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ASPIRATIONS, EXPERIENCE AND NEEDS IN INFORMAL HOUSING:

SURVEY OBSERVATIONS IN A SPONTANEOUS SETTLEMENT NEAR DURBAN.

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PREFACE.

This addition to our Research Report Series is one of a number of publications that have appeared on the topic of the urbanisation process in the peri-urban fringe of the Durban Metropolitan Area. It is also one of a number of publications that have drawn on the results of the Malukazi Survey conducted by the Centre during 1977 in conjunction with E.J. Haarhoff and G.G. Maasdorp at the University of Natal. While this report comprises a piece in itself, the reader who is interested in the general fields of urbanisation, housing, community and settlement would benefit by referring to the substantial number of titles that have appeared in recent years from the School of Architecture and Allied Disciplines, the Economics Research Unit and the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal in Durban.

Although the source of the material for this report is the data from a sample survey, usually associated with statistical reporting, the senior author, Dr. Valerie Møller, has shown the skill born of extensive experience in her treatment of the qualitative aspects of residential life gleaned from the interviews conducted in the spontaneous settlement at Malukazi. In the process of discovering how people felt about their community the applied value of the material was not neglected: we attempted to reconstruct the decision-making situations which settlers had faced in the past and those that they might have to face in the future. These are essential data for the continuous process of housing policy formation and planning and although the case is a limited one it is our hope that it will contribute in some way to flexibility in the treatment of the housing problem in South Africa.

Yet again we are pleased to acknowledge the assistance and co-operation of Gavin Maasdorp and Errol Haarhoff with the original survey. Errol Haarhoff kindly supplied the photographs which illustrate some points made in the report. Without the financial support of the Urban Foundation it is unlikely that the Malukazi Survey would ever have been conducted. Within the Centre we are indebted to Ulla Bulteel for valuable technical assistance and to Patsy Wickham, Rosemarie Fraser and Nicolette Wells for preparing the typescript of the report. It is only through our work that we can make any recompense, small as it might be, to the residents of Malukazi who unselfishly aided us in our purpose.

Peter Stopforth
Senior Research Fellow in the
Centre for Applied Social Sciences

CONTENTS.

		PAGE.
PREFACE		i
LIST OF TABLES		iv
LIST OF FIGURES		vi
ILLUSTRATIONS		vii
CHAPTER.		
1.	SOME INTRODUCTORY NOTES	1
2.	THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL	7
3.	ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT	26
	3.1 Date of arrival in Malukazi	27
	3.1.1 A typology of settlers	29
	3.2 Information on housing opportunities in Malukazi	36
	3.3 Summary	43
4.	RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY PATTERNS	45
	4.1 Dimensions of residential mobility	47
	4.2 Sequences of residential shifts	52
	4.2.1 Destinations to which moved	53
	4.2.2 Residential status at places lived	55
	4.2.3 Motivations for shifting	60
	4.3 Summary	64
5.	THE MOVE TO MALUKAZI AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE MOVES	66
	5.1 Reasons for moving to Malukazi	66
	5.2 Prospects for consolidation and internal residential turnover	74
	5.3 Alternatives to living in Malukazi perceived in the past	76
	5.4 Perceived alternatives to living in Malukazi in the future	81
	5.5 Conclusions	85
	5.6 Postscript: rural ties and the perception of housing options	86
6.	EVALUATION OF THE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT - NEEDS AND PROBLEMS IN MALUKAZI	91
	6.1 The good things about living in Malukazi	92
	6.2 The bad things about living in Malukazi	96
	6.3 Differential evaluations of the quality of life situation in Malukazi and comparative standards of reference	101

CHAPTER.		PAGE.
	6.4 An exercise in the comparison of needs and problems in formal and informal settlements	105
	6.5 Improvements needed in Malukazi	108
	6.6 Summary	116
7.	IMAGES OF COMMUNITY	118
	7.1 Neighbourhood images	119
	7.2 Perceived power structures in Malukazi	126
	7.3 Summary	132
8.	CONCLUSIONS AND ASSESSMENTS	134
REFERENCES		144
APPENDIX - Sample distribution on selected background variables		148

CHAPTER.		PAGE.
	6.4 An exercise in the comparison of needs and problems in formal and informal settlements	105
	6.5 Improvements needed in Malukazi	108
	6.6 Summary	116
7.	IMAGES OF COMMUNITY	118
	7.1 Neighbourhood images	119
	7.2 Perceived power structures in Malukazi	126
	7.3 Summary	132
8.	CONCLUSIONS AND ASSESSMENTS	134
REFERENCES		144
APPENDIX - Sample distribution on selected background variables		148

LIST OF TABLES.

TABLE.		PAGE.
3.1	Date of arrival in Malukazi	28
3.2	Residence prior to moving to Malukazi	30
3.3	Classification of residential mobility	33
3.4	Type of residence occupied immediately prior to moving to Malukazi	35
3.5	How respondent households learnt about the possibility of living at Malukazi	40
3.6	Who was approached for a plot/house at Malukazi - Who allocated the plot/house in Malukazi?	42
4.1	Number of residential shifts undertaken by Malukazi households	45
4.2	Destinations to which Malukazi household heads had shifted in the course of a lifetime	47
4.3	Residential status at places where lived	48
4.4	Reasons for shifting residence	49
4.5	Residential mobility permutations: destinations	54
4.6	Residential mobility permutations: residential status	58
5.1	Reasons for coming to Malukazi	67
5.2	Breakdown of 'family reasons' for coming to Malukazi	70
5.3	Residential status designations in Malukazi	74
5.4	Residential status by date of arrival	76
5.5	Alternatives to living in Malukazi in the past	77
5.6	Reasons for not living in a township house	80
5.7	Alternatives to living in Malukazi in the future	82
5.8	Choice of future residence	84
5.9	Maintenance of rural home	86
5.10	Rural ties maintained by respondents	87
5.11	Rural visiting patterns	88
6.1	Good things about living in Malukazi	93

TABLE.		PAGE.
6.2	Advantages of living in Malukazi	95
6.3	Bad things about living at Malukazi	98
6.4	Do landlords take any interest in the welfare of tenants?	102
6.5	Comparison of typical needs and problems in formal and informal settlements	106
6.6	Improvements needed in Malukazi	109
6.7	Who could put things right in Malukazi	112
6.8	Reasons for leaving Malukazi	114
7.1	Best residential area in Malukazi	123
7.2	Criteria for evaluating best residential areas in Malukazi	126
7.3	Are there any 'big men' in Malukazi	128
7.4	Knowledge of committees which have developed in Malukazi	129

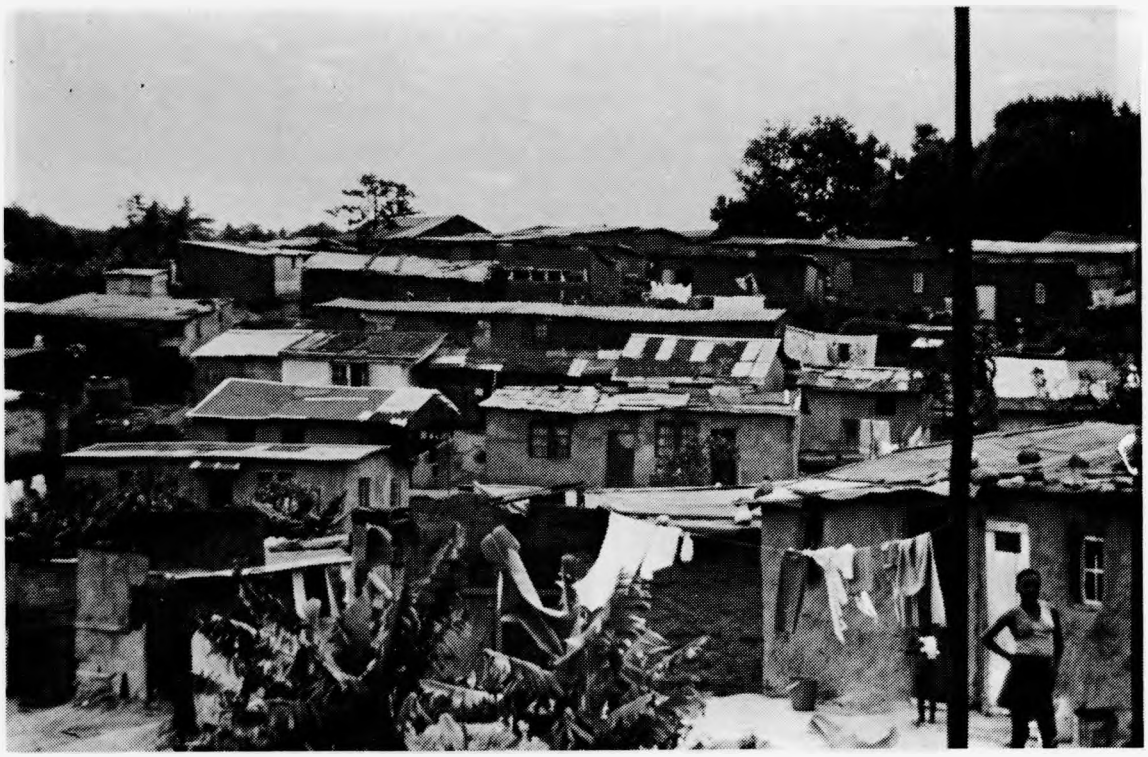
LIST OF FIGURES.

FIGURE.		PAGE.
2-1	Model of the Quality of LIfe experience applied to the residential domain: the interrelationship between perception of the environment, environmental satisfaction, intention of moving and quality of life experience	16
2-2	A model of comparison leading to feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a domain	21
3-1	Migration streams converging on Malukazi	31
3-2	Differentials between rural and urban influx to Malukazi over time	37
5-1	Dominant motivating factors for in-migration to Malukazi by phase of the settlement's development	73
7-1	Neighbourhoods and landmarks in Malukazi	122

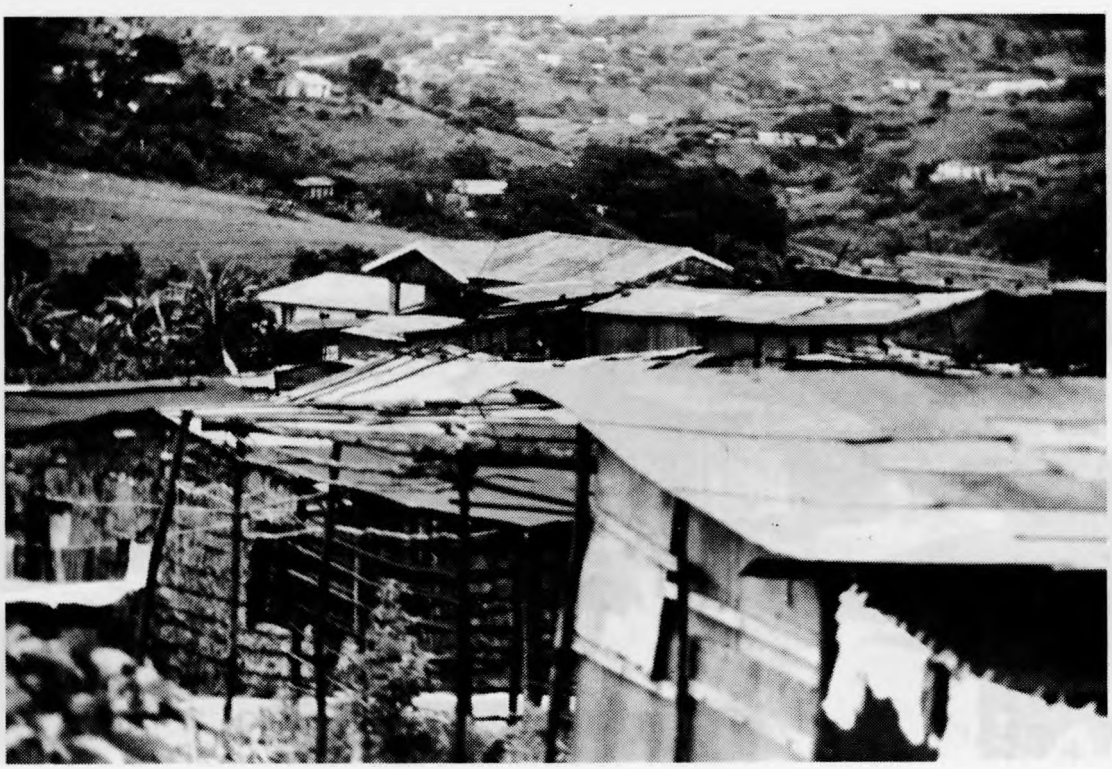
(vii) Only the Umbumbulu road divides the houses and the school in Umlazi Township in the foreground from the Malukazi settlement. The informal settlers are dependent on Umlazi Township for services which are not provided in Malukazi. Contrary to popular belief, the majority of the Malukazi settlers originate from the urban areas and not from the country and they compare their informal housing situation with that of their Umlazi neighbours across the road. The Malukazi neighbourhoods bordering the road are the most popular residential areas in the settlement and also contain community landmarks including the 'shopping centre' (a), the Emakehleni religious centre (b), the beerhall (c) and the water tap (d).

