



UNIVERSITY
OF NATAL
CASS
DURBAN

JORAC - A RESPONSE TO
THE FAILURE OF THE
PRESENT BLACK
TOWNSHIP ADMINISTRATION
SYSTEM?

Jenny Wheeler

DOCUMENT AND MEMORANDUM SERIES

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
Sentrum vir Toegepaste Maatskaplike Wetenskappe

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN

JORAC - A RESPONSE TO
THE FAILURE OF THE
PRESENT BLACK
TOWNSHIP ADMINISTRATION
SYSTEM?

Jenny Wheeler

85/259

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
King George V Avenue
Durban 4001
South Africa

CASS/17. WHE

Dissertation submitted in partial
fulfilment of the Honours degree
in Applied Social Sciences

January 1984

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
Durban

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u>	(i)
<u>LIST OF TABLES</u>	(ii)
<u>1. INTRODUCTION</u>	1
<u>2. WHAT HAPPENED IN DURBAN'S TOWNSHIPS?</u>	3
<u>3. JORAC - AN URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT</u>	14
<u>4. BLACK LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES</u>	26
<u>5. THE RESEARCH STUDY</u>	36
<u>5.1 BRIEF BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT LAMONTVILLE AND CHESTERVILLE</u>	36
<u>5.2 METHOD</u>	38
<u>5.3 RESULTS</u>	42
5.3.1 The Community's Perception of the Problems in The Townships	43
5.3.2 Attitudes Towards The Various Bodies/ Organisations Connected To The Townships	49
5.3.3 The Question of Administration and Representation in the Townships	55
5.3.4 Housing	60
<u>5.4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS</u>	63
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	
<u>APPENDIX I</u> <u>THE QUESTIONNAIRE</u>	
<u>APPENDIX II</u> <u>THE COVERING LETTER</u>	

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the respondents who agreed to answer the questionnaire - without them the survey would not have been possible. I would also like to thank the interviewers for working over the weekends.

Thanks are also due to Marisa Fick of the Indicator Project and Professor Schlemmer for his supervision.

Very important also were Ulla Bulteel and Mrs Y Kerswell respectively for their patient computing and patient typing.

Finally, I would like to thank Sheldon Rankin for his encouragement and advice.

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>Page</u>
<u>TABLE 1</u>	<u>REASONS FOR DISTURBANCES</u>	43
<u>TABLE 2</u>	<u>DISSATISFACTIONS WITH TOWNSHIP ADMINISTRATION</u>	45
<u>TABLE 3</u>	<u>SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS IN THE TOWNSHIPS</u>	47
<u>TABLE 4</u>	<u>PERCEIVED HELPFULNESS OR OTHERWISE OF BODIES CONNECTED TO THE TOWNSHIPS</u>	49
<u>TABLE 5</u>	<u>THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S INTENTIONS</u>	53
<u>TABLE 6</u>	<u>ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL SYSTEM</u>	55
<u>TABLE 7</u>	<u>DESIRED ADMINISTRATION IN THE TOWNSHIPS</u>	59
<u>TABLE 8</u>	<u>ACCEPTABLE RENT INCREASE PER MONTH</u>	60
<u>TABLE 9</u>	<u>RESIDENCE X ACCEPTABLE RENT INCREASE PER MONTH</u>	61
<u>TABLE 10</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE WANTING TO BUY THEIR HOUSES</u>	61
<u>TABLE 11</u>	<u>ACCEPTABLE PURCHASE PRICE FOR HOUSES</u>	62

1. INTRODUCTION

Since early in 1983 Lamontville and Chesterville have been featured in the newspapers and for some of this time it was known that it was not safe to go into these townships. Large-scale violence and unrest had broken out - many people were killed, many more were injured and buildings and vehicles were damaged. The police were called in - the townships were described as being in a state of "undeclared martial law".

All the above was a reaction to the announcement by the P.N.A.B. of high rent increases. The people claimed that they could not afford these increases. Recently there had been bus fare increases, and the recession and unemployment had hit the people badly.

Another development was recorded in the newspapers - the formation of the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC). This organisation represents people in all the P.N.A.B. townships.

I decided to conduct a survey in these townships to gauge grass roots opinion and was joined by the C.A.S.S. Indicator Project. Each party then used the results as they felt most appropriate.

I decided to look at the results from the perspective of urban social movements - JORAC being the example. It has tried hard to stop the increases - they were delayed until August but are now in effect. JORAC has argued that essentially it is fighting for a greater share of the "Social Wage". The people in the townships contribute to the economy and should therefore receive their fair share back from it.

The report is thus laid out in the following manner :-

1. The Introduction.
2. From Newspaper reports the "story" of the rent hikes is recorded so as to gain a picture of what happened in the townships.
3. The theory of urban social movements is then looked at and is contextualised by looking at JORAC.
4. Since urban social movements are partly a reaction to unsatisfactory local government structures, these structures and their history are detailed. Much of JORAC's support is due to the fact that the present structures for local government have failed.
5. Finally the survey and conclusions drawn from it are reported on.

2. WHAT HAPPENED IN DURBAN'S TOWNSHIPS - A CHRONOLOGICAL
OUTLINE

1982

- October 1 : All Township and Hostel residents under the jurisdiction of the Port Natal Administration Board (P.N.A.B.) were informed that the monthly rental would be increased, and would be spread over a period of three years by means of six-monthly increases.
- December 1 : The Durban Transport Management Board (D.T.M.B.) announced an increase in bus fares of 20%. A bus boycott was instituted almost immediately and continues though it is dying off.

1983

- March 16 : Although Dr Koornhof had received several petitions from the P.N.A.B. townships he announced that the rent increases would take effect from May 1 1983.
- April 19 : The Chairman of the recently formed Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC), Mr Richard Gumede, said that lawyers were working on an interdict to stop the P.N.A.B imposing rent increases.
(Daily News 19/4/83)
- April 25 : Mr Msizi Harrison Dube (a leading member of JORAC), an Ningizuma Community Councillor and the man informally referred to as the "Mayor of Lamontville" was assassinated at his home.
(Rand Daily Mail 27/4/83)
- April 26 : A mob attacked the home of Mr Moonlight Gasa, official Mayor of Lamontville - 1 person was killed and another seriously injured. Early in the evening a bus was stoned and an attempt was made to burn it.

Mobs of people who were angered by Mr Dube's killing surged through Lamontville. They set up roadblocks in the township and cars trying to get through were either stoned or turned back.

(Daily Despatch 27/4/83)

- April 27 : The P.N.A.B. held a press conference at which they explained that the rent hikes were necessary to pay for the increased cost of services for residents. If these costs were not passed on to residents the P.N.A.B. would go bankrupt. The board said that comprehensive discussions were held with the community councils and advisory boards concerned. JORAC, however, claims that any discussions about rents were merely to inform community councillors about what was happening - no negotiation took place.
(Natal Mercury 27/4/83)
- April 29 : Dr George Morrison, Deputy Minister of the Department of Co-operation and Development, asked residents to keep calm and not to be incited by trouble-makers.
(Daily News 29/4/83)
- May 2 : The chief director of P.N.A.B., Mr Hennie du Plessis, announced that the Board (P.N.A.B.) would spread the rent increases over 3 months. Half the increase would come into effect from May 1 and the other half as from August 1. In addition there would be a 15% increase from November 1. But at Mr Dube's funeral Mr Gumede (chairman of JORAC) rejected the above and called for the scrapping of community councils.
(N.M. 2/5/83)
- May 3 : Mr Gumede said that JORAC would send telexes to Dr. Koornhof, Dr Morrison, the P.N.A.B. and opposition M.P.'s calling for a moratorium.
(R.D.M. 3/5/83)

- May 4 : The Home of Mr Gasa was set alight by an angry mob soon after his furniture and belongings had been removed and loaded onto P.N.A.B. trucks. Two other houses were also set alight by rioters and roadblocks were set up by mobs.
(Argus 4/5/83)
- May 5 : It was reported that three P.F.P. MP's from the Durban area - Mr Gastrow, Mr Swart and Mr Pitman would be discussing the Lamontville crisis and rent increase with Dr Morrison for the third time.
(R.D.M. 5/5/83)
- May 9 : Dr Koornhof, after lengthy discussions with local community leaders and JORAC, announced that the proposed 63% rent increases in Lamontville had been suspended until August 1 and R250 000 would be spent on the maintenance and renovation of houses in the area.
(D.D. 9/5/83)
- May 13 : 800 people attended JORAC's report back meeting, on the meeting with Dr. Koornhof. The residents agreed unanimously that they would not pay the higher rents in August and called for a government subsidy.
(D.N. 13/5/83)
- May 22 : The Sunday Times reported that JORAC said that Lamontville had a housing shortage, a lack of maintenance, unsatisfactory refuse collection, a lack of community facilities and generally deteriorating conditions (This report supports the results of the research study).
- June 15 : Mr Ian Mkhize, Chairman for 4 years of the 6-member Hambanati Council and a prominent member of JORAC resigned from the council because he said Dr. Koornhof

was not prepared to listen to community councils. He forecast that in future black communities would opt for grass roots movements, like JORAC, outside of government structures.

(N.M. 16/6/83)

June 16 : There was violence in the townships. A bus driver was killed. The police used teargas. One man claims he was shot by police.

