

UPGRADING? A REALISTIC OPTION FOR THE NTCHAWENI  
SQUATTER SETTLEMENT?

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis recognises that quantitative research distances the researcher from the people who form part and parcel of squatter settlements. Therefore, in the course of analysing whether upgrading is a realistic option for the Ntchaweni squatter settlement, this qualitative study has not concerned itself with the activities of the inhabitants alone, or only with the buildings which house squatters, but investigates those units of experience within which physical form, activities and the degree of attachment that squatters have for the settlement of Ntchaweni are amalgamated to form place.

A contention of this thesis if we are to plan successfully for squatter areas, it is necessary to understand that squatters have the potential to think and plan ahead for themselves. Squatter settlements are not necessarily the domain of criminals and unemployed people. The Ntchaweni squatter settlement is a complex place in which the inhabitants exhibit a strong attachment to the place. This validates the methodological emphasis on a people-place study of the squatter settlement, as does the acknowledged importance of community participation in Upgrading schemes.

In contrast, the "top-down" re-organising of squatter settlements into idealistic settlements conforming rigidly to some grand theory developed by technocrats cannot possibly help to alleviate the severe physical and social problems experienced in squatter areas. It is therefore necessary to arrive at a realistic option for the improvement of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement by analysing what the squatters perceive to be a suitable living environment. Any upgrading option for the Ntchaweni squatter settlement must also take into account the system which perpetrated the poor conditions evident in the study area.

Within this context, the areal expansion of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement into its present size qualifies the notion that this place has an important function from a social, cultural



and economic perspective. The historical development and the present political situation in the study area are both important considerations in a study which aims at investigating the betterment options for the area, be it site and service schemes or in situ upgrading. In order to gain a better understanding of squatter settlements, we must record both objective and subjective aspects of place. Together, these investigations put us into a position to discuss the possibilities for generating realistic options for designing and producing places suitable for human habitation in Ntchaweni.

## PREFACE

This work is my original effort and is dedicated to the squatters of Ntchaweni.

## CONTENTS

## PAGE

ABSTRACT	i
PREFACE	
DECLARATION	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	
LIST OF FIGURES	iii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF APPENDICES	vi
 <u>CHAPTER ONE</u>	 1
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Ntchaweni, Groutville: The need for development	1
1.2 "Sense of place" and upgrading	5
1.3 Methodology	7
1.4 Participation in development	10
1.5 Structure of the thesis	15
1.6 General comments	17
 <u>CHAPTER TWO</u>	 21
2. Theoretical viewpoints on upgrading	21
2.1 Capital and Housing	21
2.2 State and Housing (South African Housing Policy History)	24
2.3 Upgrading as an Alternative?	30
2.3.1 Definitions of the term "squatter settlements"	31
2.3.2 Betterment options?	32
2.3.2.1 Site and Service Schemes	33
2.3.2.2 Core Housing	37
2.3.2.3 Public Housing Estates	38
2.3.2.4 In Situ Upgrading	42
2.3.2.4.1 <u>In Situ</u> Upgrading at Bester's Camp (outside Durban)	44
2.3.2.4.2 Upgrading in Lusaka, Zambia: Important lessons in upgrading for the Ntchaweni Settlement	46
2.3.2.5 Passive Option	52
2.3.3 A Critical Overview of Upgrading Options	52
2.3.3.1 Upgrading of existing squatter dwellings	52
2.3.3.2 Self-Help Sites/Provision Of Serviced Sites	53

2.3.3.3	Core Housing	50
2.3.3.4	Public Housing	50
2.4	An Overview of Removals -(QUALIFYING THE UPGRADING OPTION)	51
2.4.1	Sophiatown	61
2.4.2	Modderdam	61
2.4.3	District Six: Cape Town	64
2.5	Concluding Remarks	70

### CHAPTER THREE

3.	History of Ntchaweni	72
3.1	Introduction	72
3.2	The History of the Ntchaweni Squatter Settlement Within The Broader Historical Framework Of The Groutville Area	75
3.3	Tenure in Ntchaweni	81
3.4	Factors Responsible for the Historical Development of Ntchaweni	83
3.4.1	Removals	85
3.4.2	The establishment of the Stanger Pulp and Paper Mill	87
3.4.3	Domestic Work for Females	87
3.4.4	Closure of the Melville Mill	88
3.4.5	Rural-Urban Migration	89
3.4.6	Eviction From White Owned Farms	90
3.5	First Squatter in Ntchaweni	91
3.6	Concluding Remarks	93

### CHAPTER FOUR

4.	An Objective and Subjective Analysis Of The People and Place in Ntchaweni	99
4.1	Some Methodological Comments	99
4.1.1	Humanistic work	10
4.1.2	Canter's Model of Place	10
4.2	Ntchaweni, The Place	10
4.2.1	Physical Attributes	11
4.2.1.1	Water	11
4.2.1.2	Sanitation	11
4.2.1.3	Refuse Removal	11
4.2.1.4	Health/Transport	11
4.2.1.5	Child Care	11
4.2.1.6	Education	11



4.2.1.7	Employment Opportunities	1
4.3	A Qualitative Overview of the Degree of Attachment of People to Place in Ntchaweni	1
4.3.1	Approach and Method	1
4.3.2	The People-Place Study	1
4.4	Concluding Remarks	1
4.4.1	Policy Implications	1
4.4.2	Attachment to Place	1

## CHAPTER FIVE

5.	The Politics Surrounding Upgrading in the Groutville Area	16
5.1	Methodological Comment	16
5.2	Introduction	16
5.3	The politics surrounding upgrading in the study area. An analysis of the role of the key "actors" in Ntchaweni	16
5.3.1	The North Coast Regional Development Association (NCRDA)	16
5.3.2	The Department of Development Aid (DDA)	17
5.3.3	Community Organisation Research and Development (CORD)	17
5.3.4	People of Ntchaweni	17
5.3.5	African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party	17
5.3.6	Stanger Muslim Development Forum	18
5.4	Concluding remarks	18

## CHAPTER SIX

6.	Conclusion	19
6.1	Upgrading? A Realistic Option for Ntchaweni?	19
6.2	Upgrading and Community Participation	19
6.3	The Way Forward	19
6.4	Concluding Remarks	20

## REFERENCE LIST

A	PRIMARY SOURCES	vi
B	SECONDARY REFEREMCES	ix

DECLARATION

This study represents original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form to another university. Where use has been made of the works of others, it has been acknowledged in the text.



.....(signed)

MAHOMED SAYEED KARODIA

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## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>FIGURE</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
1.1	Ntchaweni-Regional Context	2
1.2	Space-Time Iceberg.	9
2.1	Morris' Summary of Historical Phases Major Events and Legislation.	26
2.2	The Glenhills Public Housing Complex in Lot 14, outside Stanger.	58
2.3	Extension of Dwelling in Umoya area, Ward 5, Ntchaweni.	60
2.4	District Six - "The Lost World"	66
2.5	Housewives Common Meeting.	67
2.6	Children in the "Existing World" of Ntchaweni.	68
3.1	Aerial Photograph: Areas Under Interview 1991.	73
3.2	African Reserves-Colony of Natal and Zululand: 1904.	76
3.3	Land Tenure in Groutville.	82
3.4	Simulated Map depicting the Growth of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement.	84
3.5	Photograph of SAPPI in Stanger.	92
3.6	Photograph of Johannes Sabelo.	92
3.7	Photograph showing the shack of Johannes Sabelo.	94
4.1	Canter's Model: A visual Metaphor for the Nature of Places.	103
4.2	Health Care Workers provided by CORD.	105
4.3	Photograph of Elizabeth King.	141
4.4	Water Tanks in Ntchaweni.	142
4.5	Queing for water in Ward 4.	143
4.6	Woman fetching water from Gledhow.	144



## LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>FIGURE</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
4.7	Women washing clothes in the Ntchaweni River.	145
4.8	Bususiwe Zulu: a Sugar Diabetic with her children.	146
4.9	Common occurrence of head scabies.	146
4.10	Lack of sanitation in Ntchaweni.	147-148
4.11	Refuse in ward 5.	149
4.12	Baby and mother.	150
4.13	Creche in Ward 5.	151
4.14	Children not attending school.	152
4.15	Ettie Gumede-oldest resident landowner.	153
4.16	Albert Luthuli-Nobel Prize Winner.	154
4.17	A. Thombela: First Prize Winner.	155
4.18	Patrick Cele: Second Prize Winner.	156
4.19	Robert Ndhlovu: Third Prize Winner.	157
4.20	Flow diagram: "Sense of Place."	158
5.1	Key "players" in the development process in Groutville.	165
5.2	The NCRDA within the State's Institutional Maze.	168
5.3	Path to be followed for the Implementation of the Groutville Structure Plan.	169
5.4	Regional Structure to facilitate development in Groutville.	183
6.1	Model of Squatter Upgrading for Ntchaweni.	197

LIST OF TABLES

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TABLE</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
4.1	Persons Interviewed (1991)	108

## LIST OF APPENDICES

<u>APPENDIX</u>		<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
A	(i) UPGRADING OF SHAKAVILLE	xvii
	(ii) LETTER OF APPEAL	xviii
B	(i) REMOVALS IN GROUTVILLE	xix
	(ii) 2000 LEFT HOMELESS	xx
C	(i) IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE	xxi-xxvi
	(ii) IKHADI LOMNDENI	xxvii-xxviii
D	ART COMPETITION AND ESSAYS OF PUPILS IN ZULU	xxix-xxxii
E	NCRDA'S STAND ON SQUATTER UPGRADING	xxxiii
F	(i) BIG PLANS FOR GROUTVILLE	xxxiv
	(ii) EDITORIAL OPINION	xxxv
G	TABULAR NEEDS RESPONSES OF SQUATTERS	xxxvi

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Ntchaweni, Groutville: The need for development

The chosen case study area is the Ntchaweni squatter settlement, the Ntchaweni squatter settlement derives its name because it is close to the Inchaweni River - within the Groutville area near Stanger. Groutville is located approximately sixty-five kilometres north of Durban and is made up of six wards. The Ntchaweni squatter settlement is to be found in Ward 4 and Ward 5 of the greater Groutville district (Refer to Figure 1.1). Very little attention has been paid to this squatter settlement by either researchers or officials. As a result, Ntchaweni has experienced few development efforts since its inception.

The study area ie. Ntchaweni is a rudimentary settlement of eight to ten thousand people (there are no accurate demographic counts of the area) and is located approximately two kilometres south of the town of Stanger. The squatter settlement developed in a ribbon form on either side of the old main road between Stanger and Tongaat (R102). This squatter settlement is just one of a series of 73 informal settlements found along the entire North Coast of Natal. In Ntchaweni itself, 3 Africans have settled on freehold land in an environment characterised by poor living conditions, without water or sanitation facilities.



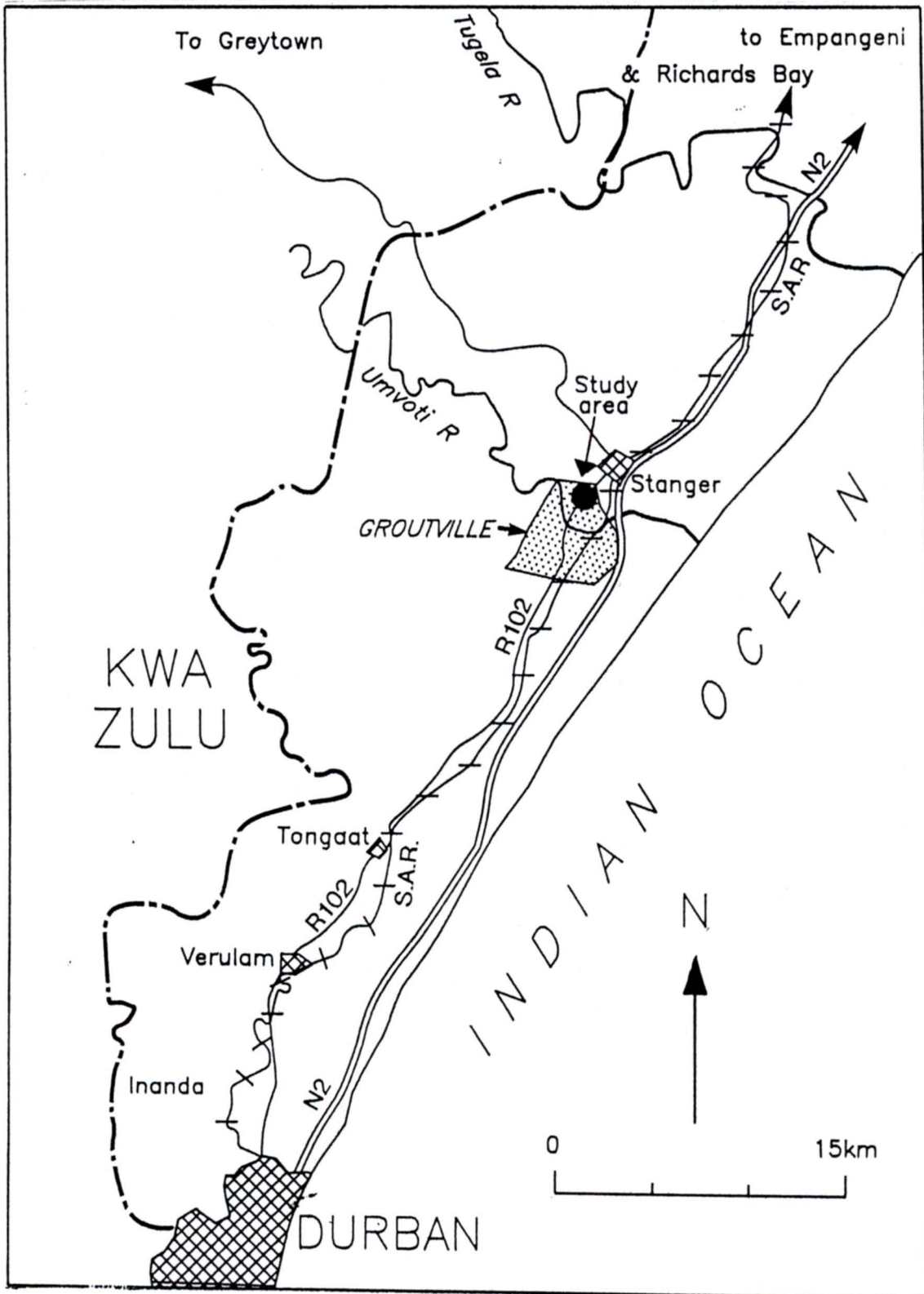


Fig. 1.1 NTCHAWENI - REGIONAL CONTEXT

Very little formal housing has been provided for Africans living in the Stanger area and this has led to a large number of Africans squatting on freehold African land in Ntchaweni. Many of the landowners in Ntchaweni have their title deeds lodged with a local firm of attorneys<sup>1</sup> in Stanger. Some of these title deeds date back to 1855. The only formal Black township in the Stanger area is Shakasville, which is presently overcrowded and under severe strain itself for water, sanitation and health facilities. Recently, the Shakasville area received some attention from the authorities, when in September this year, some residents were given access to new water and sanitation facilities. (Refer to Appendix A)

In general in SA, informal settlements grew in response to the harsh anti-urban policies of the Apartheid government since the 1960s. Deteriorating living conditions coupled with the uncertainty generated by relocation and evictions caused many blacks to flee from reserves and settle on African-owned freehold land that was already overpopulated. This situation is clearly apparent in the Ntchaweni study area, and provides the basis for the investigations of this thesis.

This study has therefore been prompted by the acute shortage of housing and basic amenities in the Ntchaweni area. Presently, a Structure Plan<sup>2</sup> for the upgrading of the Groutville area exists and an upgrading exercise is planned for the area by the state. However, the Groutville Structure Plan (1990) has been a controversial document and has not been favourably received by the squatters. This is because, firstly, it was planned in a top-down manner by the Department of Development Aid (which is the state organ controlling

the area) and secondly, because the Structure Plan makes little reference to the squatter settlement of Ntchaweni. The central theme of this thesis is that if the acute shortage of housing is to be alleviated in the Ntchaweni area, then the squatters themselves should play a vital role in facilitating upgrading schemes. Therefore, different upgrading options will be considered, and their suitability for the Ntchaweni case assessed.

The study area was also chosen because very little of the history or present condition of this area has been documented. According to Justice Mpanza,<sup>3</sup> a member of the Groutville Interim Committee, the study area has experienced very little development over the past three decades (the squatter settlement is in existence for about 27 years). And yet while other squatter settlements like Inanda, Crossroads, Malagasi etc have received ample publicity, very little is known about Ntchaweni. Therefore, it is within the scope of this thesis to draw the attention of the authorities and academics to the existing conditions in the study area, so that upgrading efforts can be expedited and a tangible future of human and social development can be envisaged for the study area.

To summarize, then, the main purposes of this thesis are as follows:

- (1) To highlight the living conditions of this area.
- (2) To investigate the potential for upgrading in Ntchaweni by exploring the question of the inhabitants' "attachment to place" to verify that upgrading options for the area should not involve



any large scale resettlement or removal of people.

- (3) To outline the key "actors" in this area who will play an important role in the development of the squatter settlement, and the possibilities and constraints which local politics present for future development.
- (4) To assess qualitatively what people require most in the area.

## 1.2 "Sense of place" and upgrading

Geographers have traditionally been associated with the theme of place. However, for some time geographers followed Western positivistic ideologies, which omitted the most important component of places ie. people. Places are inevitably made up of and constituted by people and the perceptions that people have of Ntchaweni (the place) are the common theme of this thesis. The thesis will argue that despite the poor conditions in the area, the peoples' sense of belonging is great and the area exhibits a rich social fabric.

It is a known fact that Ntchaweni is characterised by poverty and suffering. However, beneath this poverty and suffering is an Ntchaweni not seen by outsiders. Chambers (1983:23) characterises outsiders as those social scientists who are engaged in unhurried analysis and criticism and those engaged in time-bounded action. According to him, there are those outsiders who describe places primarily in terms of social relations (political economists) while there are those who describe places primarily in terms of physical and biological factors (physical ecologists). This thesis is an attempt to



show the importance of geography (through it's pre-occupation with the theme of place) in planning squatter upgrading programmes. This people-place study will in essence keep planners informed about the perceptions of squatters by means of investigating the attachment that the inhabitants have to this place. Ntchaweni, as a place, is and means more to it's people than a mere location on a map. An assessment of only the physical characteristics of the study area will not do justice to efforts to alleviate the hardships prevalent in the study area. Therefore, I was prompted to use the people-place study which would prioritize the role of the people of Ntchaweni in any upgrading efforts in the area. In addition the value of a people-place study is supported by the historical fact that this area (Ntchaweni) has been in existence for nearly three decades, thus enabling the development of a community identity.

In the SA historical literature, it is removals, or the threat of removals which seem to have galvanized strong community identity. This holds true for Ntchaweni, which was once termed a 'black spot' area, under threat of removal by the authorities. However, through organised resistance the inhabitants have survived decades of forced removals attempts, although some people have left the area, never to be traced again. According to Justice Mpanza (Chairman of the ANC in Grootville), many of those who have left did so through harassment by the state officials of the Department of Development Aid (DDA). Many of the present dwellers in Ntchaweni were earlier victims of removals themselves, coming into Ntchaweni from as far afield as Maphumulo, Zululand and even the Transvaal. Following a history of repression and state aggression against squatters, the

South African government has recently declared it's intent to officially recognise informal settlements, although the state's 'hypocrisy' in this regard will be analyzed in Chapter Two. The possibility therefore exists for the development of a stable community in the Ntchaweni area.

Therefore, the purpose of this study and the motivation behind the choice of the study area is to explore the contention that upgrading must take into account the degree of attachment that the inhabitants of Ntchaweni have for this place. The various options for upgrading eg. (site and service schemes or in situ upgrading) can only be analysed realistically after an investigation of the degree of attachment or detachment that the inhabitants of squatter settlements have for this place. According to Relph (1976) the positivistic mode of enquiry is not suitable to analyse the attachment that people have for places. An analysis of the hopes, frustrations and confusions of squatter life which is the essence of a people-place study and the exploration of the attachment of people to place is very difficult to conduct in quantifiable terms. Therefore, I have chosen a qualitative methodology, relying mainly on in-depth interviews, oral history accounts and participant observation.

### 1.3 Methodology

Therefore, the methodology used in this thesis differs from the quantitative method in the following ways:

- (1) The methodology being qualitative in the main, questions: "How is it that person and place are both given in language?". As scientists we are so



sophisticated in directly interpreting squatter settlements in terms of grand statistical connotations that we lose sight of the fact that people have a relation to place.

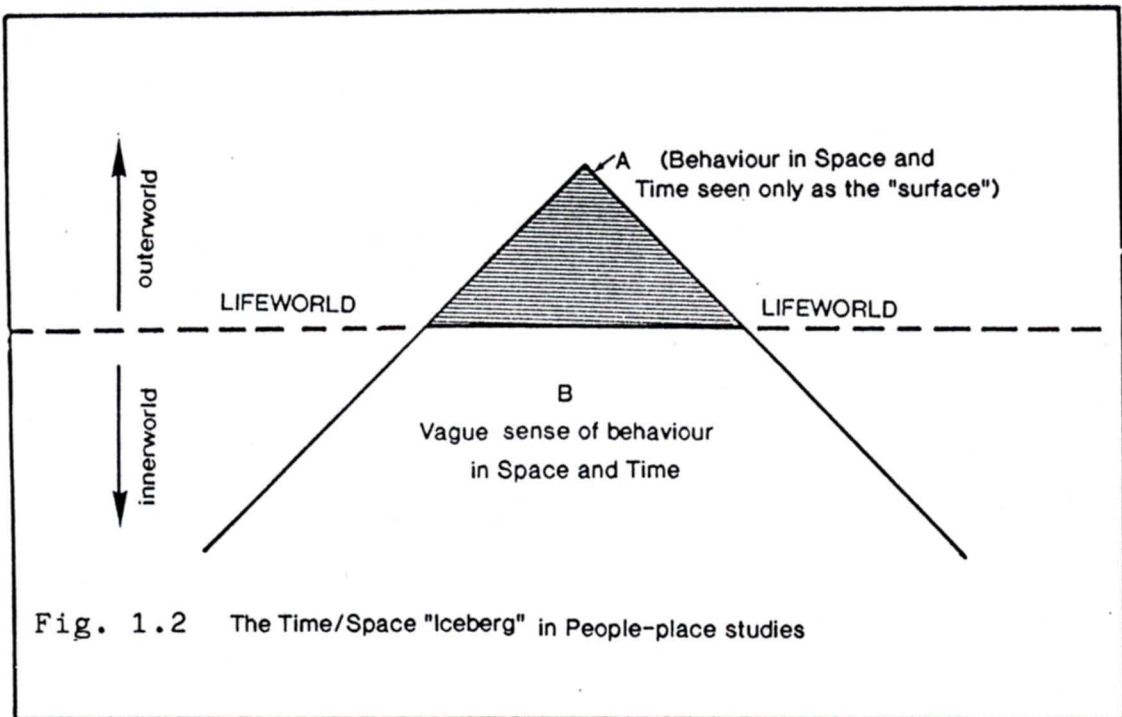
- (2) The thesis briefly explores the notion of hermeneutics (interpretation of meanings). In this case, hermeneutics will interpret essentially human-cultural ways of living and historical features of the study area. Hermeneutics interprets history, not as the elapsing of time, but as:

"The capability of human beings to become aware of their own past, and incorporate that awareness as part of what their history is."

(Giddens, 1982:04)

Hermeneutics is given ample scope in Chapter Three, when for the very first time, an attempt has been made to write a historical account of the area. The historical background of the area is also an important aspect of the people-place emphasis in this thesis, as the choice of in situ upgrading schemes or site and service schemes (moving to 'greener fields') can only be understood within the context of the history of the area.

Figure 1.2 labelled "The Space and Time Iceberg<sup>4</sup>", provides a better insight into the people-place aspect which is addressed in almost every chapter of this thesis. As social scientists, planners and the like we often dwell in the outer world. For example, the "iceberg" (in this case) represents the area of study (Ntchaweni), and a place study



involving the "outer world" will entail a study of "on the surface" physical aspects of the squatter settlement (dwellings, nutrition etc). This aspect is in essence, the tip of the "iceberg" (labelled A) and represents the area that is normally given attention to by social scientists. Usually this area is the domain of positivists who confine their study of behaviour in space and time to "on the surface" features like buildings, what people eat, sanitation, infrastructure, water requirements etc. The "inner world" represented by B is often ignored. It is this "vague sense of behaviour" in space and time in the squatter settlement that I wish to investigate. The phenomenological route of enquiry was chosen as a realistic means of obtaining peoples' perceptions of their "sense of place" with reference to the works of Relph (1976), Tuan (1977) and Seamon and Mugerauer (1985). The people-place study was chosen because it signifies a study of the perceptions of the inhabitants of Ntchaweni and this in essence will provide details beneath the outerworld to planners etc. so that they understand squatter settlements not just as physical peopleless entities, but as places that mean much more to their inhabitants.

#### 1.4 Participation in development

According to Smit (1989:42) and Smit and Mc Carthy (1984) the transformation of the built environment is far more likely to be achieved through the agency of urban social movements than through the state or capital. Thus, they argue that planning should be largely forged outside of formal structures and in relation to the emerging social movements. The unbanning of the African National Congress since 1989 has given the community of Groutville (of which



Ntchaweni is an integral part) the hope that this political movement will address the problems of the area. Therefore, according to Smit (1989), upgrading must not be the outcome of ruling class tendencies, but it should be the result of the community's needs and decisions.

Chambers (1983: 3) explains that as academics, we belong to a "class of outsiders", who, although being trained and educated, do not do more than reading books and newspapers. Yet we live in a world where millions of people cry from avoidable hunger and pain every day. Therefore, it is the aim of this thesis, not only to write about Ntchaweni and its problems, but also, to provide some hope to the inhabitants of the study area, by means of active participation with the community on issues that affect their lives. Therefore, community participation in development is amplified throughout this study.

The aim is not only to write about participation, but to physically undertake the task of ensuring that community structures are organised around the upgrading issue in Ntchaweni. The importance of community participation will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six, when guidelines will be provided for effective community participation so that upgrading efforts in the study area can be successful. Irrespective of the intentions of those advocating upgrading, it is clear that such a project is interventionist in nature. It is more difficult and tedious to pursue upgrading goals in squatter communities where community organisation is weak than in one where it is strong. It is the lack of concern that the authorities have shown for the importance of community participation in Ntchaweni which

has stifled any development efforts in the area. To illustrate this, the Joint Services Board (JSB) has applied for soft loans to begin site and service schemes in Lot 26 (on the old Doesberg Road and about five kilometres from Ntchaweni) at a cost of approximately R7500 per site<sup>5</sup>. The authorities in the area are still pre-occupied by the idea that site and service schemes (movement of people to 'greener fields') is the automatic answer to the housing crisis in the Ntchaweni area.

Therefore, it is the aim of this thesis to inform the authorities that the perceptions and needs of the squatters, which may be totally different from those considered in "boardrooms", must be at the forefront of all development plans. It is essential that the authorities and planners understand that the community of Ntchaweni must be consulted on all issues, no matter how small, so that decisions which affect the lives of the squatters may be addressed in the community first. However, unless Ntchaweni organises itself into a well organised civic association, the chances of obtaining loans or assistance from the Independent Development Trust or overseas funders is highly unlikely.

It is likely that if upgrading is initiated by technocrats in boardrooms the resulting proposals are bound to be destructive. Theoretical models of squatter upgrading ie. those models like the Groutville Structure Plan (1990) which are prepared by planners in a top-down manner can affect informal settlements and its inhabitants more adversely than beneficially. No matter what the physical benefits are, it is believed that the mere provision of infrastructure or an improved built environment is unlikely to initiate sustainable



development.

Rather,

"it is only when people effectively take control over their own lives that lasting development occurs... However, it is also true that physical development can contribute much to community development if it is conducted in the right way. Of critical significance, then is the process adopted in physical development rather than the mere provision of physical infrastructure." (BESG, 1986:24)<sup>6</sup>

According to Chambers (1983:29) in all countries, the squatter's knowledge is an enormous and underutilised national resource. We simply cannot ignore this any longer. Therefore, the emphasis of this thesis is on the importance of community participation in upgrading. Upgrading cannot take place successfully without proper community participation in Ntchaweni. Ntchaweni, the place and it's people are locked in a historical process which, for the first time the people are making for themselves. This refers to the formation of the Groutville Interim Committee<sup>7</sup>. The formation of this democratic body has filled the vacuum that existed in the area for decades. Community organisation was stifled by the state and its repressive agents like the Department of Development Aid and the old and now defunct Port Natal Bantu Administration Board. After the formation of the Groutville Interim Committee, private companies<sup>8</sup> and multinationals are very keen to begin development in the area and inject the necessary

capital. But the people of Ntchaweni are wary of the 'strings' attached to these 'handouts' and are treading cautiously.

What is of crucial importance is for the squatter community and landowners to be educated on the options that upgrading encompasses, so that decisions can be taken rationally without destroying the cohesiveness of this peaceful community. This thesis suggests that the residents of Ntchaweni, by virtue of their cohesiveness, have the potential to plan development for themselves once administration obstacles are removed. These obstacles are explored in chapter 5.

Irrespective of the intentions of those advocating upgrading; it will be made clear upon perusal of this thesis that if upgrading programs are ignorant of the perceptions and attachment to place in Ntchaweni; and if planners fail to respect the potential that the squatters themselves possess to liberate themselves, all efforts will be purely rhetoric.

The flow diagram below highlights the route of inquiry that this thesis follows. This will provide a clear view as to the type of investigation that was envisaged at the beginning of this study.

- (1) Investigate Attachment to place with  
Inhabitants of Ntchaweni  
(Is there a "sense of place"?,  
Is there a "sense of belonging",)  
↓
- (2) Can the community organise itself around  
the upgrading issue?  
↓
- (3) Choice of alternatives  
(site and service schemes, township  
housing, core housing, in situ upgrading)  
↓
- (4) Is upgrading a realistic option for  
Ntchaweni?

### 1.5 Structure of the thesis

It is the aim of this thesis to explore the development needs that are most urgent to the squatters in Ntchaweni themselves and to outline the options which they will face in terms of upgrading. These will take into account their attachment to their place of residence, as well as the importance of participation for sustainable development.

The present chapter, deals with an introduction to the study area, and the purpose of study as well as an overview of the contents of the thesis.

The second chapter considers the different approaches to upgrading which are available to the Groutville Interim Committee. Amongst other purposes, this chapter will inform them and the community as a whole about the possible options for upgrading. In this regard, the culmination of this thesis will necessitate the publication of a local newspaper in Zulu wherein the main aspects of this thesis are fed back into the overall plan for development of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement. In Chapter Two, attention is paid to the failure of the state and market in the provision of housing for squatters; options available for informal housing and contemporary upgrading practices in South Africa.

Within Chapter Two, the different types of upgrading options are outlined. It will be suggested that



upgrading, if pursued in a totally top-down manner, will not endanger the interests of capital or the state, but rather provide the opportunity for continued exploitation of the landless shack dwellers. In this light, emphasis is placed on the fact that in order for upgrading to lead to lasting improvement, the squatters themselves have to plot out their course for development so that the freedom and control that they have recently been able to exercise over their local environment is not destroyed.

Chapter Three outlines a brief history of the study area (which is found in Groutville<sup>9</sup>), focussing primarily on the factors that were responsible for it's evolution to it's present size. This chapter also strengthens the notion that decisions concerning upgrading in this area are not possible unless a history of the local inhabitants struggles against state repression and forced removals is known.

The qualitative<sup>10</sup> findings of this dissertation are outlined in Chapter Four, and research results in relation to the community's sense of place of the study area are discussed. In this chapter, two views of place are identified and described. Firstly, an objective overview of the present conditions in the study area of Ntchaweni is presented. Secondly, a subjective interpretation of the place is offered with reference to the degree of attachment to the area that inhabitants have. In this section the views of the landed and landless to place are analysed separately to distinguish whether the politics of turf is prevalent in this area. The chapter investigates of whether there are distinct class differences evident in the study area, so that upgrading can cater for this difference through a multi-

varied approach or pursue, a single upgrading scheme.

The fifth chapter is extremely important in that it deals with the politics of upgrading in the area, providing planners with an overview of the key actors who have been associated with the area in development efforts. Thus, this chapter will highlight the institutional and community problems that have been encountered in relation to organising upgrading in Ntchaweni and reflect upon the possibilities for future development within this context.

Chapter Six will present the implications that the study will have for planners and the squatters themselves, so that the newly formed Groutville Committee have at their disposal examples of real upgrading exercises which show some of the successes and pitfalls associated with upgrading. This chapter concludes by providing a general assessment of the options for upgrading that will be available to the Ntchaweni squatter settlement, and the advantages and disadvantages which the process of upgrading presents.

## 1.6 General comments

For a long period of time squatter settlements have been viewed by the authorities and public at large, as highly disorganised, unhygienic and the domain of criminals. It is the view of this thesis as well as other recent observations, that squatter settlements are often to the contrary, cohesive, viable communities in which the inhabitants have exhibited a wealth of initiative and in which they have made considerable investments. The lack of adequate services however results in health problems and the lack of security of tenure means that people are

not prepared to build better quality shelters, even though they might be willing to, even if they are given security of tenure.

The potential of squatters to alleviate the present housing shortage in the area must be seized upon by the squatter community and key "actors" involved in the development of this area, so that upgrading schemes can be pursued along realistic lines. It is then, within the scope of this thesis to identify the potential advantages and disadvantages of upgrading. While upgrading in the Ntchaweni area has been non-existent, if implemented sensitively, many problems can be avoided. Furthermore, upgrading can be seen as an approach which allows for an immediate improvement in the quality of life of these marginalised people.



ENDNOTES

1. Laurie C. Smith, Jackson Street, Stanger.
2. This is a plan compiled by Vendevertre, Apsey Robinson and Associates Inc., Urban and Regional Planners as a guideline as to how to initiate development in the Groutville area as a whole and not only Ntchaweni. This upliftment programme was to have been undertaken by the Department of Development Aid and Education. The plan had four "goals":
  - (a) the development of an administrative structure for the residents.
  - (b) to improve access, services and facilities in the area.
  - (c) to ensure that planning processes are ongoing and ensure that planning articles are laid down towards sustainability.
  - (d) economic development involving:
    - (i) space for commerce and small scale industry.
    - (ii) preservation of agricultural land.

However, this plan never took off the ground mainly due to the "top-down" approach of the Department of Development Aid. The Structure has been controversial and has been indefinitely set aside by the Groutville Interim Committee.

3. Born in Stanger, and recently released from Robben island when amnesty was granted to political prisoners; presently, Chairman of the Groutville branch of the African National Congress and executive member of the Groutville Interim committee.
4. This explanation arose after discussions with Di Scott, during a seminar on positivism in a Concepts class.
5. This information was supplied by Development and Services Board member, Moosa Motala.
6. Mackie, A.(1987)
7. This committee was elected on the 15 September 1991 at the Aldainville Hall in upper Groutville.

8. The area manager of CORD in Groutville, Althaf Karim used an example to describe what is meant by the notion that "private companies attach strings": A farmer who receives "assistance" from C.G.Smith, the largest sugar company in the area, gets his cane cut, cane transported and loans obtained from C.G.Smith. An account as shown below is rendered to the farmer:  
 Market value of cane (as per quota price): R7500-00  
 Transport costs. loans (+interest) : R7300-00  
 Amount due to farmer : R 200-00
9. The history of the Groutville area is adequately covered in the local museum in Stanger. The history on Groutville also appears in Kiernan (1982) found in Surplus People's Project (1983).
10. Declining interest in quantitative geography has gone hand in hand with a realisation of it's inability to solve many empirical or explanatory problems.



## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. Theoretical viewpoints on upgrading

In this chapter close attention is given to four important issues which are pertinent to the entire housing question in South Africa. Firstly, the role of capital in the provision of housing to the poor as background to the specific issues in Ntchaweni is analysed. Secondly, the failure of the state in delivering housing to marginalised squatters is analysed. Thirdly, the types of options that are currently available to improve squatter settlements are analysed. The fourth section examines the effect that past removals have had on influencing contemporary opinions regarding improving the living conditions of squatters.

#### 2.1 Capital and Housing

According to McCarthy and Smit (1984:95) and Smit (1989:100), it was reflective of the 1950's and 1960's, when the state embarked on its mass housing programme, that the major construction companies did benefit from the exercise of providing cheap housing for Blacks in the African townships. However, they also note that in comparison to other more profitable ventures, provision of black housing has not been favoured by capital, because the profits gained are comparatively smaller. Firstly, in relation to White housing programmes, the per unit costs of construction and per unit profit were quite modest in comparison to Black housing. Secondly, Smit (1989:100) also explains that capital paid more attention to the "modernisation" of the major cities. Thus, capital found it more profitable to construct freeways, commercial centres, office blocks etc. than get involved in Black housing estate construction.

Furthermore, according to Mackie (1985:5), Marxist theory has argued that the root of housing shortages lies in the form of housing as a commodity under the capitalist mode of production. The continued existence of the capitalist system requires that ownership of the means of production must be vested within a capitalist class who control the working class who sell their labour to the capitalists. The production of housing constitutes an additional source of profit to capitalists. Mackie elaborates that the primary use of housing is shelter. This involves much more than the actual dwelling itself; such as the provision of services, infrastructure and the creation of employment so that squatters have the means to upgrade. More homes and better services for the working class will mean less accumulated profits for the owners of the means of production or employers, who will have to increase wages to meet the demands of workers to better their standards of living even in the most moderate manner. On the other hand, most of the contract work in township housing provision etc. has been given to large companies, meaning more profits for these capitalists who provide housing. Thus, squatter areas may be ideal 'reservoirs' for cheap sources of labour power, but insufficient housing and pathetic living conditions manifests itself.