(viii) All the major community facilities such as this beerhall are situated alongside the Umbumbulu Road. Convenient access to transport is one of the most attractive features which Malukazi has to offer. According to survey respondents the importance of transport in the housing package should not be underestimated. - The girl wearing the school uniform in the foreground most probably attends a school in Umlazi Township.

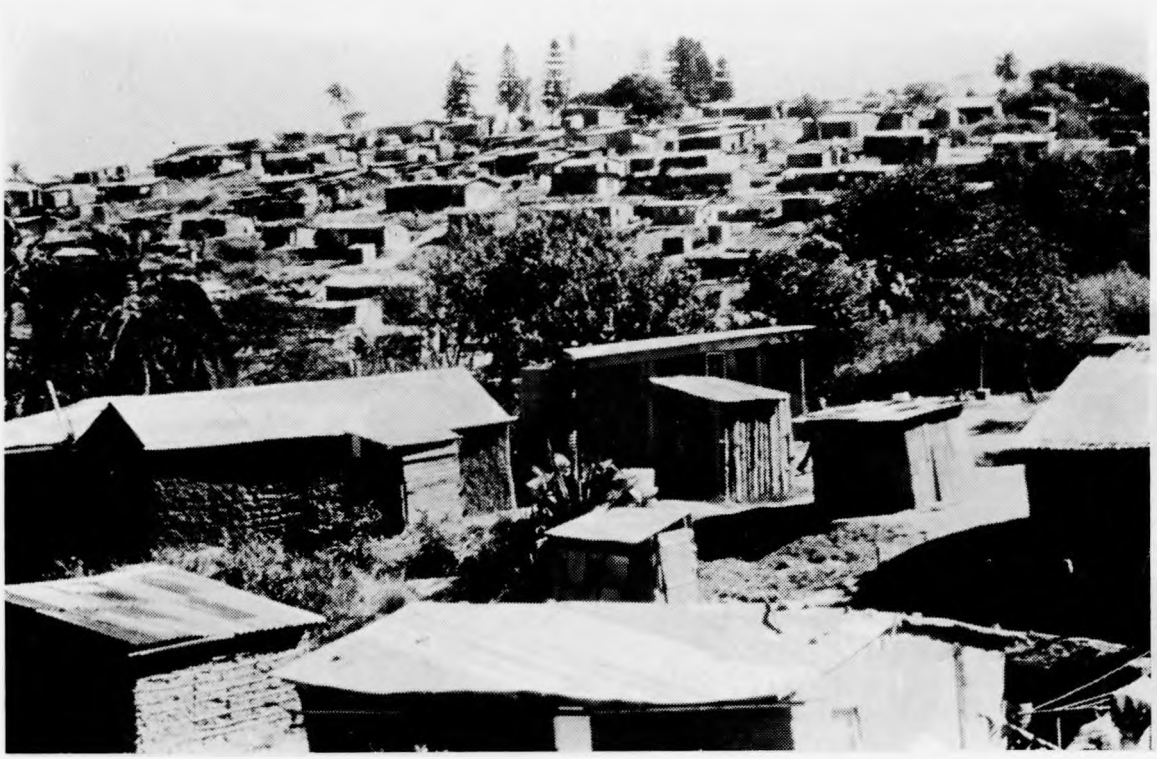
(ix) Malukazi residents waiting patiently for their water containers to be filled at the single tap which served the entire community at the time of the 1977 survey. The water tap is also a community landmark and the surrounding area attracts considerable activity: In the background a market stall and a taxi offloading passengers and goods. The taxi is parked on the Umbumbulu road, which is tarred. None of the internal roads and footpaths in Malukazi are tarred.



(x) Washing day in Malukazi. Water for domestic use is in short supply. The Malukazi residents in the survey agreed that the lack of potable water was community problem number one.

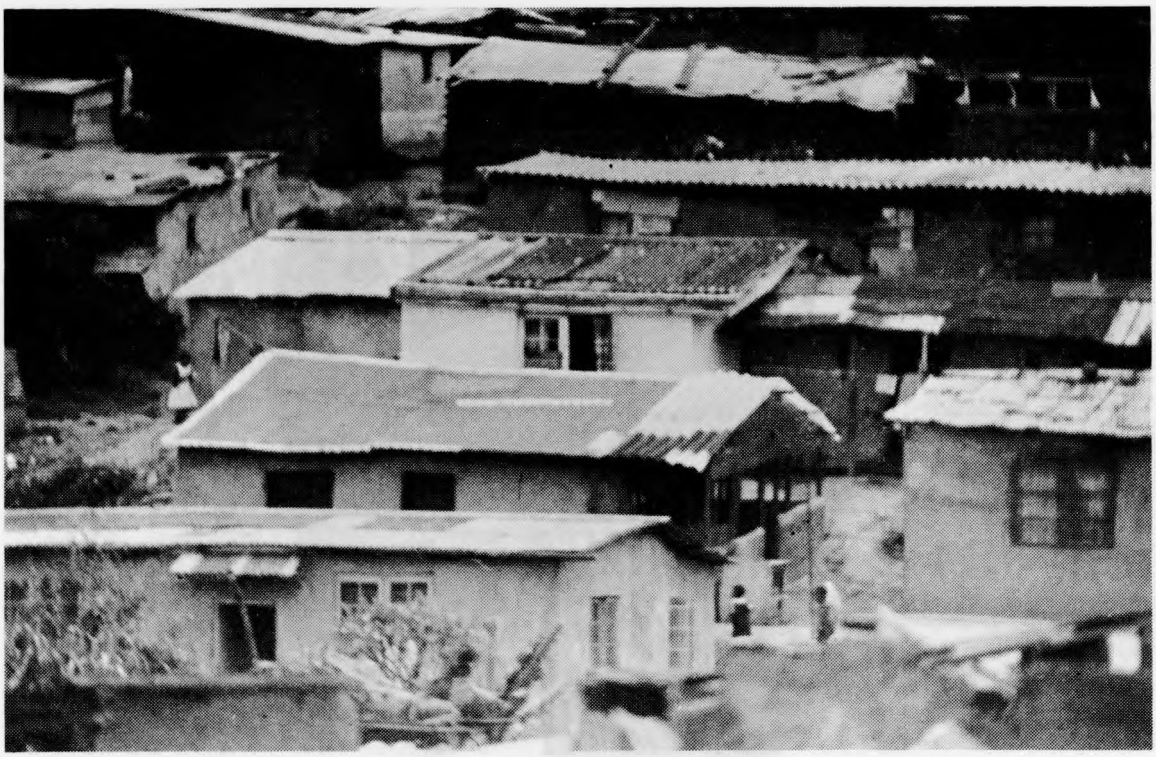


(xi) A view of the southern area of Malukazi bordering the Indian Isipingo Farm settlement. The southern area was not considered a preferential residential area at the time of the survey, because it was situated far from the main road. A substantial proportion of the survey respondents living here drew their domestic water from streams.



(xii) Orderly but not regimented rows of Malukazi houses in a medium density residential area. In between houses there is sufficient space for storerooms and latrines.

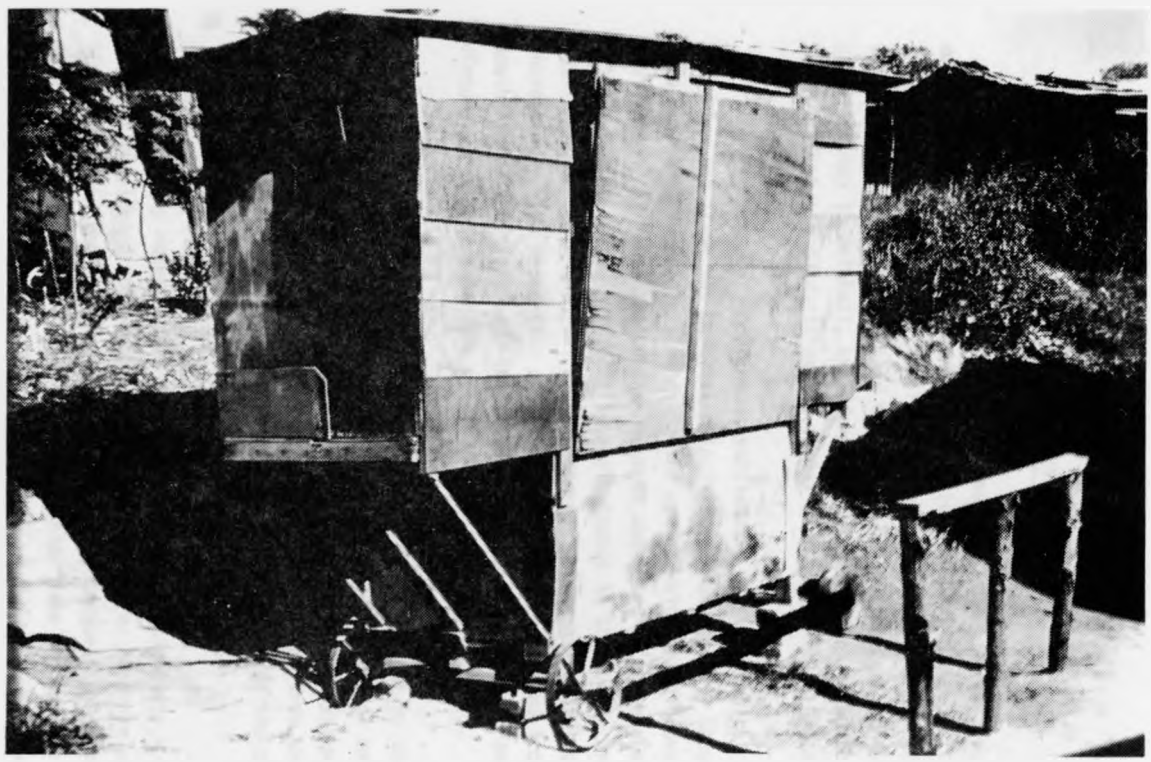
(xiii) A rooftop view of Malukazi shows that residential densities are relatively high in some neighbourhoods. However, the survey respondents tended to complain of the lack of *external* rather than internal dwelling space.



(xiv) Many of the structures in Malukazi which house families are built according to the standard township pattern. The long structures most likely provide rented accommodation for lodgers. According to survey results, lodgers were in the minority in Malukazi and tended to be least convinced of the advantages of living in a spontaneous settlement.

(xv) A not-so-private 'privy' on the outskirts of Malukazi: The door has come adrift. The majority of homes in Malukazi have access to a pit latrine. Contrary to the impression gained from the picture, the majority of the renters in the survey assured the researchers that their landlords undertook repairs to latrines and residential structures and generally took an interest in their welfare.

(xvi) Unsightly refuse dumped on the outskirts of the settlement may convince planners that informal residence poses a threat to health. The survey respondents were aware of this problem, which has meanwhile been controlled.



