



INFORMAL PERI-URBAN COMMUNITIES
AND PLANNING NEEDS

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the past few years the Centre for Applied Social Sciences has become increasingly concerned about the situation of peri-urban settlers living on the outskirts of Durban in informally built houses. Over a period of less than ten years these fringe settlements have expanded in leaps and bounds and there could be little doubt that such prolific growth would be accompanied by 'growing pains' of various sorts. In order to ascertain the most prominent needs and problems of the people living in these fast growing communities around Durban, the Centre conducted a number of studies in informally established settlements both to the north and to the south of Durban. The findings emerging from these studies suggested - contrary to many preconceived views of so-called squatter settlements - that many positive aspects of community living worth conserving were to be found in informally organised communities. Nevertheless, the serious problems posed by the underdeveloped infrastructure of spontaneous settlements tended to eclipse the advantages of living in such communities and threatened to turn fringe settlements into 'slums of despair'.

In 1981 the Director of this Centre was asked to draw up a short memorandum on the needs of informal peri-urban communities by way of a contribution to a large planning exercise undertaken in the Greater Durban area. This request came from a regional planning company which was preparing a comprehensive plan for the Inanda area on behalf of the central government. The brief was to apply the knowledge and expertise gained from studies of informal settlements to the task of developing the Inanda area to the benefit of the people settled there. Given its interest in and concern about the well-being of informally-housed communities, the Centre readily accepted this brief and compiled the memorandum which follows.

Most of the points raised in this short document will not be entirely new to persons familiar with the Third World housing scene and the distinctions between formal and informal housing solutions. It was our intention, when compiling our evidence, to marry the common body of knowledge concerning Third World housing with the insights gained from the survey work which had been conducted in the peri-urban areas around

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Durban. In particular, we should like to draw attention to the section of this memorandum in which we attempt to draw up a classificatory model of informal settler types whose planning needs are expected to differ substantially. It is hoped that this model will provide a useful basis for planning purposes in Inanda and possibly in other similar planning situations elsewhere.

In the preparation of this document the authors made copious use of various sources of information pertaining to peri-urban settlements around Durban. We are particularly indebted to Pat Rainey, formerly of the Centre and to Clarissa Fourie for permission to draw on their work when reporting in this memorandum.

Grateful acknowledgements go to the planning organisation who initiated the writing of this report for their financial support and encouragement.

We should also like to thank Patsy Wickham, Nicolette Wells, and Rosemarie Fraser for efficiently producing the report.

The planning of the Inanda area is a formidable planning exercise and we are aware that our humble contribution can only but represent a token gesture of goodwill and support for this undertaking. Nevertheless, it is our sincere wish that the development programme should be successful. In particular, we hope that the planning for Inanda will capture the imagination of the people presently residing in the area and also contribute to the quality of life of future generations of Inanda residents.

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1. INTRODUCTION.

A first requirement in all planning is to identify salient demographic, economic and social characteristics of target populations, salient to the scope and objectives of a particular planning exercise. In the case of many settled urban communities this is either a relatively easy exercise, since data are readily available, or it is to an extent an unnecessary exercise, because the populations concerned are so well-known to planners that assumptions based on common-sense or intuition are adequate.

In regard to the growing black peri-urban populations, most of which are largely spontaneous and informal, great difficulties arise. The nature of these populations is largely unknown and few academics, social scientists or professional planners have acquired what we may term an adequate "feel" for the populations involved. It may be tempting to assume, for example, that such populations are transitional between rural and urban status. Is this necessarily true, however? Or it may seem to be sensible to regard the informal dwellers as oriented toward permanent full urban status. We have to be careful here, however, since an unknown proportion may be families attempting to withdraw from constraints or conditions in urban areas. Many critical questions remain unanswered for these populations and a great deal more research needs to be undertaken.

The brief report which follows is an attempt to draw together some of the relevant insights from existing studies, bearing upon the social characteristics of informal peri-urban populations. We are at a particular disadvantage since research insights are sparse and often unconnected with planning issues. It needs also to be noted that in this document we will not deal with major demographic characteristics because these are covered in other reports and publications from the University of Natal. Our goal has been to attempt to construct a social profile of informal or "squatter" populations around Durban and then to relate our conclusions to the planning enterprise.

2. SOURCES OF MATERIAL.

As already intimated, no special studies have been undertaken for the purposes of this analysis. We have relied on the following studies undertaken around Durban, all of them in typical variants of informal black housing settlements:

2.1 A Quota-sample of 152 adult residents in informal areas around Durban 1981 (Schlemmer). This was a study undertaken as part of a much larger socio-political investigation, of which only one component was a sample of "squatters". It covered the broad areas of Inanda, and Umbumbulu. Fieldwork was conducted by a highly-trained black interviewing team from a commercial organisation (IMSA (Pty) Ltd.). The sample was a carefully controlled selection in terms of age and sex, with the controls based on previous studies. This study will be referred to as the "IMSA" investigation.

2.2 A Social Anthropological investigation of an informal settlement at KwaMagaga, to the South of Durban. This study does not involve systematic sampling or any quantification, but is a rather highly-detailed, in-depth observational and continuous interaction investigation of one highly-established informal community. This study is being undertaken by Mrs. C. Fourie of the Inkatha Institute for a post-graduate degree at the University of Natal.

2.3 A random cluster sample investigation in a developing belt of informal settlement between Durban and KwaMakuta to the South. This involved 64 interviews of considerable length, focussed on the social, residential and occupational intentions of informal residents conducted by one highly-experienced black interviewer in close and daily consultation with the researcher, Ms. Pat Rainey, supervised by Schlemmer, and provisionally analysed for this exercise by Fourie, Møller and Schlemmer. This study will eventually be reported on and published by Ms. Rainey, currently a post-graduate student at the University of Stellenbosch but formerly of the University of Natal.

