# A BLACK TOWNSHIP IN DURBAN:
# A STUDY OF NEEDS AND PROBLEMS

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# DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT.

## PREFACE: WHY AND HOW THE STUDY WAS UNDERTAKEN

Public housing estates, called 'townships' are the home of the majority of permanently settled urban Africans in South Africa. The housing is simple and unvaried but inexpensive, virtually all that is formally available and consequently much in demand. These townships are closely controlled by Administration Boards appointed by the central government authority. In many ways the pattern of administration has been what one may regard as 'colonial' in character, having a distinct flavour of paternalism. In the area of South Africa outside the 'home-lands', no ownership of property has been allowed and only recently have residents been allowed to acquire long-term leasehold rights to properties, but still at the discretion of the township authorities. The Administration Boards, therefore, are the landlords, the planners, the suppliers of virtually all facilities and amenities and the policing agents in these areas. The lives of residents are closely circumscribed by official regulations; for example, permits have to be obtained to accommodate guests and lodgers, to make substantial alterations to property, and residents acquire homes by allocation without being able to exercise any choice as regards locality. Bureaucratic control is seldom conducive to a high quality of life, but in the case of South Africa's urban black townships an additional factor has affected the quality of the controlled residential areas. During the nineteen-sixties it was actually stated government policy to maintain austerity in these townships in order to encourage Africans to identify with the 'homelands' rather than with the 'white' urban areas. This policy has changed but the essential character of these areas is difficult and expensive to modify. As communities artificially created to supply little more than shelter, they lack the variety and texture commonly associated with urban life. Additionally, these townships are almost inevitably situated on the peripheries of metropolitan areas, far from whatever central city amenities may be open to blacks.

The residents themselves have enjoyed very little participation

in the running of their communities. Up to the early sixties advisory
committees existed in most areas. This system failed because the con-
sultation which occurred failed to give the representatives of the
township dwellers full legitimacy as leaders and spokesmen. This
system was replaced by so called Urban Bantu Councils in 1961. Powers
which the central government was entitled to delegate to these Councils
were seldom handed over and the ineffective system of consultation per-
sisted. Very recently a new creation for local self-government for
urban Africans has emerged, the Community Councils. Their powers,
however, are once again dependent on delegation by the central govern-
ment, and certain important powers, like the raising of revenue from
liquor sales (hitherto the chief source of revenue) and the administra-
tion and supply of labour to the larger metropolis are to remain in the
hands of the Administration Boards. Already urban blacks have demonstra-
ted their total disinterest in the Community Councils by a pathetically
small voter turnout in Soweto in the Transvaal, for example. The danger
still exists that ineffective non-legitimate largely advisory bodies
have been created.

At the time this study was undertaken, Kwa Mashu was a town-
ship fairly typical of the situation outlined above, and as such a close
approximation of black urban townships in general. It was different in
one important way, however, in that it abutted the self-governing 'home-
land' of KwaZulu. During the course of the study it was incorporated
into KwaZulu and with this change in status came the possibility of more
meaningful participation in local government by the residents. Other
possibilities also opened up - the ownership of homes, for example. Yet,
KwaZulu, by virtue of severe revenue problems, is not likely to be able
to spend more money on urban improvement and development than has been
the case in the past. Furthermore, the basic consequences of deficient
early planning remain. Homeland city or not, Kwa Mashu is still a
'black township'.

In 1974 this Centre received a grant of one thousand pounds
from the C.A. Leggatt Educational Trust in Britain for commencing a study

of needs and problems in Kwa Mashu, with a view to providing a basis
for a community development and adult education programme. This
generous grant enabled the study to commence and proceed quite con-
siderably before the funds became depleted. A hiatus occurred while
additional funding was sought. The German Bishops' Fund, Misereor
(Bischöfliches Hilfswerk) came to the rescue in 1976 with a grant of
R2 600 which enabled the study to be completed. We owe both the Leggatt
Trust and Misereor a deep debt of gratitude for enabling the study to be
undertaken.

The project commenced with a large emphasis being placed on
adult education needs. In the course of informal preliminary inter-
viewing it became clear, however, that virtually all the needs were
problem-oriented and connected with community issues. Advisedly the
theme of the project was altered to concentrate on community problems.
Our analysis and report will be followed by steps to encourage a
community development programme in Kwa Mashu; a programme which will
have adult education as one of its major elements.

This report is primarily intended for the community which has
been studied. It is our intention to make a copy available to all note-
worthy community leaders in Kwa Mashu, with the assurance that this
Centre will be willing to assist in launching a community programme
should they, the leaders, see the need for further action. A particular
need emerging out of the results is the necessity of seeking ways and
means of improving education in the community, perhaps particularly for
those people who have dropped out of the formal system of education.
This issue will be explored in consultation with the local educational
authorities.

Many people have to be thanked for their contribution to the
project and not all the names will be mentioned. In particular, however,
we would like to thank His Grace, Archbishop Denis Hurley for assisting
in obtaining funding for the project. I would also like to express

appreciation to Valerie Møller and co-authors Judson Kuzwayo and Beata Mbanda who contributed so creatively to the outcome of the study. Ulla Bulteel undertook the computing, and Susan Burrows, Rosemarie Fraser and Patsy Wickham dealt admirably with the typing and production of the report. The photographs were taken by Bernd Rothaug and Per Møller contributed the map. Finally our greatest thanks must go to all the ordinary residents of Kwa Mashu who patiently gave of their time to this project. It is our firm intention that they should benefit from it.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer
Director
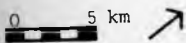Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

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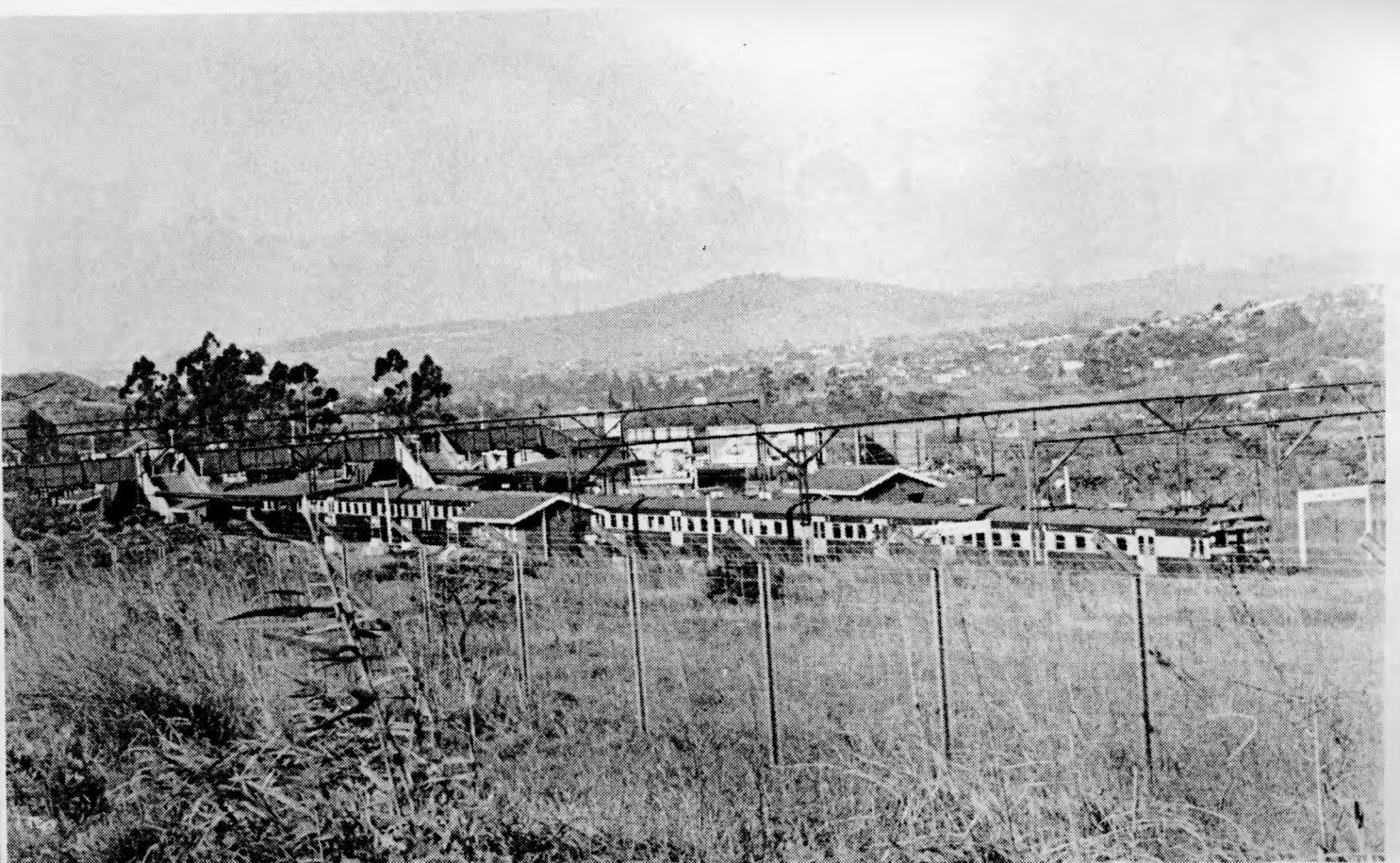
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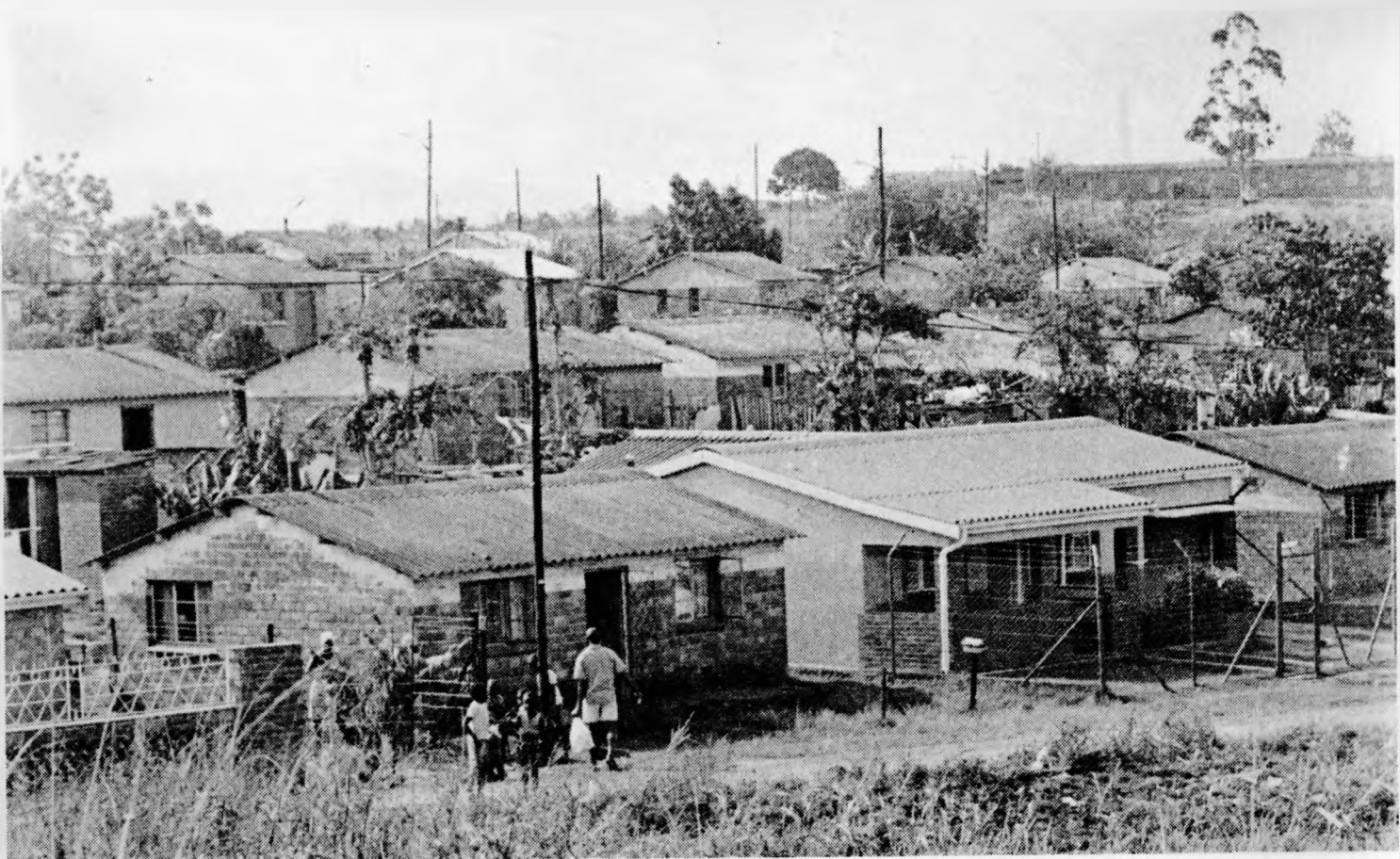
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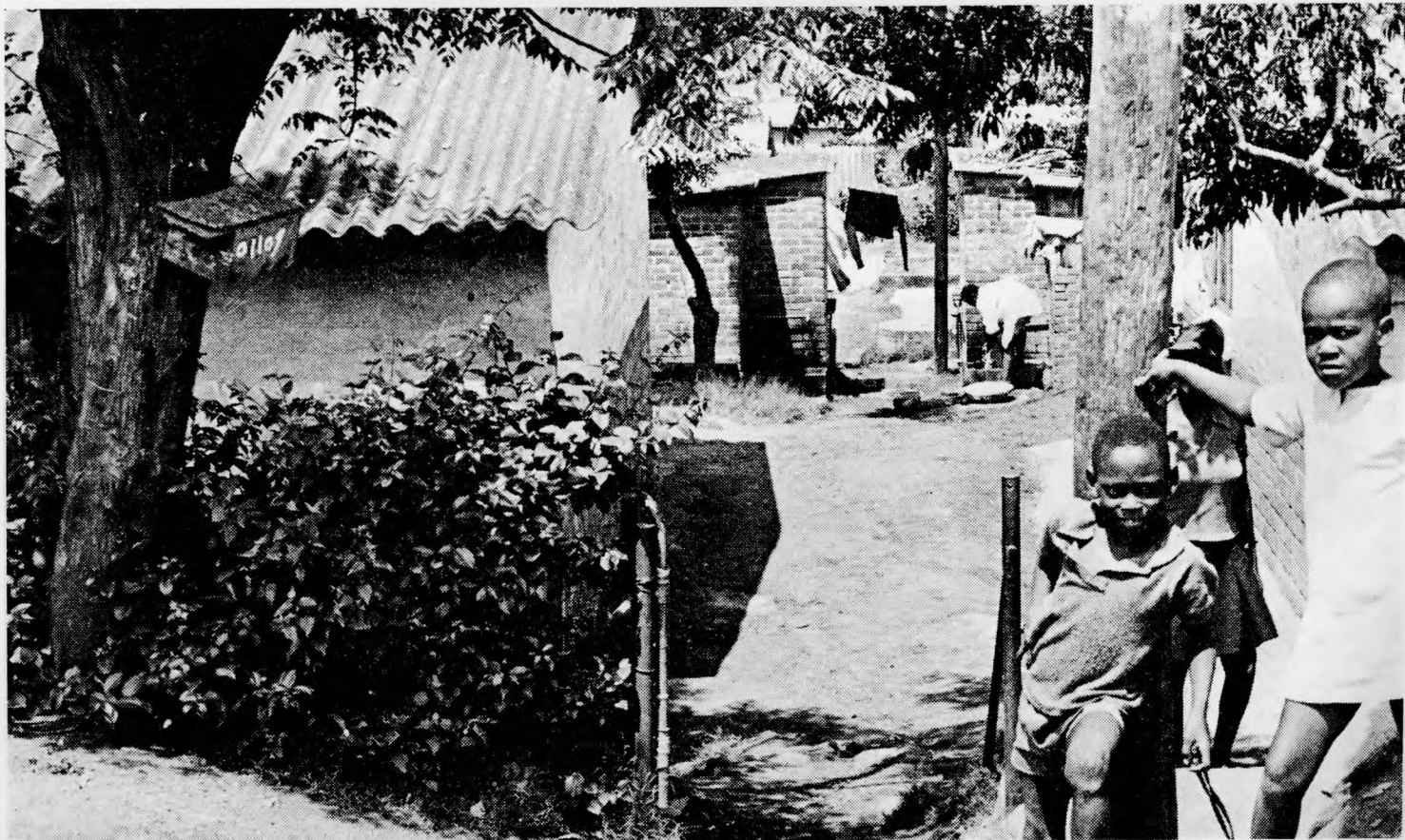
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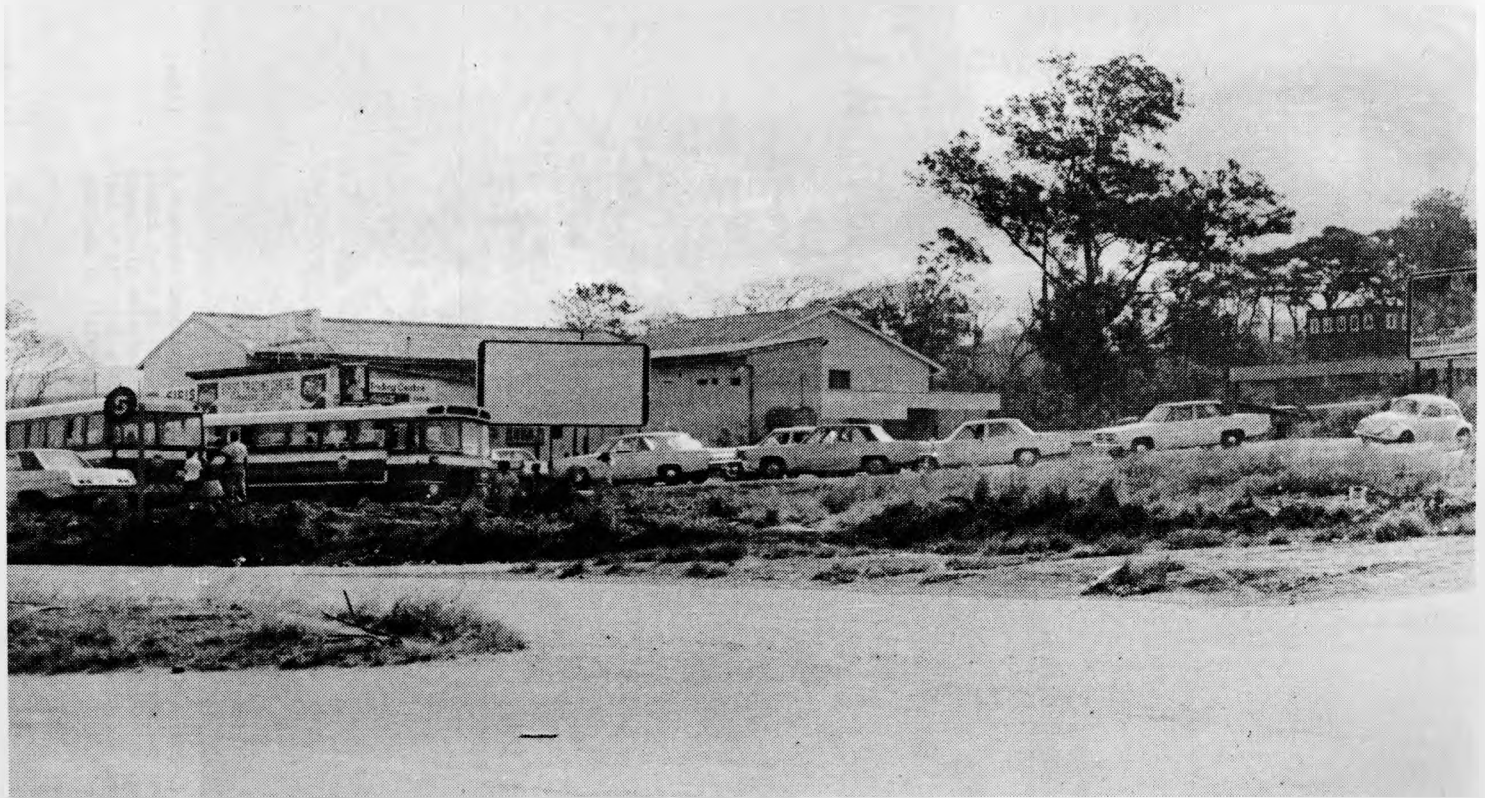
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## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1    Background to the Study and Research Aims

Kwa Mashu Township is an urban residential suburb exclusively
for Africans which is situated approximately 17 kilometres to the north-
east of the Durban city centre. Until recently the township was ad-
ministered by the Port Natal Administration Board and before that by
the Durban City Council. In 1977 Kwa Mashu was incorporated into the
KwaZulu homeland with the KwaZulu Government taking over the adminis-
trative function. In most respects Kwa Mashu Township might easily be
compared to similar public housing projects catering for a working class
population elsewhere in the world, with one notable exception. The
residential composition of Kwa Mashu is possibly less homogeneous than
might be expected in a typical public housing estate. Although the
majority of households in Kwa Mashu do belong to what might be considered
the working class, the residents also tend to represent a cross section
of the African urban population in terms of social stratification. Kwa
Mashu, then, at the time of our study in 1975, was a large African town-
ship typical of similar urban developments taking place throughout the
Republic.

The community study which follows evolved from a more narrowly
defined enquiry into the educational needs of adults residing in the
black residential township of Kwa Mashu. It was envisaged that the infor-
mation uncovered in such a study would provide an ideal basis for the
formulation of a community project to meet local educational needs. With
this goal in mind, a number of community influentials in the field of child
and adult education were approached, and their views on this topic were re-
ceived. In the course of the exercise it soon became apparent that - no
matter how broadly the concept of adult education were defined - it would
have to be seen as set against the totality of community needs. In other

words, it would be futile even to attempt to outline an adult education
programme without first assessing the broader dimensions of the particu-
lar needs of the community under study. However, having discarded the
initial research aim for its narrowness, there remained the danger of
committing the opposite error and engaging in a diffusely defined
community study. Neither time nor resources permitted such an ambitious
research venture. The most adequate solution to this dilemma would be
to pursue a research strategy which focussed on specific aspects of one
subject without losing sight of the broader implications of the topic
singled out for special attention.

