dam Project is set to displace about 1.2 million people.

Africa

Africa is not spared the adverse effects of the development-induced displacement and resettlement. While countries like China and India lead the world in the number of people who are displaced by development projects, the proportion of the population and the territory affected by the largest of projects in these countries is much lower than in some projects in African countries. In Ghana, for example, approximately 1 per cent of the country's population was affected when the Akosombo Dam displaced about 80 000 people, while roughly 0.013 per cent of the country of India's population could be affected whereby 127 000 people will be

displaced through the erection of the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam (Stanley, 2014). He further reports another difference in flooding modes. That is, the reservoir of the Ghana's Akosombo Dam flooded 3.5 per cent of land, while that of the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam in India will flood only 0.01 per cent territory.

Europe, the United States, and Canada

The DIDR effect is not common in industrialised countries in Europe and North America today. However, a few incidents of such anomaly did take place, particularly, in North America. For example, the Grand Coulee Dam Project in the United States, a project that extended over some forty years between 1933 and 1975 saw the displacement of approximately 5,100 and 6,350 people in the region (Downing, 2002). The report is that it affected both indigenous and non-indigenous people. The trend went on across the border in Canada where it also adversely affected indigenous populations without compensation. In the 1950s, 300 indigenous families were displaced and resettled from the land protected by the treaty to make way for the Garrison Dam in the United States (Downing, 2002).

2.3.3 *Types of development projects causing displacement*

It has to be noted that the types of development projects causing displacement range across a wide spectrum. In this study such types of projects have been divided into three categories, namely, dams, urban renewal and development and natural resource extraction.

Dams

As reported before that development-induced displacement occurs throughout the world, two countries of note in the Asian region are China and India. Calculations by the National Research Centre for Resettlement is that in China alone over 45 million people were displaced by dam projects between 1950 and 2000 (Fuggle et al, 200). Whereas in the history of India, it is estimated that 21 million to 40 million displacement has taken place due to dam projects alone (Taneja and Takkar, 2000). The other most talked about project involves the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam Project in India, which is set to displace about 127 000people (Fuggle et al, 2000). He further states that China's Three Gorges Dam Project is set to displace about 1.2 million people.

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affected by even the largest of projects in these countries is much lower than in some projects in African countries (Downing, 2002). In Ghana for example, approximately 1 per cent of the country's population was affected when the Akosombo Dam displaced about 80 000 people, while roughly 0.013 per cent of the country of India's population could be affected, whereby 127 000 people will be displaced through the erection of Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam (Taneja and Takkar, 2000). He further reports that another difference in flooding modes, when the reservoir of the Ghana's Akosombo Dam flooded 3.5 per cent of land, while that of the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam in India will flood only 0.01 per cent territory.

The Kariba Dam project in Zambia displaced approximately 57,000 people and created the Kariba resettlement scheme on the Gwembe Tonga (Stanley, 2014). The other displacement of note is the Aswan High Dam Project in Egypt, which displaced close to 100,000 people in both Egypt and Sudan countries (Stanley, 2014). This displacement saw the dam's reservoir inundated the summer resources previously used by nomadic groups in the Nubian region. This led to the huge population being adversely affected, whereby resettlement and compensation schemes failed to consider their plight (Downing, 2002).

Urban infrastructure and transportation

It consists of several projects that work towards its fulfilment. This will include projects for slum clearance and upgrading, the establishment of industrial and commercial estates, the building and upgrading of sewerage systems, schools, hospitals, ports and the construction of communication and transportation networks, including those connecting different urban centres. All these aspects will lead to the urban displacement and resettlement. (Fuggle et al, 2000) estimates that about 60 per cent of development-induced displacement takes place every year, of which about 6 million people get affected. All this is due to urban infrastructure and transportation projects. He further states that in 1993 alone 22.6 per cent of displacement was caused by urban and transportation projects. Among the largest urban displacements on record are the Indonesia's Jabotabek project, which displaced between 40,000 and 50,000 people, and India's Hyderbad Water Supply Project, which ousted 50,000 people (Fuggle et al, 2000). Meanwhile, the displacement from individual urban development projects is reported to be lower than that of the large infrastructure projects. However, while displacement from individual urban development projects is low, the frequency of such projects is higher than in some other sectors which results in a high overall number of displaced people (Stanley, 2014). It has to be noted though that the amount of land appropriated for individual urban projects is

often minimal compared to that acquired for individual large dam or irrigation projects, the ratio of people displaced per unit of expropriated land is usually higher as a result of high urban population densities. This trend gets worse when looking at the global trend of urbanisation growth. Also, rural development projects have played their own role in this rise, as many displaced people have either been relocated to cities or have migrated there from poor resettlement sites in search of employment (Stanley, 214). In Mozambique, the resettlement of 130 families happened in two separate urban relocation operations of which together generated space for an urban renewal project (Downing, 2002). In Cameroon, the displacement and resettlement aimed at restructuring and improving conditions in an urban 'spontaneous' settlement affected roughly 45,000 people in the Nylon Urban Upgrading Project in Douala (Downing, 2002). To vindicate the point, as is the case in most cases of DIDR, many displaced people in the Nylon project were amongst the city's poorest residents (Downing, 2002).

Natural resource extraction

This category of projects is about the extraction of mineral and oil. The evidence and figures from World Bank projects suggest that displacement in such projects is much lower than in many dam and urban renewal and development projects. The DIDR literature on mining and oil projects is sparse compared to that on dams and urban renewal and development projects. According to (Stanley, 2014) this is likely due to two factors, firstly, mining and oil projects cause only limited displacement compared to large infrastructure projects. The second factor is that the displacement caused by such projects is often indirect, that is, spillage from an oil pipeline might cause drinking-water contamination and the destruction of farmland, thus, leading families to abandon their homes and looks for safer conditions elsewhere. Since such indirect forms of displacement are less apparent as compared to the direct displacement caused by many large infrastructure projects, it therefore seldom leads to formal resettlement operations.

The Human Rights Watch's (HRW) in its report (1999) highlights on oil extraction activities in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. The report details the abuse of local dwellers' human rights by the Nigerian government and participating corporations in their efforts to quell local opposition to the extraction projects (Fuggle et al, 2000). The project leads to the environmental degradation stemming from regular oil spills and the construction of roads and canals, which contribute to the displacement of some from the region. While the Amnesty International's report (2000) highlights the oil industry and its role in human rights abuses in Sudan which

also leads to the forced expulsion of tens of thousands of people from their homes (Downing, 2002). The most worrying act in this case, sees the Government using its troops to engage in bombings, helicopter gunships, and mass executions as tools to ensure that people flee the region (Downing, 2002).

Therefore, development can lead to displacement as shown above.

This chapter has brought some elucidation into how different types of internal development affect the community in a region. Again, the details of push-pull factors have been highlighted. The nastiness of authoritative states forcefully removes their communities through conflict, while others remove them in the name of development. However, this chapter has proven that either way the community gets adversely affected through forced removals and resettled to new environments not conducive to their living standards, may it be social and/or places of work. In all instances where the negotiations for the implementation of such removals has taken place, the community concern is excluded. Hence, such removals result in conflicts, which ultimately produce human rights violation.

CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As the previous chapter (2) presented a literature review on the internal displacement which happens through forceful removal, this chapter narrates on the theory upon which this study is based, which is a Marxist theory. Marxist theory in this study will further be complemented through the anti-colonial theory. The argument will be about those who possess power, the colonisers and those who have nothing, the colonised. In the same vein, the conflict ensued, which is called the class struggle.

3.1 Marxist theory

Marxist theory is the theory which is so diverse in nature. That is, it covers many spheres and eras such as the past, the present and the future. Different scholars have written some work about Marxist ideology, a notion which gave the diverse culture of the theory. This study will base its ideology on the writings by scholars such as Andrew Nash, Herbert Marcuse and. Allison Drew, which is mostly about class struggle.

Andrew Nash (1999) highlights a systematic exposition and interpretation of the Marxist theory based on capitalist accumulation of wealth and its crises. He studies South African political situation since 1970 (which highlights the apartheid era) till the current democratic dispensation. Firstly, the principal objective was to show how the theoretical work grew out of the theory, and was integral to, the political struggles. Secondly, is to show how he came eventually to formulate the theories of crisis in terms of class conflict. This leads to the systematic exposition of his theories of crisis which offers a new interpretation and demonstrates how that interpretation is both internally consistent and semantically meaningful. The narratives of this paragraph are setting a relevant tone pertaining to the class conflict as well as the crisis brought about by the internal displacement in South Africa and the world at its entirety.

However, Marcuse's (1985) narration on the ideology is about comparison of Soviet collectivism and Western individualism. In simple terms, the line is drawn between the social living standards and the capitalist life of the West. Marxism in the West entails two main forms, which is that of the traditional communist parties and the more diffuse New Left form, known as Western Marxism (Marcuse, 1985). Marx had predicted that revolution would succeed in Europe, however, it was not to be. Western Marxism failed, when Eurocommunism favoured a peaceful, democratic approach to achieving socialism. One of the reasons being the

development in the western countries. Marx believed that technology could produce the crises that would lead to revolution. The belief was that Marxism was going to be an integrated scientific doctrine that could be applied universally to nature. Drew's (2008) assertion on Marxist ideology highlights the propaganda which is brought about by the imperial states in Africa. Surely the divisions will be formed among the indigenous people, whereby a rift will result between the elites as oppose to the poor masses. Marxism becomes so succinct in South African democratic dispensation whereby indigenous people are reeling in poverty in rural areas, while the middle class black elites enjoy rich life in the upper class suburbs.

3.1.1 Dilemmas of the internally displaced in view of the Marxist theory

Internal displacement brings misery to the victims of the stage authoritarian behaviours. Marxist theory emphasises the concept of hegemony, that is, leadership without the consent of the led (Nash, 1999). This takes us to the stage which says, the colonised are not happy that they are being colonised, hence, the conflict prevails. Marxism always warns against the haves imposing their power over the have nots. Furthermore, the theory promotes human rights, whereby the human race must live in harmony by being equal in all categories. Finally, Marxist ideology is at odds to inequality. Hence, Marcuse (1985) argues that a ruling class can consolidate its hegemony over other classes in two ways; firstly, there is the way which involves the use of force in executing internal displacement and resettlement, for example, the police and army. Marcuse (1985) calls this system 'Repressive State Apparatuses', and the example being the South Africa's colonial as well as the apartheid system era's. Laws are made that are used by the authoritarian states to control the powerless masses.

The dichotomy in the Marxist theory comes to the fore in this regard. That is, dynamics in the Western Marxism are different from those in the Soviet Marxism. South African society in general is reeling in the Western Marxism. But those citizens in the rural areas, though feeling the effects of Western Marxism, they pine for Soviet Marxism, not aware that the system failed long time ago, and started following Leninism.

3.1.2 Controversies surrounding the internally displaced in view of the Marxist theory

The main controversy happens when investigating the details of push-pull factors. These issues are viewed with mixed feelings, for example, states as perceived in Drew (2008) are notorious of forceful removal of the citizens of the country. However, it leaves one perplexed when the citizens of the country wilfully abandon their places of residence to go and seek refuge at

informal settlements nearby the places of work in the cities. However, Marxist theory has warned against the hegemons wielding power over the 'have nots' (Drew, 2008). That is, the class of powerless is giving in to the economically powerful class.

Most of the time, in a given situation authorities are to blame for making lives of the masses a misery. However, when one considers the pull-push factors, different issues might force or urge one to act or behave in an awkward manner. In this motion, especially in a South African context, centripetal as well as centrifugal forces become causes to the displacement. Rural life of the former homelands still exists, that is, people have homes in their respective homelands. However, job opportunity eagerness attracts them to the cities (centripetal force). Yet, after retirement, they prefer the remote life in the rural areas, thus leaving the fast and expensive life of the cities.

3.1.3 Strength of the Marxist theory in view of the internal displacement

As highlighted above, Marxist theory is opposed to any form of oppression. Therefore, in the issue of civilians being forcefully removed from their areas of residence and resettled in areas preferred by the government authorities, the ideals of the theory vehemently oppose that. Nash (1999) speaks of the South Africa that everyone is striving for, especially after the new democratic dispensation which was ushered in during the year 1994. That is, an attempt to build a South African left which is both militant and rational. South Africa that is capable of engaging with the struggles of the oppressed majority and developing analyses and arguments which depend on argument and evidence rather than faith. South African authorities have failed dismally to address the imbalances of the past, whether in the community or in the work places. Conditions still favour those who benefited from the apartheid system. People who were displaced for whatever reasons, end up living in shacks as they cannot afford decent homes due to financial constraint.

3.1.4 Criticism of the Marxist theory

The theory does not go without criticism though. For example, according to Marcuse (1985), the situation in Europe and in South Africa was premised on a belief that those whom capitalism had exploited and degraded, that is, workers and/or the powerless, could learn to see for themselves the need to overthrow its structures and that human liberation could not take place without this process. Soviet Marxism gave much greater weight to the ways in which people's insight was limited by class interest, tradition, propaganda and prejudice and relied on a party leadership to bring diverse social forces together in common action, without necessarily

challenging the limits of their insight. Western Marxism was given its own distinctive character in the South African context by its emergence not so much in the shadow of Soviet Marxism as in the vacuum created by the effective repression after Sharpeville of its foremost standard-bearer in South Africa, the SACP.

The importance of the Marxist theory has become evident in the study. As a theory that is opposed to any oppression and inequality, internal displacement that prevails in South Africa is not recommended. It wants South Africa that lives in harmony, without a bipolar when it comes to races. And that the hegemon in races should be quashed in one way or another, so as to quell conflict situations in the country. Communism has not yet replaced capitalism in South Africa, and most part of the world. However, turmoil is brewing as sporadic conflicts do happen in different cities of South Africa, such as xenophobic fighting and marches for basic services.

3.1.5 Relevance of Marxist theory for studying IDPs

In spite of the stated weaknesses, this paper draws on the work of (theory/name theorist Marxist theory to argue that internal displacement is an anomaly that lead to dissatisfaction and turmoil in the society and, thus, the internally displaced people (IDPs) emerge as a result of internal displacement and resettlement forced on them. Marcuse (1985) emphasis on conflict, is especially useful in this paper's analysis as it allows one to think through human rights abuse. To this end, Marxist's theory conceptualisation of power is generative for grasping how bipolar is manifested within the state. It is here also that Drew (2008) attention to capitalism is of value for informing class struggle in the society.

Marxist theory becomes relevant to the South African situation, considering the country's inequality stance. Marxist theory blames the system of capitalism for exploiting proletariats. South Africa follows the liberal economic system, which is equivalent to the capitalist system. Hence, South Africa is experiencing harsh economic disparities because of its racist ideology of the past, which is failing to completely phase out. Though the revolution which was envisaged by the theory has not yet materialised, the possibility is there considering that job opportunities are wearing thin since 1994 in South Africa. The power dynamics facing South Africa today include colonial lineage of the past, for example job reservation according to race, patriarchy in the work place and poor infrastructure to black areas. In South Africa indigenous people are still barred from opening businesses in the CBD no matter how much money one has. For example, the rich Maponya family have no property in the Johannesburg CBD, but

have the huge Maponya Mall in the Soweto Township. So class division is still intact in South Africa.

3.2 Anti-colonial theory

The theory is relevant in the study as it compliments Marxist theory through highlighting colonialism as a factor which leads to human rights violation on the indigenous people. In a way conflict will ensue which Marxist theory has termed, class struggle. The ideals of the anti-colonial theory in this study are based on the work of Dei which he first published in 2006. The second edition Simmons and Dei were published in 2012. Subsequent to the class struggle of the Marxist theory, anti-colonial theory's discourse is an alternative body of knowledge, one imbued through local knowledge (Kempf, 2010). That is, it creates an argument that connections between colonisation, oppression and change posit a literary of resistance to bring about social change to the society. The IDP's through internal displacement are the beneficiaries of the anti-colonial theory. That is, their plight is intensively dealt with in whatever manner possible yet acceptable or ethical in fighting colonialism. Hence, in their argument, Simmons and Dei (2012) assert that the theory emerges from the 'ground-up' in terms of local people understanding their experiences in the context of colonialism, colonial and re-colonial relations and other associated oppressions.

In order to dissect and analyse the theory better, two countries of note will be South Africa and Algeria, as they were colonised by the British and French imperial states respectively. The focal point is on the land question which remains a mystery to the indigenous people. who to date remain the settler societies. Drew (2008) states that both countries historically experienced ruthless military conquest and the massive land expropriation of the indigenous people which entails the imposition of rigid sectional divisions. In both countries, religion played a major role after colonialism. In the South African situation, Christianity subdued the localised indigenous beliefs, resulting in social cleavages within societies. Dissatisfied communities as well as new settler policies, forced indigenous people to migrate within the country borders for better life. The Algerian side was, however, different from that of South Africa because of its geographical proximity to Europe and different religious beliefs within the country. Muslim land elites supported French colonialism. hence, when things became hectic in the country, they emigrated to France. And they are now the French citizens, while in South Africa no one

welcomed colonialism, the citizens still suffer from within. That is, the land question still remains a contentious issue in South Africa.

3.2.1 Dilemmas of the internally displaced in view of the anti-colonial theory

Whenever it has happened all over the world, colonialism has created internal displacement to the society of the country concerned, hence, IDPs emerge as the coloniser wields his power (Dei, 2006). The assertion vindicates the point that the colonised in Africa as well as the diaspora, were not going to welcome colonialism without a struggle. Fact of the matter being that colonialism is about someone imposing his authority or power over someone's territory as perceived by Kempf in 2010. In this instance, there is a premonition from the onset that there would be fierce stand-off between the coloniser and the colonised. Anti-colonialism is not a discourse which belongs to the past. That is, it runs across the whole spectrum of the lifetime, it was experienced in the past, is experienced in the present time and will be felt in the future time. In fact, researchers have managed to bring a particular knowledge of the colonialism that is relevant to the presence, in which both states as well as communities are engaged as still colonised and resisting the colonial encounter (Kempf, 2010). The view according to Simmonds and Dei (2012) is that the Euro-modernist and/or Euro-colonial project of credentialism, legitimation and validation has problematically allowed many racialised, oppressed and indigenous bodies in the academy to simply negotiate for acceptance in white colonial spaces. The plight of the IDPs is trans-colonial, for example, indigenous people are still subjected to forceful removals in South Africa even under democratic dispensation.

The most apprehensible dilemma about the theory is that nationalist government authorities have no experienced in governing. Conditions and the situation under which South African indigenous masses live, are devastating.

3.2.2 Controversies surrounding the internally displaced in view of the anti-colonial theory

The issue of internally displaced people (IDPs) as far as the anti-colonial theory is concerned is viewed in terms of colonialism or colonisation. In this scenario the people or society suffer the consequences of being displaced and resettled which is done by the colonisers. However, the society themselves become the perpetrators in the post-colonial era due to ethnicity cleansing. For example, the issue of Rwanda and Sudan and (Klopp et al, 2010). In the South African situation, one can the behaviour of black elites who deviated from the norms of ethical representation of their subjects. That is, the land issue was abandoned during negotiations.

Unless one has enough money to purchase land, there is no land which was reserved for the indigenous people who are eager or proficient in farming. They are only trained towards farming with no land to work on. Mining industries are still foreign owned.

3.2.3 The strength of the anti-colonial theory in view of the internal displacement

It has to be noted that several proponents of the ant-colonial theory in the diaspora, have applied it in collaboration or in their respective situations, whether as practitioners and/or in scholarly work. The proponents in the anti-colonial theory work include prominent figures such as Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Che Guevara, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Mohandas Gandhi and W. E. B. Du Bois to name a few. Anti-colonial theory gains its strength through fighting against colonialism of any form. That is, anti-colonial is an epistemology of the colonised, anchored in the Indigenous sense of collective and common colonial consciousness. It further recognises the central place of spirituality and the spiritual knowing, embodiment of knowledge. Finally, anti-colonial theory urges IDPs to intensify the fight against the government authorities to involve the society in the affairs of the country. There is grave concern among black activists both in the African continent as well as those in the diaspora that when given a chance, black people are capable of good leadership. The theory blames colonisers of perceiving black leaders as lacking when it comes to leadership. Conversely, human kind have the same characteristics, irrespective of race or creed. Finally, the theory urges the masses to stand up for their rights. That is, they should make it a point that their voices are heard.