Historically, the rural population who moved to squatter settlements on the fringes of urban settlements were alienated from their means of production in their emigration areas and were forced to sell their labour in the town of employment and other central places that offered employment. Despite strict controls over the movement of the African population to towns and cities in South Africa, increasing numbers of people defied



influx control laws by moving in large numbers especially in the late 1970's. Because of the state's political unwillingness to build low income housing in urban areas especially during the 1970s and 1980s, the South African government is now faced with massive housing backlogs and lacks the finance to address the urban housing crisis.

Although housing represents an essential element in the reproduction of labour power, the operation of the housing market ensures that the supply of housing for low income groups never meets the demand because the provision of housing for this income group is not a profitable exercise, firstly because financial institutions are not interested in granting small mortgage bonds (less than R30 000) and secondly, because capital is not prepared to subsidise the costs of housing to the poor. Presently, capital is reluctant to enter into the housing market because it is perceived to be too risky and also because profits are smaller. It is common knowledge that the major part of the private sector's work force comprises of blacks. Therefore, the private sector will now have to play an even greater role in the provision of "reasonable" housing for their employees. It must be considered as essential, that the private sector must play a far greater role in alleviating the shortage in housing provision.

According to Nortje (1988:10), during the 1930's when the growth of shack settlements was gaining momentum in the country as a whole, municipal authorities generally saw the provision of formal housing as the means by which shacks could be eliminated. Thus, for example, in 1932 the Orlando township was initiated by the Johannesburg City Council; in the Durban area, the

Lamontville township was initiated in 1937, whilst in 1939, plans for what is well known today as Chesterville were drawn up and a single mens' hostel was built at Merebank. The main reason for the failure of the formal types of housing provided by the authorities was that local authorities vastly underestimated the scale of the need for housing. In addition, the housing demand was greatly increased by cityward migration which the Second World War and concomitant labour demand initiated.

According to Nortje (1988:10):

"At the same time, the war effort meant that finance and building materials were in short supply thereby further hamstringing the effort to acquire public housing. Not only was the effort inadequate, but many Africans could not afford the rentals of township houses whilst many found the conditions sterile and unattractive."

Therefore, in 2.2. the role of the state in the provision of housing for Blacks is analysed.

## 2.2 State and Housing (South African Housing Policy History)

In this section, the state's failure to provide housing for Africans is examined. This is one of the main reasons for the growth of squatter settlements in South Africa. Dewar and Ellis (1979:23) highlight the extent of the state's failure to provide black housing with the astonishing detail that "eight more cities the size of Soweto will have to be built by the turn of the century"



to meet the population growth among Blacks. The end of the Second World War was met with a period of recession, which resulted in large scale unemployment among urban Africans. The presence of large numbers of unemployed Africans in squatter settlements on the fringes of urban areas was seen as a real threat to political stability. Instead of attempting to solve the problem, the state passed many repressive laws, deepening the problem of housing shortages even further. Figure 2.1 summarises the various draconian laws passed by the state in an effort to control urban Africans. When the Nationalist government was elected to power in 1948, the major legislation of that period indicates the intention of the state to control the location and allocation of African workers. This resulted in an upswing in pass law arrests and the tightening up of influx controls.

Territorial segregation was invoked to serve the interests of both racism and capitalism. This move was launched in two ways: one was legislation passed to restrict black settlement. Black ownership was confined to only seven percent of South Africa's land (1913 Land Act). The second was legislation passed against the permanent residence of blacks in "white" urban areas and against the presence of economically inactive blacks. Thus, the apartheid state made it increasingly difficult for a black worker to find access to housing. Market forces also prevented blacks from obtaining houses as housing standards and mortgage repayments were set beyond the reach of the black, with the result that few blacks could afford homes. In terms of government policy, until the early 1980's the black worker was regarded as a temporary worker in the urban area. All long-term policies were aimed at the eventual return of all blacks to their respective homelands.

PHASE	MAJOR EVENTS	MAJOR LEGISLATION
1 Pre 1910	The Colonial phase, early urban settlements, the emergence of segregated locations the introduction of legislation to establish and control them.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— The Native Locations Act 1902 (Cape)</li> <li>— The Bloemfontein Municipal Ordinance 1903</li> <li>— The Natal Locations Act 1904</li> <li>— The Transvaal Municipal Amending Ordinance 1906</li> <li>— The Precious and Base Metals Act 1908 (Transvaal)</li> </ul>
2 1910- 1922	The Union Government, an account of conditions in black urban areas by the Tuberculosis Commission in 1914, and the formulation of the Union government's policy on urban blacks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— The Draft Natives (Urban Areas) Bill 1912</li> <li>— The Draft Bill 1918</li> <li>— The Draft Bill 1922</li> <li>— The Draft Native Registration and Protection Bill 1923</li> <li>— The Housing Act 1920</li> </ul>
3 1923- 1939	The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, its subsequent amendments, the major developments arising out of the Act, and the Young-Barrett Report.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— The Natives (Urban Areas) Act 1923</li> <li>— Amendments in 1930 and 1937</li> <li>— Amendments to the Housing Act in 1934 and 1936</li> </ul>
4 1939- 1948	The War, increasing industrial development and movement of blacks into the urban areas, squatter movements and the Fagan Commission Report.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Amendments to the Housing Act 1944</li> <li>— The Housing (Emergency Powers) Act 1945</li> <li>— Amendments to the Natives (Urban Areas Act) relating to the brewing of beer 1944 and 1943</li> <li>— The Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 1945</li> </ul>
5 1948- 1960	A change in government, the policy of separate development, and the introduction of new financing and housing policies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— The Group Areas Act 1950</li> <li>— The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 1951</li> <li>— The Native Building Workers Act 1951</li> <li>— The Native Services Levy Act 1951</li> <li>— Amendments to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 1952 and 1955</li> <li>— The Housing Act 1957</li> </ul>
6 1960- 1975	Sharpeville, tighter influx control, an emphasis on homeland development, and the introduction of policies aimed at restricting development in the white areas.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— The Bantu Laws Amendment Act 1963</li> <li>— Revised regulations regarding the status of black women, unproductive blacks, trading rights and labour contracts (1963, 1967 and 1968)</li> <li>— The Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act 1967</li> <li>— Regulations withdrawing leasehold rights 1968</li> </ul>
7 1975- 1977	Some readjustments to urban black policy, widespread rioting, and the emergence of critical housing shortages.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Regulations reintroducing leasehold rights and removing certain restrictions on traders (1975)</li> <li>— Amendments to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 1976 and 1977</li> <li>— The Transkei Citizenship Act</li> </ul>
8 1977- 1980	Legislative and policy changes, the Rickert Commission Report, some adjustments to the official approach to wards housing and protests over rent increases.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— The Community Councils Act 1977</li> <li>— The Bantu (Urban Areas) Amendment Act 1978</li> <li>— The Bantu Laws Amendment Act 1978</li> <li>— The Housing Amendment Act 1976</li> <li>— The Black Community Development Bill 1980</li> <li>— The Local Government Bill 1980</li> <li>— The Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Bill 1980</li> </ul>

**FIGURE 2.1: MORRIS' SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL PHASES, MAJOR EVENTS AND LEGISLATIONS**  
**SOURCE: MORRIS, P. (1981:4)**



According to Nortje (1988:12),

"as early as August, 1948, the Minister of Native Affairs warned that the government was reviewing the presence of the African population in the Western Cape and deciding whether or not to reduce it drastically. The next year he confirmed that the government was intent on reducing the squatter population and that local authorities had been given the power to do so."

The previously inefficient influx control system was replaced by the Amendments to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1952 which indicated the intention of the state to introduce new financing and housing policies. In addition to the repressive laws of the 1950's, Eiselen, the then Secretary of Native Affairs introduced a more indirect form of social control ie. a strategy of "controlled squatter camps", which was aimed at being the most practical method of tackling the housing problem within a short time. In keeping with their racial policy of segregation, the state stabilised the urban African labour force, which had already been honed by influx control measures through the use of formal accommodation which entrenched racial segregation and at the same time was in direct contrast to the shack settlements.

Squatter settlements were of concern to the state for more reasons than that they were poor, unhygienic environments. Squatter settlements were also the areas

of most African resistance because they enabled the Africans to be united. The common suffering and deprivation gave squatters common goals, problems and one common enemy: the state. Squatter settlements also could not be easily "policed" by the state. Thus the state embarked on a massive public housing programme which was combined with large scale removals. In Durban 82 000 people were removed from Cato Manor alone between 1958 and 1966. These people were resettled at Kwa-Mashu, Chatsworth and Umlazi (Maylam, 1983:425). Through formal township housing programmes, the state was able to subordinate the African working class by destroying any sense of togetherness and community which was a characteristic of squatter settlements, thereby destroying the resistance to its repressive laws.

The state's dismal failure in addressing the problems related to poor living conditions (lack of water, poor sanitation etc.) concomitant to the shortage of housing for Africans are exemplified in Morris' summary, by virtue of the state's overindulgence in its campaign to repatriate Africans to "homelands". The Afrikaner State acted to allay the fears of whites of being crowded out and swamped by increasing numbers of blacks, especially in urban areas. To serve the interests of both Afrikanerdom and capitalism, steps were taken to preserve white supremacy, privilege and power and to maintain the exploitation of black labour.

The failure of the state was once again evident in the late 1960's and early 1970's when the state's policy of industrial decentralisation and its arsenal of legislature failed dismally to prevent large scale rural-urban migration. Instead, according to Whiteside (1990) this attempt by the state "simply moved the



deckchairs around the sinking ship of the state". The state in all its legislation and intents continued to ignore the permanency of the urban African element and instead emphasised that the rightful place of the urban African was back in the homelands. According to the state, both the housing needs and the political aspirations of the squatter would be seen to be in the homelands. As urbanization rates clearly demonstrate, however, this was a fallacy.

These shifts can only be explained in terms of both political and economic forces in operation. The last decade saw the state facing a fiscal crisis, by virtue of the weakening of the Rand and as reflected by rising taxation and cuts in spending the state had failed to deliver a housing programme to alleviate the housing shortages. The state had altogether withdrawn from the housing arena, by trying to depoliticise the housing issue and at the same time redirecting financial responsibility for the provision of housing.

According to Nortje (1988:15) the years between 1977 and 1980 saw the state accept the permanency of urban Blacks and in this regard the 99-year leasehold title was introduced. The idea behind the Act was that the 99-year leasehold would act as security for Building Society mortgages. This scheme was bound to fail as it did not take into account urban Africans who could not meet the bond repayments. Also, at the same time, for largely ideological reasons, inadequate state finance was allocated to black housing. According to Maasdorp (1977), in 1976 R270 million or 4% of the country's Gross National Product was allocated to housing compared to 7% in Venezuela. For the same year, 42% was allocated to white housing compared to 6% for blacks.

The power to provide finance and lease land lay in the hands of the local authority. Therefore, while housing for blacks was drastically in a state of chaos, the black response to meet shelter requirements was an increase in squatter settlements. Squatter settlements were a natural response to the state's lack in official policy to provide suitable housing for blacks working in urban areas.

In fact the very role of the state in housing delivery (this is analysed in more detail in section 2.3.2.3.) is likely to be the subject of contentious debate in the near future. As Smit (1991) comments:

"It should be noted at the outset that housing policy in South Africa is in something of a mess!"

Presently (according to an interview with BESG) the unbanned African National Congress has in its housing policies, a minimum demand for a "wet core" (consists of a dwelling with a roof, basic concrete floor and single wash basin) to meet the shortage of housing in squatter areas. The demand by the ANC is for the state to provide a serviced site with building materials, so that squatters build their own homes. However, this is merely a policy of the ANC for discussions during negotiations with the state.

### 2.3 Upgrading as an Alternative?

At the outset, the term "upgrading" must not be confused as being the same as "upgrading in situ". The former term refers to the broad category of betterment options for the improvement of squatter settlements while the

latter term refers specifically to a type of upgrading relating to the improvement of the existing stock of squatter dwellings. In this section, we examine the various options that are available to squatter settlements to improve housing and general conditions. In this section the term 'squatter settlement' is defined and the options available for the betterment of squatter settlements are analysed critically.

### 2.3.1 Definitions of the term "squatter settlements"<sup>1</sup>

A squatter settlement can be defined as a settlement which is:

"created by inhabitants to house themselves and to mobilise the minimal resources. It is usually found on unoccupied land. Houses are primitive forms of shelter that in most countries are outlawed due to their non-conformity to national and urban construction standards. This is due to the fact that people cannot afford to conform to standards. Squatter settlements are usually made of wood, tin, cardboard and tar paper (Obudho and Mhlanga, 1988).

Richard (1969), defines a squatter settlement as:

"an area in which the people have built themselves houses without regard to survey boundaries, whether or not such boundaries have



been established. Squatters' houses may be as good (if not better than) many houses built on surveyed plots to which the landowners have the right to occupy. However, most of the squatter areas have poorer urban amenities than do comparable high density areas where houses are built on surveyed plots. Roads, schools, water and electric facilities, refuse disposal services, surface water reticulation and septic tank emptying services in squatter areas are markedly inferior to those in non-squatter areas".

His description of a squatter settlement conforms closely to the conditions in Ntchaweni. In some cases the homes of squatters in Ntchaweni are better in durability and quality than that of the landowner himself. This happens usually in the case of squatters who have good, stable jobs in industry etc. who can afford to purchase materials needed to improve the quality of homes. Another factor contributing to this is the good relationship that landowners have with squatters. When squatters are assured that they will not be removed, no costs are spared in improving the quality of homes.

### 2.3.2 Betterment options?

[In the light of the preceding discussion, it must be understood that options related to improvements in housing and services must be available to the



community. It is in the context of the failure of the state and the market to provide formal housing to squatters that we turn our attention to the various options that are available to squatters to better their living conditions. The options below will be put forward to a squatter committee especially convened by the Groutville Interim Committee to facilitate discussions around the feasible options available to the squatters and landowners in Ntchaweni. The types of upgrading schemes outlined below must in no way be seen as a modus operandi for the rehabilitation of the area of Ntchaweni. The schemes are merely guidelines to the types of options that are available to the community, so that discussion may emanate from consideration of these options.]

According to Built Environment Support Group (BESG) and the Economic Research Unit at the University of Natal-Durban, the rhetoric concerning squatter settlement betterment is continuing. While many guidelines exist for the improvement of squatter settlements, very few are operational in reality. The most common options available to better the lives of the inhabitants in squatter settlements revolve around the adoption of site and service schemes, township housing, core housing and in situ upgrading. A fifth option ie. the passive option is also analysed.

#### 2.3.2.1 Site and Service Schemes

According to Maasdorp (1977) these schemes are usually complementary to efforts to upgrade existing squatter settlements. The essential difference between the two approaches is that upgrading focuses on settled plots whereas site and service schemes start off with empty

plots. The government or agency acquires the land which it designates either for immediate development or sets it aside in a land bank for further use. The site is prepared for urbanisation and a basic service network is instituted that usually consists of drainage, electricity, water, roads etc. Space is also set aside for community facilities such as schools, markets and medical centres which are built later by public authorities. Plots are surveyed and demarcated and are then levelled.

Thereafter, individual households are left to construct their own dwellings. Site and service schemes may vary as they may be based on the concept of self-help or mutual help. According to Abrams cited in Turner and Fichter (1972) self-help is not a new concept, as it extends back to the era of cave dwellers. As a process sponsored by some First World countries, it became popular in missionary activity in the 1960s in Third World rural areas and provided reasonable hope for a cheap solution to the housing shortage problem.

According to Abrams self help can be (a) simple: This refers to specific and largely unrelated actions in which an individual or group takes partial responsibility for organisation and carrying through the installation of a particular work eg. sewerage system, building and financing their homes, services and maintenance, or (b) complex: where the group may involve itself in several actions integrated vertically and aimed at transforming the local social and economic structure in a dramatic way. The group not only constructs the dwelling but produces the basic materials like bricks, tiles, cement, and elements of infrastructure.

Nortje (1988:18) provides a 'liberal' view of site and service schemes:

"In the South African context, therefore, the self-help approach provides great potential. From a political point of view, it endangers no specific interests and requires no economic, social or political changes to be made. On an economic level, it provides a low cost solution to the "housing problem" in that recognition of informal settlements makes existing housing stock look better on paper".

The view above can be regarded as being liberal because it does not endorse the modus operandi of a particular political ideology. It simply serves as a reference point regarding the 'upgrading options' argument and argues that the self-help approach seems feasible as it does not pose any political or economic challenges too great to be overcome.

According to Smit (1991)<sup>2</sup>, the estimates below are related to the provision of sites and services:

2.3.2.1.1 Sites only (150 sq.m) with very low level services (standpipes, pit-latrines) should cost in the region of R3 000.

2.3.2.1.2. Sites only (200 sq.m) with water to every stand, water-borne sewerage, gravel roads, tarred bus



routes and public lighting should cost in the region of R7 500.

2.3.2.1.3. Sites at 200 sq. metres but with tar roads, electricity reticulated to every household costs in the region of R11 000.

Smit (1989:85) provides a historical account of the phenomenon of site and service schemes in South Africa as follows. According to him, these schemes were enacted only after the unsuccessful attempt by the local state to control squatting through clearance. Squatters, once 'cleared' simply moved from one area to another like 'birds in a cornfield'. The first site and service schemes in South Africa, according to Smit (1989:85) date back to the 1940's when serviced sites were laid out by the Johannesburg City Council with assistance from the central state. Some 11 200 tiny sites measuring 40m<sup>2</sup> with batteries of pit latrines were made available. Squatters were forcibly moved to these camps. Therefore, according to Smit (1989:86) the emergence of the first site and service schemes in South Africa can be ascribed to the structural conditions of the time on the one hand (poverty, urbanisation etc.) and the specificities of the struggles between squatters and the local state on the other. Site and service schemes, according to Smit (1989:189), were also most popular in the 1980's after the dramatic changes in housing policies in January 1983. By placing the delivery of Black housing in the hands of the private sector, the government was to play a supportive role in the promotion of self-help housing by: making serviced sites available upon which people could build their own homes, by facilitating access to loan finance and by subsidising loan finance for people within certain



income categories. Today, site and service schemes are synonymous with 'self-help', which is a catchword that is used in every sphere of collective consumption. Smit (1989:190) explains that radicals viewed the site and service (self-help) schemes as an ideological mystification of the state's process of withdrawal from the housing arena thereby reducing the social wage and lowering the cost of reproducing labour. On the other hand, he explains that liberals argue that the housing shortage has become so acute and public housing so expensive, that there are few alternatives to self-help housing.

#### 2.3.2.2 Core Housing

This option is mid-way between the provision of an empty serviced site and the provision of a fully completed dwelling. Core units may consist of:

- (i) Wet core: consists of washing and toilet facilities.
- (ii) Basic core: One room plus washing and toilet facilities to house the occupant while he/she builds the rest of this house.

Core units, also known as embryonic units can also consist of a scheme in which the roof and supporting structures are the only items built- this being the most difficult component part to construct.

According to Smit (1991), a 40sq. metre core house with no internal walls and no internal sewerage connections and located on a "low-service-level" site with only standpipes and pit-latrines costs in the region of R12

000. A 40 sq. metre house with dividing walls, internal plumbing and services (tar roads, electricity reticulated to every household) costs in the region of R24 000.

The advantage of this approach is that it is aimed at providing shelter and sanitation while at the same time providing the tenant an open opinion of upgrading according to the tenant's financial position.

However, the starting cost, estimated at around R12 000 may be too high for squatters if no financial assistance is provided.

#### 2.3.2.3 Public Housing Estates (township housing)

"Just a few blocks of high-rise offices areas in downtown Johannesburg would for example equal the value of all the Black townships constructed during the 1950's and 1960's" (Smit:1989:139).

According to Maasdorp (1977) this approach involves the provision of the conventional 'township' housing which is so familiar to South Africans, for example in Soweto, Umlazi and Chatsworth. Experience throughout the world however indicates that housing on such a massive scale is not always successful. Indeed there have been many demands from township residents here for better or more decent housing. Smit (1991) explains that in this context a 'decent' house implies delivery by the state of formal four or five-roomed houses with internal plumbing connections, waterborne sewerage and electricity. However, local authorities are presently selling off the current housing stock as 'package deals'

instead of renting them. A township house with four rooms and with internal service connections, ceilings and the provision of tarred roads and electricity costs in the region of R30 000. According to Morris (1981:70), the common problem faced by low-income groups is that they cannot afford such an option. Even if the mortgage repayment could be afforded, the homeowner would be unable to pay the high local rates (once a person owns a formal home with a title deed, rates become due). However, according to Morris (1981:70) municipal housing was being rented at a standard that was too expensive for many black households. According to her, there was evidence of the increasing inability of households to pay rentals\*.

The concept of public housing originated at least in the nineteenth century in the United Kingdom and in South Africa in the early twentieth century. According to Morris (1981:50) township houses were established by the state in South Africa in order to enforce segregation and enable the state to "police" Africans and their location in urban areas. Public housing took off on a full scale in the 1960's, with plans for large scale public housing emanating in the 1950's (Morris, 1981 p. 50). According to Smit (1989:60) the question of establishing black townships in the 1920's was an answer to the problems that Blacks were infiltrating into underutilised White areas. It was felt at that time that the

\* (The point is that non-subsidised state housing for the poor is not feasible mainly for the reason that township rents are high as they include large sums for administration fees and services, which are not provided.)



living conditions of Whites could be greatly improved by the removal of Blacks to townships on the periphery of large cities. In Smit's (1989: 61) opinion, public housing could be seen as a form of "ethnic engineering" used by the state (and planners of that time) to re-house Blacks away from White areas, while the large scale clearance of Black "slums" paved the way for the establishment of public housing schemes for Whites.

Up to the 1930's a very limited amount of Black public housing was built because the state felt a need to relegate Black settlements to a status of "temporary" phenomena (Morris, 1981:70). According to Smit (1989:84) the housing crisis was critical in the 1940's due to the influx of Blacks on a large scale to the cities. This occurred because of the collapse of the reserve economies and the growth of the manufacturing sector, during the Second World War. Prior to the war, home building for Blacks was slow, even slower during the war period. Therefore, between 1930 and 1940, squatter camps burgeoned around cities. According to Smit (1989:85), approximately 90 000 squatters settled around Johannesburg. Smit (1989:88) explains the establishment of Black townships in the late 1940's in South African cities in terms of Keynesian economics. State assisted housing and the construction sector could be used as a lead sector to stimulate accumulation generally. The state promoted public housing for Blacks with the intention of creating more mortgage loans and also at the same time increasing the revenue of the construction sector.

The history of public housing in the 1950's and 1960's must be analysed within the context of the election of

the Nationalist Party to power in 1948 and the promulgation of the Group Areas Act of 1950. According to Smit (1989:112) and Morris (1981:56) the Act was the "cornerstone" of "ethnic spatial engineering" and the period was characterised by a recommendation by the Department of Native Affairs that one large location per town be established to avoid the creation of a series of small locations around each town which would lead to the merging of White and Black residential areas. The 1960's was characterised by the shaping of the "apartheid" city and the establishment of township housing must be understood in relation to the policies of the repressive state.

Therefore, according to Smit (1989:115)" township housing was a top-down effort which can be explained in terms of the state's repressive laws to restore social control and the accumulation concerns of local capital". The relocation of 670 000 Africans (Smit, 1989:116) between 1960 and 1980 into townships like Kwa Mashu, Mdantsane and Garankuwa was a policy adopted by the state to relocate whole Black townships across Bantustan townships. The 1980's and the 1990's were characterised by massive housing shortages and overcrowding.

To conclude this section on the history of public housing in South Africa, the 1950's and 1960's were characterised by the state's involvement in massive housing programmes for Blacks. The 1960's were characterised by attention which shifted from mass housing in cities to the urbanisation of bantustans. The 1980's and present times are characterised by a period in which the state has withdrawn from the housing arena, with large emphasis on self-help schemes.

#### 2.3.2.4 In Situ Upgrading

This involves the improvement in existing dwellings that are found in squatter settlements. Upgrading of existing structures must be understood as a viable option in the context of the failure of the state and market to provide formal housing to most urban African residents. Upgrading must also be evaluated in the context of the value of informal housing. BESG estimates<sup>3</sup> that the average value of materials used to construct an average squatter dwelling ie. walls, roof of tin or corrugated iron, wooden window frames etc should be in the region of R3500. If we also take into account the use value of the squatter dwelling, it can be understood why squatters are reluctant to move to site and service schemes, because a proportionately large investment has been made into the construction of their dwelling.

A policy of upgrading existing squatter housing includes the following:

(i) Provision of legal recognition and security of tenure

In effect, no squatter is prepared to improve present stock when there is a constant threat of being removed. In situ upgrading must be preceded by the provision of legal titles of deed to the squatter because investment by the squatter, no matter how small depends upon security.

(ii) Provision of water and other public services

Squatters are hesitant to invest in upgrading their existing dwellings knowing well that the conditions in the squatter area are pathetic



(iii) Financial and technical assistance in improving dwellings

One of the greatest problems facing squatters is the lack of finance to improve the condition of the dwelling.

The basis of in situ upgrading is to prevent unnecessary removals and resettlement.

NGO's, internationally and locally, advocate this approach, particularly in high density areas, where a sense of community exists. The rationale behind this approach is to prevent the disruption of family and communal life that exists in the squatter area. The upgrading of existing structures recognises that most low-income households are housed in informal structures and that the shelter requirements of squatters are initially modest. Upgrading minimises loss of previous investment in housing and causes little disruption to work patterns.

To elaborate on the effectiveness of this approach, I have chosen to draw attention to two in situ upgrading projects, one locally at Bester's Camp (near Ntuzuma) and the other internationally in Lusaka, Zambia. A summary of these projects, although brief, will provide valuable insights into the actual workings of the upgrading of existing squatter dwellings. The Bester's Camp upgrading project will be analysed under 2.3.2.4.1. and the Lusaka upgrading project will be analysed under 2.3.2.4.2.

#### 2.3.2.4.1. In Situ Upgrading at Bester's Camp outside Durban

The details provided in this section have been arrived at after obtaining first hand information from Basil van Horen, Senior Projects Co-ordinator for the Urban Foundation. Bester's Camp provides an excellent venue for the evaluation of in situ upgrading as 60 000 people are already living in 8000 shacks and are involved in upgrading their present dwellings. Prior to the upgrading project, however, the area had no infrastructure, no water, no roads, no sanitation, refuse or ablution facilities, or electricity and communal facilities. 80% of the housing stock consisted of wattle and only 5% were made of concrete blocks. The remainder of the dwellings were made from tin and cardboard. The various parties involved in the project were Durban's Manco, Kwazulu officials and the DDA. According to Basil van Horen, the primary objectives of the project evolved out of community participation. The main principles were:

- (1) To gain acceptance from the authorities. This was an important aspect as permanency of tenure gives the community the sense of owning and upgrading becomes motivated.
- (2) The upgrading process must be affordable.
- (3) Development must be sustainable and not be short-lived.
- (4) Through upgrading, the community becomes empowered through the public participation process.
- (5) That the project must involve local employment. Therefore local builders etc must be used.

The Bester's Camp experience provides an excellent working example (and not only on drawing boards) of the

feasibility of in situ upgrading. Further decline in the area, both socially and physically (buildings) has been successfully arrested. The project has highlighted that upgrading also positively enhances health and safety standards. The main thrusts of upgrading pivoted around:

- (a) Provision of at least 35 water points and a water reticulation system which the community pays for.
- (b) Improvement of roads and footpaths.
- (c) Storm water management.
- (d) Salege control.
- (e) Provision of a refuse removal system. In this case the assistance of the Durban Corporation was secured.
- (f) Provision of VIP (Ventilated Improved Pit Latrines) sanitation facilities so that health standards are maintained.

Thus far the community has already built a creche, clinic, and a meeting hall which serves as a church and training school.

The upgrading of shacks in the Bester's Camp area also involves the following:

- \* The establishment of a block yard which produces approximately 20 000 blocks a week.
- \* The provision of a building material facility.
- \* Technical assistance regarding drawing of plans, queries etc from an NGO. In this case the Urban Foundation trained locals to assist with the technical aspects.
- \* Use of local labour with the emphasis on tangible upgrading goals which are realistic and feasible.
- \* The provision of a small loans facility with loans up to R5000.



To conclude this section, it is important to emphasise that the Bester's Camp project received the approval of the community first before it was taken to the drawing boards for technical approval. The key idea behind the project ie. to disrupt as few families as possible, pertains to a belief that on site solutions to people's problems are more readily accepted by an already oppressed African community.

#### 2.3.2.4.2 Upgrading in Lusaka, Zambia:<sup>4</sup>

##### Important lessons in upgrading for the Ntchaweni Settlement

In this section an attempt will be made to show how the needs of the residents of squatter settlements in Lusaka, Zambia were eventually met by a squatter upgrading programme. The reference to the case study is essential for the squatter settlement in Ntchaweni. When the Groutville Interim Committee forms into a truly democratic community structure to foster upgrading in the Groutville area on the 16 February 1992<sup>5</sup> at the Aldainville Community Hall, the case study will be of tremendous benefit.

However, while the histories of Ntchaweni (South Africa) and Lusaka (Zambia) may differ, an evaluation of the Lusaka experience will be important to the new Interim Committee as the problems manifested in Ntchaweni are also common in the Zambian experience. Squatter settlements in Lusaka were deliberately started as in Ntchaweni, by landowners cashing in on the shortage of housing, permitting people to build on their land for a monthly or annual rent. Lusaka's squatter settlements

do not and have never been the conventional stereotype of shacks made from cardboard, plastic sheeting and beaten out oil drums. A parallel could be drawn here with the Ntchaweni squatter settlement in which squatter dwellings range from cheap, but well built, sun dried mud brick and bamboo houses or mud plastered houses. However, the most interesting and important aspect of the development of the Lusaka squatter settlement was the way in which the residents mobilised themselves to run the community and improve the environment. Without any outside aid, they built markets, improved roads and developed systems of town planning, crime prevention and social security. The lesson for Ntchaweni as to how this was achieved is very important: this was possible as the ruling Party leaders in Lusaka were playing more of a development role than a political one, which stood the Party in good stead with the squatters.

On one hand as with common experience in South Africa and elsewhere in the world, squatter settlements were opposed by anti-squatter lobbyists viz. by officials and the press as 'eye sores', and resident squatters labelled as criminals and layabouts who sponged off society. In a radio interview with the Conservative Party representative on the 28 September 1991 on Capital PM, I raised a question through telephonic conversation as to the policy that the CP had in mind to upgrade squatter settlements. The vehement reply from the representative was that the Conservative Party regarded squatters as intruders on the urban landscape claiming that squatters should be removed and moved to their homelands where they rightfully belong.

Likewise, anti-squatter lobbyists in Lusaka always advocated demolition, removals and likewise,



repatriation to "his home over where he will have something useful to do if he is to survive at all" (Schlyter, 1991). In the late 1960's and early 1970's, Zambian government officers called "squatter controllers" (similar to the Black Jacks<sup>6</sup> of the Port Natal Administration Branch in Ntchaweni) undertook sporadic demolitions in a continuous campaign to prevent further building of shacks in Lusaka. Most residents simply refused to move to site and service plots, being unwilling to leave their friends and the convenience of their present locations. Indeed, it posed a double problem to the authorities. Firstly, the squatters resisted removals. Secondly, they also opposed the site and service schemes which had been conceived as an answer to the squatter problem.

On the other hand, as is experienced elsewhere in the world, there were pro-squatter lobbyists in the form of SAIL (Social Action In Lusaka) who campaigned in support of upgrading instead of removals. After surveys were conducted, the major findings were, first, that the residents did not want to move, and therefore it was essential to keep resettlement to a minimum; secondly, water and roads were the most highly ranked services that residents required and thirdly, residents wanted support in the upgrading of their communities. This information helped the project preparation team draw up its priorities for the programme. The parallel that could be drawn from the Lusaka experience is that the similar circumstances surround the upgrading issue in the Ntchaweni area. Therefore the analyses of Schlyter (1991) regarding twenty years of the upgrading experience in Lusaka project are deemed most essential for Ntchaweni so that while upgrading may seem theoretically sound, it is imperative to be informed of



such programmes that have succeeded overseas. The intervention of the World Bank was seen as one of the most important catalysts of upgrading. The intervention by the World Bank facilitated the adoption of a solution far more radical than would have been likely with the government and local authority mechanisms in Lusaka, because the World Bank has far less stringent rules attached to building requirements etc.<sup>7</sup>

The full description of the Lusaka project gives a good idea of what was intended:

- \* To give squatters security of tenure, piped water serving one standpipe per 25 houses, adequate access roads and security lighting and refuse removal services.
- \* To allow expansion of houses to a size which eliminates over-crowding.
- \* To acquire security of tenure of the private land on which squatters were located.
- \* In 1974, the capital cost of the work would have amounted to about \$150 per house rising up to \$260 for houses in rocky areas. Therefore, each resident was to have been offered a loan of \$150 for house improvement.
- \* Building material stores would be built to supply needs of residents, who may draw against the loan or pay in cash.

In the section below, an evaluation of the project is given by comparing what was intended and what was really

achieved. This evaluation is deemed highly necessary for the Ntchaweni squatter settlement because democratic structures have already been set up in this area after more than four decades of state repression. The Lusaka upgrading experience will provide the new Groutville People's Committee, the community of Ntchaweni and planners with valuable information regarding the feasibility of recognising upgrading as a realistic option in the study area. Although a symbiotic relationship was achieved between the implementation agency and the residents, and while water was provided and basic services installed, the Lusaka squatters also experienced a host of problems which should be highlighted, so that the Ntchaweni squatter community can glean from this experience.

- \* people failed to pay services for water and this was turned off.
- \* there was a lack of space for house expansion and gardening.
- \* there was the continued existence of landlords.
- \* there were delays in processing improvement loans.
- \* there was no ambulance service and poor police service.
- \* the rising cost of food increased much faster than incomes so that residents found it hard to spare any money at all for housing.

According to Martin (1982: 272); the implementation of the upgrading process in Lusaka could have been improved

in the following ways:- more flexibility, less bureaucracy, greater care in discussions with the residents to help them see the full significance of the choices open to them. According to an article published by the Urban Foundation in the Western Cape (1989), the upgrading of squatter settlements in Lusaka had the following shortcomings. The development approach limited community participation only to the following:

- (1) populations of squatter settlements were involved in consultation on the planning of certain physical components of upgrading.
- (2) Through the Party organisation, there was participation in decision making on some administrative procedures.
- (3) community structures and organisations were not established around the upgrading issues, since this would have been seen as a threat to the existing political organisation ie. the UNIP (United National Independent Party).
- (4) There would be no shortcuts in the process of informing the participants or their representatives of the project and its intentions and implications of obtaining their support.

Therefore, the original upgrading plan in Lusaka of involving every individual in the upgrading process was too idealistic and difficult to attain.



#### 2.3.2.5 Passive Option

The existence of a passive option ie. to do nothing, is usually ignored. An example of this approach may be found in the People's Republic Of Zaire. According to Maasdorp (1977:8):

"in the capital city, Brazzaville, there is no large-scale public housing program and there is also no squatter demolition. Squatter households have been left to their own devices, according to a World Bank study, the results have been reasonably satisfactory."

In a passive option, squatters provide their own streets as well as dwellings. Given the added advantage of having plasterers, bricklayers who are unemployed, the standards of construction can be sufficiently high to ensure considerable durability.

#### 2.3.3 A Critical Overview of Upgrading Options

The four alternatives outlined above each have their own drawbacks which are outlined below:

##### 2.3.3.1 Upgrading of existing squatter dwellings

Squatters are reluctant to make any dwelling improvements unless they are confident that the government or the landowner does not intend to remove them. In the study area, although upgrading was outlined as a proposal that would not involve removals, many tenants were sceptical, arguing that even if they

do upgrade present dwellings, there is no guarantee that they would not be removed. In some cases tenants explained that once the landowner became 'jealous' of the tenant's 'new' dwelling, he would instruct the tenant to leave. The unwritten law of tenancy in a squatter settlement requires that when a tenant leaves the roof and walls must be left behind.

The key to upgrading as a viable option in the study area is to give squatters security of tenure. However, this seems a formidable task as most of the landowners indicated that they would in no way be prepared to sell their land as it had historical as well as sentimental value.

Therefore, the major obstacle to upgrading in the area relates to the granting of security of tenure.

The common understanding that land passed through generations of inheritance creates a strong sense of attachment on the part of the landowner could potentially divide the squatters from the tenants on the basis of class. This matter will be looked into by the newly elected Groutville Interim Committee, and is discussed in Section 4.3.2 (Chapter 4).

#### **2.3.3.2 Self-Help Sites/Provision Of Serviced Sites**

Ward (1982) makes the following criticisms of self-help schemes:

- (a) Self-help allows labour to be exploited twice over - first at work, second in the construction of the home.
- (b) That it maintains the status quo and retards

necessary structural change.