According to this revised research aim, an investigation into
the problems of the community[1] under study was undertaken and certain
problems, including the particular difficulties encountered in the field
of adult education, were given special consideration. Secondly, having
initially secured information from more prominently placed persons in the
community, that is from the 'experts', an attempt was also made to view
the community and its problems through the eyes of the average resident
member. This means that we are assessing the proper proportions of
community problems by adjusting their scale to those of the grass roots
level of perception. In the report which follows the community problems
are thus defined by the individual lay members of the community.

At this point it may be useful to note in which manner this
study relates to the general pattern of community studies, the methods of
which have been perfected by social scientists in the past few decades.

There is a tendency for community studies to employ a number of
investigation methods ranging from participant observation, study of
historical documents, interviews with panels of experts, sociometry,

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1) It will be noted that the concept of 'community' used in this report
   refers to persons bound together by geographical confines - that is to
   a territorially bounded social system, - and does *not* include such
   characteristics as harmony, 'we-feeling' or intimacy.

canvassing, to survey techniques. The report which follows is based
chiefly on the material collected in interviews with the average member
of the community.

By asking the layman in the community to identify community
issues, we are perhaps introducing an incisive innovation into community
studies in Southern Africa.[1] Definitions of community priorities have
usually been formulated by policy makers, the local authority, or the
social scientist attempting to assess community feeling, but seldom by
the community residents themselves. Not only has paternalism been attri-
buted to the practice of one societal group (in terms of cultural, class
or interest group) defining or imposing certain solutions upon another
group (Gans 1972); it has been realised for some time that the social
scientist's appraisal of a situation may be culturally biased (Magubane
1971). More recently we have been provided with evidence that there is a
considerable amount of discrepancy between the expert and the layman per-
ception of the community environment ( Lansing, Marans 1969; Marans 1977).
For these reasons the emphasis on the view of community problems from
below seems justified.

Although this point will only be touched upon briefly, one
might also like to suggest that our investigation in Kwa Mashu has much
in common with evaluation research which has been conducted in social
housing estates in other parts of the developed and developing world.
The development of Kwa Mashu Township resulted from the mass resettlement
of the slum population of Cato Manor during the period 1958-1965 (Maasdorp,
Humphreys 1975: 61). Residential relocation has therefore been experienced
by a sizable proportion of the Kwa Mashu population. The resettlement
experience is important in conjunction with the idea that people will al-
ways evaluate their personal situation in the light of past experiences.

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1)  Classic studies of South African urban communities include the ones
    conducted by Hellman (1948), Mayer (1961), Wilson and Mafeje (1963),
    and Pauw (1963).

Bearing this type of perceptual distortion in mind, scholars of residential mobility and migration have been able to assess the residential satisfaction of immigrants and their adjustment to the new environment more accurately. By the same token, it should be noted that the idea of relative comparison tends to be used to justify the provision of low standards in the services and amenities offered to the residents in relocation housing schemes.

## 1.2    The Fieldwork

The study was carried out in 1975 and included a cross section of the population of Kwa Mashu. The pilot study was conducted with a more limited category of persons connected with the institution of education, but the main investigation reached residents in all areas of Kwa Mashu. The inquiry was based on a questionnaire type schedule consisting of open ended questions. The researcher was free to follow up any leads which presented themselves in the course of the conversation and which might throw light on specific aspects of the research topics.

The fieldwork which was actually carried out by one of the co-authors, required great skill and patience on the part of the research worker in order to gain the confidence of respondents and ensure their continued cooperation throughout the interview session. The research worker introduced himself by saying that he came from a research institute which was interested in the needs for adult education programmes which might exist in township areas like Kwa Mashu. According to the co-author's field report, the fieldworker was usually accepted in one of two roles. He might be welcomed as the stranger and 'redeemer', who would share or lighten the burden placed on the respondent's shoulders. Alternatively, the fieldworker was accused of tormenting respondents by opening old wounds with which they had become accustomed to living. Moreover, it was felt that the fieldworker would leave the sores bleeding upon his departure. This simile certainly gives us food for thought, and if this report should in any way stimulate some positive action which will help heal the 'wounds' of Kwa Mashu's residents, it will have fulfilled its

purpose.

## 1.3    The Sample

In order to reach a fair range of opinion, two sections of Kwa
Mashu were initially selected, which vary in the type of accommodation
offered and in that each section has a different reputation among Kwa
Mashu residents.  Starting at a particular point in each of these sections,
residents were interviewed at regular intervals.  A number of interviews
were also obtained from residents scattered throughout the township.  A
total of 150 adults representing a cross section of the Kwa Mashu popu-
lation were thus included in the sample.  The exact distribution of our
sample respondents on basic background characteristics is given in Appendix
A to this report.            The sample consisted of 150 men and women in
equal proportions, whose ages ranged from 18 to 55 years of age and more.
The median age was 39 years.  Three-quarters of the sample respondents
were married and the modal number of children was three to four.  Seventy-
seven per cent of sample men and 53 per cent of sample women reported
that they were gainfully employed, the majority being occupied as unskilled
or skilled workers in offices, sales houses and businesses in and around
Durban.  It is interesting to note that although fewer women were gainfully
employed, they represented the majority of the professionals in our
sample - mainly nurses and non-graduate teachers.  Earnings varied sub-
stantially from less than R30 to over R150 per month.  Approximately 45
per cent of the sample reported that they earned R75 and more per month.
The median family income was R66 per month, by comparison the household
subsistence level for a typical African family in Durban (Potgieter 1975:
35) at the time of the survey was R107,39.  The take home pay was generally
lower for the women in our sample, so it was not surprising that more
women than men derived additional incomes from informal sector activities
such as dress making, handwork and selling.  Just over half of the sample
had had less than nine years of schooling and only some few respondents
had reached a post-matriculation standard of education.  Our sample repre-
sented a relatively stable population group.  Only five per cent of the

sample had lived less than five years in Kwa Mashu and just under half of
the respondents have been residents for a period of 15 years or more.
The majority of our sample respondents had no rural ties and this was more
true for the women than the men. Approximately two-thirds of the re-
spondents had no access to land in the homelands or rural areas and of
those who did, one-third did not work the land. Eighty per cent of our
sample respondents professed to be affiliated to a Christian denomination
and a further ten per cent to a separatist or sectarian religious de-
nomination group.

### 1.4    Brief Introduction to Kwa Mashu

Before commencing with our reporting, we should like to
familiarize our readers with Kwa Mashu Township.

Kwa Mashu covers an area of approximately 15 square kilometres
on hilly terrain and is divided into a number of neighbourhood sections.
It gets its name from Sir Marshall Campbell, the former owner of the land,
who was known as 'Mashu' by the Africans living in the area.

The Township was proposed in 1948, but building only began in
1957 and the first people moved in, mostly from Cato Manor, in 1958. Kwa
Mashu has been successively administered by the Durban City Council, the
Port-Natal Administration Board and since April 1, 1977 it has been trans-
ferred to the KwaZulu Government. At the time of our study, the Port
Natal Administration Board was administering Kwa Mashu.

At the time of writing housing in Kwa Mashu consists of 15 400
family dwelling units accommodating 126 129 persons, which gives an average
of 8,2 persons per unit. Six hundred and sixty-nine hostel blocks accommo-
date 18 880 men living in single conditions. This results in an official
resident population of 145 009 persons. It is however expected that the
true population is considerably in excess of official figures.

Most of the houses (10 435) have four rooms, while a consider-
able number (2 593) have two, or are double two-roomed houses (2 246).
Approximately one-third are owned and two-thirds rented (average rent
R6,00 per month). All are supplied with water, but less than 10 per cent
are electrified. The hostel blocks are in units of 32 beds or 16 beds,
and all are electrified. Beds are let at R2,00 per month. There are
also 57 owner built houses. The official waiting list for houses is about
5 000.

At the time of our survey, houses in Kwa Mashu could not be pur-
chased. This had been possible up to 1968 and therefore some Kwa Mashu
houses were owner-occupied at the time of our fieldwork. Since the trans-
fer of Kwa Mashu to KwaZulu, there has been a possibility for tenants to
purchase land and buildings.

Kwa Mashu Township might be considered typical of many other
black townships which have come into existence by official decree during
the ongoing decentralization process occurring in South African cities.
Despite the fact that the majority of its inhabitants work in the greater
Durban Metropolitan Area, Kwa Mashu has been conceived as a reasonably
self-sufficient residential settlement and not as a mere dormitory suburb
of Durban. However, as in many other parts of the world, people tend to
look to the dominant urban centre which provides them with employment and
many of the facilities and services required, and this is particularly
true for Kwa Mashu, which due to its recent establishment among other
factors, is ill-equipped to meet all the educational, health, recreational
and consumer needs of a fast growing community.

The following list gives the facilities available to Kwa Mashu
residents at the end of 1976.

## Schools:
Seventy thousand people, or 48 per cent of the population of Kwa Mashu are

under 18.   There are 20 365 school pupils catered for in 36 schools, of
which three are senior secondary.   There are 379 classrooms in total,
giving an average of 53 pupils per class, and 418 teachers.

## Recreation:
The following facilities exist:

   11 soccer fields

   5 junior soccer fields

   3 netball fields

   2 swimming pools

   5 halls

   1 cinema

   6 tennis courts

   1 tribal dancing ground

   2 stadia (holding 30 000 spectators)

   2 playgrounds

   There are no libraries or parks.

## Other Facilities:

   5 clinics

   12 creches

   48 churches

   1 alcoholic centre

   1 youth centre

## Business:

There is a Traders' Association and the following businesses are licenced:

| | |
|---|---|
| 40 hawkers | 37 taxi operators |
| 32 painters | 27 market stalls |
| 26 general dealers | 21 miscellaneous mechanics |
| 20 butchers | 19 casual domestics |
| 14 tinkers | 11 fresh produce dealers |
| 9 building contractors and bricklayers | 7 dry cleaning depots |

| | |
|---|---|
| 7 cartage contractors | 7 eating houses |
| 4 driving schools | 6 shoemakers/cobblers |
| 4 tailors/dressmakers | 3 herbalists |
| 3 bookkeepers/attorneys | 4 hairdressers |
| 3 wood and coal | 3 medical practitioners |
| 1 tea room/fresh produce | 2 service stations |
| 1 bottle and bone | 1 undertaker |
| | 1 scrapmetal |

There are, however, no hotels and no chemists.

At the time of writing, eight beerhalls and liquor outlets are under the management of the Corporation for Economic Development. Four bottle stores are run by the Port Natal Administration Board on behalf of the KwaZulu Government.

2.

## COMMUNITY ISSUES

In order to gain some idea of how ordinary people view their environment in a typical township, respondents were initially requested to talk about life in Kwa Mashu and its problems. The results of this discussion are classified and summarized in Table 1. Grievances and problems of Kwa Mashu residents in approximate order of magnitude include the poor relationship between residents and the community administration, crime, inadequate transportation, housing problems, educational problems, lack of community facilities and amenities, the ineffectiveness of the Urban Bantu Council, poor functioning of medical and sanitation services, and the poor condition of the township roads.

TABLE 1.

Grievances and problems of residents in Kwa Mashu

percentage of respondents mentioning problems concerning:*

| | % |
|---|---|
| community administration | 64 |
| crime | 62 |
| transportation | 54 |
| housing | 45 |
| education | 36 |
| community facilities | 31 |
| the Urban Bantu Council | 21 |
| medical services, ambulances | 17 |
| sanitation, drains, stormwater, refuse collection | 15 |
| roads | 7 |
| | N = 150 |

* multiple responses

Our respondents spent considerable time elaborating on these issues and made great efforts to explain and illustrate their arguments with anecdotes and personal experiences. It might therefore be instructive to discuss some of the areas of concern listed in Table 1 in greater depth, although the interconnectedness of issues makes strict separation difficult.

- *There are so many problems facing blacks. At times I really wonder how we are able to maintain our sanity, when we have so much to think about.*

- *It is so difficult, my child, I have so many problems that I do not know where to begin.*

## 2.1     Community Administration

Despite the fact that Kwa Mashu was conceived as a self-sufficient community, the provision of accommodation for members of the community is perhaps the chief concern of the community's administration, and residents tend to identify their administration with its landlord function. The impression gained from our survey is that the relationship with the township administration is a distant 'we-they' one. Administration and resident meet on an unequal footing and the resident is always on the losing side. According to our survey, residents are made to suffer insecurity and degradation at the hand of administration officials. They must put up with corruptive practices and intrusion into their privacy in order to keep a roof over their heads. It is small wonder that for some respondents the township administration tends to symbolise all the inequality of the system with which they have to contend in their daily lives.

Insecurity regarding urban and residential status are closely related. In many respects urban Africans are dependent on their residential status to bolster their urban status in general and so it obviously pays to stay on the right side of the local administration. On the other hand, because of the housing shortage, the administration is overworked and may find it difficult to treat residents as cases meriting individual attention

rather than as mere numbers. It is thought that, due to this feeling of
being considered a number in the housing game, residents tend to stand
in fierce competition with each other instead of joining forces to
communicate with their administration in a more effective manner.

- *The clerks in this place are just ornaments. If you happen to
  be unknown to them, you rot for hours on end* (waiting).

- *The problems facing the Kwa Mashu community are all deliberately
  caused by the management here. They are purposely caused just
  to have us cracking our heads. They are means of humiliating
  us.*

- *When we go there we are always told to "go to your homeland and
  do that." The Government is waging a covert war against us.*

- *I work in the administration offices. It gets me down to see
  people who always appear miserable and frustrated to me. What
  makes it worse is that most of them go back home with a dis-
  tressing outcome. The pathetic lot is the one that sits in the
  job seekers waiting room. Some of them come for days without
  getting a job.*

It is the elderly and poorly educated tenants in our sample who
are most aware of this situation for they are less able to cope with the
formal, impersonal bureaucracy which complicates and mystifies any business
they may have with the township administration. At the same time their
urban status position is likely to be tenuous. This makes them very vul-
nerable as far as their residential security is concerned.

In order to qualify for urban rights a certain residential
stability is required of Africans. Having gained access to formal housing
which guarantees a degree of security of tenure to urban Africans, it would
be foolish to lose it again. However, finding the money to make the rental
payments each month is a regularly reoccurring headache for some Kwa Mashu
tenants. They perceive the rentals to be high in relation to their earn-
ings. In the case of sudden ill-fate they may not be able to afford this
rent. Fear of being evicted for arrears in rent is therefore a chief source
of insecurity for some residents.

Because rentals constitute a very large proportion of the urban African's budget, any fluctuation in the rent drastically reduces his spending power for the following month. As service charges, which are calculated on the basis of actual consumption, are included in the rent, residents never know in advance the exact sum of money they will have to pay for next month's rent. This seems to cause feelings of tremendous insecurity for many respondents, even for those who understand how to account for the inconsistency in their rent. What distresses respondents most, is that if ever they have had reason to query the service charges, they have found their grievances are not receiving a sympathetic hearing by administration officials.

- *The rent is not fixed here and you don't know how much you will have to pay. As a result you can't plan your things properly.*

- *Rent is a disease. Water is killing us, the water charges go up like the wind.*

- *There is an unfair recording of water readings. Clerks simply take readings on one or two of the first houses in a row and then generalise on them.*

Eviction due to the automatic loss of urban status upon the death or desertion of their husband-workers poses a threat for many towns-women. At the time of the survey, the issue concerning the possible eviction of widows was particularly topical.

- *If one has lost a husband, one is expected to remarry even be-fore the husband rots, because otherwise one gets evicted.*

A further source of insecurity is the constant fear of finding the 'Black Jacks' knocking on one's door. In order to combat the crowding in township homes and control rural-urban influx in general, routine checks are made to township homes to ensure that only registered members of the urban household are residing on the premises. As these surveillance visits take place at night, it causes great inconvenience to all household members. According to survey respondents, the manner in which 'night raids' are con-ducted is considered humiliating and offensive to residents' sense of

privacy.

> *If we are buyers, why all this indecency of Black Jacks raiding
> our places at night and for that matter so rudely.*

A more general insecurity factor affecting township dwellers is
created by the susceptibility of their residential status to changes in
national and local policy concerning urban Africans. In the case of Kwa
Mashu, residents have seen many such changes. The first residents were
uprooted from their former shack dwellings in Cato Manor when moved to
Kwa Mashu shortly after the inception of the township. At the time of the
survey in 1975, Kwa Mashu residents had recently experienced the handover
of the township administration by the Durban Corporation to the Port Natal
Administration Board and were looking forward to yet another change in
administration which actually took place in April 1977 when the KwaZulu
Government assumed the responsibility for administrating to Kwa Mashu.
Each of these changes in administration is reflected in changes of policy,
public relations and personnel and has caused a disruption in familiar
routines in such matters as the paying of rents.

> - *Here it is said that we have bought* (our houses), *but we do not
>   know how much they cost.*
> - *We were regarded as buyers, but lately when we asked about our
>   position, we were told that they were still investigating because
>   Kwa Mashu has been taken over by Port Natal.*
> - *I have receipts of this house, of the money I have paid for
>   buying this house. But look, the house is crumbling, but they
>   will never fix it, because it is mine. When it comes to police
>   raids it is* not *mine. I bought this house in 1966. It's nine
>   years now.*
> - *As we have bought, no repairs are done, the office says we should
>   do it ourselves. We really don't know when we are going to get
>   the title for this house. We are being fooled here. We are just
>   pouring our money down the drain. If you skip a month* (rent),
>   *then the house is closed, yet we are said to have bought.*

To sum up the problems connected with housing and community ad-
ministration, the insecurity felt by many Kwa Mashu residents concerning

their rent paying ability and eligibility to remain in the township is greatly exacerbated by the lack of communication between administration and residents. The constant change in national policy concerning urban Africans has contributed to the discontinuity in local administration which makes dialogue more difficult.

TABLE 2.

| Grievances concerning community administration | | |
|---|---|---|
| percentage of respondents mentioning*: | | |
| | % | % |
| rent | | 46,7 |
| - fluctuation in rentals | 26,0 | |
| - high rentals | 20,7 | |
| night raids | | 22,7 |
| residential security | | 27,3 |
| - eviction on account of arrears | 9,3 | |
| - eviction of widows | 9,3 | |
| - indefinite residents' status | 8,7 | |
| communication between residents and administration | | 10,9 |
| - degradation, inconsiderateness on the part of clerks | 6,2 | |
| - unapproachability of administration | 4,7 | |
| | N = 150 | |
| * multiple responses | | |

## 2.2   Housing

According to research conducted in this Centre at an earlier date (1968) on formal African housing in South Africa, overcrowding may be defined in terms of inadequate sex separation and minimum floor space for sleeping purposes, whereby the two criteria may measure two different

aspects of overcrowding. It is reported that approximately one-quarter of Durban African dwellings included in a national sample survey are over-crowded according to the sex separation criterion and 62,9 per cent are overcrowded according to the minimum floor space criterion. Furthermore, one-half of Durban African sample dwellings had an insufficient number of rooms for the households living in them. It needs to be stated that the problem of overcrowding has certainly become more serious since 1968. Furthermore, the figures given above only take account of that proportion of the informal residence that survey respondents were willing to acknow-ledge.

TABLE 3.

| Grievances concerning housing | |
|---|---|
| percentage of respondents mentioning*: | |
| | % |
| crowding ( due to size of housing units) | 25,3 |
| shortage of housing | 14,7 |
| privacy | 14,0 |
| maintenance and state of repair | 14,7 |
| design, quality of housing | 11,3 |
| | N = 150 |
| * multiple responses | |

Issues concerning housing which were discussed by our sample re-spondents are summarized in Table 3. The chief source of discontent here, is that Kwa Mashu homes are generally too small for the number of persons living under one roof and this deprives the individual household members of their privacy. The design and quality of materials used in austerity housing is such that visual and noise privacy cannot be achieved. Features such as interconnecting rooms, inadequate partitioning (no internal doors,

thin walls) within the housing units and insufficient space between the units are cases in point. Rooms must be used for multiple purposes, and a common complaint is that the various functions assigned to any one room are not compatible at peak hours of use. The forced sharing of ablution facilities causes tensions between neighbours who under other circumstances might be considered congenial.

It is a well known fact that the provision of township housing has not been able to keep up with the population increase in town. The housing shortage tends to further aggravate the problem of privacy by halting the residential mobility of grown children and young married couples, which would normally relieve the crowding in established homes. Crowding in homes tends to intensify already poor relations between members of the household to the point where they may become unbearable (cf. Freedman 1975). Those household members who can escape from the constant rubbing of shoulders do so by joining the city's formal work force or alternatively roaming the streets or engaging in informal activities (cf. Mitchell 1971). In more recent studies conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences there are indications that some young couples prefer to abandon township living completely and join the 'city overspill' migratory movement to the informal settlements on the peri-urban fringe (Møller 1978b). In these instances the housing unit fulfills neither its basic function of shelter nor its symbolic one of providing a home (Rapoport 1969).

- *The house is constantly full of dust, because we are forever shifting. We can't even have visitors as there is no space to shift to.*

- *Some children sleep with their parents and others even sleep under the tables in the lounge. You can imagine a whole family of nine sleeping in only two rooms. It's ridiculous.*

- *There is nothing confidential one can say without being overheard by the children or visitors. This place is really dehumanising.*

- *This system of having two families sharing a four-roomed house is indecent. When one speaks on one side, those on the other side*

> hear. *We share one toilet, this encourages conflict between two families.*

> - *If this European was thinking of us, he would have put in ventilators. If someone is ill the disease affects everyone because windows cannot be opened as the thieves steal things or set fire through them. Perhaps it is better in four-roomed houses, but here we have just been dumped like rubbish. Look, for instance, we cook and sleep here as well. The germs resulting from our sleep fill the food. How can there be dignity in the house. What can we do if it's like that?*

Apart from the size of accommodation units, respondents report that their state of repair and the maintenance of sanitary installations attached to units leave much to be desired. The finish in some of the dwellings is such that residents feel they are surrounded by gradually decaying structures.

> - *It also happens that the toilet is blocked for 2 to 3 months after the matter has been reported. Nothing is done so we lose hope. It becomes very difficult if one is not on good terms with one's neighbours and one shares a single toilet and tap with them.*

Although it might be argued that these types of complaints are very commonplace in local authority or council housing all over the world, this is however no justification for the prevailing conditions in sub-economic housing. Particularly striking in our study, is that tenants' perception of their built environment is not seen merely in terms of discomfort or inconvenience, but in symbolic terms of the subjugation, discrimination and vicious circles in which urban blacks are caught up.