3.2.4 Criticism of the anti-colonial theory

Anti-colonial theory is hailed as the useful tool in fighting the factor of colonialism. The point of notion though is that the main focus of the theory is on colonisation. The shortcomings of the states do not come or happen only through colonisation. Many African countries in Africa suffer from the ethnic cleansing, that is, through ethnicity, for example, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan and the DRC (Klopp et al, 2010). In other parts of the world, countries suffer the world disasters, for example, Japan, China, India (Fuggle et al, 2000), while some suffer from industrialisation, for example, United States of America and the United Kingdom (Downing, 2002) as a cause to internal displacement. The theory advocates the unity within the nationalist states after liberation is attained. However, in many cases like in South Africa, the leaders become hell bent on the ideals and/or policies of the previous colonial masters, thus, producing

weak states which become failed states at a later stage. South Africa with its democracy, is hailed as the most unequal country of the world.

3.2.5 Relevance of anti-colonial theory for studying IDPs

Notwithstanding the stated weaknesses, this study draws on the work of Dei (2006) to argue that the oppressor is wielding his authority on the oppressed. That is, he forcefully removes indigenous people from their territories and resettles them wherever he wants, no matter how conditions are there. Kempf's (2010) emphasises on the coloniser and the colonised, is especially useful in this study analysis as it allows one to think through the epistemology of the adverse effect of the internal displacement to the IDPs in the state. To this end, anti-colonial theory's conceptualisation of authenticity is generative for grasping how decolonisation may be achieved. It is here also that Simmons and Dei's attention to epistemology is of value for informing the issue of internal displacement as well as IDPs in the postmodern epoch. The theory is so relevant to the South African situation because had it not been for colonisers, there would not be such mess in the country. Residential areas in South Africa are racially demarcated. The present democratic government no matter how hard has been trying to address this situation, it has become evident that they are fighting a losing battle. That is, the government authorities do not find common ground with the former colonisers, or rather to the dispossessed they show apathy in addressing the issue. Maybe such impasse is a sign of failure by the South African government to govern.

3.3 Chapter summary

The theories have highlighted the adverse effect of internal displacement towards the mankind (IDPs) which is mainly done by those who wield power (colonisers) on the powerless (colonised). Human rights abuse is prevalent in this encounter. Despite IDPs coming into being due to various factors, both theories focus on human factor because of unethical behaviour from the state authorities. Hence, the theme is on the oppressor and the oppressed. Marxist theory warns of the class struggle while anti-colonial theory complements that by highlighting the power struggle as the oppressed fight the system (government of the day) who imposes internal displacement as they wish, that is, without their consultation. The first theory (Marxism) is still relevant to the present day South Africa, since the country is still racially divided, economically bias due to the caste and the status quo of the past apartheid government still intact. Secondly, with the Anti-colonial theory. the land restitution is still a farce in the country. Subsequently, 87% of the fertile and arable land is still in the hands of foreign

minorities, while 13% of barren land is owned by dispossessed black people. Hence, inequalities within the South African state have become a haunting factor to the indigenous masses. South Africa prides itself of a constitution that is surprising or recommended by the whole world, yet the wedge of inequality keeps growing, rather than improving.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The chapter gives us the narratives of all what transpired on the internal displacement of South Africa, that is, the history, the causes, the challenges, the consequences, the role of the government as well as the pervasive (worldwide) role of the UN in combating the scourge. Also, the issue of the IDPs will come into being as people get adversely affected through the internal displacement.

4.1 The history of internal displacement in DIFFERENT PROVINCES OF South Africa

The arrival of the European settlers in South Africa changed the dynamics of the internal displacement in the country. Prior to that period, Africans would fight for the turf and it ended there. That is, whatever territory the other nation got would be kept for them and they will rule themselves according to their customs. There were no oppressive majors in control that would guide them as to how they lead their daily life. Under European settlers, many laws were enacted to control indigenous people, such as the Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act. White governments of both the colonial and apartheid times applied law to support wrong acts of expropriating land from the Africans. The Land Act of 1913 was signed on 16 June 1913 by Lord Gladstone (Dodson, 2013). However, days before the signing of the Act and its promulgation on 19 June 1913, some white farm owners had already begun to enforce the grim choice posed by the Act on African tenants who were renting land from them (Dodson, 2013). That is, they either forego their cattle as well as their crop farming or work for them as their labourers or leave. Those African families who were unwilling to exchange their cattle and their independent lifestyles as tenant farmers, for a life of enforced labour, had to leave (Marshall, 2015). They had to travel under freezing conditions in search of sympathetic white farm owners who might be willing to allow them to re-establish their tenant farming lifestyle (Richner, 2005). However, news of the law travelled fast amongst the white farm owners, and there was no one prepared to help them.

According to (Dodson, 2013) dispossession of land from the indigenous communities of South Africa was, of course, not a phenomenon which only began in 1913. That is, the forcible dispossession which went with colonial conquest had already had a massive impact on the distribution of the African population. There is a further suggestion of economic forces which had their own disruptive effect on indigenous people. The introduction of taxes by colonial government forced people to seek wage-paying labour in the towns and cities (Dodson, 2013).

In addition, peasant producers lost land when unable to manage their debt. Moreover, (Oliver and Oliver, 2017) states that a host of earlier land laws in the Cape and Natal colonies as well as the Afrikaner republics had also forced African people from their land. Other than that, there was a class of close to a million African tenant farmers who lived and farmed on white-owned land. That is, they did so either as ordinary rent-paying tenants or as share croppers paying half of their crop as rental. Sometimes they would live as labour tenants making the labour of family members available for part of the year in return for the use of land for cattle and cultivation (Richner, 2005). Such system worked well for them though sometimes they were referred to as squatters. Moreover, a parallel development, particularly in the former Transvaal area, was that the Africans would purchase land in freehold title (Dodson, 2013). However, under the Afrikaner republic, measures had precluded the registration of title deeds in their names, but nominee arrangements were entered into with missionaries and other white persons (Oliver and Oliver, 2017).

4.1.1 Western Cape/Cape Province

District Six

Specific historical developments of displacement in District Six takes a centre stage as the place which was once of mixed races. Lwabukuna (2012) suggests that District Six is one of the most historically documented eviction projects which was carried out under the Group Areas Act in the Western Cape Province. It has to be noted though that the South Africa's legacy of ethnic and spatial ordering, originated in its first colonial settlement in Cape Town (the nation's so-called 'Mother City') (Butt, 2013). But the enforcement of the project brought about a lived reality of legal, social and psychological effects of forced removals in South Africa. Angelini (2003) informs us that District Six was a socially vibrant area, that is, it was racially and socially diverse area where people of all kinds lived together. It has to be noted that Cape Town was regarded as the original dwelling of the Cape Coloureds, the South African Malays, as well as a settlement of choice for many Indians and Chinese traders (Lwabukuna, 2012). He further states that Africans were also drawn to this co-existence. However, to the outside world especially the government of South Africa, District Six was perceived as a dirty, gang infested neighbourhood, hence, that multiracial existence of the community was totally unacceptable (McCullough, 2009). Conversely, the notorious apartheid state decided to break that mixed-race bondage. And, plans for re-organisation of District Six started taking shape in 1930s with the motive being control and segregation disguised as urban planning within the realms of the Group Areas Act. That is, by the 1940s when the first municipality re-development plan was

being published, steps to re-structure the area as a white only area was already underway (Marshall, 2015). This proved to be a bad premonition which spells that forceful removal was imminent. However, the mixed community which had co-existed for a long time, made the task of implementing the GAA almost impossible. That is, the government was not dealing with only one race when effecting the removal. In fact, the resistance came from all races in the Cape Town area. According to Angelini (2003), parties involved included the Cape Town City Council, South African Institute of Race Relations, the Black Sash Movement, the Nederduits Gereformeerde Mission Church of Wynberg, Coloured people, Africans and some people within white communities. This made the process of segregation to be very difficult to impose in Cape Town. Moreover, these multiracial communities were scattered amongst each other. So, this led to more aggressive forms of removals and displacement (McCullough, 2009).

According to Lwabukuna (2012) amongst the masses of indigenous people, dock workers the first to be moved from District Six in 1901. They were moved to Uitvlugt because of the outbreak of bubonic plague (Lwabukuna, 2012). In this case bubonic plague was used as an excuse to move natives to townships which were commonly known as locations then. Purportedly, the authorities suggested that the removals were for health purposes since the native population was associated with most anomalies such as unhygienic, crime, and pervasions. Though this was not a compelling excuse to institute removals, however, it was the beginning of strategic segregation in Cape Town. In 1918 another disease broke out which was called Spanish influenza (Marshall, 2015). The outbreak provided a further excuse to forcibly move people District Six, hence, Langa Township was created to move people around 1927 (Butt, 2013). Hence, in 1966, District Six was declared a white only area, and this resulted in the demolition and destruction of most of structures within the district except for religious buildings and some historical buildings (Butt, 2013). This resulted in the forced removal and displacement of more than 60,000 people from District Six (Lwabukuna, 2012). Though most of these people were forcefully being relocated to the Cape flats, however, a considerable number destitute and homeless. As per the demographics of Cape Town, mostly the Coloureds are the one who were forcefully relocated to the Cape flats. That is, Indians and Africans were eventually relocated to other areas as I have already highlighted the issue of Langa Township. These removals created many problems such as breakdown in family ties, social ties like churches. Moreover, it affected children's access to education as the project of building new schools took several months to complete. And, also it took years for communities to access

any infrastructure in those areas (Angelini, 2003). This led to the increase in crime, narcotics and alcohol abuse, which in turn promoted the rise of influential and dangerous gangs in Cape Town (Lwabukuna, 2012). These forced removals also affected the earning capacity of people in those communities. That is, in most cases these areas of relocation were far from places of work where people could easily gain employment or access to their former jobs. On the other hand, the government refused to grant grading permits to disqualified people to build, extend or renovate existing structures (Butt, 2013). The disqualified people exemplified the marginalised or forgotten class of people because they were left behind when others were being relocated. This resulted in the creation of ghost towns and slums that the GAA had actually been enacted to prevent (Lwabukuna, 2012)). As District Six was meant to be converted into a white only suburb, however, but these plans failed. Consequently, riots, protests and bad publicity that resulted from forced removals discouraged any developers (Lwabukuna, 2012). Hence, the opposite result happened, that is, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the area became an empty ghost town with the exception of religious structures that had been left after the slums' clearance campaign (Angelini, 2003). Lwabukuna (2012) argues that never mind its failure, the GAA immensely reshaped South Africa's urban landscape and continues to do.

Joe Slovo to Delft (Tin Can City) Cape Town

This is the first of sanctions disbursed by the Constitutional Court of South Africa which was on June 2009 when the Constitutional Court judicially sanctioned one of the evictions in post-apartheid South Africa. Judgement had to be made between two parties, that is, the case which involved residents of Joe Slovo Community, *Western Cape vs Thubelisha homes and others* (commonly known as the Joe Slovo case) (Lwabukuna, 2012). What transpired there is that five judges took a unanimous decision in favour of the relocation of 20 000 Joe Slovo residents to accommodate the N2 Gateway Project (Lwabukuna, 2012). Consequently, the project was part of the comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlement which was approved by the Cabinet in 2004 (Kristin, 2005). It is envisaged that this decision has affected, and also will continue to affect housing rights of thousands of other poor people in urban South Africa, besides the Joe Slovo residents.

This internal displacement of Joe Slovo settlement is a disgust and is appalling, because it happened in the Western Cape under democratic government, whereby District Six took place during apartheid government rule. That is, the Joe Slovo settlement succinctly highlights the

dynamics of internal displacement in South Africa. People keep on being persecuted by forceful removals which move them from place to place for different reasons known by the government only. The Joe Slovo informal settlement was established when migrants from different areas needed to access employment in the nearby suburbs and towns of Pinelands, Epping and Cape Town central business district (Budd, 2013). These people hoped their problems of traveling long distances to places of work were over nonetheless. However, the N2 Gateway project brought yet another displacement misery to their lives. That is, forceful eviction from the Joe Slovo informal settlement entails push-factor of forceful eviction, while their exodus to the area was promoted by the pull-factor to get closer to the places of employment. Moreover, no one consulted with the residents of Joe Slovo settlement before decision to evict them was finally made. Conversely, such realisation prompted or resulted in massive protest from the Joe Slovo residents. Subsequently, these events unfolded in a protracted court case that started in the High Court and eventually ended in the Constitutional Court.

Ultimately, with the deliberations that ensued, the High Court finally ordered the relocation from Joe Slovo to Delft which took a period of over ten months (Lwabukuna, 2012). Questions have been asked which if under a democratic South African dispensation, the state organs are being used for nefarious reasons or acts, like during the times of apartheid regime. The situation of Joe Slovo settlement informs that the ills of the past are still haunting democratic South Africa.

4.1.2 Free State/Orange Free State

Bloemfontein

It is now a well-known factor that South Africa became a democratic country in 1994. That effect saved Botshabelo, a township 55 kilometres from Bloemfontein, from incorporation into the former homeland of QwaQwa. QwaQwa was formely known as the Witsieshoek reserve in the eastern part of the Free State Province (Twala and Barnard, 2004). While the Witsieshoek was still a reserve in 1953, two tribal authorities were established in the area, and later in 1962, these tribal authorities became known as regional authorities (Twala and Barnard, 2004). Because of the South African government's homeland policy, QwaQwa was proclaimed a self-governing territory for Africans of South Sotho origin on 25 October 1974 (Marshall, 2015). In the same year, QwaQwa brought the upheaval of internal displacement in the Orange Free State as the first Basotho were relocated to the area from other parts of the province. Mooney

(2005) highlights that before 1974, the Batlokoa tribe under the leadership of Chief Wessels Mota administered the area. However, after 1975 political and administrative power was taken by Dr TK Mopeli and his Dikwankwetla Party, hence, from then the area became a homeland and thus a contested political terrain. Conversely, Thaba Nchu an area on the other side of Bloemfontein was to be incorporated into Bophuthatswana as it was declared a Batswana region. Though still in Bloemfontein, the South Sotho people lived like foreigners in Thaba Nchu homeland.

The formation of Botshabelo Township

The Separate development system stimulated and entrenched ethnic divisions in its attempt to retribalise African consciousness. South Africa, like many African states is known for its ethnic diversity and different cultures. Though the implementation of separate development, tribal identities became apparent and QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu were no exceptions to this as these two areas were divided into South Sotho (QwaQwa) and Tswana (Thaba Nchu) (Twala and Barnard, 2004). Hence, Nigel Worden, a historian from the University of Cape Town, in his assertion stated that separate development was thus a bold attempt to break down a broad African nationalism and to replace it with tribal identities (Twala and Barnard, 2004). The great displacement was then imminent. Hence, the period between 1970 and 1980 saw the influx of people into Thaba Nchu and QwaQwa. They were forcibly removed either from towns or dismissed from white-owned farms in the southern and eastern Free State (Marshall, 2015). What has to be noted though is that their forced removal was in most cases prompted by either being fired or evicted from white farms or chose to leave voluntarily when confronted by deteriorating conditions of employment on these farms. This in itself was a political matter (Marshall, 2015). In other instances, some farmers decreased the size of their labour force, thus, expelling squatters and the few remaining labour tenants. They also refused to accommodate the families of farm workers whose sons had taken up contracts on the mines and elsewhere. It was in this context that farm labourers chose to move to Thaba Nchu and QwaQwa where they could establish a base from which to search for migrant labour contracts (Evans, 2012). Although these two homelands were kilometres far from each other, the divisions on ethnic lines became visible. Twala and Barnard (20004) argue that although these two homelands were kilometres far from each other, the divisions on ethnic lines became visible. That is, living in a 'foreign' homeland became a big problem to the South Sotho people.

The census, according to Twala and Barnard (2004) taken in Thaba Nchu with its mixed population which was recorded in 1970 read as follows; 24 300 Tswanas, 12 000 South Sothos and 3 600 Xhosas in a total population of 42 000, all politically subordinate to the Barolong Tribal Authority. The problem arise when the South Sotho speakers who resided in Thaba Nchu did not want to pay allegiance to this tribal authority as they maintained that they were not Tswanas. That stance created a rift between the Tswanas and the South Sotho speakers in the area (Evans, 2012). However, the South Sotho people formed the majority in Thaba Nchu because when they left white farms around Bloemfontein, they retreated to the nearby area Thaba Nchu. Since this influx of the South Sothos made them the majority in Thaba Nchu, they could not accept the Barolong Tribal Authority and later Dr LM Mangope's homeland government of Bophuthatswana (Twala and Barnard, 2004). Evans (2012) says a large concentration of 'illegal squatters' could be found in a bend of the railway station and west of Mokoena location, east of Thaba Nchu due to a massive influx of South Sotho and Xhosa speaking people in Thaba Nchu. The area of concentration would later be known as Kromdraai. And both South Sotho and Xhosa-speaking people moved to the Kromdraai area, with the impression that plots had been frequently sold to some other people and they also believed that stands would be allocated to them free of charge (Evans, 2012). However, there was this belief that the people who resided in Kromdraai were a pariah to Bophuthatswana government for certain reasons. That is, they were rejected by the Bophuthatswana government for firstly, not renewing their citizenship cards, secondly, not taking Bophuthatswana citizenship cards and lastly, not being in possession of valid documents in order to be considered for employment opportunities in Thaba Nchu (Twala and Barnard, 2004). Moreover, they further state that Mr M Fokazi, a representative of Dikwankwetla Party in the area with mainly South Sotho speakers, Bophuthatswana government denied them basic services as their area was regarded as an illegal settlement area.

It is reported that the stance by Fokazi was endorsed by JK Ngake, the then Minister of Education in QwaQwa when he said that the South Sothos were discriminated against in Thaba Nchu (Marshall, 2015). Their dissatisfaction according to Twala and Barnard goes thus, firstly, South Sothos in Thaba Nchu were not given work permits or residential rights to own houses. Secondly, the language of instruction in schools was Setswana and the authorities refused them business rights, minimum human needs like pensions and even identity documents while they were simultaneously being subjected to taxes and levies imposed by Thaba Nchu authorities and later the Bophuthatswana government Twala and Barnard, 2004). Since the number of the

South Sotho people escalated in Thaba Nchu, in 1978 the Bophuthatswana government suggested that those who resided in Kromdraai should be relocated to QwaQwa (Evans, 2012). Like in any part of South Africa, these residents rejected the offer. Also due to the Group Areas Act being enacted in South Africa, the exclusion and the expulsion of Africans from 'white' towns in the Orange Free State, especially Bloemfontein, and funds for residential development in the townships, for example, Mangaung in Bloemfontein, were frozen and re-diverted for residential development in the Thaba Nchu and QwaQwa regions, it became logical according to the homeland policy for these South Sotho-speakers to be resettled in Qwaqwa (Modiri, 2013). Seeing the number of the South Sotho people escalating to a majority level in the area, TK Mopedi of QwaQwa took advantage and felt that the whole of Thaba Nchu should to be incorporated under the QwaQwa homeland (Modiri, 2013). However, this claim by Mopeli was perceived by Mangope's government as a major threat to its political grip on this isolated territorial enclave, though it was so distant from the other territorial fragments that comprised Bophutha-tswana. And this prospect resulted in sour relationship between the Tswana and Sotho speaking people.

Hence, the QwaQwa government of TK Mopeli took exception to the treatment of the South Sothos in Thaba Nchu which fell under Bophuthatswana (Twala and Barnard). So Bophuthatswana had a problem with the 'illegal' people in the region, while on the other hand the QwaQwa has a problem with Bophuthatswana government ill-treating their people. Hence, immediately after independence in December 1977, the Bophuthatswana government took it to its stride to foster unity in the area. In order to succeed in that prospect, they had to deal decisively with the so called 'illegal' people in Thaba Nchu. To broker such an impasse, between 1977 and 1978 negotiations took place between the two homeland governments and the central government (Evans, 2012). Since it was clear that the South Sotho people were not wanted in Thaba Nchu which was by then a Bophuthatswana territory, the negotiations dealt with the provision of land for the relocation of the South Sotho-speaking people from Thaba Nchu who were considered 'illegal' because in terms of the ethnic homeland policy, they belonged to Qwaqwa which was specifically designed for the South Sothos. As per the resolution of the negotiations, an agreement was reached in which 25 000 hectares of land in the Bophuthatswana region of the Northern Cape would be excised in exchange for an additional 25 000 hectares of land in the Free State (Twala and Barnard, 2004). It further stated that ten thousand hectares would be for the resettlement of the South Sotho from Thaba Nchu and elsewhere. Finally, after consultation with the representatives of the Kromdraai people

under the South Sotho Central Committee, Mopeli took the initiative of relocating those people from Kromdraai to a neighbouring farm called Onverwacht, which was later known as Botshabelo (Twala and Barnard, 2004). The South Sotho people were removed from different villages around Thaba Nchu like, Kromdraai, Bultfontein, freehold farms, Meloendrift, trust villages, and Dipudungwaneng (Mosoetsa, 2004). The removal of these people people to Botshabelo began late in May 1979 and was completed by December 1979. Botshabelo is about eleven kilometres from Thaba Nchu and during this period, about 64 000 people were removed from the above-mentioned areas under difficult and trying conditions though. Twala and Barnard (2004) give a detailed analogy by Dr V Blakie, a medical doctor from Thaba Nchu who recalled the exodus of the people from Kromdraai to Botshabelo in the manner that, it happened during winter time when they ferried in government trucks. Further, in Botshabelo they were vulnerable to cold since they were settled in tents. Hence, old people and young ones died like flies. He mostly treated them for diarrhea, malnutrition and other related illnesses. Botshabelo was now created, but the problems of the South Sotho people were far from over in their new 'independent state' since they were still harassed by the Bophuthatswana government. On the one side the establishment of Botshabelo was nothing else that the policy of apartheid which promoted divisions among the people of the country, may it by race or ethnicity. The Bophuthatswana territory of Thaba Nchu, however, maintained its purity, since South Sothos were all relocated to Botshabelo.