2.4 We have also drawn liberally from completed or already published research in the Malukazi area by Møller and Stopforth, and where published research has been used we make the necessary footnote references.

2.5 An important point needs to be noted in regard to the various informal areas covered by the small range of studies referred to above. Each different area undoubtedly has unique characteristics. Yet every other area inevitably has some residents sharing the characteristics of a particular settlement investigated. Furthermore, as the process of peri-urban growth continues, and density increases, so the extent of commonality across all areas is likely to grow. For this reason we have tried to integrate the findings for discrete settlements in such a way as to provide an indication of the general trend in the social characteristics of peri-urban populations for the future. Since planning must attempt to encompass as wide a spectrum of needs as possible, this approach may be appropriate, since it aims to specify in broad terms the most probable population types of the near and medium term future in peri-urban areas of Durban.

3. ATTITUDINAL COMPARISONS BETWEEN PERI-URBAN, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS.

3.1 The IMSA investigation allows us to make some comparisons between the social attitudes of informal peri-urban residents and those of deep-rural people in KwaZulu and urbanised residents in the formal townships of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The intention here is not to focus on the content of attitudes as such but to use a loose variety of attitudes as a means of identifying the informal residents around Durban as a "social type" or "types". No highly precise conclusions relevant to planning will be drawn. The exercise is intended to provide a "feel" for the communities, as it were, which can influence planning considerations in subtle yet powerful ways.

3.2 "Home" area identification. In the IMSA study, the question was posed: "What place do you feel to be your real home now?" The answers were spontaneous, and some of the categories of answers yield the following comparison:

| "Real Home" | Peri-urban informal | Durban- Pietermaritzburg formal | Rural KwaZulu | Hostel migrants in Transvaal |
|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| KwaZulu hinterland areas | 27 | 17 | 57 | 23 |
| Metropolitan region | 52 | 51 | 6 | 19 |
| Natal/South Africa | 18 | 26 | 29 | 44 |
| | (n) (152) | (357) | (248) | (105) |

These results show fairly clearly that the predominant pattern of home identification among peri-urban residents is much closer to that typical of the settled urban residents in the Durban-Pietermaritzburg townships than it is to the pattern emerging for the rural areas of KwaZulu. This would not suggest that they are people with a firm rural orientation living on the urban fringe for only practical or economic reasons.

We also asked: "If someone were to ask you which place is the country of the Zulus, what would you say?" (Note, some 94% of our respondents in informal areas claimed to be Zulus). The replies, once again spontaneous, presented a highly varied pattern. It is interesting to note, however, the proportions mentioning KwaZulu or its equivalent:

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| Country of the Zulus | Peri-urban | Metropolitan | Rural | Hostel Migrants |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| KwaZulu/Zululand/Ulundi/ places in KwaZulu | 59 | 41 | 52 | 35 |

Here the pattern deviates from that of the previous item since the "squatters" are even more inclined to associate the Zulu people with KwaZulu than are the urban dwellers or migrant workers. This may represent an expression of a political fact rather than an attitude, however, and therefore the results of another question are interesting: "Think of the places that are known as homelands for the black people. What things would you say about KwaZulu?"

Among all the varied spontaneous answers, there was a clear pattern of positive and negative replies, as follows.

| | Peri-urban | Metropolitan | Rural | Hostel Migrants |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| - Positive associations | 57 | 39 | 45 | 25 |
| - Negative associations (little employment, poor amenities, poor agriculture, political problems, etc.) | 38 | 62 | 60 | 69 |
| - Neutral replies | 13 | 9 | 11 | 12 |

(Percentages exceed 100 because more than one reply per person was coded).

From these results the impression is gained that the "squatters" are more favourably disposed to the homeland of KwaZulu than either the fully-urban or rural KwaZulu people. This may appear odd, particularly bearing in mind that the "home" identification of "squatters" tends to be with the metropolitan area. Other results in the IMSA study which we will comment on presently, however, give an indication of one of the reasons why informal peri-urban residents are ideologically more favourably disposed to KwaZulu than others. This is the fact that support for Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi is particularly strong in the informal areas. This means, perhaps that the favourable predisposition is not to KwaZulu as a "homeland", but to KwaZulu as a political base of Inkatha. Obviously, then, it does not imply an acceptance of the territorial limitations and

restrictions of the homeland policy in a more general sense. In fact, when asked the question: "Are there areas in South Africa which whites should be able to keep for themselves?" only 5 percent of "squatters" agreed; 95 percent give a clear NO!

3.3 Political values. We do not propose to present these results in detail as above, since the relevance of the items is indirect. Presentation will be in brief summary form:

- Overall Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with Life: a scale of 5 faces with different expressions with accompanying verbal descriptions of sentiments associated with each face, yielded the following results:

| | <u>Peri-urban</u> | <u>Metropolitan</u> | <u>Rural</u> | <u>Hostel Migrants</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> |
| happy or very happy | 5 | 8 | 10 | 6 |
| unhappy, angry or impatient | 82 | 78 | 73 | 80 |

- Salience of Politics: among nine alternatives, the following statement was given as one of the things which could make people "feel most satisfied in your heart:" voting for parliament as whites do". The following were the percentages selecting this option:

| | <u>Peri-urban</u> | <u>Metropolitan</u> | <u>Rural</u> | <u>Hostel Migrants</u> |
|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> |
| concern with franchise | 24 | 41 | 42 | 23 |

- Belief in Marriage within the Tribe

| | <u>Peri-urban</u> | <u>Metropolitan</u> | <u>Rural</u> | <u>Hostel Migrants</u> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> |
| opposed to out-group marriage | 15 | 13 | 23 | 18 |

- Political Caution:

| | <u>Peri-urban</u> | <u>Metropolitan</u> | <u>Rural</u> | <u>Hostel Migrants</u> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> |
| "An African should be careful in politics and not get into trouble": | 59 | 49 | 59 | 62 |

7.