> - *This* (being made to share toilets) *is a deliberate act by the authorities so that we fight among ourselves. Even whites themselves would not think of living in such a place.*

> - *When are we going to be treated like human beings. If we were dogs why don't we have tails? How can one say we are considered to be human beings when we are given reject houses.*

> - *My cry is that of all Africans. Why is it that we are not thought of as human beings. Why should we be considered inferior to other people. Why should we be given small dark houses while*

*other races are given better accommodation. This is the pain*
*that fills my heart.*

## 2.3     Crime

Crime constitutes one of the most serious problems for Kwa
Mashu residents.  During the period of twelve months from mid-1973 to
mid-1974 over 1 800 known assaults, rapes and robberies occurred, which
is estimated to be almost 60 per cent of the crime rate of notorious
Soweto.  Virtually all those respondents who refer to crime as one of the
chief community problems feel that their physical security is threatened
in Kwa Mashu.  We shall be returning to the issue of crime below, suffice
it to say that in our sample alone, some 40 per cent of the respondents
had personally experienced assaults or molestation in the streets of Kwa
Mashu or in their homes.

## 2.4     Transportation

Like most black residential areas in South Africa, Kwa Mashu is
situated at some distance from the major business and industrial centres
where most of the gainfully employed residents work.  The local authority
is therefore faced with the stupendous problem of transporting thousands
of workers to and from work daily.  A significant proportion of any
worker's earnings will be used for transport alone.  Because it is more
economical, most commuters would prefer to use official public transport,
even though trains are crowded and buses are dirty and uncomfortable.  The
inefficiency of the transport service, and the bus service in particular,
forces many residents to resort to the private taxi services, which are
far more expensive.

- *You can't always explain to your employer that your arriving*
  *late is due to the scarcity of buses.  But if we look for*
  *alternative transport such as pirate taxis we get arrested.*
- *The buses cause people to get fired from work.*
- *You can't put on your decent clothes because the buses are*

*filthy. The PUTCO drivers are corrupt, the taxi drivers bribe them into operating badly so that the taxi drivers benefit.*

- *The bus shelters are not big enough to accommodate the large numbers who go to work in the early hours of the morning. PUTCO buses are like stock transporting vehicles. The seats are made of wood and the passages are narrow.*

Compounding the problem of getting from A to Z is the problem of avoiding thugs, who may rob or assault passengers at train or bus stations. The fear of being left stranded in the street at night with no public transport or taxi in sight, an obvious target for the notorious 'tsotsis', is a nightmare for many Kwa Mashu residents. There is also little safety in numbers as pickpockets operate deftly in crowded closed train compartments. From our survey it would appear that many residents have learned to live with crime. They have adopted certain security routines or fixed habits to ensure a maximum degree of security when travelling within or outside the township. They travel alone only during the daytime, are brought to or collected from stations at night, follow essentially well lit and populated routes at dusk and select the type of transport according to the time of day. It is obvious that such pre-cautions restrict one's freedom of movement and reduce the quality of life in the township to a great extent (Schlemmer 1977), moreover they increase the cost and inconvenience of travelling. At the time of the survey our respondents were particularly peeved that the representations to the local transport companies made on behalf of the residents of Kwa Mashu had met deaf ears.

- *Just look how our wealthy people are prevented from running a bus service here in the townships in spite of the fact that transport services are so poor.*

## 2.5    Facilities and Services

Most Kwa Mashu residents are concerned by the shortage of schools in their township. Each year at the beginning of the school term children must be turned away because they cannot be accommodated. Parents also

complain about the school fees and the unnecessary burden[1] they are ex-
pected to shoulder when sending their children to government schools.

Apart from the shortage of educational institutions, Kwa Mashu
lacks the other facilities and amenities which are usually associated
with a self-contained residential area. Communication services are thought
to be inadequate. A post office and telephone booths head the priority
list in this category. Recreational and educational facilities such as
libraries, sports fields, hobby and recreation centres for all ages and
youths in particular are urgently required. The range of shops is very
limited; for example there is no chemist shop. The facilities at the
cemetary are considered an insult to the living and the dead. There is no
hotel in Kwa Mashu.

- *In order to converse with someone right here in town you have to write a letter.*
- *We are being arrested for accepting visitors yet there is no hotel.*
- *Shops in Kwa Mashu charge very high prices compared to those in town.*
- *Another thing is this problem of not having our own facilities just because we are black. Even if you have money the situation here perpetually sits on your neck.*

According to our respondents, the medical and ambulance services
are overburdened and cannot operate efficiently. The poor communication
links connecting the township with the nearest medical centre further re-
duces the chance of receiving medical attention quickly in times of need.
A number of respondents therefore request the decentralization of medical
services. At the same time residents feel they are not being adequately

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1) Whilst schooling and books are free for whites, Africans have to purchase their own schoolbooks.

protected by the local police force. The combination of inefficient
police and medical services gives Kwa Mashu residents an acute sense of
physical insecurity.

- *People get stabbed in the presence of the police.*
- *You find them arresting innocent people - visitors, instead of dealing with hooligans in the streets.*
- *They concentrate on raiding people in their homes instead of protecting the public in the street.*
- *The police are inefficient. They get a message at night and only arrive the following day. These boys who carry bush knives are friends of the police. We are completely unprotected here.*
- *We bury people every week who are murdered, but we never hear of an equal number being sent to the gallows.*
- *The police are brutal. One time they chased a little girl who was selling some meat at Kwa Mashu station. As the child ran across the road she was hit dead by a car. The police first took the meat before attending to the child. A woman had to use her own pinafore to cover the corpse.*

Our respondents think Kwa Mashu leads a cinderella existence
outside Durban and that their needs have been grossly neglected.

- *The very situation is a problem. We are a near urban community, have urban aspirations but no urban amenities. On the other hand we are not rural. We are in between.*
- *A community like Kwa Mashu needs to be a proper suburb and not a compound.*

This is borne out in the township's general appearance. The roads are full
of potholes, garbage is strewn in the gutters, and drainage and sanitary
installations are faulty. Some of our respondents complain that repairs
and maintenance to houses and roads are not carried out regularly. There
is a tendency for residents to feel they have been given a raw deal now
that they are resettled in Kwa Mashu, and their civic pride is hurt.

- *It is just as if we were in Cato Manor. This is a typical slum.*

- *Our streets are full of filth. We were brought here from Cato Manor, because it was said that conditions there were bad. What's the difference, in fact it was better there. We were more independent. We did not have these police raids.*

At the same time a vicious circle is created for residents and administration alike. Due to their residential insecurity, residents feel little inclined to initiate community action to improve their environment, and with only a negative response from their tenants, the township administration is not likely to feel it is worth stepping up its provision of services.

- *What can you do for Africans? They just damage anything you put up for them.*

Worse still, there is a serious danger that citizens may see deliberate neglect behind refuse and potholes which may become political symbols in time.

- *It's mud all around each house. This shows we are equated with pigs.*
- *It all makes me furious. There is absolutely nothing the authorities here do for us. It's all just a demonstration of how little regard the white man has for us.*

## 2.6    The Urban Bantu Council

One of the official channels for liaising between residents and the community administration is the Urban Bantu Council, which is essentially assigned with consultative powers. However, our respondents put little faith in this body and its members, and do not feel that their interests are adequately represented by the Council. Those respondents who are most keenly aware of community problems concerning the administration and housing, and those who are socially and economically disadvantaged, are most in need of local leadership which could act on their behalf.

- *We have no say here in this township and we have no rights as*

*residents.*

- *They* (councillors) *are powerless.  They can't simply assist us but must first plead with the township authorities who just ignore them.*

- *Whites have been taking us for a ride.  This is said to be our place, but look who controls it and how.  Look at the ineffectiveness of the Urban Council, it's really a joke, it's what Chief Buthelezi calls a 'toy telephone'.*

Glancing through this list of problems and grievances exposed by our respondents, one might conclude that Kwa Mashu residents are possibly not alone in their plight.  Their problems may be typical of many South African townships.  Lazenby (1977:148-149), in reviewing a survey conducted in Soweto at the same time as our Kwa Mashu one, divides Soweto's problems into two categories, those resulting from overt political imposition, such as the denial of home ownership, and those due to the lack of physical amenities and bad quality of environment caused by covert administration decisions.  Our Kwa Mashu respondents are sensitive to both these groups of problems in their daily lives.  In addition, our in-depth study also reveals that an abstract dimension must be included in the list of community problems.  The lack of community spirit in the township tends to aggravate many of these problems and increase residential dissatisfaction.

3.

## PERCEPTION OF LIFE CHANCES

Having briefly discussed the problems and grievances of Kwa
Mashu residents, let us look at their general reaction to their life situa-
tion. Very few respondents find the quality of life satisfactory in Kwa
Mashu. Although numbers are small, it is interesting to note, that those
who do find it satisfactory are least likely to have housing problems.
Roughly one-fifth of our sample are apathetic or indifferent toward their
environment. The majority are frustrated with their lot in life and
humiliated at being treated as second class citizens. Roughly thirty per
cent of the respondents react more intensely showing anger or aggravation
(cf. Table 4).

TABLE 4.

| General reaction to life situation | |
|---|---|
| | % |
| satisfaction/acceptance | 6,7 |
| apathy/indifference | 19,3 |
| frustration/humiliation/anxiety | 43,3 |
| anger/aggravation | 30,7 |
| | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 |

This generally negative view of one's life situation is better
understood, when respondents' perception of their life chances are reviewed
(cf. Table 5). Only one-third of the respondents feel they have made
progress in life. The majority of the persons in this category feel their
financial situation has improved and in most cases this is due to their own
efforts. Other improvements include acquisitions for the home, educational
achievement and increased experience.

TABLE 5.

| General progress over past few years | | |
|---|---|---|
| reference to: | | |
| | % | % |
| progress | | 32,8 |
| - economic situation | 14,7 | |
| - residential/housing situation | 8,7 | |
| - personal situation | 4,7 | |
| - family situation | 4,7 | |
| no progress | | 66,7 |
| - economic situation | 18,7 | |
| - wage situation | 15,3 | |
| - job situation | 4,0 | |
| - external factors blocking progress | 10,0 | |
| - personal situation (health, misfortune) | 9,3 | |
| - general decline | 4,7 | |
| - other | 4,7 | |
| no information | 0,7 | 0,7 |
| | 100,2 | 100,2 |
| | N = 150 | |

- *Five years ago I was badly off. I was staying with my parents, had saved nothing, but now I am responsible because I have a wife, a house and children.*

- *Yes, I have bought a four-roomed house and have furnished it. I have also plastered it, painted it to make it look nice.*

Two-thirds of the respondents feel they have not progressed and this is largely due to the fact that their incomes are not keeping up with the increased cost of living and their material needs. Some few persons explain their lack of progress by referring to loss of a job, accident or illness. A small but significant number feel frustrated because their

scope for action is limited by forces beyond their control such as re-
strictive legislation or township bureaucracy.

- *Poverty has now started anew. It was far better when we were
  still in Cato Manor. Things were not expensive, we used to
  pay threepence in bus fare or walk on foot, the rent was low:
  two Rand, and you did not pay for water.*

- *I stayed in Cato Manor and made progress because I could sell
  small things now and again, and supplement my income. As it
  is now, if I make an attempt, I land in the hands of the police.*

- *People who sell fruits, vegetables and meats are arrested and
  have their articles confiscated. But these people sell them
  because they need money - it's clear to even a fool that we have
  no money.*

- *There is no progress at all. I feel I am moving neither for-
  wards nor backwards.*

- *The rising prices are eating up my salary, so I'm like a person
  backtracking.*

- *If it were not for this Government, I should be sure of tremendous
  progress. With my ability I should build homes, make furniture
  and sell it. As it is, once you show your head in the business
  world you are arrested.*

- *I have tried to do commercial matric at Umlazi vocational school,
  but failed to progress because of the distance ... also my home
  is a shebeen and there is no privacy for studying.*

It is obvious from this initial response that our respondents
clearly see progress chiefly in monetary terms. When asked specifically
how their present economic situation compared with that of five years ago,
a similar picture emerges. Over half of our respondents do not feel they
have achieved economic progress, mainly due to the increasing cost of
living, but also to increased family responsibilities and unemployment
(cf. Table 6).

TABLE 6.

| Comparison of present economic situation with that of five years ago | | |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| improvement due to: | | 26,0 |
| - employment | 7,3 | |
| - own effort/enterprise | 6,7 | |
| - thrift | 6,0 | |
| - other | 6,0 | |
| ambiguous | 17,3 | 17,3 |
| regression due to: | | 52,6 |
| - rising cost of living | 27,3 | |
| - increasing family responsibilities | 8,0 | |
| - unemployment | 6,0 | |
| - ill fortune | 1,3 | |
| - other | 10,0 | |
| not applicable | 4,0 | 4,0 |
| | 99,9 | 99,9 |
| | N = 150 | |

What about the future, does it look any brighter for Kwa Mashu residents? Only one-third of our respondents expect their situation to improve, 16 per cent are uncertain about what the future holds for them, and almost half do not believe in any progress (cf. Table 7).

- *The future of us blacks is as black as we are.*
- *I've come to the conclusion that I was born to be poor.*
- *My life is on the decline. I live in this two-roomed house like a ghost. In fact I feel I died a long time ago. I don't know whether I am in space or on solid ground. I am nothing and have nobody to cry to. I used to earn my living through my energy, I ate the sweat of my body. Today I depend on another man who may decide my fate as he likes. Worse still my children are not educated and will sail in the same boat as I did.*

- *We despair that we will not be given the opportunities we are crying for. The future holds nothing for us. We should like to see ourselves having equal rights with the whites, so that we can enjoy being South African citizens.*

TABLE 7.

| Expectations for progress in future | | |
|---|---|---|
| reference to: | % | % |
| progress | | 34,0 |
| - personal determination | 10,0 | |
| - personal achievement, acquisitions (education, job, business, motor car) | 8,0 | |
| - financial situation | 5,3 | |
| - children's situation | 2,7 | |
| - faith in change, KwaZulu Government | 2,7 | |
| - agricultural pursuits in rural areas | 1,3 | |
| - other | 4,0 | |
| ambivalent | 16,0 | 16,0 |
| no progress | | |
| - status quo | 23,3 | 48,0 |
| - decline | 7,3 | |
| - own efforts will be frustrated by community administration | 4,7 | |
| - depressed, demoralized | 4,7 | |
| - old age | 2,7 | |
| - family situation, number of dependents | 2,0 | |
| - other | 3,3 | |
| no information | 2,0 | 2,0 |
| | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 | |

A small but significant number of those who believe in progress

think their own determination will help them improve themselves. Progress
is seen in the achievement of greater economic security and in the
acquisition of education, a job, equipment or business skills which will
eventually lead to an improved economic status. Some respondents place
their hopes in their children, others in a change in the township ad-
ministration. Those who see no progress for themselves, simply state that
things will stay the same or even get worse, and exhibit a pervasive de-
pression about the future. Small numbers of respondents expect their
efforts to be frustrated by local rules and regulations, or refer to their
advanced age and the increasing number of dependents who look to them for
support.

TABLE 8.

| Life goals | | |
|---|---|---|
| reference to: | % | % |
| aspirations | | 90,0 |
| - business | 22,7 | |
| - education (children, self) | 16,0 | |
| - job, skills | 15,3 | |
| - home, family | 13,3 | |
| - financial security | 7,3 | |
| - rural property, agriculture | 7,3 | |
| - other | 8,0 | |
| no aspirations | 9,3 | 9,3 |
| no information | 0,7 | 0,7 |
| | 99,9 | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 | |

How do respondents' views of their past and future life situation
in Kwa Mashu compare with their life goals? When asked what their main
goals and strivings were in life and what they would like to achieve, 90

per cent of our respondents name a specific aspiration (cf. Table 8).
Aspirations referring to business pursuits are very popular and the en-
visaged enterprises range from the informal hawking of wares to the small
retail business or tearoom. A large proportion of our respondents wish
to see their children educated and a few persons in this category would
like to improve their own education as well. As regards occupational
aspirations, women would like to learn skills in handicrafts and men tend
to emphasize job mobility. A number of respondents would like to improve
their homes and lead a happy family life. Some few respondents simply
aspire to live above the bread line. A few others would seek security of
tenure and a livelihood in the rural areas. The minority of respondents
who indicate that they have no aspirations at all, admit they are too
frustrated or too old to consider life goals as such.

- *Man, I have given up having goals and striving. I just do
  things I have means to do at a particular time, not having
  planned for them.*

- *Look, I am so old now, yet I have done next to nothing. I am
  like an old door mat ready to be thrown away when it is too
  old and dirty to impress its owner.*

- *There is nothing else I could wish for. My life is that of a
  fly, I only subsist. If I do not get a little bit* (of money),
  *it's clear that I could rot in this house.*

It is perhaps symptomatic that although many of our respondents'
aspirations are realistic and reasonably modest, only 45 per cent expect
to attain their aims (cf. Table 9). It is noteworthy that the majority
in this group think they will rely on sheer determination. However, over
half of our respondents are uncertain of ever achieving their life goals
or do not expect to do so at all. Barriers to achieving life goals are
set by the lack of capital or finances, the lack of educational or
training facilities and political restrictions.

TABLE 9.

### Expectations of achieving life goals

| reference to: | % | % |
|---|---|---|
| yes | | 45,3 |
| - self-reliance | 32,7 | |
|   - own determination | 26,0 | |
|   - own means | 6,7 | |
| - expects outside assistance | 8,7 | |
| - other | 4,0 | |
| ambivalent | 15,3 | 15,3 |
| no | | 37,3 |
| - lack of means | 16,0 | |
| - given up hope | 10,7 | |
| - political restrictions | 5,3 | |
| - lack of facilities | 2,0 | |
| - other | 3,3 | |
| not applicable, no information | 2,0 | 2,0 |
| | 100,0 | 99,9 |
| | N = 150 | |

        When asked if they would welcome assistance in fulfilling their aspirations, just over half of the sample said they would. The eagerness with which some of our respondents seek support from outside agents is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that interviewees frequently expected the fieldworker to assume the role of an advisor and mediator in achieving their goals. In most cases advice and assistance in overcoming financial, administrative and legal hurdles is required as well as instruction in various skills. Advice on how to procure the necessary permits, licences for hawking or opening one's own business are frequently mentioned in this connection. Some few respondents feel their endeavours will be more successful when Kwa Mashu falls under the administration of the KwaZulu

Government.    Advice in personal matters is only requested in the few cases concerning domestic issues.  Approximately one-third of the respondents say they can manage on their own.

TABLE 10.

## What respondents would do with a trebled income

*Suppose you had three times your present wage, what extra things would you spend it on?*

| percentage which would invest in: | % | % |
|---|---|---|
| business enterprise | 30,0 | 30,0 |
| children and dependents | | 20,7 |
| - education | 16,7 | |
| - future | 4,0 | |
| house, home improvements | | 10,6 |
| - in town | 9,3 | |
| - in country | 1,3 | |
| standard of living | 8,7 | 8,7 |
| own education | 6,7 | 6,7 |
| old age savings | 6,7 | 6,7 |
| establish oneself in the country | 3,3 | 3,3 |
| savings account | 1,3 | 1,3 |
| other | 6,0 | 6,0 |
| no information | 6,0 | 6,0 |
| | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 | |

If faced with the question of what they would do if they were earning three times as much as they do now, respondents would predominantly invest in a business undertaking, their children, education, their homes or improve their general standard of living (cf. Table 10).  The vast majority would spend the extra income in town, although a small proportion

of our sample would seek residential and financial security in the rural areas. Generally speaking, the responses to this projective question match those given in answer to our inquiry about life goals.

There is a tendency for the better established and the financially more secure respondent to aspire to improve his lifestyle and environment and invest in his children's education, whilst the less well off in our sample wish to engage in some kind of business.

TABLE 11.

### Type of work preferred

*What type of work would you really like to do?*

| response: | men % | women % | total % |
|---|---|---|---|
| run own business | 25,7 | 14,5 | 20,0 |
| dressmaking and other home work | 1,4 | 39,5 | 20,7 |
| white collar work | 14,9 | 6,6 | 10,7 |
| skilled manual work | 16,2 | 2,6 | 9,3 |
| semi-skilled work (drivers, machine operators etc.) | 10,8 | 2,6 | 6,7 |
| house work | - | 3,9 | 2,0 |
| any well paid work | 2,7 | 1,3 | 2,0 |
| other (including professional work, teachers, nurses, social workers) | 24,3 | 26,3 | 25,3 |
| no information | 4,1 | 2,6 | 3,3 |
| | 100,1 | 99,9 | 100,0 |
| | N = 74 | N = 76 | N = 150 |

Occupational aspirations for oneself tend to be fairly realistic (cf. Table 11). The occupational aspirations in our sample differ sharply according to sex group. Remarkable is the striving toward independence and self sufficiency in operating one's own business. Dressmaking

at home is considered a particularly attractive occupation for women.
It is obvious that this type of enterprise presents one of the few
channels for advancement for those with little formal education (cf.
Lipset, Bendix 1959:216). The better educated in our sample tend to
aspire to professional and white collar jobs. Just under one-fifth of
our sample hope to secure skilled or semi-skilled manual work, mainly
as machine operators or drivers.

Our respondents' fears for the future are very revealing in
this connection. Three major issues can be distinguished: financial
insecurity, residential insecurity and concern for one's children (cf.
Table 12). The last issue includes worries about one's children's con-
duct, their proper upbringing and education, and fears of finding oneself
estranged from them when they are grown. We shall see later that this is
one very important area in which parents seek professional advice and
guidance.

TABLE 12.

**Fears for the future**

*What are your main fears for the future?*

| response category: | % |
|---|---|
| financial insecurity | 24,0 |
| children (their conduct, future) | 22,0 |
| residential insecurity | 16,0 |
| no fears | 10,0 |
| other | 25,3 |
| no information | 2,7 |
| | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 |

    -    *My greatest concern is for my children. I fear they may be*

*influenced by the township. This place has a satanic atmosphere. Besides that there is the problem of not knowing what one's future is in this township.*

Signs of youthful optimism and freedom from care are encountered in our survey in the low proportion of young respondents who do not explicitly state their fears for the future.

A high degree of internal consistency between aspirations and fears for the future exists. Those who worry about financial security tend to aspire to engage in some kind of business activity. And those who are extremely concerned about their children's future, desire to improve their standard of living and give them a good education. Older persons and the less educated tend to be more concerned about their financial security. It is noteworthy that residential security preoccupies sample respondents in most categories.

TABLE 13.