4.1.3 Gauteng/Transvaal

Sophiatown

Sophiatown bears the history of the western townships of the City of Johannesburg where the first forceful internal displacement took place. Sophiatown or Kofifi was an all-race township or location in the outskirts of the city of Johannesburg. Baines (2005) states that Sophiatown was a captivating community in the freehold township which was destroyed by the apartheid state. All races lived harmoniously in the area, yet that spirit would later be tempered with. Notwithstanding some anomalies in the area, Sophiatown produced leading journalists, writers, musicians and politicians, thus, giving urban African culture rhythm and style (Ladd, 2012). Life in Sophiatown represented that of the international communities, hence, Baines (2005:122) referred to it as the "Chicago of South Africa". The district produced esteem political figures such as Dr A.B. Xuma who became one of the African National Congress (ANC) presidents (Baines, 2005). As several activities were happening in the area, political activism became rife. Hence, the area became the seedbed of both the ANC and the Communist

Party as well as the fertile environment for black culture (Baines, 2005). The area became a centre of resistance against the state and the authorities were not impressed by that (Ladd, 2012). Such behaviour precipitated the removal of black people from Sophiatown. According to Stadler (2008) the notion is that between 1950 and 1952 each motion about the destruction of Sophiatown and the resettlement of the community in Soweto was defeated during voting. However, to fulfil its objective of removing Africans from Sophiatown and settling them in Soweto, the NP established its own local authority. Hence, the Native Resettlement Board (NRB) was formed (Kristin, 2005). This was to counteract the resistance from the black residents of the Western Areas such as Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare (Baines, 2005). Finally, the destruction materialised in 1955 and the removal was affected. The destruction of such area bears testimony to the harshness of the apartheid in inflicting forceful removal on the indigenous people. Moreover, on its ruins, the apartheid state constructed the white working class suburb of Timol (Stadler, 2008).

Black people again got yet another setback of being removed from Sophiatown, a place they were now calling home. This shown the uncertainty about the permanent place of residence in the country of their birth. They did not occupy the area of Sphiatown illegally. In fact, they were resettled in the area by the authorities who removed them from the Johannesburg city centre (Kristin, 2005). That is, the destruction of Johannesburg's inner city slum yards saw the significant growth in Sophiatown's population (Kristin, 2005). The next decade saw the growth of the Sophiatown's population. According to Stadler (2008), the relaxation of the influx control regulations. Baines (2005) asserts that initially, Sophiatown was best suited for single male migrants, while families had to find accommodation in locations like Orlando where houses of up to three rooms were on offer.

Soweto

It lies 15 kilometres southwest of the city of Johannesburg. Soweto was a gradual creation, almost a collage of African residential areas created at different times and in different places in response to different needs (Baines, 2005). According to Pohlandt-McCormick (2006) the process of Soweto construction first started in 1904 with the establishment of Klipspruit. She goes further to inform that the creation of Soweto ended only with the final removal of all Africans from the Western Areas, that is, the freehold townships of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare. However, during the times of African removals from the Sophiatown areas, houses were not ready yet in Soweto. Therefore, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, then minister of Native

Affairs, established 33 000 plots on which temporary shacks were erected while their owners waited for the construction of permanent houses by the City Council (Baines, 2005). Pohlandt-McCormick (2006) gives the following analogy on the housing construction pace in Soweto, that is, in 1954 the city's housing division built 1,421 houses; in 1955, 3,020. The township by then had no name. Parts of the township included Moroka, Pimville, Klipspruit, Orlando East, Dube, Mofolo North and South, Central Western Jabavu, Molapo, and Moletsane. Firstly, the naming of the township was aiming at '*Toweso*' and '*Sowesko*' which are two concoctions extracted from the South Western Townships (Ladd, 2012). Reason being that the name should not favour one of the main language groups over the other. But because of the notorious system of apartheid of which the present government glorified, the name '*Partheid Townships*' was also tried (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2006). In the end, however, the name for the townships southwest of Johannesburg was somewhat of a composite hence, Soweto (Ladd, 2012). The irony with the Soweto name is that it created some humour around its citizens, which were only black by the way. Jokes like "So-where-to" were plashed around by Sowetans themselves about the place they lived in (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2006:10). The anecdote was a symbol of the uncertainty on their future going forward because of the forceful removals that were always prying on them wherever they settle.

The creation of Soweto by the City Council came with many challenges though. That is, the influx of Africans to the city for work purposes created housing shortages which the Council could not cope with. The trend of moving to the cities affected the whole world, which was caused mainly by labour demands of the First World War and again by the Second World War (Baines, 2005). However, in Johannesburg and other parts of South Africa, the influx to the cities was mainly pushed by the poverty of the African reserves which were later called the Homelands (Baines, 2005). That housing shortage later led to the sprawling in informal settlement around the city of Johannesburg. As Africans were prohibited to stay in the cities by the Group Areas Act, they had to cram into the informal settlements which make them prone to diseases. Pohlandt-McCormick (2006) asserts that the awful slum conditions produced by overcrowding were compounded by the city government's indifference to the general quality of life for Africans. However, Africans did not passively accept all these changes. That is, for many years, they had found ways to organise themselves, in mounting many small, often unseen protests (Ladd, 2012). Therefore, the outright resistance which followed was nothing new. For example, the township experience fierce resistance in notable moments such as the

Defiance Campaign and the Women's March (Sharpeville 1960) (Ladd, 2012). Such discourses became part of the law of the township and the consciousness of the people. Moreover, these defiance campaigns of the townships became a living habit to the Africans. In fact, some of the black people resisted to be removed from Johannesburg city centre areas and be settled in Soweto. Stadler, (2008) states that by 1933 almost 43,000 Africans from inner-city residential areas had become "illegals" after Johannesburg had been declared white in accordance with the 1923 Native (Urban) Areas Act. They wanted to stay closer to their places of work, instead of moving to the relatively distant new locations. To prove their point, during this period the approximately 600 empty houses of the new Western Native Township were spurned (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2006). They instead move in numbers to Johannesburg inner areas. Hence, the period of 1944-47 shows that Africans, under the guidance of James Sofasonke Mpanza organised themselves and moved onto municipal lands as squatters (Ladd, 2012). The aim as he puts was to prove themselves of being entirely capable of forcing the hand both of the Johannesburg City Council and of the central government in the form of the then Native Affairs Department to desist in removing them. In fact, Africans had always disregarded attempts to keep them away from the cities. Besides the distance from the townships and the places of work or cities, unlike the well serviced cities, life in the township was far below standard, poorly serviced to be precise. Hence, in 1957, the residents of Dube Hostel reacted to their deteriorating circumstances and attacked a funeral procession on its way to Doornkop Cemetery (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2006). The City Council conducted some investigation into that appalling behaviour, and found that men behind that attack were those who had been removed from Johannesburg under the "locations in the sky" legislation two years earlier (Ladd, 2012).

The Nationalist government became impatient with the City Council's failure to implement removal and segregationist policies (Kristin, 2005). According to (Stadler, 2008), two processes were introduced as a gesture of willing to intervene directly in the control of the African townships. Firstly, to centralise control over Africans, that is, in 1973, the government transferred administrative and financial authority over the townships from the city council to the newly established (Bantu) Administration Boards. Secondly, it was to stem out the influx of Africans to the cities and to reinforce the doctrine of the temporary status of those who already lived there. And this resulted in the gradual erosion of African land rights and African ownership rights. The point of note is that the freehold rights had disappeared with Sophiatown

(Stadler, 2008). That is, in 1949 they were replaced by a thirty (30) year leasehold plan. Africans were already getting dispossessed of their land. Because the 30-year lease policy states that Africans who qualified for housing permits were allowed to own homes for the duration of the lease (Kristin, 2005). The abuse and violation of human rights on the indigenous people persisted. Hence, in 1968, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development rescinded even these meagre rights. The ruling was that, houses could henceforth only be rented and that those already owned could no longer be handed down to heirs (Ladd, 2012). But again, in 1975, it seemed as if the government was prepared to ease these limitations when it reintroduced the thirty (30) year leasehold scheme for certain areas. However, the cynical implications of its generosity became clear when it tied such leases to the possession or acquisition of a Homeland citizenship certificate (Ladd, 2012). This was just in keeping with the larger project of legislating black South Africans out of their citizenship and into the homelands. Indigenous people had to endure such dehumanising gestures from the colonisers because of power and control. (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2006) states that the newly established *West Rand (Bantu) Administration Board* took over the reins to Soweto from the Johannesburg City Council and its Non-European Affairs Department. That is, all urban African matters henceforth fell under its control. The Boards were all-white institutions, appointed by and directly responsible to the minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M. C. Botha in 1976, and his department (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2006).

4.1.4 KwaZulu-Natal/Natal

Colonial government started ruling over the Zulu nation south of Thukela river by 1843, whereby they formed the Colony of Natl up until 1910 (Bayede, 21 June 2019). The year 1910 came with the formation of the Union of South Africa which was the all-white government. After the formation of the Native National Congress of South Africa in 1912, the Union of South Africa government decided to enact the Native Land Act of 1913 which inflicted the land dispossession on the indigenous people. The formation of the Colony of Natal saw the Zulus treated as slaves in the land of their birth (Bayede, 21 June 2019). That is, due to the formation of the Natal colony, Mr Martin West instituted a Commission of Land Demarcation, during the year 1846. In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, the Zulus were forcefully removed from all of their fertile arable land and were relocated into barren land (Marshall, 2015). Further, the areas of removals were conducive for farming, grazing of their (Zulus) livestock and with plenty of water resources. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was given a task of monitoring the project of forceful removal to the targeted Zulu clans. And, those Zulu

clans who resisted removals were brutalised through gun shooting. They were labelled as people who illegally occupied the land which belonged to the whites. By then, the number of whites in Natal was less than 10% (per cent). It only transpired by the first census of 1904 which showed that only 10% of whites were present in Natal (Bayede, 21 June 2019). Subsequently, the land which was dispossessed from the Zulus was allocated to both English and Afrikaner settlers, whereby each owner was given 3000 hectares of farmland (Marshall, 2015).

Talking of the Zulu nation, they were and are still the rightful owners of the Province of then Natal, now KwaZulu-Natal. Hence, it was also known as Zululand during the arrival of the settlers. The founder of the Zulu nation is King Shaka, the son of Senzangakhona. He was concerned of different clans that used to attack one another quite often. So, to tranquilise the conditions of the time, he took it upon himself to unify those societies, and he succeeded. Having grown up at the Mthethwa clan since his father and his mother, Nandi were not married, he became a warrior under Dingiswayo of that Mthethwa clan. The Mthethwa clan was one of the most feared groups including the Ndwandwe clan, under Zwide. When his father died he went back there to claim his throne at the expense of his brother Sgujana. He then started his mission of building such a formidable Zulu nation, by first attacking the same Ndwandwes and the Mthethwas. In his attack he was not engaging into genocide, but he made their warriors to surrender under his army. Automatically, women and children become his subjects as well. That is how he spread his tentacles to the borders of today's KwaZulu-Natal. Consequently, he managed to unite divided clans into one formidable nation of the Zulus. So, the man (Shaka) was indeed a unifier rather than a killer as normally portrayed in some platforms. Till to date, Zulu boys when reaching the youth stage, do not attend ritual initiations in the veld like other black boys in the country, because Shaka stopped that custom as he needed more manpower to fortify his army.

The settlers were very much cognisant to the borders of Zululand and the Eastern Cape, then Cape Province, since they were engaged in many wars and/or battles with the Xhosas, before proceeding further north to Zululand. The border then between Eastern Cape and Zululand was Umzimvubu River (Port St. Johns). But now it has shrunk to Umtamvuna River without any negotiation with the Zulu nation. Hence, Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini filed an application for that piece of land to be returned, when land restitution was reopened in 2012 by then South African President Jacob Zuma. However, that endeavour by former President Zuma remains a contentious issue.

Cato Manor

Cato Manor is an area which is situated in the west of Durban and located 5 kilometres from the city centre (Marx and Charlton, 2004). The area was occupied and/or inhabited since 1650 by numerous small-scale chiefdoms, first by the Nqondo clan, who were later replaced by the Ntuli clan in 1739 (Marx and Charlton, 2004). They further state that the area or township was named after the first Durban mayor by the name of George Christopher Cato. The area/township was transferred to him in 1843. The area formed the portion of the land that was for military purposes and, in 1914 George Cato subdivided the farm into smallholdings which he then sold it to prominent residents who developed county estates (Mattes, 2005). Kristin (2005) it is stated that new landowners also wanted to make profits hence, they leased and sold plots to Indian market gardeners after their release from labour contracts on the sugar plantations. According to Richner (2005) the first occupants of Cato Manor were the Indian market gardeners, who in turn leased those plots to African families who were prohibited from owning land in that area. Africans were now displaced from the area of their birth and had to pay rent to the newcomers. Displacement was already creeping in step by step or in phases as this gives the notion that the Ntuli clan together with its chieftaincy was no longer in existence, that is, it was displaced.

Indian landowners had a very lucrative business, obtained through house rentals, thus, every Indian landowner started to venture into the same business and it grew quite immensely (Whyte, 2010). However, tension mounted between African tenants and Indian landowners as (tenants) felt exploited through exorbitant rent hikes (Amisi, 2009). Smith (2005) states that the standoff ultimately resulted in 1949 racial riots between Indians and Africans in Cato Manor, though it all started in Grey Street with the African boy being punished by an Indian stall owner. Social life between these two races was now being affected by the fact that one race plays superior while the other takes inferior position. The government managed to quell those riots within two days by the use of the police force as well as the army (Whyte, 2010). The following months saw the displacement of Indians as Africans roamed the streets of Cato Manor and took over their businesses as well as their shack ownership (Whyte, 2010). Therefore, the government was left with the task of normalising the situation. This situation led to the Durban City Council acquiring land from Indian landowners to erect an Emergency Camp to house homeless Africans in 1952 (Smith, 2005). That is the same area which at a later

stage was to be known as 'Umkhumbane' which was the name of the local river and/or stream (Kristin, 2005). She further states that the area (Umkhumbane) became very overcrowded by Africans coming in droves to live there, hence, in 1954, the whole Cato Manor area was proclaimed as a White group area by the Group Area Board. The implementation of the Group Areas Act came with huge displacement in Cato Manor of which the entire population was to be uprooted and relocated to different townships such as KwaMashu, Umlazi and Chatsworth (Kristin, 2005).

The African National Congress (ANC) which is the oldest political movement in Africa was so influential in organising shanty town dwellers in Cato Manor in order to resist forced removals (Marshall, 2015) the Municipal of Durban under the apartheid regime was pushing forward the issue of separate development, hence forced removal of the 1950s in Durban reached its climax in March 1958 when the first removal process to KwaMashu township took place (Marshall, 2015). Butt, (2013) argues that not serious challenge took place at that time until after August 1958 after the removal of Thusini settlement, that is, where the University of KwaZulu-Natal-Howard College (UKZN) of today is situated. The ANC was so supportive of those people, it soon launched an anti-Municipal campaign whereby the Director of Bantu Administrative, S.B. Bourquin, was labelled or called "the Satan of the Bantu Death" (Butt, 2013:24).

The force removal saw the growth of ANC membership as people found solace in the organisation to fight their plight and the then leader of the ANC Albert Luthuli was so impressed by the growing number of membership (Ladd, 2012). He further emphasises that trouble and/or violence in Cato Manor started when the municipal attempted to clear the notorious area called Mnyasana which was dominated by the Mpondo migrant women. The Mpondo women were said to be occupying that land illegally and they were engaged in prostitution as well as beer brewing (Butt, 2013). The struggle against the forced removal in Cato Manor hence been relatively noted to be championed by women as in this case where they staged a demonstration at Bourquin's office under the ANC stalwarts such as Dorothy Nyembe, Florence Mkhize and many more (Butt, 2013). Kristin (2005) states that this ANC leadership was totally against the removal of the people and even expressed that they could not leave their area to the Indians, that is, the area where their blood was spilt protecting it in 1949. What is significant in this Cato Manor scenario is that instead of the Durban Municipal developing the area, they opted to remove and displace people to different townships around the city.

KwaMashu

The preferred area of KwaMashu unlike Cato Manor, is miles away from the city of Durban where African labourers work. In trying to convince these people to move to KwaMashu without resilience, they were told of bigger and more spacious houses than the shanty Cato Manor shelters (Amisi, 2009). Durban Municipality distributed some pamphlets in the streets of Cato Manor advertising the new KwaMashu Township which had hostels and where Africans would have better life, thus becoming better citizens of Durban (Amisi, 2009). According to Mattes, 2005) the land on which KwaMashu is being lies approximately 26 km from Durban with its land bordered by Umngeni River, the Chris Hani Road (former North Coast road), the Inanda Road, the South African Native Trust areas of Dalmeny, the Inanda Mission Reserve and Released Area 33. Moreover, the area signified the entrenchment of apartheid as it lies outside the work places but the apartheid government felt it was suitable for African settlement (Smith, 2005).

According to Khumalo (2007) by late 1958, 1300 houses were already built in KwaMashu of which 750 houses were already occupied by former Cato Manor residents. Life in KwaMashu was very expensive as compared to Cato Manor. Residents had to pay expensive rent as compared to the shanty town of Cato Manor because there were some basic services such as the sanitation system which did not exist in Cato Manor (Kristin, 2005). They also had to pay for transport to town which was now a distance away as compared to the one in Cato Manor. Masina (2006) states that Putco bus company as well as railway line were responsible for offering transport service to the residents of KwaMashu. And the main worry Whyte (2010) was that these people were economically very poor as they were engaged in an unskilled work which at the end of the day was paying very poor wages. He further emphasises that people were up to a torrid time as the Cato Manor was cleared and they were finally relocated to KwaMashu to face up new upheavals such as hostel violence.

Khumalo (2007) states that in 1986 the township of KwaMashu was handed over to the KwaZulu homeland under the jurisdiction of KwaZulu government. And during apartheid times, that is, in the initial stages of KwaMashu Township, the single sex hostel represented more than the remaining features of influx control (Khumalo, 2007). Masina (2006) states that the emphasis is for the hostels as the symbol of migrant labour initially, which later, that is, in the 1980s constituted the political struggle terrain. KwaMashu hostel suffered the same upheaval when political violence ensued between the United Democratic Front (UDF) which

was the extra-parliamentary opposition and the organisations which were aligned to the apartheid state such as Inkatha in particular (Masina, 2006).

However, the violent trend in the KwaMashu hostel seems to repeat itself as reports of political conflicts which result in murder were still coming. Since the formation of the National Freedom Party (NFP) in 2011, there have been reports of fierce conflict between the IFP and NFP (an IFP splinter organisation) which culminated in a couple of murders (Khumalo, 2007). Murders between these political rivals include the one which happened at Ntuzuma Magistrate court, where an NFP member Mr Mzonjani Zulu shot dead an IFP member who was charging at him wielding a spear (The Mercury, 6 August 2014). And this happened in full view of the police as well as the bystanders. The final straw in the conflict between the IFP and NFP is the murder of the same hostel activists of these two parties who were both women, that is, Ntombi Mzila a NFP youth organiser was killed on Monday, while Nonhlanhla Biyela an IFP Youth Brigade Chairperson was killed on Thursday on the way back from Ntombi Mzila's memorial service (Daily News, 24 February 2014). And again, in the same hostel on Friday the 7th of November, 2014, at about 20:30, gunmen killed friends who were ANC members, that is, Lucky Sibiya, Sipho Mhlongo, Sizwe Mbatha and Sibongiseni Biyela (Sunday Tribune, 9 November, 2014). Hence, Mr Sihle Zikalala, ANC provincial secretary voiced his concerns that twenty years after democracy, political intolerance is still flaring up again in the KwaMashu hostel. This shows that people who are displaced to the hostel are in danger of being possessed by political parties as their assets or rather forced to belong to political parties in one way or another. While life goes on as usual in the KwaMashu Township, the violent tension in the hostel goes unabated, this saw one of three policemen (Sandile Mbhele) who answered a complaint being killed while on duty in April 2, 2015 (Daily News, 2 April 2015).