(xvii) A mobile shop in Malukazi. Trading and other informal occupations which are prohibited in Durban townships provide an extra source of income for many residents. In the opinion of some of the survey respondents, the flourishing informal sector is a sign of the greater freedom which spontaneous settlers enjoy.

CHAPTER 1.

SOME INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

The report which follows is one of a series which aims to shed more light on urban settlement patterns in the Durban Metropolitan Area. In late 1977 the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in conjunction with the Department of Economics and the School of Architecture conducted a sample survey in Malukazi, an informal black settlement situated to the South of Durban and adjoining the formal black township of Umlazi.

The issue of spontaneous settlements was very topical at the time when the study was undertaken in 1977 and has possibly become even more prominent in people's minds in the period which has elapsed since that date. It is estimated that between one-third to three-quarters of a million persons live in informally built houses in the Durban area alone. Whilst residence in informal settlements has become a way of life for an increasingly high proportion of the population living in and around South Africa's cities, very little is known about the housing and social circumstances of spontaneous settlers.

Writing in a fact paper (Stopforth 1978) put out by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences on the Malukazi study, the author emphasised that Malukazi residents were locked into the urban social system and the urban economy. Obviously, from the economic as well as from the social point of view this important finding calls for a review of the so-called squatter issue.

Policy makers - and possibly also social scientists - have in the past considered spontaneous settlements merely as an urban problem. Similarly, the urban authorities concerned have frequently wished the problem of spontaneous settlements away. They have argued that the end of the housing backlog is in sight, and 'squatting' will automatically disappear. Meanwhile it has become abundantly clear, that the urban housing shortage will not be solved in the near future. Experts

in the field of housing and urban economics tend to acknowledge the fact that spontaneous settlements may also represent at least a partial if not an optimal solution to the urban housing problem. To this purpose Third World housing, in which informal settlements play a prominent role, have come under closer scrutiny by a number of experts in the field of housing (cf. Abrams 1970, Juppenlatz 1970, Dwyer 1975, Grimes 1976, Turner 1976, Martin 1977, Weichel et al. 1978, Andrews and Japha 1978, Maasdorp 1978 among others). It is hoped that the insight gained from the study of spontaneous settlements will provide a sound basis on which to decide whether the grass roots solution to housing adopted by informal settlers forms part of the problem or part of the solution to urban housing in rapidly growing cities. It is thought that increased knowledge of the housing options open to spontaneous settlers in the past and the future will provide policy makers in the field of urban housing with a more balanced view of the situation in which the less privileged sector of the urban population lives and will be of use when seeking to formulate a housing policy acceptable to all parties concerned.

This paper deals with a few selected topics which may be of interest and use to persons concerned with issues in housing and urban planning. The main focus of the report is on the physical mobility patterns traced by the informal settlers residing in Malukazi. This study of residential mobility is based on the responses supplied by the 278 heads of households interviewed by the Centre's field staff in late 1977. The task of reporting on mobility patterns has been greatly facilitated by the appearance of two publications which are already available in the series of reports on the 1977 Malukazi study. A fact paper which was published in 1978 (Stopforth 1978) gives a complete account of the methodological background to the study and describes the setting in which the research was conducted. This report also includes a copy of the questionnaire schedule used in the study, and supplies us with a profile of the Malukazi population inferred from the random sample of households visited during the survey. Errol Haarhoff of the School of Architecture in 1979 (cf. also in Stopforth 1978:60-93;) carefully analysed the housing circumstances of the survey households in a second paper. Because these two reports are already available to the interested reader, no attempt will be made here to describe the field setting, the

sample households or the dwelling circumstances of the Malukazi population. It will be assumed that the reader is sufficiently familiar with these aspects of the Malukazi situation. However, it should be noted that in this report we shall be presenting data pertaining only to the heads of the Malukazi households interviewed and not to the housholds or to all of their members as was the case in the two previously published reports. (Of course in some instances the household heads may be considered the representatives of all the people co-resident in the home.) As the population profile presented in the first paper (Stopforth 1978) describes the entire population and we shall be concentrating only on a particular group of residents, it is appropriate to include some selected personal particulars of the 278 Malukazi household heads whose responses form the data base for this study. These statistics are appended for reference purposes. In short the survey respondents represented a cross section of the Malukazi population which at the time of the survey was estimated to number just over 14 000. The Malukazi population was found to be highly integrated in the urban economy and therefore dependent on the city for its livelihood. At the same time the continued existence of the Malukazi settlement was uncertain as the settlers had been threatened with the removal of their houses from time to time prior to the date of the survey.

The preoccupation with residential mobility in this paper is based on two reference points. Firstly, it is assumed that dweller satisfaction reflects the degree to which housing needs are adequately met. Dweller satisfaction, in turn, is conceived of as a specific area of life which contributes substantially to the general well-being perceived by individuals in their day-to-day life. Secondly, it is thought that residential mobility may be seen as an attempt on the part of a particular individual to achieve satisfaction in a given housing situation. Correspondingly, it is proposed that individual residential histories may be used to represent the continuous struggle of an individual to adjust his or her housing circumstances to meet personal or family housing needs. In a free market housing situation - or in a housing situation characterised by few economic and political constraints on geographical movements, one would expect residential histories to yield a very close approximation of shifting user needs in the course

of the life cycle. In the South African situation, in which urbanisation and the movements of black urban workers - even of those permanently settled in town - are closely controlled, data on residential mobility may be less telling of the population's housing needs and desires. Nevertheless, in this study an attempt is made to trace urban settlement patterns by disaggregating individual mobility patterns. Both the purely behavioural aspects of mobility (past or anticipated future residential shifts) as well as the motivational factors precipitating mobility are considered of interest in this study.

The reporting on the study of residential mobility conducted in Malukazi may be outlined as follows:

- Chapter 2 contains a discussion of a theoretical framework for the study of residential mobility.
- In Chapter 3 Malukazi's settlement pattern is reconstructed from the respondents' residential histories.
- Chapter 4 contains a report on a purely academic exercise in which the residential histories of the survey respondents were traced in order to develop a typology of mobility trajectories. The results of this exercise may have some practical implications for settlement planning in that the typology affords an overview of the distinctly different mobility trajectories which might be considered relevant when developing housing and urban settlement policies.
- In Chapters 5 and 6 a more qualitative appraisal of individual mobility is undertaken. This is a standard type of exercise conducted by quality of life researchers who are concerned with people's subjective perceptions, satisfactions and evaluations of their life situations. When describing their quality of life experience in a spontaneous settlement, the survey respondents were given an opportunity to indicate to which extent they personally considered their informal dwelling circumstances a solution to their housing needs.

From an analytical point of view, the respondents' arrival in Malukazi was regarded as the culmination in a series of residential shifts undertaken to reconcile housing needs with

information which might yield some pointers for future trends in mobility patterns. It was assumed that mobility patterns would not only be subject to changes dependent on shifting structural opportunities, but might also be modified according to the manner in which people interpreted their past and future housing opportunities.

In Chapter 7 the topic of neighbourhood imagery is introduced. Whilst this topic does not strictly fall under the residential mobility heading, it does relate to one of the outcomes of residential mobility, namely to residential satisfaction. It was assumed that in a satisfying residential environment inhabitants would be afforded the opportunity to develop feelings of belonging and would readily identify themselves with community landmarks and neighbourhood, and would acknowledge some sort of leadership in their midst. It was thought that such a set of community feelings would contribute in some way towards the residential satisfaction perceived by individual inhabitants and thus would influence subjective evaluations of the quality of community life and perceived options for shifting residence in future. Chapter 7 contains the results of a very superficial exploration into community landmarks and community leadership, areas of study which have not been explored in great depth for local informal settlements. The data obtained from this brief inquiry was subjected to a crude quantitative and qualitative analysis. It is interesting to note that the image of neighbourhood which emerged from this study was very similar to the one obtained by a community worker who had spent several months in close contact with the Malukazi residents and had gained a more intimate knowledge of the community.

It will be appreciated that the data presented in this study refers to the date of the survey conducted in November and December 1977. From this point of view the survey findings reported are necessarily dated. In particular, the study of neighbourhood images reported on in Chapter 7 applies only to the situation found in Malukazi at the time when the field work was being conducted. On the other hand, it is thought that this paper discusses some perspectives of urban settlement patterns which supersede the obvious limitations typically set by a single case study. Moreover, the

housing situation in Malukazi has changed only superficially in the years which have elapsed since the survey was undertaken. Whilst this state of affairs is of course to be deplored, it also stresses the urgent need to attend to the problems of the Malukazi residents and to those of other settlers living in informal communities on Durban's peri-urban fringe, Unfortunately the list of grievances supplied by the Malukazi respondents at our behest and their suggestions for improving the quality of life in Malukazi are still as valid today as they were at the time of the study in 1977.

CHAPTER 2.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION

In the case of spontaneous settlements the study of residential mobility patterns focusses on one of the most important issues which concern urban planners: where do the people living in spontaneous settlements come from and where will they go.

Before commencing with the reporting on the residential history of the survey respondents living in Malukazi, it might be useful to outline some of the theoretical considerations which provided a frame of reference for this study of residential mobility. In more recent times there has been a breakthrough in mobility research. The realisation is growing that various types of mobility, such as labour turnover and residential mobility, need not be studied in isolation. Various types of mobility are thought to be based on identical processes which may be explained in terms of a single analytical framework. The greatest advantage offered by this integrated viewpoint is that single strands of theory developed to explain different kinds of mobility are woven together to produce a more general body of theory which affords a better overview of the phenomena under consideration. The integrated approach also has its advantages for the empirical researcher who can switch from one theoretical idiom to another, and can operate on several levels of analysis and generally enjoy greater flexibility in the analysis of the data at his or her disposal.

In this chapter we shall introduce various fragments of theory and attempt to show where seemingly disparate theoretical approaches touch and how they complement each other in explaining migration and mobility phenomena.

In developing countries where urbanisation is by and large determined by migration processes, it would appear to be particularly pertinent to select migration theory as the comprehensive framework in which to consider the mobility behaviour of spontaneous settlers.

In this study migration is seen as a process rather than as a single event. For the sake of convenience we shall break down the migration process into four interrelated components:

1) the movement factor is most characteristic of the process of migration.[1)]
2) the decision-making factor covers the motivational aspects of moving: the force constellations which induce or compell individuals or groups of individuals to move from one place to another.
3) the time factor accounts for the spacing of migratory acts during the life cycle of the mobile individual. At the aggregated level, the development of migration streams and counterstreams can be treated as historical events.
4) the spatial factor deals with the migration centres affected by the migratory movements of individuals or groups, and with the routes followed by the migration streams converging on or departing from specific migration centres.

The theoretical fragments we shall discuss pick up one or two of these components and use them for theory development. Partial theories tend to overemphasise one aspect of migration and neglect another. Similarly, studies of migration will usually concentrate on one or two aspects involved in the process, but not on all simultaneously. For example in our study of Malukazi, we shall discuss a number of migration topics. Our focus of inquiry will shift from how the migration streams converging on Malukazi have changed the population composition in the settlement, to what reasons brought people to Malukazi, and finally to the inhabitants' own evaluation of their residential situation in Malukazi. It is thought that the situational evaluation undertaken by spontaneous settlers may precipitate their emigration from the area, which in turn may bring about future changes in the population structure of the settlement.

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1. Spatial mobility frequently denotes social mobility: migration theory can be seen as a special case of general mobility theory if spatial mobility is reflected or 'reified' in the social structure. However, theorists usually prefer to see spatial dimensions as distinct from the social structure of a system. Social systems are usually allocated definite territorial confines, so that an international migrant will have to cross the physical boundaries dividing two distinct social systems.

Using the artificial distinction made between the four components of the migration process as our guideline, we shall discuss some of the approaches to the study of migration which have had the greatest influence on our interpretation of the mobility behaviour observed in our Malukazi respondents.