Progress - an overview

How Kwa Mashu respondents see their life situation:      N = 150

| General progress in past few years | | Economic situation in past five years | | Expectation for future progress | | Expectation of achieving aspirations | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| progress: | 33% | progress: | 26% | progress: | 34% | achievement: | 45% |
| | | ambivalent: | 17% | ambivalent: | 16% | ambivalent: | 15% |
| no progress: | 67% | no progress: | 53% | no progress: | 48% | no achievement: | 37% |

Fears for the future

| yes | 87% |
|---|---|
| no | 10% |

Table 13 provides an overview over the life situation in Kwa Mashu as seen by our respondents. Only one-third of the sample has seen

progress in the past or anticipates progress in the future. Only a small proportion of our sample is satisfied with or indifferent about their life situation, whilst the majority is either frustrated or aggravated. Over eighty per cent of the respondents have fears for the future. Positive and indifferent reactions are most likely to be encountered among the older and less educated respondents, whilst frustration is most acute among the younger and better educated.

Progress is hampered by the lack of financial means, but also by the complex web of requirements and restrictions which tend to stifle individual enterprise. Assistance in finding one's way through bureau- cratic red tape is frequently desired. Respondents are slightly more op- timistic about achieving their specific life goals than about improving their financial position, and this is most pronounced among those persons who possess a strong determination to succeed.

There is a tendency for those who feel that they have made little progress in the past and that their economic situation has deteriora- ted, to take a less optimistic view of their life chances than others. Such pessimism tends to limit the level of aspirations and expectations of ever achieving life goals. For instance, those who state they have not progressed in the past are less likely to formulate a specific life goal or will settle for financial security alone. This type of negative out- look on the future is most evident among the relatively disadvantaged in our sample, notably among the less educated, the low earners, the elderly and the women. These are the people who are also most likely to need assistance in achieving their aims in life. Formal education may be one of the greatest assets in this respect, for it appears to instil respond- ents with confidence in their future and at the same time provides them with the necessary knowledge and skills with which to achieve their ambitions.

Youthfulness and general optimism about the future coupled with self assurance tend to go hand in hand. Moreover, it is very probable

that today's African youngsters receive more formal education than in
former days which might support them in this attitude.

Our survey findings also suggest that residential stability
may in some instances be beneficial for attaining the necessary educa-
tional and income levels which inspire optimism for the future and high
aspirations. It is also noteworthy that precisely the relatively ad-
vantaged group in our sample tend to perpetuate their superior status
by seeking long-term improvements rather than uncertain short cuts.
They prefer investing in instrumental status designations such as educa-
tion and residential security rather than seeking instant and often
unrealistic solutions to economic needs through sales activities and
small business undertakings.

At this point it is perhaps apposite to size up the consequences
of the type of occupational mobility desired by our respondents. We have
seen that in response to several questions concerning general life goals,
fictitious spending of a trebled income, and preferred type of work, a
noteworthy proportion of our sample aspires to petty entrepreneurship and
the independence that is associated with it. This reaction is interesting
and may be typical of a proletariat in the early stages of urbanization.
Consider for instance that Thompson (1968:289) writing on the aspirations
of early proletarians in England, maintained that "if agricultural
labourers pined for land, artisans aspired to an "independence"."

As Schlemmer (1976:85-86) has also pointed out elsewhere, some
black South African workers may be responding to impediments to the
'normal' pattern of integration into an industrial society along the lines
suggested by Germani, Touraine and others (Davies 1970). Germani dis-
tinguishes between three phases which characterise the movement of workers
from the periphery of industrial development to full urbanization and
industrialization. The first phase termed 'disposibility' involves the
erosion and selective rejection of elements of traditional culture in re-
sponse to the need to adapt to the elements and constraints of industrial

work.  This pattern is usually present among migrant workers who maintain strong contacts with the rural periphery despite their commitment to industrial life.

A second phase, which Germani refers to as 'mobilisation' is approached when workers begin to aspire actively toward mobility and progress in the industrial world and begin to achieve a sense of, or desire for, committed participation in the modern world of work.  This phase is broadly congruent with worker groups whose participation in the modern sector is relatively secured though their jobs may not be.  This group will consist mainly of skilled or semi-skilled workers who if they see their progress blocked will experience sharp discontent as a consequence of taking the modern world as reference.

In a third phase of 'integration', workers in typically modern western society have acquired urban-industrial life styles, incorporation in public life via political participation and trade unionism.

According to this very brief description, 'mobilisation' is clearly seen as a transitional phase in the movement from the periphery to full integration.  For black South African workers severe impediments to this movement exist and accordingly one may expect aspirations which deviate from the model outlined as workers retreat from obstacles to their progress.  Alluding to Thompson's comparison between agricultural labourers and artisans above, one might like to speculate whether in the past it was not possible for the migrant worker to fall back on 'landed' independence if he were unsuccessful in achieving his goals.  If this were the case in former days, for most workers of today there will be no going back.  In our survey only a very small proportion of respondents felt that if they were unsuccessful in town they might still opt for rural 'independence' and return to subsistence farming, which would reflect downward mobility in terms of an urban frame of reference.  The majority will have to continue 'mobilising' indefinitely or else retreat into dreams of petty entrepreneurial independence.  Alternatively, their sense of mobility may

become related primarily to the acquisition of consumer goods for material or status gratification.

A most important and related implication of the desire to engage in petty business voiced by so many of our respondents, is that it reflects a typically individual solution to urban marginality.   Fisher (1978:204) commenting on class consciousness among South African workers observes that migrants and recently industrialised workers might conceive of a perhaps impossible alternative society of independent small-scale producers, which might affect the nature of their demands and their organization.  "In a situation of real or imagined easy upward mobility it might prevent any collective consciousness or collective action from emerging" (Fisher 1978:204).  We shall see that in other spheres of essentially non-economic behaviour, a similar tendency for Kwa Mashu respondents to seek individual rather than collective solutions is strikingly evident.

4.

## DAY TO DAY PROBLEMS

In this section we shall be concerned not so much with the general issues which involve the community as a whole, but with the smaller problems which individuals face in their day to day existence. Such small-scale issues have been called 'botherations' elsewhere (Schwarzweller *et al.* 1971:125) denoting their trivial and idiosyncratic nature. The ability to cope with such 'botherations' may be considered an indication of the adaptation to urban life in a township setting.

Respondents were invited to describe their urgent day to day problems to which there seemed to be no obvious solutions, and to recount the manner in which they had attempted to solve these problems.

A glance at the range of 'botherations' in Table 14 informs us that such problems are more than trivial in many cases for they tend to undermine the very basis of urban existence. Many respondents wake up each day to find themselves in a very insecure position in urban life. Feelings of financial insecurity are very common in our sample particularly among the elderly. Some families fear that the breadwinner may lose his job. At the same time younger respondents are frustrated because they are un- or underemployed. Some pensioners and invalids are struggling to secure regular allowances in order to make ends meet. Some few respondents admit they have overcommitted themselves financially with hire purchase agreements.

A sizable proportion of our sample is preoccupied with finding adequate and reasonably secure accommodation for themselves and their kinsfolk. Alternatively, a minority wish to find this security in the country. Concern about children's conduct and family relations is closely associated with the perception of being crowded in township accommodation, and it is noteworthy that family problems appear to be more pressing than

issues of a more personal nature.

TABLE 14.

Urgent day to day problems faced by respondents to which there is no patent solution

| problem area* | % |
|---|---|
| financial security | 24,0 |
| residential security | 18,7 |
| family, personal issues | 13,3 |
| job security | 12,0 |
| education | 8,0 |
| community issues (crime, transport, relations) | 7,3 |
| restrictive regulations | 4,0 |
| rural security of tenure | 2,7 |
| no problems | 21,3 |
| no information | 4,0 |
| * multiple responses | N = 150 |

Other non-economic problems faced by respondents in day to day living

| reference to problem area: | % |
|---|---|
| personal level: oppression, barriers to personal development | 21,3 |
| family level: family, children (conduct, education) | 12,7 |
| standard of living/quality of life | 12,0 |
| community level: community issues (crime, morality, relations) | 14,7 |
| no 'other' problems | 31,3 |
| no information | 8,0 |
| | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 |

The quality and availability of education in Kwa Mashu troubles some
parents in their everyday lives. The few references to items such as
hooliganism, transport problems and poor relations with neighbours are
subsumed under the heading 'community issues'. Influx control measures
and other restrictive regulations make life more difficult for a small
number of respondents.

Probing deeper for the non-economic trials and tribulations
which might make township life irksome, unrewarding and even frightening
for Kwa Mashu residents, one in five respondents admit that they feel
limited in their personal development. Restriction of their spatial and
social mobility and discrimination in the form of particularistic regu-
lations gives rise to frustration and despair. Some 12 per cent of
respondents refer to parents' inability to control and influence their
children and the children's loss of respect for authority and formal edu-
cation. An equally large group of respondents report their attempts at
improving their standard of living and immediate surroundings has been in
vain. A last group of respondents deplore the lack of community spirit
as reflected in the high crime rate, drunkenness, deterioration of values
and norms, and poor neighbourliness. The low morale in the community
makes their daily lives depressing. Some few respondents confess they
feel terrorized by their neighbours as well as by thugs.

About half of those persons with such day to day problems state
that they have made some attempts to solve them. According to the nature
of the problem any one of the following agents had been approached for
advice and guidance, all without avail: the township administration, Urban
Bantu Council members, professionals, friends and neighbours, and family
members. Among those who had made no attempts to solve their day to day
problems, some persons did not know to whom they should turn with their
problems, or had given up hope because they thought there were no bursaries
or funds to provide financial support.

When asked about the need for assistance in solving their day to

day problems, about half of the group facing such troubles reacted in-
differently or said they felt there was nothing that could be done.
However, our survey indicates that there is a great need for help in
dealing with family and personal problems. Counselling in matters of
child rearing and interpersonal relations is also called for. Advice
and information on educational and vocational opportunities would be ex-
tremely helpful to many parents. Those attempting to gain an economic
footing in town would appreciate assistance in finding suitable employ-
ment. A number of persons in our sample would like help in obtaining a
trader's licence.

- *I wish to be helped to obtain a hawker's licence, so that I
  might not get arrested by the police.*

Lastly, some respondents said they would like to see pressure being
applied, so that the KwaZulu Government is given administrative powers
over Kwa Mashu as soon as possible. They felt the change in administra-
tion would free the community from oppression and secure residential
rights for its members.

With reference to community problems affecting respondents' day
to day existence, suggested solutions include the improvement of police
protection, the formation of vigilante groups and the installation of
proper community leaders.

To sum up observations regarding the day to day problems faced
by Kwa Mashu residents, we find that younger persons are least aware of
'botherations', whereas middle aged parents are most concerned with child
rearing and family problems and some of the elderly experience acute
financial insecurity. Generally speaking, most day to day problems re-
volve around the basic question of security, be it financial, occupational,
residential, physical or personal. Consistent with our findings concerning
aspirations and life goals, we find that the least affluent and the senior
citizens in the community are less able to cope with the exigencies of day

to day urban living and are most in need of outside help. Assistance in solving family and child rearing problems are most urgently required. Very disturbing is the sense of helplessness exhibited by some of our respondents who do not know how to begin to tackle their problems and are not certain whether they can be assisted in their plight.

5.

## FOCUS ON EDUCATION

Education has been singled out for special attention, because it represents one of the central issues in Kwa Mashu. We have seen that major grievances concern the shortage of schools and staff and the limited number of educational institutions. Our data also suggests that an urban lifestyle is considered at dissonance with a voluntary education system.

- *We have sent out our wives to work but still there is no improvement. We don't like our wives to work with us but we have no alternative. Our salaries are terribly low and yet we have to pay for education.*

- *There are no high schools, children have to travel long distances. The few schools are so gloomy and unattractive.*

- *They look more like barracks than schools.*

Another problem concerns truancy, which is aggravated by the lack of discipline at home and poor communications between the teachers and the parents. Unattractive school buildings, inadequate facilities, shortage of staff and classrooms, large classes, the type of syllabus and the conformity expected of pupils, all tend to discourage those children who are not overly keen on book learning. Some parents live in constant fear that their children will join the ranks of the school drop outs without their knowledge, and become juvenile delinquents at an early age. This is a problem we shall return to later.

- *Children go to school but the type of education they get does not encourage them and instead they leave school early. Bantu Education does not provide children with any particular knowledge so that there is no difference between the children who go to school and those who do not. Those children who have had some education get discouraged.*

- *Today when you ask a child to go to school he thinks he goes to school for your sake ... Our children are 'ungrateful dogs',*

> *you give the dog good food and the next hour he's caught in*
> *a trap stealing eggs. We bring them up from birth, put them*
> *in creches, from there in schools, but when they reach their*
> *teens, they slip between  our  fingers and disappear.  You*
> *lose them for good.  One just can't know what our children*
> *want.  The Corporation put up a youth employment centre for*
> *them, they do not care for it.  Instead, they run to cinemas*
> *and football  stadia  and worst of all to shebeens.*

At present we shall familiarize ourselves with what Kwa Mashu residents
expect from education and for what reasons.

TABLE 15.

| Level of education for children | level aspired to | | level which can be afforded | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | for boys %| for girls %| for boys %| for girls %|
| undecided | 2,0 | 2,0 | | |
| child has failed at school | | | 6,7 | 6,7 |
| lower primary education | | | | |
| higher primary education | | | 2,7 | 2,7 |
| junior secondary education | | | 12,0 | 12,7 |
| senior secondary education | 4,0 | 4,0 | 22,0 | 20,7 |
| university | 19,3 | 19,3 | 18,0 | 16,7 |
| professional training | 47,3 | 45,3 | | |
| vocational training | 4,7 | 1,3 | 2,0 | 0,7 |
| child must decide | 10,0 | 12,0 | 10,0 | 10,0 |
| other | | | 7,3 | 7,3 |
| no information | 12,7 | 16,0 | 19,3 | 22,7 |
| | 100,0 | 99,9 | 100,0 | 100,2 |
| | N = 150 | N = 150 | N = 150 | N = 150 |

Our respondents have very high educational aspirations for their

children considering the average family size and income in our sample
(cf. Table 15). One might even call them unrealistically high in the
context under study. The majority of respondents in our sample aspire
to university education or professional training for their children.
The possibilities for vocational training are virtually overlooked, and
only some 12 per cent of the respondents, predominantly men, would let
their children decide how much education they will receive. Obviously,
admitting to educational ambitions below a high school standard is
socially unacceptable, for we received not a single answer referring to
the lower education levels. We also observed a tendency for the younger
and the more educated respondent to hold higher aspirations for their
children's education than others.

The response to the question of how much education respondents
can actually afford, is slightly less ambitious. Higher status individuals
feel they can afford higher levels of education for their children than
others and it appears highly probable that their expectations conform
with reality. Nevertheless, some 17 per cent of our sample say they can
afford to send their children to university. A smaller proportion will
let their children decide when they wish to leave school, and some parents
have already been relieved of their responsibilities of providing educa-
tion, because their children have not fulfilled academic requirements and
have dropped out of school. It is interesting to note that aspirations
concerning the education for boys and girls are equally high.

The chief reason for respondents emphasizing educational achieve-
ment is that they believe it opens the door to the better paid jobs, higher
salaries and financial security (cf. Table 16). Some respondents wish to
give their children something they can never hope for themselves: the oppor-
tunity to escape poverty and "lead a decent life". At the same time
parents are conscious of the fact that the black community needs the ser-
vices of professionals and that they can be recruited from their own ranks.
Why should their own children not fill these vacancies? Interestingly

enough, it is the parents' fancy rather than the child's particular in-
clinations and talents which tend to determine our respondents' aspira-
tions for their children.

TABLE 16.

Reasons for educating children

| reasons* | % |
|---|---|
| education instrumental in improving life chances | 44,0 |
| community needs educated people | 28,0 |
| inclination, child's talent | 18,7 |
| knowledge, broad horizon | 18,0 |
| prestige | 6,7 |
| other | 7,3 |
| no information | 10,7 |
| | N = 150 |

* multiple responses

The prestige and recognition afforded to the highly educated further
accounts for some aspirations. The fact that education broadens people's
outlook on life is recognized by some few respondents who tend to value
education and knowledge as such.

- *They must have their eyes opened in this world of today. They
  must not be fools like us with little education. They must
  get better jobs and get better money with their certificates.*

- *I consider education to be more important than anything else
  because you can bargain with it.*

- *They must be able to understand everything in life instead of
  just accepting it. I don't want 'ja baas' children.*

- *When we die, education will be her father and mother. It will
  give her a name in the community, money for a comfortable
  existence and an open mind.*

- *We intend to have only three children so as to be able to give
  them a decent education. To increase the number of educated*

*Africans so as to uplift the Zulu nation.*

- *It's that I want them to be independent and represent the community.*

- *They will never have any time to roam around in the streets. They will be occupied ... and of course they will be of a great service to the community.*

- *Education clears the mind of anybody. Even with hooligans, there is a big difference between an educated hooligan and an uneducated one. The educated one plans and does a thing smoothly without causing unnecessary loss of life.*

Approaching the subject of adult education, inquiries were made as to whether respondents had made efforts to further their own education (cf. Table 17). Less than one-quarter of our sample had done so. However, as many as three-quarters of our respondents expressed a desire to continue with their education when a probe was made to this effect (cf. Table 18).

TABLE 17.

| Efforts made to improve own education in the past | % | % |
|---|---|---|
| **no** | | 76,0 |
| - no time | 9,3 | |
| - too old | 8,7 | |
| - no means | 6,0 | |
| - unqualified | 52,0 | |
| **yes** | 23,3 | 23,3 |
| no information | 0,7 | 0,7 |
| | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 | |

TABLE 18.

| Desire to improve own education in future | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Would you like to further your own education or not?* | | | |
| | men % | women % | total % |
| yes, emphatic | 32,4 | 22,4 | 74,0 |
| yes | 44,6 | 48,7 | |
| no | 16,2 | 21,1 | 18,7 |
| not applicable, other | 6,8 | 7,9 | 7,3 |
| | 100,0 | 100,1 | 100,0 |

*What are you attempting to achieve in the way of education?*

| Percentage of respondents requiring education in order to: | men % | women % | total % |
|---|---|---|---|
| improve income | 28,4 | 21,1 | 24,7 |
| improve career | 12,2 | 18,4 | 15,3 |
| achieve self-employment | 13,5 | 3,9 | 8,7 |
| improve knowledge | 8,1 | 7,9 | 8,0 |
| serve the community | 6,7 | 6,5 | 6,7 |
| improve prestige | 1,4 | 1,3 | 1,3 |
| other | 5,4 | | 2,6 |
| no education required/not applicable | 24,3 | 40,8 | 32,7 |
| | 100,0 | 99,9 | 100,0 |

*Why do you wish this?*

| Percentage of respondents referring to: | men % | women % | total % |
|---|---|---|---|
| own progress | 58,1 | 44,6 | 51,4 |
| - a better life | 39,2 | 36,8 | 38,0 |
| - self-employment, independence | 13,5 | 3,9 | 8,7 |
| - self-fulfilment | 5,4 | 3,9 | 4,7 |
| community progress | 13,5 | 15,8 | 14,7 |
| other | 2,7 | 1,3 | 2,0 |
| no education required/not applicable | 25,7 | 38,2 | 32,0 |
| | 100,0 N = 74 | 99,9 N = 76 | 100,1 N = 150 |

The lowest proportion of aspirants are found in the highest age group
in our sample. Some of the respondents with no educational aspirations
for themselves state they would prefer to concentrate on their children's
development and welfare.

The type of adult education required varies considerably
according to the age and sex of respondents and their occupational de-
signations. Those presently employed wish to improve their chances of
promotion, better salaries or wages, and obtaining a satisfying and
secure position at work. Some men wish to acquire the necessary skills
in order to start their own business and become independent of their
present employers.

The women in our sample tend to agree that formal book learning
is not for them, they need practical instruction in domestic skills, child
rearing, handicrafts, health and first aid, from which they will benefit
in their daily lives. Many desire to become proficient in a particular
field in order to augment their income, but others intend to run their
homes more efficiently, meet other people, gain independence, satisfac-
tion and self respect through achievement, and be in a position to serve
their community. A small number of respondents admit that they dream of
fulfilling a long standing desire to gain a specific type of knowledge.

- *I should appreciate being introduced to women's organizations
to occupy me during my free time. I am very much interested
in advice on ordinary aspects of life as well as housekeeping
and general etiquette. I like things that uplift me, I can
give up all my leisure time for this.*

Almost two-thirds of those respondents with educational aspira-
tions think they might succeed in attaining their ambitions. Half of
this group admit that they will need some help in reaching their targets.
Whilst most respondents attribute their expectations of success in
achieving their educational aims to sheer determination, a smaller pro-
portion refer to their own financial standing or to the availability of

bursaries and scholarships. However, even among those who are optimistic about their chances of success, there are some who doubt as to whether finances will permit them to achieve their goals.

Those who do not think they will succeed are lacking the necessary means and the time. A significant group of respondents refer to the shortage of suitable educational institutions in Kwa Mashu. Although this point was only made by one respondent, there is every reason to believe that if adult education classes are held in the evenings, many women will be prevented from attending them, because they fear for their physical security when going out alone at night. On the other hand, working people will not be able to attend day classes.

In conclusion to this section on education, we have observed that education is seen primarily as an instrument to achieving the 'good life' and all that is associated with it. Educational aspirations are held by virtually all groups in the community (see section on life goals) if not for themselves then for their children. Our survey findings indicate that Kwa Mashu residents have exceptionally high aspirations for their children's education and may be prepared to make great sacrifices to fulfill them. The level of aspirations is however set so high, that one cannot help but think that the majority of our respondents will be frustrated. There are signs that some respondents have already been disappointed at finding their children leaving school prematurely.

Our survey results reveal a certain amount of circularity and exclusiveness in connection with education, which may indicate that a class structure partially based on education is emergent. It is the better educated in our sample who have the highest aspirations for their own and their children's education and feel they will be more successful in their aims than others. Similarly, those who have improved their education in the past are also more likely to do so in the future. Of course the youthful in our sample are well represented in this better educated group and they are tendentially more confident in their chances of success. Perhaps

it is also symptomatic that although the instrumental aspect of education as a means to achieving good jobs and pay, is very important to all respondents, the less educated in our sample are more likely to associate education with prestige, whilst the better educated tendentially equate education with knowledge.

One last observation might be made in connection with the educational aspirations based on altruistic rather than on purely individualistic motivations. Although our respondents rarely identify with the community at large, there is a possibility that the desire to place one's skill and knowledge at the service of the community is quite genuine. There is a certain consistency in respondents wishing to educate both their children and themselves for the identical reason of serving the community. Furthermore a person wishing to be of use to the community, is more likely than others to believe that educated people in Kwa Mashu actually are of assistance to their fellow residents. One might speculate that if the education institution were opened to persons so inclined, a greater sense of community awareness and responsibility might be aroused amongst the educated.

6.