Umlazi

The removal of African communities continued and the last lot was removed to Umlazi Township as KwaMashu Township was now full. According to Kristin (2005) Umlazi township construction was already spoken about in the year 1950 and that it had to be erected on the southern periphery of the city of Durban. The aim behind the location of Umlazi Township on the south of the city was to serve or supply the white industrial area there with labour. Smith (2005) states that one third of Umlazi residents were relocated directly from Cato Manor while the rest were relocated from areas around the same southern environment or

vicinity such as Malukazi. As Cato Manor was completely cleared in 1962, the Mpondo women who were known for their fierce resistance finally relented but yet, they could not afford new high rent of the township (Masina, 2006). This led to a new shanty town developing at an alarming rate, hence Malukazi and Magabangejubane informal settlements were being erected adjacent to Malukazi area which is a stone's throw from Umlazi Township (Masina, 2006).

These people were heavily blamed for invading the Indian area, though in the past the same area fell under the jurisdiction of the Makhanya tribal authority (Marshall, 2015). Nothing is heard of what happened to the Makhanya people who were removed from their area to accommodate Indian community who were now perceived to be the 'rightful' owners of that land. The new informal dwelling in that Indian area was known as a Tin Town settlement because of the structure of the houses that were built in the area, and they were paying a rent of one pound a month to the Indian landowners (Mosoetsa, 2004). He further informs us that by 1961, about 10 000 (ten thousand) African dwellers were already living in Malukazi shantytown and by this time Umlazi Township was already under construction. The intention was to help clear shanty towns around the Durban southern region area. Though the Bantu Administration and Development officials in Durban had already suggested in 1961 that Malukazi had to be moved to Umlazi, the Magabangejubane shantytown which was mainly occupied by women, was the first area around to quickly face forced removal to different areas as Umlazi was still under construction, and it was completely demolished in 1961 (Evans, 2012). Only those people who were legally employed were 'legally' displaced to places such as Cato Manor emergency camp and KwaMashu Township respectively while the unemployed were left in the lurch (Khumalo, 2007). He further states that the 'illegal' squatters who were left destitute had to seek refuge at the adjacent Malukazi squatter camp, but quite unfortunate Malukazi had to face the same fate of being demolished in 1963.

Like KwaMashu, Umlazi was also incorporated into KwaZulu homeland in 1986, a situation which is blamed for exacerbating political violence between township residents and hostel dwellers that were aligned to Inkatha (Khumalo, 2007). It is however, not clear as to what prompted the stand-off between township residents and hostel dwellers. However, Masina (2006) believes that family units of the township and only male sex hostels occupants had a cultural clash. Hostel dwellers felt marginalised by township residents even though this notion cannot be substantiated because the Greater Durban Function Region is said to have eleven hostels of which only two, that is, KwaMashu and Umlazi are notorious of being political

trouble spots (Khumalo, 2007). Masina (2006) suggests that Inkatha, a political party aligned to KwaZulu Government was pushed to the hostels when United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) were formed in 1983 and 1985 respectively. However, Masina (2006) states that both UDF and Cosatu were fierce opposition to apartheid state of which Inkatha was its surrogate, and thus, Inkatha had to take a defensive stance in the hostels.

Inanda

According to Marx and Chalton (2004) the area north west of Durban which was solely inhabited by Africans, was gazetted as the Inanda Location because it shared the border with the farm called Inanda. The area called Inanda encompassed many divisions such as Daniel Lindley mission reserve, a coastal strip which was to become the centre of Natal's sugar industry including Inanda Division of Victoria County (Marx and Charlton, 2004). However, the whole area was called Inanda when it was designated released area, that is, 'Released Area 33' at a later stage (Kristin, 2005). Richner (2005) mentions that the African producers gradually lost their status as the system consisted of privately owned land whereby they became tenants and had to pay rent. He further states that the situation continued deteriorating, hence, in mid-1860s African producers faced displacement at the hands of the Indian workers who have completed their indenture period. The displacement of African producers by the Indian workers gained momentum as a huge number of them preferred to stay instead of returning to their country of origin. Hence, comments such as Khumalo (2007:102) "At present there seems to be no friendly sympathy between the Indians and the Natives" bear testimony to the adverse nature of the situation at Inanda.

Conditions of entry into agricultural sector between Indians and Africans were very different, and that contributed much to the Africans feeling displacement in the country of their birth. Unlike their African counterparts, ad hoc provision was made to Indian producers who wished to settle on the land (Kristin, 2005). This trend tended to be very bias and disadvantaged Africans. The other factor which worked against Africans, that is, repelled them from acquiring vast land like Indians is that the rent of Africans was charged per hut while Indians were charged per acre (Kagee and Soto, 2003). In the same vein, laws of accessing credit were laxer to Indians as compared to their African counterparts, hence Indians had more chunk of the land. Restricted as they were, two most prominent figures among African population managed to purchase a sizeable land, that is, Dr J.L. Dube and Isaiah Shembe of the Amanazaretha

(Khumalo, 2007). It has to be noted though that both of them purchase the land outside the mission glebe which was 'white' owned. The only land in contention here bias as it may, is the Piesang River valley. Dr John Dube would go on and built his Christian Industrial School, Ohlange on his land known as 'Dube Farm' while Isaiah Shembe called his settlement 'Ekuphakameni', the Elevated Place. The notorious 1913 Land Act did not unsettle them even the steady acquisition of land by Indians, because the legislation exonerated those Africans whose interests were more in secular pursuits (Lwabukuna, 2012). Amisi (2009) note that for the following three decades the advancement of Indians on the African land was on the increase. However, the 'white' owned land was not affected by this even Mahatma Gandhi had his chunk on Piesang River valley when he purchased his plot, that is, 'Phoenix Settlement'. So, each time Indians purchased more land, Africans would suffer displacement of some sort.

The Inanda informal settlement or shanty town gained momentum in the 1960s due to the clearance of Cato Manor informal settlement by the City Council (Amisi, 2009). When residents of Cato Manor were resettled at KwaMashu Township during forced removals, those who could not qualify for houses opted to squatter at Inanda (Lwabukuna, 2012). Economic reasons pushed them there since they were not employed and thus could not afford rent in the township. Moreover, just like life at Cato Manor, they would live their own lifestyle in informal settlement, free of legislations that were safeguarding the township residents. Inanda grew at an alarming rate because of its cheap lifestyle, hence it also enticed the KwaMashu residents who found conditions in the township very unpalatable (Lwabukuna, 2012). The introduction of Group Areas Act as well as the Bantustan Policy complicated matters even further for the Africans. That is, African landowners of very long standing suffered land expropriation on their surrounding areas on numerous occasions for the demarcation of the Indian Group Areas (Marx and Charlton, 2004). The resultant trend catapulted in the construction of the Indian Phoenix Township by the City Council in the mid-1970s (Kristin, 2005).

The sprawling of shacks soon covered the hillsides of Inanda and it was quite significant that residents of that area were almost of African race, with small proportion of Indian tenants (Marx and Charlton, 2004). Conditions in that area were of unbearable nature, that is, water had to be fetched from the streams, no sanitation, no electricity and they had to travel long distances for public transport (Kagee and Soto, 2003). It has to be noted though that most of those people had previously tasted the urban life, but certain reasons like high rent in the townships, eviction from the townships and avoiding single-sex hostels drove them to such an

area (Marx and Charlton, 2004). Living in the hostels means abandoning one's family, so to some, family bondage was more important. A small proportion though constituted of people from rural areas of the Bantustan with deteriorating conditions, that is, where poverty was the order of the day. The displacement of people from different places for various reasons saw the population of Inanda growing by 137% from 1966 to 1979 (Masina, 2006). Hence Inanda became the largest informal settlement area in Durban, and thus, subjecting it to massive pressure, that is, maize or vegetable growing area dwindled, mugging, rape, murder and unemployment escalated (Amisi, 2009).

The other cause to displacement in the Inanda area was that of ethnic formation whereby Pondo people were ineligible for township housing in KwaMashu only Zulu people were eligible (Masina, 2006). The drought which spanned from 1978 to 1979 aggravated living conditions at Inanda as water sources such as streams and rivers dried out forcing City Municipality to take drastic steps in solving that (Kristin, 1995). Hence the Urban Foundation was on course in investigating a bulk water supply to the area but the Department of Cooperation and Development (CAD) had a concern that such a move would give a wrong impression, that is, legalising squatting (Marx and Charlton, 2004). However, in the beginning of the year 1980, it was reported that thirty people died of typhoid in Inanda and that prompted the City Council into acting to the situation in that area (Kristin, 2005). The Council intervention led to the formation of the emergency committee which consisted of CAD, the Department of Health, the South African Defence Force, the Verulam magistrate, and the Urban Foundation (Khumalo, 2007). This crisis saw the Department of CAD taking full responsibility of the situation and water tankers were brought in to cover several points in Inanda in order to alleviate the problem (Khumalo, 2007).

However, several forced removals increased in the Inanda area under the pretext of fighting the shortage of water (Amisi, 2009). While vast land was cleared of African squatters who were promised a serviced area, Phoenix Section 10 was being built at the site of their removal as a gesture to expanding the Indian township (Amisi, 2009). Though they were promised better living standards, the removed Africans were placed at the adjacent Amaoti settlement area under almost the same appalling conditions they left behind (Marx and Charlton, 2004). Prior to their (African) shocking experience at the new place, there were rumours in the previous shanty town (informal settlement) that they were going to be removed to pave way for the expansion of the Indian dwelling (township) (Mattes, 2005). The only hope which transpired

from the whole saga (Lwabukuna, 2012) was the promise that a township would soon be built and that they would gain an outright qualification to those houses. The little difference they found at Amaoti is that unlike in their shanty town, they found pegged-out sites, each with a pit latrine and communal taps which each serve about four or so sites (Amisi, 2009). The complexity of the whole project though, which was run by the City Council in association with the Urban Foundation was the issue of offering one tent per site, until they could afford to build shacks (Kristin, 2005). It was therefore amazing to find people being forcefully removed from shacks and back to shacks again even though (Masina, 2006) the shack arrangement was an interim order before someone was able to construct a house of good standard. He further states that later the City Council wanted to gain control over these people who were previously subjected to the whims of the landlords in the informal settlement. Hence, in 1982 the same tent area was declared a township, hence Inanda Township, and had a population reaching 25 000 by then.

The state, however, began to number shacks, with the aim of preventing illegal squatting, that is, any newly built shack would be without a number, thus, the owner would be liable for prosecution (Marx and Charlton, 2004). In essence the state was invoking once notorious act known as the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 (Khumalo, 2007). And that led to dissatisfaction among tenants who embarked in too many marches towards the state or City Council (Khumalo, 2007). In fact, there was too much commotion in the area with forced removals becoming the order of the day. This situation caused considerable differences among various levels of the Department of CAD hierarchy themselves which ultimately forced the state to back down (Mattes, 2005). The Act which reinforced forced removal produced nothing else other than violence. The state then took a different stand by depoliticising forced removals. That is, several Indian landlords were given instruction by the Health Department to provide water and sewerage services to their tenants, failing which they must evict them (Masina, 2006). The ultimatum was ignored for several months until the 1936 Land Act was introduced under which group prosecution of tenants as well as landlords was applied (Masina, 2006). The move resulted in tenants being evicted in droves where in some cases Indian landlords would ask officials to come and demolish shacks in their properties (Marx and Charlton, 2004). This motion smelt of promoting racial segregation, that is, Africans were being purged from Indian area because the same eviction law was not extended to African landlords.

In fact, the eviction process in Inanda continued unabated and it became more severe during the years 1982, 1983 and 1984, an era which saw Indian tenants also feeling its wrath (Kagee and Soto, 2003). Indian tenants embarked on several marches until in 1983 the City Council made a move of finding a place to house those Indian tenants who had applied for houses in Phoenix (Amisi, 2009). They were going to be relocated to Noodekrans, a new township near Verulam as Phoenix was now full with no houses available at that moment (Marx and Charlton, 2004). However, construction in that township had not yet started and tension in the area was growing faster, which included PUTCO bus boycott over fare increase which started by the end of 1982 (Amisi, 2009). This situation created a strain among Putco bus drivers and the community of Inanda. And it has to be noted that most Putco drivers were living and renting houses among that community. Due to this kind of situation within which they found themselves, they had to find alternative shelter elsewhere. And such move did not come cheap because alternative residences (which were in KwaMashu and Ntuzuma townships) were far from the bus depot and the rent was higher unlike in the Inanda informal settlement.

During the year 1983 Indian community was getting apprehensible of the situation in Inanda and demanded the City Council to facilitate their relocation from the area (Masina, 2006). By the end of 1983, Inanda saw the sporadic outbreak of student protests at the local educational institution, that is, Ohlange High School in which the police had to intervene and disperse those protests (Masina2006). Incidents of cholera outbreak were also reported during the same year (1983), whereby a few people died because of water shortage in the area due to the drought experienced in that year (Khumalo, 2007). He further states that at this stage Inanda area was getting more and more restless as African landlords became impatient at the rate of progress in converting Inanda into a township. Hence, a meeting was held in which tensions ran high and a resolution was taken that they (Africans) should take over Indian land and shops (Amisi, 2009). The formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983 also precipitated the volatile situation in the Inanda area. Many school disruptions were reported in most Durban townships including KwaMashu and Ntuzuma which were now under the control of Kwa-Zulu government. Their marches were faced by vicious attack from the police and the Kwa-Zulu government aligned Inkatha (Amisi, 2009).

Meanwhile, the 'rolling strike' which started on the 5th of August 1985 in adjacent Ntuzuma Township enraged, reaching Inanda Secondary/High Schools on the following day and, it should be noted that Inanda was not under the jurisdiction of the Kwa-Zulu government

(Khumalo, 2007). And the students' marches were, however, dispersed by the police using teargas and bullets but somehow lost control of the situation. That is, when they (students) scattered, they were joined by 'lumpen' youths who took over the control of the prevailing situation (Khumalo, 2007). He further states that the current violence prevailed and by midday, two Indian-owned shops and houses were looted and burnt of which one of them belonged to a prominent landowner, Mr Leijeeth Rattan. Mr Rattan, however, managed to remove his family on time and by late afternoon, hundreds of Indian people who were frightened had been turned into refugees at Greenbury Hall in Phoenix (Masina, 2006). The looting and burning of Indian-owned properties and shops continued unabated including the road blocks on the main road which saw the stoning of buses and vehicles as well (Kagee and Soto, 2004). And a couple of deaths were reported throughout these incidents which lasted throughout the following day too. The Indian community blamed the police of not doing enough to protect them in their houses as they concentrated their activities mainly on clearing the main road (Amisi, 2009).

The current violence leading to the Indian displacement saw the destruction of Mahatma Gandhi's home 'Savordays' as well as the school which bore his wife's name Kasturbal Naidoo (Amisi, 2009). What is significant in this scenario is the impact of the Group Areas Act. Relations between Africans and Indians were starting to be strenuous. The 'place of peace', as Ghandi Settlement was known, was now completely destroyed (Khumalo, 2007). The turbulence situation in the area somehow signified the political void on the side of political organisations. Moreover, such conditions are prevalent in the unequal society. Indians regarded themselves as superior and more advanced than Africans, hence a comment from one of Hambanathi Indian 'refugee', "It is a pity, these people are uneducated and do not know what they are doing" (Masina, 2006 :59). Inanda was out of the jurisdiction of the Kwa-Zulu government, and therefore there was no Inkatha to counter that conflict.

However, Inkatha 'impi' from Lindelani shanty town invaded the area, purportedly to calm the situation and protect the Indian society from UDF supporters (Masina, 2006). It is not clear who gave that order or who imported the services of Inkatha to the area, though much blame was put on the apartheid government of using the same tactics that were used in KwaMashu between hostel dwellers and the township residents. They (impi) performed several attacks the whole Friday until Saturday when they were finally repelled leaving many deaths behind (Khumalo, 2007). What has to be noted in such developments is that Indian 'refugees' swelled Phoenix Township while Inanda was left with isolated clashes here and there (Khumalo, 2007).

On the other side Inkatha armed vigilantes were at this stage seen patrolling the Phoenix side of the border where the atmosphere remained tense (Marx and Charlton, 2001). The move culminated in the Sunday rally held by Inkatha near the shell of the Ghandi Settlement where Inkatha's secretary general, Dr Oscar Dlomo reassured the Indian community of their safety (Masina, 2006). What transpires here is the abdication of the responsibility by the City Council (apartheid government) to Inkatha, thus pitting Africans against each other. This abdication of responsibility on the side of the then government would at a later stage be touted as the 'Black on Black violence'. The state personnel were supposed to take its responsibility in maintaining peace among Africans and their Indian counterparts instead of using Inkatha vigilantes.

While the same situation prevailed in Inanda, displacement was happening even on the side of the African society as many people could not stand such turmoil. Therefore, to find alternative accommodation, the displaced people turned against Pondos in the area (Khumalo, 2007). Hence, in September the same year, clashes over water usage ensued between these two ethnic groups. Inanda Newtown Township residents, all Zulu speaking, barred the Xhosa speaking Piesang River shanty town residents from using their taps, and the latter retaliated by preventing buses from entering Inanda Newtown (Khumalo, 2007). Serious violence was averted when leaders from both sides convened a meeting to quell that violence (Marx and Charlton, 2004). But still tension did not fade away in the area as the Lindelani Inkatha vigilantes with the anti-Pondo sentiments threatened to enter into that fray (Marx and Charlton, 2004). In 1985 the state consolidated its racial segregation stance by enforcing the racial division rule that Indians live separate from Africans, hence all remaining Indians were removed from Inanda (Masina). Finally, Inanda suffered yet another forced removal, this time for developmental reasons though, when Inanda Dam was built (Khumalo, 2007)

Hammarsdale/Mpumalanga Township

Hammarsdale is a west region area located 30 kilometres away from the city of Durban, and includes Georgedale informal settlement as well as Mpumalanga Township. The making of Mpumalanga Township was about the space, control and a 'new' Zulu identity (Bonnin, 2007). She informs us that the township was established according to regulations which were laid down by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) with prevalence of African displacement in order resettle them. The narratives of the place were about the political rupture in the politics of the then province of Natal. Displacement at Hammarsdale area and the surroundings has been a site of conflict and struggles long before the political violence of

the 1980s which led to a great upheaval (Kotze, 2014). The process first made its impact at Georgedale way before the township was built, though the plan was already in the pipeline.

According to Bonnin (2007) the displacement in the area west of the city of Durban/Ethekwini started way back during the 1800 when mission reserves were fathoms for the area. Hence, the Reverend John Allsop of the Methodist Church bought two farms, namely, Woody Glen and Georgedale in the Shongweni/Hammarsdale area (Bonnin, 2007). She further illustrates that it was his wish to acquire land for African Christians from the Verulam area for mission establishment. That is, the intention was that *amakholwa* who want to settle there should purchase their land from the Missionary Society. And that they would acquire freehold rights along with the tittle deeds to the land. The highlight in this scenario is that the success of the project was two pronged, that is, while it would help in financing the establishment of the mission, it would also help improve the conditions of the *amakholwa* (Bonnin, 2007). The displacement in this case was purportedly to help relocate the converts to start a new life in secluded area where they would be free to practice their Christianity ideology. And the leader of the group of converts who made the move from Verulam to Georgedale was Christian Luthayi (Mosoetsa, 2004). According to (Bonnin, 2007) under the section of the Natal Code which was promulgated in 1871, it was stipulated that the *amakholwa* community leader would always become the chief. Hence, *amakholwa* tribe at Georgedale was formed in 1880 under the chieftainship of Christian Luthayi. And membership of the *amakholwa* could not grow as expected because of the criteria that one cold only obtain the membership through conversion and/or baptism.

However, the Natal Code stated quite categorically that the land belongs to the Queen and was against Africans owning land (Bonnin, 2007). Therefore, the land ownership of the *amakholwa* community was highly contested by the state. She further states that soon after achieving responsible government in 1883, the settler implemented measures to restrict Africans access to land. And subsequently, mission reserves were closed to individual ownership in 1890. That is, under the same notion, though the mission community owned land, in 1903 the Land Department was instructed to refuse all Africans bids on the sale of crown land. Moreover, the notorious 1913 Land Act which followed was a premonition for further displacement to the Georgedale area. Under the 1913 Land Act whereby the land was schedule as Native Reserve, exclusion of land to African intensified through the formation of many locations and/or townships (Kotze, 2014). Georgedale did not make the list of the scheduled land, the 1913

Land Act which meant that besides good transport system and relatively easy access to the city of Durban, it had available options for those wishing to purchase land (Bonnin, 2007). Therefore, with the enforcement of Natal's freehold land by the settler state, Georgedale experienced the influx of people with the intention of purchasing land, after 1913 and 1936. She states that Camperdown Magistrate's records showed a flurry of sales activity during the early 1930s, with much sales referring to Woody Glen and Georgedale Mission being exclusively owned by Natives/Africans. Georgedale as *amakholwa* area soon became a refugee place for those who wanted to escape the patriarchal authority.