By this it is meant that the private sector does not necessarily involve itself in the provision of self-help sites. This can be illustrated by taking into account that building societies only grant a minimum loan of R30 000. This involves a monthly repayment of R580 for a thirty-year maturity period at an interest rate of 20,75%. The figures were given by BESG (article from LERC,1990) who claim that normally site and service schemes cost around R7500 and this amount was too low for the private sector to get involved in. Only the S.A. Perm Building Society has reduced it's minimum loan amount to R12 500. This involves monthly repayments of R226 over a period of thirty-years maturity at an interest rate of 20,75%. The bigger problem with the granting of loans is that only the S.A. Perm accepts a Loan Guarantee (government granted loan guarantee to first time home builders).

Therefore, while site and service schemes look like idealistic solutions to the housing problem, it maintains the state as the primary "delivery" agent for housing.

- (c) It underwrites low wages in so far as access to low cost shelter reduces the wage level required for subsistence.

Turner and Fichter (1972:203) criticise self-help; arguing:

"that self-help housing is too optimistic and far from offering a 'freedom to build'. It is the only



alternative the poor have and that its romanticism obscures the real suffering experienced and self help becomes a blue-print for it's continuance as governments adopt a laissez-faire policy; that it simply provides a short term 'breathing space', and presents no long term solution; and that it rationalises poverty."

According to Payne (1984) in the successful implementation of aided self help housing there must be:

- \* preparation of participants, as this scheme involves resettlement and removals. Even if removals are kept to a bare minimum, the question of who is to move must be democratically solved by the community members themselves.
- \* formation of working groups because the community has to facilitate the entire process and; there must be
- \* maintenance of the morale and productivity of the participants and working groups.

Causes for the failure of most organised aided self-help projects are inadequate preparation, failure to organise participants into cohesive working groups and the inability to maintain morale. However, all the interviewees expressed their suspicion at self-help scheme options as this will involve resettlement.

One of the most positive aspects of self-help sites is that if it revolves around mutual help, this scheme has

the scope to build up community relationships.

#### 2.3.3.3 Core Housing

Core-housing projects have generally been adopted in emergency situations such as earthquakes, where the problem is the immediate replacement of destroyed housing. This option should be seen as an intermediate step and as a means of moving existing housing programs from conventional high-cost approaches towards the upgrading/site and service approach rather than as a first-choice solution.

Core housing was widely used in housing schemes in the 1950's in South Africa, but did not enjoy any popularity presently.

#### 2.3.3.4 Public Housing

One of the main problems with regard to public housing in developing countries is that it requires substantial subsidisation in view of the low rent-paying capacity of the population. In addition public housing often fails to reach the people for whom it is intended. Even the cheapest new housing provided by governments is not affordable to low-income households in Third World countries.

According to Smit (1991) such schemes, therefore, exclude not only the poor but also many middle-income families. And, since there is also a housing shortage for the middle income group, it is this group which tends to take over public housing originally intended for lower-income households. Furthermore, drawing from the Stanger experience, where township housing complexes can be found in Morningside, Sunnypark, Panorama

(despite the "catchy" names) are plagued with socio-economic problems. There are high incidences of alcoholism and drug-addiction. Many newcomers who are originally from communal families in rural areas are alienated in these huge housing complexes, resulting in frustration and the breakdown of traditional family cohesion. The costs involved in buying or leasing township houses are high, costing around R30 000 - R40 000, with inflated bond repayments, which make this option beyond the reach of the low-income squatter (Refer to figure 2.2).

#### 2.4 An Overview of Removals - Qualifying the Upgrading Option

In order to qualify the upgrading of present structures as a realistic option for the study area, it is necessary and within the scope of this thesis to highlight the trauma and negative effects that any form of forced removal will have on the residents of Ntchaweni, especially the landless squatters. In this section attention is drawn to the impact of removals with reference to humanistic literature related to the lost 'worlds' of District Six, Sophiatown and Modderdam. Although the three areas represent only a fraction of areas that have been insensitively 'erased' by the apartheid state, their study qualifies that upgrading without resorting to the bulldozer, is a more humane option. Although the government has recently declared it's intentions to stop removals of squatters, the process of removals still continue. Recently, in South Africa, there is an increasing trend which rejects the antiquated notions that 'shantytowns' are the havens of unemployment, crime and disease. It is argued, rather that unemployment and disease are perpetrated by the





Fig. 2.2 THE GLENHILLS HOUSING COMPLEX IN LOT 14 - (STANGER)

state and its bureaucratic machinery. In order to understand squatter settlements better or in a more positive light - that is, as having contributed a type of solution to the housing backlog in South Africa - one has to understand that these informal settlements have:

(i) Provided housing which is often of a substantial quality. In the photograph labelled Figure 2.3 a dwelling is being extended in the Umoya area in the Ntchaweni squatter settlement.

(ii) Squatter settlements house a substantial number of people engaged in the wage sector, even including professionals. In the study area, many nurses and teachers live in shacks. The word 'removals' has a very serious meaning attached to it when the residents of Ntchaweni are asked to discuss it. It reminds squatters of:

- \* The manner in which they were removed with their little children, aged and sick - given no alternate accommodation.

- \* The friends, families and neighbours who have been lost forever, without trace through the dissecting effect of removals.

- \* The investments that were lost in the construction of dwellings which were vacated or brought down by the authorities.

These are a few of the facts which have placed the squatters of Ntchaweni in a spell of fear over the past twenty seven years. Forced removals still continue;

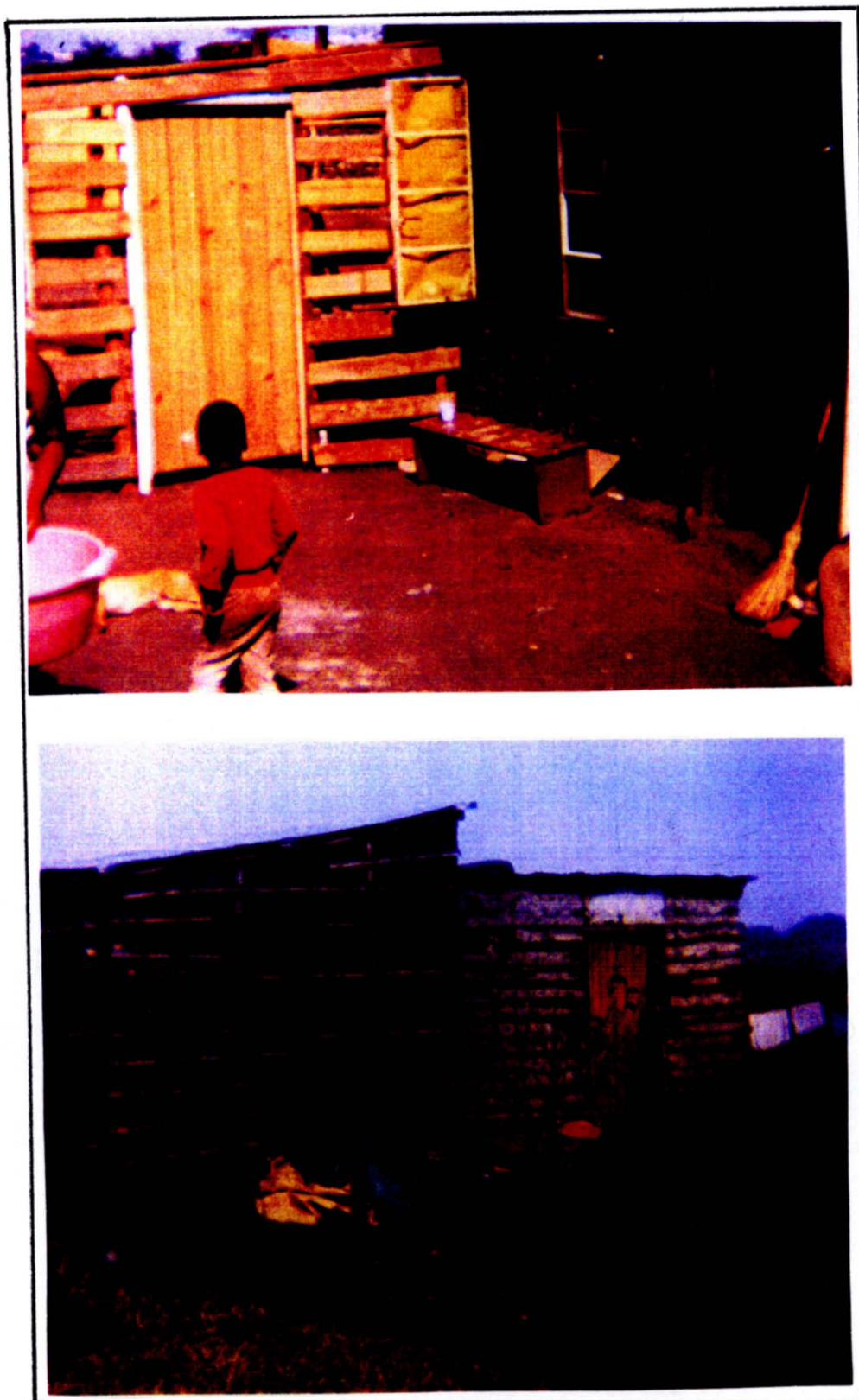


Figure 2.3 (Above and below)

Extension of dwellings in Umoya area.



but under different guises in South Africa. The removal of squatters forcibly is a common feature exposed in our newspapers. To understand removals, we need to examine an entire myriad of legislation that affects access to land.

The Illegal Squatting Act No 52 of 1951<sup>8</sup> basically outlines the use of removals as a viable option to the authorities. Although the state has softened its attitude toward squatter settlements, nothing concrete in the form of legislation has given the squatter security and permanence. In effect, the squatter still fears eviction, as long as state organs like the Department of Development Aid (DDA) are in charge of informal settlements. The Act outlines the "hopeless" predicament that squatters are placed in by virtue of the tremendous powers that have been vested in local authorities. According to Pienaar (1989) the name of the Act (current) is a misnomer and it would be more appropriate to refer to it as the "Emergency Land Control Act". Striking features of the Act are:

- the almost total reliance on criminal sanctions to enforce compliance with the Act;
- the substantial increase in penalties, especially under circumstances that these will not be paid by squatters who will inevitably face imprisonment.;
- the granting of unfettered summary powers which could be arbitrarily exercised by local authorities and ordinary land owners;
- compelling the Courts to order demolition and ejection over and above the imposition of a criminal conviction. On the one hand, while the state has made bold statements about its intentions to recognise squatter settlements as a part of the landscape, removals still continue. In the following section, I

have made note of the effects that removals have had on long-standing communities viz. Sophiatown, District Six and Modderdam. This brief study will highlight the trauma associated with removals and in essence emphasises the notion that squatters can improve their lot through an upgrading process, which minimises relocation. This in effect, supports the idea that squatter upgrading efforts must involve minimal removals.

#### 2.4.1 Sophiatown

Tom Lodge (1983:93), describes the destruction of Sophiatown as:

"Representative of a much wider social process, in which many old - established inner city African communities were uprooted and reconstructed under the supervision of the authorities".

According to Hart and Pirie (1984), in the course of these upheavals, old relationships and social networks were disrupted and sometimes destroyed. Informal settlements of the nature of Sophiatown were vibrant with their own unique ethos of private worlds and social networks that cross ethnic boundaries. Sophiatown was one of several places in the Transvaal where Africans succeeded in buying land before the prohibitive 1923 Urban Areas Act was passed. Sophiatown had a particularly emotional significance. It was an African place like Ntchaweni - the social fabric was rich, in a way that few other places were. Trevor Huddleston describes Sophiatown:

"Sophiatown. That beloved Sophiatown. As students, we used to refer to it proudly as the 'center of the metropolis' And who could dispute it? The most talented African men and women from all walks of life - in spite of the hardships they had to encounter - came from Sophiatown. The best musicians, scholars, educationists, singers, artists, doctors, lawyers, clergymen - Sophiatown had a richly heterodox population" (Source: Lodge, 1983:94).

However, the removal of Sophiatown signified a measure advocated by the apartheid state to remove a strong centre of African resistance. From a geographical perspective, Sophiatown, as a place meant more than a mere location. The residents displayed a strong sense of attachment. However, the state's violent policy of repressing Black working class communities destroyed a place of significance, a community who could not be measured in terms of the poor living environment. Beneath the dilapidated make-shift structures existed a world of mutual help and community. Given the opportunity to upgrade, Sophiatown would not have been relegated to pieces of poetry and literature in textbooks.

#### 2.4.2 Modderdam

On the 8 August, 1977, two bulldozers demolished Modderdam, a shantytown twelve miles east of Cape Town.



Silk (1981:152) explains:

"The BAAB officials marked Thursday with a show of benevolence. Twelve shacks which housed the sick and the new born were spared. Mr P.S. Pietersen heard the cries of two week old Sylvia Maganise; in a shack which was about to be pushed over. When he discovered the baby in her mother's arms, he grabbed the baby in his own arms and said:

"I cannot push a hut down that has somebody in it like this. God knows, it's an inhumane task; but I'm trying to make it as humane as possible."

As in the case of Modderdam, since 1960, more than 3,5 million people have been forcibly removed and resettled and millions have been forced to live in 'homelands'.

#### 2.4.3 District Six: Cape Town

In this section, a brief look is taken at the visuals that Cloete Breytenbach and Adams and Suttner (1970) have employed to re-create the spirit of life that symbolised the ethos of District Six. According to these humanists, "a raw, compelling and humorous world" has vanished. District Six was an old, run down area, largely owned by absentee landlords. To the official eye, it was a slum. Yet, it is in the nature of such places to teem with life; providing the observer with images and variety of colour, and the inhabitants with

sensations of human warmth and community that are emphasised by the closeness of their neighbours. Since the common denominator in District Six was poverty and hardship, materially speaking, the place was great and a comforting leveller (Refer to Figure 2.4). The distinctive voice of Hettie Adams (1988:80) echoes aloud, emphasising the trauma that is associated with removals. Removals have a 'severing' effect in that it 'cuts' the squatter off from the social networks (although small and disorganised) that support him.

"I can do nothing about it. Where can I go? Where can I take my children? Who will have us? What have we got?

The struggle of my life goes on and on, and I think. None of this would have happened if I still lived in District Six" (Adams, 1988:80).

Similarly, Ntchaweni has a social fabric, an ethos of its own, likened to no other place on earth. The Umoya's; the Amakaladini's; the Gugu's and Vasendawo's are places that mean the world to its inhabitants. Children play around, while women sit and chat around the common agenda of their state of suffering. There are midwives, clergymen, teachers, students, healers etc who are part of the community in Ntchaweni. Keeping this community intact with the minimum of disruptions through removals will maintain the sense of community and belonging that the inhabitants display (Refer to Figures 2.5 and 2.6). For example, in Ntchaweni the orphans are cared for by the community, so are the mentally retarded, the tuberculoses sufferers and the crippled. One of the most important observations I have



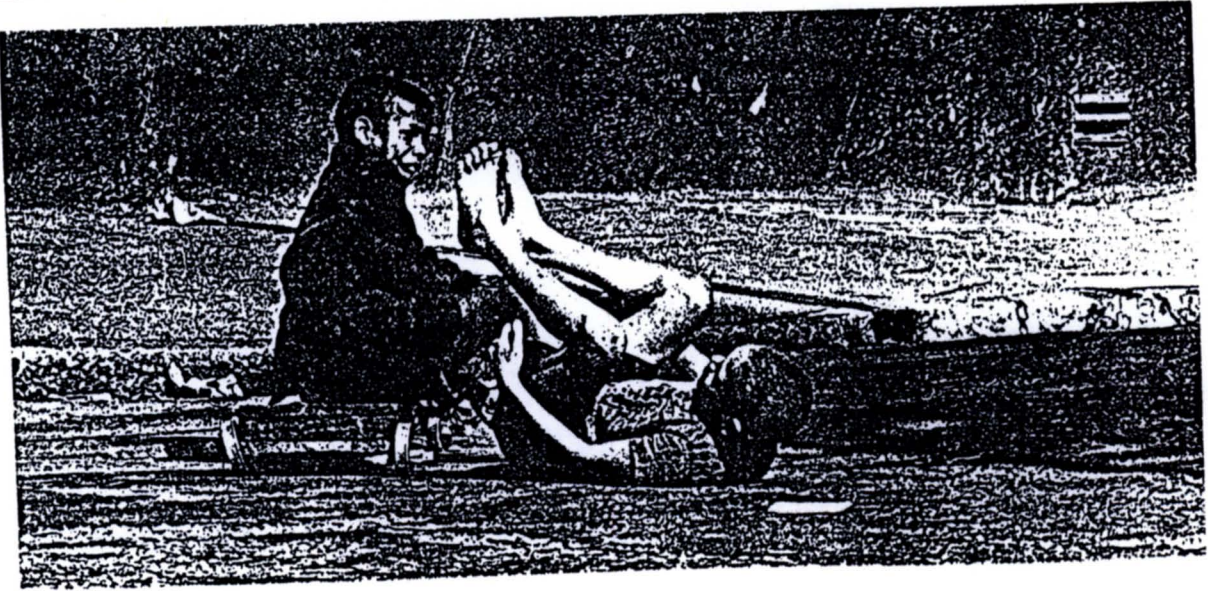


Fig. 2.4 (ABOVE AND BELOW) : DISTRICT SIX - " THE LOST WORLD "  
(SOURCE : CLOETE AND BREYTENBACH (1970))





Fig. 2.5 HOUSEWIVES CHAT AROUND COMMON ISSUES  
AT KWA - MPANZAS, WARD 5 (NTCHAWENI)



Fig. 2.6 CHILDREN IN THE "EXISTING WORLD" OF NTCHAWENI  
(A SQUATTER SETTLEMENT IN WARD 5)

made was during one of my field visits where I was shown a little child of about one year whose mother had been hospitalised due to tuberculosis. The immediate neighbours took great pride and pleasure in showing me how content the child was, because the community had provided a supportive system to the child. It is in this light that I emphasise that upgrading has to take into account the empowering of the community in Ntchaweni.

By removing people and resettling them elsewhere, the community which represents the floor beneath the squatters and which provides the life-support system will inevitably disappear, further exacerbating their living conditions. Despite the poor services provided, lack of water and so forth, the community of Ntchaweni has been able to eke out a living from the meagre resources available. A fear that faces the squatters when being interviewed was that while the government signalled the end of 'forced removals' in 1985; the state uses other measures viz. trespass, anti-squatting and health laws to replace the system of bulldozers and influx control. This was emphasised by the Principal of the local community school in the study area, who treated the DDA with suspicion, as this state department still regularly harrasses residents of Ntchaweni. Upgrading has to proceed beyond the horizons of improvement of physical features of the landscape like roads etc. Whilst water and sanitation are necessary in Ntchaweni, these must not be provided at the expense of severing community relationships.



## 2.5 Concluding Remarks

Finally, after having analysed the negative effects that removals have on long-standing communities like District Six and Sophiatown it is my view that removals must be minimised at all costs. A squatter in Ntchaweni remarked that removals have the following effect:

"If you take a fish out of the water and put it in the sun; it will die !"

In Chapter Three the historical development of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement is traced. This will help us to establish whether the option of upgrading is a realistic alternative for this area. This chapter provides a valuable insight into the factors that were responsible for the evolution of the Ntchaweni into its present size. This chapter provides scope for the qualitative methodology of oral history and for the first time, provides a reasonable background to any upgrading plans for the area.

ENDNOTES

1. Although the term "squatter" is used frequently in this study, political parties eg. the African National Congress would rather refer to squatters as the "poor working class" and these and other extra-parliamentary groups express vehemently that it is not the poor working class who are squatting, but it is actually the oppressive White regime who are "squatting" illegally by depriving the indigenous inhabitants a legal hold over their own land.
2. Smit, D.P. (October 1991) Third Winelands Conference: Key Issues in post-apartheid Housing policy.
3. Information from BESG: 10 November 1991.
4. Ann Schlyter (1991).
5. Appendix E.
6. These refer to the notorious, violent and oppressive black police force of the now defunct Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB) which was a part of the repressive DDA "machinery".
7. This is not generally the case. For more readings on the issue of the World Bank, refer to an article by M N Kyle, titled "The Ugly Sisters and Africa: The IMF and the World Bank. An Issue of Life or Debt", in Educational Journal, Volume LX II, No. 2, March 1992.
8. Kobus Pienaar, Legal Resources Centre: Port Elizabeth April 1989 : A Short Summary of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No 52 of 1951, as amended on 8 February 1989.
9. For example according to Basil van Horen, in situ upgrading at Bester's Camp has only caused one percent of removals; and this removal was negotiated with the community and those involved had consented to being removed.

### CHAPTER THREE

## 3. History of Ntchaweni

### 3.1 Introduction

While very little history pertaining to the Ntchaweni squatter settlement exists in the Local Museum in Stanger or in textbook writings, local oral sources have been useful in compiling this preliminary history<sup>1</sup>. The bulk of this thesis makes use of qualitative sources. Very few statistics have been used; indeed little quantitative information regarding the Ntchaweni squatter settlement exists as this area is relatively unresearched. The history of Ntchaweni assumptions, has been derived from verbal interviews with squatters, landowners in the study area, as well as interviews with the local businessmen in Stanger.

Any attempts to upgrade the Ntchaweni squatter settlement must take into account the history of the study area, within the broader context of the history of the Groutville area. Ntchaweni, which comprises a part of Ward 4 and Ward 5 of Groutville, is an area settled mainly by Africans in the Lower Tugela Magisterial District on the Natal North Coast. Very little formal township housing has been provided for Africans living in the area and this was one of the catalysts responsible for the mushrooming of informal settlements in the Ntchaweni area. Furthermore, Ntchaweni is only one of the informal settlements in the area. Close to Ntchaweni lie two other squatter settlements viz. Vasendawo and Nkukwini. (Refer to Figure 3.1 below and 1.1 in chapter one). The Ntchaweni squatter settlement is bordered on its southern boundary by Melville; its eastern boundary by the Gledhow area; its western boundary by the sugar estates of Indian farmers while Stanger forms the northern boundary. In this





**FIGURE 3.1: AREAS UNDER INTERVIEW IN NTCRAWENI (1991)**



chapter emphasis is placed on the evolution of the study area into its present state taking into account the political as well as social factors which helped to create this shantytown. Ntchaweni is an area that was classified as a 'black spot' for many years, and it was the policy of the state that such areas be removed. This policy has now been officially reversed thus necessitating a plan to formalise the area and direct its development.

Any history of Ntchaweni must be understood in relation to the historical evolution of the Groutville area, of which Ntchaweni is a part. Groutville comprises six wards, of which the study area forms wards 4 and 5. The six wards evolved out of a request by Reverend Allen Grout to the then government to appoint an induna to be in charge of his converts as the Chief. At that time, Chief Dube had not embraced Christianity. The Groutville Mission as it was known was subsequently divided into six wards in the early 1930's and each ward was represented by an elected induna who sat on a Mission Reserve Advisory Board. The induna was elected by the state, normally an African who would not be 'trouble' to the authorities.

Today Ntchaweni is ethnically diverse in composition comprising Zulus, Malawiaans, Zambians, Pondos, Shangaans, Tongas etc. According to the Surplus Peoples Project (1985:295) many of the present inhabitants of Ntchaweni used to live on Indian owned property near Stanger at a place known as Lot 14. When Lot 14 was cleared by the authorities and Indian landowners in 1968, squatters from the Lot 14 area (mainly Africans) moved to Ntchaweni, which is located nearby, to settle on freehold African land. The lack of sanitation and water poses serious health problems to this area and in 1981/82, there was a major outbreak of Cholera in the area.

In addition, Ntchaweni developed as a 'reception area' for the large scale movement of displaced people who came from as far afield as the Transvaal<sup>2</sup>. Ntchaweni became a venue for migrants to seek shelter from the late 1960's and early 1970's. The process of rural-urban migration still continues and migrants still stream into the study area to find shelter at affordable prices. When the local Principal of the Primary School was interviewed he explained:

"the trauma that these people have gone through has left a terrible pain by the authorities. The spontaneous reaction of squatters living in this area to any plans regarding upgrading is the fear of being physically removed."

### 3.2 The History of the Ntchaweni Squatter Settlement Within The Broader Historical Framework Of The Groutville Area

Groutville evolved as a missionary reserve through the efforts of Reverend Allen Grout - an American evangelist (refer to Figure 3.2). In 1856, 500 acres were demarcated for the missionary society and six to eight thousand acres were set aside as reserve land which was to be controlled by the Mission and State. This land could be alienated to individuals. According to the Surplus People's Project (1985) Groutville was finalised as a recognised African area in 1864,, and fell within the magisterial district of Lower Tugela. At the time of its inception, Groutville (9086 acres) was run by an American Board comprising mainly American missionaries.



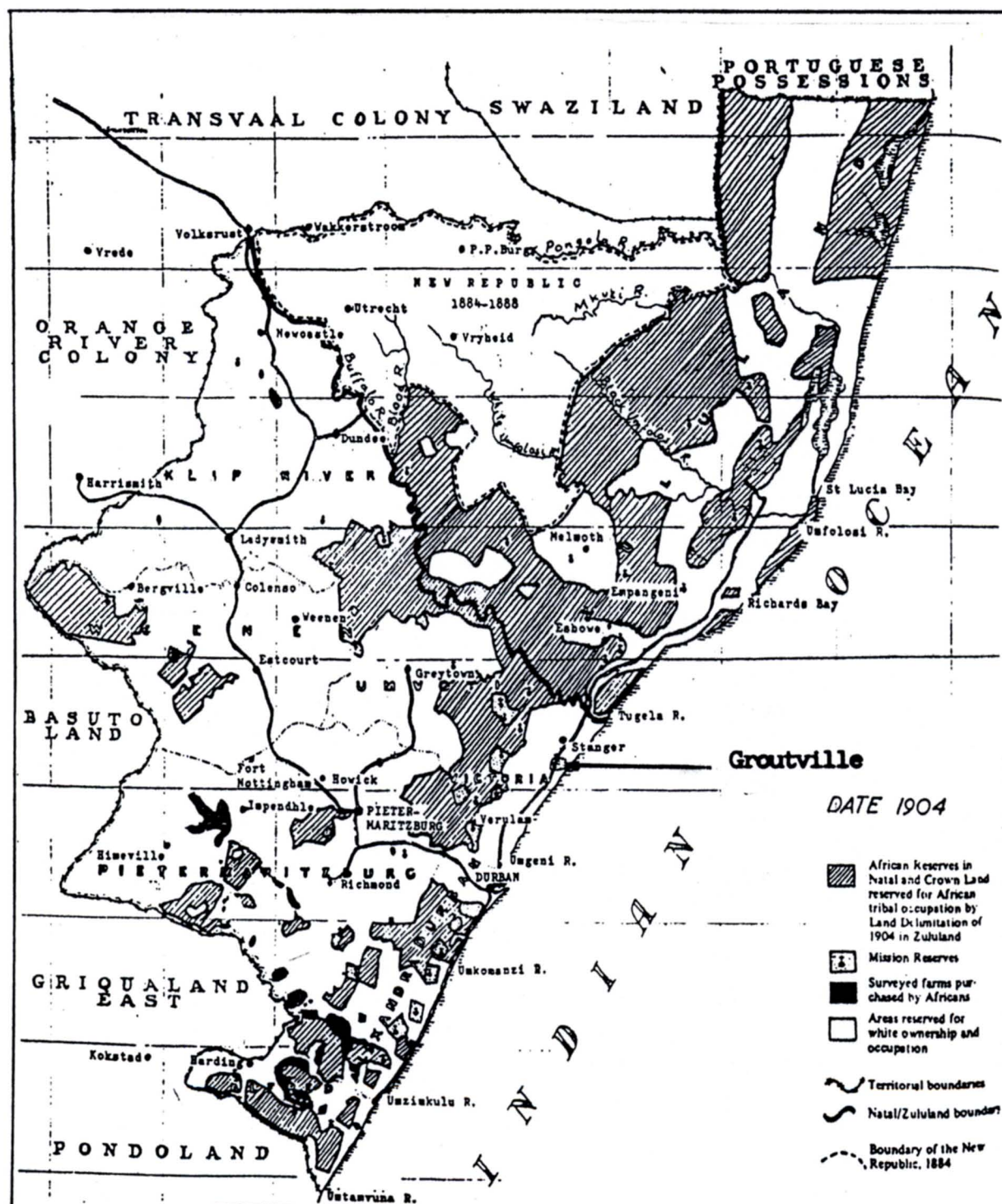


Fig. 3.2 AFRICAN RESERVES - COLONY OF NATAL AND ZULULAND. (1904)  
SOURCE: SURPLUS PEOPLES' PROJECT, VOL 4, 1983, PAGE 22

Within this area, a fairly prosperous Amakholwa (Christian converts) community emerged. While travelling through the area, substantial bungalows built in brick can be observed illustrating the presence of an elitist society. These buildings can be traced back to the 1940's and 1950's when the area was inhabited by successful sugar-cane farmers<sup>3</sup>. At Groutville according to local residents, the American missionary society tended to be in favour of individual land tenure because they argued that:

- \* it provided incentive for agricultural improvement.
- \* security of tenure was provided.
- \* tribal chiefly control was undermined and diminished.

In this way the missionary work of propagating Christianity among the local Africans was fostered. The missionaries favoured that the men should be gainfully occupied in earning an "honest" living through agricultural activity. This ensured that food was available for the Africans and missionaries. At the same time, by providing individual tenure, the missionaries were able to sieze control from the tribal chiefs who clung to their traditional Zulu values. Colonists in the 1890's put an end to individual land tenure and with the 1903 Mission Reserves Act, the state successfully brought Groutville under its control. By means of this Act the Natal Native Trust took over the administration of the Groutville Mission Reserve. Shula Marks in the SPP reports (1970, 77-78) quotes the aims of the Act as articulated by Leuchars, Minister for Native Affairs in 1903 as:

"to check and if possible stop a movement in the colony (Natal) amongst the Natives which was growing very quickly ... of



throwing off White control and achieving for itself and its supporters independence and self-government".

Explicit in this early historical account is the oppressive state which assumed control at every opportunity, when it felt that the upward class mobility of blacks was a threat to the racially restricted nature of the state.

According to oral historical accounts, much of the agricultural activity of this group was based on mission (non-tribal) land and crown-land (state owned land) or on white owned land. Land along the coast was more expensive than in the interior, accounting for the fewer owners of African freehold land in this area. By the 1890's no African was permitted to buy individual land in mission reserves and in 1903 crown land was also denied to the Africans. When Natal became part of the Union in 1910, acquisition of freehold land in the greater Grootvlei area and the rest of the province of Natal was checked. The present landowners in Ntshaweni who practise high density 'shack-farming' either inherited land, as was true for most of the landowners interviewed, or bought land from other African landowners (prior to the 1890's). Thus, the freehold land in the area acquired by Africans originated in the mid nineteenth century. During this time (mid nineteenth century) a small but vigorous and affluent Christian peasantry emerged and flourished, producing the first African landowners.

The children and grandchildren of this peasantry are presently landowners in the area. A title deed<sup>4</sup> search indicated that some title deed transfers date back to the 1860's. Some of the original title deeds of landowners in the area are lodged with a private firm of attorneys in



Stanger but, many landowners do not have formal documents indicating transfer of deeds. The most common extent of land among landowners is the 15 acre Grant transfer. This was land given to the original landowner by the Groutville Mission under the leadership of the Reverend Allen Grout. A unique characteristic of the study area in the contemporary period, then, is that squatting takes place almost exclusively on African freehold land, unlike other squatter settlements which are often illegally located on Municipal or State property. Squatters live on freehold land which is leased out to them at an average rate of between R40-60 per annum. Ninety four percent<sup>5</sup> of the householders (squatters) own their own dwellings but not the land on which it is erected. On the freehold land a new kind of landlord/tenant relationship has developed over the decades.

There does not seem to be a noticeable class difference between the landed and the landless judging from the types of houses and facilities that exist in the area. Both landed and landless face the same difficulties in the area. When the water tanks provided by the DDA run dry, both landlord and tenant must walk to the river to fetch water. Over the years the common denominator for both the classes has been a common enemy and a common cause against the perpetuation of their present state: and against the draconian laws of the apartheid state. Presently, the landowners and squatters are still "locked" in this battle.

By the mid 1960s probably about two thirds of the population on Black freehold farms in the Ntchaweni area were tenants and their families. Shack farming in place of the traditional crop farming began on a large scale as African landowners in Ntchaweni began taking on rent-paying tenants. The main reasons for landowners (originally farmers) resorting to shack 'farming' are briefly outlined below:

- (1) In lieu of producing agricultural goods for an elusive market, the landowner farmers were unable to compete on the local market against the large monopolies and companies eg Jex's; Stewarts, Bodasinghs etc.
- (2) The fragmentation of farms through ancestral inheritance reduced quotas of sugar cane beyond reasonable economical yields.
- (3) Growing pressure from populations on reserve land had driven more and more landless people into Ntchaweni. From a humanitarian point of view African landowners were obliged to 'open' their lands to tenants who could not find any place else to settle.
- (4) White farmers in the area began to remove previous African farmers who had leased little portions of land on these white farms. White farmers needed all of their land for commercial farming, to reduce the threat that was offered by African farmers who owned land in the Groutville area. This fact can be substantiated by Ettie Gumede, one of the oldest landowners still living in Ntchaweni. Sugar cane cultivation was the main agricultural activity in the area. Today, very little sugar cane cultivation is done in the study area due to the exorbitant capital costs incurred in the buying of seeds, fertilisers and the operating costs of transport etc.

Also evident in the above observation is the role played by the increasing capitalisation of agriculture, which favoured the white farmers in the area and effectively sidelined black farmers, who could not afford the costs of production that became an essential part of this capitalisation of farming.

The trends among White farmers in the area towards increasing mechanisation of agriculture reduced their African labour force and relied more on a small nucleus of permanent workers. Many farms in the area were consolidated to join companies eg the C.G. Smith Company. Thus the combined labour force on the White farms was streamlined. This contributed to White farmers wanting to increase agricultural /grazing land. This limited the land available to their workers for agricultural use. As a result, many people in the area were either forced out of white farms through retrenchment or were removed from white farms due to economic reasons of farmers needing their land for agricultural expansion.

With the decline in sugar cultivation, African landowners seized this opportunity and turned to "shack farming" thereby creating an avenue for the mass exodus of Africans onto their freehold lands in the Ntchaweni area.

### 3.3 Tenure in Ntchaweni

The area of Groutville can be divided into three categories of land tenure: (refer to land use map: Figure 3.3) viz. mission reserve land, SADT land or Freehold land. The study area of Ntchaweni comprises settlement entirely on freehold land. Freehold land within Groutville as a whole can be divided into:

#### (a) Residential freehold land

This category of freehold land is found mainly in Aldainville (refer to point A in Figure 3.3.) ie. south of the Umvoti River. This land category (A in Figure 3.3) dates back to the original settlement started in 1856.