## FOCUS ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS

### 6.1    Crime

When discussing the problems faced by Kwa Mashu residents, our
respondents sooner or later mention the effects of crime on the community.
Crime has become an integral part of township life and at the same time
it undermines people's feeling of security and respect for the place
where they live.  Burglar guards are accepted as normal features in Kwa
Mashu homes, and it is assumed as a matter of course that people fear
to walk in the streets alone at night.  Gangs of youths terrorize
particular neighbourhoods and hunt down their victims with pernicious
determination.

- *At night when you go out to the toilet without arming yourself
  with a bush knife you are in danger of being robbed.*

- *I shall buy vegetables and sell them from my yard because if I
  sell them elsewhere they might murder me on my way back home.* ·

- *You can well imagine if I come home from work and find there
  is no sugar or salt in the house.  Instead of sending a child
  to the shop, I have to go to the shop myself for fear that if
  I send my children or my wife they might be molested by these
  thugs.*

- *When I am the first to get home, I always make it a point to
  wait for her* (working wife) *at the station.*

- *We* (neighbours) *all have whistles.  If one of us is attacked,
  he need only to blow the whistle and we'll all rise against
  the attacker.*

In recent years several developments have taken place which
give township crime a particularly ugly face.

Firstly, the increase in crime has disrupted community cohesion.  There
no longer exists a sharp distinction between the law abiding, 'decent'
citizen and the hooligan or criminal.  Whereas thugs could formerly be

conveniently labelled as 'outsiders', such as 'migrants', it is apparent
that hooligans and delinquents are definitely being recruited from within
the township.

> *Working people mug other working people. If it were non-*
> *working people, I would suggest that they are rounded up and*
> *given some work to do, so that they leave other people alone.*

Secondly, related to this development, is the growing fear that one's
next of kin might join the ranks of the township riffraff. Some of our
respondents have indeed found themselves in this type of predicament.
Attitudes toward crime tend to polarize townsfolk into two distinct
groups: those who squarely place the blame on parents for rearing crimi-
nals, and those who feel that negative influences in the environment
leave a parent helpless when it comes to preventing juvenile delinquency
in their offspring. The hardliners call for families to expose any law
breakers in their midst, so that they can be brought to justice.

Thirdly, the increasing violence to which hooligans will resort in order
to gain control over their victims is a cause for grave concern. It is
feared that with increasing economic hardship, hooligans will become more
ruthless than ever.

Fourthly, according to our respondents, 'tsotsis' are getting younger each
day. It is thought that the numbers of child delinquents will swell
proportionally with youth unemployment. The bleak prospects of obtaining
a job after leaving school shatters many children's belief in deferred
gratification. For some school children, the attractions of the drab
schools can in no way compete with the thrills of the city and the promise
of finding an instant solution to one's empty pockets.

> *What in the name of God is happening to the new generation. I*
> *was once foolish enough to think that these anti-social ele-*
> *ments came from poor families only. It is not so, they come*
> *from various backgrounds.*

- *Young people like glamorous things, they do not earn enough to buy them so they resort to pickpocketing and robbery.*
- *Nowadays every child grows up knowing a lot of 'tsotsi' habits.*

Personal experience of crime in the role of the victim is fast becoming commonplace in Kwa Mashu. Thirty per cent of our sample have had their homes burgled, or have been robbed in the streets and/or assaulted. A further ten per cent report that members of their family have been assaulted or robbed. Again, it is largely the less privileged citizen who is exposed to violence. The impression is gained that crimes are frequently not reported because they are considered to be common occurrences in Kwa Mashu, or simply because it would be useless in any case. For instance, of 21 crimes reported by our sample respondents, no action was taken on the part of the police or authorities in 12 cases. Complaints of corruption and indifference in the police force are frequently voiced by our sample respondents.

Interviewees feel that in some areas of Kwa Mashu the poorly lit streets offer little protection from thugs. Nor can the victims of assault count on the help of onlookers and passersby, who themselves feel threatened and prefer not to get involved. Obtaining medical aid for a wounded victim is extremely difficult due to the inadequate communication service in the township and the inefficiency of the ambulance service.

The major determinants of the high crime rate in Kwa Mashu are seen by our respondents in the home and the township environment (cf. Table 19). Lack of parental guidance and crowding in the home complemented by inadequate educational and recreational facilities in the township, push youths into the streets where they join bad company. This is especially true for the youths living in irregular family circumstances and in homes where both parents work. Youths and even children easily fall prey to the common urban 'vices' such as liquor, drugs, dagga, gambling etc., because there is little else to occupy their time and energy meaningfully.

## TABLE 19.

Causes of crime, juvenile delinquency and anti-social behaviour in children

| determining factors | references* to | | | weighted references to | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | crime % | juvenile delinquency % | anti-social behaviour in children % | crime % | juvenile delinquency % | anti-social behaviour in children % |
| home environment (upbringing; lack of parental supervision/control; broken homes, illegitimacy, crowding) | 14,0 | 38,7 | 27,3 | 26 | 27 | 33 |
| community environment (access to drugs/dagga/liquor, lack of recreational and educational facilities, peer influence) | 13,3 | 42,0 | 19,4 | 24 | 30 | 24 |
| unemployment | 10,7 | 22,0 | 12,0 | 19 | 16 | 15 |
| poverty, rising cost of living | 5,3 | 20,0 | 17,3 | 10 | 14 | 21 |
| external factors (influx control, African's position in society, police inefficiency, light sentences) | 11,3 | 18,7 | 5,4 | 21 | 13 | 7 |
| | | | | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| other | 8,7 | 3,3 | 18,0 | | | |
| no information | 52,0 | 8,0 | 32,7 | | | |
| | N = 150 | N = 150 | N = 150 | | | |

\* multiple responses

Township youths are denied the 'normal' channels for development through jobs and vocational training.

- *The houses are small thus they get bored with staying there.*
- *There is nothing stimulating in the community.*
- *They enjoy being feared - it gives them a name in the community.*
- *Children spend their time fighting and smoking dagga while mothers gossip and fathers drink themselves to death.*
- *These boys are not working. I see them when I am not doing day shift. All they talk about is pickpocketing and stabbing people. I think they kill for fun because I can't think of any other reason.*

Influx control and other restrictive regulations frequently force youths to find illicit means of earning an income especially in a time when jobs are scarce in any case.

- *The pass laws make it difficult for lodgers' children to work and so they are forced to rob other people.*
- *Besides people who are too lazy to work, the major cause is influx control.*
- *The day influx control is done away with, will be the end of large scale hooliganism.*

Youths coming from families struggling to keep up with the ever rising cost of living may be called upon to contribute to the family income and no questions are asked.

- *I put the blame on the parents.. If you wake up and discover that your child is not there, where do you think he is? If he is not employed and he brings home money where do you think he has got the money from?*

The urban environment has caused the material aspirations of today's youth to rise to levels which are completely incompatible with their simple economic background. Furthermore the youth of today has lost respect for traditional norms and authorities such as parents and teachers. This shift

in moral values coupled with the frustration about their life chances has blunted young people's sense of right and wrong, and left them without scruples to live off their fellow townsmen and use violence indiscriminately.

Toward the end of the interview respondents were asked to air their opinions on the causes of juvenile delinquency and 'anti-socialism' in children (cf. Table 19). In broad outlines the determing factors are thought to be similar to those given for crime - with a minor shift in emphasis. This is hardly surprising, because criminal activities in Kwa Mashu are by and large engaged in by youthful persons. In the case of juvenile delinquency, the emphasis is placed on the lack of inspiration in the home and the peer subculture. There are few training and educational facilities for youths which might promote the learning of skills that generate self respect. The scarcity of jobs forces school leavers into "frustrated idleness". In contrast, the home environment is more likely to be held responsible for producing anti-socialism in children. Poverty is also to blame. Poor people are forced to work long hours if they want to feed their children and this leaves parents with little time and energy to bring up their children properly. Some respondents say they are not in the least bit surprised that today's youth has lost respect for its elders. They feel both parents and teachers have failed to provide young people with models of excellence to emulate.

- *Most of the parents leave home early, return late, and the children do not have a proper upbringing.*

- *Once both parents work in a family, one must not expect any progress at all, children are influenced and turn into thugs.*

- *Children have nothing to do after long hours behind their desks. You see, in town we do not have wood to chop, cattle to look after or fields to attend to after school.*

- *The cause is simply a lack of a strong hand in the family. If one can adopt a code of conduct whereby all children are to report at home or stay indoors after 6 p.m., the whole problem would be minimized.*

- *The children have lost confidence in their parents and in the*

*course of it all, parents lose authority over their children.*

- *There are many girls who have turned anti-social because their homes are shebeens. They serve liquor to customers who say and do what they like to them.*

- *This is caused by feelings of inadequacy which is the result of poverty, lack of education and unemployment.*

There is a slight tendency for the socio-economically higher ranking respondents in our sample to emphasize the effect of poverty, whilst the lower ranking respondents tend to hold the 'system' responsible for juvenile delinquency.

TABLE 20.

**Factors supportive of crime**

| supportive factors* | % |
|---|---|
| police inactivity | 24,0 |
| police corruption | 18,7 |
| lenient sentences | 6,7 |
| implicit parental support | 6,0 |
| lack of vigilante groups | 6,0 |
| township development (poor street lighting, vacant overgrown plots, inadequate transport network) | 2,6 |
| other | 2,7 |
| no information | 50,0 |
| | N = 150 |

\* multiple responses

Respondents feel that crime will flourish as long as the police offer little protection, and lenient sentences are served to culprits when brought to justice (cf. Table 20). It is pointed out that the residents themselves have done little to combat crime. For instance, vigilante

groups have not been formed in Kwa Mashu as in other townships. As mentioned above, some wayward youths receive parental protection in spite of their criminal activities.

- *The child gets arrested today and you see him at large
  tomorrow repeating the same thing. There are no attempts to
  protect the people.*
- *It worries me to see a murderer discharged or getting a short
  sentence while a person convicted of illicit selling gets a
  longer sentence.*

What kind of remedies do respondents prescribe in the face of the rising crime rates? Approximately one-third of the sample offer concrete suggestions on how to combat crime in the township. Surprisingly, even though persons who have themselves been victims of township crime are more helpful in this respect, suggestions of preventive rather than deterrent measures predominate. These include first and foremost efficient police patrolling, but also the surveillance of shebeens and drug trafficking. It is thought that indirect action on the part of the administration is required. For instance, the improvement of the street lighting and the transport system would help promote social control. Youths should be given opportunities for meaningful leisure activities. The establishment of youth and recreation centres, vocational and training schools and the creation of job opportunities for young people is strongly recommended. Some few respondents call for the repeal of influx control laws. Others believe community initiative is required in forming a local vigilante group. Some few respondents feel it is the obligation of every 'decent' citizen to expose and denounce the anti-social elements in their families. The few extreme deterrent measures mentioned include corporal punishment and public execution.

- *The responsible bodies do nothing about it, so who am I to
  remedy it?*
- *The community itself must solve the problem by protecting
  itself. Men must volunteer to raid the streets at night and
  get rid of these elements.*

- *I think residents should form a vigilante group to aid the police.*

- *Only if there is co-operation between parents can hooliganism be curbed. As it is one can only scold one's own child. The type of relationship where one's own child is everybody's child no longer exists.*

- *Better still our traditional way of dealing with a delinquent must be reintroduced - strapping him up and giving it to him with a sjambok.*

- *Anybody who is found guilty of committing murder must be executed in public. He does the killing in public, so he should be killed to teach others a lesson.*

- *Only Africans go about killing and robbing one another. I think we are a cursed people. What we need is hanging for all such people.*

One last point should be stressed in this section on crime. Kwa Mashu residents are painfully aware of the crime in their midst and identify the major causes with unambiguous clarity. By and large these determining factors are identical with those found in urban areas around the world, perhaps with a singular difference: Juvenile delinquency may well be an impulsive reaction to the frustration and double discrimination of being young *and* black in a depressed economy. However, the black community feels it is being unjustly punished for conditions it did not create, and does not intend to bear the brunt of it indefinitely. With a certain resoluteness township residents have come to terms with crime and have learnt to live with its symptoms as best they can. Underneath this passive adaptation there is nevertheless a certain resentment that any efforts they may make to actually root out the underlying cause of crime are most likely to be in vain as long as the 'system' works against them.

- *The problem of assaults is caused by the very situation of Kwa Mashu congestion, influx control, unemployment and the frustrations to which Africans are subjected.*

- *Influx control has created hooliganism. Many people have been denied the right to work and have been endorsed out of Durban. On the other hand they have nowhere to go. They then resort to parasitic means of living. The countryside to which most of them are endorsed holds absolutely nothing for them.*

- *Poverty at home really drives young people into the streets. Truly speaking, the whole political system of South Africa is such that it leaves Africans with no time at all to look into such problems as delinquency. They are fighting for survival.*

- *We are deliberately being kept poor. When you starve people they will end up bickering amongst themselves for the very little they have.*

- *I think it's inevitable under the living conditions in Kwa Mashu. Even the Prince of England would become one* (a thug) *if he were living under these conditions. The only solution is to change them.*

- *The white man is the sole cause of this. I know this is highly subjective, but if we were given full control over our own affairs, we would be able to deal with this problem within our own cultural context.*

## 6.2     Drinking

In this section we are not so much concerned with moderate drinking, which traditionally accompanies social gatherings in African societies, especially among adult men, but with heavy drinking; 'drinking to get drunk', which by common consensus constitutes a major problem in township life.

Whilst youthful members of the community may relieve their frustration more actively, and engage in delinquent and criminal activities, older members may passively find comfort in drink. There tends to be considerable consensus in our sample that excessive drinking is a symptom of a social disorder and also that alcoholism traps its victims in a vicious circle: people get drunk to forget their troubles and because they are frequently drunk their troubles increase and so forth. This is particularly true in the case of financial worries, for expenditure on drink will assume a high proportion of the family income in poorer households.

- *It is because of suffering - many people drink to drown their sorrows and then they get trapped and continue to drink themselves to death.*

Generally speaking our respondents make a distinction between three chief causes of alcoholism: Some respondents blame the persons addicted to drink for their own plight, others attribute drinking to the frustrations caused by the Africans' position in society and his poverty, and a last group of respondents feel the environment invites people to drink excessively (cf. Table 21). Implicitly, the last two groups indicate that there is little that can be done about alcoholism until change is brought about in the community by forces beyond their control.

TABLE 21.

| Causes for habitual excessive drinking | % | % |
|---|---|---|
| frustration: | | 40,6 |
| - general | 21,3 | |
| - financial | 12,0 | |
| - restrictive legislation | 7,3 | |
| personal weakness | | 12,7 |
| lack of alternative diversions | | 12,7 |
| access to, availability of liquor | | 10,7 |
| other | | 8,7 |
| does not know | | 14,0 |
| no information | | 0,7 |
| | | 100,1 |
| | | N = 150 |

- *It's lack of self respect. With others it's lack of willpower. It's not that they get drunk unexpectedly. They drink with the excuse that they are burying their miseries.*

- *Most people get drunk because they have no responsibilities. They are not prepared to take part in community affairs... There are the councillors who do not know where they stand. How much more with the ordinary people.*

- *The people are unhappy, bored and frustrated, because they are ill-treated both at work and at home. The employers are harsh, they don't pay their workers. At home people are harrassed by poverty, 'tsotsis' and overcrowdedness.*

- *They are frustrated and angry because they are treated like fools and animals. They are called 'Kaffirs', 'boys', and 'girls' at work, so that is why they drink so much after work. They drink in order to forget.*

- *He drinks to relax when he is not at work where he is always told to 'come on man', he feels free and happy when not at work.*

- *Some are homeless, so when drunk they just sleep anywhere under the pretext of being drunk.*

- *Alcohol is our prime evil. Young, male and female drink alcohol like water. It can't be otherwise. Our township is infested with bottle stores.*

- *The last sign of progress in this place was the introduction of the train service in 1962. Since then this township has stood still except for progress 'shebeen-wise'. There is a lot of it and hence a lot of drunkenness.*

It is commonly known that some people simply cannot resist the temptation of drink especially as there is liquor available in profusion all over the township. Respondents also point out that there may have been some reason in letting the very poor substitute beer for food in the days when the traditional brew was highly nutritious and inexpensive in comparison to the price of a meal, but this rationalisation for drinking is hardly considered valid today.

- *Many people drink because of hunger. Many admit that if you have had some liquor you don't worry about food which you can't obtain... Another bad thing is that liquor is cheaper than food.*

Disturbing is the fact that drinking has become "fashionable", a favourite pastime for the young in the township. Drinking 'out of frustration' is socially acceptable and tends to symbolize the unfortunate circumstances in which the African population sector is forced to live.

- *Drinking of late has become fashionable especially with young*

*people.*

- *Even the hooligans use it to boost their courage.  All this hooliganism is due to liquor.*

- *There is a new slogan in this township, now 'we drink to forget our worries.'*

The drinking habits of the community elites may set them apart from the masses in that they frequent high class shebeens, but widespread heavy drinking nevertheless drains their resources of time and money, which might otherwise benefit the community.  Drinking among school teachers is considered particularly deplorable.  There are indications in our study, that if frustrated youths were to have their faith in community leadership restored, their drinking problems might be solved.  At present the community elite do not live up to these expectations, especially not in their drinking habits.

- *Drinking has become a hobby with them.*

Some respondents feel the administration promotes liquor sales as part of a plot to keep the black sector of the population apathetic and servile.  On the other hand, it might be argued that members of the black community have been quick to jump on the bandwagon and exploit the excesses of their fellowmen by peddling liquor and running shebeens. This last argument is possibly only a half truth, for the shebeens fit into township life very closely and provide for the social and leisure needs of all sections in the township population.

To most respondents it is obvious that the township environment does little to alleviate the drinking problem.  Older persons in our sample are particularly prone to remark on this.  There are very few alternatives for anyone seeking diversion and recreation in Kwa Mashu but to visit the local beerhall or a shebeen.  In actual fact we gain the impression from our fieldwork that the close network of shebeens throughout the township is what keeps the community alive socially.  Shebeens serve as meeting places with a peculiarly local flavour which is ideally

suited to the type of clientele that assembles there. The shebeen in-
stils a sense of continuity and belonging in the clients who frequent
them, something which is otherwise lacking in the uniform and impersonal
township environment. (See report on shebeens in Appendix B.)

- *There are too many of us in these four rooms. We are thirteen.*
  *Sleeping is uncomfortable, relaxing is impossible. That is*
  *why we frequent the shebeens for relaxation.*

To sum up our findings, the majority of Kwa Mashu residents
are considered to drink because they are frustrated and will continue to
do so unless they can find alternatives to drinking or a solution to
their frustrations.

7.

## FOCUS ON LEISURE

A survey of the typical leisure activities engaged in by our respondents reveals firstly, that Kwa Mashu residents tend to rely entirely on their urban environment to satisfy their leisure needs, and secondly that they have a very limited range of alternatives from which to choose. Purely recreational activities such as active and passive sports, entertainment and diversion etc., are mentioned by only ca. 35 per cent of our sample (cf. Table 22.1).

TABLE 22.1.

Leisure activities over weekends

| activities* | % |
|---|---|
| spend weekend leisure hours with relatives, friends, neighbours | 25,3 |
| household chores | 20,0 |
| indoor recreation | 18,7 |
| church services and meetings | 17,3 |
| money-making activities | 14,7 |
| drinking | 13,3 |
| outdoor recreation | 10,7 |
| have no friends, engage in no leisure activities | 9,3 |
| indoor commercial recreation (cinema, games etc.) | 7,3 |
| educational community gatherings | 2,7 |
| 'stockfel' meetings | 2,7 |
| other | 9,3 |
| | N = 150 |

\* multiple responses

The majority of respondents engage in some sort of socialising such as

relaxing and visiting with family, friends and neighbours or drinking.
Attending church meetings and 'stockfel' parties might partially be
considered as participating in social gatherings. Clearly time and
money limits one's range of leisure activities and possibly one's de-
sire to seek alternative choices. One reason for the popularity of
socialising activities may be that they need not require any expendi-
ture. Noteworthy is the high proportion of respondents, mainly women,
who do housework in their spare time. Seventeen per cent of our re-
spondents do nothing besides housework in their leisure hours. It may
be true that such tasks represent a break from normal weekday activities,
especially if the person concerned is formally employed during the week,
but very likely there is little choice involved.

- *I have no off-duty time. It's only on Sundays that I have a
day off. Then I wash my clothes and go to church.*

- *I have no leisure time* (respondent is busy supplementing income
in spare time). *The little time I occasionally grant myself
is spent on visiting my friends and my mother.*

More cause for alarm is presented by the ten per cent of our
respondents who create the impression of being totally isolated in the
urban community. They do not engage in leisure activities simply because
they have no friends to share their recreation with them. Although acti-
vities which bring in an additional income are considered stimulating and
satisfying by our respondents, there is again a possibility that persons
in this group have little choice but to make a virtue out of necessity.
Although the trend is not significant, members of the lower income group
in our sample do tend to pursue 'money-making' activities in their spare
time to a greater extent than others, and have fewer leisure interests
as such.

As in most societies which differentiate between sex roles,
certain leisure activities are typically undertaken by one or the other
sex. Women tend to engage in extra mural activities to a lesser extent
than men, partially in order not to expose themselves to the dangerous

elements in the township. Women are also somewhat overrepresented in
the 'household chores' and 'church' activities categories. Men are less
restricted in their choice of leisure and engage in more sporting acti-
vities. Drinking as such is essentially an occupation for men.

TABLE 22.2.

Satisfaction with leisure activities

|  | % |
| --- | --- |
| yes - content | 46,7 |
| - no alternatives | 24,7 |
| indifferent | 4,7 |
| no | 20,0 |
| other | 1,3 |
| no information | 2,7 |
|  | 100,1 |
|  | N = 150 |

Approximately seventy per cent of our respondents say they are
satisfied with their leisure (cf. Table 22.2). However, this figure may
be somewhat misleading, because one-quarter of all our respondents are
satisfied simply because they have no alternative choice, "there is
nothing better to do". One-fifth of the respondents are dissatisfied and
desire to change their leisure habits. Dissatisfaction appears to be
greatest among those who do housework, drinking and socializing with
family and friends.