Migration theorists have always been fascinated by the notion that some persons are more likely to move than others. This is known as the principle of selectivity in migration. It was expounded by Ravenstein in the 'laws' governing migration in the 1880's (during a period which was of course preoccupied with the idea of selectivity). Selection factors such as age, sex, education, occupation and social status have always been found to be highly determinant of migration.

Life cycle is the selection criterion used extensively in the present study. It is a complex type of selection factor which combines several of the more commonly known single factors. Life cycle is thought to be a particularly strong predictor of migration and residential mobility. Unfortunately due to its composite nature, the life cycle factor is more difficult to measure, and census data on this criterion are certainly not readily available as is the case for many of the single selection factors. However, the explanatory value of the life cycle concept is of particular use for migration theory.

The life cycle hypothesis generally states that certain conative, cognitive and attitudinal events peak at specific periods during a person's life. Applied to the migration process, the life cycle proposition postulates that the propensity to migrate varies according to the stage reached in the life cycle of an individual. To be exact, the life cycle factor operates via an intervening variable, which one might call a migration motivator. This motivator determines the propensity to move or to migrate. Whether this inclination is translated into action depends very much on external constraints, a point to which we shall return later.

When applied to migration and residential mobility, the life cycle hypothesis - which might be said to represent the motivational and timing elements of the migration process in our outline above - has been

successfully tied to spatial patterning. In terms of our orienting framework this means that all aspects of the process are given some consideration in theorising. Mitchell (1969) has explained circulatory migration by linking the life cycle hypothesis to the movement between rural and urban centres in his famous paradigm of a migrant labour career. Residential mobility can be slotted into the typical zonal patterning of American cities (cf. Gans 1972: Chapter 4). In this model the theoretical linkage between individual mobility patterns and its manifestations in the city's ecology become lucid.

Particularly pertinent for the present study are predictions of urban development from the residential mobility patterns of migrants gravitating to Third World cities. Turner (1969) demonstrates how three criteria: location, tenure and amenity in turn become particularly relevant during successive phases of the in-migrant's urban career. According to this phase model, rural migrants typically gravitate first to the places close to employment opportunities which in the case of South American cities, are centrally located. When the first economic hurdles have been overcome, the typical migrant moves to autonomous settlements on the urban periphery which afford some security of tenure. In a final phase the migrant concentrates on consolidating his position in town and on improving the amenities in his home.

Combining the life cycle approaches developed along the lines of Mitchell and Turner, a migration model integrating residential movements at the urban end with the superordinate movements between town and country has been outlined in an earlier publication (Møller 1978b) and will not be repeated here.

In terms of a general structural theory residential and migratory moves may be seen as acts in an actor's repertoire which can be used to achieve a balanced status in society. Suppose that an actor occupies a position in society which is defined by a set of status designations. Status dimensions represent societal values, which range from central to peripheral ones with respect to the value system of the society in which the actor is a member. Structural theory assumes that the rational actor will strive to achieve an equilibrium between the various status

designations included in his or her set at a satisfactory level. Employing various mechanisms at his or her disposal the actor will improve his or her position by attempting to achieve status gains on important or central status dimensions and systematically bring the lagging status positions on par with the leading positions in his or her status configuration. Society may set the standards against which its members measure the adequacy of their societal position. Age is a fairly universal standard: most societies expect their members to have attained a certain marital status, income, employment, educational or skill level, and possibly to live in a particular type of home when they have reached a specific age.

The concept of life cycle is compatible with structural theoretical considerations. If we wish, we may posit life cycle as the standard for determining the level of equilibrium to be achieved. One might say that the actor automatically advances on an ascribed status dimension such as life cycle and will have to reconcile other status positions accordingly. Now it is assumed that the individual accepts the value system of the particular society in which he or she is a member. It is furthermore assumed that for the actor seeking to balance his or her constellation in the context of origin, central status dimensions representing highly valued goods in society will remain central throughout life. However, the relevance or weight attached to peripheral status dimensions may be altered slightly according to the phase reached in the life cycle. The reshuffling of individual values will not call the more general societal values in question. It is perfectly imaginable that an actor may invest in the improvement of an instrumental or auxiliary status designation, in order to later achieve a higher position on a more central status dimension. One might say that trade-offs between peripheral status losses and more central status gains are made in order to improve one's overall position in society in the long term. This mechanism is comparable to what is commonly known as 'deferred gratification' behaviour. The manipulation of positions on auxiliary status dimensions will be guided by the actor's frame of reference at a particular life cycle phase. It is proposed that residential values are usually relatively peripheral and will frequently be used as an instrument to gain access to more central values. Only when more central values have been satisfied will residential status dimensions as such achieve extra valence.

If we were to express mobility themes in terms of structural theory, we would propose that residential mobility is likely to occur if an actor's present accommodation is not consonant with the needs required by his or her position in society. Migration takes place if an actor cannot balance his or her status constellation satisfactorily within the given context. By moving from this context of origin to another one with different opportunity structures, he or she increases the chances of achieving a satisfactory position on central societal values. It is important to note that this equilibrium may be short-lived. Initially the new in-migrant will compare the newly acquired status position with the one occupied in the emitting context. As soon as the actor accepts the local reference standards of the receiving context, the new position may not measure up so favourably. And the migrant will again be forced to adjust this position and balance the newly acquired status constellation.

The thorny problem of 'return migration' which has bedevilled migration researchers for a long time is best explained by taking into account a sudden switch back to the frame of reference pertaining to the area of origin which precipitates return migration (cf. Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970; Garbett 1975; Kapferer 1972; Garbett, Kapferer 1970; Møller 1978b). With the revival of the original frame of reference, old alternatives for balancing status constellations which had seemed remote during the sojourn in the receiving context, regain their meaning and acquire renewed importance for the return migrant. Factors working against such a change of reference are given in the notion of commitment and investment in a satisfactory status equilibrium in the new context.

One might suggest that the degree of reorientation or shifting of values which accompanies the physical moves undertaken to achieve status equilibrium in a new context may affect the gravity of the decision to move and the irreversibility of the act resulting from the decision. Herein possibly lies the distinction between residential and migratory moves. Whereas the residential move may involve only minor changes in life circumstances and values, the migratory move may constitute an incision in the migrant's life: a radical departure from the former way of life in the emitting area and exposure to an alien value system in the area of destination. Two examples might be cited by way of illustration.

Regarding residential moves, Gans' (1972: Chapter 4) research on North American neighbourhoods demonstrated that persons moving from the city to the suburbs did not adopt a completely new lifestyle. Gans emphasised that the residential shift from the city centre to the suburb merely enabled people to realise a lifestyle to which they were committed whilst still living in the city. Concerning the disruptive effect of migratory acts, the trauma from which unsophisticated rural migrants from remote areas are said to suffer when arriving in the city centre for the first time, is a case in point.

Where do the decision-making and push-pull approach to migration and residential mobility fit in with our theorising. The hinge pin in the migratory act is of course the person on the move. The actor figures prominently in all the theoretical approaches we have discussed so far, but is particularly central to the decision-making approach. It is the mobile persons who progress through life, whose social values take on a particular meaning for them at particular stages in life, they are the ones who weigh the alternatives open to them accordingly and eventually make the decision when and where to move.

The push-pull approach essentially provides the linkage between the spatial and the decision-making dimension of migration and mobility. A particular repulsive or attractive force is associated with the emitting or receiving area respectively. The migrant makes his or her decision to move according to the force constellation emanating from these two areas. Although economic push and pull forces initially dominated the push-pull model, further refinements of the model include a distinction between different types of factors, for instance between economic and social factors. The push-pull approach is frequently teamed up with the life cycle proposition used in migration and residential mobility theorising (cf. Mitchell 1969; Rossi 1955; Abu-Lughod, Foley 1960). In this combination, the relative weight of the various types of factors vary according to the stage reached in the life cycle, reflecting the actor's shifting motivational constellation.

So far we have concentrated largely on individual migration. However, the movements of a large number of individuals may be subjected to identical push-pull force constellations. In time the 'mass' movements resulting from the pressure to migrate form so-called migration 'streams'. As a general rule, such migration streams operate on the development gradient between the emitting and the receiving contexts. Migration streams usually flow from the lower developed to the higher developed context. The increased opportunity structure of the higher developed centre is fully utilised by the shifting migrants. Return migration to the context of origin involves moving down along the same development gradient. Assuming the act is voluntary - and the actors are behaving rationally - return migration calls for a reorientation of a person's value system or frame of reference as described above.

Our discussion has been based on voluntary migration. In this study involuntary migration is explained chiefly in terms of external constraints on the decision-makers' actions. At this point it might be apposite to include some notes on external constraints.

Writing on circulatory migration movements, Wilson (1972: 144 ff.) refers to an artificial bolstering of the push-pull force constellation which controls actors' movements at certain periods of their lives. Such external constraints effectively set limitations on the range of alternative actions which may be undertaken at given phases of the life cycle. One might speak of external agents boosting the relevance of motivational constellations inducing migration in specific directions. According to Wilson this type of external intervention has perpetuated the migrant labour system beyond its usefulness for the migrants involved. For example, many urban labourers in South Africa have no option but to seek status equilibrium in the rural areas at the end of their migrant labour careers in terms of the Urban Areas Act.[1] In other words, the

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1) This constraint has fallen away for some migrants who qualify to stay in town beyond retirement age. However, as experience in post-independence African states reveals, security of tenure does not guarantee economic security. The higher cost of living in town may still force workers to return to subsistence farming. Spontaneous settlements may present an alternative to rural return migration in some few cases. A more adequate solution would be the introduction of substantial pension schemes for urban Africans, which may promote full stabilisation of immigrants to the city (cf. Heisler (1974), in Kapferer (1972) for a discussion of return migration in post-independence Zambia, Møller (1978a) for conditions in pre-independence Zimbabwe.)

rural frame of reference is forced upon them, and it is only expedient to act rationally within this frame of reference.

Arguing along similar lines, Maasdorp and Pillay (1978) suggest that most probably only incomplete equilibrium can be achieved in residential concerns by the black population in South Africa. This is attributed to the restriction of choice in housing and trading sites by South African Group Areas legislation. Maasdorp and Pillay are chiefly concerned with the case of the Indian population sector, but their point might be equally pertinent to the residential choice of Africans. In this connection one might even go on to question if it is correct to consider risk behaviour in the case of decision-making by blacks. The very uncertainty of possible outcomes reduces the incremental benefits derived from such foresight. Due to excessive external constraints on choice of location, it is possibly more apt to speak of 'drifters' rather than active 'decision-makers' when referring to the residentially mobile among the black population in South Africa.

In our study we shall not assume an absolutely rational decision-maker. On this point we have been influenced by some of the refinements introduced by Kapferer (1972) to the simple rational choice maximation approach. We have anticipated some of these refinements when discussing the effect of life cycle and external constraints on the actor's decision-making. Consistent with the conception of the process character of migration, Kapferer identifies an individual continuity factor in migratory decision-making which he refers to as an 'experiential chain'. In structural terms one might say that the strategy employed by an actor to improve and balance his position in society will affect a succession of shifts on various status dimensions. Thus in the process of decision-making an actor introduces constraints affecting and in part determining and directing future choices.

The conception of a 'model' experential chain is based on the idea that a group of decision-makers who share similar life circumstances can be expected to make a series of similar decisions. For purposes of this study, the model experiential chain of events may be conceived as a predictor of future events. If we know all the steps in the model chain and how far individual actors have progressed, we can predict their next

move. In the following chapter we shall apply the concept of the experiential chain to residential mobility behaviour.

In the study of Malukazi settlers we shall take an active interest in the phase which precedes active decision-making. During this phase decision-makers evaluate their situation and make an assessment of alternative courses of action open to them before reaching a decision. This phase is frequently treated like a 'black box' by many theorists, because behaviour can be adequately explained without opening the 'black box' and illuminating its contents. In the case of residential mobility, we feel that it is worthwhile penetrating the black box. Residential mobility may be considered a reflection of man-environment interactions and thus valuable insights into the effect of the environmental cues on mobility behaviour can be gained. In particular, we need to know more about the quality of life experience in spontaneous settlements and its effect on residential mobility. For this reason we shall attempt to show how the perception of the environment can operate as a push or pull force which indirectly influences residential mobility.