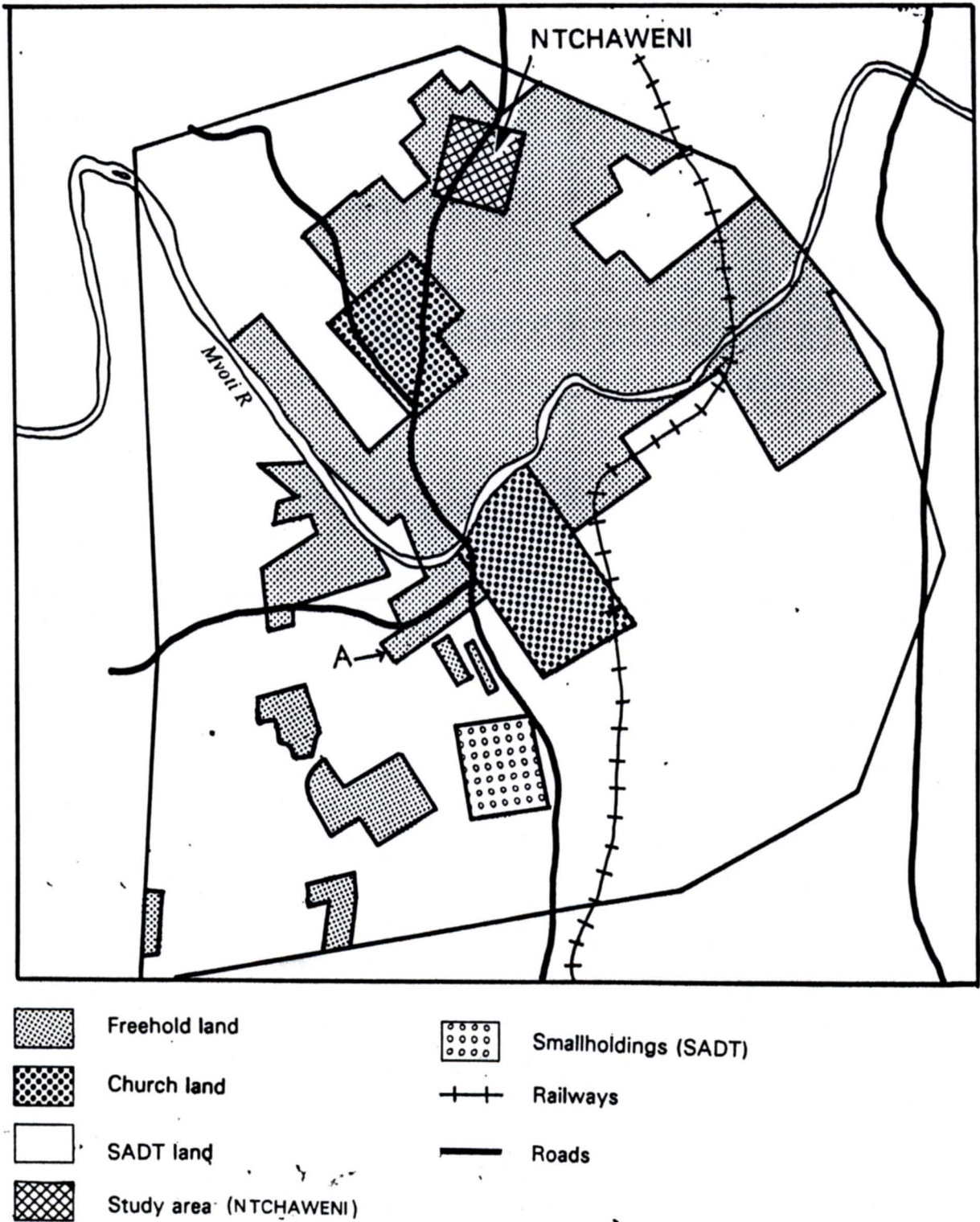


Fig. 3.3 LAND TENURE IN GROUTVILLE AND NTCHAWENI  
(SOURCE: GROUTVILLE STRUCTURE PLAN (1990)  
FIGURE 2)

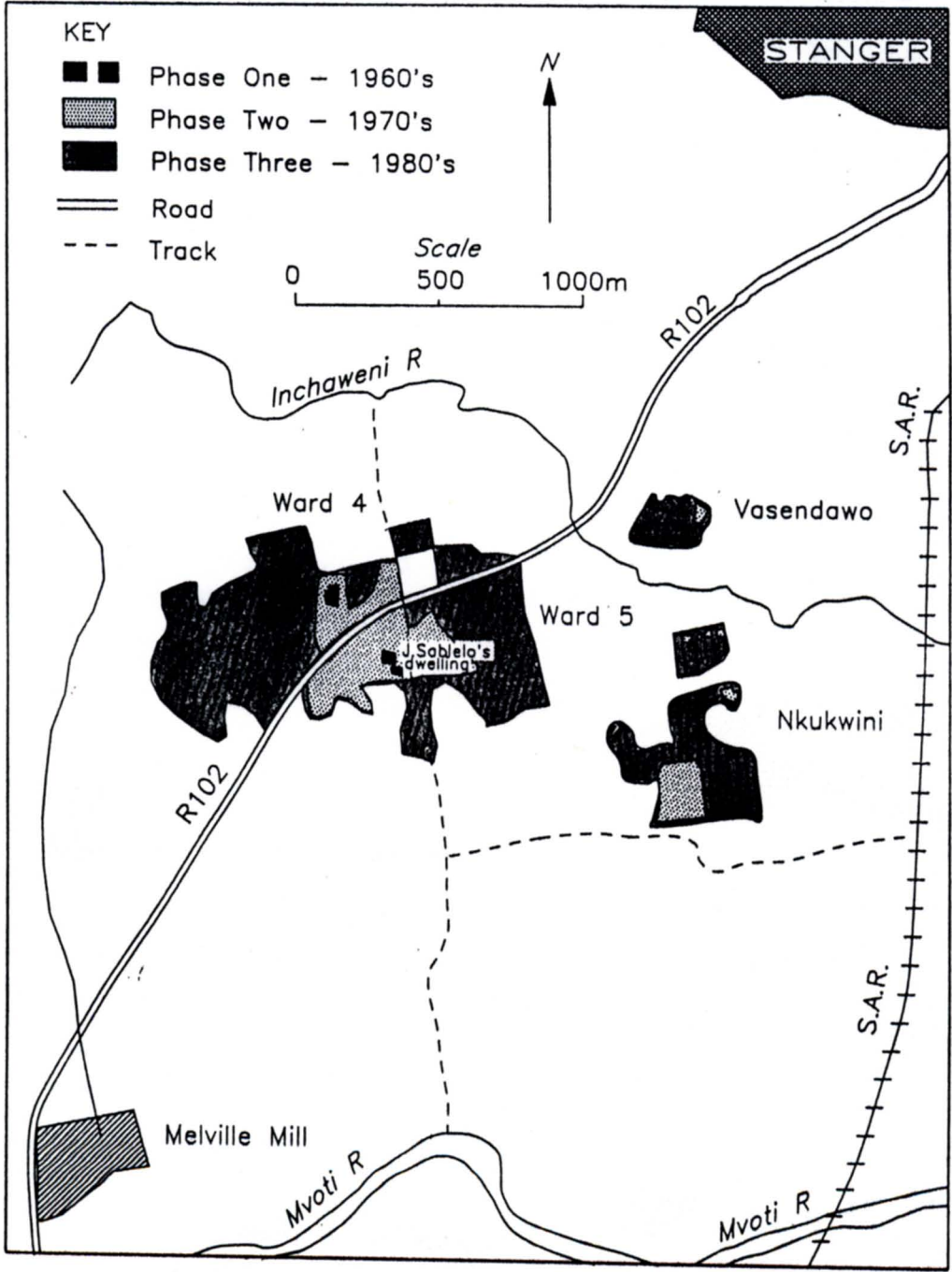
(b) Agricultural freehold land

This is the only category of land that exists in the Ntchaweni area. The average plot consists of about 15-20 acres (6,07 ha to 8,09 ha) which is mainly inhabited by squatters at present. The tenure within the squatter settlement of Ntchaweni is usually on the basis of an informal, verbal lease agreement conducted with the landowner or his representative. This type of lease agreement has no legal recognition or validity but is considered as socially binding to the extent that many tenants interviewed have been resident in Ntchaweni for up to twenty five years.

The predominant language spoken in the Ntchaweni area is Zulu. However, the two other squatter settlements within close proximity to Ntchaweni- Vasendawo and Nkukwini are occupied by Mpondo, Xhosa, Shangaan and Chichewa speakers. In addition, Malawians, Zambians and Tongas also live in Groutville.

**3.4 Factors Responsible for the Historical Development of Ntchaweni**

One of the main factors responsible for the development of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement close to Stanger, on African freehold land, was the access to employment in the town of Stanger and Ballito to a lesser extent. The simulated sketch map (Figure 3.4) should provide a brief but accurate account of the factors which influenced the development of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement. The map was constructed by using the aerial photographs of the Ntchaweni area for the years 1963, 1973 and 1989 respectively. The shaded areas on the immediate boundaries (this does not include Vasendawo and Nkukwini) of the R 102



**Fig. 3.4** TIME - SERIES EVOLUTION OF THE NTCHAWENI SQUATTER SETTLEMENT (1963 - 1989)  
**NOTE:** ON 1992 -04-20 VASENDAWO WAS DEMOLISHED LEAVING - 2000 people homeless

The area represented by



is Ntchaweni



represent Ntchaweni. It is clear from the map that Ntchaweni falls within Wards 4 and 5 of the greater area of Groutville. The map and the brief comments are an attempt to trace the historical development of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement into it's present state and to analyse the factors<sup>6</sup> that were responsible for it's areal expansion. The expansion of the study area is evident, when it grew from an area with a few 'shacks' in the early 1960's to a fully fledged squatter settlement in present times. The following factors can be outlined as being the most important in the historical development of the study area.

#### 3.4.1 Removals<sup>7</sup>

Many of the tenants in Ntchaweni have been the victims of removals elsewhere eg when the Group Area Act was enforced, many Africans who lived together with Indians in the Compensation, Umhlali stretch were forcibly removed. Having nowhere else to go, the Ntchaweni area seemed most suitable. Groutville has been in existence for one hundred and thirty six years (1855-1991). As such its people have derived a strong sense of identity. The threat of removal seems to have heightened this outlook and thus for the descendants of the original settlers in particular there is a high degree of cohesiveness in spite of the different interest groups that exist. The squatters who moved into this area were accepted as part of the community because the residents of Groutville had been fighting removals themselves. There is also a strong sense of unity between the squatters and landowners of the area in what can be termed a symbiotic relationship. It must be understood that it was the squatters themselves who have provided a valuable source of income to the landowners in view of the unfavourable agricultural climate. The common enemy of the state's repressive legislation regarding 'black spots' and the common goals of resisting removals at any cost

forged the two - squatters and original residents - into a common vicious circle of deprivation and subordination.

In an attempt to eradicate the problem of the shacks in Ntchaweni, the following periods of removals in history can be identified:

(a) Mid 1960's

In the mid 1960's plans to clear the squatter settlement for a proposed airport were put forward. The community responded by holding a church service to honour the minister who was the founder of the community. For reasons unclear to the community the plan was dropped.

(b) Early 1970's

In 1972, the community was again threatened with removals. A document was drawn up by the people expressing the fact that the area was occupied since 1855; that it had been agriculturally developed by the community; the fact that it was the burial site of Shaka resulted in the threat being dropped.

(c) Late 1970's

In 1979, (March), Dr Treurnicht announced that Groutville would have to be moved to Langespruit (approximately 55 kms away) near Mapumulo. The intervention of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi after a meeting with Dr Piet Koornhof resulted in the freezing of the removal.

Therefore, many Africans who were originally settled on SADT or crown lands, and who feared that they would be removed, moved to the Ntchaweni area, due to the fact that this area

appeared to offer the opportunity of more secure settlement on freehold land. The resultant numerical predominance of the squatter groups makes them an integral part of any upgrading proposals in the area.

#### **3.4.2 The establishment of the Stanger Pulp and Paper Mill**

The establishment of SPP<sup>8</sup>, now commonly known as SAPPI in 1976 caused a further mushrooming of squatter shacks in the study area (Refer to Figure 3.5).

SAPPI is the only heavy industry in the area and as such provided an important source of employment to Africans in the Ntchaweni area. The bagasse plant and pulp and paper processing is dependent on cheap unskilled labour, which was accessible from the nearby Ntchaweni squatter complex. Presently, many of the men who are squatting in Ntchaweni are employed by one employee ie. SAPPI (South African Pulp and Paper). According to the Groutville Structure Plan Report (1990); 25,6% of people from the Groutville area are employed in this category. Therefore, the pulp and paper processing mill at SAPPI can be regarded as an important cause<sup>9</sup> of the growth of the squatter settlement.

#### **3.4.3 Domestic Work for Females**<sup>10</sup>

An analysis of this factor, which contributed to the growth of the squatter settlement at Ntchaweni was largely facilitated by questioning female workers on their journey to work at the entrance to Stanger. The findings reveal that most of the females who were interviewed were employed as domestic labour in Stanger. However, a very small percentage work in the Ballito area. Stanger was chosen as an employment venue for most of the females so that they could return at the end of the day to their families in Ntchaweni. The journey to work from Ntchaweni to Stanger averages a



distance of approximately 2,5 kilometres on a single journey. The author has been a resident in Stanger for thirty-one years and whenever female domestic labour is required by households, this is commonly obtained from the Ntchaweni squatter area. In the 1970's the Indian townships in Stanger viz. High Ridge, Stanger Heights, Stanger Manor began developing at an accelerated rate. As a result of this, there was an increased demand for female domestic labour. Unmarried females from as far afield as Ulundi and Mapumulo moved in to live with relatives in Ntchaweni in order to seek work in Stanger. Ntchaweni proved to be an excellent reception area for rural-urban migrants due to its close proximity to Stanger. During the 1960's many maids<sup>11</sup> lived in make-shift dwellings erected on Indian private residential land in Stanger. However, with strict borough regulations in the early 1970's many of these dwellings were demolished, leaving maids no alternative but to seek shelter in Ntchaweni.

#### 3.4.4 Closure of the Melville Mill<sup>12</sup>

The closure of the Melville Mill (see Figure 3.4), south of Ntchaweni, in 1978 created further accommodation problems in the Groutville area. Both Indians and Africans had been housed in mill compounds and barracks in Melville. On closure, most of the Indians were removed and resettled in other parts of Natal viz. Dalton, Darnall and Sezela where alternate sources of employment in mills were to be found. The Africans in the area were forced to move out of their compounds and many of these workers found alternate accommodation on African owned freehold land in Ntchaweni. Africans who were displaced at the Melville Mill found employment in the C.G.Smith Gledhow Sugar Mill. However, housing was not provided as the company already had overcrowded compounds. This contributed to the increase in

squatting in the Ntchaweni area in the mid and late 1970's.

Upon retirement at the Gledhow Mill, retired African workers had to forego their accommodation. Retirement thus meant the loss of Mill housing provision. Therefore, this was another category of squatters who have been moving into the area. Due to the present state of increased political violence in the townships throughout the country, many affected people especially ANC supporters have sought refuge in Ntchaweni. Ntchaweni, according to Justice Mpanza, local leader of the ANC in Groutville, has a predominance of ANC members and therefore violence is at a minimum<sup>13</sup>.

#### 3.4.5 Rural-Urban Migration

This is one of the major reasons for the evolution of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement into its present size. The increase in rural-urban migration has created a situation where Ntchaweni is growing uncontrollably. Large scale unemployment, droughts and mechanisation of farms in rural areas has forced many rural dwellers out of their areas into Ntchaweni. Large scale unemployment and the growing economic dichotomy between urban and rural areas has exacerbated conditions in squatter areas. The trend in Ntchaweni is that the active male adult or female moves into the area first. After finding suitable employment in Stanger or Ballito the migrant spends about a year erecting a dwelling. Thereafter the family arrive at the reception area to unite with this employed member. There are no accurate numbers on this movement as no surveys have been carried out as yet in the Ntchaweni area.

According to the Principal<sup>14</sup> of the Local primary school, the peaceful situation in the area can also be attributed to the fact that families have moved in together forging family



relations which are often broken down in squatter settlements due to the separation of the migrant squatter from his/her family in the rural area. Another reason for the peaceful situation in the area is that there are very few shebeens in the area. While drinking does occur, it is not perceived to be a major problem as found in other squatter areas in South Africa, where the effects of the predominance of shebeens are explicit in the high level of crime in the area.

#### 3.4.6 Eviction From White Owned Farms

Eviction of Black workers and tenants from white-owned land on the farms surrounding Ntchaweni has been a feature of the growth of the increasing capitalisation of agriculture in Natal since white settlers acquired private titles of farms. According to Justice Mpanza<sup>15</sup>, the local leader of the ANC, over the last three decades, this process has intensified. As a result, hundreds of people have been driven off land on which they had been eking out a living for generations. Nonetheless, according to Surplus People's Project reports, it is a myth that informal settlements are made up largely of rural-urban migrants. Although a proportion of the population in this area are recent arrivals [less than five years], a large number have virtually lived there all their lives. This qualifies the argument that squatter settlements are not merely temporary reception areas, but in this case Ntchaweni has developed into a fully-fledged settlement. This confirms that the forces that were responsible for the development of this squatter area had started in the late 1950's, surfacing in the early 1960's when the first shacks were constructed in the study area.



### 3.5 First Squatter in Ntchaweni

Johannes Sabelo is a historical figure in Ntchaweni, as he was the first squatter to erect his shack in Ntchaweni (Refer to Figure 3.6). Johannes was born in 1919. According to the local inhabitants in the area, and his landowner, Ettie Gumede, he was the first squatter to erect his shack on her freehold land at Amakalidini, an area within Ntchaweni, to the East of the R102. Johannes, ill and partially paralysed with a stroke in the 1990's, moved into the area in 1964; after being a victim of removals in the Compensation area. He was a victim of the Group Areas Act and was not allowed to live next to an Indian in the Indian proclaimed area of Compensation. The interview with Johannes is of historical significance as it attaches a time factor to when squatting actually started in the Ntchaweni area. As very little is known of the study area's historical evolution, this information qualifies the first phase in the development of this squatter settlement.

According to Johannes, many other Africans who became victims of removals through the Group Areas Act along the North Coast, began moving into Ntchaweni in 1965. Johannes had the intentions of upgrading his shack, but due to a severe leg stroke, he was forced to retire from employment. He remembers very clearly that there were no squatters in Ntchaweni, but only landowners. However, he describes the condition of landowners as terrible in the 1960's because they could not harvest many crops (sugar cane) and the competition between the African farmers and the White farmers ended in the African farmer being the eventual loser. Johannes lives with his wife who was born in 1929 who often talks about the 'good old days' in Compensation and the friendship that existed between Africans and Indians before the passing of the Group Areas Act. Johannes recalls



**FIGURE 3.6: HISTORICAL FIGURE: JOHANNES SABELO (BORN 1919; DIED 1992)**  
 JOHANNES WAS THE FIRST PERSON TO ERECT HIS SHACK IN  
 NICHAWENI. AGE AT DEATH WAS 73 YEARS.



obtaining material for his shack construction from Mr Padayachee at Umhlali Saw Mills. The shack still consists of the original material ie. corrugated iron and tin (Refer to Figure 3.7).

Early in June 1992, Johannes Sabelo died of cardiac arrest in the local township of Shakaville while visiting one of his children.

### 3.6 Concluding Remarks

In summary then, the historical evolution of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement dates back to the early 1960s and has followed three distinctive phases:

PHASE ONE - 1960s: the Ntchaweni area was occupied by landowners who increasingly struggled to derive much revenue from sugar farming. The removals of Blacks from white farms and the effect of the application of the Group Areas Act in the Compensation-Umhlali area provided the impetus to landowners to 'open' their lands for squatter occupation.

PHASE TWO - 1970s: The opening of the SPP mill in Stanger became a centripetal force to rural adult males who were feeling the ravages of depression in the rural areas. This created an impetus for the Ntchaweni area to become a feasible reception area for accommodation to these migrants, as there was no formal provision of accommodation for Africans in the Stanger area. The closing of the Melville mill and its compounds made Ntchaweni attractive to squatters for accommodation.

PHASE THREE - 1980's: With an increased demand for female labour in the late 1970's and the creation of jobs at the Gledhow mill, Ntchaweni increased in size. A striking feature of this phase is the formation of two other squatter settlements within close proximity to Ntchaweni viz.



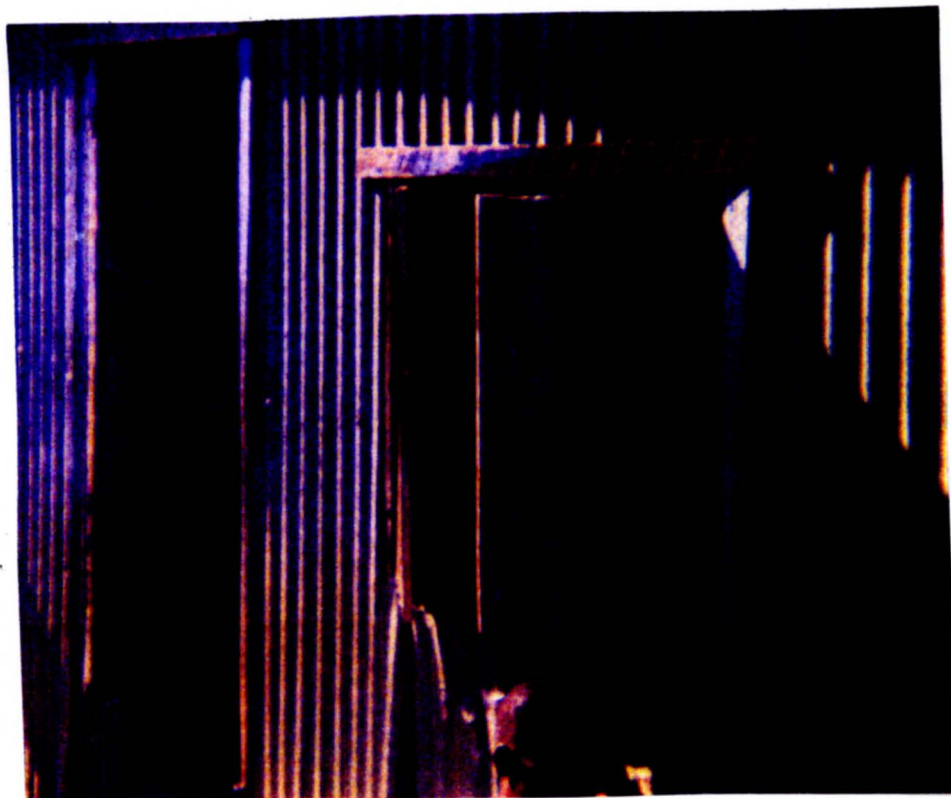


Fig. 3.7 THE ORIGINAL SHACK OF JOHANNES SABELO  
CONSISTING OF CORRUGATED IRON AND TIN

Vasendawo and Nkukwini.

The 1990's will possibly be characterised by the squatter settlement increasing in size and this could be regarded as the post-influx control phase. With an increase in political violence in the Natal townships and rural areas, the escalation of poverty in rural areas and the attractive feature of the scope for employment in the Isithebe-Umhlanga stretch, squatting will probably continue, even if proper housing accomodation is provided by capital and the state to meet the basic requirements of shelter provision and basic needs satisfaction of those presently resident in Ntchaweni.

This chapter has demonstrated that the Ntchaweni squatter area has a rich history, together with that of the greater Groutville area of which it constitutes a part. In the following chapter, the relationship between the squatters and their place of abode will be explored so as to reflect upon the policy options of upgrading present structures, or moving to new, better serviced sites. This people-place emphasis will in essence provide planners with information on the value of upgrading without destroying the freedom of control which the community is able to exercise over their local environment. The chapter will investigate whether a sense of place can be identified among Ntchaweni residents.

## ENDNOTES

1. Whilst information on the Groutville area is available, this is the first attempt at compiling a history of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement. It is hoped that this will be a challenge to others to continue with this investigation.

The Primary Health Care workers are: Millicent Mhlaba (Ward 4), Ashell Mfeka and Cecilia Sibiya (Ward 5).

The preliminary history of Ntchaweni was made possible through the co-operation of the following people:

- Justice Mpanza: Chairman of the African National Congress; Groutville Branch.
- G.H. Suleman: Close friend of the Late Albert Luthuli. Mr Suleman has up to date records on the entire life and times of the late Chief.
- Johannes Sabelo: First squatter in Ntchaweni.
- Ms Ettie Gumede: Oldest landowner in the area.
- Flomena Ngobo: oldest female squatter in the area.
- Mr Ngaba: Principal of Lloyd's Community School in Ntchaweni.

The remainder of the oral accounts were elicited from the squatters themselves during the fieldwork.

An important aspect of the historical investigation prompted me to write to the Department of Development Aid (DDA) on the 5 August 1991 seeking information regarding the history of the Ntchaweni area. After repeated requests and meetings with the local DDA representative in Stanger, this information was withheld from me.



2. Amos Nzimela, one of the squatters in Ward 4 came from Heidelberg (Transvaal) 16 years ago.
3. Paramount Chief Albert Luthuli (African National Congress) was the founder member of the first all African Groutville Sugar Farmer's Association. This was an influential body which existed in the 1950's. Coincidentally, the son of the Late Chief, named Edgar Luthuli owns Nondlevu Trading in the Groutville area, is a member of the Cane Grower's Association and is also an executive member of the Groutville Interim Committee.
4. Groutville Structure Plan (1990).
5. Desai (1985).
6. The simulated map is a combination of the 1963, 1973 and 1983 1:30 000 aerial photographs of the area. The latest photograph for the area is the 1983 one. Therefore, in the composite map, dwellings which have been since removed by the authorities may still appear.
7. Oral historical accounts of E.Gumede (landowner) and J.Sabelo (first squatter).
8. Mr Jones: Personnel Director of SAPPI provided ample evidence to suggest that the Mill was an important factor which contributed to the growth of Ntchaweni, as a source of employment.
9. People mainly moved into the area to find work at SAPPI, which is the only heavy industry in the area. Most of the light industries in Stanger have preferred to employ semi-skilled Indian labour.
10. Unstructured house to house interviews were conducted with domestic servants in the Oceanview and Stanger Manor areas.
11. Historical accounts of health workers as well as interviews with Sister Sibiya (Chief of Health in the Groutville area for CORD) and Ettie Gumede.
12. K.N. Govender: Principal of the Melville State-Aided School provided details.

13. During the fieldwork (from July to October in 1991) the Ntchaweni area was relatively calm. However, after some political problems in the area between the Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress, the area seems to be characterised by a tense and uneasy atmosphere.
14. Mr Ngaba: Lloyd's Community School.
15. Justice Mpanza was first interviewed on the 27.09.1991 and thereafter on an ongoing basis.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. An Objective and Subjective Analysis Of The People and Place in Ntchaweni

"What do we really do when we undertake a piece of research? First, there is no point in undertaking research at all, unless the topic, the general area of inquiry fascinates you. To do research simply because some requirement for an academic degree says you must is the most anti-intellectual and soul destroying things I can think of."

(Eyles, J, 1988 : 16)

In this chapter two areas of interest were investigated ie. an objective and subjective analysis of place. This investigation was carried out in relation to Canter's (1977) model of the Nature of Places. Therefore the activities and physical attributes (both objective areas of investigation) and the conceptions of the people who inhabit Ntchaweni (the subjective element of enquiry) are given much attention. This in essence, will facilitate an area of enquiry which has often been neglected by researchers who are pre-occupied by quantitative goals. This area is the **attachment that people have for place.**

#### 4.1 Some Methodological Comments

In this chapter the emphasis on a people-place<sup>1</sup> study of Ntchaweni is given prominence. Geographers can play an essential role in the upgrading of squatter settlements by



virtue of their pre-occupation with the concept of place. Therefore, by analysing the level of attachment or detachment that the squatters of Ntchaweni have for their place of residence, this chapter is pertinent to planners by providing them with a qualitative interpretation of what Ntchaweni means to the local inhabitants.

#### 4.1.1 Humanistic work

This chapter uses a humanistic<sup>2</sup> approach. Meanings which the people of Ntchaweni attach to their place, were investigated using the interpretative approach which involved obtaining meanings directly from the individuals concerned (this was obtained through the use of in-depth interviews), via verstehen (that is, obtained 'from within', empathetically); by attempts at pre-suppositionless observation (this involved the participant observation technique) and lastly involved the sympathetic reading of texts. Primarily, oral sources were used and these have been most important to my study. Contrary to normal planning procedures involving squatter upgrading which is mainly top-down, this study attempts to proceed beyond the horizons of quantitative investigation. There is a need to assess the beliefs and feelings of the creators of Ntchaweni, the squatter settlement. Therefore, the starting point of this investigation is to consider that the entire squatter settlement of Ntchaweni represents a landscape that is a repository of meanings which can be interpreted through a qualitative assessment of the experiences of the squatters and landowners who reside in the area.

The humanistic methodology which I have employed, surfaces in this chapter and it is for this reason that I must briefly substantiate the validity of humanistic work. Humanistic work does not deny the possibility of individuals sharing

behavioural environments, for the vast majority of people shape the worlds in which they live, in contact with, and as a consequence of their socialisation among others. Nor does it accept arguments that humanistic geography is 'merely' subjective: the methodology of humanism employed deals with the subjectivity of the squatters and landowners in Ntchaweni, but in an open and honest and objective manner. Further, it does not deny the possible use of quantitative measures to describe aspects of the shared behavioural environment. We have seen the latter in operation in Chapter Three, when the depiction of the evolution of the squatter settlement under study was undertaken using simulated maps. But the methodology used is not pre-occupied with theory, models, formal hypotheses and laws, all of which involve the imposition of categories and procedures determined by the observer rather than recovered from the observed. Whereas positivistic work involves analysis of society, therefore, humanistic work is analysis in society. Therefore the purpose of this chapter is to appreciate the meanings that underpin actions in the study area so that the latter might be understood. This thesis does not attempt to describe Ntchaweni from the outside, but rather it attempts to recover something of what it is like to be a part of this place.

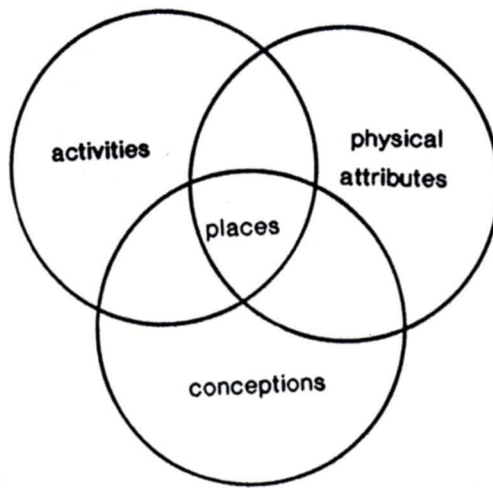
#### 4.1.2. Canter's Model of Place

As tourists<sup>3</sup>, we know places for their appeal and excellent climate; for planners places are the locations of activities, but for those who have been uprooted, places are former homes, lost neighbours, a new alien environment. While physical upgrading is necessary in Ntchaweni, an understanding of the perceptions of landowners and squatters of the place that they live in will identify the preferences<sup>4</sup> of the primary users of this squatter settlement concerning upgrading.



According to Canter (1977), places must be understood in relation to three sets of things: activities, physical attributes and conceptions (Figure 4.1). Most commonly, planners relegate places to the activities and physical attributes of the area. A squatter settlement like Ntchaweni, is recognised as a place by virtue of its poor physical conditions as well as the daily activities that squatters engage in, like for example fetching water; being ill with cholera; and getting involved in a host of other meaningful activities. However, the conceptions and general understandings/meanings that the squatters have for this place are neglected. In simple terms, planners tend to neglect the aspect of personal contact with squatters in their planning approaches and therefore plans of the nature of the Groutville Structure Plan become top-down and unacceptable to the inhabitants of the area planned for. Therefore, it is the aim of this chapter to identify the meaning of the place for the squatters and landowners, so that upgrading becomes a truly bottom-up ie. **social** as well as a **physical** exercise. Upgrading in this area must take place using the perceptions of the inhabitants themselves as a useful guideline. In essence, the point being emphasised is that if this "sense of place" is present then in situ upgrading is likely to be the preferred option of residents. Therefore this chapter deals with my perceptions of the perceptions of the squatters. This chapter aims to identify the three major constituents which as identified by Canter amalgamate to form the place of study: Ntchaweni. This indicates that a place is the result of relations between actions (activities), perceptions of people (conceptions) and the objective conditions (physical attributes) prevalent in the area.





**Fig. 4.1 A VISUAL METAPHOR FOR THE NATURE OF PLACES**  
**(SOURCE: CANTER, 1977: 158)**

At the outset of the field research, it was clear that conventional, sample survey techniques would have to be dropped and questionnaires severely modified if I was to collect any useful data. Access to the study area was made available only after months of negotiation with the squatters and tribal authorities<sup>5</sup>. The common feeling among squatters in the area is that their attempts to draw the attention of the state to their problems was just another "voice in the wilderness." The 'encounter' with the squatter community prompted me into 'action research'. After observing the poor conditions of the area, I brought this to the attention of the business community of Stanger, who began to give this once 'sidelined' community the attention it deserved. Community organisation for Research and Development (CORD) assisted me with the provision of three Primary Health Care workers who were familiar with Ntchaweni. (See Figure 4.2)<sup>6</sup>.

Initially, it was evident that the squatters were chary of strangers. The apparent reticence of squatters to communicate with strangers sprang from the fact that government departments like the DDA were attempting to eradicate squatting by removing squatters from the area. The national state had boldly claimed to embark on a programme to allow squatter settlements to continue to exist<sup>7</sup>. However, on the other hand, the people perceived that the state's refusal to provide the squatters with basic needs, services etc was a ploy to indirectly force squatters to move out of the area; not by physical means but by other indirect measures<sup>8</sup>. For the purposes of my research ie. to elicit an experiential analysis of the meanings that Ntchaweni has for the people who live there, the Ntchaweni area was divided into the following sub-areas. The sub-areas given below and shown in Figure 3.1 were derived from the local chief in charge of Ntchaweni, Chief Dube:



**Fig. 4.2 PRIMARY HEALTH CARE (PHC) WORKERS FROM CORD  
FROM LEFT: ASHELL: DOLLY (TEACHER AT CRECHE);  
MILLICENT AND CECILIA**



<u>NO</u>	<u>WARD</u>	<u>SUB-AREA</u>
1	4	Gugu's
2	4	Zungu's
3	4	Lloyd's Community School
4	5	Umoya
5	5	Mhlongo's
6	5	Ettie Gumede's
7	5	Amakaladini
8	5	Kwa Mpanza's
9	5	Four Bays

Ntchaweni, which falls within the district of Groutville, forms a part of Ward 4 and a portion of Ward 5 of the greater district of Groutville. Figure 3.1 shows the areas that were interviewed. The two other squatter settlements viz. Vasendawo and Nkukwini, do not fall under the area of Ntchaweni, and for this reason, no field research was conducted here. The sub areas were used in an effort to make the analysis more representative of people from different sections of Ntchaweni. This also ensured that that tenants and landowners were represented and that males and females were also interviewed.

The following procedures were employed:

- (i) In depth-interviews were conducted with a view to obtaining objective as well as subjective information. (refer to appendix C for a perusal of the questionnaire<sup>9</sup>)
- (ii) The PHC workers covered their wards more thoroughly by means of a questionnaire devised by CORD (Refer to Appendix D). The PHC workers reside in Ntchaweni and as

a part of their project, call on the squatters, covering different areas within their wards on a daily basis. This questionnaire enabled me to elicit more information about squatters mainly concerning their needs and health condition. The section of the questionnaire labelled Q.6: Isikhalo (needs) enabled me to get an idea of the general needs of the squatters.

The people who were interviewed by me (both landowners as well as squatters) are listed below in table 4.1.

In the sections to follow (4.2 and 4.3) objective conditions of Ntchaweni are analysed and subjective conditions (interviews etc) are outlined respectively. Both objective and subjective conditions are considered here to provide a better analysis of the place of study: Ntchaweni. Furthermore, tabulations of people's responses to questions concerning their needs are presented in Appendix G. The people interviewed are representative of the sub-areas within Wards 4 and 5 of Groutville, which in essence represents the study area of Ntchaweni.

TABLE 4.1: PERSONS INTERVIEWED (1991)

NO	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	NO OF YRS IN AREA
<u>WARD 4</u>					
1	Patrick Cele	18	M	pupil	18
2	Gugu Ngaba	36	F	l/owner*	36
3	Flomena Ngobo	73	F	squatter**	20
4	Mr Zungu	41	M	l/owner	41
5	Angeline Nzimande	54	F	squatter	23
6	Amos Nzimela	35	M	squatter	16
<u>WARD 5</u>					
7	Ettie Gumede	76	F	l/owner	53
8	Johannes Sabelo	72	M	squatter	27
9	Gloria Mhlongo	45	F	l/owner	45
10	Busisiwe Zulu	47	F	squatter	18
11	Jonah Ngcobo	32	M	squatter	02
12	Elizabeth King	86	F	l/owner	86
13	Nelisiwe Shongwe	52	F	squatter	12
14	Mgoduse Dhlamini	66	M	squatter	20
15	Michael Fakazi	48	M	l/owner	48
16	Patrick Dhlamini	31	M	s/tenant***	16
17	Gugu Hlomuka	30	M	s'tenant	05
18	Welcome Masuko	34	F	squatter	16
19	Robinson Khumalo	62	M	squatter	18
20	Agnes Buyisa	59	F	s/tenant	18
21	Richard Matheza	31	M	s/tenant	10
22	Samson Matheza	27	M	s/tenant	07
23	Julia Masinga	28	F	s/tenant	08



\*\* Squatters refer to owner squatters: these squatters own the shack, though not the land and have erected the shack on freehold land belonging to an African landowner.

\* L/owners refer to landowners who have turned to high density shack farming by renting their land out to squatters at an average of between R40 to R60 per annum.

\*\*\* S/tenant refer to squatter tenants who pay rent to squatters. A squatter tenant is a sub-tenant and as such, pays rent to another squatter and does not own or build the shack.

In addition to the people interviewed above, Robert Ndhlovu and Allison Ntombela, two school pupils at the local primary school were also interviewed. These two pupils feature in the latter part of this chapter where their artworks are exhibited.

#### 4.2 Ntchaweni, The Place

##### An Objective Overview of the Conditions In Ntchaweni

This section has been made possible through individual field trips to Ntchaweni as well as references to the Groutville Structure Plan (1990) and Desai, R S (1985). In the case of Ntchaweni, the complexity of the people and place is marked since the place; as location, condition, experience and meaning, is the ongoing, changing product of not just one or two but many unobservable factors. In this section an attempt is made to describe the conditions that prevail in

(To facilitate uninterrupted reading, Figures 4.3 to 4.20 appear at the end the this chapter)

Ntchaweni as objectively as possible, but proceeding beyond the stereotypes that are so familiar with respect to squatter settlements throughout the world, For example it is common knowledge that squatter settlements experience a dire shortage of water. However, through participant observation methods, it is possible to relate much more to this problem and analyse the other underlying problems that are concomitant with water shortages.

The study area of Ntchaweni lies south of Stanger, on land that has neither sea views nor cooling sea breezes. The area has always had a poor image amongst whites and Indians who reside in Stanger due to the area's shack development<sup>10</sup> and its concomitant problems. Very few Indians or Whites ever venture into the area, in fear that the area is largely predominated by criminals. However, quite contrary to the belief that Ntchaweni, as a squatter settlement is a haven for crime and poverty, the occupants regard it as home, the centre of their own world. There are no services; poor sanitation; pathetic infrastructure and very low incomes. Desai (1985:29-35) presents the following information regarding the conditions in the area:

"Wages are very low. A large proportion of the sample population (65%), earn between R50 and R400 per month<sup>11</sup>.

School facilities are almost non-existent. Only one primary school is found in the area. Shops are scarce, with only one general dealer in the area. Water has to be collected from the Melville River, 2 kms south of Ntchaweni. A close look at Ntchaweni reveals

underdevelopment. The public transport is inadequate and 76% or more of those employed in Stanger, walk to Stanger each day, a single trip being 2 kilometres."