(N.M. 17/6/83)

June 17 : The Lamontville post office was fired by youths in a day of unrest. Several people were seriously injured.

(N.M. 18/6/83)

June 19 : The Sunday Tribune reported allegations that 2 babies had been asphyxiated by teargas.

June 19 : Lamontville was quiet again.

(N.M. 20/6/83)

June 22 : Several P.N.A.B. buildings (including the Ningizuma Community Council Chamber) and a pick-up truck were seriously damaged by fire. The damage was estimated at R200 000.

(Star 23/6/83 and N.M. 24/6/83)

June 23 : Mr Gasa and 3 other men pleaded guilty to murdering Mr Dube. That night a stone throwing mob of youths tried to set fire to P.N.A.B. offices in Chesterville. (It was suggested that this was linked to Mr Gasa's court appearance).

(Star 24/6/83)

June 28 : Mr Peter Gastrow P.F.P., MP for Durban Central called on the Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange

to make a personal inspection of the tense Lamontville and Chesterville. He told Parliament that the 2 townships had been 'sealed off' by police whose presence was contributing to increased tensions and an atmosphere of confrontation - riot vehicles were said to be patrolling day and night. The press were not allowed to enter the townships.

(N.M. 29/6/83)

June 30 : Mr Pitman (P.F.P. MP for Pinetown) reported allegations of police brutality to Parliament and described the situation as one of "undeclared martial law".

(N.M. 30/6/83)

June 30 : Mr L. le Grange said the 2 babies deaths had not been caused by teargas. Mr Pitman asked why no private pathologists were present at the post mortem.

(D.N. 30/6/83)

July 1 : Mrs N Mxenge, a Durban Attorney, said that she had taken statements from more than 50 people in Lamontville and Chesterville on police action during the unrest in the townships.

JORAC started their peace-making attempts :

Mr Mkhize and Rev. Xundu (a member of JORAC) had talks with the S.A.P. Divisional Commissioner for Port Natal who assured them that police would not molest residents but would maintain a presence there as long as there was unrest. Rev. Xundu said that at a meeting in the community hall today (1/7/83) he would appeal to people to keep calm and stop the unrest.

(Star 1/7/83)

July 3 : The meeting planned by JORAC to protest against police action in Lamontville and Chesterville was banned by the acting chief magistrate of Durban.

- July 7 : A spokesperson for the Minister of Police said in Durban today that none of the allegations against the police, put forward in Parliament, have yet been found to be true.
(D.N. 7/7/83)
- July 8 : The Rand Daily Mail reported that 38 people will come to trial on August 15 on charges of public violence in Lamontville. This includes the burning of houses, beerhalls and administrative offices as well as damage to buses.
- July 8 : Mr Pitman and Mr Gastrow say that their visits to Lamontville have provided strong support for the allegations of police brutality made in Parliament. They pointed out that since the police had withdrawn the townships had quietened down.
(Argus 8/7/83)
- On the same day it was announced that the police have investigated and rejected all the allegations made by the MP's in parliament.
(D.D. 8/7/83)
- July 8 : At a Press Conference the police said that they suspected that the A.N.C. was behind planned unrest in the townships.
- July 9 : 4 Natal Church leaders urged Dr Koornhof not to go ahead with the rent increase on August 1.
(D.N. 9/7/83)
- July 10 : The Sunday Tribune reported that residents in Lamontville and Chesterville had found it difficult to lay complaints against the police at police stations. Some say they were turned away, others say they were threatened with more violence.

- July 12 : The Mayor of Durban, Mrs S Hotz visited Lamontville and Chesterville and had private discussions with JORAC. She said afterwards that she would urge Dr Koornhof to postpone rent increases and she would push for home ownership schemes at affordable prices. The main complaint was that the houses were not properly maintained by the P.N.A.B. and thus higher rents were not justified.
(D.N. 12/7/83)
- July 12 : The Natal Mercury reported that houses in the P.N.A.B townships were being repainted and repaired.
- July 12 : At separate meetings in Lamontville and Chesterville last week decisions were taken that JORAC should ask for Durban Corporation control of the township - this was desired because the Durban corporation was subsidised by central government. The acting chief of P.N.A.B. said that it would be some time before a decision could be taken. Control by the Kwazulu government was rejected.
(D.N. 12/7/83)
- July 12 : Violence erupted in Chesterville after Mr Pitman and Mr Gastrow visited there. Youths stoned the P.N.A.B. building injuring a white employee and a black employee. Two P.N.A.B. vehicles and several private cars were damaged. Riot police were called in and the people dispersed.
(N.M. 13/7/83)
- July 13 : The Daily News reported that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, said that it would be thoughtless and callous to raise rents in the areas under P.N.A.B. jurisdiction.
- July 14 : The Natal Mercury reported that residents in the

townships were unimpressed with the repairs and renovations that had taken place.

- July 16 : A meeting was held between the P.N.A.B. and Lamontville residents. The residents told the P.N.A.B. that they must go to the government for the necessary money. They rejected the rent hikes and called for the abolition of the community council system. The Board (P.N.A.B.) for the first time stated that it recognised JORAC as representative of the township residents.
(N.M. 18/7/83)
- July 20 : A youth was shot and wounded by police during the night after a mob had stoned and set fire to a P.N.A.B. building in Chesterville. This indication of continued unrest resulted in the P.N.A.B. cancelling a proposed meeting at Chesterville between the P.N.A.B. and JORAC. The P.N.A.B. said that JORAC had not yet managed to bring peace.
(D.N. 22/7/83)
- July 21 : It was announced that Mr Louis Rive and Mr A.D.H. Hankinson were to start an inquiry into the Natal housing situation.
(N.M. 21/7/83)
- July 28 : An Application to the Supreme Court by the Ningizuma Community Council and a Chesterville resident, Mr Edwin Themba Ngobeni (a member of Inkatha), to stop the rent increase on August 1 was passed. They questioned whether the P.N.A.B. and the Department of Co-operation & Development were able to take a decision about rents without the agreement of the community council.
(N.M. 29/7/83)
- July 30 : A decision was taken at a prayer meeting organised by

JORAC that there would be a rent boycott.

(N.M. 1/8/83)

August 1 : Chief Gatsha Buthelezi sent a telegram to Dr. Koornhof asking him to stop rent increases at least until the outcome of the court application on August 19 has been revealed.

(D.N. 1/8/83)

August 7 : In the evening hundreds of youths attacked the P.N.A.B offices at Klaarwater.

(N.M. 7/8/83)

August 19 : Judgement in the Supreme Court was reserved on the rent increase - it was suggested that the rent increase should be suspended for now.

(N.M. 20/8/83)

August 31 : It was announced that Lamontville and Hambanati would be incorporated into Kwazulu. The community leaders were angered by the announcement as they had not been consulted at all. Incorporation meant that people would lose their section 10 rights.

September 2 : Black entrepreneurs will get liquor control in the townships.

(D.N. 2/9/83)

September 18: The Sunday Tribune reported that 2000 Lamontville residents attended a meeting at which they expressed objections to incorporation into Kwazulu - they wanted to maintain their S.A. citizenship.

October 15 : The Inkatha Women's Brigade has called for the residents of Lamontville to be given an opportunity to decide for themselves whether they should be incorporated into Kwazulu.

(N.M. 15/10/83)

- October 16 : A mob of stone-throwing youths burnt cars and disrupted a rents meeting called by the Ningizuma community council. In the afternoon a mob of about 500 men from the nearby S.J. Smith hostel (Inkatha supporters) crossed the freeway and attempted to enter the township but were forced back by the police. There was very clearly a clash between the conservative and more radical factions over the townships proposed inclusion into Kwazulu.
(N.M. 17/10/83)
- October 17 : Sunday's clash continued on Monday (October 17) when about 50 hostel dwellers armed with sticks and stones tried to march across the access bridge to Lamontville but were foiled by police. Later a man was found dead on the bridge.
(D.N. 18/10/83)
- October 21 : Rev. Xundu (of JORAC) received a kidnap threat.
(D.N. 21/10/83)
- October 23 : Residents of 4 major black hostels in Durban resolved to retrieve all the money from JORAC which they had contributed to a fund to legally oppose the high rent increases. They reaffirmed their support for Kwazulu.
(N.M. 24/10/83)
- November 3 : More than 35% of tenants in P.N.A.B's townships have not paid rent since judgement was reserved in a Supreme Court Action. The P.N.A.B. said that if the outcome of the court action was in favour of the P.N.A.B. then they would have to act against those who hadn't paid rent, as there was a long waiting list for housing.
(N.M. 3/11/83)

- November 5 : The judge in the Supreme Court Action concluded that the community council had entered into an agreement which allowed the Board to determine rents. An appeal was lodged against this decision.
(N.M. 5/11/83)
- November 22 : The P.N.A.B. has started to lock up the houses of several Lamontville residents who had not paid rent for 3 months or more and who had already been warned that this could happen.
(N.M. 22/11/83)
- November 23 : The deputy chairman of the Ningizuma Community Council has urged residents to pay their rents. She was reacting to the Board saying that they would lock up the houses of those who hadn't paid rent for three months or more.
- December 4 : The Sunday Tribune reported that the P.N.A.B. had resorted to forcing employers of Lamontville residents to deduct monies owed to them from employee's wages in an attempt to break the back of the year-old rent problems. Community and labour leaders this week warned of serious labour unrest should employers accede to the board's demands.
- December 15 : More than 500 Lamontville residents demanded that the P.N.A.B. enter negotiations with JORAC within the next 7 days. A JORAC spokesperson said Mr du Plessis had agreed last month to talk to JORAC but had since been advised by the community council not to negotiate with it. JORAC was shocked by this as they said it was obvious the Community Council had no support. Subsequently the P.N.A.B. told JORAC that they would meet them and the Community Council in the new year.
(N.M. 16/12/83)

3. JORAC - AN URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

In order to situate JORAC in a theoretical context, we will look at the theory of urban social movements. The theory of Manuel Castells, one of the more prominent reproduction space theorists, will be used.