Hammarsdale would soon be urbanised and become an industrial area (Mosoetsa, 2004). Hence, Hammarsdale Clothing was established in 1958 under the wrong pretext of taking advantage of lower wage rate. That is, it was found that the owners of the factory had closed their factories in Johannesburg and Durban with all operations transferred to Hammarsdale. This led to the nature of the area to change considerably due to the influx of new residents into the area. Such influx precipitated the change from *amakholwa* community of Georgedale area causing many disputes which resulted in conflicts among residents with the formation of power elites (Mosoetsa, 2004). The conflict was transferred to the African Clothing Workers' Union (Hammarsdale) under the wing of South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) (Bonnin, 2007). This catapulted to a huge relocation upheaval being experienced in the area which was development-induced in this case.

The banning of the African National Congress in the 1960s saw the consolidation of apartheid policy and the unparalleled economic growth had major ramifications to people living in the Georgedale-Hammarsdale complex (Kotze, 2014). Industrial Development Corporation in conjunction with the border industry broke the autonomy of the area as they had more powers and thus, dictating terms in the area (Mosoetsa, 2004). Hence, in 1961 the area was declared a decentralised point and thereafter an expropriation order to establish a township for the African employees to the industries followed. According to (Bonnin, 2007) that period was motivated by two concerns which was first, providing of accommodation for the workers as well as their families and secondly, the same practice would attract more people in the area which would result in creating yet another Cato Manor due to squatter influx in the area. However, landowners objected to that plan because it was going to displace them off their land. On the other side, the state felt it was acting on the best interest for everyone, that is, the industry as well as the employees, while those in opposition (landowners) were acting on their own

interests. But the final result of such policies saw the creation of the new elites in the area, while at the same time, destroying the previous old elites (Mosoetsa, 2004). Landownership was therefore destroyed.

Moreover, landownership under Bantu Land Owners' Union were concerned that besides the land being lost to more erection of factories, the South African Native Trust (SANT) was going to purchase more land which due to influx of people in the area would result in creating a squatter area and/or rural village to house workers (Bonnin, 2007). She, however, emphasises that the displacement to the newly-built Mpumalanga Township happened under the auspices of the Influx Control Policy. That is, some qualification standards would apply, with employment status being the first prerequisite. Hence, those who qualified in terms of influx control policy were given a rental assurance. It has to be noted though that these people were going to pay a huge rent to that they were paying at Georgedale. But yet, the situation became even harsher to those who did not qualify as they faced eviction orders with no alternatives in sight. The other notorious state's policy was that formal township housing would only be provided to male household heads (Mosoetsa, 2004). That is, women, whether (they were) previously landowners and/or tenants, did not qualify for housing in the township. So, the displacement was twofold, that is, creating a forceful removal to the township as well as a forceful removal to oblivion for the unqualified (Mosoetsa, 2004).

The other important factor in the Hammarsdale complex/area is the implementation of border industry policies (Bonnin, 2007). She highlights that one of the industry policy incentives states that industries must locate close to the homeland borders in specified areas within white South Arica. And the lifespan of the industry was to run for ten years, that is, it was of a temporary nature. Hence to promote the policy, industries were encouraged to apply for such incentives and relocate to the area. According to (Mosoetsa, 2004) Hammarsdale was classified as a decentralisation point under such scheme. Furthermore, the scheme basic services such as water, electricity and waste removal, which are imperative for the viability of the industry was going to be made available by the state.

Hammardale was selected as a body industry because of the availability of transport and also for being in the proximity of labour (Bonnin, 2007). That is, transport facility was well in place in Hammarsdale as it is situated along the national road which connects Johannesburg and Durban, while the railway line is running through the area. The growing number of industries in Hammarsdale precipitated the move to building the township (Kotze, 2014). That is, such

industry development attracted people as far as Harrismith and Ladysmith with the hope of finding employment (Bonnin, 2007). Hammarsdale became a focal point of hope for the destitute people as those who were not eligible for housing when squatters who were cleared or removed at Cato Manor made their way to the area (Bonnin, 2007). Thus informal settlement mushroomed in an alarming rate in the area. People relocated in droves to Hammarsdale, hence, a police survey which was conducted by late 1966 estimated that there were 32 000 squatters in the area (Bonnin, 2007). That is, the rate of new shacks being constructed amounted to ten per week. Squatter inspectors were introduced by the state in the vein of discouraging influx to the area, instead of upgrading the squatter area (Mosoetsa, 2004). However, the system caused more displacement as people moved from place to place in the same vicinity to be closer to industries (Bonnin, 2007).

In order to ease the issue of squatting in the area which was (because of a threat to health) was a health hazard, Malangeni temporary township was established in the late 1963 (Mosoetsa, 2004). The aim was to provide housing to Hammarsdale industries' workers. Malangeni Township comprised of ninety-seven wooden houses and consisted of communal ablution facilities (Bonnin, 2007). Yet again after a couple of years, the conditions of the wooden houses deteriorated to the point of disrepair, forcing the authorities to find another alternative place to house those people. Such conditions urged the authorities to fast trek the building of the permanent township. Hence, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) was urged to facilitate land acquisition for the building of the township. Thus, area no.23 as well as part of area no.51 was released, leading to the Durban based consulting engineers Home & Glasson to build or construct the township. The initial intention about the township was to clear squatters in the vicinity not only to house the Bantu who were employed in the Hammarsdale industrial area (Mosoetsa, 2004). But the financial constraints forced some modification to such ambitions, hence Mpumalanga Township was meant to accommodate only those employed at the factories.

Finally, the people were therefore relocated to Mpumalanga Township while the evicted remainder found their way to Fredville and again continued to constructing shacks (Bonnin, 2007). The reports is, out of 7 000 squatters only 2 000 were eligible for township houses. However, those who moved to Fredville when evicted, were later again relocated to Mpumalanga Township as the township developed further (Bonnin, 2007). Finally, the displacement of the 1980s caused by political violence between Inkatha and United Democratic

Front (UDF) later the ANC, transformed the area into unbearable horrifying place for human habitation (Mosoetsa, 2004).

Cornubia

The research at this juncture tries to explore the history and politics of the housing project of Cornubia under Ethekwini Municipality. Because of the influx of to the urban areas of Durban by people who are looking for employment and better services as well as the growing number in population, a new housing project called Cornubia has been developed. However, the project produces scenery of actors who support, resist or challenge the state, thus, actively creating 'pro-growth' and 'pro-poor' tension in Durban (Marshall, 2015). Cornubia is an area which is situated south of King Shaka airport and was historically owned by the Tongaat Hullett group (Marx and Charlton, 2004). Having purchased 580ha from Tongaat Hullett, Durban/Ethekwini Municipality is aiming at developing the area for low cost housing project (Marx and Charlton, 2004). But the area has witnessed or caused a stir within different communities adjacent to and/or affected in the development of the area. The wealthier community of Umhlanga/Durban North wants to dictate terms in the area, that is, they only agree to the area being used for the augmentation of industrial sector totally opposed to the resettlement area (Lwabukuna, 2012). On the other side, the adjacent lower income residents are very positive to the housing project because their housing needs would be fulfilled without being resettled far in an unknown area. They have now adapted to the environment of the present area and thus, very apprehensive for the new environment in a new area they might be resettled to.

Moreover, Abahlali baseMjondolo leadership, an organisation fighting for the rights of shack dwellers, perceives this development process as exploitative to the unhoused poor (Evans, 2012). Their concern stems from the point that they were not consulted in the whole initiative. So besides the development project at hand, the local municipality has a mammoth tusk to overcome, which is that of satisfying the three opposing communities. That is, the wealthier community, the adjacent lower income residents and Abahlali baseMjondolo. According to Lwabukuna (2012) the significance about Cornubia development is that it reflects entrepreneurial governance in a post-apartheid city and the tension it creates between pro-growth and pro-poor communities. Cornubia development comes with different characteristics though. While it is an answer to the poor Black majority who have now acquired shelter in a very well serviced area, it has created great disservice to the opulent white minority who wanted factories and/or industries to be built on the same site to create a buffer zone between the rich

and the poor. Significantly, unlike the previous history on Durban internal displacement, Cornubia area represents the new dimension, that is, no ill-feeling or ill-treatment to its formation. Hence, its racial inclusivity, which saw people like Mr Paulos Ngcobo and the other shareholders in his black owned consortium being allowed to buy the lion's share of 68 000 square metres of the site at the development hub (Daily News, 18 November 2014).

4.2 The causes of internal displacement in South Africa

Three spheres under which South African internal displacement happened include conflict-induced, disaster-induced and development-induced displacement.

4.2.1 Conflict-induced displacement

The country was in turmoil since pre-colonial times during the Imfecane/Lifaqane era when indigenous ethnic groups were fighting for the turf (Richner, 2005). Subsequently, societal conflicts which resulted in fierce armed struggles was prevalent during colonial as well as apartheid times in South Africa (Lwabukuna, 2012). For example, Battle of Isandlwana (1879), also known as Anglo-Zulu War (Masina, 2006) during colonial times as well as Sharpeville massacre in 1961 (McCullough, 2009) and June 16, 1976 during apartheid era (Ladd, 2012). This led to the number of IDPs growing in an alarming rate in South Africa. This takes us to the areas declared as black spots in South Africa because they were causing danger if they were too close to the white population (Marx and Charlton, 2004). The Native Land Act of 1913, Stallard Commission of 1923 as well as the Land Act of 1936 bolstered the colonial time (Lwabukuna, 2012). Moreover, the National Party regime which came to power in 1948 applied apartheid policies that came with the rigorous enforcement legislation which at a later stage caused more removals in a systematic nature (Marx and Charlton, 2004). In order for the National Party to bolster its apartheid system, it devised legislations such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 and 1957, the Native Resettlement Act of 1954, the Native Trust and Land Amendment Act of 1965 and 1970 which have provided the authorities with the machinery for the mass removals of the black people (Marshall, 2015). These legislations and Acts brought fierce conflicts in the country.

4.2.2 Disaster-induced displacement

South Africa is not prone to natural disasters like volcanoes and earthquakes. However, climate change, especially in the rural areas, leads to internal displacement in South Africa Kristin (2005) argues that the introduction of the reserves (later homelands) by the government of yesteryears led to the people leaving those areas in droves to settle in the urban areas. The reason being that homelands could not cope with South Africa's fast growing population and

subsequent farming became failed. Again, pollution and spillage of hazardous substances to the sea cause displacement to people who live on fishing, especially in Durban (Cheng-Hopkins, 2009). That is, too many ships docking in Durban as a busy seaport deplete the marine life, hence, angling population moves away to Cape Town looking for fish (Lwabukuna, 2012).

4.2.3 Development-induced displacement

The government plays a major role in this character, depending on the government of the day how orderly or shabbily things can be arranged in the country. That is, whether people are adequately compensated for their removal. But as the study deals with the issue of forceful removal, the community is not consulted when planning is done. Theirs is the displacement that result from poor planning. In South Africa indigenous people have suffered immensely through the development the country is priding itself of and there is a huge outcry to that. For example, when Inanda Dam was built in Durban, people lost their huge homesteads at Ndwedwe area and were resettled in Tin Houses at Ntuzuma (Khumalo, 2007). Other examples include the exaction of diamond in Kimberly and gold in Johannesburg whereby people were displaced for such projects (Stanley, 2014).

4.3 Challenges caused by the internal displacement on the people of South Africa

Internal displacement is a menace to the society as it produces internally displaced people (IDPs). In the course of internal displacement, IDPs encounter several challenges in their course of suffering, namely, political factors, economic factors and social factors.

4.3.1 Political factors

The issue of internal displacement is very unique because it receives very narrow coverage by the researchers and also intellectual writers (Fielden, 2008). This becomes a worrying factor considering the vulnerability of the internally displaced people. Thus, the complexity in dynamics of these people's displacement, however, becomes a motivating factor to researchers of this era. Marx and Charlton (2004) hint that though there might be many causes of such displacement, however, they tend to vary within and between countries. Time periods should also be considered when researching about internal displacement. In the case of people moving from rural areas to the cities and/or urban areas for whatever reasons, it has to be borne in mind that such movement is not a permanent and static one (Evans, 2007). The reason behind this is that these people might for a long time be moving from place to place before settling to the urban area. In addition, this does not end there. Having experienced the urban life, they end up moving from city to city, for example, the people of KwaMashu/Ntuzuma who ended up in

Inanda, which is resisting abandoning the city life and retreat back to subserviced rural areas. Evans (2007) warns that the situation of internal displacement in urban areas remains extremely insecure and volatile, even following their settlement in a new urban environment.

Moreover, it has to be noted that the short-term and long-term factors are inextricably linked, that is, it must be recognised that the causes to internal displacement cannot be treated as independent variables (Cohen, 2004). There are, however, complex linkages between these variables. In the case of urban IDPs, it has to be noted that they vary across gender, age and ethnicity. The example is that women and children may seek physical safety hence, the movement to urban areas. During the times of turmoil in a given situation, women as well as girl children are vulnerable to rape and sexual assault incidents. Besides women and children, certain individuals may seek refuge in urban areas such as young men especially. They might be running away from being recruited as child soldiers or seeking employment (Oucho, 2005). When it comes to the cause of forced migration from rural to urban areas, most often conflict takes a centre stage. Societal conflicts which end up resulting in fierce armed struggle was prevalent during colonial as well as apartheid times in South Africa (Lwabukuna, 2012). For example, Battle of Isandlwana (1879), also known as Anglo-Zulu War (Masina, 2006) during colonial times as well as Sharpeville massacre in 1961 (McCullough, 2009) and June 16, 1976 during apartheid era (Ladd, 2012). In fact, national struggles that took place especially in colonised areas and/or countries precipitated internal displacement. This led to the number of IDPs growing in an alarming rate countrywide. Oucho (2005) argues that in some parts of the world this trend was instigated states for ulterior motives, that is, population forced removal in oil-rich areas of South Sudan. Tran (2012) states that South Africa also fell victim to the same trend, where people were forcibly removed during colonial times as well as during the apartheid regime era in order to purge the area of the activists and, only leave behind the surrogate party. This takes us to the areas declared as black spots in South Africa because they were causing danger if they were too close to the white population (Marx and Charlton, 2004).

Forced removal in South Africa was implemented firstly, when indigenous people were displaced by first, the colonial government of the time and later by the apartheid regime to give way to new settlers (Marshall, 2015). The following policy guidelines were observed since colonial times, namely, the Native Land Act of 1913, Stallard Commission of 1923 as well as the Land Act of 1936 that set the limits upon land that was to constitute the reserves

(Lwabukuna, 2012). Moreover, the National Party regime which came to power in 1948 applied apartheid policies that came with the rigorous enforcement legislation which at a later stage caused more removals in a systematic nature (Marx and Charlton, 2004). It is envisaged that the 1949 uprisings between Africans and Indians in Cato Manor precipitated the forced removal in Durban. Some questions need be answered whether the removal happened in the name of peace among races involved in war, that is, Indians and Africans or it was specifically sheer racism by authorities to disadvantage the Natives (Africans). The National Party with its apartheid system devised some legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 and 1957, the Native Resettlement Act of 1954, the native Trust and Land Amendment Act of 1965 and 1970 which have provided the authorities with the machinery for the mass removals of the black people (Marshall, 2015). After their removal, they would be quarantined or kept within the framework of Separate Development which was underpinned by legislations such as Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act of 1959, the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 and the Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1973 (Marx and Charlton, 2004). The apartheid government condoned its action of displacing people in a way of 'encouraging', 'persuading' and 'convincing' them (Marshall, 2015).

4.3.2 Economical factors

South African economic history tends to attract foreign nationals as they flocked in numbers from different countries to work in the country's mines (Marx and Charlton, 2004). Durban just followed the same trend when taking into consideration the issue of Indians who were indentured to work for contracts in the sugar cane fields around the city of Durban. At a later stage the same industry is now consuming the local labour force. Marshall (2015) argues that the industry has taken the trend of migrant labour, as the African males leave their families to seek employment in many parts of the city. Again, the economic factor shows the life of a Black person because of his labour status which was inherited from the apartheid era, that he has no choice but to leave his family for economic survival (Marx and Charlton, 2004).

Fielden (2008) argues that the internally displaced population normally leaves their rural camps where there are being housed to look for employment in urban areas. However, South Africa has not got camps for their IDPs because the issue of such population did not get the attention it deserves as they were ignored and had to fend for themselves wherever they could (Marshall, 2015). Hence, the reparations in South Africa are perceived to be flawed since the authorities did not follow the recommendations by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (Tran,

2012). Since they (IDPs) have been forcefully removed from their rural upbringings, and they have lost their farming lifestyle, the only option left is to find employment in urban areas. This is the only hope for them to fend for their families. But conditions of work at urban industries are not so rosy, the situation then leads them to moving from place to place in the cities. The trend still persists in most parts of South Africa to date. The trend of IDPs leaving rural camps voluntarily to seek employment in urban areas, which is a secondary movement, exemplifies the absence of a clear distinction between forced and voluntary economic migrants in urban IDP situations (Cohen, 2004). However, there is reversal in the trend. In other countries such as Casamance region in Senegal, urban to rural secondary forced displacement is evident amongst urban IDPs (de Geoffrey, 2007). Cohen (2004) perceives this trend as contributing to the complex and overlapping dynamics of forced and voluntary economic migration of IDPs. But South Africa, with the absence of IDP camps, this trend is not easy to observe, though it is there. However, there was an exodus of bodies to rural areas for burial long before the Municipalities of South African cities declared the scarcity of burial sites in those cities (de Geoffrey, 2007). It shows that these people were in the city for the sake of employment opportunities, but they belong to the rural areas. This proves a point that these people came to the cities as IDPs. Ultimately, de Geoffrey (2007) argues that urban IDPs only resided in the cities for safety and security reasons. Burials in the city are too expensive while in the rural areas that happens freely.

4.3.3 Social factors

According to Oucho (2005) the life as well as the decisions of an individual are not necessarily dependent on his own ability, but are closely attached to his family. He might feel like stretching his tentacles looking for a better life and employment elsewhere but his household status might dictate otherwise. Leaving one's place might mean cutting ties with his friends, family and relatives. That is, because the breadwinner is moving out of the family bond, going to venture out in the unknown environment trying to make new colleagues and friends. Therefore, whatever decisions one would want to make which involves work situations, the family must sit down and make a decision together (Kristin, 2005). Cohen (2004) suggests sprawling informal settlements around South African cities might have resulted from workers moving their families along with them from rural areas to keep their household in bondage.

Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban provide a good example of complex multiple urban displacements. The national uprising against apartheid in fighting racism contributed mostly to the Durban intra-urban displacement (Masina, 2009). That is, first, the population of Durban

was forcefully removed from Cato Manor, which was now declared as an Indian only area to KwaMashu and Umlazi. Secondly the population had to spill over to Inanda and Ntuzuma with the latest and current movement going to Cornubia (Sutherland et al, 2011). Robinson, (2003) suggests that in fact intra-urban displacement is about fighting or forced movement for whatever reason from within the urban area and/or city.

4.4 Consequences of internal displacement in South Africa/PRODUCT

Internal displacement bears some end results that had bad effects on the indigenous people of South Africa. Their human rights were deeply affected in many forms such as the following factors, namely, landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, social disintegration, loss of access to common property, violation of human rights and lack of adequate accommod**a**tion.

4.4.1 Landlessness

The issue of landlessness has become a problem since the times of colonisation when indigenous people were expropriated of their land in Africa (Lwabukuna, 2012). South African cities were not built on vacant land as noted in Mooney (2005) that land was grabbed forcefully from indigenous clans while their people had to resettled somewhere without anybody's concern. What compounded this situation though is that during independence that land did not get reversal expropriation, that is, to the previous owners but it ended up in the ownership of the political elites, thus, the rightful owners remained landless (Khumalo, 2007).

In South Africa the democratic government had not ventured into a system whereby the land of the country is owned by the state, as is the case with most African countries. So, there is no land reserved for either farming and/or housing development. Most areas are privately owned, so for government to extend residential areas, firstly, the land has to be purchased from the private owner. However, that comes with adverse results since those private land owners charge exorbitant purchase prices. And that is not good for the state as it depletes government coffers. Hence, the country is swelling with shacks in every corner because there is not enough money to purchase the land. Furthermore, there is an outcry from government circles that South Africa is running out of cash to fulfil its obligation to service the nation anymore.