Living conditions in the area are comparable with the lowest standards in South Africa. There is no formal drainage in the area, and no refuse service. The transport system is poor and many people walk to Stanger to work. I will explore a number of these points in more detail below.

#### 4.2.1 Physical Attributes 12

##### 4.2.1.1 Water

Most of the people interviewed (both in-depth and in the general survey) indicated that this commodity is most urgently needed (see Figure 4.3.). Spending some days with households, the following observations can be made with respect to water provision:

(i) Women, who traditionally bear the burden of fetching water in the area, use tanks (see Figure 4.4) that are filled by Department of Development Aid (DDA) or Kwazulu Government (ZG) tankers. These women have to wait lengthy periods for water. A 25 litre plastic container has to be left in a queue at about 3-4 am outside the tank.

An entire half-day is wasted waiting for a bucket of water to be filled. In Figure 4.5. (4.5.1 and 4.5.2) the women with their babies in arms were interviewed at around 9:15 (refer to 4.5.1) and when I returned at 12:15 they were still in the queue (refer to 4.5.2). I repeated this observation over a few days and the results were the same; ie. that women had



to wait long hours with their children for water. Sometimes, women reached the end of the queue only to discover that the tanks had run out of water. A tank holds about 2000 litres of water costing between R 22 - R23. Approximately eighty people could be serviced by one tank, netting the landowner on whose property the tank is located on, a hefty profit.<sup>13</sup> If the water ran out, the women would spend another two to three hours fetching water from the Umvoti River, the nearest point to the squatter settlement being 2,3 kilometres one way. Water is also obtained from the Gledhow Mill region. Here, water prices are exorbitant selling at an average of R1-50c for twenty five litres. In the Mpanza's sub area, the walk to Gledhow is compulsory (Refer to Figure 4.6) as the poor infrastructure does not facilitate the delivery of water to tanks by trucks. The daily routine of housewives in the area entails one half of the day being spent fetching water, the other half is spent washing clothes in the nearby Inchaweni River (Refer to Figure 4.7).

[The more well-off in Ntchaweni have a choice: a payment of R2-50c enables you to get someone to fetch your water and R3-00 gets your clothes washed. Many people in the squatter area thrive on these daily errands of fetching water and washing clothes for the ill, aged and women who are working in Stanger or Ballito during the day.] However, the unavailability of water in the Ntchaweni squatter district has far more serious repercussions than just physical hard labour.

[Busisiwe Zulu (see Figure 4.8) is an example of the hardships and side effects that the shortage of water has on the female community of Ntchaweni. Because Mrs Zulu suffers from high blood pressure and sugar diabetes, she relies upon the two eldest children of the four who appear on the photograph to fetch water for her. As a result of this, the

children, Xolani (9 years) and Senzo (6 years) are unable to attend school. In addition, the lack of water creates many unwanted diseases eg scabies. In Figure 4.9 the little girl named Thilisile suffers from a common rash ailment caused by the lack of water. Documented evidence at the Stanger Provincial Hospital indicates that there was a serious outbreak of cholera in the Ntchaweni area in 1981/1982, claiming the lives of many little children. Women cannot seek permanent employment in Stanger due to the heavy burden placed on them by the need to acquire water. People who work in Stanger commonly complain that when they return home from work, they do not have water for use as the tanks have been emptied. A common observation by the CORD PHC workers was that the frustration and stress created by the lack of water was the primary cause of the high incidence of high blood pressure. In many studies related to squatter settlements, reference is often made to the shortage of water, but the extensive inconvenience and suffering caused by the lack of this life-giving commodity is frequently underestimated. Presently, the Umgeni Water Board is negotiating with the Groutville Interim Committee towards the provision of piped water to the squatter settlement and on the 2 October 1991, on site tender applications were invited for the construction of a three megalitre reservoir. On the evening of the 21 November 1991, the Groutville Interim Committee and the Umgeni Water Board met to discuss the water issue.

#### 4.2.1.2. Sanitation

There is no water reticulation system at present in Groutville. The residents obtain their water from springs or rivers as well as the public and private water tanks in the area. Bore holes were provided through the generosity of a local businessman, but these have since dried up or the water is too brackish for consumption. As water from the other



sources is untreated, it plays an important role in the spread of diseases within Groutville. [The squatter settlement of Ntchaweni does not have a water borne sewerage system at present. Consequently, it does not have any sewage treatment facilities. The population presently makes use of pit latrines with no septic tanks. The facilities in the squatter settlement are extremely poor and sanitation is even non-existent in places, creating a severe health hazard.] (Refer to Figure 4.10.1, 4.10.2 and 4.10.3) The CORD PHC workers used the interviews as an opportunity to promote the idea of the construction of VIP toilets<sup>14</sup>. VIP toilets are toilets that are based on the pit latrine principle. There is a pipe leading out of the toilet roof and the pit is covered to reduce disease. However, the common complaint was that VIP toilets were not possible to construct due to financial constraints.

#### 4.2.1.3. Refuse Removal

At present, there is no refuse disposal site in the study area. Neither is there a formal refuse removal service. Most of the refuse is dumped on empty land. Observations reveal that pigs are kept in many areas to eat up refuse. The dangers of open refuse cannot be underestimated. Besides being a health hazard, open refuse pits are also dangerous to pedestrians especially in Ntchaweni where there are no street lights (Refer to Fig 4.11).

#### 4.2.1.4 Health/Transport<sup>15</sup>

There are no clinics or mobile clinics in Ntchaweni. All the inhabitants interviewed indicated that they use the hospital services at Stanger. The state ambulance service only responds to emergency calls at the main road. The common reason given for the ambulance not going into the squatter



settlement is that the infrastructure is poor. The baby Nompilo (12 months) in Figure 4.12 was born to her young mother, Nokuthula Mzimela (16 years) on the roadside. The mother in pre-natal labour had to be transported by wheelbarrow from Mpanza's to the roadside, where she gave birth. At present, an ambulance has been provided by CORD, which has been donated by the Kaiser family Foundation. The maintenance of the ambulance and financing of fuel cannot be indefinitely shouldered by CORD. However, CORD has set up a small private fund at the Stanger Hospital, so that emergency cases are not turned away due to lack of money. It is common sense that the state uses indirect means of removing squatters from areas like Ntchaweni, by depriving the squatters of their basic rights to enjoy an ambulance service. Roads are never upgraded so that state ambulances never service the squatter community. The only proper access that the people of Ntchaweni have to Stanger, the nearest town, is via the old main road. While the rest of Groutville is served by the N2; MR 49; R102; MR 533; MR 107 and D 393, Ntchaweni has a poor transport system. The main mode of transport from the area to the main road is by foot.

#### 4.2.1.5. Child Care

This is one of the most neglected areas for concern in the area. The only two creches in the area are the Masicathulisane Creche, established by CORD and Mrs Sibiya's Creche, which is privately owned and can be found at Chili's Place (Refer to Figure 4.13). Parents pay an amount ranging between R10-R20 per month to house their children at one of the creches. The creches are overcrowded and do not have proper desks or sleeping arrangements for children. The rest of the children who cannot afford to go to any of the creches are seen commonly loitering around the area without the supervision of adults.

#### 4.2.1.6. Education

Without resorting to a statistical count, many children between the ages of 6 and 18 do not attend school. One of the main reasons for this is that the local primary school at Lloyds is severely overcrowded, with an average of 70-80 children per class unit. However, the other factors which militate against children going to school and which are not so apparent are:

- \* Many children do not go to school because they are required to help their aged, ill parents to fetch water from tanks or the river (Refer to Figure 4.14).
- \* Many children remain at home and forego their education opportunities to look after their smaller brothers and sisters at home, while both parents are gone to work.

#### 4.2.1.7. Employment Opportunities

Many men in the area are finding it increasingly difficult to find suitable jobs. The reasons given for this are that there was retrenchment at the mill due to sanctions (production for export purposes of tissue paper was reduced drastically) and also retrenchment on white owned farms. The third factor contributing to large scale unemployment in Ntchaweni is that many males are unskilled and not qualified to take on the jobs that were available in the Stanger area. According to the Groutville Structure Plan (1990) reference is made to the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission's survey, in which the average household income in Groutville was calculated to be R180 a month. In 1981, the Bureau of Market Research set the minimum living wage at R 212 a month.

However, the Ntchaweni squatter settlement is characterised by much lower wage levels than the average household income of R180 a month for the entire region of Groutville. According to Desai (1985:35),:

"Wages are very low. A large proportion of the sample population (65%), earn between R50 and R400 per month."

In terms of Canter's model, having established salient aspects of both the physical attributes and the activities of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement, we will now consider the perceptions which these residents have of their place. Thus, in Canter's terms, Ntchaweni is the result of the relationships between physical attributes, actions and conceptions. And in terms of planning for upgrading, as we have argued, it is important to understand the conceptions that people have of the place where they have settled, in order to consider whether upgrading in situ is likely to be valued by the community.

#### 4.3 A Qualitative Overview of the Degree of Attachment of People to Place in Ntchaweni

##### 4.3.1. Approach and Method

As geographers we concern ourselves primarily with places<sup>16</sup> spatially (location in space); analytically (describing places) or temporally (giving the historical evolution or justification of spatial characteristics over time). The authors motivation in writing this section grew out of an increasing awareness that for upgrading to be successful in squatter areas, and for community participation to be forthcoming, there is a need to assess the relationship that



exists between people and place. According to Seamon and Mugerauer (1985:27) relationships to places need not be strong and positive; sometimes there is a strong affection (topophilia) for particular places; but this may be paralled by an aversion (topophobia) for places also. Belonging to a place, feeling part of it, gives many people a strong sense of security yet for others it may be oppressive and restrictive. A study of a cross section of the population of the squatter settlement of Ntchaweni will enable a realistic evaluation of whether the squatters are serious about bottom-up participation in the future. The sense of this study is to steer away from the older notions of place in which the geographer is distanced from the meanings of place experience.

According to Relph (1976:26):

"Although place is closely related to space and landscape, its experiential dimension is qualitatively different from that of landscape or space. Places are constructed in our memories and affections through repeated encounters and complex associations. Place experiences are necessarily time - deepened and, memory qualified. In geographical experience, a place is an origin; it is where one knows others and is known to others. It is where one comes from it and it is one's own. Today, our modern western world faces a paradoxical situation. At the height of our

technical mastery, we often find ourselves separated from both the earth and our own human being. After many centuries of building our earth, we meet the spectacle of the homeless and underprivileged."

To choose community participation as a realistic option towards upgrading the squatter settlement under study will be too idealistic, if the squatters themselves do not prioritize participation as being the most important part of their future goals towards alleviating the major problems in the area. Geographers and not only planners can play an important role in upgrading options by analysing qualitatively what attachment squatters have for their place. If community participation is to be a workable option, then squatters need to show a sense of belonging and attachment to their place. Therefore, geographers, by virtue of their pre-occupation with the central concept of place, can contribute to the betterment of squatter settlements by means of people-place studies. There is a predominance of emphasis by planners on the physical attributes that need attention in squatter settlements. Upgrading must take into account that it is people who are to live in these upgraded houses. "The home is a part of place and place is our second body<sup>17</sup>". People belong to place!

In this light, the pertinent question of attachment to place in Ntchaweni can be investigated<sup>18</sup> and posed as:

"Do people in Ntchaweni feel an attachment to the place where they live? Does this vary within the community and between landowners, tenants, squatters etc."

The qualitative method through which the attachment to Ntchaweni is analysed, deviates from top-down planning which runs the danger of overshooting the local, historically evolved potential of the community to plan for themselves. For the purposes of facilitating this qualitative investigation of the attachment of the Ntchaweni squatters to Ntchaweni, the following categories of members of the community were interviewed:

- (i) landowners
- (ii) long standing squatters (those living in the area for a period exceeding 15 years<sup>19</sup>.)
- (iii) recent squatters (those living in the area for a period less than 15 years)
- (iv) schoolchildren.

Besides analysing whether participation is a realistic option for the squatters, the people-place study in this section will facilitate the choice of upgrading options in the following two ways. Firstly, the investigation will analyse whether there is a need for a universal upgrading plan that caters for a community not differentiated on class lines. Secondly, if a distinct class structure exists between the landed and the landless, then the investigation will emphasise the need for a varied approach to upgrading as a realistic option for the classes.

#### 4.3.2. The People-Place Study

The people-place study in this section is given prominence as it prioritises the needs of the squatters and gives planners



an idea of what the perceptions of squatters are in relation to upgrading.

(a) An Overview of the Attachment for Place Shown by Land Owners

All six landowners who were interviewed represented the various sub-areas in Ntchaweni. Therefore, this thesis recognises their perceptions as being of vital importance in portraying a sense of attachment to place. A striking characteristic among all landowners is their extraordinarily strong attachment to place. All the landowners interviewed had inherited their land from fathers or grandparents and vehemently expressed their rejection of any plans to sell off their land to squatters. All the landowners who were interviewed (six of them) had lived here for the major part of their lives and as such represent the views of long-standing residents of Ntchaweni. Besides the historical and sentimental value attached to the place they owned, landowners expressed that:

- (i) the land brought back memories of their forefathers and there was symbolic attachment to the land which spiritually signified a part of their forefathers.
- (ii) the land that belonged to their forefathers was actually acquired through hardships that were endured by the original landowners, who represented the historical elite society in Groutville. The original landowners were the very first sugar-cane farmers in the area. They owned land, erected good homes and practised farming.
- (iii) With the repeal of the 1913 Land Act, landowners envisaged the escalation of land values.<sup>21</sup>

The strong attachment to place exhibited by landowners is certainly understandable and any attempts to "bulldoze" landowners into the granting of security of tenure to squatters without proper negotiation before squatters can upgrade in situ will be disastrous. However, despite their rejection of the suggestion to sell land to squatters, landowners had no objection to squatters upgrading their present structures and agreed in principle to negotiate a secure agreement between themselves and squatters to the effect that squatters will not be removed after upgrading.

However, members of the squatter community expressed suspicion explaining cases of squatters who were removed from freehold land by landowners themselves. Presently the homes of the landowners are not in a very good state. Most of the original homes are dilapidated and have deteriorated into 'run-down' shacks. However, there is the possibility that if upgrading is to be favoured, then landowners also have the option to upgrade their present dwellings. This could possibly raise the value of their homes. Generally, the landowners who are unpopular among squatters number very few. These landowners have a non-formal agreement with squatters to the effect that when a squatter leaves, the walls of the dwelling must be left behind, and only the roof can be removed. Probably, this stringent 'agreement' is a deterrent to squatters not to move, as this will cause loss of resources invested in the house. This step makes 'shack farming' a thriving business to profit-seeking landowners who can readily offer new sites to incoming squatters and in return charge a 'goodwill' amount for the structure present, which has been vacated by an outgoing squatter. Generally, though, landowners and squatters live in harmony and in many cases a symbiotic relationship occurs. With the exception of only one landowner<sup>22</sup> in Ward 4 (a female), squatters were



very content with their landowners. Firstly, squatters were thankful to the landowner for having provided land. Secondly, the price of land rental is comparatively cheaper than in other places. Thirdly, whenever a squatter cannot pay rent, the landowners do not evict squatters at will. For example, in the yard of Ettie Gumede, she has spent her personal savings in erecting a tank for squatters to have easy accessibility to water. Water is sold to the squatter tenants on her land at cost.

The specific landowner used for the purpose of investigating the attachment to place shown by landowners is Ettie Gumede. (See Figure 4.15). The main purpose for having chosen her is that she is one of the oldest landowners in the area. Her oral historical accounts were most valuable and informative. An open-hearted and warm personality, she was clearly interested in the subject matter of this thesis. In an interview with me, she had made a promise to donate her land to CORD or any other NGO as she has no children (she is unmarried) and no relatives to hand her land as inheritance to. Ettie Gumede is 76 years old and a spinster. She was born in Kearsney and moved into Ntchaweni in 1938. She inherited land in 1942 from her father and her title deed is lodged with Laurie C. Smith in Stanger. She shows great attachment to Ntchaweni, and to the cause of the squatters. Ettie is paralysed and houses many shacks on her land to support herself. A church is to be found in her yard, which she has leased to CORD for the running of the Masicathulisane Creche in Ward 5.

Ettie has no objections to squatters upgrading their present structures and has lobbied<sup>23</sup> in the past for the alleviation of the water, roads and sanitation problems in the area.



(b) An Overview of the Attachment to Place shown by Squatters

The three categories of squatters interviewed were tenants who lived in the area over a period of fifteen years; tenants who have lived in the area for less than fifteen years and lastly the category of sub-tenant squatters. This category of squatters refer to owner squatters, who are described by Abrams as a squatter who owns the shack, though not the land. This category of squatter has erected a shack on a vacant piece of land rented from a landowner on freehold African land. The figure of fifteen years was arrived at as a reasonable average of the minimum number of years required to differentiate between long-standing squatters and recent squatters. This in effect, will facilitate a comparison with long standing resident squatters and long-standing resident landowners.

(i) Long Standing Squatters

This category of squatters exhibit a strong sense of attachment to place. When interviewed, this category of squatters express contempt at any proposals to remove or resettlement them. Site and service schemes were rejected and the option of the upgrading of present structures was supported. These squatters and their families have spent a major part of their lives in the area and have found the place very favourable:

- (a) in relation to work opportunities in Stanger and Ballito. This aspect makes attachment<sup>24</sup> to Ntchaweni very strong.
- (b) The fact that most of this category live with their families in a closely-knit unit reinforces their attachment to place. Ntchaweni is home to the all the members of the family. Polygamy is not a major feature as male married men brought their wives along with them

from their 'homelands'.

- (c) This category of squatters have spent a sizeable proportion of their income constructing their dwellings which deviate from the conventional squatter dwelling stereo-types. This aspect negated the choice of site and service as a favourable choice because these squatters reveal a very strong psychological attachment to Ntchaweni. On the other hand, related to the pecuniary aspects, an estimation<sup>25</sup> of the average squatter dwelling reflected the following values:

roofing (timber and asbestos)	R 700
doors and window frames	R 400
floors (vinolay etc)	R 400
walls (tin, corrugated iron)	R 700
utensils, bedding, table etc	R 500

**Estimated Total**

**R 3 000**

- (d) Many squatters in the area such as Flomena Ngobo conduct informal businesses in the area. Flomena who is 73 years old, is a spiritual and herbal healer who specialises in child ailments. When she was interviewed, mothers from afar afield as Nongoma and Nyoni had brought their ailing children to her. Squatters like Flomena, who find a source of income in the squatter settlement show a sense of strong attachment to place as the area is synonymous with the generation of an income. Flomena also shows strong psychological attachment to place as she has lived here for a very long time and her age negates the idea of any movement even if was to a better serviced site.

(ii) More Recent Squatters

The 15 years distinction used in classifying squatters as long-standing and recent is made because firstly, if a squatter lived in Ntchaweni for over 15 years, he would probably have invested in the building of a dwelling. The 15 year 'cut-off' to differentiate between recent and long-standing squatters is derived from the squatters themselves who suggested that if a person had lived in Ntchaweni for less than 15 years, that would suggest that he/she is a recent squatter. In addition, one could, with time, hypothesise that a person's attachment to place becomes stronger. One would expect this category of squatters to show less attachment to place than long standing squatters. The reasons given by most suatters in the category of more recent squatters for their attachment to place was that the place is peaceful, these squatters have no place else to go to, and the annual rents ranging between R40 to R60 are reasonable. The location of Ntchaweni in relation to work opportunities was also given as a reason for their strong attachment to place.

From a perusal of the above two categories of squatters it can be reasonably explained that no clear distinction in the attachment to Ntchaweni is evident between the squatters and the landowners (besides the general standpoint of landowners on the question of security of tenure). Although there is a difference in status in this squatter settlement by virtue of who collects the rent; class differentiation, as a relation of production, and the point of origin for the central tensions of capitalist society, is conspicuously absent. Both landed and land less are locked in the same circle of deprivation and poor physical living conditions. The present conditions which have been perpetrated by the draconian state have been equally destructive to landowners and squatters,



forging the both together with the same common goals and problems. Just as Johannes Sabelo cannot live without the generosity of Ettie Gumede, Ettie Gumede by virtue of her physical incapacitation is dependent on her squatter tenants to fetch water and daily supplies for her. It is clear that no distinct class differentiation is present in Ntchaweni as the preferences and interests in upgrading are shared equally by the landed and landless. The strong attachment to place shown by landowners, longstanding as well as recent squatters alike indicates a commonality in the struggle for the improvement of living space. However, these squatters have all indicated that if security of tenure is granted to them by the landowners, they will need financial assistance to upgrade existing structures. The topophilia or positive aspects of their perceptions of Ntchaweni are:

This area is very peaceful. Although there are incidences of violence, this has been related to the ongoing mini-bus animosity between the Ntchaweni and Mapumulo mini-taxi owners. Political violence<sup>26</sup> is uncommon in this area. The ANC has a large following in this area, and until its unbanning in 1989, political leadership was a problem in the area. However, after the unbanning of the ANC, this political group has been able to establish hegemony<sup>27</sup> in the area. The leaders of the ANC in the area have placed the community before any political aspirations. One of the major reasons for the strong attachment to Ntchaweni is the fact that this area falls within the district of Groutville. It was in 1960 that Groutville became known worldwide, when Chief Albert Luthuli (a resident of Groutville) received the coveted Nobel Peace prize. It is within the framework of this proud history that the squatters of Ntchaweni and the landowners have forged a common ideology and lived side by side in harmony, while the other townships in the country were blazing in violence.

(iii) An Overview of the Attachment to Place shown by Squatter Tenants

Squatter tenants are squatters who pay rent to another squatter. This category of squatters in Ntchaweni do not own or build a shack and are found to be in the poorest class. There are two categories of squatter tenants in Ntchaweni: Firstly, there are squatter tenants who siphon off money to the homelands or their permanent homes where substantial amounts of money are spent on the building of homes. Usually these squatters do not bring their families with them and visit their "homelands" once a month. After this squatter retires he returns home to settle permanently. After being interviewed, this category of squatters display a distinct difference in their sense of attachment to place. While they view Ntchaweni as a favourable area in terms of being an accommodation area and reception venue for their economic exploits, the attachment to Ntchaweni is not so great as the other categories interviewed. When upgrading proposals are decided upon, this category of squatters will have to be carefully planned for. This category of squatters have no objections to the choice of site and service schemes being employed for them.

The second category of squatter tenant comprise permanent squatter tenants. These squatters express a strong attachment to place. Since many of these people too have been victims of removals elsewhere, they fear removals the most. Surprisingly, many of these squatters who were interviewed have lived in Ntchaweni for a very long time. Permanent squatter tenants who have lived in the Ntchaweni area for more than fifteen years express a strong attachment on the following grounds:



(a) To leave their homeland they had to pay large amounts to the tribal authority in the emigration area to allow them permission to leave.

(b) They also had to pay the local chief in Ntchaweni a sum of money to reside here. Usually, the common modus operandi for such a type of migration is that the tribal authority from the emigration area meets with the tribal authority in the immigration area. Once a compromise is agreed upon, migration is possible. This arrangement is still in operation in Ntchaweni.

In this sense, a strong attachment to Ntchaweni is understandable in view of the great physical and financial investment which the squatter tenant in this category has made in the area. However, after having explained site and service schemes to this category of squatters the option of site and service schemes was not rejected completely, but was looked at with suspicion, their having been the victims of removals elsewhere. The option of site and service schemes also seemed to interest this group because this group had no dwellings of their own built in Ntchaweni and the option interested them.

#### (iv) Refugee Squatter Tenants

A further category of squatter tenants which differs from the first two are the category of refugee squatter tenants. In Ntchaweni, one of the largest refugee squatter families are the Mathezas. The Mathezas are Thongas who are recent arrivals in Ntchaweni who have come from Thongaland (border of Natal and Mozambique) and have been living here for the last seven years. Refugee squatter tenants do show a great attachment to place, but are prepared to move to site and service schemes with an attached condition ie. they want to



become permanent citizens of South Africa. The provision of piped water by means of stand pipes and the availability of proper sanitation facilities seemed to interest this group when the issue of site and service schemes was discussed. One of the positive aspects that qualify this group to build their homes on site and service schemes is their social cohesiveness and their ability to keep their dwellings in a very good condition. Most of the refugee squatter tenants are in the construction trade while their wives eke out a living through subsistence farming of beans, cabbages, spinach etc.

(c) An Overview of Attachment To Place shown by School Children

This analysis was possible through the qualitative interpretation of the artwork<sup>28</sup> of primary school children from the Lloyd's Community School, which is the only school in the squatter settlement located in Ward 4 (Refer to Appendix D).

The category of schoolchildren was chosen out of an understanding that sometimes the perceptions of adults become tainted with a particular political ideology. This entrenched ideology and affiliation to a particular political party may 'mask' the true perceptions that may be necessary to investigate the necessary constituents in the betterment of squatter settlements. The 'innocence' in children makes their conceptions of place very different from those of adults who have been oppressed by the apartheid state into total subjugation so that ideals and goals are sometimes non-existent. Lastly, in most upgrading plans children may be relegated to an inferior position in assessing needs for the community. Commonly, it boils down to the misconception that 'wise old men' are good thinkers for the community. The artwork took the form of a competition open to all

schoolchildren in the school. Prizes were sponsored by a local businessman, adding a 'new' approach to research ie. through positive reinforcement research does not only entail the normal one way flow of information ie. from schoolchild to researcher. By presenting cash prizes after the assessment, I felt that this would yield much more beneficial results than the common routine verbal interview. The three winning artwork and accompanying essays on the attachment to Ntchaweni shown by children yielded interesting responses. The pupils were asked to write about both positive and negative aspects related to Ntchaweni in their first language ie Zulu<sup>29</sup> so that this elicited a perusal of perceptions without the problem of imposing a language barrier which would be the case if they had been asked to write in English.

(i) ALLISON THOMBELA (see Figure 4.17)

The exact essay of Allison translated in English appears below:

"Ntchaweni is not a good place because of so many things that take place. Firstly, there is no water, power and toilets. The place is dirty although the people cannot clean their houses.

The problem lies in the fact that there are no municipal trucks to dispose of the dirt. The very same dirt comes back into our homes.

Secondly, the rate of burglaries is high. Everyday you hear people complain that they broke into a house and stole something or the other. The death rate is also high among the youth. Most of them die with a disease like influenza and are also knocked down by cars since there is no crossing bridge or traffic humps that will enable cars to slow down.

It is not conducive to walk around at night because plenty of the youth have unlicensed guns. Ever night you can hear gun fire but they do not shoot anyone. Instead, they just want to show off to their friends that they own guns and fire in the air.

If this place has necessary facilities like squash courts, soccer fields then people will find life interesting in Ntchaweni."



(ii) PATRICK CELE (See Figure 4.18)

Patrick Cele's essay is translated below:

"Ntchaweni is a place on the western side of Stanger. Although the place is poorly developed, we enjoy staying here because the town is near and the transport to Stanger is cheaper than elsewhere.

The place is densely populated with the result that it supplies the town of Stanger with labour for the town and industries. It also supplies the local school with pupils from class 1 to standard 10.

In each class there are more than 64 pupils and Lloyd's is the only school of it's kind in a squatter settlement in South Africa. Our school, being in a squatter camp, lacks many facilities eg. there is no soccer field, tennis courts. The pupils only recognise the game of tennis when they see it on television.

The bad news that always strikes us at school every year is when more than five scholars get knocked by cars on the main road.

The local authorities are aware of this, but do nothing. They could at least build a crossing bridge or humps.

In this place, the houses are built from mud and corrugated iron. The houses are so close to each other that many people share the same yard.

Nevertheless, the residents enjoy this life because they are used to it. Even though they live like this, they pay rent twice a year. The major problem with this place is that there is not sufficient water. Although there are government tanks this does not satisfy our needs.

The tanks are dry on weekends and people have to walk to town for water. The second major problem is the condition of toilets. A person from the urban area will find life unbearable here. At night the mosquitoes trouble so much that people do not sleep properly.

If the local authorities can supply this place with water and proper sanitation, life will be good in Ntchaweni.

I think that even those who have left the place will want to come back.

Electricity is needed, but not so urgently as water and toilets."

(iii) ROBERT NDHLOVU (See Figure 4.19)

The perceptions of Robert Ndhlovu are translated below:

"Although Ntchaweni is bad because of the problems we encounter, we have to accept this because there is no place that we know which is better to live in, especially if you were born here, like me.

We find life easy here because the town is nearby and it is cheap to take a taxi from here to Stanger, when compared to other places.

Ntchaweni has many problems which the authorities must address. The first major problem is water. Although there are bore holes<sup>30</sup> in the area, this water is not fit for drinking because it is too salty.

Furthermore, in winter these bore holes run dry.

The second problem is related to sanitation. Thirdly, we are affected by mosquitoes. I am sure that the government can provide these services.

The roads inside the squatter settlement are very poor, and it is difficult to move inside. On a rainy day, there can be no movement inside the area. It is sad that when someone



is sick the ambulance is unable to fetch the sick, and the patient has to be carried to the main road, where the ambulance is parked.'

Hearses also cannot come to the home of the dead to pick up the body. People carry the coffin to the main road.

If these problems can be solved, Ntchaweni can be a better place to live in."

It is explicit from an analysis of the essays of the pupils that Ntchaweni, as a place means more than a mere location to the children. Attachment to the settlement is evident in the student's feeling that if water is provided, sanitation improved and roads provided, Ntchaweni will be a better place to live in. The impression which these essays create is clearly that physical improvements within the area would be most important to the community.

Upon the perusal of their 'dream houses', although the attempts were over ambitious, this indicates that the youth of Ntchaweni have aspirations and a strong psychological longing for positive change in the area. The death of friends on the notorious highway creates a serious threat to their attachment, and a strong outcry is for the installation of a crossing bridge. Incidentally, the controversial Groutville Structure Plan (1990) makes no reference to this problem but it is inundated with statistics related to demographic details. The analysis of the artwork and the essays of the schoolchildren enables some important observations to be made regarding a realistic option for the

upgrading of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement.

Firstly, while many perspectives from an adult point of view are egocentric, in which many aspects of the adult world go undifferentiated, children are able to identify the common problems that affect their sense of belonging to a place. In order to clarify the implications of this study and to see in which direction it points, the main argument here is that the types of physical interactions with his physical surroundings available to a person are different at different stages in the person's development.

It must be accepted at this stage that the schoolchildren interviewed have reached the stage of mental development when their conceptions of space can be recognised as being essential to the understanding of an attachment to place.

After schooling and choosing a career, the pupils may not even be around in the squatter settlement because other better options will be available to them than their present surroundings. However, the interviews elicited the response from all the schoolchildren interviewed that if the conditions in Ntchaweni had to improve, there was no reason to move.

The needs that rank high in the upgrading options among schoolchildren are water, sanitation, safer roads and better infrastructure. Planners and the Groutville Interim Committee must, it is hoped, develop an understanding of the perceptions of children as well as adults so that the realistic goal of making places more fitting for those who live in them is achieved. The physical experiences that children have had can be harmful to them in their later years. It is imperative that planners take the perceptions of children into account as seriously as they do of these adults.

#### 4.4. Concluding Remarks

##### 4.4.1. Policy Implications

Ntchaweni, as a place, means more than a location to its inhabitants. The objective conditions in the area can be ascribed to being a poor living environment. The greatest needs in this area are related to water, sanitation and the improvement of infrastructure. The most striking observation emanating from the interviews reveals that there is no great emphasis placed on the improvement of the physical attributes of dwellings. The upgrading of the existing dwellings of squatters does not rank high in the list of needs. The basic conclusion that can be drawn from this observation is that squatters have a totally different perception of their physical characteristics of their forms of shelter, and what may be an 'eyesore' to planners may actually be home to the squatter. However, the schoolboys differed somewhat in this regard by virtue of their hopes that there will be something done for Ntchaweni. Their drawings of 'dream houses' strongly reinforces a sense of need for a better physical structure to live in.

The participant approach used and the in-depth qualitative interviews draws our attention to the dichotomy that exists in upgrading planning. General planning approaches to the Ntchaweni squatter settlement could be directed (planning from above) or grassroots planning (planning from below). There are advantages and disadvantages to both approaches though the two can be integrated into official programmes to foster the betterment of the Ntchaweni area.

However, the people-place study undertaken facilitates the option of grass-roots planning as the squatters are best informed about their needs and problems. While official



planners are more knowledgeable about funding and methods of building construction, the failure of many upgrading approaches has been an overemphasis on physical attributes (dwelling) and a neglect of other social needs that should be included in upgrading policies.

#### 4.4.2. Attachment to Place

The qualitative element of my research; ie. the attachment of the squatters to Ntchaweni (people-place study) reveals the following:

Firstly, place experiences are time-deepened and memory qualified. In the case of longstanding squatters and landowners, a strong sense of attachment to place is revealed - reasons being either economic (access to employment) or social (community cohesiveness) in Ntchaweni.

Secondly, although place is closely related to space and landscape, the experiential dimension of squatters by virtue of their sense of belonging to Ntchaweni is qualitatively different from that of the physical landscape. Although the squatters express deep concern over their living conditions, they reject any notions of being removed, even if a new site was given for resettlement which is also close to a source of employment.

Thirdly, Ntchaweni, as a geographical experience, is an origin ie. it originated out of a need for shelter within close promximity to work opportunities. It is clearly evident that most squatters exhibit a strong sense of belonging to this place because the squatter settlement qualifies the conceptions of place ie. Ntchaweni is more than a location, it is a place where squatters identify with each other; it is a place where squatters know others and are

known to others; it is a place where squatters come from and this resonates with the notion of a strong sense of concern for the improvement in the quality of their place.

Fourthly, the attachment to place is strengthened as both the landed and landless are locked in the same vicious circle of poverty and poor living conditions. The leveling conditions in Ntchaweni, overshadow class differences between the landowners and squatters.

The fact that the squatters of Ntchaweni have the necessary strong attachment to their place, qualifies the argument that community participation must be seen not as an ideological panacea, but as a realistic option to ensure the development of the squatter settlement through the process of upgrading.

In Figure 4.20 two alternatives are given in the design process viz. protecting and enhancing the environment (upgrading the present dwellings) or designing new places (site and service schemes). From the research findings it must be understood that the former alternative was favoured by most of those interviewed. (Refer to Appendix G for tabular responses). It was also evident that the most important 'commodity' needed in Ntchaweni is water.

In the next chapter I attempt to investigate the current institutional and community problems with respect to organising upgrading in the Ntchaweni area. The chapter considers the politics of development in the area, the problems of community participation and the problems associated with state planning.