We will begin by looking at Marxist theory about the division that capitalist society creates, between working and living.

At his place of work - the place of production - the worker experiences alienation. He labours all day and yet at the end of the day after putting himself into the product it does not belong to him but to the capitalist. This labour is thus external to the worker - it is not part of his very nature.

"It is not a satisfaction of a need but only a means
to satisfy other needs"

(Marx cited in Reintges 83 : 2)

The worker attempts to make up for this alienation experienced at work, when he is at home - it is only at home that he really feels that he is living. A division is thus set up between working and living. This division is however only superficial - capital dominates both parts of a worker's life (see concept of "collective consumption" below).

This division between working and living is functional to the continuance of the capitalist system. The two areas of conflict are successfully separated, although they are actually intimately related to one another. Struggles taking place in the living place are actually reflections of the deeper struggle between workers and

capital that takes place at the work place.

Let us now turn to the concept of "collective consumption" (a term used by Castells 1977) or the "social wage." The wage level paid to the workforce is largely determined by what is necessary to sustain it. One of the major problems of the capitalist economy is that all the goods and services necessary to reproduce labour power cannot be provided in the normal cycle of commodity production e.g. schooling, low-income housing, parks etc. Since they cannot be provided by the private sector it is necessary that the state intervenes. The money to do this comes from taxes - taxes on the ordinary citizen and taxes on capital. Hence over and above the wages received in the workplace labour also receives a "social wage" in the living place. Like wages in the workplace the size of the social wage is the outcome of conflict between capital and labour. It follows that it is in the interests of capital in general to keep the provision of these "collective consumption" goods to an absolute minimum. This becomes very clear if one looks at the provision of "public goods" in the townships. In South Africa, we find the rather extreme situation of the government adopting a policy of self-financing by the residents. The government obviously want to keep the social wage as low as possible.

Two different types of organisations form as a reaction to the Capitalist system - community organisations (or urban social movements) in the living place and trade unions in the work place. We will be focussing on urban social movements.

An urban social movement as defined by Castells (1977 : 263) is

"A system of practices resulting from the articulation of a conjuncture of the system of urban agents and of other social practices in such a way that its development tends objectively towards the structural transformation of the urban system or towards a substantial modification of the power relations in the class struggle, that is to say, in the last resort, in the power of the state."

Urban Social Movements arise as a response to exploitation in terms of the social wage. They fight for the rights of people at the level of the living place. They aim not merely to improve the situation but they also aim to change the distribution of resources. This can be seen in JORAC's desire for the townships to be under the administration of the Durban City Council - in this way they believe they are more likely to get their share of the social wage - they do not accept the current mode of revenue generation in the townships. It is also on the basis of this argument that they are fighting the government's desire to incorporate Lamontville and Hambanati into KwaZulu. This is clearly shown in a press statement put out by them.

"We are integral parts of the towns and cities around which we find ourselves staying and working. Through our labour and skills we continue to contribute to their wealth and development and thus we are entitled to resources both financial and technical which accrue from these towns and cities, for this reason residents have expressed to JORAC their strong desire that they want to remain as part and parcel of these towns

and cities."

(JORAC press statement August 1983)

Struggles in the townships are thus very clearly struggles over the social wage. Let us now look at one urban social movement in Durban - JORAC (Joint Rent Action Committee) and its struggle against rent increases.

Let us look briefly at the formation of JORAC. At the beginning of October 1983 Mr du Plessis (chief director of P.N.A.B.) announced that there would be rent increases in all the P.N.A.B. townships. In that same month the Klaarwater Residents Association was formed. They were dissatisfied with their advisory board and felt the need for an alternative association. The Residents Associations sent two petitions and several protest letters to Dr. Koornhof and to the P.N.A.B. They also investigated the possibility of legal action against the P.N.A.B.

In March 1983 Hambanati formed a residents' association. They wrote several protest letters to Dr Koornhof and the P.N.A.B. They also held several meetings to discuss the rent issue and people resolved not to pay the rent increases. This residents association formed partly as a reaction to the failure of the Hambanati Community Council which had petitioned Dr Koornhof but had been ignored.

The Lamontville Rent Action Committee was also formed in March 1983. The Lamontville residents had realised the ineffectiveness of the community council system. They worked together with Malayo - a

youth organisation - on a petition seeking Dr Koornhof's intervention and stopping of the rent increases.

The Lamontville Rent Action Committee met with the Klaarwater Residents Association and the Hambanati Residents Association on the 8 April 1983 at the Ecumenical Centre where the Joint Rent Action Committee was launched. These bodies realised that joint action was the best way to struggle against the rent increases. They felt that other areas also affected by the rent increases should be invited to the next JORAC meeting.

In May (1983) the Chesterville Rent Action Committee and Chakaville Residents Association were formed after contact with JORAC and in the same month they joined JORAC. The hostels were also contacted by JORAC and in fact had collected money for the legal action they had decided upon.

What essentially brought all these organisations together under the umbrella of JORAC?

"In practice JORAC came into being as a result of the communities loss of confidence, however little it was, with the statutory bodies which P.N.A.B. bullied around. Restrictions placed on these bodies (community councils and advisory boards) makes them extremely ineffective".

(From a Pamphlet put out by D.H.A.C. and JORAC 1983)

JORAC was thus formed as a reaction to the ineffectiveness of the statutory bodies set up by the government. It was catapulted into formation by the rent increases.

Once JORAC was formed it began a campaign against the rent increases. Its immediate task was to seek the intervention of Dr Koornhof as the rent increases were imminent. A memorandum summing up people's main grievances and demands was posted to Dr Koornhof. In order to get support for their campaign JORAC sent copies of the memo plus letters asking for support to organisations such as D.H.A.C. (Durban Housing Action Committee), Diakonia, Black Sash and others. These memos and letters were also sent to eight opposition party MP's asking them to raise the issue in parliament.

JORAC organised several mass meetings where there was a big turnout. After the killing of Mr Dube in April violence erupted in the townships - there was some questionable police action. Eventually in May, after several telexes from JORAC and much pressure from various bodies, Dr. Koornhof came to Durban. After talks with JORAC Dr Koornhof postponed the rent increases until August 1. He also agreed to make money immediately available for housing maintenance. JORAC undertook to encourage people to attend meetings called by the P.N.A.B. and to try and restore peace in the townships.

Later when people attended P.N.A.B. meetings and JORAC report-back meetings they said "Asinamali" - "we have no money" - and also said that the money provided for maintenance was hopelessly inadequate.

Clearly they were not looking for a postponement, they were looking for a cancellation of the increases. At several community meetings in July it was agreed that JORAC should ask for Durban Corporation control of the township.

At a meeting held between the P.N.A.B. and Lamontville residents on July 16 the board stated that it recognised JORAC as representative of the township residents - However later they seemed unsure of this but eventually went back to recognising JORAC as representative of the township residents. This recognition is fairly significant; they accepted that the community council system had all but collapsed and they needed some way of speaking to township residents.

So far JORAC has succeeded in halting the increases - whether they will be able to get them cancelled is debatable. JORAC is presently tackling another issue - that of Lamontville and Hambanati's proposed inclusion into Kwazulu. Their main argument is the same one they are using to fight against the rent increases - they are essentially demanding a fair social wage for the contribution they are making to South Africa's economy. They realise that Kwazulu is certainly not rich and it is unlikely that conditions will improve under their administration.

What chance of success do JORAC have? Will they be able to get the rent increases cancelled? and will they be able to stop the incorporation of Hambanati into Kwazulu? Let us now turn again to Castells' theory on urban social movements in an attempt to answer these questions.

Castells says that urban social movements have the potential for

"producing a qualitatively new effect on the social structure" (1977 : 261). He does however indicate that there are several obstacles which need to be overcome.

"The more or less revolutionary side of urban movements will depend to a large extent on the ability of the state apparatus to integrate, that is to say on the mass of resources it can devote to integration, as well as upon the balance of power between classes, which lies at the root of the form and orientation of the administration of public resources."

(Castells 1977 : 377)

There are thus two aspects. The first is "the ability of the state apparatus to integrate". Smit (1983 : 7) takes this phrase to mean the maintenance by the state of social cohesion which can be achieved by dividing labour in the labour place through selective co-optation or through simple repression. In South Africa we see that the state has responded in both ways.

The local government structures set up in the townships (i.e. advisory boards, community councils and now town and village councils) to effect meaningful participation and representation have always been seen by many as co-optive. These structures have only succeeded in a limited sense. The incorporation of Umlazi and KwaMashu into the KwaZulu homeland does seem to have been successful. They experience

few protests over rents, transport etc. Though co-option has not succeeded at Mdantsane in the Ciskei where there were massive bus boycotts. (Smit 83:7)

Urban social movements need to resist the above attempts at integration. If they do they are more likely to achieve real change.