- *I feel there is a lot I miss in life.*
- *My life is just dull and unyielding.*
- *I am not happy because there should be more meaning to our
  lives than there is now.*
- *Besides there is nothing you can do at night in the township,
  because that is 'tsotsi' time, so the best thing to do is to
  sit indoors and play records.*

*Baba and I sit around here and drink. That's how I always
spend my time. I think it's safer than moving around.*

TABLE 22.3.

| Additional opportunities for leisure needed in Kwa Mashu | | |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| none | 29,3 | 29,3 |
| educational leisure | | 24,0 |
| - educational centres, libraries | 16,0 | |
| - vocational training centre | 8,0 | |
| outdoor recreation | | 18,0 |
| - parks, beaches etc. | 14,0 | |
| - sports fields, tennis courts | 4,0 | |
| mixed indoor and outdoor sports facilities | 6,7 | 6,7 |
| small informal businesses | 6,0 | 6,0 |
| indoor commercial recreation | 6,0 | 6,0 |
| indoor non-commercial recreation (youth clubs) | 5,3 | 5,3 |
| no information | 4,7 | 4,7 |
| | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 | |

Despite their own satisfaction with their leisure habits, over
two-thirds of our respondents feel that leisure opportunities should be
extended in Kwa Mashu (cf. Table 22.3). Educational and recreational
facilities are envisaged primarily for the young people as an attractive
alternative to deviant activities or idleness. At the same time, youths
might learn occupational skills which would help them find employment.
A vocational training centre similar to the one in Umlazi would fill a
void in the educational structure in Kwa Mashu. Crowding in homes forces
many persons to pursue many activities elsewhere, which might otherwise
be carried out in the home. Libraries, arts and crafts centres, club
rooms, etc., are therefore essential. Similarly some respondents would

like to find support for their backyard hobbies and informal business
enterprises. The majority of our interviewees feel there are too few
outdoor recreation possibilities for sports especially as the schools
have little to offer in this respect.

Young bachelors in particular see themselves as being extremely
deprived as far as opportunities for sports and other recreation is con-
cerned. Likewise, there is a tendency for the youthful to feel they will
never see the 'bright lights' of the city in Kwa Mashu, for there are no
hotels, night clubs, nor sophisticated places of entertainment. In the
field of recreation Kwa Mashu residents are extremely conscious of being
second class citizens. The youthful respondents and those persons in the
higher income and education brackets in our sample are most aware of the
pressing need to improve the meaningful educational and recreational
leisure in Kwa Mashu.

TABLE 24.

## Perception of community leadership

*Are there leaders in your community to whom you can turn for help? Who are they?*

| response | qualification | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| leaders | | | 39,3 |
| | local government | 24,0 | |
| | church ministers | 3,3 | |
| | unqualified | 7,3 | |
| | other | 4,7 | |
| no leaders | | | 59,4 |
| | local government is useless | 30,0 | |
| | know of no leaders | 12,7 | |
| | unqualified | 14,7 | |
| | other | 2,0 | |
| no information | | 1,3 | 1,3 |
| | | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| | | N = 150 | |

- *People are disillusioned with them* (councillors). *They don't even respect them.*

- *The councillors, who are the people who should be leading us, are just useless like me. They practise favouritism. They accept bribes. They get paid for nothing. That's why I say there are no leaders.*

- *Councillors always want to kick people out of their houses for no good reasons. They want all women to be their girl friends.*

- *They too are afraid of hooligans. They are not concerned about you who look respectable as you are of no danger to them.*

It is important to note that educated people have a predominantly negative image in the eyes of our respondents (cf. Table 25). Some few interviewees come to the defense of the educated elite and excuse their

lack of community spirit by referring to the weak position they are
forced to occupy in African society.

TABLE 25.

| response | qualification | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Perception of the role played by educated people in the community | | | |
| *Do educated people assist the community or not?* | | | |
| yes | | | 22,1 |
| | some do assist | 12,7 | |
| | a minority assist | 2,7 | |
| | unqualified | 6,7 | |
| no | | | 75,3 |
| | don't know of any who assist | 46,0 | |
| | have good reasons not to assist | 9,3 | |
| | they are alcoholics, drunkards | 8,0 | |
| | they are pompous, snobbish | 8,0 | |
| | they are selfish | 4,0 | |
| no information | | 2,7 | 2,7 |
| | | 100,1 | 100,1 |
| | | N = 150 | |

However, the majority of the respondents feel that the educated are merely
self indulgent and snobbish. This attitude toward the educated is con-
sistent with our findings concerning the motivations for acquiring educa-
tion. If education is seen chiefly as a means of achieving individualistic
goals such as material wealth and a prestigious job, then the educated
cannot be expected to consider the community's as well as their own pro-
gress, in their personal aspirations.

- *I've never heard of an educated person being of assistance to*

> *anyone in the community. Everyone is just minding his own business.*

- *We are left with our sorrows and they are left with their education.*

- *They can't do a thing for us despite the fact that they are educated, they are still under the white man. That kills the spirit of an educated person.*

- *Some do, but others don't* (assist the community). *The reason for this, is that even the educated people do not earn enough money to handle extra problems besides their own.*

- *There is nothing they can do. They too suffer from many limitations. They also drink a lot. I suppose this is because they are frustrated - they can't help.*

- *They are just looking after their own money and comfort.*

- *They only help with their houses because they are clean and exemplary and so others follow their example.*

- *They are in most cases too proud and concerned with themselves. I have heard many of them boasting indirectly about what they are. They are too conscious of their positions... After hours they sink back into their shells of being educated persons and forget about the ordinary people in the streets. Most of the educated people behave this way.*

Nevertheless, as has already been pointed out, there are indications that if a person aspires to higher education for more altruistic reasons, he is also more likely to believe that the community actually benefits from educating its citizens.

It is clear that friendship patterns among our Kwa Mashu respondents do not appear to conform to those commonly found in residential areas elsewhere, where a neat distinction between working class and middle class patterns is often made. According to this distinction, it is asserted that members of the working class, and societal groups which have a strong leaning toward familistic values usually tend to interact in close networks of kinship and neighbourhood contacts, which is in accord with their limited possibilities for physical mobility. In contrast, it is observed that members of the higher social strata need not necessarily find satisfaction for their social needs in their immediate residential neighbourhood, because their greater mobility and participation in formal

organizations and interest groups allows them greater access to alter-
native social contacts outside.

Surprisingly, our Kwa Mashu respondents do not adhere to either
of these pattern emphases. One might have expected that the majority of
Kwa Mashu residents would be heirs to a kin-based system of social inter-
action, and rely heavily on their close and distant relatives for social
support. However, this is not evident in our investigation. On the
other hand, our survey findings indicate that friendships based on other
characteristics have not yet displaced the kin-based system as the domi-
nant mode of social interaction. Due to the strong reliance on public
transport and the danger of assault when moving about in the township
after working hours, Kwa Mashu residents are certainly too restricted in
their physical mobility to make alternative social contacts outside their
neighbourhood areas, for example at work, at church or in other recrea-
tional and interest group gatherings.

As regards friendship formation, it is our contention, that the
Kwa Mashu response pattern falls somewhere in between the two typical
modes of behaviour outlined, and the respondents thus find themselves in
a social vacuum, which aggravates their feeling of insecurity and mar-
ginality in town. Indeed, it would appear that kinship and neighbourhood
relationships in Kwa Mashu do not adequately meet the residents' basic
need for emotional security. This is especially the case for those re-
spondents who deliberately avoid too much neighbouring and tend to withdraw
from circulation as much as possible. One might therefore tentatively
suggest that the problem of living in deprivation may produce a highly
competitive type of interaction among Kwa Mashu residents, which represses
friendship formation and neighbourly relationships. This 'retreatist'
mode of social interaction underscores the recurring theme of individual
social alienation found among Kwa Mashu respondents in our survey.

In conclusion to this section, we can state that we observe
little sign of community cohesion in our survey. Friendship formation is

loose among our Kwa Mashu respondents. There is little faith in the
ability of the local government to represent the Kwa Mashu constituency
and the educated elite command little respect as far as leadership is
concerned. Survey results intimate that those who are more alienated
in their friendship patterns than others also tend to have less trust in
local leadership.

9.

## COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION

At this point one might like to ask to what extent our respond-
ents consider themselves townsmen and identify with Kwa Mashu.  We have
seen that over two-thirds of our sample have no land they can call their
own in the country and less than one-fifth actually use their rural land
for agriculture.  Our sample is therefore very dependent on the urban
economy for its livelihood.  It is also dependent on the urban environ-
ment for its leisure requirements.  It will be remembered that visits to
the rural homeland do not figure in our list of leisure activities.  In
spite of this urban reliance, adjustment to urban living appears to be
superficial.  A large proportion of our sample simply cannot come to terms
with urban life.  To illustrate this point, we observe that over 50 per
cent of our sample would not be disinclined toward living in the country
(cf. Table 26).  The majority of this group see no future for themselves
in town.  Still others would prefer country life for its economic ad-
vantages.  A number of parents in the group think that children fare
better when they are brought up in the country.  Some few respondents
feel they need a periodic rest from hectic town life.  Less than thirty
per cent of our respondents would reject rural in favour of urban life.

- *People want the township life not because of its attractions
  but because it helps them in their jobs.*

- (In the country) *I would make my own rules in my house and
  would not have to conform to someone else's regulations.*

- *If it were a place in the Reserve I would be happy for I would
  live without worry about paying for such things as fuel, water
  and rent.  There are no hooligans.  There is no one to put
  legal restrictions on you, it is safe to walk in the streets.*

TABLE 26.

**Attitudes toward living in the country**

*How do you feel about living in the country area of KwaZulu or elsewhere?*

| attitude | reference to: | %* | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| positive* | | | 52,7 |
| | desire to leave town for good/no future in town | 18,0 | |
| | cost of living in town vs. country | 16,0 | |
| | security in rural area especially in old age | 7,3 | |
| | better to raise children in country | 6,7 | |
| | desire for periodical rest/escape from town | 6,0 | |
| | other | 16,7 | |
| negative | reject country life | 28,7 | 28,7 |
| don't know - no knowledge of country life | | 9,3 | 9,3 |
| no information | | 9,3 | 9,3 |
| | | | 100,0 |
| | | N = 150 | N = 150 |

\* multiple responses in positive category. Total exceeds 100% in first column which is based on responses. The second column is calculated on respondents with differing attitudes.

We have also seen in an earlier section that in some instances adaptation to town life is inadequate. For example, many of our respondents are unable to cope with the minor problems which confront them in their daily living in town. Other respondents have neither real friends to whom they can turn to in times of need, nor persons who represent their interests. Our respondents are also nagged by a sense of impermanency in town, which is based on the multiple aspects of urban insecurity: material, physical, residential and possibly emotional. Moreover, it is felt that a change in national policy may unexpectedly eliminate any gains

an African may have achieved in a lifetime. Possibly Kwa Mashu's background has contributed toward this feeling of insecurity. Old residents in Kwa Mashu still remember that the initial move to Kwa Mashu was involuntary and involved a loss of freedom and the disruption of community ties (cf. Fried, Gleicher 1961; Fried 1966). On the other hand the move raised high hopes for an increase in life chances and security of tenure which have been successively shattered. Even today a sizable proportion of our respondents simply do not know what their position is as far as home ownership rights are concerned. It is understandable that many of the older residents in Kwa Mashu appear to have lost confidence in future progress.[1]

- *This is not my home but the white man's. I may be thrown out of here any minute.*
- *I have fears that if I do not make any home improvements in the country, I may end up having neither a home in town nor in the country.*
- *In the city we are treated as newcomers when we are actually old residents here.*
- *This is called a 'bantu' place, but if a person is not registered in the township he can be arrested.*

We have seen that the relationship between the township administration and the residents is poor and that many respondents feel that there are no real leaders on their own side with whom they can identify. Maybe for this reason such great hopes are raised by the take-over of the township administration by the KwaZulu Government (cf. Table 27).

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1) Now that Kwa Mashu has been taken over by the KwaZulu Government (1st of April 1977) objective conditions as regards security of tenure and home ownership may well change for the better.

- *I wish the KwaZulu Government had taken over, they might have solved this long ago.*

TABLE 27.

Conception of an improved Kwa Mashu administration

*Do you think things will be better if whites or blacks are in charge in Kwa Mashu's administration?*

| response | % |
|---|---|
| things better with Africans in charge | 21,3 |
| things better with whites in charge | 16,7 |
| cannot say | 6,0 |
| no information (question selectively asked) | 56,0 |
| | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 |

There is a possibility that community identification, especially among the young people, should increase under a black administration. However, if the new administration does not live up to the residents' expectations, the community's morale may sink even lower than before. Already at the time of the fieldwork, rumours were circulating that certain groups were interfering with a smooth takeover and therefore jeopardizing the new administration's chances of success.

Under such circumstances a sentimental yearning for the rural areas might be equated with the search for a way out of the pressures of urban living. Nostalgia for the country presents temporary relief to the insecurity and ugliness of township life. The responses on Table 26 may indicate that many of our sample respondents are indeed seeking refuge in the rural 'dream' (cf. Plotnicov 1970, Hoffmann-Nowotny (1973:255) citing Braun refers to the "illusion" of returning home). Consistent with numerous studies on urbanization conducted in developing countries, persons who are

economically more stabilized and secure in town are less prome to make
such projections of rural life (Schlemmer 1972, Møller 1978a). Like-
wise the younger generations in town who have no rural background
whatever, are ambivalent regarding the issue of living in the country.
There is possibly an element of realism in the rural orientation of the
older folk in our sample, because they are in actual fact more likely
to have access to land in the country. It is also the older generation
which may attempt to substitute rural for urban status improvement due
to their hopeless position in town (Møller 1978a). However, the younger
generation with no rural ties is denied any such possibilities of re-
solving its urban frustrations and tension in the rural areas. And it
is precisely among members of the younger and potentially more affluent
group in town that we can expect a higher degree of identification with
Kwa Mashu in an attempt to master their life situation here and now. We
shall return to this point later.

10.

## COMMUNITY NEEDS AND PRIORITIES

Having reviewed the life chances and problems of the people living in Kwa Mashu, one might go on to ask what the community needs in order to make genuine progress. An assessment of community priorities indicated by our respondents is compiled in Table 28.

TABLE 28.

| Perception of community needs | |
|---|---|
| response* | % |
| educational facilities | 30,0 |
| recreational facilities | 20,0 |
| progressive local organization | 15,3 |
| progressive leadership | 13,3 |
| communication between residents and local authority | 8,0 |
| community development schemes | 6,7 |
| money | 6,0 |
| administration by KwaZulu Government | 4,7 |
| racial equality | 4,0 |
| other | 24,0 |
| no information | 14,7 |
| | N = 150 |
| * multiple responses | |

Educational and recreational facilities head the list, followed by the need to organize the community on the grass roots level and to improve the relationship between the community and the local authority. In this connection a number of respondents feel that better communication between residents and the township authorities could be achieved if the KwaZulu

Government were to take over the administrative function. Along similar lines community development schemes might enhance the quality of life in the township. A minority of respondents refer to poverty relief measures, but give no details on how such a scheme should be implemented. Some few respondents feel the repeal of discriminatory legislation would remove the stigma of being a second class citizen and generate self respect and civic pride among Kwa Mashu residents.

- *We need trade schools and vocational colleges like in Umlazi.*

- *We* (young people) *need to be organized, to be given something to do. At one time after I had withdrawn from hooliganism, I, together with some other young men organized ourselves into a small youth club. We usually met in the afternoons, read newspapers and books, played cards, organized liquor in a dignified fashion and just got ourselves well balanced. We even started a music group and yearned for musical instruments. We failed to raise the funds for this and could not find anyone who was prepared to give us a hand. The whole thing went to ashes and ended there.*

- *We need proper administration and to be respected. We need facilities that are similar to those of other race groups — there is no reason why we are not given facilities.*

- *In the first place the Kwa Mashu people are doing nothing to develop themselves as a community. They do not have the means for doing so. People develop through trade.*

- *I do not believe there is any remedy but to change the whole system. Most of the problems here are a result of the situation and the nature of the politics of the country.*

- *It is the inability of the blacks to make concerted efforts to raise a voice of protest against this treatment — this is really an insult to us, it is humiliating to receive such treatment, therefore it should not be allowed to go on. Kwa Mashu is about to be taken over by the KwaZulu Government. I think we can help these people improve things and take up some of these issues with Central Government by doing something ourselves. We are not pawns, no one can push us around and get away with it.*

It is obvious from our survey findings that respondents have aimed at pinpointing areas for improvement in which the investment of capital and effort will be most effective. There tends to be a division between those who demand an injection of capital into facilities from

the authorities outside the township and those who would concentrate on internal progress by strengthening local leadership and the bargaining position of the residents. The urgent need for the improvement of facilities is seen most clearly by the younger people and the better established and well off in our sample.

In conclusion to this community study, it might be useful to summarize findings by making use of a simple model which represents the empirical interrelationships between the major observations made in our survey of Kwa Mashu residents. The model is based on the correlation matrix of selected survey variables which have been classified into simple but meaningful categories. Clusters of variables have been identified and ordered according to their empirical relationships to each other. Analogous to methods used in path analysis or in the solution of a set of interrelated equations for a particular unknown quantity, we are able to detach one variable cluster and assess its determinants and contributing factors. This type of exercise has been undertaken for the 'community need' cluster of variables in Figure 1.

Following the path of interrelationships indicated in the model, we shall attempt firstly to identify distinct community groups and secondly, to characterize their differential attitudes toward community issues and needs.

The model clearly shows that the Kwa Mashu community can be divided into at least two groups. These two groups differ significantly from each other in their perception of their own progress and of community problems, their aspirations, their adaptation and adjustment to township life, and their identification with town. Consistent with this distinctive perception of township life and outlook on progress, we also observe a polarization in the awareness of community needs.

**AGE: older**
**SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: lower**

PERCEPTION OF PERSONAL PROGRESS: little experience of progress in the past and pessimistic view of future. Needs assistance in achieving life goals.

ASPIRATIONS: generally lower level of aspirations. Emphasis on financial security and means of achieving this (e.g. petty entrepreneurship).

PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS: personal experience of community problems.

ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION: alienated, in need of friends or mistrusts friendship, needs leadership and guidance in solving daily problems, particularly child rearing ones.

IDENTIFICATION: tendentially rural-tied and less optimistic about progress in Kwa Mashu. Preference for improving communication with white administration. Apathetic about life situation.

COMMUNITY NEEDS: emphasis on the need for community leadership and organization and improved relationship with the authorities.

**AGE: younger**
**SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: higher**

PERCEPTION OF PERSONAL PROGRESS: past experience of progress, optimism about future progress. Self-sufficiency in achieving life goals.

ASPIRATIONS: emphasis on improvement of own and children's education, residential status and general standard of living.

PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS: little personal experience of community problems.

ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION: integrated in community and able to cope with day to day urban living.

IDENTIFICATION: identifies with urban area and anticipates improvement in Kwa Mashu especially under KwaZulu administration. Is frustrated and angry about own life situation.

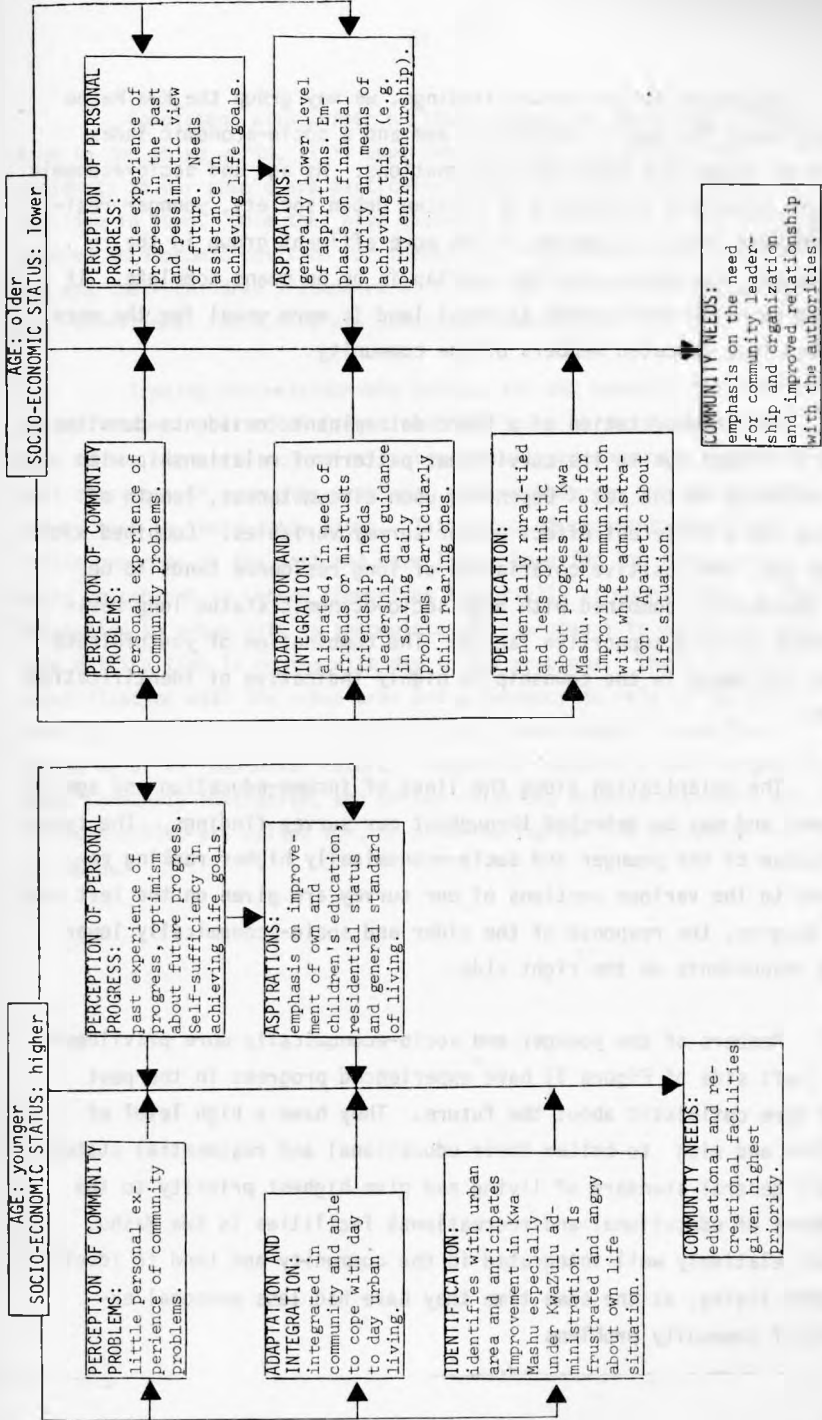COMMUNITY NEEDS: educational and recreational facilities given highest priority.

Figure 1. Determinants of community needs by two extreme types of community members.

According to our survey findings, we may group the Kwa Mashu community along two major dimensions: age and a socio-economic index composed of income and education designations. As age and socio-economic status are inversely correlated in African urban society, younger residents are more likely to belong to the more affluent group in the community and vice versa, but the overlap is by no means complete. It will also be noted that access to rural land is more usual for the more senior and less educated members of the community.