- Respect for White Authority:

| | Peri-urban | Metropolitan | Rural | Hostel Migrants |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| "Whites are strict but honest and fair, we would not be happier under blacks": | 17 | 19 | 31 | 35 |

- Means of Black Advancement: "Which of the following would be most valuable for an African person like you?"

| | Peri-urban | Metropolitan | Rural | Hostel Migrants |
|---------------------------------|------------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| having a vote with whites | 11 | 34 | 27 | 11 |
| a good job | 42 | 26 | 21 | 50 |
| high education | 22 | 17 | 23 | 26 |
| a strong and powerful leader | 21 | 16 | 26 | 11 |
| a strong trade union | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| a strong political organisation | - | 3 | - | - |

The results above are illustrative examples from a wider range of political items. They reveal an interesting mixture in the overall political culture of "squatters". They are at least as discontented as other groups in a general sense, do not appear to be as traditional in outlook as rural people, and have attitudes similar to city people in rejecting the legitimacy of white authority. Hence they are not conservative people or people tending to be accepting of their situation. Yet, they are as little concerned with the vote as migrants (and less concerned than rural people), and give an indication of relatively masked political cautiousness. Like migrant workers the most meaningful avenue for black advancement is seen to be through a good job. They are close to rural people in their perception of the need for strong leadership.

In regard to political organisations which people consider to be important in the lives of black people, we find that in the informal peri-urban areas Inkatha is supported by 80 percent compared with 56 percent in the formal areas. Support for the ANC and PAC combined is 27 percent and 45 percent for the two types of areas respectively.

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Taking these results and others not given for reasons of brevity, it would seem that the informal settlers are less conservative than rural people and as disaffected in a socio-political sense as fully urban people, but feel more powerless to seek redress than urban people, and tend to wish to rely on strong leadership. The dominant mode of advancement is seen in the economic or occupational, not political spheres. In a nutshell, "squatters" are likely to be unhappy but powerless and atomised in their political orientation. This is congruent with other aspects of their social identity, as we will see presently.

4. PERCEPTIONS OF REFORM PRIORITIES.

In the same study as reported on above, the informal peri-urban residents and the other subgroups in the sample were asked to indicate their perceptions of what should be changed in terms of policies and administration. Here a comparison will be made with replies to the same questions among residents in the formal townships in Durban and Pietermaritzburg:

In reply to the item "If you could ask the government to change two things in the lives of black people, what would you ask for?", the following distributions emerged from the completely open question:

| | Spontaneous Reform Priorities: | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Peri-urban informal | Metropolitan townships |
| | % | % |
| more/improved housing | 74 | 22 |
| abolition of Influx Control | 28 | 21 |
| improved wages | 28 | 21 |
| more employment | 21 | 12 |
| equal wages/jobs | 20 | 36 |
| improved education | 11 | 33 |
| abolish Apartheid/Sep.Dev./give vote | 10 | 38 |
| business opportunity | 6 | 3 |
| combat inflation | 3 | 5 |
| improved urban amenities | 2 | 4 |
| home ownership | 1 | 1 |

(Note: percentages exceed 100 because more than one answer could be given).

An item mentioning a "request to the government" tends to provide a fairly political context and one would expect the answers to focus on larger policy issues rather than on issues of detail, like urban amenities, etc. What is interesting, then, is the fact that while the residents of the formal townships do indeed emphasise the macro-political aspects, the informal peri-urban dwellers emphasise basic needs like housing, wages and employment.

A similar question was posed but with fixed alternatives:
 "If the government were to ask people like you about improving the lives of black people, which of the following should it do?" The alternatives given appear below with percentage choices for informal residents and other groups:

| Answer Categories | Choices between alternative reforms | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| | (Percentages add up to more than 100 since 3 choices could be given) | | | |
| | Peri-urban | Metropolitan | Rural | Hostel Migrants |
| | % | % | % | % |
| take away pass laws | 74 | 50 | 35 | 79 |
| encourage higher wages for blacks | 70 | 67 | 70 | 89 |
| equal education | 45 | 56 | 83 | 58 |
| allow home ownership | 36 | 15 | 11 | 6 |
| limit price rises | 34 | 23 | 30 | 28 |
| release leaders from prison | 24 | 42 | 25 | 15 |
| extend franchise to blacks | 12 | 39 | 37 | 7 |
| abolish group areas | 4 | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| open all facilities to blacks | 3 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| give access to white farms | - | 5 | 11 | 8 |

Once again, these results show how differently structured the major interests of "squatters" are from those of other groups. Influx-control, wages, education, housing and home ownership, are the main issues for "squatters". They are not similar to rural people or to migrants. It appears as if they are an emergent social category, internally very varied perhaps, but nevertheless not to be classified with the average migrant or rural dweller. We will discuss the nature of this emergent category presently.

There is evidence of some structuring of interests along rural lines in another question, however. When asked about positive and negative features of KwaZulu as a homeland, the informal residents gave significantly higher recognition of the fact that it offered blacks "land to farm" (38%, versus 14% among fully urban people.) They were also more appreciative than urban people of the right to own livestock.

Once again, we must emphasise that in other respects they are sharply different from rural people. Apart from results we have already mentioned, we find, for example, that they are individualistically rather than communally oriented in general. They tend to have a stronger belief in individual businessmen working hard to make profits (77%) compared with people in rural areas (60%) — they are as favourably disposed to entrepreneurship as the fully urban people (75%).

These results are all based on questions relating to large and sweeping issues. The intention has been to attempt to "locate" the peri-urban informal residents in the spectrum of major social differences between deep rural people, through migrant workers to residents in urban metropolitan townships. We have not yet considered their specific concerns within their areas of residence. That we shall do presently.

Having looked at the broader patterns of social differentiation it does seem as if we must identify the peri-urban informal residents as an aggregate of people with interests and values which are differently structured to those of the more conventionally-identified groupings.