We see therefore that if JORAC can resist KwaZulu integration attempts and is successful in their demands to have the P.N.A.B. townships incorporated into the D.C.C. then real and significant changes may be forthcoming - real changes in the relations of dominance may have been achieved.

The second problem Castells talked about was that real change depended very much on the balance of class forces. Let us look at where capital and labour derive their power from.

Capital's power derives from its control over the media, educational and other state apparatuses; its control over the means of production; its control over the military and other coercive state apparatuses. Labour's power derives from its ability to withhold labour on the one hand and disrupt processes of accumulation on the other by withholding rent, bus fares etc. The state finds it relatively easy to exercise its power in comparison to labour. The exercising of labour's power depends on the level of class consciousness and the cohesiveness of the worker movement - these require political organisation. Castells (1977) notes that political organisation is vital in two respects, 1) in linking of the various struggles, i.e. housing,

transportation, education and so on has the effect of increasing class consciousness of their common structural source. If these struggles are not linked Castells suggests that urban politics will degenerate into internecine struggles in which gains to one group are won at the cost of another. People are thus divided. 2) Organisation should result in the assimilation of urban social movements into working class political movements and then the unity of living place and work place conflicts is asserted and their popular base is broadened. Dan Smit (1983 : 8) suggests that one of the main reasons for JORAC's strength is the fact that it has been very well organised. Though the various communities have been geographically separate they have been organised into a single movement to fight rent increases. JORAC has also made links with other significant urban social movements in Durban such as the Joint Commuters Committee (J.C.C.) and the Durban Housing Action Committee (D.H.A.C.). Links have also been made with various progressive organisations like Diakonia and the trade unions. From the research study it is clear that JORAC has achieved massive legitimacy with the communities it claims to represent.

Working class mobilisation at the community level complements the more traditional mobilisation in the work place. In fact Castells (1977) argues that urban social movements may have particular significance since they have the potential to bridge gaps between fractions of labour such as divisions between blue and white collar workers. Thousands of people in South Africa's black housing schemes and townships are affected by rent and bus increases - not just the members of particular trade unions. If people can mobilise at this level and in these numbers then there is a better chance that there will be significant change.

We thus see that urban social movements have the potential to bring about change at the community level, but how limited are they? Are community struggles not secondary to the struggle at the work place where production relations are challenged directly? Castells points out that the community terrain may in certain circumstances become the primary terrain for working class mobilisation.

"A structurally secondary issue can be a conjuncturally principle one. This means that the political importance of an urban movement can only be judged by relating it to the effects it has upon the power relations between social classes in a concrete situation." (Castells 1977 : 377)

Smit (1983 : 10) suggests that "A conjuncture in which the community terrain is of substantial political importance in South Africa may well be upon us". He points to the new constitution which is a massive attempt at selective co-option. The United Democratic Front (U.D.F.) - a broad political front - has formed to oppose the constitutional proposals. Should the U.D.F. along with other opposers of the constitution be able to force the state to include Africans, a substantial change in power relations will have been achieved. Even if they do not succeed in this they will probably succeed in highlighting the main contradiction facing the state - the need to gain legitimacy on the one hand and selectively co-opt on the other - thereby making clear what the proposals really mean and in this way contributing to class consciousness.

Urban social movements do have some built in problems as Reintges (1983 : 9) points out. There is the problem of what happens when an issue has been successfully taken up. The people involved are largely working class people who have to sacrifice time after work - they are usually able to do this for immediate issues, but after that their enthusiasm dies off - this has much to do with the level of political awareness of individuals. It is generally fairly low and education programs are often necessary in order to heighten it. As yet JORAC has not had this problem of "afterwards" - they are still fighting against the increases.

It is clear that urban social movements have the potential to bring about much social change. The history of JORAC would seem to indicate that it has this potential; whether it will be able to realise it in the South African context only time will tell.

4. BLACK* LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES

In South Africa black people do not have the franchise at the national level of government. Local government structures are thus their only formal opportunity for participation and representation, and thus are very important. Let us look at the history of black local government in South Africa.

The Native Urban Areas Act was passed in 1923. At this time each black township fell under the jurisdiction of a nearby white local authority. Under this Act Advisory Boards were appointed or elected for each township and met once a month with the white local authority. It is important to note here that only a small proportion of blacks resident in the townships were legally able to vote for these advisory boards - They were thus automatically not truly representative of all township residents. Under this Act a Native Revenue account was supposed to be set up by the white local authority for the townships under its jurisdiction. This was however a largely unsuccessful piece of legislation - the advisory boards could only advise the white local authority and most of the time they were not really listened to.

In 1945 the Native Urban Areas Consolidation Act was passed and according to this Act the white local authorities became the agents of the Department of Native Affairs to carry out native administration - advisory boards had to be set up for each location. They were, once again, largely unsuccessful and brought about little improvement in representation or conditions for blacks.

* In this chapter "black" refers to African people in South Africa.

1961 saw the passing of the Urban Bantu Council's Act in terms of which urban bantu councils (U.B.C.) were set up. They were under the control of white local authorities. The white local authorities were empowered to give them some executive functions, but in fact did not. They were once again merely advisory bodies with no power. The U.B.C.'s were met with large-scale apathy - the beginnings of the apathy which prevails today.

In the late 1960's it was decided to set up Administration Boards in place of white local authority control. In terms of the Black Affairs Administration Act of 1971 22 administration boards were set up - later reduced to 14 in April 1979. They were created in order to streamline and centralise township management and influx control. They have jurisdiction over all black people outside the homelands.

Partly in response to the 1976 Soweto riots community councils were established in 1977 (1977 Community Councils Act).

By the beginning of 1982 230 community councils had been established in South Africa (Hughes and Grest 1983 : 2). The state (government) said that this was a significant step forward as it allowed for meaningful representation - they argued that in future community councils would assume the role of "fully-fledged local government bodies". This system has since been rejected as a set of "puppet bodies" lacking in any clout (Hughes and Grest 1982 : 2). Very low polls have been recorded on election days. In 1982 the community council system almost collapsed - an indication of this was that at

the end of July 1983 the Department of Co-operation and Development announced that community council elections throughout South Africa, scheduled for September had been postponed until November 1983.

Why has the community council system failed? The Minister of Co-operation and Development has absolute control over every aspect of the functioning of community councils - from the decision to set the machinery in motion to establish a council, to granting it functions to perform, to dissolving it if it is in the "public interest" to do so. This has meant that consultation upwards and downwards (Community councils — Admin. Boards — Minister) has tended to be slow and also that community councils can be overruled on any decision taken in their chambers e.g. September 1982 when the Ingageng and Orkney community council chairman was sacked by the Western Transvaal Administration Board (W.T.A.B.) for refusing to sanction rent increases of 105% (Hughes and Grest 1982 : 4).

Though the Department of Co-operation and Development has stressed the significance of elections, campaigning, voters rolls etc, councillors have been unable to really use the structure in any sort of meaningful way. Many councillors began to realise that,

"they (the administration board) want to use us as a rubber stamp, which we cannot agree with." (Quoted in Hughes and Grest 1982 : 4).

The relation of the administration boards to community councils has been seen as one of principal and agent - the "principal" (the community council) taking decisions and making recommendations and

the "agent" (the board) carrying these out, since the board has the necessary resources, staff and expertise. It has not however, worked like this in practice. The community councillors play a token role and the board has most of the power.

The areas which the "principal" could cover were laid down in the Act; inter alia : the allocation and administration of the letting of single accommodation, dwellings and other buildings; sites for schools, churches and businesses; the combating and prevention of unlawful occupation of land and buildings; approval of building plans for private homes; demolition of unauthorised or abandoned buildings and structures; the control over the keeping of dogs and the imposition of a dog tax, the prohibition and regulation of the keeping of other animals besides dogs; promotion of moral and social welfare and sound community development in the area; administration of sport, recreational and library facilities; the award of bursaries, formation of a community guard and the maintenance of services determined by the Minister. In addition the council could made recommendations to the minister about education, transport and township regulations, impose levies after consultation with him and be given powers by him not specified in the Act (Hughes and Grest 1982 : 6).

Exactly which and how many of these functions have been given to each community council has been a matter of negotiation between the minister, board and council concerned. On the whole council members have not found themselves in the position of being able to take really important decisions. e.g. The P.N.A.B. decided that rents would go up - the community council was overruled.

The administration boards (and hence community councils) have two sources of revenue. For capital expenditure (such as housing projects) they rely on allocations from the Department's annual budget. As far as running and maintenance costs are concerned boards are expected to be self-sufficient. Traditionally their sources of revenue have been employer levies, rents, beer and liquor sales, taxes and fines. This has however never been enough and for years boards have run at huge deficits.

In any capitalist society local government relies heavily for revenue on rateable property - privately-owned property. Administration Boards have thus inherently been unable to make ends meet, precisely because of the absence of private property, business or industrial ownership in the townships. This highlights the contradiction in the policy towards urban blacks : the urgency of providing shelter and services to calm urban militancy and yet a totally inadequate form of revenue to do this, because of the uncertainty regarding the status of township dwellers. (Hughes and Grest 1982 : 8)

The community councils have no direct financial powers though they are permitted to draw up budgets. It is clear that there is hardly enough revenue to provide essentials, let alone enough for recreation facilities etc..