**Fig. 4.3 MRS ELIZABETH KING (86YEARS OLD)  
LANDOWNER IN AMAKALADINI. VERY ILL  
AND ILLNESS IS AGGRAVATED BY ACUTE  
SHORTAGE OF WATER**





Fig. 4.4 COMMON SIGHT OF WATER TANKS IN NTCHAWENI



Fig. 4.5.1 (AROUND 09:15) QUEUE OUTSIDE WATER TANK AT GUGU'S



Fig. 4.5.2 (AROUND 12:15) WOMEN STILL WAITING FOR WATER  
3 HOURS LATER GUGU'S



Fig. 4.6 QONDENI DUBE FETCHED WATER FROM GLEDHOW  
BECAUSE THE LOCAL TANKS HAD RUN DRY





Fig. 4.7 DAILY SCENE: WOMEN WASHING CLOTHES IN THE  
NTCHAWENI RIVER



**Fig. 4.8 BUSUSIWE ZULU: A SUGAR DIABETIC WITH HER CHILDREN**



**Fig. 4.9 SCABIES - COMMON OCCURENCE DUE TO LACK OF WATER**



FIGURE 4.10.1: TOILET CUM BATHROOM IN WARD 4



FIGURE 4.10.2: TOILET IN WARD 5 ( "CHILI'S PLACE")





Fig. 4.10.3 TOILET/BATHROOM IN AMAKALADINI



**Fig. 4.11 REFUSE IN WARD 5. THIS IS AN OLD TOILET - PIT COVERED WITH REFUSE . A BOY (AGE 6) DIED HERE BY FALLING INTO THIS PIT (ABOVE)**



Fig. 4.12 MOTHER (NOKUTHULA MZIMELA) AND CHILD AT MPANZA'S





Fig. 4.13 MORE THAN 80 CHILDREN CROWD THE LITTLE CHURCH AT ETTIE GUMEDES. THIS IS THE MASICOTHULISANE CRECHE RUN BY DOLLY MTHEMBU



Fig. 4.14 CHILDREN NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL (FETCHING WATER)

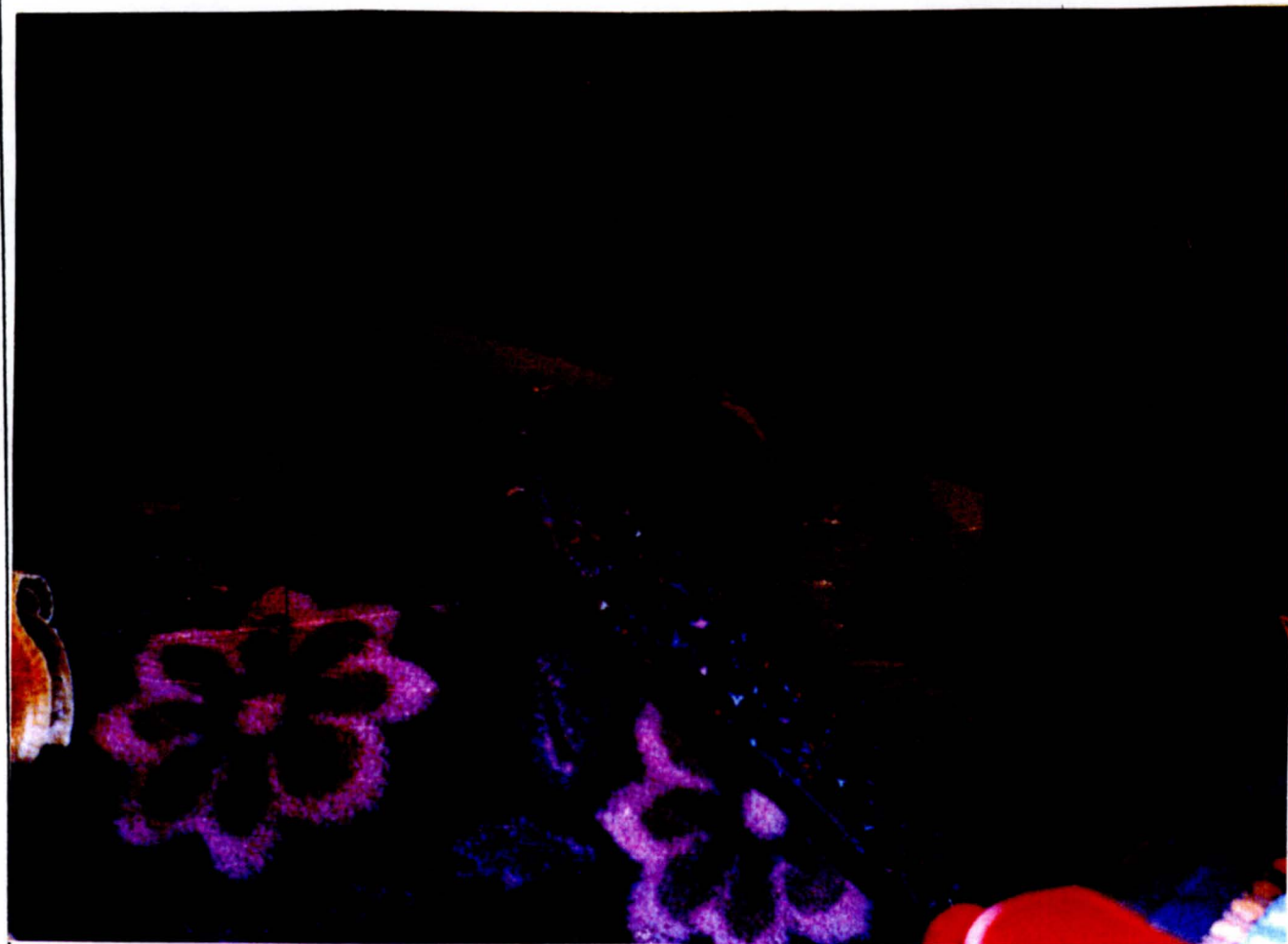


FIGURE 4.15: ETTIE GUMEDE

Ettie Gumedde is one of the oldest landowners in Ntchaweni. Presently, she is paralysed and confined to her bed in Amakaladini (Ward 5)



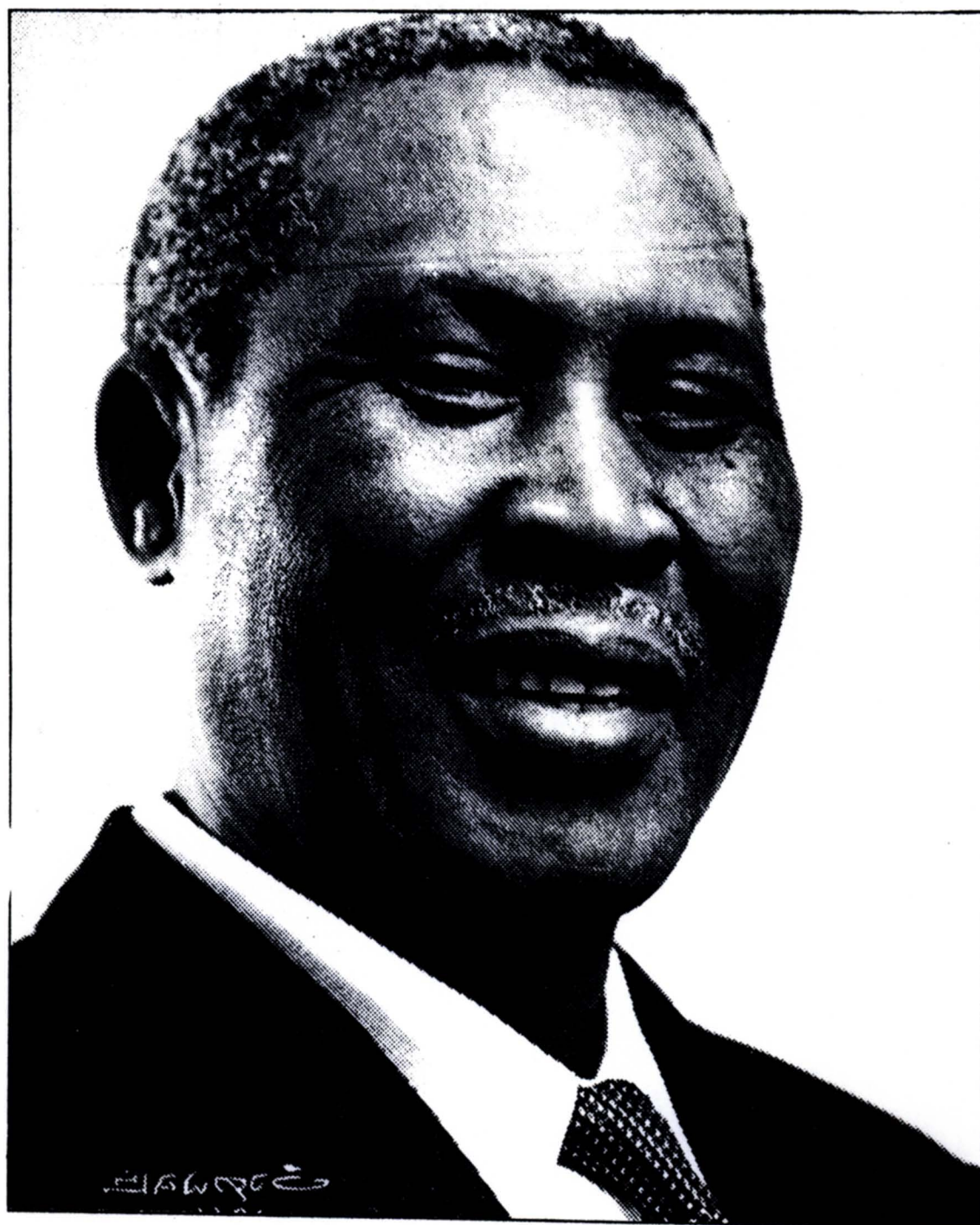


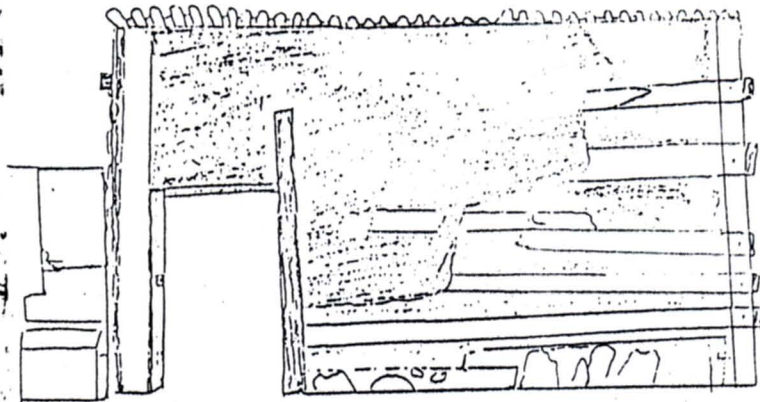
FIGURE 4.16: CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI.

One of the founder members of the ANC. A hostel at the University of Natal (Durban) is named in his memory.

ALLISON NTOMBELA Std 3'A'



Existing House



Dream House

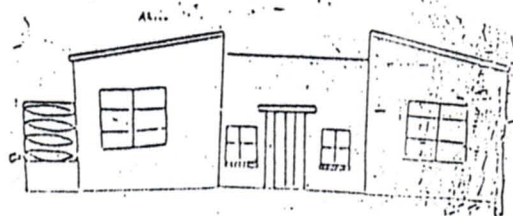


Fig. 4.17 ALLISON THOMBELA

PATRICK CELE Std 5'A'



Existing House



Dream House

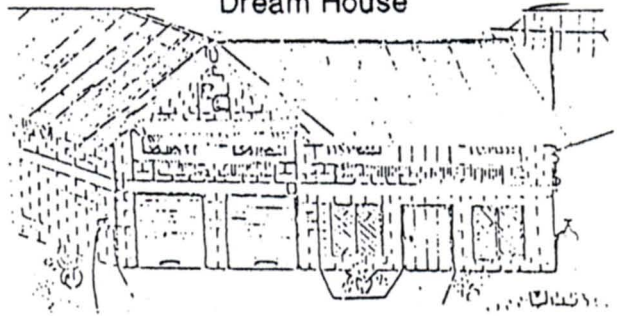


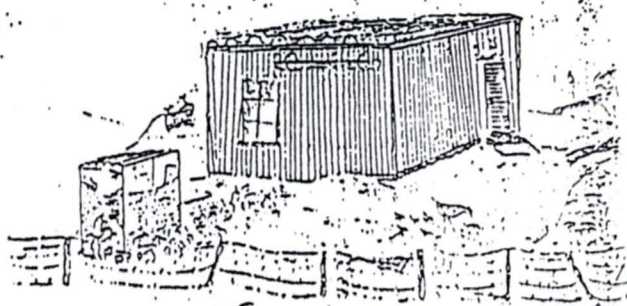
Fig. 4.18 PATRICK CELE



ROBERT NDHLOVU Std 4B



Existing house



Dream House

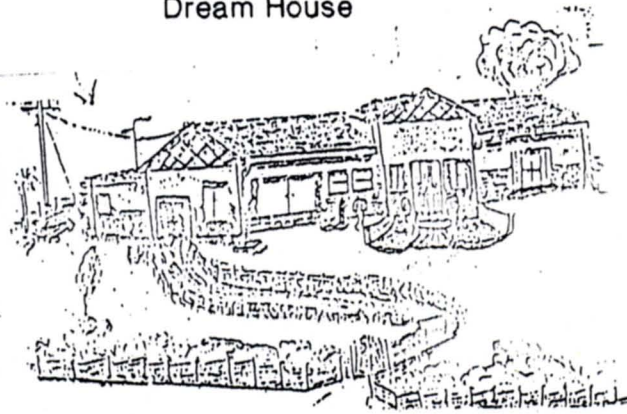


Fig. 4.19 ROBERT NDHLOVU

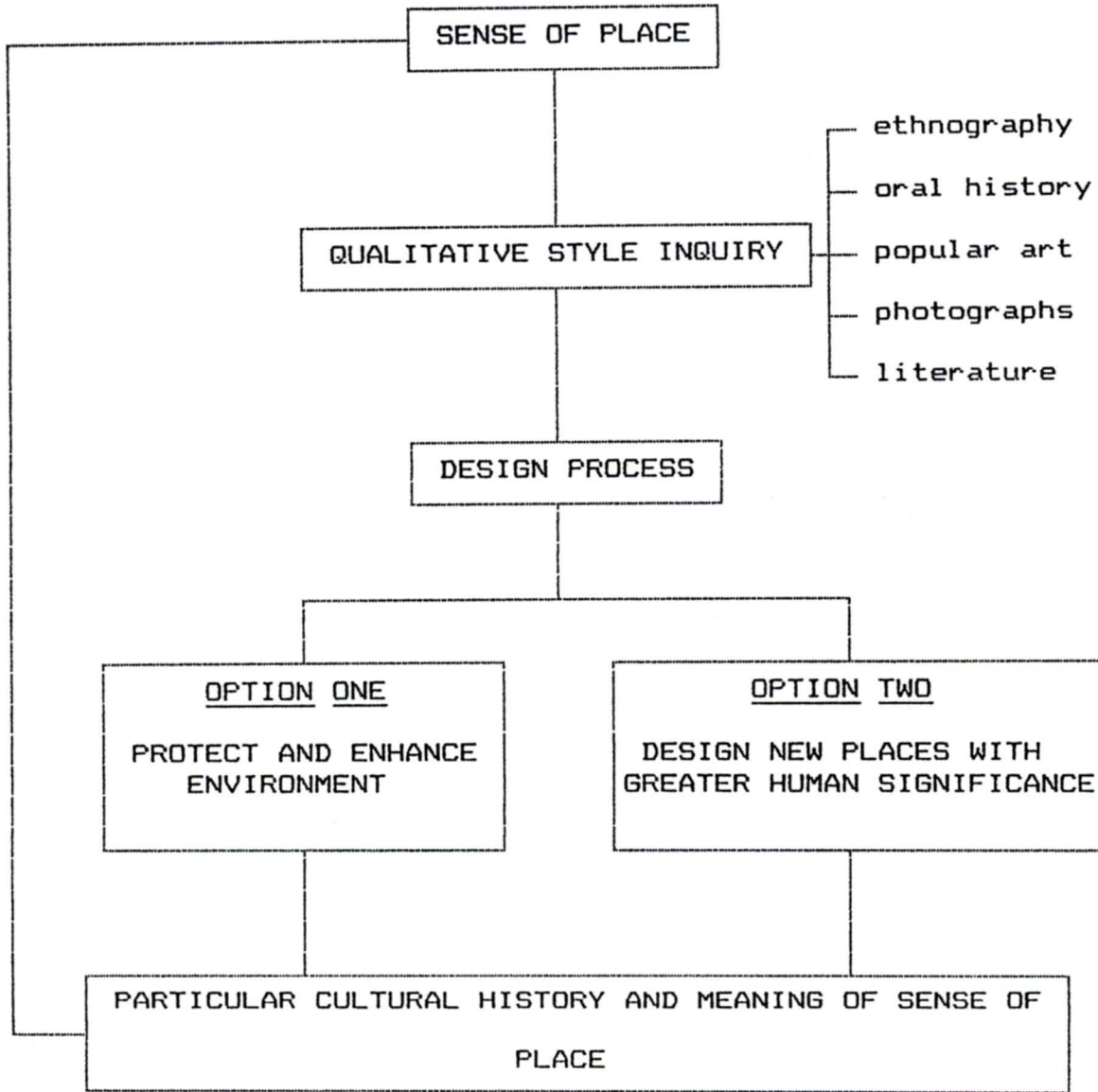


FIG. 4.20 : FLOW DIAGRAM SHOWING "SENSE OF PLACE"

ENDNOTES

1. This is not a usual construction; but refers to a study which investigates the attachment that people have for whichever place they inhabit on the earth's landscape. This is constantly referred to as a people-place study. In this case the people-place study analyses the attachment that the inhabitants of Ntchaweni have for Ntchaweni. In essence, this is the focal point of theoretical investigation around this qualitative study.
2. Adams and Suttner (1988); Breytenbaach, C (1970); Buttner, A (1972) and (1983); Delius, P (1988); Eyles, J. (1988); Farbstein, J and Kantrowitz, M (1978) Hart, D.M. and Pirie, G.H. (1984); Silk, A. (1981)
3. Relph (1976)
4. Whether site and service schemes or in situ upgrading is preferred.
5. This was made possible by the assistance of CORD.
6. The woman second from left is not a PHC worker but is Dolly Mkhize, convenor of the local creche in Ward 5.
7. CORD (1991) - Interview with Althaf Karrim.
8. When a woman gives birth on the roadside, the ambulance drivers of the state ambulances cannot enter Ntchaweni. Blaming this situation on the hazardous condition of the road. Many women who are in pre-natal development are transported by wheelbarrow to the R102.
9. Translated into Zulu on field trips by PHC workers.
10. This precludes the period prior to 1960, when shacks were non-existent in the area.
11. 1985 results.
12. This has been facilitated by ethnographic studies as well as by referring to the data available in the Groutville Structure Plan.
13. In many cases, profits in excess of 200% were made.
14. Means Ventilated Improved Pit Latrines.



15. This section was made possible through the interviews with the following persons:

Health

Dr G.E. Jonathan- Head: Tuberculosis Unit at the Stanger Provincial Hospital.

Dr M.A.Omarjee- Head: Doctor's Committee at the Stanger Provincial Hospital.

Dr R. Docrat: Chief Superintendent: Stanger Provincial Hospital.

Sister Sibiya: Head of Health Services: CORD.

Transport

Petros Dube: Transport Co-ordinator: CORD in Groutville.

16. Relph (1976).
17. Seamon and Mugerauer (1985).
18. The hypothesis was postulated with the assistance of Professor Dan Smit, Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Natal, Durban. He made initial comments to my proposal.
19. Derived from the squatters themselves to differentiate between "old" and "recent" squatters.
20. Mainly Relph (1976) and Tuan (1974, 1977).
21. An advertisement was placed at the United Building Society branch of Mr Anthony Neville in Stanger Centre as follows:  
"5 acres of flat land in Ntchaweni available: R15 500 "  
 This sounds like good news for the prospects of in situ upgrading because at least some landowners are prepared to sell.
22. This landowner (a woman) is extremely jealous of squatters upgrading in situ. She, herself, lives in a run-down shack.
23. Coincidentally, attempts were made by a certain political party to burn her house, because of her relationship with the ANC.

24. This qualifies that not only do squatters exhibit a psychological attachment to place, but also show great attachment to Ntchaweni because they also find usefulness of Ntchaweni in relation to employment opportunities in nearby Stanger.
25. Estimates done by Mehmoud Omarjee: Omarjee's Hardware, Lindley street, Stanger on site in Ntchaweni.
26. Violence in Ntchaweni, according to the residents to date have been mostly ethnic ie. between Pondo and Zulu. Many of these problems emanate from marital problems.
27. Justice Mpanza: Interviews in 1991.
28. The artwork competition was conducted over two school weeks. Children were given the art paper and details on the 12 August 1991 (Monday). The artwork was collected by Mr Ndaba on the same Wednesday, 14 August 1991. Thereafter, Mr Ndaba, the art teacher (Mr Sibiya) and myself evaluated the artwork. Often, the teachers and myself would visit the actual dwelling for authenticity.  
Prizes were presented to the pupils the following Friday i.e. 23 August 1991.  
The recipients of the cash prizes sponsored by Mr and Mrs Y. Motala of Auto Colour and Paint Centre, Strelitzia Road, Stanger, were Allison Ntombela, Patrick Cele and Robert Ndhlovu, whose art appear in this chapter.
29. All translations were done by Jabulay Ntchali, a second year Public Administration student at the University of Durban-Westville. Jabulay is a resident of Ntchaweni.
30. Boreholes were originally installed by a local businessman: Bhai Gora Desai. However, these boreholes are not presently in use because they were not drilled deep enough.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. The Politics Surrounding Upgrading in the Groutville Area

#### 5.1 Methodological Comment

In this chapter, an overview is provided of the various key 'actors' who have been involved in the upgrading debate surrounding Groutville. As Ntchaweni forms an integral part of the greater district of Groutville, and by the virtue of its great population numbers, Ntchaweni is affected by any political tagging for eg. after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, many of the residents in Groutville began to show their favoured affiliations for the ANC. As a result; many ex-IFP supporters (now ANC); on the freehold property of Mr Siveon Mthetwa (an IFP supporter) were evicted on 20 April 1992. (Refer to Appendix B (ii)). For the purposes of identifying the modus operandi of the various 'actors', individual interviews had to be conducted. No formal questionnaires were used for this purpose. The agenda proposed to the various bodies revolved around the pivotal question of the development of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement and what plans were envisaged by the interviewed bodies.

Therefore the following bodies<sup>1</sup> were interviewed:

- (1) Department of Development Aid (DDA)
- (2) North Coast Regional Development Association (NCRDA)
- (3) Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
- (4) African National Congress (ANC)
- (5) Community Organisation for Research and Development (CORD)
- (6) Stanger Muslim Development Forum (SMDF)



## 5.2 Introduction

Development of the Ntchaweni squatter complex is in a state of flux due to the present political dynamics which are a crucial factor in development in the area. The major setback that the common squatter faces is that he/she is oblivious of the developments that are going on in the boardrooms. Therefore, undemocratic decisions made for the squatters without their consultation will inevitably have unexpected repercussions. A good example to illustrate the above point is the Groutville Structure Plan. This Plan was planned for the Department of Development Aid. The DDA selected a group of members from the Groutville area and named this group the Steering Committee of the Groutville Structure Plan. The Plan was a divisive factor in the community, as the ANC refused to have any part in the implementation of the Plan as it was totally 'top-down'. Not a single aspect of the Plan was decided upon by the community of Groutville. The Groutville Structure Plan is regarded by the inhabitants of the squatter settlements including Ntchaweni, with great suspicion, because it involves removals on a large scale. In addition, they expect that the commercial sites etc. which are proposed in the plan are likely to end up in the hands of businessmen from Umlazi and Kwa-Mashu and would be of no benefit to the squatters. Therefore development is in a state of flux in the area. This chapter explores the various competing 'actors' in the development process to date in the Ntchaweni area within the broader context of Groutville.

## 5.3 The politics surrounding upgrading in the study area.

### An analysis of the role of the key "actors" in Ntchaweni

One major observation around the issue of politics in the area is that as we approach the 'new' South Africa, many old

departments of the apartheid state and many political parties who were once outlawed from politics find the upgrading of the Groutville area opportune because:

- (i) Old bureaucratic structures of the state such as the DDA want access to grassroots communities in a quest to change their tarnished reputation of being top down technocrats. This will ensure their passage to the new South Africa. It would seem in the interests of the DDA to take the community seriously. However, this has not occurred.
- (ii) The ANC which was once banned, has emerged with a formidable task on its hands, and would like to use this opportunity to prove that it is truly a democratic structure and able to meet the needs of its constituents.

The high density shack settlement, Ntchaweni needs to be understood in the political context in which the key players are engaged in the Groutville area. The key players are depicted in Figure 5.1. The main area of concern to the different actors was the 'Groutville Structure Plan' designed by a firm of town and regional planning consultants for the DDA. The Groutville Structure Plan was vehemently rejected by the ANC and CORD (an apolitical university based organisation) on the grounds that:

- (i) The DDA did not consult with the community on any issues related to the Structure Plan.
- (ii) The DDA was creating a 'time-bomb' situation in the area by co-opting its own implementation and steering committee who did not democratically represent the local population. This is common DDA strategy by

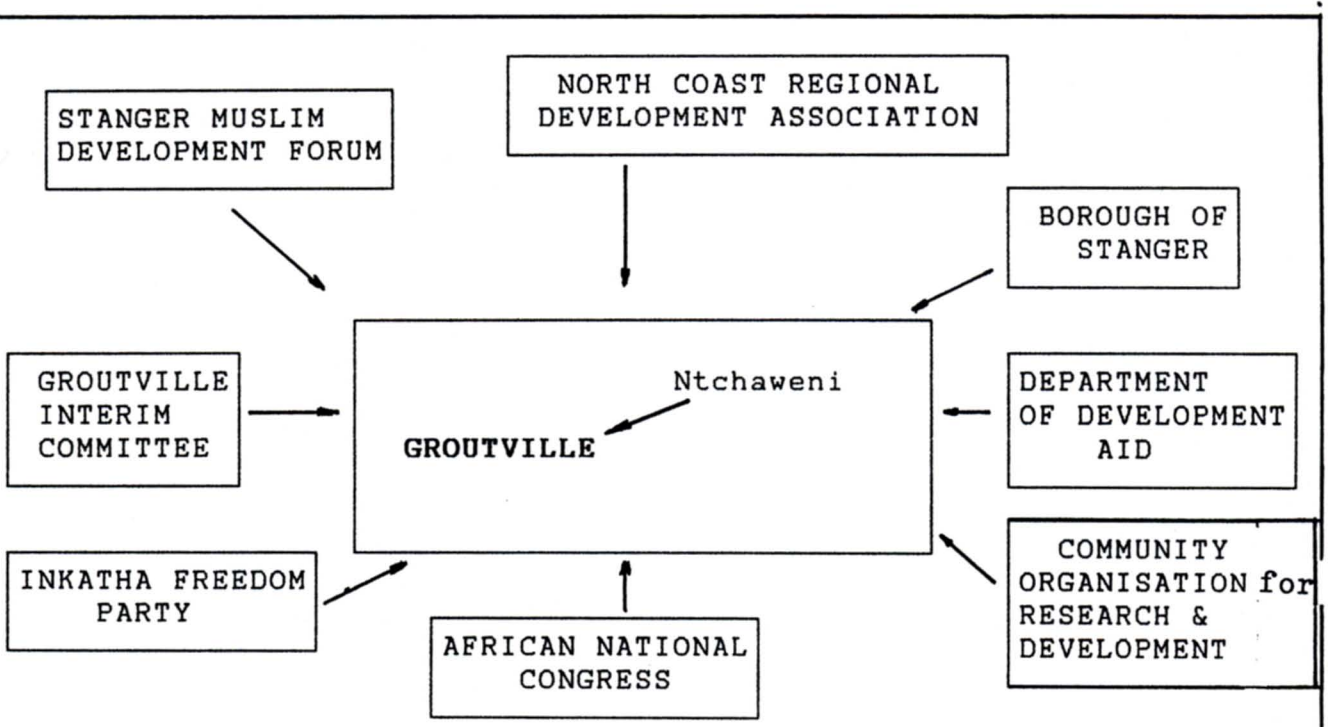


FIG. 5.1 KEY PLAYERS ENGAGED IN DEVELOPMENT IN GROUTVILLE



which a certain minority of the Black population is targeted to liaise with the DDA. In this way, the DDA vehemently denies not having contacted the community at all.

- (iii) The plan was detailed with technical data that the common person at grassroots level would never understand.
- (iv) The Structure Plan incorporated a top-down approach, and the community had not been consulted, nor their needs considered.
- (v) The Plan was an insult to the proud history of the Groutville region. The plan denied the option that the community had the ability to think and plan for itself.

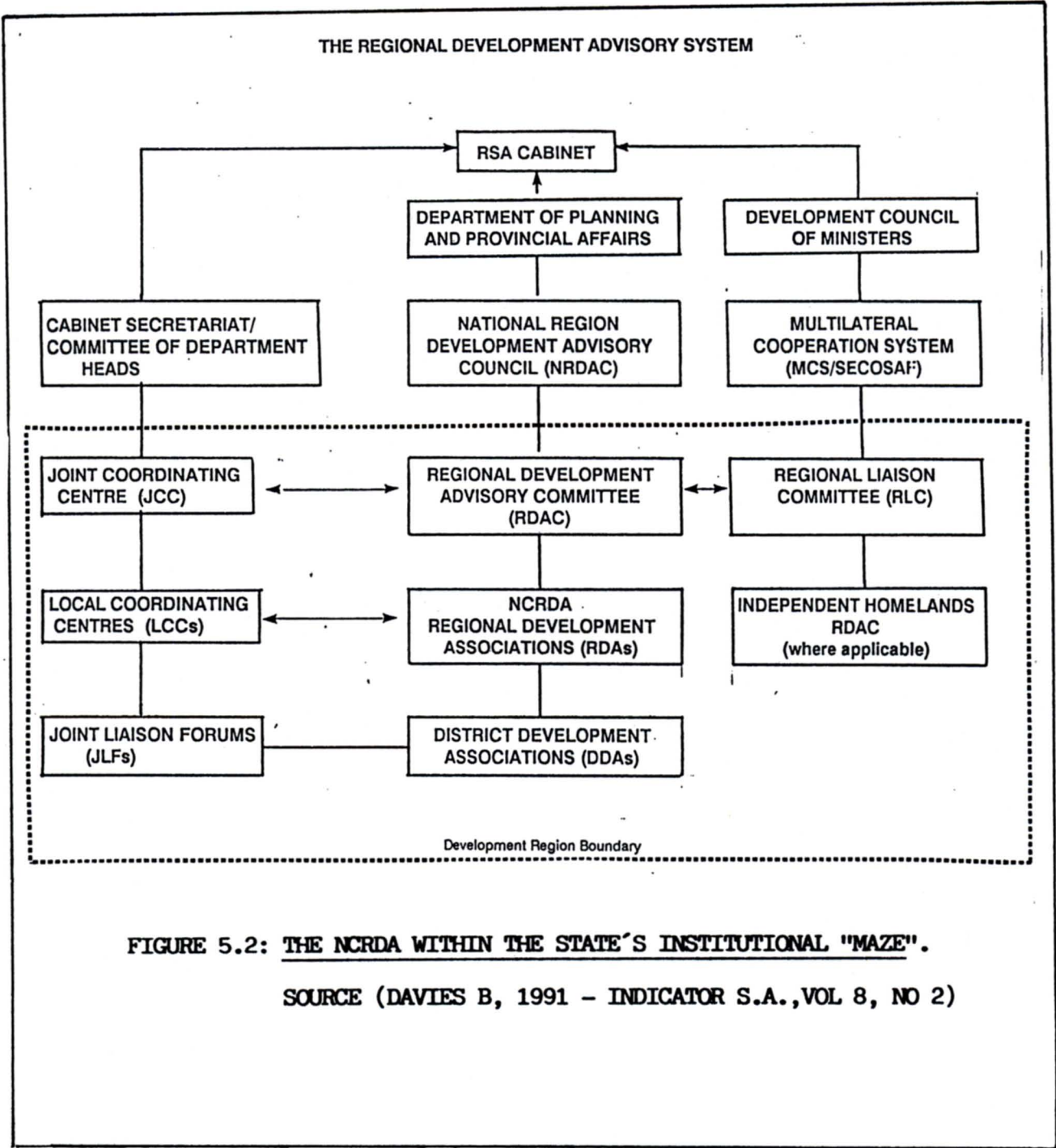
In the following section, a brief review is given of the role of the key actors involved in development issues in the Groutville area. It must be understood that as the Ntchaweni squatter settlement makes up a part of Groutville, the political circumstances surrounding development in the Groutville area as a whole, affects the future of the study area also. This section is important in understanding the development issues in the area and will provide important details regarding upgrading in the Ntchaweni area.

#### 5.3.1 The North Coast Regional Development Association (NCRDA)

The NCRDA have recently<sup>2</sup> been given the mandate by the DDA to act as facilitators with respect to the controversial Groutville Structure Plan. The NCRDA does not reject the Groutville Structure Plan. Instead it is eager to popularise the plan and has requested that more copies be circulated

within the community. The NCRDA is a sub-committee of the RDAC (Regional Development Advisory Committee) which is a non-statutory body intended to advise the state regarding the needs and priorities of regional community interests in the country (See figure 5.2). The NCRDA is a part of the network which in terms of the 1982 Good Hope Plan of the PW Botha regime, was designed to play a pivotal role in 'integrated regional development'. The entire structure of the RDAC's and RDA's have been undemocratically installed and are still a part of the apartheid state which continues to promulgate legislation without consultation with the representatives of the majority of the population. The NCRDA<sup>3</sup> comprises approximately 60 members who represent a cross-section of the private sector as well as public sector. The private sector is represented by private companies by C.G.Smith, Tongaat-Hulett; private individuals by Mrs Jex of Jex's Estates while the public sector is represented by administrative members comprising of the town clerks and deputy town clerks of the local municipalities along the North Coast of Natal. In the early days, before the 1970's, the RDA's<sup>4</sup> were a nuisance to the state, mainly because they were not subject to any formal state control. It was probably for this reason that they were brought into the state's regional development structures; first in terms of the 1975 National Physical Development Plan, which accorded them an official status and subsequently, as entities formally subordinate in terms of the Good Hope Plan of the RDAC's.

The Secretary of the NCRDA has argued that upgrading cannot emanate from the state but must be initiated by the people at grassroots level (See Figure 5.3<sup>5</sup>). Contrary to the RCDA's thinking in terms of its role in Groutville, it is not possible for the NCRDA to act as a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) as it still associates itself with undemocratic structures like the Local Affairs Committees



**FIGURE 5.2: THE NCRDA WITHIN THE STATE'S INSTITUTIONAL "MAZE".**

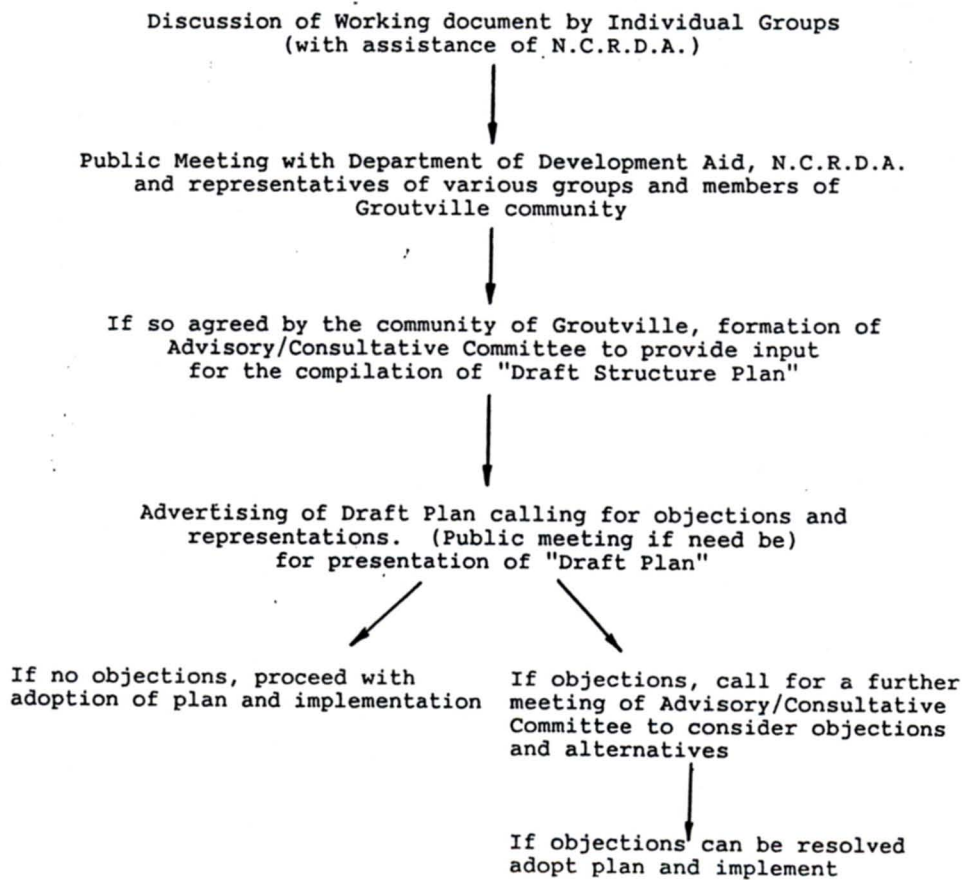
**SOURCE (DAVIES B, 1991 – INDICATOR S.A.,VOL 8, NO 2)**



A FLOW CHART INDICATING A PATH WHICH COULD BE  
FOLLOWED REGARDING THE POSSIBLE ADOPTION  
OF A STRUCTURE PLAN FOR GROUTVILLE

"GRASS ROOTS"

("WORKING DOCUMENT TOWARDS A STRUCTURE PLAN FOR GROUTVILLE")



**FIGURE 5.3: PATH TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE NCRDA FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION  
OF THE GROUTVILLE STRUCTURE PLAN.  
(SOURCE: GROUTVILLE STRUCTURE PLAN: 1990)**

(LAC's). In addition, the NCRDA is a part of an institutional maze in which the national body is dominated by officials representing government departments. Certainly the NCRDA could be a feasible medium through which the people of Groutville could communicate with higher echelon authorities. However, there is some doubt as to whether bodies can meet upgrading needs. For example, the R17 million community centre planned for the Groutville region by the DDA & RDAC (See Appendix E) has the following problems associated with it:

- (a) The Groutville working group refers to the Groutville Steering Committee which was viewed with much suspicion following its installation by the DDA to facilitate the implementation of the Structure Plan. The common resident in Groutville was not responsible for the placement of any member of this group. This group was undemocratically installed by the DDA.
- (b) The NCRDA has close links with the DDA and the reputation of the NCRDA is in question as it follows repressive practices of the DDA.
- (c) The NCRDA knows well that CORD is also planning a community centre for the area viz. the Albert Luthuli Community Centre. The duplication of projects is not good from a development perspective because it is bound to divide the community on this issue.
- (d) There are more important issues to be addressed than the building of a community centre, for example water is not given priority in any of the NCRDA's projects.

In addition, no attempt has been made by the NCRDA to address the problem of squatter settlements along the North Coast.

Yet, the problem of squatter settlements and the provision of housing is one of the most pressing needs along the entire North Coast of Natal.

When confronted with the problem of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement, the NCRDA spokesperson drew my attention to the various other development projects planned by the association. But to date, no concrete steps have been taken by the NCRDA to adopt a reasonable approach to the upgrading of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement. In effect, if the NCRDA is to make a major impact on the development of the region, it must firstly address the needs of the many marginalised squatters who are in dire need of decent housing, piped water, sanitation, roads and health facilities. If the NCRDA truly claims to represent genuine interests in the development of the Groutville region, then it is part of the NCRDA's responsibility to be involved in upgrading in the Ntchaweni squatter settlement, which is the largest informal settlement in Groutville. Whilst much is made of the apolitical nature of the NCRDA, and of its independence and autonomy, the fact of the matter is that it is state created and forms an important part of the state's development policies which have turned out to be fatally flawed. One way of becoming more efficient and relevant would be that the NCRDA shed its image as an instrument of the state and work towards becoming a non-governmental organisation (NGO). An NGO is beyond the control of the state but has sufficient credibility and legitimacy amongst its regional constituencies to ensure that it cannot be ignored by the state - either the present state or whatever form of government emerges in the 'new' South Africa.