We recognise, however, that they are not a single social category, but an admixture of many different social types. This appears in the next section.

5. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND RURAL LINKAGES.

Here we begin to identify the peri-urban informal residents in terms of their more basic characteristics.

5.1 Rural connections: In the IMSA sample of informal residents, 81 percent of the men have close relatives or people dependent on them in rural areas of KwaZulu or Transkei. This is only marginally higher than men in formal townships (75%) and it is lower than among hostel-dwelling contract workers (91%).

The following table gives a comparison between peri-urban residents, formal township dwellers and hostel contract workers in terms of rights in the rural areas:

Males: Rights and Possessions in Rural Areas

| | <u>Peri-urban</u> | <u>Metropolitan</u> | <u>Hostel Migrants</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> |
| house in rural area | 32 | 41 | 71 |
| own land | 29 | 21 | 22 |
| rights to use land | 22 | 22 | 35 |
| cattle owned | 18 | 25 | 49 |
| no rights or possessions | 38 | 45 | 24 |

From this we see quite clearly that the informal peri-urban dwellers are, on aggregate, no more likely to have rural rights and possessions than the average male resident in the formal metropolitan townships. In fact, the 29% of informal peri-urban residents who own land is somewhat inflated by the fact that land-holders in the informal areas included the land on which they were living in the question. If township dwellers had included their housing plots there may have been no difference between the two. The informal peri-urban residents are clearly distinguishable from hostel migrants.

As regards travel to a rural homeland, we find among men in our sample of peri-urban people that 16 percent travel to such places once in 6 months or more frequently. This compares with 29 percent among residents in the formal townships. Here again, the peri-urban people are no more closely connected with rural areas than the fully urban dwellers of Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

5.2 Length of residence in or near city: Some 31 percent of male "squatters" have lived in the area in which they were interviewed for less than 3 years, compared with 13 percent among settled township dwellers. Among women in the informal areas, however, 43 percent had lived there for less than 3 years.

As regards length of residence in or near any large city or town, only 7 percent of the men and 12 percent of the women had lived in such areas for less than 3 years. The pattern emerging from this is best expressed in the median figures below:

Rounded Median Length of Residence in

| <u>Large City/Town</u> | | | | <u>Area of Present Residence</u> | | | |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Peri-urban | | Formal Township | | Peri-urban | | Formal Township | |
| men | women | all | years | men | women | all | years |
| <u>years</u> | <u>years</u> | <u>years</u> | <u>years</u> | <u>years</u> | <u>years</u> | <u>years</u> | <u>years</u> |
| 13,0 | 10,9 | 11,8 | 17,8 | 4,0 | 3,2 | 3,8 | 10,8 |

These figures show that women, for whatever reasons, are more recent settlers than men both in large cities and towns and in the present areas of peri-urban residence. The populations of the peri-urban areas have spent much less time there than is the case in the settled urban communities, reflecting, of course, the very rapid recent growth of these areas. Yet, a comparison between the length of residence in the specific peri-urban settlements and the time spent in large cities or towns shows that the peri-urban dwellers are by no means all recent arrivals from rural areas. The difference between peri-urban residents and settled formal township dwellers is not at all so marked as regards length of urbanisation. As we shall note more specifically later, the

peri-urban people do not, on aggregate, represent a group of rural-urban migrants of recent standing.

5.3 Size of households: Among our sample of informal residents the median household size was 5,6 persons. This compares with 5,5 persons obtained in the formal metropolitan townships, and 6,8 persons in the rural homesteads. Our results here agree with the estimates made earlier by Møller¹⁾ who obtained a median of 6 on Dube Farm, Inanda. Generally, it would seem as if the household size on the urban fringe is not meaningfully different from that in the settled townships.

5.4 Socio-economic status: Among the peri-urban residents, only 14% of men and 9% of women have form 3 education or more. More than 25% have Std. 2 education or less. The following are some median figures:

| | Median Educational Attainment | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| | Peri-urban informal | Metropolitan | Hostel Migrants |
| | years | years | years |
| Median educational level | 6,0 | 11,4 | 1,5 |

The differences above are quite dramatic, with the peri-urban informal dwellers falling roughly midway between the metropolitan townships and hostel migrant workers in terms of education. This perhaps gives some indication as to why the people in informal areas who in terms of official expectations should live in hostels, choose to pursue a different lifestyle.

The occupational status of the different groups appears below:

1) Valerie Møller, *Mobility on the Urban Fringe*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, Durban, 1978.

| | <u>Formal Occupations</u> | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------------|
| | <u>Peri-urban</u> | | <u>Metropolitan</u> | | <u>Hostel Migrants</u> |
| | Male | Total | Male | Total | Male |
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| white collar and above | 10 | 7 | 32 | 38 | 13 |
| skilled and supervisory | 14 | 7 | 11 | 8 | 12 |
| semi-skilled and non-manual service | 29 | 20 | 26 | 20 | 23 |
| unskilled | 8 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 34 |
| unemployed | 35 | 50* | 16 | 21* | 17 |
| other (retired/scholar etc) | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 |

* includes housewives

The most marked difference between the groups is the much higher level of unemployment among the peri-urban informal residents. Many of the unemployed, however, are involved in various kinds of informal sector occupations. The IMSA enquiry was not designed to ascertain what the nature of informal sector work was.

Another feature of some interest is that despite having much higher educational qualifications than hostel migrants, the level of occupational status among the peri-urban dwellers is not significantly different from that of hostel migrants, and well below that of urban township dwellers. The informal residents exhibit some degree of economic marginality in this respect since on average, they are employed at levels slightly below that which would be typical of their educational status when compared with hostel migrants.