The close relationship between environmental cues and residential mobility is illustrated in the conceptual model developed by Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976) in which the quality of life experience is related to the residential milieu.

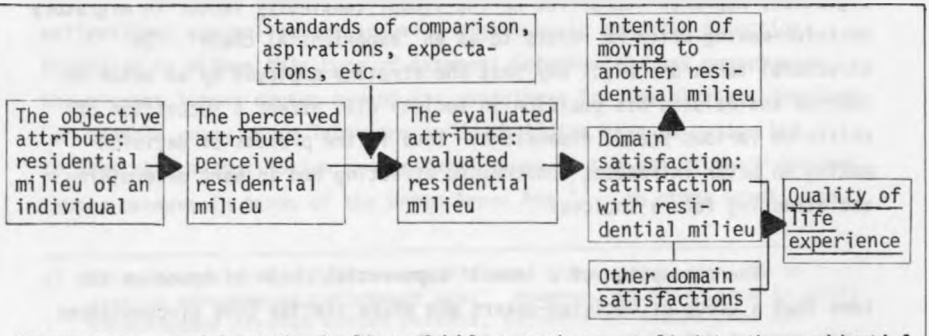

Figure 2-1. Model of the Quality of Life experience applied to the residential domain: The interrelationship between perception of the environment, environmental satisfaction, intention of moving and quality of life experience.

Compiled from Campbell et al. 1976: Figure 1-1 on p.13 and Figure 7-1 on p.220.

Figure 2-1 shows how the negative evaluation of the objective attribute - in this case the residential milieu - may lead to residential dissatisfaction, which in turn may precipitate a residential shift to a new habitat which may be evaluated in a more positive light. The quality of life experience sums up the level of satisfaction in a number of domains relevant to individuals or groups. Depending upon the relevance of the residential milieu for the individual concerned, the residential shift would be registered as a minor or major improvement in the individual's quality of life.

If we wish to demonstrate how the life cycle concept fits into the study of quality of life experience, we must turn to Andrews and Withey's (1976) study of social well-being, which was developed from Campbell and his colleagues' work. Andrews and Withey introduce the concept of the 'family' life cycle into the monitoring of social well-being. Family life cycle is operationalised by a composite measure of age, marital status and having children in certain age groups. It is proposed that the attainment of a certain stage of the life cycle predisposes people to make certain life experiences and filters their perception of current and past experiences.

In comparison to the quality of life model shown in Figure 2-1, a purely rational model of residential decision-making would allow only for an 'objective' evaluation of the environment on the part of the decision-maker. This would mean that physical factors as such would suffice as cues for residential shifts. However, most scholars in the field would agree that although 'objective' evaluations of the physical environment are a useful point of departure for identifying a situation, they play only a marginal role in providing the cues for voluntary residential mobility. Residential satisfaction is not experienced discreetly, but may be related to an entire living pattern and a larger set of social and personal values (Hartman 1963). Hartman argues that although physical factors are important, they have no invariant or objective status and can only be understood in the light of their meaning for people's lives. Hence, it is the 'subjective' evaluation of environmental conditions which is entered into the decision-maker's weighing of the pros and cons of moving.

Furthermore, sole reliance on objective or expert evaluation of the quality of the environment and failure to consult with the people living in the environment on their subjective opinions thereof, have led to disastrous planning errors in the past when people were relocated to urban renewal schemes from areas considered to be slums by the planners (cf. Wilson 1966; Fried, Gleicher 1961).

The measurement of 'subjective' evaluations constitutes a controversial issue among researchers in the field. In this study, we have taken a fairly pragmatic approach and posed a series of direct questions to our respondents which aimed at eliciting their views on living conditions in Malukazi.

When using subjective evaluations as a predictive measure which can be entered into the decision-making model, it is essential to know more about standards of comparison (cf. Figure 2-1). In the sphere of subjective evaluations, the concept of reference groups has proved extremely useful. It is proposed that people will consciously or unconsciously select reference persons who are very similar to them or who are in positions they wish or expect to reach in future, for instance in the next stage of their life or career cycle. People may compare the situation of 'relevant others', such as their friends, relatives, peers or competitors, with their own situation. If comparison is disfavourable for them, people will feel compelled to do something about improving their lot. In the case of residential situations, improvement might be achieved by moving.

Actors may be self-sufficient regarding levels of aspirations in that they provide their own frame of reference. In this case they become the relevant 'reference persons'. Analogously, relevant 'other situations' may also include the decision-maker's own situation: the situation he or she has passed through in the past or the ones he or she hopes to enter into in the future. It is in this sense that we shall refer to the experential chain as a decision-making constraint. Past achievements and future aspirations are therefore important in that they provide the framework in which the present situation is evaluated by the actor.

Comparison with relevant others and the self are not necessarily undertaken in full awareness. This explains why projective techniques are

frequently used to tap the frames of reference involved in the decision-making process.

It is important to note that reference persons need not be used as standards in all spheres of life. It is highly probable, especially in highly segmented modern urban life, that people focus on various referents for different situations. This may in part explain inconsistent aspiration and achievement patterns on the individual level, and uneven social change on the societal level. A further point we should like to make here is that the change of reference groups may result in a drastic rise in expectations.[1] Tension resulting from the comparison of one's own with the reference group's status designation may cause considerable frustration if personal mobility on the status dimension concerned is blocked.

How relevant are the various standards of reference for decision-making in residential matters? The research undertaken by Campbell and his colleagues have produced some answers to this question which are also pertinent for the study of residential mobility in Malukazi. Campbell and his colleagues experimented with a set of standards of comparison which were thought to have predictive value for satisfaction within the domains of housing and neighbourhood. These included positive frames of reference; social comparisons; and negative, retrospective frames of reference. The full list of standards of comparison is given below:

<u>positive frames of reference:</u>
aspirations (best could hope for)
expectations (five years hence)
most liked, ever experienced

<u>social comparisons:</u>
typical national
most close relatives
most close friends

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1) The opposite may theoretically be possible as well. Adoption of a new frame of reference may be used to spade off disappointment caused by limitations on progress. Significantly, this mechanism has been referred to as 'internal emigration'. (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970:107 ff.).

negative, retrospective frame of reference:
least liked, ever experienced
preceding situation
five years ago (Campbell et al. 1976:187).

The authors note that the balance between future-oriented and past-oriented standards for the determination of satisfactions might be somewhat culture bound. Thus in their American research setting with its emphasis on such values as achievement, aspirations and forward-lookingness, they expected the balance to be shifted toward future-oriented standards, whereas they thought in more traditional contexts, past orientation might have greater valence. The authors report that all of the standards of comparison listed above made some detectable contribution in determining levels of aspiration in housing and neighbourhood at any one point in time. However, the standard established by the individual's optimal prior personal experience was considerably more potent in accounting for current aspiration levels than were standards set by obvious social reference points or other types of past personal experience. Furthermore, since the set of persons currently operating within what might appear to be objectively equivalent circumstances are likely to have past experiences which are rather varied with respect to earlier optimal situations, this fact in itself helps to account for much of the dispersion of reactions that the authors typically found for such equivalent situations. Campbell and his colleagues also discovered that persons with richer prior personal experience, and hence presumably aware of a greater range of alternatives, tended to show greater dissatisfaction with their current situation (Campbell et al. 1976:484).

Inferring from their research into standards of comparison Campbell et al. conclude that the most plausible causal sequence producing an ultimate satisfaction with a particular domain is given as shown in Figure 2-2.

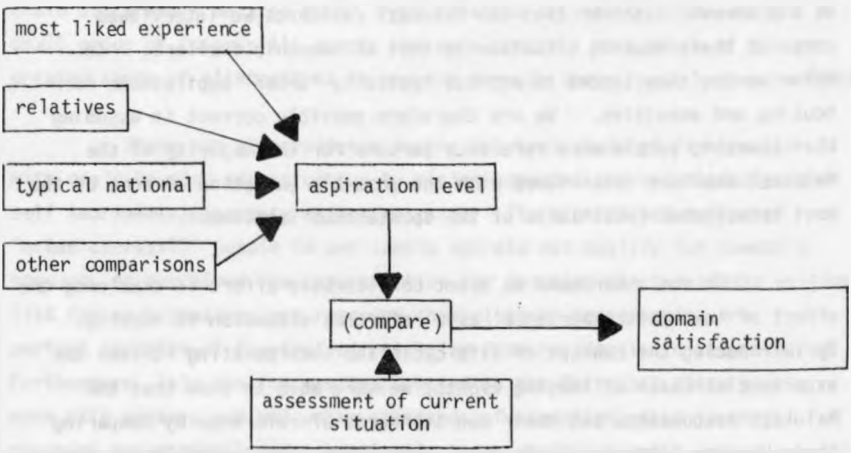

Figure 2-2 A model of comparison leading to feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a domain. (Campbell et al. 1976:193).

When applying the model of comparison proposed by Campbell and colleagues to the study of mobility in Malukazi; it might be useful to point out certain common features. For example, the comparison with the 'typical national standard' housing reference standard appears to be extremely potent in the Campbell study and may be compared to the standards set by the African formal townships in the local context. At the same time, we detected the limitations set on aspirations by the paucity of past experience in the Malukazi study. The observations made in Malukazi are most probably not isolated ones. For instance, Richard Martin, a pioneer in self-help housing in Africa, admits to disappointment when participants involved in a squatter upgrading scheme in Lusaka, selected the model most closely resembling the standard local authority low-grade housing unit from a range of solutions offered to them. In his opinion the conservative choice was due to the lack of experience. He observed that his clients tended to build new housing on the only model they really knew (contribution to panel discussion, in Lazenby 1977:252).

In our study of the opinions Malukazi people held of their environment, we did not formally attempt to identify relevant 'others'. We did however discover that the Malukazi residents we interviewed compared their housing situation to that of township dwellers. In other words, they tended to express typically 'urban' aspirations for housing and amenities. We are therefore possibly correct in assuming that township people were reference persons for the majority of the Malukazi dwellers interviewed with the possible exception of some of the most established inhabitants of the spontaneous settlement.

On the other hand we spent considerable effort in examining the effect of 'own past experience' as a reference situation in housing. By introducing the concept of life cycle and incorporating it into the experiential chain of housing events, we were able to show that the Malukazi respondents set their own standards of reference by comparing their housing situation in Malukazi with those experienced in the past.

The bulk of our research into the subjective evaluation of the Malukazi housing environment corresponds to the area designated 'compare' and 'assessment of current situation' in the model of standards of comparison shown in Figure 2-2. In particular we shall be discussing the advantages and disadvantages of living in a spontaneous settlement as perceived by the settlers themselves. Inquiry into the probable future residence of our Malukazi respondents and into the type of residence to which they aspired, links the concepts of 'levels of aspirations' with 'potential residential mobility' (cf. Figure 2-1). In our use of the concept of the 'experiential chain' we are replicating the reference standard of the 'most liked experience' used in the quality of life research outlined earlier. Consistent with Campbell and colleagues' research results, we have also found that the immediate past residential experience provided us with the consistently best predictor for the respondents' evaluation of their present housing situation and for their potential mobility behaviour. Moreover, because the experiential chain represents a Guttman type scale we are at the same time able to identify all the steps which culminate in the individual's penultimate residential experience. Using 'immediate past residential experience' as a criterion we have distinguished between three major groups: the 'native born', the 'rural in-migrants' and the 'urban overspill'. Consistent with

Campbell's quality of life findings, we observed disparate reactions to the present housing situation among these three groups whose experiential chain differed. We also found signs of acute dissatisfactions among a small group of 'overspill' people who were possibly more aware of a greater range of alternatives in housing through their 'past best experience'.