We thus see that the community council system has failed because of (1) Its inability to act in the interests of the community at large and (2) Its financial impotence. Also there are very serious limitations on those eligible to vote. Only registered tenants

possessing section 10 qualifications are permitted to vote. These factors have resulted in the community councils having a very low level of legitimacy. The councils have been seen as fundamentally undemocratic. In 1982 there was even friction between the councils and Inkatha who had previously been their allies. Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi has encouraged participation in the councils, but in August 1982 the local branch in Tembisa on the East Rand threatened to send a memorandum to Dr Koornhof requesting him to disband the Tembisa community council on the grounds that it was not serving the community (Hughes and Grest 1982 : 10).

Numerous "anti-community council" civic bodies initiated moves late in 1982 to form a national organisation in order to present a "united front to authorities on issues like rent and other township grievances". This was formed and in July 1983 a campaign for the boycott of community council elections scheduled for September, was begun (Sowetan 14/7/83).

The government had however realised that the community council system was not going to work satisfactorily and in 1980 Dr Koornhof introduced 3 new bills dealing with urban blacks. They were withdrawn for revision.

In 1982 the three bills reappeared as the Black Local Authorities Bill, the Black Community Development Bill, and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill.

The Black Local Authorities Bill was eventually promulgated as Act 102

of 1982. The government said that the main aim of the Bill was to establish local government structures for blacks, that resembled as closely as possible, those for whites. The most significant difference was that the Black local authorities provided for in the Act would not fall under the control of the various provincial administrations as did most other local authorities, but would be the responsibility of the Department of Co-operation and Development.

The Act provided for the establishment of two tiers of local authorities - town councils and village councils - town councils having the higher status. The Minister had the power, after consultation with the provincial administrator and the development board (see Black Community Development Bill) to establish such councils. During the parliamentary debate on the bill the Minister stated that the main difference between village and town councils would be in the degree of responsibility and powers entrusted to them. He stated that capability would determine whether a village or town council was to be established. Also the Minister might establish a local committee for a township or a portion of a township for which no village or town council had been established. This committee would be a purely advisory body and would be dissolved once a village or town council had been established.

Elections for the local authority would be held at intervals of not less than 3 and not more than 5 years. In order to qualify to vote a person has to be a South African citizen in terms of the S.A. Citizenship Act (No.44 of 1949) or a citizen of an "independent" homeland; has to have section 10 (1) (a), (b) or (c) rights to

be in the area; and has to have resided in that area for a minimum period of between 12 months and three years to be proscribed by the minister; and has to be older than 18 years etc. (Survey of Race Relations 1982 : 300). This is an improvement in that in the past if you were a member of an independent homeland you did not qualify to vote, however it is unlikely that a person who is a member of a homeland will get Section 10 rights.

Town and village councils will have extended powers and duties over the old community councils including

"control, regulation or prohibition of street trading; provision and maintenance of services such as rubbish removal, sewerage disposal etc., measures to promote health in its area; the establishment, construction and maintenance of water and electricity supply in its area; the establishment and maintenance of charitable institutions and poor relief; provision of accommodation for employees; construction and maintenance of roads and cemeteries; and the ability, with the approval of the Minister to pass by-laws and to impose fines of up to R250 for their breach. The councils will also, after consultation with the Minister of Law and Order, be able to establish community guards and will have the authority to employ their own officials." (Hughes and Grest 1982 : 12)

The above would seem to be an improvement on community councils. However in 1982 and 1983 the Black Community Development Bill was presented in parliament which allows for Administration Boards to be changed to Development Boards. The intention of the Bill is to expand and amend the functions of the administration boards which are to be given the function of community development as well as Black administration. However such provisions as those relating to the board's powers in the determination of service charges and rents and control over hawking and peddling appear to be contrary to the basic recognition in the Black Local Authorities Act that the local authority would be responsible for those functions. Also, development boards appear to have control over the rate and nature of housing provision and would thus exercise primary physical control over the right of people to move into and stay in the urban areas - thus the "development" function is linked to a control function. (Survey of Race Relations 1982 : 310).

Boards will continue to receive black labour contributions and will retain their financial base derived from the letting of accommodation, the provision of services and the sale of liquor. They can also approach the Black Communities Development and Revolving Fund for financial assistance for projects falling within the scope of the fund. The fund has been specifically empowered to make advances to boards or local authorities for the better development of the land or areas occupied by blacks and generally for the well-being of blacks. Part of the funds would be advanced on loan and repaid by the recipients. The Minister of Co-operation and Development has been granted wide powers.

The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill will not be discussed here as it is presently being examined by a committee and doesn't pertain directly to Black local government structures.

The Black Local Authorities Act became effective from August 1 1983, when town councils could begin to be promulgated. There are none in Natal yet. An important question is whether Inkatha will participate and lend legitimacy to the new system - so far, Buthelezi has said that Inkatha will not participate. Many maintain that this new dispensation offers pseudo local authority status. There were reports that five candidates standing for the black town council elections in Port Elizabeth had their homes petrol bombed only hours before polling started (there was a 15% poll). It was also reported that in the Transvaal, elections were marked by generally lower percentage polls but also by hard fought contests where polls in excess of 40% were recorded (Sunday Tribune 4/12/83).

Suitable and acceptable local government structures are thus still a problem, as they were in 1923, for the government. The strange and contradictory position of urban blacks - who (mostly) have citizenship in another "country" and yet contribute to the South African economy - suggests that (unless there is a radical change in the status quo) it is unlikely that a meaningful, acceptable solution will ever be found for them.

5. THE RESEARCH STUDY

5.1 BRIEF BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT LAMONTVILLE AND CHESTERVILLE

Lamontville and Chesterville were the early township developments for blacks which arose following the Urban Act of 1923. Both townships were built by the Durban City Council, funded by government funds. Both areas remained under the administration of the City Council until 1972 when they were taken over by the P.N.A.B.

Lamontville covers an area of 437 hectares and houses range between established owner-built homes of 3 to 4 bedrooms to 2 or 4 roomed sub-economic units. In addition there are semi-detached house units and two-storey "house flat" units. The population is *officially estimated to be 22360. Main transport is by bus, with the southern rail route within walking distance of the perimeters of the town. Main streets and shopping areas are electrified. There are a number of active community organisations in Lamontville e.g. Christian Community of Youth Trust. Lamontville has always been seen as a stronghold of underground support for the banned African National Congress. The Inkatha movement does not have the solid allegiance which it has in nearby Umlazi (N.M. 24/6/83).

Chesterville lies 8 km west of Durban and adjoins Cato Manor. The uncertainty pertaining to Cato Manor has affected the status of Chesterville. Chesterville has been threatened with resettlement and this fear of removal has affected residents' willingness to build or improve properties in Chesterville. Chesterville covers an area of 113 hectares. The houses are primarily standard 4 roomed township

houses. The population is *officially estimated at 9700 people. The main link to work and the city areas is provided by bus transport. Virtually all the dwellings are electrified.

* 1980 Census (Republic of South Africa), Central Statistical Services. These figures are thus slightly out of date.

5.2 METHOD

It was decided that the most appropriate research method would be that of a uniform questionnaire administered by trained interviewers. The reasons were a) The survey method allows for variability b) We wanted more a description of people's feelings/attitudes rather than an in-depth analysis. One possible problem was that some of the questions were 'political' and people might be reluctant to answer them. On the whole however this was not found to be a problem - possibly because it was made clear that the interviewers were from the University and also because it was a subject that everyone was talking about at the time.

SAMPLING

It was decided to sample the populations of Lamontville, Chesterville and Klaarwater - all had experienced unrest and were under P.N.A.B. administration. A sample of 100 was drawn.

A cross-section sample was taken. This was used as all we desired was a feel for the different points of view on various issues. This method gave us a rough cross-section of the population in each area and was appropriate as we were dealing with a fairly homogenous population. This is a fairly quick and easy method of sampling and was thus most practical in our time-limited circumstances. Each interviewer was directed to a different area in each township and was told to walk along the road and interview someone at every tenth house. One fault was that the interviewer could chose who was to

be interviewed in the household and this may have introduced bias.

Also in retrospect I think that Klaarwater should not have been included as it could not be said to contribute significantly to the study.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was drawn up with the aims of the study in mind. Since Zulu-speaking interviewers were to be used and since most of the sample would be Zulu-speaking people, each interviewer received a Zulu translation of the questionnaire but was requested to fill in 'English' responses on the 'English' questionnaire. This is fairly common practice and the interviewers were quite happy to follow this procedure. The translation into Zulu was checked by someone bilingual in Zulu and English as well as by the interviewers.

After analysis of the results a few faults were found in the questionnaire :-

1. Question No.2 part (c)

"The Community Council Tries To Argue For The People But The Government Does Not Listen To Them" Agree/Disagree.

If a respondent agreed with the statement it was clear what they meant. However if they disagreed it was not clear whether they were disagreeing with the whole or merely part of the statement.

2. Question 8

"Who Do You Think Should Run The Townships?"

4 Options were given. People were thus forced to give one of those answers and were not given the option of saying "other". Some respondents mentioned JORAC despite the fact that opportunity was not given for this. One wonders how many others would have also indicated JORAC if they had had the opportunity.