Some figures for median monthly income of the cross section of informal dwellers and of other groups appears below.

| <u>Median Monthly Wages</u> | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------------|--|
| <u>Peri-urban</u> | | <u>Metropolitan</u> | | <u>Hostel Migrants</u> | |
| Male | Total | Male | Total | | |
| R107 | R23 | R169 | R164 | R118 | |

The point made above about occupational marginality is further strengthened by the median wage/income figures. The income structure among the peri-urban residents is well below that in the formal townships and even below that of the less well-educated migrant workers. Women particularly are clearly very marginal, being employed mainly in the informal sector.

This completes the data available from the IMSA survey. It should be remembered that this survey was conducted for a different purpose and the insights derived from it are fortuitous. Nevertheless, as we will note presently, the broad trends in the differences between the peri-urban informal sector and the formal townships allow certain major conclusions to be drawn as regards planning priorities.

6. THE INFORMAL PERI-URBAN SECTOR: A CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES.

We turn now to the results of other studies in order to attempt a more detailed sociological assessment of the peri-urban informal sector. Material for this is incomplete and to some extent the analysis has to be speculative in places.

The results hitherto have shown that the informal sector on the urban fringe is neither urban nor rural in its socio-economic or socio-political characteristics. It is an interstitial aggregate with some interesting characteristics which vary independently of the variables on the rural-urban dimension.

The reason for its social peculiarities is that the informal sector is in fact composed of a range of highly divergent social types. The real nature of the informal peri-urban sector cannot be understood without considering its composition.

The analysis which follows really requires access to data from a specially conducted large sample survey of the whole peri-urban fringe. Since this is not available we have to build up a picture from the various studies that have been conducted in specific areas.

Before proceeding we would like to note once again that what is likely to be most useful for planning, even in a specific area like Inanda, is generalised data on what the characteristics of the Inanda area are likely to become as its population grows and it consequently loses its peculiar features and comes to approximate more closely to the urban-fringe communities in general.

The results of all the studies mentioned in Section 2 have been studied and the data rationalised and integrated into an approximate schema of what the composition of the whole peri-urban informal sector is at the present time. The intention was not to be precise but to present a broad typology of social groups, so that one may assess what Inanda will come to look like as its population grows and becomes more generally representative.

TYPOLOGY OF SOCIAL CATEGORIES ON THE INFORMAL URBAN FRINGE : AN APPROXIMATE MODEL.

Social Category

- I. Original or Earlier Settlers-owners: Enjoy traditional tenure rights/ Rural orientation/ More affluent, more possessions/ Children more likely to be formally employed/ Occupy larger sites with resources to develop them/ Are social elites with high prestige/ Are permanent in the peri-urban area. (Some houses occupied by sons and daughters of above.)
- II. Original or Earlier Settlers-landlords: Same as above/ But have shack-dwelling tenants on their land/ Wealthy/ High prestige although resented/ Permanent in the peri-urban area/ Welcome shack development since it increases their income and status.
- III. Urban Overspill Tenants: Urban rights/ Formal sector work/ Younger sons and daughters of township people who cannot find accommodation or township people wanting larger, cheaper or more flexible accommodation/ Like freedom from bureaucratic controls/ Dislike the untidiness and squalor/ Resent landlords/ Wish to return to formal township life if suitable accommodation were available.

This category includes householders who may have a house in a township but need another either to accommodate a second wife or to conduct some informal business or another, or to accommodate relatives from rural areas.
- IV. Urban Overspill-Female Tenants: Same as above but female-headed households/ Older widows or divorcees or unmarried mothers unable to obtain or retain accommodation in formal township/ Would return to townships if formal accommodation were available. Includes some professional women like nurses. (For example, one area, Kwa Magaga tends to be socially dominated by female heads of households.)

- V. Established Peri-urban-Tenants: People who have almost by tradition lived in informal areas, including many ex-Cato Manor residents who refused to move to Kwa Mashu because of bureaucratic controls. Some shift from area to area, adjusting their circumstances to their means, or in order to avoid restrictions. Møller (see Section 2) has referred to these as "peri-urban mobiles"/ Permanent in these areas.
- VI. Displaced or Urbanising Rural Families: Men and women from resettlement areas who cannot survive the hostile economic climate, or younger families of homeland and white farming rural origins who are landless or where land has been so subdivided between older brothers that they feel marginal in the rural areas/ Probably permanent in peri-urban areas although many aspire back to rural areas in the long run.
- VII. Ex hostel-Subtenants: Migrant workers who find hostel life incompatible with their lifestyle and education, who wish to take "pot" wives in the urban area, or who wish to urbanise permanently,¹⁾ erect shacks or rent rooms on a sub-tenancy basis, usually in the very crowded areas near to transport routes/ More often than not formally employed/ Not all see themselves as permanent in the urban areas, but due to the now permanent nature of migrant-contract work should be seen as inevitable seekers of shack accommodation on the peri-urban fringe. ("Pot" wives referred to above can, of course, become established spouses over time.)
- VIII. Workseekers from Rural Areas-Subtenants: Same as above but likely to be illegal in terms of influx control regulations/ Includes many people from Pondoland/ Many work in the informal sector in order to stay alive.
- IX. Lumpenproletariat: An assorted group of social refugees from the more ordered life of the township, including beer-brewers and liquor-distillers, pickpockets, prostitutes, etc.

¹⁾ A study of motivations among Malukazi peri-urban settlers (V. Møller and P. Stopforth, *Aspirations, Experience and Needs in Informal Housing* Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1980: 69-70) reveals that a substantial minority of migrant workers aspire to and effectively bring the rural wives and families to live with them for long periods during the year or permanently. Some ex-hostel residents thus motivated will be enumerated in categories VI as well as in the category VII in question.

These are the major groupings which we can identify. We are absolutely certain of the existence of these various groups, but less certain, obviously, of their relative sizes in relation to one another. Defining the sizes of the different groups would require a large and very time-consuming survey of the entire peri-urban belt.