The interpretation of a third determinant 'residence duration' is more difficult due to its curvilinear pattern of relationship with other variables in the set. Depending upon circumstances, length of residence has a different effect on our survey variables. Combined with advanced age, the positive covariation of long residence tends to be merely incidental; combined with high socio-economic status long residence tends to be a supportive factor. The combination of youthfulness and long residence in the township is highly indicative of identification with town.

The polarization along the lines of income-education and age is consistent and may be detected throughout our survey findings. The typical response of the younger and socio-economically higher ranking respondents to the various sections of our survey are given on the left side of the diagram, the response of the older and socio-economically lower ranking respondents on the right side.

Members of the younger and socio-economically more privileged groups (left side of Figure 1) have experienced progress in the past and are more optimistic about the future. They have a high level of aspiration and wish to better their educational and residential status, and their general standard of living and give highest priority to the improvement of educational and recreational facilities in Kwa Mashu. They are relatively well integrated in the community and tend to identify with urban living, at the same time they have had less personal experience of community problems.

Consistent with Turner's (1968) sequential theory of urbaniza-
tion in the third world, it is apparent that the well established
residents in our sample are particularly keen to consolidate their
position in town. Once they have gained a firm foothold in the city, and
secured an economic position for themselves, they wish to improve their
own and their children's standard of living and to this aim educational
and recreational facilities are considered essential.

Tracing the relationship pattern for the opposite determinant
constellation in our model (right side of Figure 1), we find that the
more senior and socio-economically less privileged community members are
most conscious of community problems, because they are personally affec-
ted by them in their daily lives. This group of residents have seen
little progress in the past and have little hope for the future, they
would be content to secure themselves financially if nothing else. Their
adaptation to urban life is incomplete and assistance is needed to over-
come difficulties in coping with day to day problems. There is little
identification with the urban area and a tendency to rely on the rural
area for social security. This group feels improvement in Kwa Mashu
should be of an immaterial nature. Community leadership and reorganiza-
tion, community initiative, and better relations between residents and
the authorities are called for, in order to improve the situation in
Kwa Mashu.

11.

## FINAL COMMENTS

An in-depth survey of the problems and needs among a cross
section of Kwa Mashu residents in 1975 leaves us with little doubt about
the quality of life in the township. It is poor by many standards and
to say the least, there is much room for improvement. Moreover, it is
more than likely that this finding reported for Kwa Mashu also applies
to other black townships in South Africa.

It should be made clear that our investigation was problem
and need-oriented from the outset. We did not set out to explore whatever
redeeming features of township life may exist. Nevertheless, the scope
of problems revealed in our study and the intensity with which they were
expressed in spontaneous answers convinces us that, notwithstanding the
less unfavourable aspects, the quality of life in a township like Kwa
Mashu leaves a very great deal to be desired.

The chief problems identified by our Kwa Mashu respondents are
related to community administration, crime, transportation, housing and
security of tenure, education, community facilities and services, local
government representation and roads. Key areas outlined for improvement
in Kwa Mashu include the provision of better educational and recreational
facilities and the development of township organization and representation
which is fully responsive to the needs of ordinary people.

Our survey findings indicate that poverty is undoubtedly at the
root of most township problems and tends to colour attitudes toward life
chances and community issues. Relative poverty is probably increased in
an urban plural society where the discrepancy between conditions and
facilities in the township and the rest of the city is so blatant. Expec-
tations and aspirations may be raised by the sight of opportunities, which
although physically within reach, are reserved for other sectors of the
urban population.

It can also be demonstrated that virtually all of Kwa Mashu's problems are linked together. For example, fear of crime is a major source of residential dissatisfaction in Kwa Mashu; this is further aggravated by factors which increase vulnerability to crime: the lack of services and facilities such as transportation, ambulance services, adequate street lighting, policing of the area, etc., and by the lack of social control which stems from inadequate community cohesion, among other factors.

One of Kwa Mashu's worst failings is that it does not provide its residents with sufficient security - residential or physical. The former is particularly true in the case of former Cato Manor residents who feel they have been betrayed by the local authority. They had been reluctant to move from their slum homes at first, but when later complying with the relocation scheme they had hoped at least to find a permanent home in Kwa Mashu. The uncertainty surrounding the tenure issue in Kwa Mashu has since jeopardized their aspirations for security. Even if some solution is ultimately found for the lot of the urban African, our survey clearly indicates that people are deeply concerned with their present situation and that the transitional phase is extremely uncomfortable for those involved.

Kwa Mashu is exclusively a public housing scheme. Residents have many complaints about specific aspects of their housing, but it must be conceded that the monthly rental costs of housing are relatively low and as such the housing represents a distinct advantage for a socio-economically depressed community. As is the case all over the world, however, public housing cannot meet the varying needs and preferences of differentiated urban groups. It also carries a stigma of its own because it denotes inability to house oneself and is an emblem of low living standards.

The uniformity of public housing, however, is but one factor among a range of others which impose constraints on the quality of life.

One of the major advantages of modern urban living; that of choice between alternative lifestyles, is denied urban Africans in South Africa, not only as regards housing form, but in virtually all spheres of normal day to day living. One might argue that choice is inevitably limited in direct proportion to the economic means of different urban groups. Nevertheless, our respondents are quick to pinpoint several areas of their lives, in which they are *unnecessarily* restricted.

It is perhaps striking that although township residents seem to be acutely aware of their lack of choice in matters of daily living in town, most of our respondents are committed to town and very few of them actually would attempt to seek to solve their problems in the home-lands. Compared to the country, the town has much more to offer by way of economic and occupational opportunities, even if these advantages are often meagre and inaccessible. Nevertheless, urban living is frequently seen in a negative light. In this view working in town is a necessary evil, and the general township environment acts as an amplifier of the poor conditions in which so many urban blacks live when attempting to make a living.

Reactions to the life situation in Kwa Mashu tend to differ according to the age of residents. In our study we are confronted with the apathy of the unsuccessful older generation which has lost its grip on life and dreams of a peaceful existence without restrictions, possibly in a rural setting. On the other hand, youthful residents, who find themselves continuously facing barriers when trying to improve their life chances, are extremely frustrated. The township facilities offer very few outlets to alleviate this frustration. Violence, delin-quency and drink present themselves as temporary solutions. It is par-ticularly interesting to note that while these activities are becoming increasingly prevalent among the young, it is especially the youthful respondents who are most insistent on the need for alternative and im-proved recreational facilities which might afford opportunities to cope with frustration in less destructive ways.

Our respondents intimate that Kwa Mashu residents do not feel themselves to be part of a specific urban community. A sense of cohesion is notably absent. A substantial proportion of our sample appear to face a crisis of morale in the sense that they lack friends and leaders in the township and are in obvious need of assistance in coping with daily problems. Indeed, many of the issues identified as the major problems in Kwa Mashu such as violence, delinquency and alcoholism might be interpreted as a withdrawal from social standards made inevitable by the impediments to satisfactory personal adjustment. In other words, the problems in the structure of community life all too often generate either demoralisation or personal rebellion.

Despite all the obstacles faced by township residents it is surprising that so many respondents are utterly determined to succeed in their endeavours to improve their life situation and that such a high proportion of the younger respondents are still optimistic about their life chances. If this determination and optimism can be channelled into organized attempts to secure collective progress for township residents, much frustration and apathy might be counteracted.

Our survey in Kwa Mashu was conducted at a very crucial period in the history of the township. It would appear that great anticipation is attached to the takeover of the township administration by the KwaZulu Government. At the time of our survey, this change seemed to represent a ray of hope in the gloom of depressed urban living in 1975. It has been pointed out above, however, that if no improvement in the relationship between the authorities and the residents is achieved and no solutions to township problems are found in the new era, community morale may deteriorate even further in reaction to the disillusionment following upon raised expectations.

Under the circumstances described above it is inevitable that many township residents experience acute subjective ambivalence with regard to their dependence on urban life. Many people articulate a

'rural dream'; a desire to escape the city and its frustrations or else a reaction to the foreboding that their future security in town is under threat. The pervasive perception that opportunities for improvement of occupational and material status are severely limited introduces in-evitable tensions. As already intimated, these tensions are resolved in different ways, some active and some passive. One active response is that of many of the young, involving 'anomic' behaviour in the sense de-scribed by R.K. Merton (1957); a rejection of community norms and the use of robbery and violence for achieving the legitimate goals of self-assertion and material gain. The other side of the coin, in a sense, is the reaction of older residents who express in excessive use of alcohol and other diversionary activity a tendency to 'retreat' from the tensions and anxieties of their lives in the city. This 'retreatism', among other groups in the township, is more passively expressed in a displacement of aspirations - the 'rural dream' referred to above.

Due to their inability to identify with Kwa Mashu, residents are deprived of a 'sense of place' which one must accept as being essen-tial for people the world over. The development of Kwa Mashu is felt by people to be an artificial solution to urban living which has been imposed upon its occupants. The anonymity and bleakness of 'matchbox' housing along with residential insecurity contributes to this feeling of occupying a temporary shelter instead of a permanent home. Furthermore, a township administration which is felt to be unresponsive to the needs of the people and an absence of legitimate local leaders to represent the population adequately in local government, adds to the sense of civic alienation.

The depressed and problem filled existence of the mass of the people in Kwa Mashu raises the question of whether or not the notion of 'the culture of poverty' is applicable in this community. The concept of the 'culture of poverty' gained widespread acceptance in the social sciences in the late sixties, mainly as a consequence of the descriptions by Oscar Lewis (1966) of Puerto Rican lower class life and a variety of studies of 'Negro' slums in the U.S.A. In terms of this concept certain poor

communities are not merely poor and objectively disadvantaged; they have evolved a distinctive pattern of cultural norms and modes of behaviour which reinforce and perpetuate their basic condition. Salient character- istics of the culture of poverty include: a high incidence of social 'pathologies'; family disorganization and breakdown; mother dominance and male marginality in the family; the weakness or absence of male models in child socialization; an absence of deferred gratification and the sense that planning and self control bring no rewards, leading to wasteful hedonistic lifestyles; a minimum of community organization and a lack of interest or participation in institutional behaviour; fatalism and a belief that life is ruled by luck or forces (perhaps supernatural) beyond human control leading to a lowering of aspirations and a lack of enthusiastic engagement in career pursuits and personal advancement; and personality characteristics that include strong feelings of dependency, helplessness, inadequacy, lack of impulse control, resignation and a re- stricted consciousness of the personal situation.

These and other features claimed for the so-called culture of poverty have been incisively criticised by many authors *(inter alia,* Leacock, 1971, Valentine, 1968) on the grounds that the propositions are seldom fully supported by empirical observation, and that proponents of the idea fail to take account of the ways in which objective constraints imposed by the wider society make a variety of negative but pragmatic adaptations among the poor inevitable. For example, if people feel powerless it is because they are objectively powerless and the balance of socio-political forces against them overwhelming. If people are apa- thetic and refuse to plan or save for the future it is perhaps because the vicissitudes of lower class life often rob the individual of hard won and carefully contrived gains. The notion of a culture of poverty which is 'dysfunctional' to the adaptation of the poor to the demands of the wider society is further criticised on the grounds that many of the supposedly maladaptive behaviour patterns, if sensitively studied, may be recognised as entirely effective alternatives to typically middle class institutions. For example, it is argued that the superficial indices of

family disorganization do not reveal various perfectly viable alternative modes of family organization. Husband-wife roles, if disrupted, may be supplemented by supportive kin ties or a complexity of arrangements which provide a sense of security and role models for children. Similarly, crime and a variety of informal material pursuits may be an inevitable and adaptive response to the restricted opportunities to enter the formal economy.

Furthermore, critics have pointed to the fact that certain traits ascribed to the poor may be prevalent but unacknowledged characteristics of middle class society as well. For example, the slum 'culture' may be seen as encouraging a particular type of inter-personal or inter-sexual competitiveness, and an emphasis among men on toughness, machismo, cunning and 'being smart'. This view, the critic would argue must be tempered by the fact that the same characteristics and values exist in the middle classes, albeit in a less open form. It has also been averred that those authors (e.g. Moynihan, 1965) who have based policy proposals on the insights generated by the culture of poverty thesis run the risk of having white middle class values imposed on the poor. Hence, some proponents of the thesis, as it has been applied to black Americans, have been accused of dangerous but disguised and subtle racism, or at least of a middle class centred outlook.

These issues have important implications for community development. If indeed the culture of poverty is a deeply-rooted and dysfunctional manifestation, reinforced and perpetuated by coherent norms and modes of socialization, then community developers have to take account of the possibility that alleviation of the objective constraints in the lives of some poor people will not automatically lead to a move towards middle class standards of achievement and behaviour. A cultural 'lag' effect may spell the failure of ambitious community programmes (initially at least) and with such failure the community may plunge even more deeply into a morass of despair. If, however, poor people have maintained twin norm-sets; retaining belief in the norms and values of the wider society

but pragmatically adopting alternative standards in order to cope with their inclement environment (Valentine (1968) calls the latter 'specialised norms') the people may respond positively to new opportunities and incentives by resurrecting values that have become dormant or latent in the struggle of daily existence.

Like so many academic debates, the 'culture and poverty' controversy has probably become over-polarised. As Valentime (1968, 142-144) himself concedes, there is probably a middle ground in the argument well worth exploring in research. Our data, although not generally of a type appropriate to the exploration of the culture of poverty theme, provide some indications which suggest that both alternative views on the issue offer valuable insights.

Firstly, it must be noted that Kwa Mashu is not homogeneously poor; there are segments of the population, particularly younger adults, which have relatively elevated socio-economic status. It is in these categories that we have found striking evidence of the 'middle class' values of success, achievement, self-sufficiency and relative optimism. We have a sense that among these groups impediments and frustration in daily life are identified externally in the political situation and the response is one of anger and political activism.

It is our older and poorer families which must be considered within the perspective of the debate on the culture of poverty. The picture which emerges is mixed. We have not detected signs of very widespread family breakdown. Male roles in the family are mostly strong. There is, however, what may be a typically working class pattern of male social segregation in drinking groups, with the drinking behaviour aggravated by the extreme tensions of daily living. There is clearly a tension in the families caused by children's behaviour patterns. The high rates of youth unemployment and powerful gang influences (which stem in a sense from a 'subculture' within the community) encourage role-modelling by some youth which conflicts deeply with the norms and expectations of parents.

Unlike the ideal typical picture of the culture of poverty, however, the family in Kwa Mashu has not capitulated and in many homes inter-generational conflict at least points to active attempts by parents to control the behaviour of their teenage young.

We have detected considerable demoralisation; a sense of the hopelessness of the daily struggle in the urban environment. We have also been convinced that there is serious atomisation in the community. People are often unable to establish themselves in supportive social net-works and the conditions of urban housing have disrupted kin ties which would probably be of crucial significance in a less artificial housing environment. Many of the older families cannot cope effectively with day to day problems and are deeply pessimistic about the prospects of im-provements in their lives.

There is no doubt that the mass of people in Kwa Mashu are un-organized, in the sense that formal voluntary organizations of a type characteristic of middle class society are virtually non-existent. Church organization for women and men's drinking networks and informal mutual aid societies among groups of workers are probably the only manifestations of any structuring of community life beyond the family.

Here, we might argue, are signs of a genesis of the culture of poverty. Yet, even among our poor respondents, the reactions do not suggest a complete *acceptance* of norms which will reinforce and transmit through socialization, a dysfunctional adjustment pattern. Aspirations are certainly relatively low among our poor respondents, but even this group is surprisingly dedicated to the education of its children. We have alluded to a 'retreat' from the norms of the urban society at large, but apart from heavy drinking, this 'retreat' is not into any inner world of an urban ghetto. Our respondents, rather, tend to displace their aspira-tions, ruminating on the possibility of regaining rural lifestyles or of attaining independence through petty entrepreneurship.

Of most significance, perhaps, is the fact that a characteristic feature of the responses of poorer, older people was a clear awareness of their political alienation and of alternatives to it, at least at the local level. Their pleas for more effective leadership and involvement in the affairs of their township is directly contrary to one of the hypothetical features of the culture of poverty: political indifference. Many of our respondents also reflected on the need for community organizations to combat the atomisation they felt so deeply.

The notion of the culture of poverty may be over-structured and oversimplified and therefore we may be assessing our results against a false benchmark. Whatever the case, however, our results reveal that despite all its negative features, Kwa Mashu is not a slum subculture. If anything it is a lower working class community experiencing many problems and forms of disruption which are to a considerable extent due to externally derived factors like bad township planning, poor transportation, low wages, unemployment (particularly youth unemployment) and unimaginative, non-developmentally oriented township administration.

We have been able to identify what appears to be considerable interest in and enthusiasm for the idea of collective progress for the community, expressed in a variety of ways. This is particularly true for young residents and those who know no other 'home' than town. The in-depth analysis of our data indicates that the positive attachment to Kwa Mashu might crystallize if the range of facilities offered to urban blacks were extended. This would go a long way toward the removing of the stigma of being a second class citizen with little opportunity to exercise choice in lifestyle and aspirations. This observation, as well as several other conclusions reached above suggest very strongly that a programme of urban community development based on the residents' full participation and initiative is the only way in which Kwa Mashu could be transformed in time into a social environment which is both supportive and conducive to the attainment of aspirations in the city. Throughout our study the responses of ordinary people have left us in no doubt that

people in Kwa Mashu have sufficient basic understanding of their situation and awareness of alternatives to their condition to participate intelligently and constructively in such a programme. Needless to say any programme must involve close interaction with those responsible for the administration of the township and greater collective participation in local government. This need was firmly expressed by our 'rank and file' respondents. No doubt community organization and participation in local affairs will pose very new challenges for a township administration, typically accustomed to pursuing its tasks with a 'control' orientation rather than within the perspective of development. These challenges have to be met, however, since the continuation of circumstances as they existed in 1975 could easily lead in time to the erosion of an already tenuous social order especially among the youth. Under present political conditions, urban unrest in response to frustration is likely to gain little and lose much for the residents of a township like Kwa Mashu.

Finally, particular emphasis must be placed on the issue of education in the community. We have noted that the aspirations of parents as regards their children's education are strikingly high. In the face of these aspirations, however, the performance of the educational system is dismally poor. Education in Kwa Mashu is not likely to be significantly different to the system in the country as a whole, for which our rough calculations suggest that barely 3 per cent of children who enter the commencing grade reach the final Standard 10.[1] While African education is improving all the time, progress in reducing pupil wastage is slow, and drop-out rates of this broad order must have a singular effect on a community with high educational aspirations. The school performance

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1) Calculated on the basis of school enrolment in the commencing grade in 1964 and the final standard twelve years later in 1976. (Horrell 1965) (Gordon *et al* 1978).

in relation to the aspirations must produce in both parents and children a very widespread sense of bitter failure. The values associated with education, therefore, probably have the effect of lowering morale and generating a collective sense of inadequacy. They also give the few who succeed an inordinately elevated community status, encouraging the formation of a tiny elite with near exclusive possession of the self-confidence to assume roles in public life. Yet there is no way in which educational aspirations are likely to become more realistic. Education provides the key to escape from poverty and menial occupations.

In this problematic sphere of existence a particular burden is placed upon parents. Since school is not compulsory for Africans, parents have a choice as to whether or not their children should attend school. Yet, in view of the collective community aspirations, this choice becomes a burden of responsibility to see children through school no matter how inadequate their means for achieving this might be. Additionally, this responsibility goes unrewarded in most families as children fail or drop out.

As we see it, these observations point to certain needs for corrective action. Firstly, the opportunities for school drop-outs to make a second attempt to improve their qualifications in early adulthood must be expanded as far as possible. Secondly, useful non-academic programmes of adult education (continuing education) which assist people in coping with the problems of day to day living and assist in job-advancement (whether collective or individual) must also be expanded to the maximum. The presence of such programmes may take some of the emphasis off purely academic education in the community which might be all to the good.

Our results have shown that there is a widespread desire for a variety of forms of adult and vocational education, as well as for continuing academic education. Yet the critical problem in Kwa Mashu, as in all African communities, is that a hugely insufficient number of adequately

qualified teachers exist even to cope with ordinary school education.
This is one field where the community must draw on skills in the wider
urban area, hopefully involving people from other population groups to
assist in educational programmes.

Kwa Mashu needs an educational cum recreational centre in the
form of a multi-purpose building with at least a dozen tuition and large
committee rooms. Such a building would have to be very carefully located
to make the best of inadequate internal transport in the area. Activities
in the centre should include night school classes for continuing curri-
culum-based education, as well as an ongoing programme of adult education
designed to assist people in acquiring a range of skills relevant to the
problems of daily living. There should also be training offered to
people to enable them to make the best of opportunities in the informal
sector of employment - handicraft training, sewing, dressmaking, repair
skills, and a range of craft-skills which could form the basis for small
scale production enterprises. At a recreational level for example there
could be an ongoing music workshop for the younger people, drama classes,
self defence classes and perhaps even a coffee bar and discotheque.

Most importantly, there should be a permanent manager with
proven human relations skills who would administer the centre, responsible
to elected community representatives and the representatives of special
interest groups involved in the centre. Above all it is essential that
the centre be able to draw on the active assistance of institutions,
groups and individuals in the wider metropolitan community, which, of
course, means that non-African volunteers be allowed access to the centre.

Great impediments to such a plan exist; difficulties of a
political, bureaucratic and practical nature. Yet this is one way in
which the isolation of Kwa Mashu from the rest of the city can be bridged,
and it is a way which residents in the area are likely to find least
patronising and most meaningful.

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# APPENDIX A.