The unfortunate consequence for the NCRDA, if it is to become an NGO, is that it may have to forego the financial resources which it receives from the state. However, it is quite



probable that the NCRDA may find it easier to secure resources from overseas aid and facilitate the negotiation process for the present "stalemate". The NCRDA must work with other organisations in the area especially CORD so that projects are not duplicated. The NCRDA must not use the controversial Groutville Structure Plan as its starting point but should begin to forge greater links with the community. Working on the ground has more advantages than holding banquets to meet state ministers. The NCRDA must not use the now defunct and suspect Groutville Residents Association (which it named the Groutville Working Group) which was installed by the DDA as a liason with the community. A democratic body representing the people of Groutville exists in the form of the recently elected Groutville Interim Committee. The NCRDA, as yet has not made any attempts to address the formation of a democratic base to facilitate development in a bottom-up manner in the region.

And finally, without the participation of broader interest groups in any NCRDA development program, such as labour movements, and other political organizations the NCRDA will become increasingly sidelined and irrelevant and simply continue to muddle along, while the issues of water, sanitation, job creation in squatter settlements like Ntchaweni go unaddressed.

#### 5.3.2. The Department of Development Aid (DDA)<sup>6</sup>

Freehold tenure exists in the study area of Ntchaweni. These freehold lands fall under the departments of Development Aid, Constitutional Development and Planning and Home Affairs. These three departments formerly made up the Department of Co-Operation and Development. These departments, working on an agency basis also administer the SADT lands, which are not found in Ntchaweni, but in other parts of Groutville.

The DDA was officially mandated by the state to supervise development in the Groutville area. Therefore the Ntchaweni squatter settlement falls within the control of the DDA. The DDA has a very poor 'track' record in the area. People interviewed have negative connotations attached to the DDA, especially with reference to a particular member of staff in the Stanger offices who harasses squatters. Recently, a group in Ten Acres (this is an area on the road between the old R102 and the N2) began to embark on a poultry project, providing farmers with chicks and feed. The official of the DDA demanded that the poultry structure be demolished, otherwise the people faced prosecution. His arrogant attitude cost the poor farmers R30 000 of their co-operative capital.

After the Groutville Structure Plan had been drawn up, the DDA appointed an Implementation Committee<sup>7</sup>, which the community were very suspicious about. The local inhabitants especially of the squatter settlements felt that the top-down centrally organised planning strategy adopted by the DDA ran the danger of over-shooting the local, historically evolved and accumulated knowledge of the community. The DDA failed to strike a mutually beneficial relationship between top-down structural development and bottom-up uniqueness. The Groutville area is unique in its historical complexity and has local inhabitants who are divided amongst the rank and file of the ANC and IFP. The DDA, pursuing antiquated policies of reform through state domination and subordination of local blacks, failed to exploit the possibilities offered by new socio-economic and political realities. For instance, no reference is made to either the repealing of the 1913 Land Act or the Removal of the Group Areas Act.



Thus, the DDA could not facilitate any means of stabilising harmonious co-operation between the political leadership of the area. A parallel case in which the DDA was involved in upgrading can be drawn from the experiences of Kenyan and du Toit (1989) who describe the involvement of the DDA in the Border corridor area (this refers to the land lying between the Transkei and the Ciskei). In May, 1987, the government allocated twelve million rands to the DDA to administer upgrading in the area. The DDA, in accordance with government policy set up local authorities without a proper democratic base, to weaken and destroy the local residents' associations.

The DDA spent most of 1987 constituting liason structures within the communities. The DDA refused to deal directly with the residents' associations, claiming they were political and that the DDA was concerned with development, not politics. Meetings were chaired by DDA officials and attended by numerous DDA technocrats and administrators. The case of the Border corridor area, is synonymous with the way the DDA has been operating in the Groutville area. The DDA in Stanger, according to local squatters interviewed:

- \* tried to isolate a small group of influential residents in the form of the Groutville Residents' Association and separate them from the ANC and other local associations into independent liason committees.
- \* The DDA planned to channel all development through these particular residents, granting them a status depending on the DDA resources.
- \* Through the co-option of the undemocratically elected Groutville Residents' Association, and the weakening of other extra-parliamentary bodies like the ANC, it supported



conventional forms of authority - tribal or community authorities.

- \* Requests for security of tenure (after the person had sought permission of the landowner on freehold land) would be shelved for years or lost on the way to the headquarters in Pietermaritzburg.
- \* The DDA uses strong arm tactics. Many squatters who came from Mozambique etc. complained that they were continually harassed by the DDA officials. The DDA officials made it difficult for them to even find work, by refusing to accept their applications for citizenship.

The problem of squatting, has to be understood as a social phenomenon, a result of the past actions/inactions of the apartheid state. The state and its official bodies like the DDA should therefore bear the burden of addressing the problems manifest in squatter settlements like Ntchaweni. However, tactics like playing one community against the other are likely to remain the trademarks of the DDA. In view of these annoying activities, the DDA's current tactic of approaching residents' association in connection with its upgrading proposal would seem little more than a temporary and expedient measure<sup>8</sup> occasioned by the strength and support which the associations command in their communities. Reference is made here to the democratically elected Groutville Interim Committee, who has an important role to play in the upgrading of Ntchaweni. The common problem in Ntchaweni is one of water: the DDA continues to provide tanked water in such a way that Pretoria's objectives are advanced in Ntchaweni. The ad-hoc piecemeal fashion in which the DDA operates has failed to win the 'hearts and minds' of the local community of Ntchaweni. In its latest move, the DDA, after failing to administer the Groutville Structure

Plan has handed this task over to the NCRDA to fulfil.

In the interests of development, an important meeting was held between the various associations and top ranking officials of the DDA<sup>9</sup>. The attitude of the DDA seems to be changing but whether this is permanent remains to be seen. However, the DDA needs to do more of its work at the grassroots level and not in its offices in Pretoria. In addition, legislation is changing so fast that even the officials expected to administer it are confused, left at a total impasse. Although recent state rhetoric has declared an end to removals from Ntchaweni, the DDA still continues to harass squatters in the area. The DDA has been unable to provide the basic necessities to improve the lives of the people in Ntchaweni. The DDA will be unable to assist in upgrading. The DDA bases its rationale for not providing basic services on the fact that the lands in Ntchaweni are private property and therefore deny the area any service provision.

### 5.3.3. Community Organisation for Research and Development (CORD)

CORD, a key actor in the development process in Groutville has been working in the area for the last four years. The area manager for CORD in the Groutville area is Alf Karrim. CORD was established in 1988 as a non-governmental, non-faculty organisation based at the University of Natal-Durban. Its objective is to assist impoverished and marginalised communities by enhancing their organisational capabilities in order to gain access to sustainable development. To date, CORD can be recognised as an integral part of the development process and is responsible for the process of reconstructing a sense of community in the Groutville area. CORD, with their non-alliance attitude to state bureaucratic machineries



like the DDA, have undertaken some interesting projects in the area:

- (i) Conducted a self-survey in respect of the Need for Creches in Groutville. Participative research methods such as self-surveys are used effectively to ensure that the research process is partnered by its participants. Organisational and development alternatives were explored by the community themselves with methods of providing a follow up service to monitor the process of community development projects and programs.
- (ii) Has provided the community of Groutville with 'seed' capital which works as a catalyst for development initiatives.
- (iii) Established creches eg the Masicathulisane Creche in Ward 5. CORD has helped Dolly Mthembu and the Creche Association by obtaining security of tenure for a plot near Amakaladini.
- (iv) Established the Melville Women's Sewing Association. Already, more than twenty women have been trained by a professional designer, Hajra Omar to initiate co-operative ventures with the profits going back into other community projects.
- (v) CORD has been elected as consultants and given a voice on the newly elected Groutville Interim Committee.
- (vi) CORD has assisted the community in establishing a notion of self-confidence through mutual trust. When CORD was accused of having met with the Umgeni Water Board without the knowledge of the community, a



letter<sup>10</sup> of explanation was circulated immediately to the community clearly outlining CORD's policy so that the community is not misled on important issues.

(vii) CORD has made available a team of experts ranging from quantity surveyors to land surveyors and architects who will assist the community of Groutville with the initiation of the following projects:

- \* Groutville Clinic
- \* Ten Acres Poultry Project (now almost complete)
- \* Provision of fully staffed ambulance service.

CORD, who have established their sound intentions to foster development in the Groutville area have made remarkable progress. The upgrading of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement is an important item on the agenda of CORD.

#### 5.3.4. People of Ntchaweni

The local community until recently had major problems establishing any democratic, representative structures. Of significance is the formation of the Groutville Interim Committee. This body has been democratically elected, with members representing the different wards and committees in the Groutville area. This body will be charged with the responsibility of facilitating development in the area.

The Groutville Interim Committee was formed on 15 September 1991 after a huge turnout at the Aldainville hall. The members are as follows:

<u>PERSON ELECTED</u>	<u>PORTFOLIO</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
(i) Sduduza Gumede	- Chairperson	physiotherapist
(ii) Justice Mpanza		Chairman: ANC
(iii) Mrs Sibisi	- Secretary	Health Committee
(iv) Edgar Luthuli		Shopkeeper:Nondhlevu
(v) Siyanda Mhlongo		Teacher: Phambili
(vi) Mrs Mqwebu		Chairperson: Health
(vii) Bernard Mbonambi		Retired
(viii) Alf Karrim		Area Manager: CORD

CORD was elected on a consultancy basis to assist with technical aspects related to development. This may involve finance, planning, social welfare, agriculture and administration. The formation of the above committee brings to an end a stalemate between the political parties in the area. The formation of the committee heralds a breakthrough for the Ntchaweni squatters as they now have an official 'voice' which can help to facilitate in the development of the squatter settlement. A great priority to the Groutville Interim committee will be the question of the upgrading of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement. As a guideline to the Groutville Interim Committee, it will be important that all wards are represented and that development ensues from the needs of the people at grassroots level.

#### 5.3.5. African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party

The ANC and IFP have reasonable grounds to settle their differences and free themselves from an official 'divide and rule' policy of the state which has hampered development in the area especially in Ntchaweni. The Groutville Interim Committee is an apolitical body. It was made clear at the election meeting that members who had political affiliations could not wear 'two hats'. Both the ANC and IFP, when

interviewed, have the improvement of housing in the squatter settlement ranked high in their list of objectives. Both parties were aware of the water and sanitation problems in the area. However, no sound policy exists which could expedite the development process. The ANC<sup>11</sup> representative for Groutville sees the role of the private business sector in Stanger as being very crucial to begin development in the Ntchaweni area. The IFP representative<sup>12</sup> for Groutville could not make any comments related to the development dynamics that were taking place in the study area. Many residents are sceptical of political affiliation. Since the political tagging from all sides was put on hold on the 15 September 1991 through the formation of the Groutville Interim Committee, there is ample reason to be optimistic with regard to the potential for development in the region.

#### 5.3.6. Stanger Muslim Development Forum

As a part of my action research objective, I decided to approach the Muslim business community. The choice of only Muslim businessmen was spontaneous as they represent more than 90% of the business houses in Stanger. The initial response was tremendous. I approached a local priest<sup>13</sup>, who is highly respected by the community and explained the concept of development to the businessmen. The business community responded by forming the Muslim Development Forum<sup>14</sup> which is the first of its kind in the country. Its objectives are:

- \* To progress towards the new South Africa by making a viable contribution towards the upliftment of marginalised people.
- \* To foster a closer link with the African community.<sup>15</sup>

At a meeting held between the Muslim Development Forum and



CORD, on the 24 September 1991 the following proposals were put forward to be conveyed to the Groutville Interim Committee:

- (i) To form a consortium of businessmen with a minimum number of fifty members who will each contribute an investment sum of R1000 and also give post dated cheques for the amount of R100 over two years.
- (ii) All investments to be made on a profit or loss basis.
- (iii) The imposition of interest was totally unIslamic and any losses will be shared by the Forum and community of Groutville.
- (iv) Three areas have been identified:
  - \* allocation of land to CORD to open a training centre involving welding, carpentry and radio electronics.
  - \* Provision of food to children at all creches (this is not part of the investment, but voluntary aid).
  - \* Establishment with the community of a business venture viz the opening of a garage with servicing facilities.

Furthermore, it was suggested that CORD should co-ordinate finances and that the development of the Groutville area should be a primary goal especially with reference to the improvement of living conditions. As interest is not allowed to be used by Muslims, it was proposed that this money be channeled to provide VIP toilets in the Ntchaweni area. Although the Muslim Development Forum is operating with a small amount of finance, the interest generated by this section of the community must be seen as an important medium

through which small scale upgrading can begin in the Ntchaweni area.

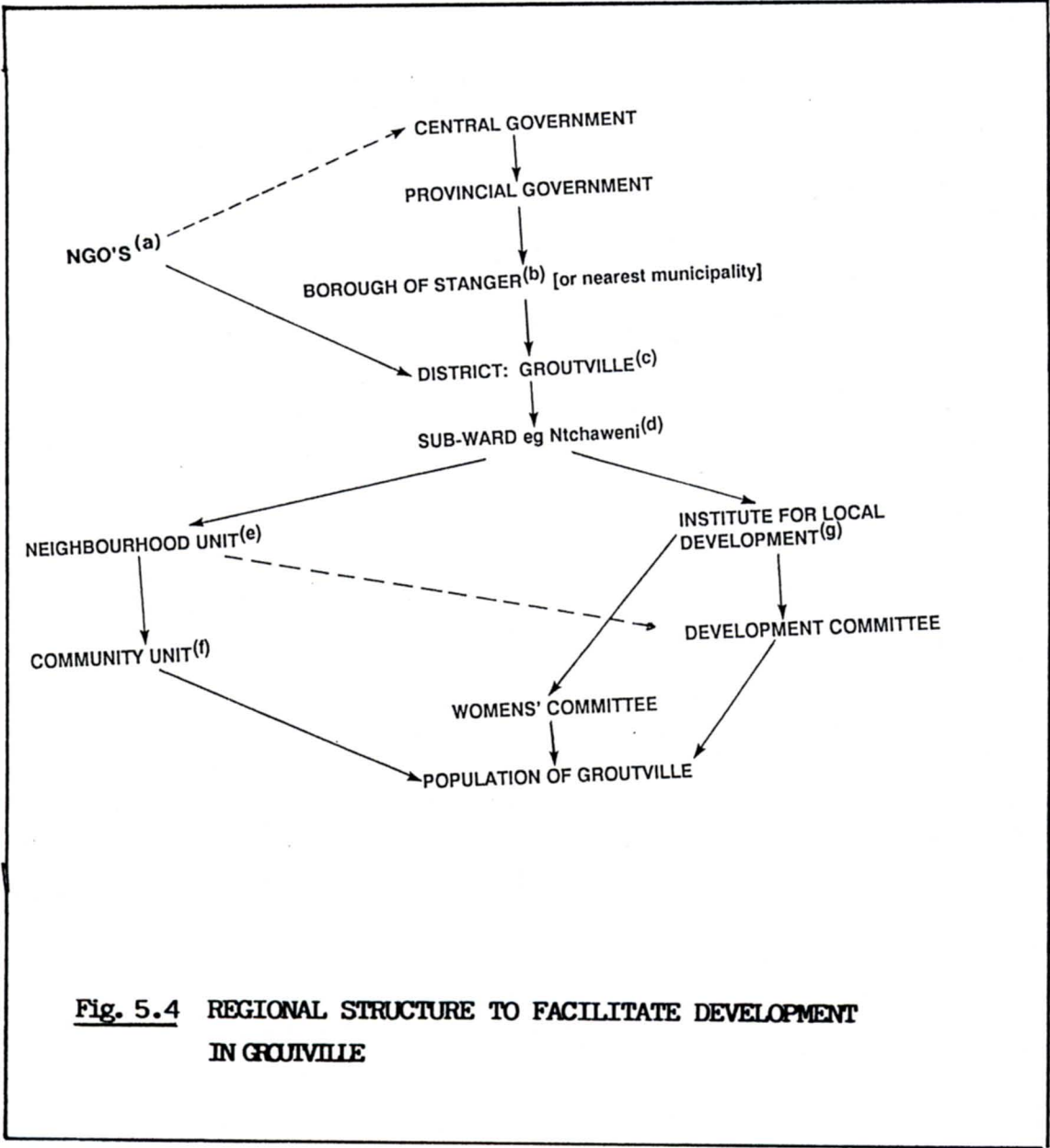
#### 5.4. Concluding remarks

The present system which decides administrative responsibility for the black community in Ntchaweni is one of tremendous complexity. Due to the confusion between the key actors and agencies in the area regarding development, upgrading efforts in Ntchaweni can be totally paralysed if the "actors" do not meet over the common issues surrounding development. In conclusion to this pertinent chapter on the politics surrounding the upgrading of the Ntchaweni area within the broader development objectives of Groutville, it is projected that political parties will not be important catalysts for development to occur in the region. The flow diagram below (refer to Figure 5.4) provides a guideline to the type of alternative democratic Regional Structure needed to facilitate development in the Groutville<sup>16</sup> area. I have adopted this approach since no proper guidelines have been given to the Groutville Interim Committee to even use as a starting point to foster development in the area.

In the following section, each component of Figure 5.4 is briefly analysed:

##### Component (a) NGOs

If development is to be successful, NGOs must be closely involved. NGOs have partnership relationships between themselves and grassroots communities which illustrates their capacity for dialogue, for self-criticism and for changes in strategies and attitudes. In a dislocated, undemocratic society like South Africa, an NGO like CORD can alleviate the burden placed on provincial governments by:



**Fig. 5.4 REGIONAL STRUCTURE TO FACILITATE DEVELOPMENT  
IN GROUTVILLE**



- \* Having direct access to the grass-roots, and providing a liason between the communities eg Groutville and the Central State. In this way, the needs of the community are not sidelined by bureaucratic machineries like the DDA.
- \* Working with other NGOs in South Africa, incorporating field worker training, community control of funds and decisions and organisational support and development.
- \* With the recent formation of the Groutville Interim Committee, companies like Umgeni Water are over anxious to conduct "business" with the community in Groutville especially the squatters. An NGO, can offer technical guidance to the community in respect of trade-offs.

#### Component (b): Local municipalities

This lowest level of government can assist with the administration of water/lights etc in the Groutville area. The community of Groutville can do without the tedious task of collecting rates, water and light tariffs etc.

#### Component (c): Areas targeted for development

Using Groutville as an example, committee members are elected from all six wards and each is a head of that particular ward in Groutville. These heads of wards will liase with committee members elected by the people of each sub-ward eg. this will entail communication with other elected sub-committee members from each of the six wards in Groutville.

#### Component (d): Sub-ward or sub-area

This refers to a sub-area within Ward 4 eg. Gugu's or Zungus or a sub-area within Ward 5 eg. Amakaladini or Mhlongo's.

Consists of a head of ward (from c) and committee members from each area within a sub-ward. In this case this will represent the head of Ntchaweni as well as other members of Ntchaweni who will ensure that the head-elect does not make unilateral decisions.

**Component (e): Neighbourhood units**

These are committee members who are elected from the six wards, besides the heads of wards. Besides the members elected from each ward who are heads of that unit; other people in charge of Burial Societies, Poultry Projects, Health projects etc. are elected from each ward eg. from "Ten Avres" or "Thembeni".

**Component (f): Community Unit**

eg. Ntchaweni can be broken down into 4-5 community units eg from Umoya, Amakaladini, Ward 4 who will represent their areas on neighbourhood unit meetings.

**Component (g) Institute for Local development**

The state must appoint such a body for each magisterial district in South Africa so that total development needs of sub-areas of greater districts eg. Ntchaweni are addressed locally.

There are three very encouraging features related to the adoption of the proposed development structure.<sup>17</sup> Firstly, NGO's will have direct access to central government. NGO's (refer to component a) have a great deal of communication with grassroot communities (refer to component c). This will in effect reduce the state wasting money on departments of the nature of the DDA. Secondly, there is equitable

representation of all the various sections of communities within areas in need of development. In this way, each community is given a voice in overall decision making and planning, because the components e and f in the diagram act as liason points for their communities, ensuring that needs are prioritised. Thirdly, the head of the entire development process is not occupied by bureaucrats but by NGO's who work directly with communities. In this way, decisions regarding provision of services etc are dealt with immediately, without the need for the normal ratification by our present bureaucratic maze. Although the Groutville Interim Committee will facilitate development for Ntchaweni, it must be understood that this is a temporary transitory body. The guidelines I have offered provide a realistic institutional context for the upgrading of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement. It also places greater responsibility on the community to handle and share the responsibilities pertaining to development.

Upgrading in the Ntchaweni area is possible if the state plays a neutral role in the upgrading process. The state can assist by providing land, security of tenure and the necessary capital to the residents to control. Planners can play an important role in the upgrading of this area by regarding the community as clients. When local inhabitants are treated as clients, they will undergo the hard process of weighing the alternatives available, they will hence understand the need for many unpopular actions. For Africans, living under direct control of the central white government, the situation is likely to get worse before it gets better. Recent political "reform" by the state is meaningless to the local inhabitants of this squatter settlement in Ntchaweni as it has added a new and more confusing dimension to the already complex administrative structure in the study area. In Chapter Six, the importance



of community participation is emphasised. If upgrading is to succeed as a development effort, community organisation around the upgrading issues is of vital importance, and an appropriate institutional content which fosters community participation is essential. This chapter also concludes this study.

ENDNOTES

1. The interviews took place on an ongoing basis. Unfortunately this thesis focuses on the political issues up to the end of March 1992.  
Refer to Appendix F titled "BIG PLANS FOR GROUTVILLE"
2. 24 July 1991: no changes have been made yet to this arrangement.
3. Details pertaining to the functioning of the NCRDA were obtained through interviews with Mr Bill Byrnes (Town Clerk of Stanger) and Tokkie Saayman (Town Clerk of Ballito).
4. Davies, B (1991): RDAC's and Regional Development. Indicator. S.A. Vol.8; No 2.
5. Received on the 24 July 1991 from the NCRDA.
6. The DDA official in charge of Ntchaweni was at first very helpful. Coincidentally, after my letter was dispatched to the DDA head offices in Pietermaritzburg on the 5 August 1991, the very same, helpful officer, refused me permission to any information related to Ntchaweni and Groutville. Most of the material obtained about the DDA, had to be obtained from other sources: squatters, local businessmen and political figures. The DDA has also now been disbanded. Unfortunately, this took place 3 months after the cut-off date for research.
7. Reference is made here to the Groutville Steering Committee which was hastily installed by the DDA to facilitate the execution of the Groutville Structure Plan. This committee must not be confused with the Groutville Interim Committee, a democratically elected body, truly representative of the people of Groutville.
8. This would seem in their interests to be a good move and may even ensure their "survival" in the "new" South Africa.
9. I was minutes secretary for the Groutville Interim Committee at this meeting held on the 28 August 1991 at Metal Industries House in the offices of the Natal Rural Forum.

10. Dated 6 September 1991 and sent by Althaf Karrim: Convenor of all development activities for CORD in Groutville.
11. Interview was conducted with Justice Mpanza at the ANC offices in Jackson Street on the 30 August 1991.
12. After visiting Mr Khoza, the local leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Groutville, my telephone number and name was taken on close to eight occasions. Mr Khoza promised to contact me. However, this was in vain.
13. Moulana Qasim Bhorat, local businessman and Younus Noorgat, director of Noorsaheb's Plastics worked hard to form the Stanger Muslim Development Forum. This is not a sectional body, but is constituted entirely of Muslims because of the need to understand the principles of development in the Quran and Islamic literature.
14. Formed on 15 August 1991.
15. The idea behind the formation of the Stanger Muslim development is not centered around converting the masses in Ntchaweni into Muslims. In our communications with the Jamaitul Ulema, Natal, it was explicit in all the discussions that assistance must be given for humanitarian reasons only.
16. Ntchaweni must be regarded as an integral part of the greater district of Groutville. Therefore, the diagram focuses on Groutville and not only on the study area of Ntchaweni.
17. The diagram projects in a nutshell what my idea of a feasible development structure should be. The diagram also projects how the development process can be hastened without having to filter needs and priorities of grassroot communities through the institutional and bureaucratic mazes of our present system which is overflawed. The present development structures in the form of the DDA are totally inadequate to respond to the needs of the people of Ntchaweni and Groutville. For eg. at the meeting held on the 28 August (see note 9 above) the head of the DDA, Mr Backer mentioned that he has had no knowledge of requests for land transfers regarding the building of creches, community centres etc in



the Groutville area. Mr Backer and Mr Van Der Walt also had no knowledge that their official in Stanger was harrassing squatters. At the end of the meeting, and believe me, at the stroke of a pen, M/s Backer and V.D. Walt granted land transfer rights for five projects: a community centre in Ward 2 convened by Mr Dube, a creche in Ward 5 convened by Dolly Mkhize, Approval for the Qeblisizi Burial Club Poultry Project in Ten Acres convened by Nomusa Phembeni, a creche in Ward 3 for Mrs Sibisi and a Clinic in Ward 3 to be convened by Lizzie Mqwelu.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6. Conclusion

Squatters and landowners must plot the course of their future and any irrational top-down planning approach will be idealistic. Therefore, this chapter will be divided into two parts. The first part will focus on the central theme of this thesis- **whether upgrading is a realistic option for Ntchaweni**. Secondly, attention is paid to the idea of community participation which is important for any upgrading attempts in the study area. In this regard, the aspect of community participation as an idealistic or realistic objective will be analysed.

#### 6.1 Upgrading? A Realistic Option for Ntchaweni?

It is understood that from the different options given for a betterment plan of Ntchaweni, that the options of township housing, site and service schemes and core housing are not favoured by the people of Ntchaweni, because all these schemes involve removals. (Refer to Appendix G which provides an excellent source of perusal about betterment options which are envisaged by the inhabitants of Ntchaweni itself.)

The Ntchaweni squatter settlement which forms an integral part of Groutville must be understood within the historical context of its resilience against removals of any sort. It is within this very light that upgrading of present structures will be evaluated, being the only other viable option available without the trauma of moving or resettling people.

According to Smit (1991) in a Conference Paper titled "Key Issues in Post-Apartheid Housing Policy", housing policies

in South Africa are in a shoddy state. South Africa's housing policies (according to a World Bank Report) rank among the worst in the world. Whilst the state procrastinates on the presentation of policies related to the alleviation of housing shortages especially in squatter settlements, there is no certainty that the present state's policies will be acceptable to the emerging form of government from negotiations. Therefore, instead of communities like Ntchaweni waiting for a policy on housing, it will be better for such communities to embark on locally generated upgrading projects which could be undertaken over a short term. The squatter community in Ntchaweni do not favour any type of betterment policy which involves removal or resettlement. This places the advocacy of the implementation of site and service schemes as unsuitable for the purposes of alleviating the housing crisis in Ntchaweni. Both squatters and landowners, by virtue of being locked within the common historical context of state repression and resistance against any form of removal, show a great attachment to place within the historical framework of the Groutville area. This geographical experience elevates Ntchaweni beyond the simplistic definitions of being a location. The close bond between the landed and the landless through the common denominators of poverty and lack of basic amenities of life create a suitable milieu which is conducive to community participation in upgrading. The DDA, in its transition to a 'new' South Africa, is overemphasising, at present, its intentions to support locally - driven upgrading projects. According to Smit (1991) the emphasis in the provision of housing has shifted from state-driven housing delivery projects to the promotion of local initiative. Therefore, instead of requiring the Ntchaweni community waiting for their turn on some centrally driven housing policy, which is highly unlikely, upgrading fosters the concept that the people of Ntchaweni can



immediately start addressing their housing problems and begin alleviating the lack of basic amenities like water and roads. The role of the state via the DDA in such cases of locally - driven upgrading projects will be to provide a facilitating and supportive framework. The Repealing of the 1913 Land Act, does not make large amounts of land available for consumption by the community of Ntchaweni. Although a bold statement appeared in the Stanger Weekly<sup>1</sup> on the 19 September 1991 titled "Live where you like", the Borough of Stanger could not provide any tangible evidence of land available for occupation by Africans where site and service schemes could be generated. The new market relations in renting houses and loans related to housing do not make township housing or site and service schemes a feasible option for the people of Ntchaweni in the alleviation of their housing crises. The default rate on the payment of rents even in the multi-storeyed housing complexes in Stanger viz. Mdoniville, Sunnypark, Panorama and Morningside are high. The provision of housing to the landless in Ntchaweni through the commodification of houses can create a form of capitalist social control. Engels, as early as 1871, cautioned that mortgage debts would have this effect:

"The workers must shoulder heavy mortgage debts in order to obtain even these houses (township) and thus become the slaves of their employers; they are bound to their houses, they cannot go away, and they are compelled to put up with whatever working conditions are offered them" (1935:15).

Therefore, there is ample proof to suggest that in the light of the above argument, in situ should upgrading be seen as a realistic option for the betterment of the Ntchaweni squatter

settlement.

## 6.2 Upgrading and Community Participation

This thesis has concluded that the upgrading of present structures is a realistic option for Ntchaweni. It has also been demonstrated that if upgrading is to be successful, then the initiative has to be locally generated. In addition, it is my view, that implementation of a successful upgrading strategy in the Ntchaweni squatter area must hinge upon cogent community participation.

According to Smit (1991):

" ..... there are those who argue that housing delivery should be pursued in such a way as to promote community development ..... More importantly however they argue that the priority of development strategy should be 'empowerment' and that housing offers particular opportunities in this regard. Housing and physical services are tangible and much needed social goods and are often the first thing that communities organise around. This organisation, it is argued, is what needs to be fostered so as to create the capacity within the community to pursue other developmental inputs."

Therefore, if upgrading is to be facilitated along realistic lines, the emphasis on community participation is vital. According to Rajah (1980:1), the concept of community



participation embodies the belief that all members of the community should be involved meaningfully in the making of decisions which affect their lives. In Ntchaweni, the achievement of community participation through organisation of the community around the upgrading issue is possible by virtue of the investigation carried out in Chapter Five. In this chapter, the people of Ntchaweni were not prepared to move to another area even if was better situated in relation to job opportunities. This qualifies vehemently an urgent desire on the part of the community to facilitate development through upgrading. An objective of community participation is to establish good communication with the squatters and all the other 'actors' who are to be involved in the upgrading program. Good community organisation at the initiation of the upgrading program would ensure that frustrations were kept to a minimum at any stage of the upgrading plan and program formulation. Participation as an on-going process generates feelings of mutual trust between planners and the squatter community. Dialogue with the African community of Ntchaweni is even more essential and vital as the historical-geographical context of neglected development in the area, reveals a failure on the part of planners to consult this community on the issues which affect their lives. The failure of the Groutville Structure Plan (1990) was largely due to the fact that the community of Ntchaweni and the greater community of Groutville were not consulted at the initial stages of the project formulation. When the squatters and landowners of Ntchaweni have participated in the hard process of weighing the alternatives available, they will justifiably understand the need for many unpopular decisions. Participation, which can be a concomitant process to upgrading in Ntchaweni, helps to:

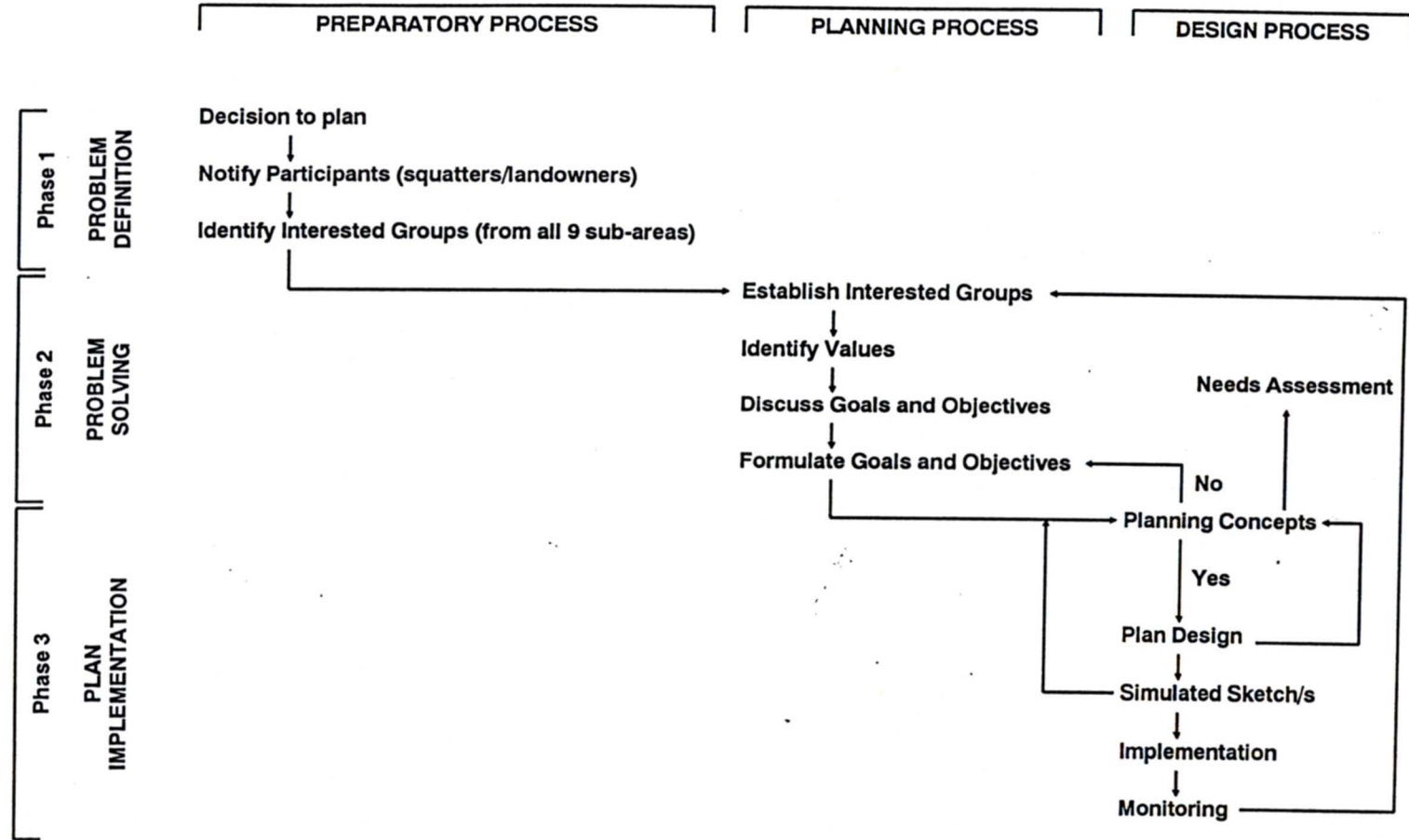
- \* educate the people planned for as to planning decisions and contributes to more confidence in the planner and other



local 'actors' involved in upgrading in the area.

- \* communication and interaction also enable the planner to gain insights into the public's attitudes, opinions, desires and needs.
- \* the method of making upgrading a feasible and realistic option hinges on community organisation and is particularly important for political, economic, social and economic reasons.

The opportunity for participation embodied in the present legal framework for squatters in South Africa is severely restricted. The squatter is prejudiced and has no opportunity to participate in such activities as identifying problems, formulating goals and objectives and considering alternatives. A letter sent to the Department of Development Aid on the 5 August 1991 has as yet received no response. This resonates the view I hold of the DDA, who do not have a thorough historical knowledge of the study area to assist in the plotting out of a realistic course of action for the squatter community of Ntchaweni, generated at a grass-roots level. This also places the community of Ntchaweni in a very advantaged position regarding the making of decisions affecting their own lives. This strengthens the opinion that community participation will supercede the scope of present town and regional planning schemes which are narrowly limited and restricted. Although Regional Planners have recognised the ability of communities to make objections to their proposals, this right is of limited value in squatter upgrading projects. It does not provide for positive inputs such as plan formulation and does little to generate individual squatter or landowner's concern for the general welfare of the entire squatter community. A model<sup>2</sup> of participatory planning (refer to Figure 6.1) such as that



**FIGURE 6.1: MODEL OF SQUATTER UPGRADING FOR NTCHAWENI.  
ADAPTED FROM RAJAH (1980)**

adapted from Rajah (1980:68)), would provide an interesting route for the key 'actors' who are involved in the upgrading of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement to achieve Relph's (1976) vision of communal projects:

"Communal undertakings bring together the families of a place for common ends: to apportion land among families, provide water and other utilities, make and maintain roads, erect public buildings, create burial grounds, establish shrines and places of worship. The settlement lives in communal efforts despite the several separateness it harbours" (Relph, 1976: 36).