On the basis of the various smaller and more focused surveys which have been conducted we will attempt to estimate a tentative size-range of the different groups in the "squatter belt" as a whole. These must be seen as very cautious estimates since the composition of the areas differs markedly from place to place. By comparing results from different area surveys, we propose the following rough size and tenure model.

On the basis of the very approximate figures given in the model, we would suggest that the major category in the informal areas is the category of urban overspill, including both complete families and incomplete families with female heads. It could amount to as much as 40% of the population in the informal shack areas which are closer to the formal townships.

We would also argue that the role of the informal fringe areas in accommodating an urbanising rural class is usually over-estimated in the media. If one includes ex-hostel dwellers, direct rural-urban migrants and more transient workseekers from the rural areas the proportion of urbanising people is not likely to exceed some 40% at most.

The informal areas have as their major characteristic a variety of social types and as such defy attempts to stereotype them in any way. The arrangements made for residence in these areas are likewise complex, ranging from traditional allocation of land by a Chief, to the renting of sites by landholders, the sub-letting of sites by tenants and the renting of rooms or shacks by both landholders and

tenants. Only a small proportion is "illegal" in the sense that a shack is erected at will on an open space of land.

| The Composition of the Peri-urban Fringe: An Approximate Size and Tenure Model. | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Group | Tenure Status | Permanency | Rough Size in relation to total |
| I | Original or earlier settlers | Owners | Permanent 10% - 15% |
| II | Original or earlier settlers | Landlords | Permanent 5% - 7½% |
| III | Urban overspill | Tenants | Permanent 20% - 25% |
| IV | Urban overspill - female heads | Tenants | Permanent 10% - 15% |
| V | Established Peri-urban and offspring | Tenants | Permanent although some mobile from area to area 10% - 20% |
| VI | Displaced or urbanising rural families | Tenants ¹⁾ and sub-tenants | Effectively permanent but may retire to rural areas at end of working life 5% - 10% |
| VII | Ex hostel migrants | Sub-tenants mainly | Some permanent, some until retirement 5% - 15% |
| VIII | Workseekers from rural areas | Sub-tenants | Some permanent, some until retirement, some transient 5% - 10% |
| IX | Lumpenproletariat (Does not include all informal sector earners) | Tenants and sub-tenants | Permanent or mobile from area to area < 5% |

(Note: Among those classified as permanent we have included people who would move to a nearby township if they could. Due to the housing shortage they are likely to remain in informal areas.)

1) Studies conducted by Møller and Stopforth (*Aspirations, Experience and Needs in Informal Housing*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1980) suggest that a limited degree of social mobility exists among tenants in informal peri-urban settlements and sub-tenants may acquire 'tenant' status in time.

7. PERCEPTIONS OF THE INFORMAL HOUSING ENVIRONMENT AMONG RESIDENTS.

Before concluding, we would like to sum up on the results of the various studies as they relate to perceived advantages and disadvantages of the informal housing areas.

7.1 Perceived advantages of shack areas: All the studies mentioned consistently reveal the following perceived advantages of living in an informal area. The relative importance of the issues mentioned may differ from area to area but all the issues given below are significant in the views of the people concerned:

- Lower rents, costs of land or in some areas, lower rentals in relation to the size of the house which can be erected or to the size of the land.
- In some areas (those away from the more densely-populated zones close to transport routes) opportunities to have gardens or to keep small live stock.
- Particularly for the very poor, the intermittently employed, or the workseekers, opportunities to live cheaply very close to transport routes. It is a frequent conclusion that the centre of gravity of most shack areas is on the major transport routes to Durban or to industrial areas.
- Lack of bureaucratic interference and administrative restrictions. This means a great deal to people whose documents are not in order in terms of influx-control regulations. It is also very important to some women who may have urban rights but whose husbands do not have urban rights. There are a variety of other types of difficulties which people have in complying with the administrative requirements in the cities.
- Flexibility in payments. Many people fear the necessarily strict requirements in the formal township as regards rent-payments, water (and light) charges, etc. In many cases the informal residents are able to make a single "one-off" payment for their right to erect a shack on a site. In other cases some leeway is granted if a person is jobless for a while.

- Opportunities to engage in various informal sector activities without being under close surveillance as far as trading licences or town-planning restrictions are concerned. For example, a man who works to repair motorcars in his back-yard is virtually obliged to conduct his business from an informal area.
- Opportunities to erect houses which offer complex families or households the necessary privacy of internal arrangements.
- Opportunities to increase income by taking in lodgers or permitting people to erect shacks on a site on a sub-tenancy basis.
- There is also the fact that for a person or family with no capital, the only way to build or own one's own house (albeit wattle and daub) is in an informal area.
- Other advantages include space for children to play, access to free water and firewood, access to wild vegetables, and a host of smaller considerations.

7.2 Improvements needed in the Informal Areas: We have already mentioned the extreme salience of work-permits in the lives of people on the urban fringe. Very often people are attracted to the formal townships not so much because of residential considerations but because a house in a township is associated with or facilitates obtaining the rights to seek work and gain employment in the city. The desire to be accepted as fully part of the urban system is perhaps the most pervasive and powerful need in these areas.

Other improvements desired in the informal areas include:

- clean water supplies;
- sewerage and latrines;
- improvements to the standard of housing;
- control of crime;
- (in areas which are less-dense) controls preventing unregulated erection of shacks;
- all-weather roads;
- clinics and creches;
- schooling facilities;

- shopping facilities;
- street lighting;
- street addresses which would allow visitors to find the people they seek;
- refuse removal;
- (in denser areas) land for gardening;
- a range of public facilities, both recreational and otherwise;
- improved cleanliness in general.

Taking all these aggregate perceptions into account suggests that the dominant desire is for what we could term "upgraded informal settlements". Peri-urban residents want a balance between order and freedom, between controls and flexibility. This is perhaps why the controlled informal housing project at Mfolweni (Golokodo) to the South has been such an immediate success.