3. Also, it would have been useful to find out whether the respondents were employed or not. This factor could have caused quite a difference in their responses.

THE INTERVIEWERS

Six black (African) interviewers, trained by C.A.S.S. administered the interview schedules. Prior to the fieldwork, time was given for discussion of the study - its nature, aims etc.. - Each interviewer was given a copy of a covering letter written by the director of C.A.S.S. as authorisation of their presence; as well as a copy of a research report produced by C.A.S.S. to show people what would be done with the information received.

FIELDWORK

This was done over a couple of weekends during August and September 1983.

It was originally thought that the interviewers would be supervised while in the townships. The interviewers said that the situation in the townships was very tense and that it would not be advisable for white people to go in. The interviewers were thus each given a

particular area in a township and told how to sample. This was obviously not the ideal situation but could not (realistically) be avoided.

The interviewers commented that people were, on the whole, keen to respond - probably because they hoped that the research would reveal the true nature of their situation.

PROCESSING OF THE DATA

1. EDITING

All unclear or incomplete information was checked with the fieldworkers as soon as possible.

2. CONTENT ANALYSIS AND CODING

All open-ended questions were content-analysed. All responses were coded and the information transferred to punch cards.

3. TABULATION

This was done by computer. Tabulation and cross-tabulation tables were produced. All the data was cross-correlated with age and education - some was cross-correlated with sex and residence.

5.3 RESULTS

The following sample was drawn :

SEX

Male	50
Female	36
No Info.	<u>14</u>
	<u>100</u>

AGE

16 - 24yrs	16
25 - 34yrs	34
35 - 44yrs	26
45 +	23
No Info.	<u>1</u>
	<u>100</u>

EDUCATION

Std.5 and below	19
Std.6 - 7	28
Std.8 - 9	33
Std.10 +	<u>20</u>
	<u>100</u>

RESIDENCE

Lamontville	50
Chesterville	43
Klaarwater	<u>7</u>
	<u>100</u>

5.3.1 THE COMMUNITY'S PERCEPTION OF THE PROBLEMS IN THE TOWNSHIPS

<u>Rent and Bus Fare Increases</u>	149
<u>The Death of Mr Dube</u>	45
<u>Dissatisfaction with Housing</u>	28
<u>Dissatisfaction with P.N.A.B. Admin.</u>	25
<u>Failure of Community Council System</u>	20
<u>Police</u>	9
<u>Poor Community Leadership</u>	5
<u>Other and Missing</u>	<u>19</u>
	<u>300</u>

TABLE I REASONS FOR DISTURBANCES

(Total = 300 because each respondent gave 3 reasons)

Table I shows very clearly that the respondents felt that rent and bus fare increases had been the cause of the problems. The second most important reason given was the death of Mr Dube. Newspaper reports show clearly that the unrest broke out after Mr Dube's death (see chapter 2). This is not surprising. He was someone who was respected by many and who had fought the rent increases. His murder was the spark that started the already well-prepared fire.

The fact that everyone indicated, at least once, their dissatisfaction with rent and/or bus fares tells us, very obviously, why the urban social movement - JORAC - has received so much support. It has mobilised around a very concrete issue which affects everyone.

Just over one quarter of respondents indicated dissatisfaction with housing and a similar number indicated dissatisfaction with P.N.A.B. administration. It is interesting that most of the responses pointed to concrete day-to-day problems i.e. general political (ideological) frustration and dissatisfaction was not mentioned. It is also interesting to note that nobody indicated that the youth had caused problems - it would seem that they reacted to them - they did not cause them.

Also, we see a dissatisfaction with local government structures - the P.N.A.B. and the Community Council system. Half the respondents saw either one of them as a causal factor.

There was consensus across age and education groups indicating a general consensus across the community as to the causes of the disturbances. No one group felt any reason to be more important than another.

At the end of the questionnaire respondents were asked to indicate their main complaints about township administration.

<u>Dissatisfaction with Poor Maintenance by P.N.A.B.</u>	81
<u>Housing Dissatisfaction</u>	72
<u>Lack of Recreational/Sports Facilities</u>	36
<u>All services/Facilities are Inadequate</u>	32
<u>Dirty Township Appearance</u>	23
<u>Rent Dissatisfaction</u>	18
<u>Other and Missing</u>	38
	<u>300</u>

TABLE 2 DISSATISFACTIONS WITH TOWNSHIP ADMINISTRATION

(Total = 300 because each respondent gave 3 responses)

The above table shows us the major complaints people had about township administration. The fact that "rent" was mentioned by only 18 people is not necessarily in contradiction to Table I; the question specifically asked about facilities and administration (see Appendix I), also, the rent issue was mentioned the whole way through the questionnaire and thus most respondents probably thought it was unnecessary (and inappropriate) to mention it at this juncture.

The major complaint was poor house maintenance. This complaint was mentioned numerous times in newspaper reports and the P.N.A.B. in fact said that they did not have enough money for maintenance. We also

see a general dissatisfaction with the housing situation - some mentioned that they wanted to extend their homes but could not do so - others said that accommodation was inadequate. Thus we can conclude that housing is a very sore point.

Apart from the above (housing) there is a general lack of facilities and amenities - which is very evident if one travels through the townships.

There is a fair degree of consensus across age and education categories.

Respondents were asked to give solutions to the problems in the townships.

	%
<u>Cancel The Rent Increases</u>	44
<u>Discussion with P.N.A.B.</u>	8
<u>Discussion with Youth and JORAC</u>	8
<u>House and Property Ownership</u>	6
<u>The Community Council should Administer</u>	6
<u>Township Members should Administer</u>	4
<u>Community Leadership Must Be Improved</u>	3
<u>Other and Missing</u>	15

TABLE 3 SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS IN THE TOWNSHIPS

44% of respondents (see Table 3) indicated that stopping the rent increases would be the solution - this is by far the largest category. Possibly the respondents who mentioned "Discussion with the P.N.A.B." and "Discussion with Youth and JORAC" for example felt that this would result in a moratorium on the rent increases. In effect this would mean that 60% of the sample saw a moratorium on the increases as the solution. It is clear that what JORAC is fighting for - an end to rent increases - is what a large proportion of the community want.

There is little consensus as to other possible solutions. A few do seem to go beyond the present crisis and suggest the solution would be

a different administration (though this response may also imply the ending of rent increases). This is interesting as it would seem to indicate a fairly limited conception of the problem - people merely want to see the end of the present crisis, they are not looking to structural change.

It is also interesting that while a majority say the rent increases should be abolished they do not suggest how the shortfall, that the P.N.A.B. claims to have, is to be made up (though I acknowledge that this question was not explicitly asked) - Maybe they feel that the P.N.A.B. doesn't really have a problem.

There was consensus across age and education categories.

5.3.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE VARIOUS BODIES/ORGANISATIONS
CONNECTED TO THE TOWNSHIPS

	Community Council	Admin Board	Inkatha	JORAC	Dbn City Council	KwaZulu Govt	Youth
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Don't Know Org.</u>	3	2	33	16	14	29	2
<u>Tries to Help</u>	17	0	21	81	49	22	72
<u>Neglects</u>	39	30	27	0	23	36	0
<u>Causes Problems</u>	39	66	17	1	6	5	24

TABLE 4 PERCEIVED HELPFULNESS OR OTHERWISE OF BODIES CONNECTED
TO THE TOWNSHIPS

From the above it is clear that JORAC is seen very positively - 81% of respondents said JORAC tried to help the community. Only 1% saw JORAC as causing problems. These results back JORAC's claim that they are representative of the community and are one of the few bodies that try to help the community.

The youth are also seen as really trying to help the community (72%). Only 24% saw the youth's actions negatively. This is most interesting if we remember that Dr G Morrison (Deputy Minister of the Department of Co-operation and Development) requested that residents keep calm and not be incited by trouble-makers (D.N. 29/4/83).

The people involved in rioting were mostly young people - yet from Table 4 it is clear that the youth were not seen as troublemakers by the community.

It is important to note that JORAC and the Youth are the only two groups which receive significant support according to Table 4 results. This support is fairly consistent across age and education groups.

Nearly half (49%) of respondents saw the Durban City Council (D.C.C.) as a body that was trying to help. 23% of respondents said they neglected the community and 6% said they caused problems. If it is remembered that the D.C.C. does not have any formal responsibility for the townships, then in fact one can be quite impressed that nearly half of the respondents felt that they tried to help the community. This good image may have been caused by the Mayor's interest and later tour of the townships (July 1983) - Apart from this it is a mystery. Though perhaps it could be accounted for by the fact that people know the D.C.C. is subsidised by the central government and they feel that they would get a better deal if under their administration - and thus they feel more positive towards the D.C.C.

Not a single respondent felt that the P.N.A.B. was trying to help. In fact 66% said they actually caused problems and 30% said they neglected the community. Unlike the D.C.C., the townships are their responsibility - these figures show that they have a severe legitimacy problem. There is consensus across age and education categories.

The community councils have a similar legitimacy crisis which is perhaps even more significant in the light of the fact that according to state policy they are supposed to represent the township and be the primary decision-makers. 78% said they neglected/caused problems - only 17% said they tried to help. There is consensus across age and education categories.

This negative attitude towards the P.N.A.B. and community councils indicates a crisis in legitimacy for the present local government structures. It is thus no wonder that an urban social movement like JORAC receives so much support.