4.4.2 Joblessness

Joblessness is a feature which takes place or happens between two areas, namely rural and urban (Lwabukuna, 2012). Firstly, people are being displaced from poorly serviced rural areas to seek employment in well serviced urban areas and where industries are situated (Mooney,

(2005). They wanted to be closer to factories that are within a walking distance from their place of

residence which in the end results in shacks mushrooming around industrial areas in the cities (Masina, 2006). Modiri (2013) points out that South African cannot cope in employing its fast growing army of job seekers following the retrenchment of urban workers as a result of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of which its economy follows. He further states that shedding of work opportunities or retrenchment is a common feature of the structural adjustment, thus leading us to the second and opposite feature of displacement whereby the people having lost work, would retreat back to the rural areas. According to Lwabukuna (2012) such movement and/or displacement has become a trend in South Africa due to the decline in the industrial sector.

South Africa during the transition era from apartheid to democracy, the ANC promised its citizens that it will create more steady jobs if people voted for it. That would be fulfilled through the system of nationalisation as opposed to privatisation system. And that was not to be. When the ANC took power in 1994, they reneged from their promise of nationalisation. They ended up privatising enterprises that were nationalised by the apartheid regime. They abandoned the Reconstruction and Development Programme which was a well and thoroughly researched system by the professionals, and replaced it with Labour Brokering system. Under the current labour system, jobs were lost as retrenchments reign supreme, and graduates could not be absorbed into workplace by private sector. Only government entities can employ multitudes of graduates as oppose to a handful that can be absorbed by a private sector. Exploitation became a norm in the labour broker system as workers were introduced into contract system, whereby people are working for agents. For example, a cleaner or a security guard may be working for a certain hotel, but are just placed there by agents who pay their salaries respectively. The system has resulted in many labour disputes, where marches and picketing against pay and

working conditions have gained momentum in South Africa since 1994.

4.4.3 Homelessness

The failures of the government of the day is largely to blame for causing much disaster as pointed out in Oucho (2005) that apartheid regime created homelessness due to the introduction of homelands structures. Under homelands people would be clustered or settled together so as to be controlled, hence the townships of KwaMashu and Umlazi in Durban were handed over to Kwa-Zulu homeland under the jurisdiction of Kwa-Zulu government during that era (Stanley, 2014). The trend repeated itself when the people of the Free State (Bloemfontein) experienced the same plight when Botshabelo Township was incorporated into the homeland of Qwaqwa (Twala and Barnard, 2004). Fact of the matter is many people remained homeless as township developments stalled under homeland structure, that is, the central government neglected those areas.

South Africa has been under the settler and/or apartheid rule for almost four hundred and fifty years. And for both epochs there was no proper housing development for indigenous people. So, when the current came into power in 1994, the backlog was so huge it could not be fix 'overnight'. Besides the influx of 'refugees' from the country's neighbouring states, the government is faced with a mammoth task of providing houses to the multitudes of South Africans who migrate to the cities leaving rural areas for job opportunities.

4.4.4 Marginalisation

South Africa with its discriminatory laws during times of apartheid saw non-whites being marginalised, with the Africans being the most victims of such a factor (Lwabukuna, 2012). Oucho (2005) states that economic marginalisation had some serious social and psychological repercussion in the lives of the black majority in this country. The social life as well as shack dwellings in which Africans live in South African cities bears testimony to the feature of marginalisation (Mooney, 2005). This led to African people moving from place to place trying to find environment that would best suit their lifestyle which could even lead to street life.

4.4.5 Food insecurity

Unlike the countries in the SADC regions where civil wars are prevalent, South Africa has seldom found itself caught up in the web of food insecurity feature which comes in the form of drought and floods in other years (Tran, 2012). Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg do experience such disasters whereby people, especially shack dwellers had to be moved to safer

areas during flood seasons, and in need of food supply (Meskell & Weiss, 2006). South Africa is a drought prone country (Mattes, 2005). Therefore, people will be forced to leave barren areas they were resettled into and scary for food in the cities.

4.4.6 Increased morbidity and mortality

This feature, according to Oucho (2005) is prevalent to vulnerable groups such as women, children, elderly and people living with disability. Their condition easily leads them to displacement because they are not strong enough to fight their way forward when the going gets tough. Africans therefore find themselves being pushed into living in squalor conditions where their lives are being compromised (Mooney, 2005). Most cities in South Africa had to go major transformation to change lives of the people from vulnerable groups.

4.4.7 Social disintegration

Production system in the country had to be well organised in order to avoid such displacement taking place (Marx & Charlton, 2004). South Africa is doing very well in this regard, however, its apartheid formation of the past left an indelible mark as homelands that were meant for Africans became overcrowded and farming became impossible, thus causing displacement (Marx & Charlton, 2004). The point to be noted though is that those areas were successfully productive to farming (prior to colonisation) before their kinship was disrupted through forced removals (Oucho, 2005). So in the case of South African cities, some of these sprawling informal settlements are as a result of displacements from those former homelands.

4.4.8 Loss of access to common property

The land according to (Lwabukuna, 2012) was expropriated from indigenous people for many reasons, thus causing displacement of people. Colonial governments became greedy as far as the land is concerned as they wanted to be the sole owners of it for commercial reasons of course (Oliver &Oliver, 2017). Capitalism is the main culprit in monopolising economic profits which lead to exploitation of proletariats who have already been displaced from their land to give way to mineral extraction, forestry and water conservations (Oucho, 2005). Marx and Charlton (2004) have noted that people in Durban were and are still going to be displaced due to the expansion of its harbour.

4.4.9 Violation of human rights

Since colonial times indigenous people in South Africa have suffered human right violations, in one way or another which resulted in their displacement. Lwabukuna (2012) states that this occurrence is placed mainly at the doorstep of the governments of the day who displaced

indigenous people for developmental reasons. Lesotho Highlands Water Project, Central Kalahari Desert in Botswana and Mining Projects of South Africa are the results of human rights violation where a huge number of people were displaced (Oucho, 2005). (Lwabukuna, 2012) points out that when Inanda Dam in Durban was built, almost the whole village was displaced and, thus, peoples' rights were being violated for developmental reasons.

4.4.10 Lack of adequate accommodation

Depending on one's situation, some find shelter with families and/or friends while others end up living in squalid conditions of dilapidated unoccupied flats (Black, 2001). It becomes even more difficult for those who are outside of employment, who end up in informal settlements that spring up and target any space available (Evans, 2007). Thus, occasionally city authorities are at logger heads with Abahlali baseMjondolo, that is, an organisation fighting for the rights of the informal settlers and/or those without shelter living in dire conditions (Cohen and Deng, 2001). While the government works hard to eliminate slums in the city through low-cost housing projects, new slums are being built on the same vacated land (Robinson, 2003). This is seen as a developmental sabotage to the local authorities because the land can no longer be used for the intended developmental project. And that is why they opt for the demolishing of those newly built makeshift shanty houses or slums.

4.5 The role played by the South African government in combating internal displacement

National governments are encouraged to take seriously the sufferings of the people affected by the internally displaced. In any given situation the government is responsible for the wellbeing of its citizens. South Africa under democratic dispensation has improved immensely in trying to combat internal displacement, though a lot still needs to be done. Here are the following steps taken by the South African government to combat internal displacement.

4.5.1 Phasing out homelands

The first step the government took was to phase out homelands. This was seen as a positive step towards building a united nation of the country, hence, a 'rainbow nation' narrative (Marshall, 2015). The step also was a benchmark in reaching equality to the citizens of the country. In fact, the step is seen as a levelling field towards development. Homelands such as the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei and many more are a history today. All notorious laws that hampered peoples' civilisation life in those areas which led them to move to the cities were repelled. That is, service delivery resources are now reaching to those areas which were previously neglected.

4.5.2 Increasing the pace of development

Since the inception of democracy in 1994, South Africa has attracted investors from all over the globe, hence, the country is developing at a fast rate. For example, by 2010 King Shaka International Airport was up and running in Durban (Budd, 2013), Cape Town Water Front was refurbished (Tran, 2012) and Gautrain was up and running in Johannesburg (Staddler, 2008). And many more projects are still in the pipeline like a new South Africa/Mozambique road route as well as the expansion of the Durban harbour. The development infrastructure of South Africa has seen many houses with water, sanitation and electricity being built in two decades' time. Shopping Malls are sprawling up in a fast rate in the big cities of the country, not only in the upper class areas but including townships, like Maponya Mall in Soweto (McCullough, 2009).

4.5.3 Providing accommodation

The high rate of building houses in South Africa has led to improved accommodation to millions of South Africans. For example, the government Low Cost Housing Project which is being rolled out throughout the country, has helped immensely in this regard (Marshall, 2015). Hence, the country managed to host several world tournaments, such as the Rugby World Cup (1995), Africa Cup of Nations (1996) including Soccer World Cup (2010) (Marshall, 2015). In fact, with the Low-Cost Housing Project, the government is aiming at both alleviating the shortage of houses to the previously marginalised community (who were subjected to the homelands) as well as the removal of slums or informal settlements in the cities.

4.5.4 Increasing agriculture production

Africa is said to be inimical to agriculture (Marshall, 2015). Notwithstanding the weather system of South Africa as well as the prevailing scourge of global warming, South Africa is doing so well in agriculture. Since democracy, there have been roll out projects to boost agriculture. For example, there are farms that were bequeathed to intending black farmers by the government. Each farmer was getting a farm, ten cows and one bull including farming machinery to start with (Whyte, 2010). That was a good start for a government who inherited apartheid systems with segregation policies. Moreover, white experienced farmers of yesteryear were still kept in the system to keep the agricultural production within the required standard. Hence, South Africa is leading in Africa in most spheres of agricultural farming, which includes, ostrich farming, wineries, wheat production, fruit and vegetable farming (Krisin, 2005). There are now more communities who would prefer living in the farm than moving to the cities.

4.6 The role of the United Nations (UN) in combating internal displacement in general

The role played by the UN is pervasive, that is, it applies to all member states because it gives a guideline in fighting the endemic. It has become clear at this stage that the internal displacement adversely affects the lives of people who end up being exposed to a range of particular risks and vulnerability. The main point is that the circumstance(s) they find themselves in do/es not create a legal status. One way or another internal displacement has to be nipped at its bud or rather fought gallantly. The UN devised durable solutions in its endeavour to fight internal displacement which produce internally displaced persons (IDPs)

According to Mooney (2005), durable solutions are hands on works or frameworks whereby national authorities as well as other stakeholders, such as donors or health personals, under the guidance of the UN, work together to aid people (IDPs) already affected by internal displacement. The directive of durable solutions where internal displacement had occurred, is that national authorities must established the conditions which are conducive to safe and dignified return or settlement elsewhere of the IDPs (Kalin, 2006). That is, when resettled elsewhere, national authorities should make a point that IDPs are able to assert their rights on the same basis as other nationals. Moreover, he asserts that international observers are offered security to aid and monitor the situation of the formerly displaced people. Finally, Kalin's (2006) assertion is that the durable solution provided at a time is sustainable.

4.6.1 Use of assistance policies to end internal displacement

As donors and agencies help in aiding IDPs, they also play a major role in determining when displacement ends (Mooney, 2005). In trying to facilitate the end to internal displacement, one assistance policy of the UN durable solutions notes two scenarios.

Scenario 1 – Cutting off food and/or other basic assistance to IDPs

Food and electricity are cut off to IDP communal centres with a view to inducing those (IDPs) to return to their homes or rather resettle elsewhere (Mooney, 2005). However, this approach is blamed for promoting a forced resettlement than a voluntary one. That is, since basic services are being cut off, IDPs have no other option but to return with no safety guaranteed. Such action creates the impression that IDPs were in the first place not consulted or part of the decision.

Scenario 2 – Incentives for return or resettlement

Sometimes there are implications of incentives which could be considered to promote the principle of voluntary return and/or resettlement (Fagen, 2008). This is a gesture which has

created an argument in some quarters, but it promotes and suggests a small amount of encouragement. Taking the conditions under which IDPs have been subjected to in the camps, such amount could assist in inducing them into returning or opt for resettlement. This can be achieved through the government initiative giving money to IDPs if they return (Kalin, 2006). There are, however, certain benchmarks that had to be taken into consideration in this scenario. Most importantly is the conditions of safety, that is, safety must first prevail at the place of resettlement (Mooney, 2005). Internal displacement happens within the borders of the country; therefore, it is the task of the country concerned to offer security to the returnees.

4.6.2 The guidelines on evictions

In order to show responsibility as the reputable world's body, the UN has taken drastic steps in protecting people who are affected by internal displacement. States should secure by all appropriate means, including the provision of security of tenure, the maximum degree of effective protection against the practice of forced evictions for all persons under their jurisdiction (Mooney, 2005). He further states that special consideration should be given to the rights of indigenous peoples, children and women, particularly female-headed households and other vulnerable groups. The policy also orders member states to ensure that no persons, groups or communities are rendered homeless or are exposed to the violation of any other human rights as a consequence of forced eviction (Kalin, 2006). The important advice of good governance from the UN is that, States should adopt appropriate legislation and policies to ensure the protection of individuals, groups and communities from forced eviction (Mooney, 2005). That is, States must have due regard to their best interests by adopting constitutional provisions in this regard.

In fact, States should make it a point that they fully explore all possible alternatives to any act involving forced eviction. Where the situation dictates, all affected persons, including women, children and indigenous peoples, shall have the right to full participation and consultation throughout the entire process and to propose any alternatives (Fagen, 2008). Kalin (2006) suggests that in the event where agreement cannot be reached on the proposed alternative by the affected persons, groups, communities including the entity proposing the forced eviction in question, an independent body, such as a court of law, tribunal, or ombudsman, may be called upon. Mooney (2005) warns that States should refrain, to the maximum possible extent, from compulsorily acquiring housing or land, unless such acts are legitimate and necessary. He further warns that if evictions are carried out, the UN guidelines spell out the rights of those

affected, including the right to a fair hearing before a competent, impartial and independent court or tribunal. That is, people must have a right to legal counsel who can then effect legal remedies. That is, the right to compensation for any losses of land or personal, real or other property or goods (Fagen, 2008). However, it is envisaged that compensation should include land and access to common property and should not be restricted to cash payments only. Such guidelines if followed, can bring peace in many world States.

4.6.3 Processes of return, resettlement and reintegration from internal displacement
Guiding Principles 28-30

This section is about the rights of IDPs as well as the responsibilities of competent authorities in handling the affairs of IDPs. Sometimes, for a long time after return, the people who were displaced would find themselves in a markedly different circumstance. That is, the process of integration could take too long to reach the final sage (Mooney, 2005). The final stage in this case might be the situation where claims to their properties may not be adjudicated immediately (Kalin, 2006). Such situation could see them without shelter or means of livelihood in a place of return. Similarly, for those who are settled elsewhere they might require humanitarian and financial aid to a stage where they are able to obtain shelter as well as employment in the new location (Wilkinson, 2015). Sometimes though everything happened in the context of a durable peace agreement, insecurity may still exist. And the reason behind this insecurity is caused by the resentments and conflicts between the returning and the already resident population (Wilkinson, 2015).

One of the cornerstones of the Guiding Principles which must be ensured is the rig of IDPs to make informed and voluntary decisions as to whether they want to return, resettle and integrate at the place where they found refuge or elsewhere (Kalin, 2006). However, Durban's reintegration process during xenophobic attack in 2015, including resettlement were involuntary, thus flouted the Guiding Principles (Kalin, 2006). The IDPs at the Isipingo camp were told quite categorically that they would be resettled at Chatsworth, or else they must on their own find another alternative shelter (The Times, 28 April 2015). Freedom of movement is touted as a fundamental right but depending on the situation, this can be restricted. That is, the right to determine where one lives is not absolute (Egeland, 2004). It is incumbent to the national authorities to determine whether conditions are too unsafe to permit return or resettlement in specific location (Mooney, 2005). Several factors might prohibit the process

such as imperative military, and a natural or human-made disaster are known to deem an area uninhabitable (Mooney, 2005).

Fact of the matter is that decisions to reach durable solutions is voluntary, while also making sure that the individual's decisions whether to return home or settle elsewhere must be respected and facilitated (Kalin, 2006). (Mooney, 2005) feels that to decide that displacement has ended contains both subjective and/or objective aspects. For example, national authorities as well as international observers may determine that they have resolved the situation of the IDPs while the victims (IDPs) would still see themselves as displaced long after that time. And the reason behind this misunderstanding might be resolving issues by applying a set of objective criteria (Mooney, 2005).

4.6.4 International Humanitarian Law (IHL) that protects IDPs

According to (Egeland, 2004) the main objective of the IHL is seeking to limit the effects of armed conflict in the country at the helm. And that would be achieved by offering protection to people who are not or are no longer participating in the hostilities. Some of the main causes which trigger internal displacement and thus violating IHL include, attacks against civilians and ill-treatment of them, destruction of property, sexual violence and restricted access to health care and other essential services (Mooney, 2005).

Achievements

Some achievements have been realised in some parts of the world due to October 2008 Oslo conference which reaffirmed the Guiding Principles (Kalin, 2006). In that meeting it was agreed that Guiding Principles are an important framework for upholding the rights of the IDP. Moreover, the encouragement to that gesture came from reports from member states stating that they have even incorporated the Principles into their national laws and policies. The urge came from different actors in their states who felt that the Principles were very useful in curbing the scourge of displacement. The conference, however, put much emphasis on increased political and financial commitment for the protection of IDPs to come to fruition. And member states were encouraged to play their part in the process by developing and strengthening their policies. For the success to be reached states should in their structures follow protocols such as, preventive measures to avert displacement, crisis mitigation procedures, to be active once displacement has occurred, and durable framework (Mooney, 2005). So, for durable solutions to be achieved, an urgent need is envisaged between humanitarian and development actors, governments and financial institutions to work together.

Challenges ahead

In the highlight of the achievements which have been made though, some major challenges still stand in the way of realising the rights of IDPs. Kalin (2006) puts the estimation of people who have been forcibly displaced at 1% worldwide. However, the main concern though is that the number of the IDPs continues to increase. The main causes are related to disaster-induced displacement as well as protracted situations of displacement. Unresolved conflicts and/or lack of political will amongst national governments as well as insufficient support by international actors lead to protracted displacement. The protracted displacement is prevalent in many countries including South Africa because majority states do not practice what they preach. That is, the lacuna between policies and practice are still highly observed. As the conference noted, there is the prevalence of unwillingness to take on their responsibilities in protecting IDPs from the majority of states. Also, the issue of sovereignty of states poses a huge challenge to humanitarian space required to prevent displacement and/or protect IDPs. Most governments and/or non-state actors tend to hide behind sovereignty to cover their incompetence on the issues of IDPs, thus obstructing means of IDP protection. The circumstances of urban IDPs are quite different from those of the rural areas and/or camp settings, hence, their requirements are also different (Mooney, 2005). That is, urbanisation affects choices and opportunities hence appropriate durable solutions need to be considered. The IDPs who have left rural areas to find refuge at urban areas and adapted there, returning back to rural areas is not an option.

South Africa has a security risk problem which leads to the daily attacks of its citizens, sometimes resulting in security personnel themselves being attacked or killed. The Mercury (15 November, 2015) reported the shooting of SAPS members in KwaMashu Township where one member is fighting for his life in hospital. KwaMashu hostel as well as Umlazi Glebelands hostel makes headlines news in most Durban media recently. Most people residing at the hostels are from rural areas, hence more often the killings that take place in the hostels of late are associated with faction fighting from rural areas, places of their origin (The Times, 28 October 2015). Yet again the chasm of the past whereby hostel dwellers and local township dwellers remain separate still persist and the government is doing nothing to address it (The Mercury, 21 August, 2015). In fact, the government is even promoting that by allowing organisations such as Abahlali BaseMjondolo to promote the culture of living in squalid conditions (Daily News, 8 April, 2015). So, people in Durban as well as South Africa at large

have every right to remain in shacks risking their live, especially those of children instead of the government applying the Guiding Principles which will involve the international world to come and give assistance.

Several provisions are contained in the IHL which are directed at the protection of IDPs as well as prevention of displacement before it could even happen (Egeland, 2004). Such protocols according to Kalin (2006) are mainly found in Geneva Convention IV (GC IV) and Additional Protocols I and II (AP I and APII), as well as in customary international law. However, it is incumbent to the responsibilities of the states for initiating implementation of such provisions, in their respective internal framework. It is advisable for the states when enacting national legislation to consider the following provisions (Kalin, 2006):

Prohibition of displacement and the right to voluntary return

States are urged to adhere to the IHL protocols so as to reduce IDPs (Mooney, 2005). Security plays a major role in the case of IDPs returning home. It has to be borne in mind or rather considered that displacement is a temporary thing, but people could stay too long if it is still unsafe to go back to their place of origin.