## Sample Distribution on Background Characteristics

### Sex

|        | %       |
|--------|---------|
| men    | 49,3    |
| women  | 50,7    |
|        | 100,0   |
|        | N = 150 |

### Age by sex

| age in years   | men %  | women % | total % |
|----------------|--------|---------|---------|
| 18 - 24        | 10,8   | 9,2     | 10,0    |
| 25 - 34        | 24,3   | 23,7    | 24,0    |
| 35 - 44        | 21,6   | 35,5    | 28,7    |
| 45 - 54        | 17,6   | 25,0    | 21,3    |
| 55 +           | 20,3   | 6,6     | 13,3    |
|                | 94,6   | 100,0   | 97,3    |
| no information | 5,4    |         | 2,7     |
|                | 100,0  |         | 100,0   |
|                | N = 74 | N = 76  | N = 150 |

### Marital status by sex

|         | men %  | women % | total % |
|---------|--------|---------|---------|
| married | 71,6   | 81,6    | 76,7    |
| single  | 28,4   | 18,4    | 23,3    |
|         | 100,0  | 100,0   | 100,0   |
|         | N = 74 | N = 76  | N = 150 |

| Number children | % |
|---|---|
| not applicable | 4,7 |
| none | 14,7 |
| 1 - 2 | 20,7 |
| 3 - 4 | 32,0 |
| 5 - 7 | 22,7 |
| 8 + | 5,3 |
| | 100,1 |

Salary/wages per month

| | men % | women % | total % |
|---|---|---|---|
| not applicable | 20,3 | 30,3 | 25,3 |
| less than R30 | 4,1 | 10,5 | 7,3 |
| R 30 - R 49 | 5,4 | 13,2 | 9,3 |
| R 50 - R 74 | 2,7 | 14,5 | 8,7 |
| R 75 - R 99 | 17,6 | 9,2 | 13,3 |
| R100 - R149 | 24,3 | 14,5 | 19,3 |
| R150 + | 20,3 | 3,9 | 12,0 |
| | 94,7 | 96,1 | 95,2 |
| no information | 5,4 | 3,9 | 4,7 |
| | 100,1 | 100,0 | 99,9 |
| | N = 74 | N = 76 | N = 150 |

Sources of supplementary earnings

| | % |
|---|---|
| none | 81,3 |
| dressmaking | 4,0 |
| handwork | 4,0 |
| selling activity | 4,0 |
| other | 3,3 |
| | 96,6 |
| no information | 3,3 |
| | 99,9 |
| | N = 150 |

## Occupation

|  | men % | women % | total % |
|---|---|---|---|
| not gainfully employed | 10,8 | 36,8 | 24,0 |
| pensioners/invalids | 9,5 | 6,5 | 8,0 |
| scholars | 2,7 | 2,6 | 2,7 |
| unskilled labourers | 24,3 | 25,0 | 24,7 |
| routine non-manual workers | 6,8 | - | 3,3 |
| semi-skilled/skilled manual workers | 24,3 | 7,9 | 16,0 |
| non-manual workers - clerks, salespeople | 8,1 | - | 4,0 |
| professionals | 8,1 | 15,8 | 12,0 |
| business people | 2,7 | 2,6 | 2,7 |
| other | 2,7 | 1,3 | 2,0 |
|  | 100,0 | 98,5 | 99,4 |
|  |  | 1,3 | 0,7 |
|  |  | 99,8 | 100,1 |
|  | N = 74 | N = 76 | N = 150 |

## Work category

|  | % |
|---|---|
| factory/construction | 8,7 |
| office/sales/business | 20,7 |
| government service, administration/schools | 16,0 |
| domestic | 12,7 |
| not applicable | 38,7 |
| other | 0,7 |
|  | 97,5 |
| no information | 2,7 |
|  | 100,2 |
|  | N = 150 |

## Education

| | % |
|---|---|
| ·none | 10,0 |
| lower primary (Substd. A - Std. 2) | 12,0 |
| higher primary (Std. 3 - Std. 7) | 32,7 |
| lower secondary (Std. 8 - Std. 9 with diploma) | 29,3 |
| higher secondary (Std. 10 - matriculation) | 8,0 |
| post matriculation | 5,3 |
| university | 0,7 |
| | 98,0 |
| no information | 2,0 |
| | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 |

## Duration of residence in Kwa Mashu township

| years | % |
|---|---|
| - 2 | 1,3 |
| 2 - 4 | 3,3 |
| 5 - 9 | 13,3 |
| 10 - 14 | 32,7 |
| 15 + | 47,3 |
| | 97,9 |
| no information | 2,0 |
| | 99,9 |
| | N = 150 |

## Religion

| | % |
|---|---|
| traditional | 5,3 |
| Christian denomination | 80,0 |
| Separatist/Zionist denomination/sectarian | 10,7 |
| none | 2,7 |
| | 98,7 |
| no information | 1,3 |
| | 100,0 |
| | N = 150 |

## Access to land in the rural areas

|  |  |  | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| yes | land used | 17,3 | |
|  | land not used | 8,7 | 26,3 |
| no | | | 64,0 |
| not applicable | | | 3,3 |
|  | | | 93,3 |
| no information | | | 6,7 |
|  | | | 100,0 |
|  | | | N = 150 |

**A P P E N D I X   B.**

## SHEBEENS IN KWA MASHU
Beata Mbanda*

Although the existence of shebeens is illegal and the owner
may be fined heavily if caught, nevertheless they are of great necessity
in that they provide entertainment, fun and recreation for people of all
social classes in Kwa Mashu.

They provide freedom which a man wouldn't normally have if he
were to spend all his evenings at home - freedom to be himself, freedom
to discuss problems and frustrations that crop up at work, freedom to be
with people whose company he values and freedom to drink whatever amount
he can afford without any qualms of having to account to the family as to
how he spends his money.

In the shebeen, a man discovers himself - how articulate he is -
because the general tendency is for people to drink with people of their
own social and intellectual class.  Usually, when the 'fast move' happens
i.e. white spirits take effect, they switch over to the high-flown and
challenging topics of discussion and that is when a man's intellectual
capabilities come to the fore.

### 1.  CLASSES OF SHEBEENS

Since the people in the township belong to different social
classes, it follows that they 'booze' in the shebeens of their classes.
The following are distinct types of shebeens which exist in Kwa Mashu
Township.

    a.  First class shebeens

    b.  Second class shebeens

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* Beata Mbanda made a special study of shebeens as part of the project.

    c.   Third class shebeens

    d.   Pickpocket shebeens

    e.   The rural type of shebeens

        The class of a shebeen is measured by the class of the owner, service, drinks provided, type of music provided, the house of the owner and most important of all, the type of people who visit that particular shebeen.

## 1.1     FIRST CLASS SHEBEENS

        The owners of first class shebeens are usually people who own beautiful four-roomed houses or extended four rooms. More often than not these people own more than three posh cars. Some of these own taxis or small businesses. I would call these people 'jet-setters'. They enjoy travelling. They are well known in upper circles. They don't have high academic qualifications, but nevertheless they fit into the academic world. They are well informed on important issues e.g. politics. They are 'with it' in all respects. They play cool jazz music. They have smooth expensive furniture. On the whole they are trendy and elegant people.

        You find that the 'regulars' of such shebeens are academics, taxi owners, socialites, representatives of firms, doctors and lawyers. All these people enjoy being together because they think more or less alike. They share the same tastes in music, houses, cars and also they share the same aspirations. They converse in high-flown language. They drink cocktails like 'Long John on the rocks'. They don't 'crack' (i.e. they don't buy on credit) but pay cash because they have it. They are a community of their own because people with low status socially and educationally feel ill at ease with them in that they don't have polished tongues, 'enough pocket', flashy cars and 'flashy' ideas like the former. That is why the latter choose shebeens where they can be with their equals.

## 1.2    SECOND CLASS SHEBEENS

It's unfortunate but true that I have to note that teachers, clerks etc., are 'regulars' of second class shebeens. Although these establishments are 'posh', teachers soon run out of money because their pay is not as 'posh' as that of first class shebeen regulars. The kind of drinks they order range between 'fast move' (Smirnoff or any white spirits) and beers. Some can afford cash between the first and the fifteenth of the month and after that they 'crack' or 'dent' and pay the 'dents' at the month end. The shebeen queen agrees to this readily because of the fact that her shebeen is 'patronised' by teachers means that it is respectable and for these people to remain 'regulars' or 'habituees' of the shebeen means that they must definitely 'shine up' at the end of the month.

Even though these shebeens are not the very best, the 'ordinary' person feels uncomfortable in the company of these people because their conversation is liberally sprinkled with smooth English words, and high ambitions like wanting to buy a car are common in their conversation. Their behaviour is such that it musn't lower their reputation in the shebeen and in the community since they are public servants. The shebeen owner always tries to measure up to the standard by having smart furniture, 'sleeky' glasses, selling cigarettes, and 'dash' like appletiser, sparkling lemon, indian tonic or simple orange or lemon squash.

## 1.3    THIRD CLASS SHEBEENS

As the name suggests, the third class shebeen owner is a simple person with simple tastes. Her lounge is not as cosy as to attract the first two groups. Her range of drinks is not wide in that she seldom has whisky because her customers are not whisky drinkers. Some people call them 'paper-back' shebeens because owners carry their stock by hand since it is not huge. It is common for them to run out of some drinks because they don't have enough cash for their stock.

They also sell 'Jubas' (commercially produced traditional beer) because their customers sometimes drink it. You find that some of them don't have enough glasses for their customers and the excuse they jump for is that customers themselves break the glasses. If they don't have the stuff that the customer has ordered they are kind enough to go out and get it from another shebeen in order to 'keep' their customers.

The 'regulars' of such shebeens are usually ordinary men in the street who sometimes talk about their fights with the Indian supervisors at work. How so and so managed to 'fix up' somebody at work etc., although not all of them relish such conversation, nevertheless, these are common topics. Music is not important here, so the customers are satisfied with FM programmes, although the 'clever' ones do request 'Radio Five' programmes.

## 1.4      PICKPOCKET SHEBEENS

The common factor between gangsters and pickpockets is robbing people of their money. Commonly known in this township is that gangsters and pickpockets are not on good terms because the former operate by using violence whereas the latter do their job with stealth in 'peaceful' ways. Pickpockets go for expensive, fashionable clothes. Their taste in drinks is expensive because they can afford it. Pickpockets have a 'soft' tongue. They are 'gentlemen'. There is overt jealousy between pickpockets and gangsters simply because the 'gentlemen' look down on violence and they 'swing' with smooth girls.

To protect the peace and security of their customers, some shebeens don't welcome pickpockets. I came across only one shebeen which caters especially for this group, the reason being that people in this group 'eat' their money lavishly. They boost the shebeen owner since they buy in large amounts.

## 1.5    RURAL TYPE OF SHEBEENS

I chose the term 'rural' to describe this kind of shebeen be-
cause the setting, the mood, type of drinks sold, boozers and the owner
are rurally inclined. You find the boozers in their element, feeling
quite at home.

These shebeens sell mainly 'Jubas' and other brews which are
sold by the municipal brewing authorities - and cheap wines like Assembly,
Lieberstein etc. The shebeen owner buys at least two bottles of white
spirit as a 'weekend special' for customers who can afford a 'nip' or a
'hajah' i.e. half a bottle of hard stuff. Normally they serve their
customers in plastic glasses because they are 'suitable for them, they
might break them when they get drunk'. Although the comfort is minimal,
nevertheless one can feel the warmth and spirit of togetherness between
the shebeen owner and her customers.

## 2.    THE ATTRACTIONS OF SHEBEENS

Although shebeens in the township are illegal drinking places -
often thought of by some people as the perfect setting for crime, murder,
rape and robbery, one must state strongly that few shebeens are like this.
In fact all shebeens, never mind what class into which they fall, provide
tremendous excitement for all their 'regulars'. The shebeens I visited
are not at all violent and nothing of this sort was reported to me by
either the shebeen queen or the 'regulars' of those shebeens. Murder,
crime, rape and robbery can happen in any part of the township and not
necessarily in shebeens.

The existence of shebeens is of great importance because they
provide recreation for people of all social classes. Although they are
illegal, the fact remains that they will continue to exist as the popular
places of recreation in the townships. Boozers respect them. That is
where married men entertain their 'privates'. Many shebeen queens

'understand' because that means more money flowing in since the men have
to 'shine up'. That is where men discuss their day to day problems,
frustrations and plans, because the atmosphere there is relaxed, warm
and it's away from it all. The shebeen queen goes out of her way to be
warm and pleasant to the 'regulars' of her shebeen because that is one
of the tactics to gain popularity. A serious, money-minded shebeen
queen doesn't find it strenuous to smile from 5 p.m. up to 4 a.m. as long
as her customers are still drinking because that is another clever way
of boosting her illegal business and enticing more customers to her
'joint' because all that the boozers want is a radiant, sunny shebeen
proprietress and a cosy shebeen coupled with 'cosy' treatment and respect.

The boozers themselves say that as far as their lives are con-
cerned, shebeens are the only places in the township which offer recrea-
tion, fun and entertainment because not all places in town are open to
them and besides it's far, and not all fun lovers are mobile.

A last interesting feature is that the police liquor squad
reputedly knows about the existence of shebeens and now and then they raid
them (but not all are raided), confiscate liquor and find the shebeen
owner but that doesn't deter the shebeens from continuing selling. In
fact as soon as she has paid the fine, she goes to the nearest bottle
store, orders her stock and rushes home so that her customers find some-
thing to drink in the evening.

## 3. THE SHEBEEN QUEEN AND HER BUSINESS

Here I will discuss shebeen prorprietresses, and their involve-
ment in the 'business'. Their operations and other factors which play
important and effective roles in the running of the shebeens.

Very simple methods were applied in collecting information since
no formal schedule was used. First class shebeen owners were contacted
and a sufficient amount of time was spent with them with the aim of

getting to the bottom of their story, their operations and risks, and to look at the interaction between the shebeen owner and her customers - how these two parties relate to each other in a relaxed situation - like that of a shebeen. During drinking sessions, the participant observation method was employed to understand the above. During the quiet hours of the day, casual interviewing was conducted with the shebeen owners. Their tremendous co-operation made the work interesting.

The risks involved in running a shebeen are quite high when one learns that police traps are just ordinary people one sees and interacts with every day. To try to avoid the possibility of being trapped, the shebeen runners always prefer to have more or less the same familiar faces in their shebeens. An 'outsider' can only be served if he is well known to the 'regulars'.

Also quite intriguing in this 'business' is that township administration bottle stores are always willing and ready to provide transport to deliver the stock of the shebeen runners. The irony of this 'courtesy' becomes conspicuous when the liquor squad raids the shebeens. What normally happens is that it simply visits all the bottle stores in the township and takes down the house numbers of those people who have bought liquor in large amounts, then it raids them. If the available liquor is found to be more than the expected amount which is laid down in the township regulations, it confiscates it and fines the owner if she is not willing to appear in court.

In order to dodge the liquor squad, the shebeen runners buy from different bottle stores in town. Also, to avoid being found with large amounts, some shebeen runners keep their stock with friends or relatives who are not in the business. They also avoid Fridays because all the cars going into the township are searched.

The representatives of various liquor companies advertise and do research on their products effectively in the shebeens. Boozers always

give their frank opinions about various products. If popular products are not available in the local bottle store, an enthusiastic representative sees to it that they are provided. Also, the representatives suggest different ways of drinking a particular liquor and suggest mixers which are suitable for that particular drink. The shebeen queen is always ready with a 'feed-back' on how certain drinks are selling. It's this 'partnership' which boosts up her sales and those of the representatives' companies.

The representatives also supply the shebeen queen with glasses, ashtrays, trays, bottle openers and calendars, and this shows how dependent the liquor companies' representatives are on shebeens for the promotions of their sales.

Regarding prices, the representatives enquire among the shebeen runners to find out their feelings and opinions about prices with the aim of making recommendations to their companies wherever needed and possible.

One of the factors which increases the popularity of first class shebeens is film shows which are organized by representatives of various liquor companies. These are shown on Friday evenings. Although they are not a regular feature, they nevertheless contribute a lot towards the popularity of the shebeen.

After important soccer matches, socialites of the place take their big visitors to these high class shebeens for a good time. Next time when these big personalities are in Durban, mostly from Johannesburg, they will take their friends to these shebeens because of the comfort they provide.

First class shebeen owners can afford to entertain lavishly without feeling any pinch, so occasionally they throw braaivleis parties and invite their 'regulars'. Bring-a-bottle parties are also a common occurrence. Even here, it's their 'regulars' who are their main guests.

First class shebeen owners view one another as 'colleagues' in that they 'support' one another in running their businesses. What normally happens is that when someone has had many boozers and feels that he or she has had a 'good' day, he or she takes those boozers to a friend's house to 'support'. This friend will do the same in future.

When someone runs out of liquor, he or she simply 'borrows' liquor from a friend and pays him or her when she has bought hers. They help one another with transport when someone's car is not in good order.

The reasons shebeen queens give for starting shebeens vary. For security reasons, the names used below are fictitious ones. Also, I will treat the respondents according to the degree of their affluence, the measurements used to gauge affluence being purely observational.

## MR. AND MRS. SAUL NGCONGO

This guy comes from Johannesburg originally. He came down to Durban in search of a 'better, quiet' life because he wanted to make a 'fresh start' since he had been 'thoroughly battered' by Johannesburg. He says he was employed as a driver in a firm but his earnings just dwindled before he could 'see' them because of the 'fast' life of Johannesburg. He left the place a disillusioned man.

He arrived here in a terrible state of poverty, and got a job as a Corporation bus driver. To augment his salary, he sold liquor but that was on a small scale; it was still only a start in life. The financial progress was gradual but very exciting. His main ambition then was to build himself a beautiful house, that is why, he says, he was living on 'bread and water'.

Realising his 'flourish', he embarked straight on building a house and married a nurse shortly before it was completed. He talked his wife into selling soft goods to make extra cash. He continued with

selling liquor and working as a driver at the same time until he bought
a Valiant and converted it into a taxi. With the profits from the taxi,
liquor and soft goods he and his wife bought a small car for selling
purposes. The three businesses proved successful so they both resigned
with the aim of devoting more time to their businesses. At the moment,
their occupations can be listed as follows:

1. They are running two taxis
2. Selling soft goods
3. Supplying shebeens with liquor
4. Running a shebeen
   They own three private cars.

In every society, people identify themselves with people with
whom they share common interests, participate in more or less the same
activities, pursue the same goals thus providing positive stimulation for
each other.

What has been said and observed about the clientele of these
shebeens under discussion is that they have common customers who range
from doctors, lawyers, church ministers, firm representatives, well off
taxi operators and other distinguished people of good and high repute
and esteem. These people are found to have a lot in common, namely,
beautiful houses, 'posh' cars, educating children in distinguished schools
like Kwa-Dlangezwa High School and highly esteemed schools in Swaziland.
They always go for the best in life because they can afford it. They seem
to value their comfort and privacy and their pockets can cater for both
easily. For recreation, they go to the best places. Since the owners of
these shebeens are people of fine quality, it stands to reason that they
will feel happier and at ease with people of similar social standing. A
small man will obviously feel inadequate in the company of such people
because he has nothing in common with them. The owners of these shebeens
do not choose and select their clientele, but it's the clientele itself
which chooses and selects itself by simply natural instincts. The above

description is applicable not only to the Ngcongo's but to all the four
shebeen owners under discussion.

## MR. AND MRS. JONES MBANJWA

The wife and the husband are former stage people. The husband
used to play in the famous Durban band "Rhythm Aces" and the wife used
to sing in the group called the "Gay Girls". So they met on the stage.
Since both of them were not in full time jobs, they decided on opening a
shebeen. Initially, it was just something to entertain friends with, but
later was opened to other people who enjoyed drinking there. Being close
friends to the Ngcongo's they ended up having a common set of friends
drinking in both shebeens. Their occupations are as follows:

1. Running two taxis
2. Selling soft goods
3. Running a shebeen.

Another factor which made running a shebeen easy was plenty of
time which their occupations at the time afforded them. They also owned
a private car which they used to transport their goods with. They have
an ordinary four-roomed house, but every corner 'smells' money. There is
absolute luxury running wild in the house. Being former stage people,
having people surrounding them is not an unfamiliar scene. They seem to
relish having interesting people around them.

## MS. HAZEL

This is the youngest of all first class shebeen runners and she
is single. She started her shebeen at the request of her high class male
friends (who include executives, church ministers and representatives) who
felt that her place was away from the centre of the township and it
offered the kind of privacy which was suitable for relaxing with their girl
friends or mistresses. Also, this lady's two day week job offered her

plenty of time to attend to her shebeen.

She is a model and features regularly in picture novels. Her late brother who was a celebrated singer in Johannesburg has to some degree elevated the name of the family. Besides this, she is not only beautiful, but also extremely charming, elegant, well groomed and clever. Her 'regulars' not only enjoy drinking there, but they also enjoy basking in her charm and amiability.

Although locals buy on a take-away basis, they have tremendous respect for her and her visitors, and she reports that they appreciate the fact that her friends' privacy must be respected. Also, she has a unique, exquisite way of handling her customers.

## MR. AND MRS. ALBY

This is an interesting middle-aged couple. The wife is a former stage girl, the husband too used to act in stage plays before and they are both musically inclined. At the moment, the wife runs the shebeen and also sells snacks at a local high school. The husband is a representative of a liquor company.

The question on what made them start a shebeen tickled both of them. They said that they were reminded of the frivolous way in which they started it. This couple was expecting visitors from Johannesburg - people who act in Gibson Kente's group. Knowing how Johannesburg people entertain, they made frantic preparations - bought many cases of beers, meat for the braaivleis. What happened was that their visitors went to Umgababa Holiday Resort first, and by the time they pitched up, they were already 'nice', so they could only handle a few bottles of beer and they left that evening. The question they asked themselves was what to do with those beers. Friends who were around then suggested casually that they open a shebeen. That sounded like a joke to everybody. So they thought they would just dispose of those beers and stop but that didn't happen as

initially planned. In fact, what they thought would stop immediately grew out of its proportions. Today, this is rated as a first class shebeen but only few selected people drink there.

What has made this shebeen very popular are the owners themselves. They are outgoing, witty, buoyant and easy going.

They also sell snacks to their customers. Every Friday evening there is a film show there and visitors can enjoy their drinks and snacks while they are watching the film. After the film there is music and visitors can jive up to the small hours of Saturday. The visitors range from doctors, lawyers, representatives, well off taxi owners and other big personalities.

## CONCLUSION:

From the above discussion, one may easily conclude that shebeens among Africans are here to stay and many people's main sources of income come from shebeens. What is more, their incomes exceed those of people who are in full time employment and their standard of living is miles above wage earners. In fact, sales of many illicit things among Africans have accounted for a significant part of their undisclosed income and considering their social and economic circumstances they are not to be blamed.

Shebeens in the townships today have improved considerably when one compares them with Cato Manor shebeens of the 1950's where sales of 'gavine and shimeyane' were rife. Today, only legal and European drinks are found in shebeens and these are served neatly in neat dwellings. It's known that in the early 1950's only a select group of Africans of good standing and possessing certain income and property ownership qualifications were given permits to possess and consume monthly certain specified

quantities of European liquor but now that is no longer the case. In fact today, consumption of European liquor is no longer viewed as being superior because anyone who has the means can buy it whenever he needs to and feels like it. To give a fair, sane judgement to the whole issue, it is highly unimaginable how the huge Kwa Mashu population can be ade-quately served by only two beer halls - one being at C section and the other one at the men's hostel where women are not allowed. So the existence of shebeens is a justifiable venture no matter how illegal it may be in that it has provided what the authorities could not provide for the people.

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