There was also evidence in the Malukazi study of frustration with one's housing situation due to rising expectations and obstacles to self improvement encountered in the past. The significant number of 'urban overspill' people in our sample who did not qualify for township housing, or perceived few opportunities for reaching the top of the waiting list for such housing, yet regarded themselves as townspeople, are perfect examples of frustration resulting from residential disequilibrium. Furthermore, this tension was exacerbated by the fact that these people were city workers and had urban standards of education, that is they occupied occupational and educational status positions which were dissonant with their inferior housing situations. These findings are supportive of the idea that persons with rich prior experience are more likely to register dissatisfaction with their current situation. As a very high proportion of the survey respondents had in fact moved from the city to Malukazi, it is hardly surprising that township standards were used as reference standards for comparison.

Before closing this chapter on theoretical considerations in the study of migration and residential mobility, one last comment might be apposite. Migration theorists have been accused of developing their theories on false premises in the past. Unwittingly, they have usually based their propositions on the ideal type of the universally sedentary person. When avoiding this extreme view they have fallen prey to assuming a universally mobile man (Jackson 1969). It is thought that both extreme views are equally misleading for theorising in migration. All shades of mobility types will have to be accounted for if migration theory is to prove useful in explaining empirical reality. Perhaps one of the most accurate descriptions of the mobile types found in African cities is supplied by Nelson (1976). Rural-urban commitment is the common dimension underlying the typology she proposes. At the extreme poles of the scale we find the seasonal migrant with a high rural commitment and the permanent immigrant in town with the highest urban commitment respectively. To our

mind the fine distinctions drawn by Nelson tend to be more subtle than in other typologies posited by scholars in the past. The categories proposed by Nelson are as follows:

1. Seasonal or 'shuttle' migrants who seek temporary urban employment to augment their rural (agricultural) incomes.
2. Target migrants who seek urban employment for a limited period in order to accomplish a specific purpose and then return home.
3. Migrants whose working lives are spent moving between countryside and city, each successive urban stay being longer and being linked to changing social and economic pressures and opportunities of the individual migrant's life cycle.
4. Migrants who spend their economic lives in the city but plan eventually to retire to their rural homes.
5. Permanent in-migrants who are committed to remaining in the city for the rest of their lives. (Nelson 1976:722-724)

Migration theories developed for Southern Africa have tended to focus on the perpetually mobile man: the circular migrant (cf. Mitchell's migrant labour paradigm and Wilson's push-pull model of seasonal labour referred to above). We feel that the time has come to place greater emphasis on Nelson's last two categories, on those migrants who will spend their entire working lives in town and on those who plan to retire in town. As the study of the Malukazi community shows, the migrants living in Malukazi were extremely committed to town, at least for the duration of their working lives.

Likewise one might criticise policy makers and planners for focussing too much attention on extreme types of migrants when making provisions for urban workers. In the sphere of housing, the bulk of the accommodation available is geared to the spartan needs of the seasonal worker and to the person with full urban rights. All the other shades of migrant workers, particularly the permanent urban workers who most certainly make up the majority of the black working population, have been grossly neglected. It is perhaps presumptuous to expect the barrack-type hostel and the conventional standard township housing unit to cater for such a wide range of housing needs.

Recent changes in the tenure system for urban blacks and experimentation with and modification of the standard housing unit indicate

a growing awareness of the need for a more flexible housing programme. The appraisal of the Malukazi housing environment obtained from the survey respondents shows that there is a great demand for greater flexibility in housing which will accommodate the needs of the diverse types of city workers. Until such time as conventional housing can meet this challenge, spontaneous settlements may continue to fill the gap between supply and demand in housing.

CHAPTER 3.

ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT.

In this chapter we shall attempt to reconstruct the growth of the Malukazi settlement against which individual patterns of residential mobility can be traced.[1] It will be our first task to monitor the arrivals of settlers to Malukazi and then to ascertain whether successive waves of in-migrants had been absorbed by the existing community at the time of the survey. If not, it is suggested that the distinction between the older established settlers and the newcomers may well prove to be extremely pertinent in connection with questions concerning housing and community needs.

In the case of Malukazi it is a known fact that successive waves of settlers penetrated a community which had been established along the lines of tribal settlement patterns. This meant that a number of distinctly different social groups came to live cheek by jowl in a relatively small area. This pattern of population growth may have had a considerable impact on the development of the emergent community structure. It is conceivable that the diversity of the migration streams converging on the Malukazi settlement may have represented a wide range of residential needs and lifestyles which may have been difficult to accommodate within the confines of a single neighbourhood. It is also possible that the older settlers and the newcomers may have found difficulty in mixing socially. The insecurity of tenure which newer members of the community would certainly have experienced in more recent times may have presented a further obstacle to their integration and assimilation in the existing community. Generally speaking, it was hypothesised that rapid population growth in conjunction with uncertainty concerning the future of the settlement may not have been conducive to the development of a unified cohesive community structure in Malukazi. In this connection, one might suggest that the common origin of the inhabitants residing in so-called 'squatter' settlements elsewhere in this country which have demonstrated a united front in the face of threats of removal may have actually strengthened community bonds.

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1) Haarhoff (1979:21 ff.) traced the pattern of development using data on dwelling construction as a guideline.

3.1 Date of arrival in Malukazi.

The figures set out in Table 3.1 confirm the general picture of individual migration to the settlement outlined in the 'profile of Malukazi' (Stopforth 1978:47-48). The arrival of sample households reflects the growth of the Malukazi population by in-migration in miniature. A stock of established families was built up during the period before World War II. Inferring from the sample, the Malukazi population increased annually by ,9 after 1926. The second wave of immigration followed after the mid-fifties, when the settlement population increased by 2,1 annually according to sample statistics. Since the mid-fifties, the population increase per annum had trebled reaching peaks in the late sixties and in the year of the survey, 1977.

Employing the cumulative sample percentages entering into Malukazi during the past seven decades, the sample can conveniently be divided into three groups of settlers:

- The early settlers who came to Malukazi before the sixties;[1)]
- The Malukazi settlers of the sixties, and
- The last wave of in-migrants who arrived in Malukazi during the seventies.

It should be noted that by inferring settlement growth from the population composition observed at only one point in time, we are in danger of disregarding residential turnover in the settlement. For example, if the peri-urban area is used as a stepping stone or temporary recess, the inflow may be considered spurious in that it may be subject to redirection in the next moment. However, at present we are concerned merely with drawing pertinent distinctions between different groups of settlers according to their length of residence in the settlement, and shall disregard the implications of a temporary versus permanent in-migration for the time being.

Table 3.1.

Date of arrival in Malukazi.

all households (N = 278)				households not headed by Malukazi born (N = 216)			
Sample percentage taking up residence in Malukazi during period		Cumulative sample percentage residing in Malukazi at given date		Adjusted sample percentage entering Malukazi during period		Adjusted sample percentage residing in Malukazi at given date	
period:	%	date:	%	period:	%	date:	%
1976 - 1977	12	1977	100	1976 - 1977	15,3	1977	100,0
1966 - 1975	36	1975	88	1966 - 1975	47,2	1975	84,7
1956 - 1965	21	1965	52	1956 - 1965	26,9	1965	37,5
1946 - 1955	9	1955	31	1946 - 1955	6,9	1955	10,6
1936 - 1945	9	1945	22	1936 - 1945	1,8	1945	3,7
1926 - 1935	9	1935	13	1926 - 1935	1,4	1935	1,9
1906 - 1925	3	1925	4	1906 - 1925	-	1925	,5
- 1905	1	1905	1	- 1905	,5	1905	,5
	100				100,0		

If groups are defined according to residential background and motivations for migrating to Malukazi, we can assume that each of these designated groups has specific housing needs which can be met in the peri-urban settlement to varying degrees.

Although the past residential experience of Malukazi households in the sample will be dealt with in greater detail later, it is perhaps apposite to identify some of the major subdivisions at this point. Table 3.2 shows that immediately prior to moving to Malukazi, half of the sample households were resident in Durban proper and in the formal residential areas set aside for Africans working in the city. A fraction of the sample came from peri-urban settlements which in most respects were identical to Malukazi in that they were informally organised and for the most part situated on the urban fringe. An arbitrary distinction between former residence in 'hinterland' and remoter 'rural' areas was made simply to illustrate that an equal number of in-migrant households came from neighbouring areas and from further afield. Figure 3-1 summarizes this information by charting the various streams of in-migration with an indication of their numeric strength.

3.1.1 A typology of settlers.

In an earlier study of a fringe settlement (Møller 1978b), three very distinct types of settlers could be discerned: 'rural-urban in-migrants', 'city overspill' and 'peri-urban mobiles'. The criteria for distinguishing between these types of settlers was based on the reason for moving to the settlement under consideration and on the place of residence before the move. A brief description of these three types is as follows:

- The rural influx (rural-urban in-migrants) refers to those persons who have come to peri-urban settlements directly or at the end of a stepwise progression to the city centre, usually for employment reasons, but also for social reasons, in order to join other members of the family living there. The location of the informal settlement is crucial; it must have convenient access to the city and employment opportunities.

Table 3.2.

Residence prior to moving to Malukazi (households)

urban			51,9
Umlazi, Glebelands		27,1	
Durban		13,3	
Kwa Mashu		4,7	
Lamontville		3,2	
Clermont		2,9	
Chesterville		,7	
peri-urban			5,4
Cato Manor		2,5	
Bhekithembe		1,8	
Marriannhill		,7	
Inanda		,4	
rural			20,8
hinterland		10,4	
Umzinto, Umkomaas			
Umfume, Umbumbulu			
Umthwalumi, Mgugu			
other		10,4	
South Natal	4,0		
North Natal	3,2		
Mid-Natal	2,5		
Transkei, other	,7		
Malukazi born		21,9	21,9
		100,0	100,0

N = 278

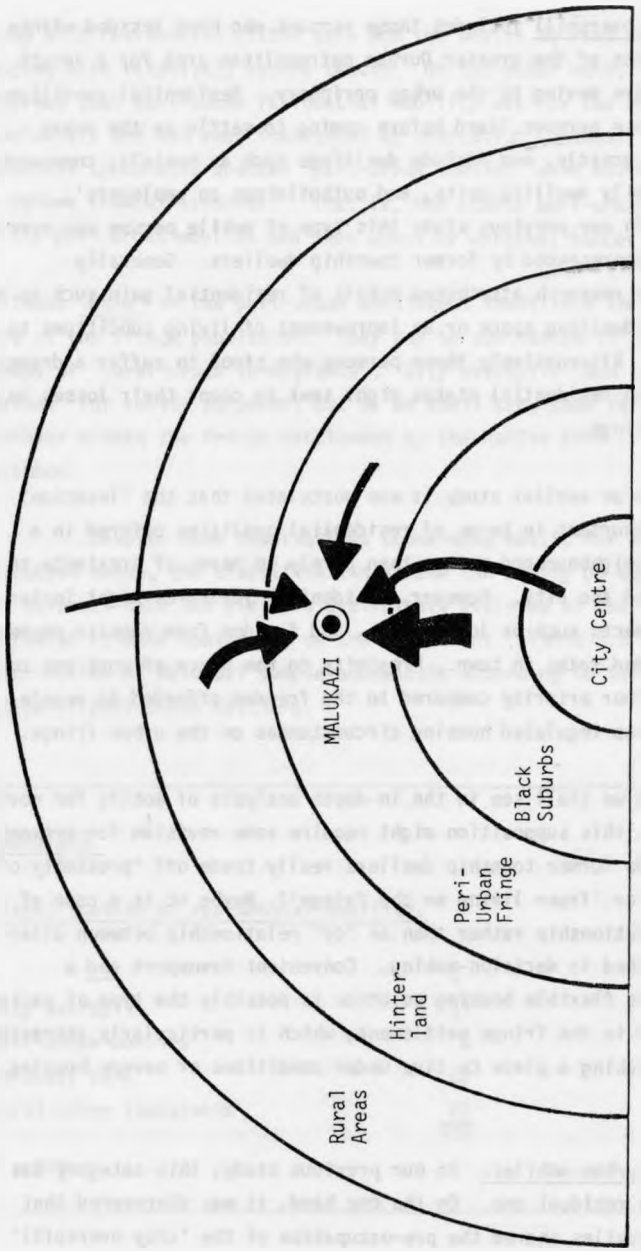

Figure 3-1 Migration streams converging on Malukazi.