### 6.3 The Way Forward

The new Groutville Committee<sup>3</sup> has to establish interest groups from the landowners and squatters in Ntchaweni so that upgrading can be facilitated in the area. The role of interest groups in Ntchaweni should be to regularise and improve conditions in the squatter settlement by requesting improvement assistance including regularisation if required from the DDA. They should organise themselves in such a way so as to permit dialogue between the community as a whole and the DDA as well as other key 'actors' in the area viz. NCRDA, Borough of Stanger, Stanger Muslim development Forum etc. Interest Groups must participate in preparing a plan to be initially drawn up by the community and later developed by technical experts, with the community's inputs on the final plan; developing with professional assistance from CORD, NCRDA etc. the improvement programme and financing plan for Ntchaweni; preparing the detailed regularisation plans for



review by the DDA to grant the necessary securities of tenure; make the necessary physical re-alignment to implement the detailed plans for upgrading and paying the improvement costs and possibly the price of land (if leasing is required from the landowners) so that the construction of public utilities which the community has agreed upon may start. Furthermore, the Groutville Interim Committee; through emphasis on community participation should seek to :

- (1) Collect funds from private persons who wish to help with upgrading eg. Stanger Muslim Development Forum, private sugar companies in the area etc.
- (2) Encourage the community to participate in construction work to reduce the cost burden of upgrading.
- (3) Reduce operating costs of public services so that more services may be supplied to Ntchaweni.

Community-led upgrading shifts the emphasis from the community's overdependence on the state to facilitate development. Turner (1972) recommends that autonomous housing holds the 'key' to the provision of housing to the marginalised. In his view, the common people possess the bulk of the nation's human and material resources for housing and the collective entrepreneurial and managerial skills possessed by the inhabitants of squatter communities like Ntchaweni surpass the financial and administrative capacity of even the most highly-planned and centralised institutional system. The theory of the state as interventionist in alleviating the present housing crisis is not sufficient. According to Smit (1991) the accepted housing backlog figure is of the order of 1 million units. Therefore, the community has an important role to play in the housing crisis, because the shortage of housing is definitely not getting the

attention of the state as it should. The state via its institutions like the DDA cannot provide improvement, but they (squatters of Ntchaweni) can achieve self-generated improvement with DDA assistance. The DDA can play an important role in the upgrading process in Ntchaweni by guaranteeing the community access to resources like land, material, credit and technical assistance, so that the poor squatter is able to upgrade his dwelling.

The people of Ntchaweni (landowners and squatters), and not the DDA or NCRDA can become the improvers!

#### 6.4 Concluding Remarks

For the squatters, their role in facilitating upgrading is now even more important, judging from the confusion that exists among the other key "actors" in the region. To achieve the goal of upgrading, the squatters' participation in planning and implementation requires some form of community organisation. In this chapter, upgrading was qualified as a realistic option for the Ntchaweni squatter settlement, provided that community organisation is strong. Alf Karrim, the area manager for CORD in Groutville argues that with the formation of the democratically elected Groutville Committee, there is every reason to believe that community organisation will be strong in the Groutville area. Already the community has started a poultry project and a construction of a creche and are also ready for negotiations with the Umgeni Water Board to get water supplied to the Groutville area. An important meeting in this regard took place towards the end of November (1991), between the Groutville Interim Committee and the Umgeni Water Board. Upgrading, as a betterment option, must be favoured because:

The Ntchaweni squatter settlement is "estate - bound" ie. it



is surrounded by privately owned sugar estates which minimises the chances of obtaining nearly vacant land for site and service schemes.

On the debit side, site and service schemes are not favoured by the resident squatters because it is associated with removals and resettlement. The squatter settlement has time and again been referred to within the historical context of the broader Groutville area. This historical-geographical context amplifies the rationale that the squatters of Ntchaweni have never favoured any type of removal even if it is favourable from a point of view of being accessible to job opportunities.

The provision of township housing for the squatters has also not been favoured because it is seen as state intervention and is orientated towards widening and creating new zones for capitalist penetration through commodifying housing. The state together with capital sub-ordinates and keeps labour in check by aiming to depoliticise low-income communities like Ntchaweni by creating a class of home-owners who will be in perpetual bondage to building societies etc. Also, the squatters will never be able to afford the exorbitant mortgage rates.

The strong attachment to place exhibited by the squatters in Chapter 4 provides ample proof that upgrading will be in the best interests of the people of Ntchaweni. Upgrading the present structures would facilitate the empowerment of the community not only by actually implementing a betterment of their lives and possible futures, but also because they are physically present in a place which has significant meaning to them, rather than moving to an area where the individual squatter is alienated without the assistance of his long standing community.



The recent violence in the squatter settlements adjacent to the Ntchaweni area viz. in Vazendawo has not stifled the cogent community organisation in Ntchaweni. The squatters of Ntchaweni are now even more determined to facilitate upgrading in the area.

In Chapter Two, the options available for improving the present conditions in the Ntchaweni squatter settlement were analysed. The research findings in Chapter Four qualify that any option involving removals or resettlement was not particularly favoured by the inhabitants and that upgrading of present structures seemed the most likely option available, provided that the inhabitants themselves were to be the most important elements to facilitate upgrading. The inhabitants of the study area have the essential qualities of community and if empowered to produce popular participation, the squatters have the inherent ability to improve their present conditions.

At the culmination of this thesis it was agreed upon by CORD who are the NGO responsible for the Groutville area that the findings of this research be fed back into the community through serialisation of this thesis in a locally produced newsletter in Zulu. This has been made possible through the assistance of the editor of the local newspaper The Stanger Weekly, who has agreed to publish the contents of this thesis to the public at large. The question related to the applicability and intentions of this study can be answered within confidence that the main objectives of this thesis have been fulfilled, by virtue of the fact that:

- \* Ntchaweni, for the very first time in history has been elevated beyond the definitions of being a place of location on a topographical map to a place with meanings.

The historical evolution of the Ntchaweni squatter settlement, although brief, provides a first attempt at the construction of a history of the area, using the method of aerial photograph overlapping, the growth of the squatter settlement.

- \* This thesis has also stressed the positive aspects of this squatter settlement ie. that the residents of Ntchaweni are hard working men and women who lived here through no fault of their own and built an environment that has more advantages compared with municipal township housing, which in the first instance was lacking and which led to the establishment of the squatter settlement. Despite state repression and the low-key priority given to the provision of basic amenities to this squatter settlement, the community has been able to survive and eke out a bare sustenance from the basic resources that are available.
- \* It has been recognised by this thesis that, although the Ntchaweni squatter settlement is unplanned it nevertheless represents, assets in both financial and social terms. The area requires planning and services and the wholesale demolition of good and bad houses alike is not a practical solution. At a meeting held with the DDA, the regional representatives had agreed that the research findings of this thesis be workshopped in the department to give the DDA an idea of the grassroots politics that was operational in squatter settlements. This means that the plight of the Ntchaweni squatters can now be put to the DDA and the state and that the DDA has ample reason to believe that upgrading must be fostered in a bottom-up manner, with the DDA providing financial and technical assistance whenever and wherever necessary.

The political parties<sup>4</sup> in Ntchaweni have placed, for the very



first time, their concerted interest in the alleviation of problems in the area above that of party politics and obtaining votes. Therefore, for upgrading to be a realistic option in Ntchaweni, the most important step towards beginning upgrading de novo will be the historic formation of the Groutville Committee which will supersede the Groutville Interim Committee. This new communal machinery which will represent the different wards in the Groutville area must take cognisance of the following so that development becomes a realistic option and just not 'rhetoric'.

- (1) It must take into account the achievement and methods of the existing leadership in the area, especially in the squatter area in such a way that it respects rather than threatens the rules and systems already developed; that it is seen as a support system, not a corrective one; that the squatters and not only landowners have an executive role in decision making; and that the upgrading intervention must be seen as a means of accelerating development an existing continuum and not as a first or final stage in enforcing a certain level of standards.
- (2) In the light of the above, upgrading must be designed to permit improvements to be undertaken by the residents themselves without having to come back and forth to the authorities for money or expertise.
- (3) The legal system of tenure and building regulations adopted must be appropriate to the values and expectations of the residents of Ntchaweni (both landowners and landless). There is ample optimism in the study area to believe that, through proper community participation which transcends the politics of turf, landowners can provide security of tenure to the



squatters.

- (4) The upgrading project should support the existing tradition of self-help construction.
- (5) The solution of upgrading as a realistic option can only be tenable if it is affordable ie. within the culturally accepted norms for housing expenditure for the low-income group.

Finally, in her article "People power: community participation in the planning of human settlements", Mary Hollnsteiner<sup>5</sup> cites several reasons why people should be at the centre of upgrading initiatives; decisions that affect their own lives.

Firstly, for upgrading to be realistic, people's participation is vital because it may rectify the misconceptions of planners and authorities and thereby provide re-education to these specialists, who are directly involved in the project, but often have lost their capacity to empathise with the viewpoints of squatters. Planners have to be good listeners and take points seriously so that planning is truly and not idealistically 'bottom-up'.

Secondly, upgrading becomes more successful and realistic if the squatters (intended beneficiaries) take an active role in designing and implementing their future. It was understood earlier on, that the squatters of Ntchaweni like living in their community, therefore they, through community participation, will more readily take care of upgrading and express their interest in action.

Finally, the only real form of people's participation in any upgrading plans for Ntchaweni is a representation (preferably

in a majority position) of the squatters of Ntchaweni on the decision making boards which will emanate from the formation of the new Groutville Committee.

There is no theory or policy which will reverse the deteriorating living conditions in Ntchaweni. It is imperative that the squatters must understand that no quick solutions are at hand to alleviate their pathetic conditions. It is the squatters themselves who have to empower themselves and unite their goals and objectives into a cogent form of action. Then and only then is there any hope of reversing the poor conditions in the area, and then and only then will upgrading become a realistic option!

**ENDNOTES**

1. Made by LAC/DSB member, Moosa Motala.
2. Refer to Rajah (1980) for more readings on the issue of community participation.
3. This body will succeed the temporarily installed Groutville Interim Committee.
4. The Groutville Interim Committee and the African National Congress are taking the lead in this regard.
5. In Rodwin (1987).



## REFERENCE LIST

### (A) PRIMARY SOURCES

- (1) Groutville Structure Plan. 1990. Prepared for the Department of Development Aid and Education, Pretoria by Consultants: Vandeverre Apsey Robinson and Associates, Inc., Urban and Regional Planners.

### (2) Newspapers

Stanger Weekly	: July 19,1991
	: October 11, 1991
	: October 25, 1991
	: November 1, 1991
	: February 7,1992
 The New African	 : August 8,1991
	: August 8,1991
 City Press	 : July 28, 1991
	: August 11,1991
 Natal Mercury	 : September 6, 1991
	: September 18, 1991
	: October 22, 1991
 North Coast Courier	 : September 13, 1991
 Saturday News	 : September 21, 1991

(3) Interviews conducted by the author

Mr W.T. Byrnes	: Town Clerk: Municipality of Stanger: 29.7.1991
Mr Backer	: 15.09.1991
Dr R. Docrat	: Senior Medical Superintendant: Stanger Provincial Hospital: 29.11.1991
Chief Dube (Ntchaweni)	: 23.08.1991
Mrs Gibb	: Local History Museum: 9.08.1991
Mr K.N. Govender	: Melville State Aided Indian School (Principal): 20.09.1991
Basil van Horen	: Project Manager (UF): 28.11.1991
Dr G.E. Jonathan	: Head: Tuberculosis Unit: Natal Provincial Hospital, Stanger: 1.10.1991
Mr Jones	: Personnel Director: SAPPI: 18.09.1991
Mr Khoza	: Leader (Inkatha Freedom Party): 24.9.1991
Justice Mpanza	: Chairman (African National Congress): Groutville: 27.09.1991
Miss Gugu Ngaba Landowner)	: 3.9.1991
Mr Ngaba	: Principal: 27.08.1991
Mr Tokkie Saayman	: NCRDA: 15.08.1991
Sister Sibiya	: Groutville Interim Committee: 23.08.1991

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## APPENDIX A : UPGRADING OF SHAKAVILLE (Source: Stanger Weekly: 1992-02-12)

### (i) Living standards upgraded



"OUR own taps for the first time." Young Siphon Khumalo poses for the picture.

## Living standards upgraded in Shakaville settlement

Stanger Weekly  
Reporter

SHAKAVILLE residents have been accorded the right to own their own toilets and showers.

This comes some four decades after the township was developed.

Now residents will do away with the old pit system and communal taps and will have their own toilets outside their homes.

The project, part of a beautification package by the Natal Provincial Administration, is being undertaken by the firm Stocks and Stocks at a cost of R1,986-million.

Consulting engineer, Mr John Wessels of the firm Vernon, Smith and Associates said the construction had reached completion stage and that he was quite pleased with the work.

"We have built toilet blocks for every home on a designated plot.

"The toilets have been built for houses in the Emergency Settlement area also.

"In addition we were contracted to tidy up the town.

"We worked on the drainage system and cut off the old bucket system.

"In its place we have

installed a waterborne system," he said.

Mr Wessels said some 274 units had been constructed allowing every resident access to his or her own toilet and shower.

He said however, that there was no hot water.

The showers were constructed in a manner in which they could be used to wash clothes also.

"We have had a very good response from the dwellers.

"Besides the robbery in which R9 500 was stolen three weeks ago, there have been no other hitches.

"Residents appreciate the work and are looking forward to owning their own facilities," said Mr Wessels.

Works manager, Mr Chris Emmett said that each unit also had an outside tap which could be used.

He said this saved residents the burden of using the river or communal facilities they have used in the past.

Mr Emmett acknowledged that the facilities in the township were appalling and said that it would be a further relief when new homes, especially in the Emergency Settlement were com-

pleted.

He said that his company had also upgraded the clinic in the township and both the men's and women's hostels.

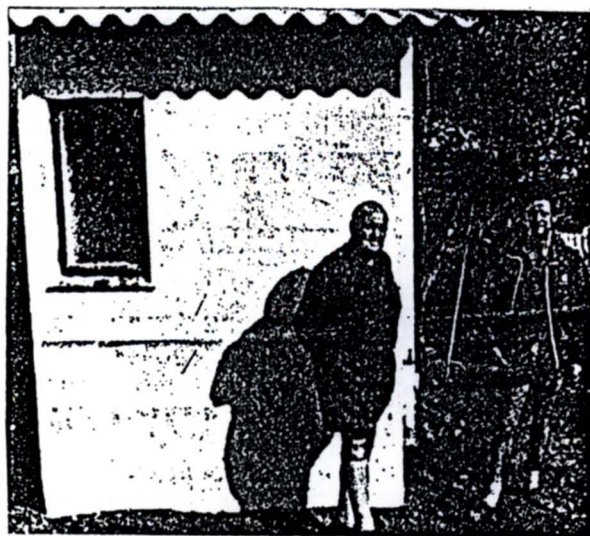
Regarding the cost of the project Mr Wessels said the NPA had paid for the entire contract and residents did not contribute.

Residents only had to pay for the water supplied to their homes.

He said he had used 50 men to complete the work.

"I am very satisfied with the work and hope that the residents will enjoy these new facilities.

"We have worked hard on the project and let's hope that these new units serve the community well," he concluded.



JOHN Wessels and Chris Emmett stand outside one of the new units in Shakaville.



## APPENDIX A (continued)

### (ii) Letter of appeal: Shakaville Removals

(Source: Surplus Peoples Project, 1983:184-185)

The following letter was drawn up by members of the Shakaville Advisory Board and sent via the offices of the KwaZulu Minister of the Interior in August 1981.

The Hon. Deputy Minister  
Dept of Cooperation & Development  
PRETORIA.

Dear Hon. Sir

RE: SHAKAVILLE RESIDENTS OBJECTION TO THEIR REMOVAL.

Some time in July 1981 a copy of a Memorandum was given to members of the Shakaville Advisory Board. In this Memorandum an impression was created that residents of Shakaville were willing to be removed from their homes. As a result a public meeting was held on the 29th July 1981. The residents of Shakaville expressed their strong opposition to the removal of this township.

The following were the main points stressed at this meeting:-

1. Shakaville in Stanger (or Dukusa as is known by the Zulus) is the birth place of the Zulu Nation.

The Mighty King Shaka lived here and so were his subjects who surrounded their King. The ruins of their homes and kraals which were built here were still noticeable at this Shakaville Township when it was first established in this area.

2. King Shaka's Tomb Stone which is so highly valued by all Zulus cannot be left surrounded only by non-Zulus. This would be tantamount to the destruction of the birth place of the Zulus. King Shaka is the Founder of the Zulu Nation.

3. Mbozamo River - is where the King washed and the Tshelankosi was so named because it is where he relaxed and also this served as a Fortress. After this stone the present Tshelankosi School was named.

4. A well or Spring from which his drinking water was fetched is still in existence even now at Mbozamo.

5. Memorial School.

The present school is a token of appreciation from the white sector to the Zulu Nation for having sacrificed their lives and for having died for the country during the last world war 1939-1945. The graves of some local soldiers are standing at the local cemetery - and some of them still live with us in the township. It seems to us ridiculous that the Republican Government should destroy the living sign of appreciation by the White Sector, of Zulu participation in the last world war.

6. This location was established in 1946 and in 1947 residents were promised that its borders would extend to the Doesberg Road and to College Road. Although these areas are now occupied by other racial groups the Zulus in Shakaville have not complained. It is now hurtful and surprising to note that Zulus are being driven off from Shakaville.

7. The spirit of cooperation between the Zulus and the Whites in Stanger is remarkable. Friendship is evident in the streets. Even all the local White Schools have Shaka's Shield as the background of their badges. The monogram used on vehicles of the Borough of Stanger is Shaka's Tomb Stone. Despite all this there is not a sign of resentment by the Zulus. On the contrary Zulus regard this as a sign of appreciation of their Culture by the Whites. Why must this be destroyed?

8. Ownership.

The Evangelist and lay preachers of different denominations i.e. the Lutheran Church, Methodist, Apostolic Faith and Anglican requested on behalf of the people of Stanger for the establishment of this location. Negotiations started as early as 1940 with the Borough of Stanger. With painstaking efforts these men of God persisted until the site was shown them in 1942.

In 1946 when they first occupied these houses they were given a promise and assured that the houses would become their own after having been paid for over a period of 25 years.

We the undersigned members of the Shakaville Advisory Board are in complete agreement with the sentiments of the Residents as expressed at the meeting of the 29th July 1981.

We therefore plead with you, Hon. Sir, to place our request before the Republican Government to the effect that the Residents of Shakaville would like to continue living in Shakaville indefinitely.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed by 4 members of the Advisory Board.)



APPENDIX B : REMOVALS IN GROUTVILLE  
(Source: Natal Mercury : 1992-04-20)

(i) Removals in Groutville

**LOST AND BEWILDERED**



Picture: John Woodroff

LOOKING lost and bewildered, a toddler sits in the remains of a shack in an informal settlement at Groutville on the Natal North Coast, after a group of armed men burned down hundreds of shacks.



(ii) 2000 left homeless in Groutville

(Source: Stanger Weekly: 1992-04-24)

# 2000 left homeless

Stanger Weekly  
Reporter

MORE than 2000 people are homeless following the demolition of all homes in the Vezunwayo township near Gledhow.

Land owner, Mr Siveon Mibethwa evicted residents and destroyed their homes on Monday, April 13 after giving them notice on March 23.

According to reports Mibethwa, an employee of a local security company, demolished the homes as he has chosen to cultivate the land.

However, residents, who are both Zulu and Xhosa, are up in arms and claim the move was politically motivated.

They claim Mibethwa has been set up by a third force which wishes to rid the area of ANC supporters, whom are increasing in numbers.

Residents were notified the demolitions would be done on Friday, April 10. However, the demolitions

were stopped temporarily after the Tugela Dispute Resolution Committee intervened.

But on Monday bulldozers were brought in and the homes were mercilessly demolished.

As a result Stanger faces its worst housing crisis in the town's history.

The 2000 homeless face an uncertain future.

They have lost all their possessions, have no homes and no food.

The Red Cross is presently supplying quantities of mealie meal to residents and the Islamic Relief Agency has also promised aid to the homeless.

Apart from the social circumstances, the destruction of the homes by Mibethwa, is set to foster old political wounds and an outbreak of violence seems imminent, several people affected people warned.

The Stanger Weekly visited the site on Thursday and witnessed the widespread suffering.

Also inspecting the area was Transkeian consular representative and member of the Lower Tugela Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr G Makaula who said there clearly was a political motive behind the mass destructions.

"It is embarrassing to note that such events are happening at a time when we should adopt a spirit of togetherness."

"It is embarrassing to note that Africans are fighting against Africans and this is the level they stoop to."

"There is absolutely no respect for life."

"These people are human beings, like you and me, and still they have been treated in this fashion."

"As a result of these demolitions we have a major problem."

"People in the township are on the verge of starvation."

"I urge the South African government to intervene and do something about the plight of these people."

"They are South Africans

and should be cared for by the government and not ignored."

"This is a disaster situation and help is required," he said.

Also at the site, African National Congress leader, Mr Justice Mpanza said residents were not given sufficient notice.

"These people pay a yearly rental of R50 in June of each year."

"In view of this they should have been given one year's notice."

"In fact the contract they have undertaken with Mibethwa has not expired and the expiry date is June 5, 1992."

As a result the residents had taken a decision to remain on the land, he said.

The neighbouring township of Quba has been unaffected by the evictions.

A relief fund is currently being set up and alternate accommodation is sought.

If anyone wishes to donate to this needy cause they should contact Justice Mpanza on 24943/3.



AN Innocent Vezunwayo child, now homeless because of the evictions.



THE remains of the Vezunwayo township which was destroyed by bulldozers on Monday.

APPENDIX C : IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

**IN DEPTH-INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE**

**NTCHAWENI: PEOPLE-PLACE STUDY**

1. Describe the type of land interviewee is located on:

mission  
freehold  
white farm  
trust  
tribal

2. Sex: .....

3. Age: .....

4. No of children: .....

5. Place of work: .....

6. How do most people find work here : .....

.....

.....

7. If not, what do these people do?

.....

.....

8. Are you a:

landowner

squatter

squatter tenant



9. Spouse details:

Age:.....

Workplace:.....

10. How long are you residing in Ntchaweni?

.....

11. Give some details of your arrival here  
( Why you moved here; were there people here?..)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

12. If you were evicted from another area :

Who evicted you? .....

Why? .....  
.....

13. What happened when people arrived here?  
Give a general history!

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

14. FACILITIES:

Comment on the problems you face regarding provision of facilities in the Ntchaweni area:  
( Ask general question and let interviewee raise problem).

.....

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.....

15. HEALTH:

Talk about any major problems:

.....

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.....

16. TRANSPORT:

(Talk freely about this issue)

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17. GENERAL PROBLEMS RELATED TO SHOPS, CLINICS, SCHOOLS ETC:

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

18. ASK TO PRIORITISE MOST PRESSING NEED:

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

19. UPGRADING:

- 19.1. Has there been any upgrading attempts in this area?
- 19.2. Are there any organisations (state/non-state) that is responsible for upgrading in this area?
- 19.3. Would you prefer to stay here or move to another place. If answer is 'yes', what criteria would you give for moving there?

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.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....



19.4. Ask to choose from the following options :

township housing

core housing

site and service schemes

upgrading present structures

( Explain details and list basic points so that  
question is uniform.)

19.5. If your landlord gives you permission to buy  
the piece of land your shanty is standing on

would you buy it ? .....

if you buy, how will you improve your present  
condition?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## 20. ATTACHMENT TO NTCHAWENI

What are your conceptions of Ntchaweni?  
( Good or bad thoughts ! )

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

21. LANDOWNERS:

Do you have a title deed?.....

Whom is it lodged with? .....

Would you be prepared to provide your tenants  
(squatters) with security of tenure?

.....

.....

Comment on the relationship that you have with squatters  
who rent land on your property:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

**NOTE:**

In addition to individual in depth interviews, two in depth group  
interviews were conducted, using the questions above as key questions to  
revolve discussion around.

Using the qualitative approach, the interviews were recorded in writing  
because some of the interviews necessitated the use of an interpreter.

## APPENDIX C (continued)

(ii) Questionnaire in Zulu (modified): Ikhadi Lomndeni

Questionnaire in 2010 (modified): KNAB: Community  
(Source: Community Organisation Research Development)

AC6z

IKHADI LOMNDENI

[illegible]



7.

[illegible]



# KAYALAMI

## Art Competition

### COMPETITION RULES

1. All work must be done in pencil.
2. Artwork must be related to real dwelling of child.
3. The artwork can either be done in reference to the inside or outside of house.
4. The prizes are as follows:  
First prize: R100  
Second prize: R 50  
Third prize: R 25
5. Competition open to Standards 3, 4 and 5 only.
6. Write down your name, age and standard on entry.

This competition is sponsored by:

AUTO COLOUR CENTRE

STRELITZIA ROAD

STANGER.

Phone: 22272-1 24024

Stockists of all types of automotive paints and accessories.

Also specialise in hiringspray painting and panel beating equipment.



ALLISON NTCMCA.

Handwritten text, likely a letter or document, written in a cursive script. The text is oriented vertically on the page.

15 August 1901

W. H. L. L.



INTSHAWINI

Lapha ngixoxa ngendawo yakithi intshawini. Lendawo inhle inokuthula noma ziba khor izivungurungu kodwa zibuye zidlule. Engingakusho ukuthi imizi yakhona iminyene kakhulu awubi nayo ngisho indawo yokuthi ube nesivande sakho esincanyane. Okunye izindlu zangasese zihlala noma kanjani zingahlazekile ayikho nendawo yokulahla udodi akukho ngisho imigodi yodwa le lokho kudala izifo eziningi. Ingabe kuncono ukuba kuthiwa imizi igqagqene manje iminyene.

Engikufisayo ngendawo yakithi yilokhu. Iphupho angihiphuphaya. Ekamanzini ngesi Niyazi nonke ukuthi amanzi abaluleke kanjani ngoba ngaphandle kwamanzi ngeke uphile. Manje amazi yokubuye uwathenge emathankini nbye angabibikho nokhona ukuncola kuthi sila amakhaya. Uma singathola Abangasisiza ngamanzi ngingathokoza kakhulu ngoba singaphila impilo ahlazekile.

Okunye okubalulekile yilokho ugesi. Ubalulekile kimina ngoba uyakwazi upheka, uqhunge, ukhanyise endlini, wenzenoma uma bebenzi wezandla nokunye okuningi engingekke ngakuqeda ngoba kuningi kakhulu. Uyonga ngoba awuthengi uphalafini wokupheka ukukhanyisa noma amakhandela. Ngingathi-nje ugesi siwudinga kakhulu endaweni yakithi. Ngingajabula uma Singafakelwa ugesi endaweni yasenyawini.

Ngithi-ke mina yiyo leyo imibono yami nezifiso zami ngendawo yaseNtshawini ukuthi sengathi ingahlala ihlanzekile ibenokuthula. Ngiyethemba izifiso zami ziyofezeka okungenani sithole amanzi ngokushesh.

06 August 1971

Mtshaurini

Indawo yethu esiphila esiphila kufona yaseMshawini.  
Indawo yethu esiphila kufona yaseMshawini inokuhlukhuka  
dhukhuku. Mjengchuthi okohugala sikhuphekela amanzi. Uma  
ngabe singawathola ngezindaweni lapho atholakala khona  
noma kanjani. Nychama siye emanzini agwedlwayo lau  
anosawoti siyathanda noma asithandi.

Indawo, yethu yaseMtawini imphinde ibe nokhupho  
obukhulu ngezi gemegeme... zakhona ngenxa yethu thina  
bantu noma sizwe esimnyama... ngokungezwa kwethu  
ngokuba sigedane sodwa. Indawo yaseMtawini kuthi uma  
sekhulwile, kuba khona izinsolola ngiscolise lapha kubo  
izinsolaboya eziningi bakhulu.

Mjengokuthi abantu bakithi abamnyama sebekhuleka nango-  
kuzibamba. Ngolunye usuku khona ngasekhaya lake...  
balamba omunye. wobaba ababadala babephuma ukuyo—  
jululeka izingane zabo emsebezini. Bashe balabamba  
inkungu... imikhulu yezinsolaloya zezingwesimnyama.

Okunye yilobu. inkomo iphutha. eMshawini ukukhuphaka kabo  
noma komphakatha was eMshawini. ngalona ukuthi kukhuphaka  
kakulu ngokuba uma ungekho uphalafini akudliwa ungafa.  
unako ukudla kwakho kepha mungekho. Mungekho uphala-  
fini noma imanzi awudli unakho ukudla kugcwele.  
sengiyema lapho. eZomlando zezwe.



## APPENDIX E

### (ii) NCRDA: STAND ON SQUATTER UPGRADING

(Source: The North Coast Courier: 1991-09-13)

# R17m community centre planned

A report which envisages the establishing of a community centre to provide multiple facilities in Grootville, at an estimated cost of R17m, was handed to Danie Schutte, Deputy Minister of Justice, at a ceremony in Hallito last week.

The proposed Grootville concept has involved close cooperation between a Grootville working group, Sunflower Projects, a subsidiary of Murray and Roberts, the North Coast Regional Development Association (NCRDA), and Rotary.

The stage has now been reached, says a spokesman, where the cooperation of the Government is needed for the acquisition of land and for assistance in the training of personnel in the provision of facilities.

Planning for the Grootville project is centred on three phases. The first would involve a community training centre in basic skills for the unemployed and the subsequent establishment of 25 mini factories on site. Phase two would deal with a proposed community hall, a creche centre and clinic, as well as residences for students, and office and recreational facilities.

The third phase, and one which is completely new in South Africa, envisages a career-orientated secondary school. In the overall concept none of the facilities will be utilised for one purpose only, and all will have multiple applications.

The planners believe that employment could be provided for about 1,000 people during the construction stage of the centre, and that this figure could be increased considerably later. There are also a number of options on the funding of the concept, which they feel could be explored; these include possible assistance from the Independent Development Trust and major industries.

Clarifying NCRDA's role in the proposed Grootville centre, a spokesman pointed out that the organisation was a facilitator involved in the opening up of channels which could enable people to obtain facilities. It did not

try to coerce or influence people in accepting decisions.

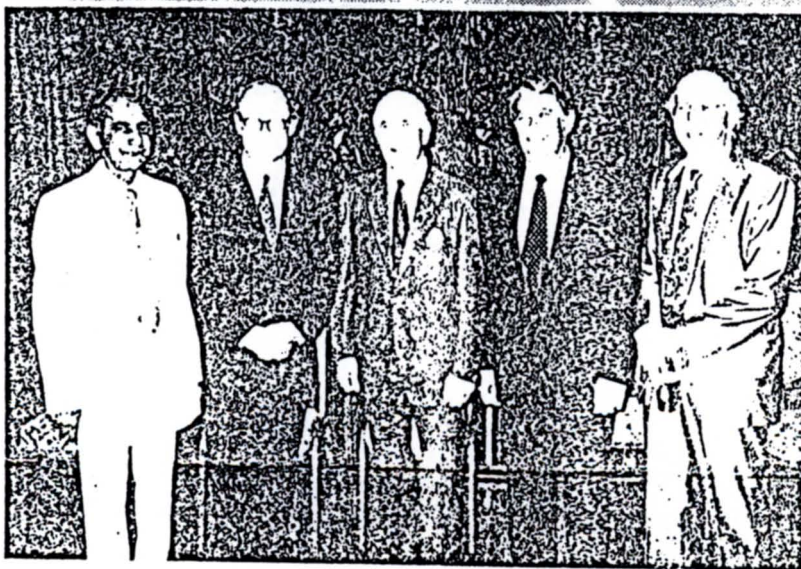
It was, however, vitally interested in regional investments, including those from overseas, and would make every endeavour to explore and suggest suitable opportunities for investors.

Following the handing over of the Grootville report to Deputy Minister Schutte, a cocktail party was held at

the Maidstone Club at which the guest of honour was Piet Marais, Minister of Administration, Education, and Culture. Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister, Renier Schoeman, also attended.

It was, according to a spokesman, 'a sensible and practical way of bringing together people who are in a position to influence and promote North Coast investments and prosperity.'

## CABINET MINISTERS ON VISIT



Enjoying themselves at the NCRDA cocktail party at the Maidstone Club last week, were, from left to right: M.M. Singh, Danie Schutte, MP, Charles Dent, Renier Schoeman, MP, and Archie Parkhouse. See lead story.



(i) BIG PLANS FOR GROUTVILLE

(Source: Stanger Weekly: 1992-02-07)

# Big plans for Groutville

Stanger Weekly  
Reporter

Peace and stability looks assured in the Groutville area with big plans for redevelopment of the area.

Groutville is on the verge of becoming one of the first African areas in the country to have negotiated the right to control the planning process in its area.

It will now be given a chance to dictate its own future - for the first time in its nearly 150-year history.

On Sunday February 16 residents of the 50 000 community which stretches from Nchaweni to as far as Etete in the south, will come together to discuss their future.

The meeting is being convened by the Groutville Interim Development Committee under the guidance of internationally renowned community organisation, CORD (Centre for Community Organisation Residents and Development) which is actively working in various areas in Natal.

In an exclusive interview with the Stanger Weekly Groutville Interim Committee chairman, Mr. Sduzuzo Gumede said the Committee had concluded the first stages of an agreement with the Department of Development Aid (DDA), the authority which has the statutory control over the area.

The February 16 mass meeting will be held to decide the planning process which must be acceptable to the community.

Previously all planning was done by whites and the community was forced to accept a top-down planning model, Gumede explained.

He said however, in the spirit of a changing South

Africa authorities had appeared to have changed their stance on such issues and the case of Groutville was unique.

The area to be developed will include Groutville Central, Mnyundwini, Tembani, Lloyd's, Nkukwini (which incorporates Nchaweni) and Hangsul.

Gumede explained there had already been several successful projects in the area.

Some of these are:

- A Welfare Project
- A Health Project/Committee (which has the service of an ambulance, three drivers, two senior sisters and 10 trained health workers)
- A Water Project (five technicians, small scale water systems)
- A Child Care Project (examines child care in all wards and assists with co-ordination of wards).
- A Sewing Group

The Phakamani Groutville Chicken Group (Brings together 80 farmers to rear poultry).

- The Mnyundwini Club (which is presently building a multi-purpose centre)

- An Agricultural committee (looking at small scale agricultural projects and is presently also examining the feasibility of a dairy project.)

These projects were undertaken under the guidance of CORD.

Gumede said an original structural plan had been proposed by the DDA previously but this was rejected by the people of the area because they feared it would cause tensions in the community as they were not consulted in the drawing up of the plan.

"This structural plan did not address the needs of the community.

"The DDA spent thousands in drawing up plans

but it is lying on their shelves.

"We felt a new plan should be drawn up by the community and be presented to the State for implementation.

"The community will discuss at the public meeting the need to establish a planning committee to bring in the technical expertise.

"This will be done to ensure that the community participates in the drawing up of the new plan from the start to the end.



GROUTVILLE committee chairperson, Sduzuzo Gumede.

(ii) EDITORIAL OPINION

(Source: The Stanger Weekly: April 1992)

## Editorial Opinion

The development of the Groutville area is a welcome sign.

An added feature of the development is the authorities willingness to plan with the people of the area, despite earlier plans drawn up without the consent of the people, which the authorities are prepared to scrap.

Groutville is an underprivileged area, which has been neglected by the authorities for far too long.

However, the development of the area must include industry to provide work for these people, or they will be allocated houses, and thereafter be unable to meet the payments.

The development of the area will provide residents with the basic commodities, the absence of which has made their lives very difficult.

The absence of piped water, electricity and water borne sewerage will most definitely uplift the standard of their lives.

All this will go a long way in bringing peace and stability to the area.

We hope the plans will not lie on the desks and shelves of the authorities, but as soon the people sanction it, the plans would be put into action.

This ambitious plan must be given the support of commerce and industry.

It is now up to the people to attend this important meeting.

APPENDIX G : TABULAR RESPONSES OF SQUATTERS' NEEDS

PERSON INTERVIEWED	CATEGORY					RESPONSE SHOWING RANKING OF NEEDS							
	A	B	C	D	E	SITES & SERVICES	CORE HOUSING	PUBLIC HOUSING	IN SITU UPGRADING	WATER	ROADS	EDUC	HEALTH
CELE; PATRICK					*				3	1	-	2	4
DHLOVU; ROBERT					*				3	1	-	2	4
THOMBELA; ALLISON					*				3	1	-	2	4
GUMEDE; ETTIE	*								2	1	4	-	3
KING; ELISABETH	*								2	1	3	-	4
MHLONGO; GLORIA	*								2	1	4	-	3
NGABA, GUGU	*								2	1	3	-	4
DHLAMINI; MOODUSE		*							2	1	4	3	-
KHUMALO; ROBINSON		*							2	1	-	3	4
MASUKO; WELCOME		*							2	1	3	-	4
NGOBO; FLOMENA		*							2	1	-	4	3
NGOBO JOHANNES		*							2	1	-	3	4
NZIMANDE; ANGELINE		*							2	1	4	3	-
NZIMELA; AMOS		*							2	1	3	4	-
SABELO; JOHANNES		*							2	1	-	4	3
ZULU; BUSISIWE		*							2	1	-	3	4
BUYISA; AGNES			*			2				1	-	4	3
DHLAMINI; PATRICK			*			2				1	3	4	-
HLOMOKA; GUGU			*						2	1	4	3	3
MASINGA; JULIA				*		2			4	1	-	-	3
MATHEZA; RICHARD				*		2			4	1	-	-	3
MATHEZA; SAMSON				*		2			4	1	-	-	3

KEY

CATEGORY

A - LAND OWNER  
 B - SQUATTER OWNER  
 C - TENANT SQUATTER  
 D - REFUGEE SQUATTER  
 E - SCHOLAR

RESPONSES

1 - VERY HIGH NEED  
 2 - HIGH NEED  
 3 - FAIR  
 4 - LOW NEED