Non-discrimination

The International Humanitarian Law urges states to make strides in their existing laws that nothing singles out the IDPs from the general population as far as treatment is concerned. That is, the protection of the IDPs should not be different from that of the general population. Their displacement does not mean that they should be treated inhumanely (Mooney, 2005). Instead more protection is needed for the IDPs as they suffer from much vulnerability due to their position.

Kalin (2006) states that IDPs must enjoy the same protection in the country that is meted out to the general population because they also form part of the state's population.

The right to life, to dignity and to freedom

The International Humanitarian Law advises of the respect of the life and dignity of IDPs. Just like other civilians, IDPs shall not be subjected to any attack. The only exceptional given is that the attack on them might happen only if they themselves are directly involved or participated in hostilities. That is, they shall not be taken hostage, nor used as human shields and not be subjected to collective punishment. Finally, their physical and mental well-being must be protected.

Life standards and humanitarian assistance

States should take upon themselves the situation where IDPs live, that is, hygiene, health, nutrition and accommodation conditions are satisfactory. Where there are armed conflicts, involved parties should desist from targeting foodstuffs, crops, livestock and drinking water supplies (Mooney, 2005). In the war zone, occupying powers should take responsibility that local populations have food. States must provide aide to the wounded and the sick during upheavals of any kind in the country as that is their obligation (Kalin, 2006). And if responsible authorities are unable to meet these standards, they should not impair humanitarian assistance from other impartial humanitarian bodies. However, the assistance of these actors shall be of exclusively humanitarian and impartial nature, and conducted without any adverse distinction. According to IHL failure to comply with these requirements may constitute a grave breach (Mooney, 2005).

Family life

International Humanitarian Law promotes the protection of family units during displacement (Kali, 2006). That is, during conflict situations, if IDPs have been kept in communal shelter or camps, it is advisable to keep family members together. But if family members become separated, all appropriate steps must be taken to facilitate their reunification.

Documentation

The International Humanitarian Law emphasises the importance of the registration of the citizens in any country (Mooney, 2005). That is, every person is entitled to registration and a name immediately at birth, especially in situations of occupation. It is therefore imperative for the states to ensure that vulnerable groups such as refugees and interned civilians in occupied territories are provided with basic documentation.

Property and Possessions

The focal point here is that during conflicts, the property of the civilians including their possessions shall not be subject to pillage (Mooney, 2005). That is, in any given situation, however, the property of the civilians shall be protected from destruction, illegal appropriation, occupation, or use. The states are obliged to transfer persons evacuated in or from occupied territories back to their homes as soon as hostilities have ceased. This goes with the right to recovery of their property, and more specifically, the IHL emphasises that the property rights of displaced persons must be respected (Mooney, 2005).

Employment and Social Protection

During the armed conflicts, IHL protocols come strong on the protection of employed people, that is, the general non-discrimination clauses of IHL such as *GC IV Art. 27, AP I Art. 75 (1)*

must apply. The clause applies to the areas of employment, economic activities, and social security. That is, the clause specifies minimum standards of working conditions which must be respected for certain categories or persons who are made to work during situations of armed conflict (Mooney, 2005). Moreover, the customary international humanitarian law also comes to the aid of those employed by prohibiting uncompensated or abusive forced labour.

Education

The International Humanitarian Law advises occupying powers during upheavals that they must also facilitate the functioning of educational facilities in occupied territories. That is, though there is armed conflict in the country, but children must receive an education which includes religious and moral education (Kalin, 2006).

Prohibition of forcible recruitment of children

Forcible recruitment of children into armed forces or groups as a result of their vulnerability situation due to displacement is prevalent during conflicts (Kalin, 2006). That is, IHL is against forcible recruitment of children under 15 years of age *API Art. 77(2), APII Art. 4(3), CIHL Rule 1364*, and that children must neither be forced nor permitted to take direct part in any hostilities (Mooney, 2005). Moreover, people over 15 years of age shall not be subjected to discriminatory practices of recruitment as a result of their displacement.

4.6.5 UN Guiding Principles in the case of internally displaced persons

Guiding Principles are the tools of the United Nations used or put in place in order to protect internally displayed people and, they are applied internationally (Lwabukuna, 2012). They came into being as a result of the request from the representative of the General Secretary of the United Nations and it consists of a team of international lawyers (Robinson, 2003). And after a wide and detailed consultation process, they were then adopted and, thus, gained the support of the United Nations (Oucho, 2005). This process shows a good endeavour in a team of international experts who in the end managed to draw up Guiding Principles which might be so necessary in protecting the human rights of these vulnerable people. Lwabukuna (2012) states that these Guiding Principles consist or are being applied on three different situations, namely, tensions and disturbances provided in human rights Law, non-international armed conflict which is covered by both humanitarian and human rights and, lastly inter-state wars which only apply in humanitarian Law. The main concern though is that regulations guiding the handling of refugees tend to bind the United Nations member states, while the "guiding principles" relating to IDPs are not binding (Ouch, 2005).

Though countries of the world enjoy the autonomy in running their state affairs, the UN has devised some Guiding Principles to assist the internally displaced peoples. According to Robinson (2003), the 30 UN Guiding Principles are divided into five sections, in order to provide a pervasive and successful result. Namely, general principles, principles relating to protection from displacement, principles relating to protection during displacement, principles relating to humanitarian assistance and lastly, principles relating to return, resettlement and reintegration, and they read as follows;

General Principles

Principle 1

1. Internally displaced persons shall enjoy, in full equality, the same rights and freedoms under international and domestic law as do other persons in their country. They shall not be discriminated against in the enjoyment of any rights and freedoms on the ground that they are internally displaced.

2. These Principles are without prejudice to individual criminal responsibility under international law, in particular relating to genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Principle 2

1. These Principles shall be observed by all authorities, groups and persons irrespective of their legal status and applied without any adverse distinction. The observance of these Principles shall not affect the legal status of any authorities, groups or persons involved.

2. These Principles shall not be interpreted as restricting, modifying or impairing the provisions of any international human rights or international humanitarian law instrument or rights granted to persons under domestic law. In particular, these Principles are without prejudice to the right to seek and enjoy asylum in other countries.

Principle 3

1. National authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their jurisdiction.

2. Internally displaced persons have the right to request and to receive protection and humanitarian assistance from these authorities. They shall not be persecuted or punished for making such a request.

Principle 4

1. These Principles shall be applied without discrimination of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, legal or social status, age, disability, property, birth, or on any other similar criteria.

2. Certain internally displaced persons, such as children, especially unaccompanied minors, expectant mothers, mothers with young children, female heads of household, persons with disabilities and elderly persons, shall be entitled to protection and assistance required by their condition and to treatment which takes into account their special needs.

Principles relating to protection from displacement

Principle 5

All authorities and international actors shall respect and ensure respect for their obligations under international law, including human rights and humanitarian law, in all circumstances, so as to prevent and avoid conditions that might lead to displacement of persons.

Principle 6

1. Every human being shall have the right to be protected against being arbitrarily displaced from his or her home or place of habitual residence.

2. The prohibition of arbitrary displacement includes displacement:

(a) When it is based on policies of apartheid, ethnic cleansing or similar practices aimed at/or resulting in altering the ethnic, religious or racial composition of the affected population;

(b) In situations of armed conflict, unless the security of the civilians involved or imperative military reasons so demand;

(c) In cases of large-scale development projects, which are not justified by compelling and overriding public interests;

(d) In cases of disasters, unless the safety and health of those affected requires their evacuation; and

(e) When it is used as a collective punishment.

3. Displacement shall last no longer than required by the circumstances.

Principle 7

1. Prior to any decision requiring the displacement of persons, the authorities concerned shall ensure that all feasible alternatives are explored in order to avoid displacement altogether. Where no alternatives exist, all measures shall be taken to minimize displacement and its adverse effects.

2. The authorities undertaking such displacement shall ensure, to the greatest practicable extent, that proper accommodation is provided to the displaced persons, that such displacements are

effected in satisfactory conditions of safety, nutrition, health and hygiene, and that members of the same family are not separated.

3. If displacement occurs in situations other than during the emergency stages of armed conflicts and disasters, the following guarantees shall be complied with:

(a) A specific decision shall be taken by a State authority empowered by law to order such measures.

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(b) Adequate measures shall be taken to guarantee those to be displaced with full information on the reasons and procedures for their displacement and, where applicable, on compensation and relocation;

(c) The free and informed consent of those to be displaced shall be sought;

(d) The authorities concerned shall endeavour to involve those affected, particularly women, in the planning and management of their relocation;

(e) Law enforcement measures, where required, shall be carried out by competent legal authorities; and

(f) The right to an effective remedy, including the review of such decisions by appropriate judicial authorities, shall be respected.

Principle 8

Displacement shall not be carried out in a manner that violates the rights to life, dignity, liberty and security of those affected.

Principle 9

States are under a particular obligation to protect against the displacement of indigenous peoples, minorities, peasants, pastoralists and other groups with a special dependency on and attachment to their lands.

Principles relating to protection during displacement

Principle 10

1. Every human being has the inherent right to life which shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his or her life. Internally displaced persons shall be protected in particular against:

(a) Genocide;

(b) Murder;

(c) Summary or arbitrary executions; and

(d) Enforced disappearances, including abduction or unacknowledged detention, threatening or resulting in death.

Threats and incitement to commit any of the foregoing acts shall be prohibited.

2. Attacks or other acts of violence against internally displaced persons who do not or no longer participate in hostilities are prohibited in all circumstances.

Internally displaced persons shall be protected, in particular, against:

(a) Direct or indiscriminate attacks or other acts of violence, including the creation of areas wherein attacks on civilians are permitted;

(b) Starvation as a method of combat;

(c) Their use to shield military objectives from attack or to shield, favour or impede military operations;

(d) Attacks against their camps or settlements; and

(e) The use of anti-personnel landmines.

Principle 11

1. Every human being has the right to dignity and physical, mental and moral integrity.

2. Internally displaced persons, whether or not their liberty has been restricted, shall be protected in particular against:

(a) Rape, mutilation, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and other outrages upon personal dignity, such as acts of gender-specific violence, forced prostitution and any form of indecent assault;

(b) Slavery or any contemporary form of slavery, such as sale into marriage, sexual exploitation, or forced labour of children; and

(c) Acts of violence intended to spread terror among internally displaced persons.

Threats and incitement to commit any of the foregoing acts shall be prohibited.

Principle 12

1. Every human being has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

2. To give effect to this right for internally displaced persons, they shall not be interned in or confined to a camp. If in exceptional circumstances such internment or confinement is absolutely necessary, it shall not last longer than required by the circumstances.

3. Internally displaced persons shall be protected from discriminatory arrest and detention as a result of their displacement.

4. In no case shall internally displaced persons be taken hostage.

Principle 13

1. In no circumstances shall displaced children be recruited nor be required or permitted to take part in hostilities.

2. Internally displaced persons shall be protected against discriminatory practices of recruitment into any armed forces or groups as a result of their displacement. In particular any cruel, inhuman or degrading practices that compel compliance or punish non-compliance with recruitment are prohibited in all circumstances.

Principle 14

1. Every internally displaced person has the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his or her residence.

2. In particular, internally displaced persons have the right to move freely in and out of camps or other settlements.

Principle 15

Internally displaced persons have:

(a) The right to seek safety in another part of the country;

(b) The right to leave their country;

(c) The right to seek asylum in another country; and

(d) The right to be protected against forcible return to or resettlement in any place where their life, safety, liberty and/or health would be at risk.

Principle 16

1. All internally displaced persons have the right to know the fate and whereabouts of missing relatives.

2. The authorities concerned shall endeavour to establish the fate and whereabouts of internally displaced persons reported missing, and cooperate with relevant international organizations engaged in this task. They shall inform the next of kin on the progress of the investigation and notify them of any result.

3. The authorities concerned shall endeavour to collect and identify the mortal remains of those deceased, prevent their despoliation or mutilation, and facilitate the return of those remains to the next of kin or dispose of them respectfully.

4. Grave sites of internally displaced persons should be protected and respected in all circumstances. Internally displaced persons should have the right of access to the grave sites of their deceased relatives.

Principle 17

1. Every human being has the right to respect of his or her family life.

2. To give effect to this right for internally displaced persons, family members who wish to remain together shall be allowed to do so.

3. Families which are separated by displacement should be reunited as quickly as possible. All appropriate steps shall be taken to expedite the reunion of such families, particularly when children are involved. The responsible authorities shall facilitate inquiries made by family members and encourage and cooperate with the work of humanitarian organizations engaged in the task of family reunification.

4. Members of internally displaced families whose personal liberty has been restricted by internment or confinement in camps shall have the right to remain together.

Principle 18

1. All internally displaced persons have the right to an adequate standard of living.

2. At the minimum, regardless of the circumstances, and without discrimination, competent authorities shall provide internally displaced persons with and ensure safe access to:

(a) Essential food and potable water;

(b) Basic shelter and housing;

(c) Appropriate clothing; and

(d) Essential medical services and sanitation.

3. Special efforts should be made to ensure the full participation of women in the planning and distribution of these basic supplies.

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Principle 19

1. All wounded and sick internally displaced persons as well as those with disabilities shall receive to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, the medical care and attention they require, without distinction on any grounds other than medical ones. When necessary, internally displaced persons shall have access to psychological and social services.

2. Special attention should be paid to the health needs of women, including access to female health care providers and services, such as reproductive health care, as well as appropriate counselling for victims of sexual and other abuses.

3. Special attention should also be given to the prevention of contagious and infectious diseases, including AIDS, among internally displaced persons.

Principle 20

1. Every human being has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

2. To give effect to this right for internally displaced persons, the authorities concerned shall issue to them all documents necessary for the enjoyment and exercise of their legal rights, such as passports, personal identification documents, birth certificates and marriage certificates. In particular, the authorities shall facilitate the issuance of new documents or the replacement of documents lost in the course of displacement, without imposing unreasonable conditions, such as requiring the return to one's area of habitual residence in order to obtain these or other required documents.

3. Women and men shall have equal rights to obtain such necessary documents and shall have the right to have such documentation issued in their own names.

Principle 21

1. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of property and possessions.

2. The property and possessions of internally displaced persons shall in all circumstances be protected, in particular, against the following acts:

(a) Pillage;

(b) Direct or indiscriminate attacks or other acts of violence;

(c) Being used to shield military operations or objectives;

(d) Being made the object of reprisal; and

(e) Being destroyed or appropriated as a form of collective punishment.

3. Property and possessions left behind by internally displaced persons should be protected against destruction and arbitrary and illegal appropriation, occupation or use.

Principle 22

1. Internally displaced persons, whether or not they are living in camps, shall not be discriminated against as a result of their displacement in the enjoyment of the following rights:

(a) The rights to freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, opinion and expression;

(b) The right to seek freely opportunities for employment and to participate in economic activities;

(c) The right to associate freely and participate equally in community affairs;

(d) The right to vote and to participate in governmental and public affairs, including the right to have access to the means necessary to exercise this right; and

(e) The right to communicate in a language they understand.

Principle 23

1. Every human being has the right to education.

2. To give effect to this right for internally displaced persons, the authorities concerned shall ensure that such persons, in particular displaced children, receive education which shall be free and compulsory at the primary level. Education should respect their cultural identity, language and religion.

3. Special efforts should be made to ensure the full and equal participation of women and girls in educational programmes.

4. Education and training facilities shall be made available to internally displaced persons, in particular adolescents and women, whether or not living in camps, as soon as conditions permit.

Principles Relating to Humanitarian Assistance

Principle 24

1. All humanitarian assistance shall be carried out in accordance with the principles of humanity and impartiality and without discrimination.

2. Humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons shall not be diverted, in particular for political or military reasons.

Principle 25

1. The primary duty and responsibility for providing humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons lie with national authorities.

2. International humanitarian organizations and other appropriate actors have the right to offer their services in support of the internally displaced. Such an offer shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act or interference in a State's internal affairs and shall be considered in good faith. Consent thereto shall not be arbitrarily withheld, particularly when authorities concerned are unable or unwilling to provide the required humanitarian assistance.

3. All authorities concerned shall grant and facilitate the free passage of humanitarian assistance and grant persons engaged in the provision of such assistance rapid and unimpeded access to the internally displaced.

Principle 26

Persons engaged in humanitarian assistance, their transports and supplies shall be respected and protected. They shall not be the object of attack or other acts of violence.

Principle 27

1. International humanitarian organizations and other appropriate actors when providing assistance should give due regard to the protection needs and human rights of internally displaced persons and take appropriate measures in this regard. In so doing, these organizations and actors should respect relevant international standards and codes of conduct.

2. The preceding paragraph is without prejudice to the protection responsibilities of international organizations mandated for this purpose, whose services may be offered or requested by States.

Principles Relating to Return, Resettlement and Reintegration

Principle 28

1. Competent authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to establish conditions, as well as provide the means, which allow internally displaced persons to return voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, to their homes or places of habitual residence, or to resettle voluntarily in another part of the country.

Such authorities shall endeavour to facilitate the reintegration of returned or resettled internally displaced persons.

2. Special efforts should be made to ensure the full participation of internally displaced persons in the planning and management of their return or resettlement and reintegration.

Principle 29

1. Internally displaced persons who have returned to their homes or places of habitual residence or who have resettled in another part of the country shall not be discriminated against as a result of their having been displaced. They shall have the right to participate fully and equally in public affairs at all levels and have equal access to public services.

2. Competent authorities have the duty and responsibility to assist returned and/or resettled internally displaced persons to recover, to the extent possible, their property and possessions which they left behind or were dispossessed of upon their displacement. When recovery of such property and possessions is not possible, competent authorities shall provide or assist these persons in obtaining appropriate compensation or another form of just reparation.

Principle 30

All authorities concerned shall grant and facilitate for international humanitarian organizations and other appropriate actors, in the exercise of their respective mandates, rapid and unimpeded access to internally displaced persons to assist in their return or resettlement and reintegration.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has gone into detail in giving the research findings as well as the narratives of the analysis of the research. It has also highlighted the suffering of the IDPs as a result of the

internal displacement in South Africa. For example, how IDPs get affected economically, politically, socio-culturally and their resistance to factors such as being quarantined into the reserves or homelands. It has shown the massive work done by the South African government to address the ills of the past. The role of the United Nations, have been well covered in the study where it gives directions to all member states as to how to treat IDPs or its citizens so as to discourage internal displacement within their borders. Finally, the UN has taken a major step in fighting these forceful removals worldwide by devising thirty (30) Guiding Principles which prohibit human rights violation by the states concerned.

4.6.6 Observation on research matters

The section highlights the student's understanding of the research matters.

4.6.6.1 The history of internal displacement in South Africa in general

The presence of the settlers in the country whereby their influence superseded the social life of indigenous people, forms the crux of the problem (forceful removal). Indigenous people had to be coerced into adopting new living systems in limited spaces. History tells us that slaves were shipped out from different African countries to either America or Europe. However, it was not the case with South Africa, as slaves were brought into the country. For example, Chinese were brought in the country to work in Cape Town, but were sent back as things went horribly wrong. Later on Muslims were brought in, and till to date, they are still settled next to the Table Mountain. In Durban, Indians were brought in to work at the sugarcane plantations, while Zanzibarians were initially settled at the Bluff and later fused within the Indian community since they bear Muslim names. The indigenous people who occupied those areas where the newcomers are being settled, lost their land for good. The same applied in Cape Town where the Khoi Sans who occupied Western Cape area were massacred in numbers. They escaped further up along the west coast till they reached Namibia. They came under fierce attack from the Namibian tribes who thought they were coming to invade their land. The problem here was the language barrier, so they could not relate their plight as to what drove them thus far. The unfavourable living conditions that were introduced, especially, during colonial and apartheid times, are still visible even to date. And that makes a mockery of the current democratic dispensation. Maybe, the current government was supposed to have dismantled the structures of apartheid, since apartheid was structural, to redress the ills and the imbalances of the past.

4.6.6.2 The dynamics and causes of internal displacement in South Africa

There are instances where human rights violations cannot be wished away, like in the case of conflicts. Many wars that were fought in South Africa bear witness to this. They happened due to human error, and multitudes of people were displaced. Climate change leads to droughts and heavy floods which have become prevalent in the country. And such discourses lead to food shortages in the country. Ultimately, the country would have to apply austerity measures so as to save money for importing goods to sustain the nation. However, austerity measures are blamed for inhibiting development in the country. The country with strained coffers would struggle to improve health facilities to fight epidemics. Thus, South Africa is struggling in fighting COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic came while the country was still recovering from the HIV/AIDS pandemic which has just abated, but not completely healed.