- The city overspill includes those persons who have resided within the boundaries of the greater Durban metropolitan area for a length of time before moving to the urban periphery. Residential conditions in which these persons lived before coming to settle on the urban fringe vary greatly, and include dwellings such as hostels, compounds, township family dwelling units, and outbuildings on employers' premises. In our previous study this type of mobile person was overwhelmingly represented by former township dwellers. Generally speaking our research attributed motifs of residential gain such as an increase of dwelling space or an improvement of living conditions to this group. Alternatively those persons who stood to suffer a dramatic drop in urban residential status might seek to count their losses on the urban fringe.

In an earlier study it was postulated that the 'location' motif was important in terms of residential qualities offered in a particular neighbourhood rather than purely in terms of proximity to workplace and the city. However, residential qualities might include economic aspects such as low rentals, and freedom from regular payments of rentals and rates in town. Proximity to the place of work was considered a minor priority compared to the freedom afforded to people living in less regulated housing circumstances on the urban fringe.

As we shall see in the in-depth analysis of motifs for moving to Malukazi, this supposition might require some revision for present purposes. Do former township dwellers really trade off 'proximity of workplace' for 'freer living on the fringe'? Maybe it is a case of an 'and' relationship rather than an 'or' relationship between alternatives weighed in decision-making. Convenient transport and a somewhat more flexible housing solution is possibly the type of package deal offered in the fringe settlement, which is particularly attractive to people seeking a place to live under conditions of severe housing shortage.

- The peri-urban mobiles. In our previous study, this category was treated as a residual one. On the one hand, it was discovered that peri-urban mobiles shared the pre-occupation of the 'city overspill'

group with residential status gain and the desire to find more spacious housing with relatively secure tenure. On the other hand, it was observed that peri-urban residential mobility was for the most part involuntary and had been instigated by relocation schemes. It was therefore speculated whether 'peri-urban mobiles' were not predestined to become stable residents. That is, the stable peri-urban existence of the peri-urban mobiles had been upset by external forces.

- Those 'born' in the peri-urban settlement constitute the stable core of the fringe population. They may be contrasted to the 'mobile' groups of 'rural-urban in-migrants', 'city overspill' and 'peri-urban mobiles' for survey purposes, but as we shall see, some residential turnover within the fringe settlement by the native born is by no means uncommon.

Despite some reservations concerning motifs for mobility discussed above, the classification scheme can easily be applied to the Malukazi data and yields a preliminary overview of the types of migration streams converging on the settlement. Table 3.3 shows the distribution of Malukazi sample households according to this classification of peri-urban settlers.

Table 3.3.

Classification of residential mobility.

	%
city overspill	51
peri-urban mobiles	5
Malukazi born	22
rural-urban immigrants	22
	100

N = 278

It is clear that according to past residential experience, over three-quarters of the sample are affiliated to the larger metropolitan area. The group designated 'city overspill' originated by and large from Umlazi township, the remainder of this group had moved from other townships situated to the north and north-west of Durban. The majority of 'rural-urban in-migrants' previously resided in adjacent areas and southern Natal. The 'borner' group was possibly the most homogeneous group, the majority having lived exclusively in Malukazi up to the date of our survey (cf. Table 3.2.).

It was questionable whether the introduction of the category of 'peri-urban mobiles' was useful for purposes at hand. As originally defined, the 'peri-urban mobile' category typically included all those persons who had spent all their lives in perpetual motion on the urban fringe. By definition this category did not distinguish between persons who had moved within as against persons who had moved between peri-urban settlements. Strictly speaking we would have to include all the persons born in Malukazi who had at one time or another shifted their residence in the settlement itself in the 'peri-urban mobile' category, as indeed over half of the sample members born in Malukazi had done. This would of course have confused the issue. Furthermore, the number of persons included in the group of 'peri-urban mobiles' in the Malukazi sample - using the less stringent inclusion criterion - was too small to be useful for statistical purposes. It was also discovered that 'peri-urban mobiles' and 'rural-urban in-migrants' in the Malukazi sample tended to follow the same patterns of residential mobility and expressed similar attitudes with respect of environmental issues, so that a finer distinction between these two groups proved superfluous also for explanatory purposes. In this connection one might of course argue that the distinction made between mobility occurring in the peri-urban areas and the adjacent hinterland was in any case arbitrary.

For these reasons it was decided to work with a classification system including only three categories in the Malukazi study, although in future research conducted on the urban periphery one might well wish to reintroduce a 'peri-urban mobile' category into the system. Using this classification system of mobility types and

drawing on the knowledge of arrival dates of Malukazi settlers, it was now possible to judge the impact of the major migration streams on the process of population growth in the settlement.

Table 3.4.

Type of residence occupied immediately prior to moving to Malukazi (households)

		%
Township		46,8
township house - no detail	4,7	
township house - living with parents	7,2	
township house - living with relatives	5,8	
lodgings	16,5	
hostels	12,2	
other	,4	
Compound		2,2
White suburbs		5,0
Spontaneous urban settlements		26,6
Rural area		19,4
		100,0

N = 278

It was evident that the rural and hinterland streams converged on Malukazi for the most part before the fifties; indeed some of the persons born in Malukazi may have been descendants of rural-urban in-migrants. It is indeed probable that the first migration stream was at least partially absorbed into the existing peasant community living in Malukazi at the time. The most recent stream originated from the metropolitan area, notably from the city's formal housing estates (cf. Table 3.4.).

Proximity has certainly played some part in attracting township residents to Malukazi. Umlazi residents, for example, had only to cross the major thoroughfare dividing the formal township and the informal settlement. Figure 3-2 depicts the dramatic shift in emphasis of rural and urban migration streams converging on Malukazi in time. If 'rural-urban in-migration' caused Malukazi's population to grow before the sixties, it was the 'urban overspill' which accounted for most of the population growth since then.

3.2 Information on housing opportunities in Malukazi.

Next we shall inquire how settlers received information on housing opportunities in Malukazi and how they initially secured their first living quarters in the settlement.

It has been observed that in a free housing market, most persons seeking accommodation use a variety of information sources to aid them in finding suitable places in which to live. Formal sources would include estate agents, public and private housing authorities, welfare offices, advertisements in newspapers and other media, informal sources such as consulting family and friends, and walking the streets in search of rooms. Although movers typically make use of both formal and informal sources of information, it was found that a large proportion of home seekers were actually guided to their ultimate choice by informal sources, and 'windfalls' accounted for by no means a negligible proportion of finds (Rossi 1955).

When discussing how people found their way into Malukazi homes, one might suggest that comparisons with mechanisms working on the free housing market are more useful than comparisons with those operating in more closed housing systems. In closed housing systems dwellings may simply be allocated on a first-come, first-served basis, unless other priorities or a sudden change in housing policy dictates that new groups may become eligible for housing and people are given the opportunity to jump the queue of persons waiting for housing. Alternatively no distinction is made between old and new applicants and people are allotted housing according to the 'lottery' principle.

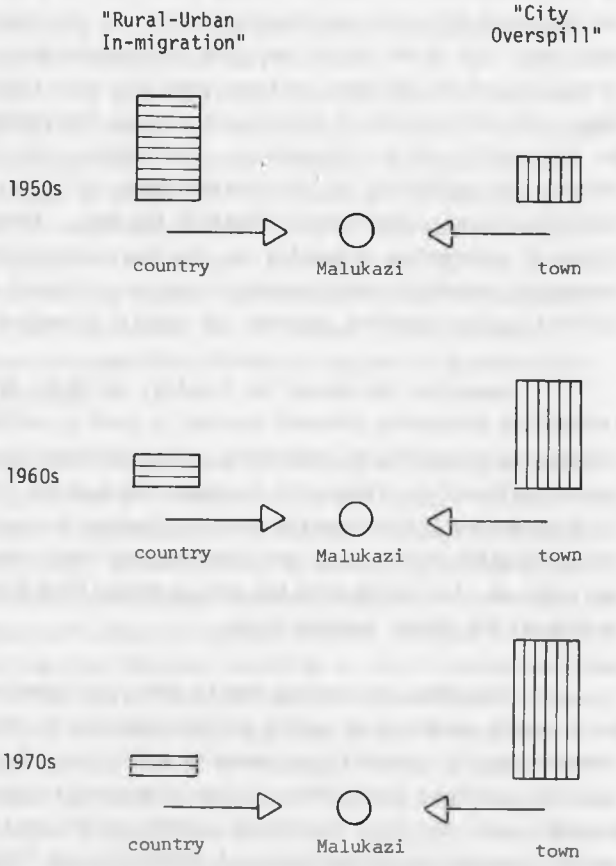

Figure 3-2 Differentials between rural and urban influx to Malukazi over time.

In a free housing market Timms (1971:111 ff.) reckons that three intervening considerations may hamper attempts by movers to bring their residential situation into congruence with their residential aspirations. These are the information on locations available to the household, the amount of money which can be devoted to housing, and the range of houses and locations which are available at the relevant time. All three factors may have represented major constraints in the case of the Malukazi settlers when they were seeking accommodation. The availability of housing was perhaps the greatest handicap for the majority of the respondents. Furthermore, the stringent criteria for qualifying for the limited number of formal housing units available proved a considerable obstacle for many. Perhaps the availability of information on housing was the least constraining factor when seeking to reconcile one's housing situation with one's housing needs, and this factor therefore deserves our special attention.

Regarding the demand for housing, one might argue that if information concerning informal housing is readily available - especially information pertaining to reasonably priced accommodation - then this type of information effectively increases the housing choice for blacks in an otherwise limited housing market. Tapping the sources of information which were used by settlers who made their homes in Malukazi may serve as clues which show how easily people find access to an extension of the formal housing stock.

Regarding the housing supply side, the channels of information which permit landlords to select suitable persons to settle in their community may be essential to community well-being. For example, certain selection criteria should hold, if the in-migrant stream is to become an economic asset for those households already established there. The manner in which the dissemination of information on informal housing is controlled and how allocation procedures are regulated may also be crucial in arriving at a simple but effective means of local community administration. For example, Martin (1974) points out that in the Lusaka squatter settlements, a very high degree of community self-reliance existed, because informal settlers had organized plot allocation and the degree of residential security necessary to act as an incentive to better housing standards. Referring to a typological progression model of

spontaneous settlements outlined by Haarhoff (1979), this type of housing management could easily increase the legitimacy attributed to a spontaneous settlement by outsiders and thus achieve upward mobility on the 'tenure' dimension for the settlement as a whole.

When compiling a list of the sources of information people use in their search for housing, we must be aware of the fact that incomplete knowledge of the housing situation on the part of the mover is considered perfectly 'normal' in most migration models. For example, the decision-making approach to migration assumes that the decision-maker will not attempt to collect the full range of information on housing opportunities available but will rely on information which is most readily accessible to him or her. Even when dealing with housing options on the free housing market, there appears to be little point in allowing for a more systematic and circumspect decision-maker. Thus, the most easily accessible information may be fully determinant of the decision to move.

What then were the most easily accessible sources of information about housing available in Malukazi? In our sample, the majority of in-migrants heard of accommodation in Malukazi through relatives and friends (cf. Table 3.5). Workmates were an especially important group of informants in the case of former township lodgers and hostel dwellers. In the case of the small group of persons formerly resident in Durban's white residential suburbs, Malukazi landlords or other tenants had drawn their attention to the possibility of finding accommodation in Malukazi. Direct migration from the rural areas was most likely to have been assisted by contact persons living in Malukazi. Direct migrants included the women who had joined a husband in town at some stage of his career, and had become household heads in their own right, after their husbands had died. From unsolicited information supplied by the respondents, it appeared that informal networks were by and large Malukazi-based. Forty-three percent of our respondents indicated that persons advising them of accommodation available in Malukazi were living there at the time.

Table 3.5.

How respondent households learnt about the possibility of living at Malukazi.