8. CONCLUSIONS RELEVANT TO PLANNING.

After this somewhat widely-ranging introduction to available evidence we will attempt to draw certain conclusions relevant to the planning process.

8.1 Rural or Urban: Socially, politically, economically and demographically, the settlers on the peri-urban fringe are clearly distinct from the formal township dwellers, rural subsistence peasants and migrant contract workers from KwaZulu working in the cities.

Among all peri-urban groups, the present commitments are to the urban area around which they are settled. Some social categories may hold this commitment in a transitory sense, but that does not weaken the present strength of interest in the urban area. A majority of the social categories could simply never be forced to emigrate to rural areas, or to approach their interest in the city from a base in rural areas. Therefore, while, on aggregate, the informal settlers reveal different profiles from the inhabitants of formal townships, the majority of social categories nevertheless represent an urban category. This is vital to an understanding of the urban areas. They cannot even be called an "urbanising" sector; they are urbanised but distinctive.

There are groups and categories which one may term "urbanising" or rurally-oriented but strategically urban for the present. However, they tend to be minority categories.

From time to time various opinions are offered as to where the informal settlers should most appropriately be located. These opinions, often expressed in official circles, suggest mainly that they should "go back" to rural areas and seek work through appropriate channels, or that they should live in single quarter hostels. Our evidence shows that both in terms of social-attitudinal or origin characteristics, such solutions would be totally inappropriate for the informal peri-urban sector. These informal areas have to be classified for planning purposes as urban and part of a metropolitan system.

8.2 Formal Township or Informal Sector: A number of aspects of our evidence show that to perceive the future of the present informal sector in the same framework as that of the formal townships would be incorrect.

On aggregate, as social types, the people in the informal sector bear little resemblance to rural people or to migrant contract workers. If one were to conceive of the formal urban township as containing, dominantly, a lower-middle and working class, then the informal areas contain the:

marginal or emergent working class,
the lower-working class, and,
a socio-economic underclass.

These differences are revealed not only in terms of aggregate incomes and educational attainments, but also in terms of attitudes. The social-political attitudes of the informal sector, on average, show them to be deeply discontented, but more conservative, more apathetic and more reliant on strong leadership than the urban township working class. This is classically the pattern in a marginal working class or an underclass.

The chief attitudinal concerns of the informal sector are to become less marginal and to gain closer access to the urban system. They have problems of adaptation in the formal system — as reflected by the substantial proportions of people who have withdrawn from it into peri-urban areas — but that does not gainsay the fact that their integration into the urban system is their major concern.

It seems necessary, therefore, to plan the informal areas with a view to accommodating:

a marginal urban class with problems of adaptation to the formal system, and people of a lower socio-economic status than is typical in the urban townships.

8.3 The critical need for flexibility of residential standards: If an informal peri-urban area were planned within the same framework of housing standards, plot sizes, rental and cost structures and administrative control as that applicable to a formal township, a majority of the informal settlers would either leave and settle in alternative "squatter" settlements, would not qualify for entry, or would have to break the rules in order to survive.

In the planning of informal areas there is room for a proportion of the housing or accommodation (say 2½ to 5 percent) to be superior to formal townships, and for another proportion to be at the level of costs of a formal township (say 20 to 30 percent). The balance of provision should embrace three or four grades below the level of the township cost structure, with the lowest being minimally but firmly supervised shack development of a very rudimentary wattle and daub design.

Provision must be made for flexibility in size of houses with the size of the house and the quality of materials "traded off" against one another in a substantial component of the planning design.

Another aspect where a trade-off relationship should apply is in relation to size of plot and distance to centres of commerce and transportation. Some residents will be prepared to bear higher costs for larger plots.

It is also suggested that the existing structure of land ownership be allowed to continue, but subject to controls against exploitation and to minimum standards of services. This structure of ownership identifies virtually the only major group in the informal areas which is not marginal or socio-economically disadvantaged. It is also a source of capital for entrepreneurship, and with assistance perhaps, is likely to provide cheap rental or sub-tenancy occupation on a more cost-effective basis than public developers. Even if it is merely in the interests of maintaining some social heterogeneity and avoiding unrelieved social underdevelopment, this category of people should remain. We would like to emphasise the necessity of controls, however. Equally, it should be remembered that the present system cannot be too exploitative because the evidence from residents

themselves attests to the cheapness of existing rentals and payments.

The hidden social and economic costs of uniformity and dullness are very great, and to the extent that completely uniform planning standards encourage this, they should give way to flexibility and variety of planning provisions.

8.4 The need for the development of community cohesion: Generally our results have shown no greater a tendency for informal residents to complain about crime than those in formal townships, despite the closer administration of communities in the formal areas.¹⁾ Indeed, in some of the informal areas crime and hooliganism has a surprisingly low incidence. This is due to the effect of community cohesion and neighbourly linkages between residents in informal areas.

This feature must be preserved as much as possible by avoiding any official or centralised allocation of properties or sites. The process of developing the replanned informal areas should proceed piecemeal, with each small node of development being allowed to reallocate itself according to some system, overseen but not controlled by a public servant.

8.5 Protection of the informal and gardening entrepreneurship: One of the noteworthy features of both formal townships and informal peri-urban areas is the use made of vacant land in vegetable gardening. The informal sector (petty trading, back-yard repairs and services, paid personal assistance, etc.) also succeeds in providing the means of survival for anything up to one-third of the people in the informal areas.

Any planning scheme must protect these activities. The provision of green-belts for gardening, of strategically-placed open-spaces for informal markets, and perhaps even keeping certain sites vacant for embryo workshop and production activity will ensure this protection.

1) Confer, for example, the exercise undertaken by V. Møller and P. Stopforth (*Aspirations, Experience and Needs in Informal Housing*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1980: 105 ff) in comparing typical needs and problems in formal and informal settlements.