4.6.6.3 The challenges caused by the internal displacement on the people of South Africa

South Africa prides itself of the Bill of Rights, and thus, the Constitution reigns supreme in the country. Since internal displacement is in violation of human rights, it therefore, infringes on the country's constitution. So, politically or rather on paper, the current democratic government of South Africa has done enough to bring internal displacement to a halt. However, economic imbalances inherited from the past, leaves the social life of our poor people disintegrated. People can now choose where they want to live, depending on their circumstances. A working person might move to the city to be nearer to the workplace, leaving his/her family behind. Thus, family ties are broken.

4.6.6.4 The consequences of internal displacement in South Africa

The land that was allocated to black people was barren and not enough to accommodate multitudes of indigenous people. That is, they were crammed in the Reserves like animals. They were placed in places far from the cities or industries. Meagre salaries they were earning was spent on transport to and from work. So, the displacement was meant to keep indigenous people indigent for their dear life, while those races which were kept in the cities remain rich. Hence, poverty, crime and inequality are the features which are still dominant in South Africa to date. This led to the recent fierce looting in July which security personnel failed dismally to control violent unrests which engulfed mostly Durban and Johannesburg.

4.6.6.5 The role played by the government in fighting internal displacement in the country

First and foremost, the democratic government of South Africa took a major step by phasing out Reserves or Homelands. Consequently, some dehumanising Laws like the Group Areas Act and/or Influx Control were abolished.

4.6.6.6 The role of the UN in combating internal displacement in general

The United Nations has devised many good policies to combat the scourge. Finally, the International Criminal Court (ICC) has been introduced to safeguard peace in all countries of the world. The only concern is that it only applies to the member states rather than legally binding to all world states, in order to protect all human kind in the world.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter of the study has presented and analysed the results of the study. This chapter will give us the broader picture of the study on the internal displacement in South Africa. It will also give a summary for this thesis and presents the findings and conclusion in terms of the research objectives and research questions of the study. Lastly, this chapter will provide recommendations which are based on the results of the study.

5.2 Summary of the research objectives and research questions

This is about the fundamental element of the study as shown in the preliminary literature review. It is about the plight of the citizens of the country as far as internal displacement is concerned. In support of the fact that internal displacement is an anomaly, Marxist and Anti-colonial theories have been ducted in the study. Marxist theory has predicted and warned of the conflict that could result from capitalist thinking which puts forward the maximisation of profit at the expends of human rights violation. The anti-colonial theory warns of the resistance that will come from the oppressed or the colonised in the long run, hence, the political turmoil that took place in South Africa which led to the political struggle of the past. Provided in Table 5.1 is a summary of research objectives and research questions of the study.

Table 5.1: Summary of research objectives and research questions

	Research Objectives	Research Questions
1	To investigate the history of internal displacement in South Africa.	What is the history of internal displacement in South Africa in general?
2	To determine the causes of internal displacement in South Africa.	What are the dynamics and causes of internal displacement in South Africa?
3	To investigate challenges of internal displacement on the people of South Africa.	What are challenges caused by the internal displacement on the people of South Africa?
4	To investigate consequences of internal displacement in South Africa.	What are consequences of internal displacement in South Africa?
5	To determine the role of the government in combating internal displacement in the country.	What is the role played by the government in fighting internal displacement in the country?
6	To determine the role of the United Nations to combat internal displacement in general.	What is the role of UN in combating internal displacement in general?

5.3 Summary of chapters

This chapter lays out the summary of the chapters as seen in the following subtitles.

5.3.1 Chapter one: Introduction and background of the study

The chapter gives a brief overview of the history of internal displacement in South Africa through the introduction and background of the study, then follows the problem statement, which takes us to the aim of the study, which includes the research objectives as well as the research questions, the significance of the study, definition of key terms, research methodology, data collection process, data analysis, limitations of the study and lastly the structure of the dissertation. That is, in conclusion summary, the chapter outlines the chapters of the entire study.

5.3.2 Chapter 2: Literature review in general

This chapter gives us the push-pull factors of the internal displacement. It further, examines in details how internal displacement brings upheaval in the society while at the same time violating human rights. Different types of displacements are being highlighted, namely, conflict-induced displacement, disaster-induced displacement and development-induced

displacement.

5.3.3 Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

In this chapter, two theories are being introduced which are relevant to the study. That is, first, the Marxist theory and lastly the anti-colonial theory. Marxist theory gives the premonition about the conflict due to forceful removals of the internal displacement while the anti-colonial theory gives the narration of upheavals in the country due to colonialism.

5.3.4 Chapter 4: Findings and analysis

The chapter gives analyses to the findings done in South Africa's four provinces of yester years, that is, Cape Province, Transvaal, Orange Free State and KwaZulu-Natal. All the deliberations on the internal displacement in South Africa cover these areas of South Africa. Forceful removals were pervasive in all these parts of the country.

5.3.5 Chapter 5: Summary of findings, recommendations and conclusion

This chapter has been able to lay out the summary of the findings and conclusion of the study. Starting from highlighting the research objectives and research questions of the study, the chapter has narrated on the summary of the chapters of the entire dissertation. The findings of the study have been drawn in accordance to the research objectives of the study. Recommendations have been suggested which will assist in fighting internal displacement and also give space for future research.

Implications

These findings could be of great help to the South African government to take a cue in fighting the scourge of internal displacement in the country.

5.4 Summary of research findings and conclusion

The study was designed to explore the impact of human rights violation that led to political turmoil in the country which saw many lives of indigenous people being lost. The purpose of this chapter is highlight research findings as presented in the preceding chapter. Thereafter the chapter will be able to draw conclusion from the findings thereto.

5.4.1 History of internal displacement in South Africa

Findings

The crux of internal displacement in South Africa happened when the land was usurped by the settlers from Europe. Oppressive laws such as the Land Act of 1913 were introduced during colonial times, while The Group Areas Act was introduced during the era of the apartheid regime, subsequent to the colonial era in 1948. These laws made it quite categorically clear that indigenous people are quarantined and well controlled through the formation of structures such as the townships and reserves/Bantustans which were later called homelands. Their (indigenous people) human rights were grossly violated. Subsequently, racism was born in South Africa.

Summary

The history of internal displacement in South Africa spans from the period of pre-colonial times. But the apex of the matter happens both the colonial and apartheid times where many battles or wars were fought between indigenous people and the settlers whereby many lives were lost unnecessarily. Since indigenous people lost in those wars, they were then subjected to several forceful removals. They were not allowed in the cities except for work purposes, thus townships were built for them to be closer to workplaces. Other than that, they were crammed in the reserves which were later changed or called to homelands. Townships were sub-serviced while homelands were barren land. They were not part of the government when it comes to decision making.

5.4.2 Causes of internal displacement in South Africa

Findings

In the case of conflict-induced displacement both colonial and apartheid government carry the blame for inflicting different types of suffering on the indigenous people during their rule. This includes unnecessary wars and sporadic battles where indigenous people were decimated. The development-induced displacement plays a role in human rights violation since the government does not take into cognisance the input and the value of the indigenous people in such projects.

Summary

The conflict-induced displacement is the most notorious of them all. Black people in South Africa suffered under Imfecane/Lifaqane which is a pre-colonial era when they were fighting for turf, but that was minimal since people were not moved then, but would be annexed under the new rule of the conqueror and become the subjects of that new ruler. Both colonial as well as apartheid times brought in harsh conditions whereby indigenous people would be coerced through the barrel of the gun as to where to live. In the case of development-induced displacement, the most common factor is that black people were not consulted or included in the decision-making when projects that would affect their lives were undertaken. Hence, in both instances conflict would result. However, the impact of disaster-induced displacement in South Africa is very rare and, in most instances, it comes in the form of floods. Though it is a natural phenomenon, the government is blamed for wrong planning, that is, for declaring a flooding area as a residential area, or a graveyard where their loved ones' resting place gets washed away during flooding times.

5.4.3 Challenges of internal displacement on the people of South Africa

Findings

It transpired that elements such as the political, economic and social factors pose a major challenge as far as internal displacement is concerned. Politics in the Black areas tend to be violent as compared to other races. Economic life was too expensive since they lived far away from the places of work. Social life was unbearable since husbands would leave their families to work in the mines and stay over there, that is, family ties were broken. It is more worrying that the current democratic government of the ANC seems to have endorsed the structures of apartheid as the Stats SA (statistics South Africa) of the last quarter of the year, November 2019, show that indigenous people (Blacks) in South per month, earn between R6 000 – R8 000, while the Whites earn around R24 000 per month, with the Indians following close, although doing the same job.

Summary

Firstly, the change of political scenario in South Africa precipitated internal displacement in the country as a whole. The Battle of Blood River in 1838 and the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 led to the introduction of notorious policies such as the Native Land Act of 1913, the Stallard Commission of 1923 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. These were oppressive Laws which

were introduced in order to control and govern the indigenous people. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was precipitated by the 1949 uprising between Africans and the Indians in Durban's Cato Manor area. Secondly, the economic sector saw a number of foreign migrants coming to work in the South African mines. Indians were indentured to come and work in sugar cane fields of KwaZulu-Natal, and land was cleared of indigenous people for them to live. Africans were then resettled in KwaMashu and Umlazi. Lastly, both political and economic factors affected the social life of the Black people. Political violence of the 1980s caused them to flee their areas to seek shelter in the cities where safety was guaranteed. Also, Black people had to move to the cities for economic reasons, that is, to be closer to the industrial areas in the urban areas.

5.4.4 Consequences of internal displacement in South Africa

Findings

Internal displacement in South Africa led to many forms of the violation of human rights to the indigenous people, such as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, social disintegration, loss of access to common property and loss of adequate accommodation and violation of human rights. Through all these factors, inequality was therefore entrenched in South Africa and racial divide became more evident in the country. Anomalies such as internal displacement, internally displaced people (IDPs) and informal settlements came into being. Ultimately, retrenchment has currently become pandemic in South Africa, with more factories closing down in favour of labour brokering, a system that is highly accused in human rights violation. Moreover, the government's Low-Cost Project system precludes those who once owned houses, leaving victims of political violence who lost their houses either through conflict in their areas or incinerations to their houses in the quagmire. In this sense, the government has dismally failed to address the ills of the past.

Summary

Internal displacement brought in bad effects to the indigenous people of South Africa. Land dispossession brought landlessness to them. They also became jobless because they were resettled too far from the areas of work, homelessness became prevalent as the township houses were limited to a few, while the reserves could not cope with the growing number of the families. On the other hand, indigenous people were marginalised from the economy of their

country, thus making life unbearable. Food insecurity became a norm to their lives since there was no adequate land to farm, and also no money to buy food, hence, they experienced increased morbidity and mortality, especially in the case of women and children. Social disintegration was experienced since husbands had to leave their families to seek for work in the urban areas (industrial areas). Loss of access to common property, that is, the land had been dispossessed and the township houses are a leased property. Loss of adequate accommodation, that is, the number of people is growing but they have been quarantined and crammed in the townships and the homelands. All of the above-mentioned factors led to the violation of human rights by the previous governments in South Africa.

5.4.5 The role of the government in combating internal displacement in the country

Findings

South African government under democracy is hands on in reversing the ills of the past, firstly by improving infrastructure in the townships as well as rural or former homelands areas. Secondly, the introduction of Housing Projects which targets the areas that were lagging behind such as Black areas is of great help in alleviating internal displacement due to push-pull factors.

Summary

The new democratic government deed a sterling job when taking a decision of phasing out the homelands, for the nation to be united and, thus, facilitating the pace of development in the country. Gautrain in Johannesburg, My Citi Line in Cape Town and the Go Durban transport means as well as many Shopping Malls, Low Cost Housing Projects which the government introduced as well as the improved agricultural sector are highly appreciated.

5.4.6 The role of the United Nations to combat internal displacement in general

Findings

South Africa of the previous governments, that is, during the colonial era did indulge in wrong doings upon indigenous people. However, during apartheid regime, internal displacement

became fiercer, violent and out of hand, hence, political upheaval of the time. Hence, the country was banned by the UN. However, the UN has devised some policies which must be followed by its member states.

Summary

Firstly, the UN devised durable solutions in fighting internal displacement and thus, intervening in the case of assisting people already affected (IDPs). Secondly, the introduction of Humanitarian Law that protects IDPs shows how serious the UN is in fighting the pandemic. Finally, the UN Guiding Principles which are devised for all its member states are of great help to countries who are willing to protect human rights and fight internal displacement. In fact, the role of the UN in this case covers all spheres of life, that is, how citizens should be protected in their respective countries. This includes living conditions, education, equalities and all human rights.

5.5 Implications and recommendations

An important lesson has been fulfilled and reached in the study. Moreover, after all the deliberations and the narrations, the following implications and narrations had been envisaged.

5.5.1 History of internal displacement in South Africa

Implications

Colonisation as well as apartheid are directly to blame for the land issue in South Africa. This includes the all the ills of the past which their legacy still lingers on, such as inequality in the country. Since the colonisation of South Africa, colonisers applied rules adopted from the imperial states to govern the country. They kept on updated foreign laws when the new settler state government comes in. For example, when the apartheid government came in, the German Dutch Law was introduced in South Africa. What is more puzzling, is that till to date, South Africa is still under the German Dutch Law, yet the country is under democratic rule. Hence, the legacy of apartheid still persists in the country. The constitution of the country adopted a lot of apartheid policies. More research needs to be done to change South African history so that it correlates with the present dispensation or times. South African society still bears racial connotations when it comes to both settlement areas as well as workplace on the pyramid or hierarchy. Indigenous people still form or linger at the base of the pyramid while other races

are at the apex of the structure. Marxist theory in this study did warn of the dangers of class formation in the society. That is, the class struggle will ensue. South African race relations is not one of the best as compared to the rest of the world, hence, the country is touted as one of or rather the most unequal country of the world. This implies that human rights violation, which anti-colonial theory envisaged, is still rife in South Africa on the indigenous people. There is no policy which lifts the lives of the indigenous people since the Bill of Rights puts everyone under one umbrella, the rich and the poor. Hence, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening as the rich benefited from the caste of their forbearers who benefited from the apartheid.

Recommendations

The current democratic government should revisit the reparation allowances as recommended by The Truth and Reconciliation Commission to the victims of political violence. This calls to the present government to redress the imbalances of the past. That is, all races of the country must be treated or viewed in the same level. Moreover, the demographics of the country must be considered for democracy to thrive in South Africa.

5.5.2 Causes of internal displacement in South Africa

Implications

The superiority complex of the past led to rulers of the previous era treating indigenous people as inferior and not to be considered in any deliberations. The Native Land Act of 1913, the Stallard Commission of 1923 as well as the Land Act of 1936 bolstered the colonial time, while the Group Areas Act of 1950 and 1957, the Native Resettlement Act of 1954, the Native Trust and Land Amendment Act of 1965 and 1970 bolstered apartheid times and provided the authorities with the machinery for the mass removals of the black people. This was a course for disaster. Hence, upheavals such as the Sharpeville massacre in 1961 as well as the June 16, 1976 were witnessed. Environmental pollution such as spillage of hazardous substances to the rivers and seas in South Africa had to be stopped. Toxic waste from the industries as well as the oil spillage from the docking ships are the main disasters to our marine life. The building of dams as well as the exaction of mineral wealth such as gold, diamond, platinum, coal, manganese and many more, contribute to the internal displacement in South Africa. The

authorities of the new dispensation must roll up their sleeves and minimise the violation human of human rights as well as the land degradation in this regard.

Recommendations

Conflicts of the past between the settlers and indigenous people can be avoided if people stick together and negotiate in good faith to find a common ground. Implementation forms the important part in this sector, that is, the government should make it a point that the democratic policies of the South African constitution are applied to the daily life of its citizens to obliterate the inhumane legacy of the above-mentioned Acts during both colonial and apartheid eras.

5.5.3 Challenges of internal displacement on the people of South Africa

Implications

The imbalances of the past, politically, economically and socially came as a result of the mistakes that happened forcefully without proper consultations. Since indigenous people were not considered as people to be involved in the decision-making of the country, the politics of the country under both colonial and apartheid times, deemed them fit to be forcefully removed from their areas of birth and be resettled wherever they (authorities) wanted. One had to take into consideration wars such as the Ncome/Blood River, Isandlwana and the Bambatha Rebellion of, to name a few, to see the brutality of colonialism in not respecting the indigenous people of South Africa. The new government had to do something about this, that is, to correct that mishap. Push-pull factors of both economic as well as social factors must be noted in this situation. That is, males especially had to leave their families and go work for the poll tax which was introduced only to the indigenous people. Such situations led to families moving in droves to the urban areas, closer to industries, hence, informal settlements sprung up. Consequently, the present government is hands on trying to eliminate shacks by rolling out Low Cost Housing Projects around the country.

Recommendations

The present government must take a cue that such factors are improved at all angles to avoid such a messy situation in the country. Hence, the land negotiation becomes an imperative issue, to avoid land grab that is sporadically happening already. Different races of the country must

live in harmony to avoid class struggle. Furthermore, corruption must be dealt with quite decisively. That is, procurement entities must be well or closely monitored.

5.5.4 Consequences of internal displacement in South Africa

Implications

Power monger is not good because it creates the situation which precipitates authoritarianism in the country and produces inequality. This trend by the settler governments created landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalisation, food insecurity and lack of accommodation to the indigenous people of South Africa. And all these factors led to the violation of human rights which was unnecessary. People were crammed in degraded reserved which was inimical to farming. Townships were regarded as the urban areas to the indigenous people. Some people could not afford rent as jobs became scarce due to low pace in country development due to world sanctions to South Africa. Hence, job reservation was rife and marginalised indigenous people. Townships as well as homelands could not cope with the growing number of people.

Recommendations

The government must disburse basic needs to all citizens of the country irrespective of their backgrounds. Segregation of the past must be wiped out comprehensively. Notwithstanding the development projects that are being rolled out throughout the country, racial segregation is still evident throughout the residential areas of South Africa. The government should venture much into job creation rather than the prevailing trend of job retrenchments in the country.

5.5.5 The role of the government in combating internal displacement in the country

Implications

It was wrong for the previous governments to apply segregation that stalled development in the country. Inequality and conflicts of the past bear testimony to that. The incoming government, which is the current dispensation has a mammoth task ahead. But like any government of the country, the government. The new government made a major stride by phasing out the homelands in South Africa. Though the homelands structures are still intact, it is highly recommended that the pace of development in South Africa has increased through tarred roads,

providing accommodation through building of low-cost houses and more new dams to fight drought. The increasing in agricultural production is also lauded in South Africa for future generation to thrive.

Recommendations

Keep the good trend of supplying basic services to every corner of the country and roll over development projects to rural areas as well. Never repeat the mistakes of the past governments as that create unrests in the country. Moreover, the government must do more to redress the imbalances of the past, that is, to date South Africa is still regarded as the most unequal country in the most, yet, its constitution is touted as the best in the world. Whence, service delivery from the authorities must play a major role rather than talk shows.

5.5.6 The role of the United Nations to combat internal displacement in general

Implications

This shows a carrying arm of the world as the UN has devised some assistance policies to be followed by its member states. The UN has shown its integrity by standing with the internally displaced people (IDPs) during the times of doom from the governments that are engaged in violating human rights. Furthermore, the UN has laid down policies of reintegration as well as guidelines pertaining to eviction of any kind. And the governments should take full responsibility in the case of resettlement of the people (IDPs) affected by the internal displacement.

Recommendations

The UN does a sterling job by laying down the Guiding Principles to be followed by member states. And, if such policies are respected and followed, internal displacement could be a thing of the past in South Africa and the world at its entirety. Some penalties should be meted out to the defaulting countries.

5.6 Limitations

This is a desktop research, therefore, there are no interviews because of lack in financial resources and also not many researches have been done in South Africa when it comes to internal displacement. However, this research is a benchmark for future researchers on South

Africa which for a long time experienced world banning from the UN activities and member states. It will further enhance the potential of the policy makers in South Africa for future reference.

5.7 Chapter summary

The intention of the study is to be informative to many societies, that is, from local, national as well as international community about internal displacement in South Africa. It has become evident through the research that most people were and/or are not aware of internal displacement in the country. Moreover, since internal displacement affects the minority community, their concerns becomes the voice in the wilderness. Removals and consequent displacements, even in circumstances that are non-segregationist are known to cause trauma. In the case of the displacements of South Africa, the effects were more traumatic because they were carried out on racial grounds because of apartheid system. Relocation undermined the morale of the communities involved, giving them a sense of homelessness. People lived in uncertainty for a long time until democratic dispensation was realised in 1994. The involvement of the United Nations by laying down policies which help avoid internal displacement is highly appreciated. I hope the research could be of great help for future studies in South Africa.

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