Inkatha and KwaZulu are seen similarly by respondents. One fifth see them as being helpful, two fifths see them as being neglectful and about one third say that they do not know the respective bodies. This last figure is surprising. It is highly unlikely that they don't know these bodies, because a) It is in Natal that Inkatha has most of its support being primarily a Zulu organisation and b) KwaZulu is the Zulu homeland which borders on much of Natal. It is possible that people, rather than saying anything negative about these bodies, preferred to say that they didn't know them, because they feared intimidation. There is much tension between Inkatha and, for example - bodies affiliated to the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.) - JORAC is affiliated to the U.D.F. Inkatha supporters are known to have been fairly violent at times (N.M. 17/10/83). Also it is interesting to note that very few were prepared to say that Inkatha and KwaZulu actively caused problems. It should be remembered that in no way is the KwaZulu Government structurally expected to help people

although Inkatha is expected to help. If one accepts this fear of intimidation as being a reason for the large proportion who responded "Don't Know Org." then Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government have even less support. i.e. Inkatha

Tries to Help 21%

Neglects/Causes Problems 77%

KwaZulu Govt.

Tries To Help 22%

Neglects/Causes Problems 70%

THE YOUTH

To look further at this question of youth, people were asked -

"The young people that have been involved in the trouble. What are their intentions?"

The following replies were given:

	%
<u>Fight Rent Increases</u>	39
<u>Mobilise the Community</u>	12
<u>Fight P.N.A.B.</u>	10
<u>They Didn't Know</u>	7
<u>Assist JORAC</u>	5
<u>Cause Trouble</u>	4
<u>Fight for Liberation</u>	4
<u>Disliked Community Council</u>	2
<u>Other and Missing</u>	15
<u>TABLE 5 THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S INTENTIONS</u>	

If the first three categories in Table 5 are added together (39 + 12 + 10 = 61) we see that the youth are seen to be fighting against the rent increases which have been imposed by the P.N.A.B. - they are thus seen as having a fairly clear purpose. This is backed up by Table 4 which shows that 72% of respondents felt the youth were trying to help.

The size of the other categories are so small as to be insignificant. Though perhaps it is fairly significant that only 4% said the youth were causing trouble - though their methods may have been violent, their motives were good and clear. This is further backed up by the small percentage who felt the youth didn't know what they were doing (7%).

When cross correlated with age it is interesting to note that of the few who felt the youth were causing trouble none fell into the 45+ age category.

i.e.	<u>Cause Trouble</u>
	%
<u>16 - 24 yrs</u>	25
<u>25 - 34 yrs</u>	50
<u>35 - 44 yrs</u>	25
<u>45 + yrs</u>	0

The above is most interesting. Generally as people get older they "lose touch" with younger people and have less tolerance for their actions. This does not seem to be the case here. It would seem to indicate an amazing consensus in the community.

There was consensus across education categories.

5.3.3 THE QUESTION OF ADMINISTRATION AND REPRESENTATION
IN THE TOWNSHIPS

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	%	%
<u>The Community Councillors Do</u> <u>Represent Most People In The</u> <u>Townships</u>	20	78
<u>The Community Councillors Ignore</u> <u>The Needs of The People</u>	69	29
<u>The Community Council Tries To</u> <u>Argue For The People But The</u> <u>Government Does Not Listen To</u> <u>Them</u>	42	52

TABLE 6 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL SYSTEM.

Table 6 shows that the majority of respondents felt that the community council did not represent most people in the township (20% ; 78%) and went further and in fact said they ignored the needs of the people (69% ; 29%). These results shown in more detailed form what we saw in Table 4 - that the community council system has very little support from the majority of the community - As has been said before - it is thus no wonder that JORAC - a social movement outside of the system has received so much support.

Almost half of the respondents (42%) agreed that the community council did try to argue for the people but the government did not listen to them. Overall though I think it is clear that the community council system has little support or legitimacy in the community.

There was consensus across age groups. When cross-correlated with education we find that there is a slight trend to show that as education increases, people's attitudes to the community council become more negative.

i.e. The community councillors do represent most people in the townships?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
	%	%	
<u>Std.5 and Below</u>	36,8	63,2	100% (N = 19)
<u>Std.6 - 7</u>	18,5	81,5	100% (N = 28)
<u>Std.8 - 9</u>	18,8	81,3	100% (N = 33)
<u>Std.10 +</u>	10	90	100% (N = 20)

i.e. The community councillors ignore the needs of the people?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
	%	%	
<u>Std.5 and Below</u>	52,9	47,1	100% (N = 19)
<u>Std.6 - 7</u>	67,9	32,1	100% (N = 28)
<u>Std.8 - 9</u>	66,7	33,3	100% (N = 33)
<u>Std.10 +</u>	95	5	100% (N = 20)

It would thus seem that education has had a politicizing effect on these

people making them more critical of state structures. This is a fairly well-known phenomenon.

In order to look further at the question of representation, respondents were asked the following questions.

1. When new elections are held for the community council in November will you feel like voting or not?

	<u>%</u>
<u>Vote</u>	10
<u>Not Vote</u>	86

2. If the JORAC people stood for election would you vote or not?

	<u>%</u>
<u>Vote</u>	78
<u>Not Vote</u>	16

3. If Inkatha nominated people for elections would you vote?

	<u>%</u>
<u>Vote</u>	13
<u>Not Vote</u>	84

The first question points very clearly and simply to the lack of

support and legitimacy which the community council has (Tables 4 and 6 have already shown this) - the "crunch" question - will you vote? - has been asked and people have responded in the negative.

It is most interesting that we see from responses to the second question that even though people outrightly reject the community council system they are still prepared to back JORAC if it decides to participate. It is acknowledged however that at this juncture anyway, the possibility of JORAC participating is very low and thus, in a sense, the question asked was quite theoretical.

The third question indicates once again (see Table 4) that Inkatha does not have much support. Possibly their previous involvement and lack of success in the community council system affected people's response to this question.

On the whole there was consensus across age and education categories.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOWNSHIPS

Respondents were asked -

Who do you think should run the townships of Lamontville and Chester-ville? and were given the following alternatives to choose from.

	<u>%</u>
<u>Stronger Community Council</u>	14
<u>P.N.A.B.</u>	1
<u>Durban City Council</u>	59
<u>KwaZulu Government</u>	17
<u>No Info.</u>	9

TABLE 7 : DESIRED ADMINISTRATION IN THE TOWNSHIPS.

The above indicates fairly clearly who the people would most like to have as administrators - the Durban City Council. JORAC has stood up strongly against incorporation. It would seem that this line that they have taken is a true reflection of what people feel, indicating that JORAC is where the people are "at".

There is a similar lack of support for both the KwaZulu government (17%) and a stronger community council (14%) - see Table 4 and 6.

5.3.4 HOUSING

	<u>%</u>
<u>No Increase</u>	34
<u>R1 or less</u>	31
<u>R5 or less</u>	14
<u>R10 or less</u>	8
<u>R20 or less</u>	6
<u>R30 or less</u>	4

TABLE 8 ACCEPTABLE RENT INCREASE PER MONTH

Table 8 could be recategorised :-

No Incr.	34%
R1 or less	31%
R30 or less	3%

Thus we see that approximately one third of respondents fall into each category and that two thirds of the sample think that R1 or less is an acceptable rent increase. These figures were spontaneously elicited.

The above results are not consistent across age and education groupings but there are no clear trends.

	<u>No Incr</u>	<u>R1 or less</u>	<u>R30 or less</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
<u>Lamontville</u>	42,6	8,5	48,9	100% (N = 50)
<u>Chesterville</u>	32,6	62,8	4,7	100% (N = 43)
<u>Klaarwater</u>			100%	100% (N = 7)

TABLE 9 RESIDENCE X ACCEPTABLE RENT INCREASE PER MONTH

Table 9 shows Lamontville to be for more realistic in terms of rent increases than Chesterville. Klaarwater is seen to be the most realistic

	<u>%</u>
<u>YES</u>	78
<u>NO</u>	18
<u>N/A</u>	4

TABLE 10 PERCENTAGE WANTING TO BUY THEIR HOUSES

A clear majority would like to purchase their houses. This is perhaps because they feel it will be cheaper in the long run.

	<u>%</u>
<u>R100 or less</u>	10
<u>R200 or less</u>	12
<u>R300 or less</u>	15
<u>R400 or less</u>	8
<u>R500 or less</u>	19
<u>R1000 or less</u>	9
<u>R3000 or less</u>	4
N/A	22

TABLE 11 ACCEPTABLE PURCHASE PRICE FOR HOUSES

People have put forward fairly low purchase prices. This may be due to the fact that they are out of touch with the cost of housing or feel that their badly maintained, small houses are not worth much.

5.4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

What picture emerges from this research study? When looking at these townships we see a picture of frustration and widespread dissatisfaction with concrete day to day matters.

e.g. The housing is inadequate and poorly maintained.

There is a general lack of facilities and amenities.

The townships are dirty (see Tables 1 and 2).

We also see frustration with those who have allowed the townships to deteriorate - the P.N.A.B. (Tables 1 and 2). It is very clear that people are dissatisfied with P.N.A.B. administration - few have a good word to say about them (see Table 4 and Table 7).

There is also dissatisfaction with the system which was set up to allow for "democracy", "representation" etc., in the townships - the community council system (see Tables 4, 6, 7 and page 57).