8.6 The need for areas of higher-density rudimentary accommodation close to transport routes and commercial centres:

In a European or North American context the marginal poor and urban underclass normally reside in centre-city tenement areas close to work, transport and facilities. In the South American context the pattern is for high-density informal settlements to cluster on the urban fringe but as near as possible to centres of employment. Due to Group Areas and our standards of planning the latter pattern is obviously most appropriate. A proportion of the social categories in the typical informal peri-urban area are composed of people who are too near the edge of survival to be concerned about space, standards, or life-style. Without allowing squalor and degradation, any planning must make provision for strips or centres of dense accommodation close to transport routes and to commercial centres in the planning region. They should also be rather closer to the city edge of development than further away.

A temptation will be to provide multi-storey or multiple unit structures for these groups. This will be a mistake since the costs of any multiple units are too high for these groups, and the tenement house concept makes too little provision for the minimum standards of privacy and autonomy required by all South African black family units. There is also an association between "flats" and gangsterism or hooliganism in many poor non-white areas in South Africa (c.f. Wentworth flats for the Coloured community).

Semi-detached row accommodation¹⁾ is perhaps the closest approximation of the needs of these groups, and such accommodation can be built according to traditional methods without appearing too slovenly. If such provision is not made in planning, then the plan will fail in a substantial part of its purpose.

1) cf. 'Attitudes toward higher density housing solutions' in V. Möller and L. Schlemmer (*Quantity or Quality? A Survey Evaluation of Housing in Relation to the Quality of South African Black Township Life*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1980: 284 ff. in particular Table 12.1 on p. 286).

8.7 The benefits of concentration: Given the inescapable fact that a proportion of the people in such areas are dependent on the informal sector, and given that the informal sector is stimulated by:

density and concentration; and by
proximity to formal employment;

it would be wise not to plan for a disposal of formal trading and service centres but to allow a "CBD - type" concentration of activities near major transport routes. On or near these areas space must be set aside for stalls and open-air table markets.

In this regard it must be borne in mind that decentralised trading and service centres really only work in a population of motor-car owners. It is easier to catch a bus to the CBD in Durban than to walk 10 blocks to a suburban shopping centre if you have no car. Decentralised activity should not be too deliberately planned for, and where essential features are required in decentralised areas, like clinics and creches, they should be located not in the centre of communities but on transportation - breaks. Near such areas it would be advisable to make space for decentralised open-air markets in case the impetus exists for their use.

Broadly, however, the life-blood of any replanned informal settlement will be its equivalent of a CBD and the advantages of centralisation and concentration must be maximised.

8.8 Concluding comment: The recommendations which have been made suggest what some planners may see as a disorderly and far too flexible a framework. They also challenge the dividing line in legislation between urban and non-urban black people. We would argue, however, that our suggestions arise purely from the facts.

The facts are that the informal peri-urban sector is not a semi-rural fringe. It is an integral part of the metropolitan economic and social system. It may even be argued that it is serving as an overflow valve and a safety valve to the urban residential system by:

- a) accommodating people who would create administrative problems in formal townships, but who are permanently urban nevertheless;
- b) accommodating people who are on waiting lists for formal housing;
- c) preventing critical over-crowding in the formal townships; and
- d) acting as a staging post for the reserve-army of labour from which our economy benefits, en-route to formal and permanent employment.

Furthermore, our evidence suggests that the cost-structure and pattern of official expectations in the formal townships makes them most suited to a lower-middle and working class, and not to the marginal or lower-working class which is as much part of black urban society as any other group.

We are saying that there is a relationship between the formal and informal sectors which is just as strong, by analogy, as the relationship between the Northern and Southern suburbs of Johannesburg. Not only do the informal areas provide employees for the formal sector (anything from 40-65% of the adults in the informal areas, depending on variations in characteristics) but they also accommodate people whom the formal township administrations would find an embarrassment. These areas can only be planned as an integral part of the urban social system. This is perhaps the most important guideline to follow.

A specific point has been made under 8.5 above in regard to the need to protect or stimulate the informal sector, including informal gardening on vacant land. It is appropriate here, however, to expand on that and to draw attention more generally to the need for a clearly formulated "developmental" component in any plan for peri-urban areas. Since a large proportion of the residents are marginal or very low-status members of the urban proletariat, they depend for survival to a degree on the supplementation of low or irregular earnings. One of the aspects of rural or peri-urban development with favourable prospects is vegetable

gardening, since it requires a minimum of technology, enjoys relatively easy access to markets and can be practised by the group most likely to have an interest in it — women. Therefore the suggestion was made above that provision be made for "green belts" or gardening plots, in the full expectation that full use would be made of them, either by individuals or informal collectives.

The approach to planning should not stop there, however. A gardening component of development is but one aspect. Informal trade or service entrepreneurship is another aspect. Possibilities extend beyond these specific aspects. It is not the place here to detail possibilities of internal development and employment creation in the peri-urban informal sector. It is perhaps necessary to emphasise, however, that the planning of such areas must make provision for a development planning and co-ordinating function; Without this many opportunities for an upgrading of the socio-economic status of these areas will be missed.

Finally, another general point has to be made. A plan for the area must not only provide for a framework of spatial provisions and controls, but also for developmental inputs. It cannot escape the responsibility for providing guidelines as to the implementation of its own provisions. Implementation-planning is therefore required, but such planning must strike a delicate balance between positive prescription on the one hand, and on the other, the need to involve interested parties, including the local community, in the formulation of objectives in the light of their own needs and interests. A highly professional and politically-sensitive co-ordinating function or body is required in order to meet this objective. Perhaps a planning commission involving a judicious balance of political representation from the local authorities, the local community, planning and development experts and the central administration is required in order to co-ordinate what will inevitably be a highly complex but potentially very rewarding process.

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