The study shows clearly that few people have faith in this system anymore - a large portion said they would not vote in the community council elections.

Imposed upon the above dissatisfaction and frustration were the P.N.A.B.'s massive rent hikes and later the announcement that Lamontville and Hambanati were to be incorporated into KwaZulu.

What happened as a result of this? We see at least two things

1. The formation of JORAC - an urban social movement which was

formed to fight the rent increases. It should be noted that its initial formation resulted in the formation of various rent and residents associations in townships without these. Thus if JORAC were to be banned it would leave quite a legacy to the people of the townships. The study shows clearly that JORAC has massive support (see Table 4). People, though very disenchanted with the community council system are prepared to back JORAC if it stands in the community council elections. This would seem to indicate that people have much faith in JORAC's leadership and in JORAC's strength. Part of the reason for JORAC's support is probably the fact that the community councils had been unable to improve conditions very much and had done very little to stop the rent increases.

2. There was much violence and unrest, especially on the part of the youth, in reaction to the increases. They hit symbolic targets - P.N.A.B. buildings and vehicles and beerhalls. This violence began after Mr Dube's death - the unofficial mayor of Lamontville. (see Table 1 and Ch.2). There was also unrest and violence after it was announced that Lamontville and Hambanati were to be incorporated into KwaZulu (See Ch.2). The young people initiated most of the violence and yet it is interesting to note that most people had a favourable attitude towards the actions of the youth (see Tables 4 and 5 and the comment on them).

What solutions were proposed by the people? A lifting of the rent increases was seen to be the main solution. Very few voluntarily suggested structural change of any sort - but when probed, few favoured the continued administration of the P.N.A.B. The majority favoured administration by the Durban City Council (See Table 7). This is surprising but is perhaps due to the Mayor's interest and to the fact that the Durban City Council is government subsidised. They would thus get a better deal under the Durban City Council. The KwaZulu Government received very little support - indicating very clearly what JORAC is saying - that incorporation is not desired by the majority of people.

On the whole there was consensus across age and education groups indicating a remarkable degree of consensus in the community. This is fairly unusual.

What can be learnt from the foregoing? What is likely to happen in the future? At present people are still not paying their rent increases - they are however being threatened with losing their accommodation and with having their rent deducted from their wages. The P.N.A.B. thus have fairly powerful weapons to use against the people and it seems that they are going to use them. Soon the structure of local government is to change - many maintain that it is only a "cosmetic" change. As JORAC is a U.D.F. affiliate it is unlikely that it will participate in the new system. It therefore seems likely that dissatisfaction with local government structures will continue.

If Lamontville and Hambanati are incorporated into KwaZulu it seems highly likely that there will be widespread unrest and violence. Both these townships have their own fairly militant rent/residents associations and they are unlikely to submissively accept KwaZulu control.

It seems likely that JORAC will operate for many years to come. It presently has much support and is strong in that it has affiliations with the rent associations in all the P.N.A.B. townships. It is interesting that JORAC has been recognised by the P.N.A.B. as being representative of the people in the townships.

Perhaps a day will come when all the townships in South Africa will have strong alternative representation bodies and the government will be forced to negotiate with them - this would be a fairly significant step forward in the struggle for social and political change in South Africa - urban social movements will have proved their worth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BAILEY, K. D. 1978 Methods of Social Research
The Free Press, New York.
- CASTELLS, M. 1977 The Urban Question Edward
Arnold, London.
- CASTELLS, M. 1978 City, Class and Power St.
Martins Press, New York.
- DHAC/JORAC 1983 A Brief History of DHAC and
JORAC Durban
- HUGHES, H and GREST, J. 1982 "Putting More Growth into The
System" : The Local State
in South Africa
- JORAC 1983 Press Release (August)
- RANDALL, P. (Ed) 1983 Survey of Race Relations in
South Africa 1982 S.A.I.R.R.,
Jhb.
- REINTGES, C. 1983 Urban Social Movements
Paper presented to a work-
shop on African Urban Life,
University of Natal, Durban.
- REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA 1980 1980 Population Census Report
CENTRAL STATISTICAL SERVICES No. 02-80-01 Pretoria.
- SMIT, D. 1983 The Community, Class Struggle
and Social Change Paper pre-
sented to a Workshop on Afri-
can Urban Life, University of
Natal, Durban.
- VAN SCHALKWYK, L. 1983 A Measure of Poverty : A PDL
Perspective of Durban Black
Urban and Fringe Urban House-
holds Dissertation submitted
for Dip. in Applied Social
Sciences, C.A.S.S., University
of Natal, Durban.

Various Newspapers: Daily News, Natal Mercury, Daily Despatch,
Rand Daily Mail, Argus, Star, Sunday Tribune, Sunday Times, The
Sowetan.



Centre for Applied Social Sciences*

Toegepaste Maatskaplike Studiesentrum

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

UNIVERSITEIT VAN NATAL

KING GEORGE V AVENUE
DURBAN 4001

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

TELEPHONE 25-3411

TA "UNIVERSITY" TELEX 60177

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

AUGUST 1983

LAMONTVILLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewer :Ask what township respondent lives in and continue with introduction if he/she fits your list of people to interview

INTRODUCTION

I am working for the University of Natal (Point.) The Professor I am working for has read in the newspapers about the problems in Lamontville and Chesterville. He is going to write a report but he feels that we must hear from the black people what they feel about the situation. Those who read the report will then know what the black people themselves think should be done.

Could I ask you a few questions ? I do not wish to ask your name, only the part of Durban in which you live and your age and schooling.

In this report, which will look like this (show example) we do not write what individual people say. We add all the answers together so that people may speak in a group. Young people, older people, better educated, less well educated.

Therefore you need not worry about your views becoming known. I do not know you and do not want to ask your name.

QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1. As far as you can see, what things have caused the problems in Lamontville and Chesterville?

.....

What else has contributed to the problems?

.....

What else

.....

2. How well or badly have the Community Councils in Lamontville or Chesterville represented the people who live there? Here are some things that people say. Could you tell me which you would agree or disagree with?

The Community Councillors do represent most people in the townships

The Community Councillors ignore the needs of the people

The Community Council tries to argue for the people but the government does not listen to them

AGREE	DISAGREE

3. I will read you the names of the various bodies which may help or may not help the people in the community.

For each tell me whether you feel it tries to help the people or whether it neglects the people or creates problems itself

	TRIES TO HELP	NEGLECTS	CAUSES PROBLEMS ITSELF	DO NOT KNOW ORGANISATION
Community Council				
PNAB				
Inkatha				
Jorac				
City Council Durban				
KwaZulu Government				
Young people & students in Lamontville & Chesterville				

4. What have the police been trying to do when they go into these areas?

.....

5. The young people that have been involved in the trouble. What are their intentions?

.....

6. These days all prices go up every year. About rents, how much increase per month do you feel that people would accept.(Obtain rough amount)

R

7. (If Lamontville or Chesterville) If you could buy your house and pay off instead of paying rent, would you buy it or not?

YES/NO

(IF YES) What would you regard as a fair price for a house like those in Lamontville or Chesterville?

R

8. Who do you think should run the townships of Lamontville and Chesterville (Read all - tick only one)

- A stronger Community Council
- PNAB
- Durban City Council
- KwaZulu Government

9. (Lamontville or Chesterville only)

When new elections are held for the Community Council in November will you feel like voting or not?

VOTE

NOT VOTE

If the Jorac people stood for election? Would you vote or not?

VOTE

NOT VOTE

If Inkatha nominated people for elections? Would you vote or not?

VOTE

NOT VOTE

10. What do you feel should be done to solve problems like those in Lamontville and Chesterville?

.....

11. What are your main complaints about the administration of the Township you live in - what things are not done properly or what facilities are needed?

1.

2.

3..

SEX : MALE FEMALE

What is your age? 16 - 24
 25 - 34
 35 - 44
 45+

What standard of education did you pass?

- Less than Standard 3
- Standard 3 - 5
- Standard 6 - 7
- Standard 8 - 9
- Standard 10+



Centre for Applied Social Sciences*
Toegepaste Maatskaplike Studiesentrum

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

UNIVERSITEIT VAN NATAL

KING GEORGE V AVENUE
 DURBAN 4001
 REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
 TELEPHONE ~~256373~~ ~~253411~~
 TA "UNIVERSITY" ~~889248X~~ ~~889248X~~ TELEX 60177

26 August 1983

Dear Resident,

We at the University of Natal are interested in studying the problems of people in all areas of Durban.

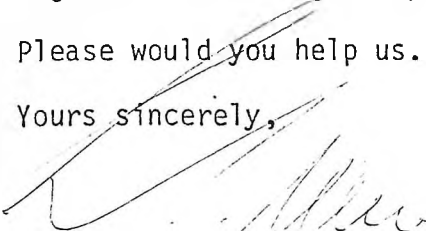
Lamontville and Chesterville have got particular problems at the moment, and we feel that we would like to write about them in our reports.

For this reason we are asking people questions about recent happenings.

We do not wish to have your name. We add all the answers of people together so as to get a picture of how people feel.

Please would you help us.

Yours sincerely,


PROF. L. SCHLEMMER

Director



This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 License.

To view a copy of the license please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

This is a download from the BLDS Digital Library on OpenDocs
<http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/>