	%	%
Through the kinship/friendship network		38,4
spouse/girl friend	5,8	
other relatives, family friends	15,5	
friends	17,1	
Through the network at work		15,5
workmates (and few employers, clients)	15,5	
Through the 'Malukazi' network		22,4
landlords	6,1	
previous occupier of house in which household settled	2,5	
own local enquiries	7,6	
hearsay, familiarity with, visibility of Malukazi, "simply knew of Malukazi"	6,2	
other, no information	1,4	1,4
not applicable (borners)	22,3	22,3
N = 278	100,0	100,0

A particularly interesting category included those persons who had made their own inquiries in Malukazi, and were attracted to the settlement simply because - as they explained - it was there, visible, and a familiar landmark on the edge of the formal township area. This group included the more recent settlers in Malukazi, and consequently consisted mainly of members of the urban overspill.

By applying our knowledge of settlement history to this data on housing information, we may surmise that recruitment patterns to Malukazi have changed over the years. Whereas in former times recruitment worked largely along the family and kinship network, closer to the

survey date extra-network principles of recruitment operated as well, and the heightened visibility of the settlement tended to attract new settlers.

On first glance this trend may confirm the regional planner's worst suspicions: It is frequently thought that the mushrooming of peri-urban settlements in itself acts as an open invitation to outsiders to become spontaneous dwellers. However, in order to allay such fears, one must stress that the open invitation emanating from Malukazi attracted by and large the migration stream exuded by the city and not the rural-urban migration stream. It is proposed that the traditional kinship network tended to operate primarily for migrants who were recruited directly from the rural areas and the adjacent hinterland areas.[1] It is thought to be highly unlikely that visibility of an informal settlement alone will suffice as a sufficient guarantee for casual workseekers chancing their luck in town in spite of strict influx control regulations that they will find a safe haven in the vicinity of the city.

Who did prospective tenants approach when applying for accommodation in Malukazi? Figures in Table 3.6 show that the traditional arbitrators in land allocation are in the most cases bypassed. Only one-fifth of the respondents applied to the chief or the local induna, whereas almost half of the sample approached Malukazi landlords in connection with matters of accommodation.

It is also interesting to note, that some few respondents referred to landlords as 'friends'. This intimate relationship may indicate that some advantage was procured by such informal contacts, possibly the payment of keymoney was waived or substantially reduced. The remainder of the sample used informal family and friendship networks when making applications for accommodation.

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1) Møller and Schlemmer's (1977:4-5) report on migrant labour in Durban highlights the importance of kinship contacts for attracting workers to migration centres. Contact persons act as sponsors in the sense that they provide lodging, economic and emotional support for workseekers.

Table 3.6.

Who was approached for a plot/house at Malukazi - Who allocated the plot/house in Malukazi?

	Who was approached for plot/house	Who allocated plot/house
	%	%
landlord	49,0	53,6
chief or headman	17,6	17,6
relatives, friends	6,1	5,4
previous occupier of house	3,6	2,9
other Malukazi residents	,7	-
other	2,2	1,1
no information/don't know	2,5	2,5
not applicable (borners)	18,3	16,9
	100,0	100,0

N = 278

On the other hand, the actual lease negotiations were conducted almost exclusively with the traditional landlords and the newly established class of landlords. Those who first approached family, friends and neighbours would later seek the final seal of approval from the landlord himself.

Perhaps we should draw attention to one household listed under the 'other' category on Table 3.6. The householder concerned was allocated his home through the Umlazi school board. An isolated case for sure, but certainly a glaring example of the scarcity of formal accommodation. The case cited demonstrated that even civil servants who shift to a formal housing estate specifically to serve the community concerned, cannot be offered a roof over their heads in return.

Inferring from the further analysis of the survey data, the least formal channels for negotiating terms of accommodation were most frequently used by those born in the settlement and by the early in-migrants arriving from the hinterland. At the date of the survey, the landlord system seemed to have displaced the traditional allocation of land by the chief and his headmen.

From our investigation we might draw the tentative conclusions that the pattern for negotiating plots of land and dwelling quarters in Malukazi were regulated to a certain degree. We have suggested earlier that the institutionalization of land allocation might be one of the prerequisites for the development of a smoothly functioning settlement mobilising from informal tenure status to one defined by sanctions acceptable by common consensus. Judging from the survey data, it would appear that negotiations for land in Malukazi were highly decentralised and arbitrary. With landlords controlling access to housing in Malukazi, prices were fixed by the supply rather than by the demand side. And although certain standard practices regarding initial entry fees may have prevailed, no form of interest association among landlords appeared to exist. One might therefore consider it doubtful, whether the necessary preconditions for the mobilisation of the settlement from an informal to a more formal type of tenure system and outside recognition were given.

3.3 Summary

Employing data collected at one point in time, it was inferred that the Malukazi settlement had experienced spurts of growth since the fifties culminating in the rapid development of the settlement observed at the time of the survey in 1977. Natural increase and in-migration from the rural hinterland promoted Malukazi's growth in the period before 1960. After this date, migration streams originating in the Durban metropolitan area determined population increase in the settlement.

Using a classification system introduced in an earlier study

of settlers on the urban fringe, just over one-fifth of the sample households were classified as natives of Malukazi, a further generous fifth were classified as rural-urban in-migrants and half were classified as city overspill. A residual category of peri-urban mobiles was found to be too small to prove useful in the present study.

Settlers in Malukazi were found to utilise a range of information sources when searching for homes in Malukazi. Informal networks and kinship contacts played a significant role in disseminating information on housing. Landlords rather than traditional officials allocated homes and plots in the settlement. It was suggested that the internal organisation of the landlord system might assist in the mobilisation of the informal settlement and increase its recognition from outside, but little evidence of common consensus and association among landlords was detected.

CHAPTER 4.

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY PATTERNS.

In this chapter the typical patterns of residential mobility for the sample households who have migrated to Malukazi will be identified. In the following chapters we shall discuss how such patterns affect housing preferences and aspirations for future mobility.

For technical reasons, households whose heads were born in Malukazi, have been excluded from the present analysis. Residential shifts undertaken in Malukazi itself were included in the enumeration of shifts as far as known.

When examining the past residential experience of the household heads in the sample, it was found that two or three residential shifts were the norm (cf. Table 4.1).

Table 4.1.

Number of residential shifts undertaken by Malukazi households. (borners excluded)

	%
1 shift	17,6
2 shifts	28,3
3 shifts	24,5
4 shifts	18,5
5 shifts	7,4
6 shifts	3,2
7 shifts	,5
	100,0

N = 216 household heads

This was considered to be a low rate of residential turnover which might alternatively be interpreted in the following manner:

a) A high turnover rate is commonly viewed as a valid indicator of residential dissatisfaction (Hartmann 1975:127). Hence, we might assume that the respondents had been relatively satisfied with their dwelling situations in the past. Throughout the family and career cycle, residential needs would have been met satisfactorily by some few housing situations and no need would have arisen to shift residence. In other words, residential disequilibrium might only have been experienced infrequently in the past.

b) A variation of the first argument would call for the control of the family cycle factor. If passing from one phase of life to the next gives rise to opportunities of experiencing residential disequilibrium, lack of residential dissatisfaction might simply be accounted for by the short span of the life cycle in the case of the youngest household heads in the sample. In other words, variations in the life cycle rather than the residential satisfaction factor would explain the small average number of residential shifts undertaken by the sample respondents.

c) Using the decision-making approach to residential mobility, one might speculate with the notion that residential disequilibrium has in fact been experienced, but no action has been taken to alleviate incongruence in the past. This might be due to the housing constraints reviewed earlier. For example, a household disenchanted with its dwelling conditions may not be able to move in a tight housing market, it lacks information about residential opportunities or lacks the necessary finances. Given the limited number of places where urban Africans are permitted to reside legally, limitations on the choice of residence is likely to play an especially important role in restricting past residential experience. Expressing this idea in terms of push-pull theories of migration, the 'push' force may have been felt, yet people could not respond to a corresponding 'pull' force in order to improve their housing situation due to political constraints on their movements. Of course, under conditions of limited choice, the interplay of forces leading to mobility is dominated by the 'push' force and the 'pull' force is frequently negligible, a situation which leads to involuntary or forced migration. If such a force constellation existed for some of the Malukazi settlers, this might imply that the past housing experience had become so

intolerable that any place to live would be welcome. Arguing along these lines, one must not dismiss the possibility that the decision to move to Malukazi may simply have stemmed from necessity rather than from choice. We must also be aware that the Malukazi choice may be far from optimal, even in the case of a voluntary move, simply because optimal choice in the field of housing is denied to all Africans living in the 'apartheid city'.

Which line of reasoning should be followed in the case of the Malukazi sample? A detailed analysis of the types of shifts made by the survey respondents, of mobility sequences, and of reasons for moving may hold the clue to why people came to live in Malukazi.

4.1 Dimensions of residential mobility.

A total number of 599 residential shifts were recorded for the sample. The range of destinations selected by the household heads at some stage of their life is given in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2.

Destinations to which Malukazi household heads had shifted in the course of a lifetime. (borners excluded.)

	%
peri-urban settlements including Malukazi	57,8
township in Durban metropolitan area	23,0
hostel or compound in Durban metropolitan area	12,0
rural area	5,2
other urban centre	2,0
	100,0

N = 599 residential shifts

Destinations in Malukazi accounted for over half of the shifts, and a high proportion of destinations referred to Durban's formal townships

and to hostels for men living in single conditions. Only a small number of shifts to rural destinations and other urban centres were recorded.

Table 4.3 shows the distribution of residential status positions achieved by Malukazi household heads at the places where they had lived up to the date of the survey. Status was defined to cut across destination types and reflected the full range of African residential options in town.

Table 4.3.

Residential status at places where lived (borners excluded).

	%
lodger	37,6
own home*	31,1
hostel tenant	17,9
living with friends or relatives	8,2
living with parents	5,0
other	0,2
	100,0

N = 599 residential shifts

* inclusive tenants-at-will and renters in township houses

In the majority of cases, the respondents had been tenants in the places to which they had shifted. The experience of living in a 'place of one's own' was almost equally widespread. According to the broad classification of tenant status adopted here, this category included sub-tenants to renters of township houses as well as to tenants-at-will in Malukazi and in other informal settlements. An arbitrary distinction between the position of the tenant in a family dwelling unit and the position of the hostel tenant was made, because these designations were thought to reflect a real status difference, in terms of prestige and dependency in day-to-day living.

What were the chief reasons for prompting a shift of residence? All reasons given for shifting were subjected to a content analysis and ordered into six very broad categories shown in Table 4.4. In order of frequency mentioned, the motivations for shifting included the following factors: Career and location, family cycle, security of tenure and homeownership, comfort, and eviction by landlords and housing administrators.

Table 4.4.

Reasons for shifting residence (borners excluded).

	%
career/location	40,7
family cycle	22,7
security of tenure/homeownership	13,2
comfort	10,5
landlord	7,2
authorities	5,7
	100,0

N = 599 shifts

The 'career/location' and 'family cycle' factors might have been grouped together under the common heading of life cycle, but the large number of references to these specific subcategories called for their separation.

Career/location reasons included any reference to stages in the migrant or occupational career which might warrant a residential shift. The initial migration to town was a reason frequently given for shifting. Other examples included references to the search for work, to periods of unemployment, to job shifts and transfers. The few mentions of search for informal work were recorded under this heading although the economic motif might have called for the introduction of a separate heading had more frequent mention been made of economic reasons for moving.

The search for a more convenient location constituted by far the most frequently mentioned reason for moving. In most cases this meant a home closer to the place of work or employment opportunities. Job and location reasons were by and large wrapped together into a common motif and no attempt was made to unravel these two aspects. In our research experience we have found that this type of perception is particularly strong among migrants, for whom the city is the place where one works and nothing more. For this reason the distinction between 'job' and 'location' emphases did not seem feasible. As regards shifts to Malukazi: workseekers shifting to Malukazi as well as persons who already held urban jobs were placed in the 'location' category. Some persons holding urban jobs had had to commute long distances to work from their former places of residence and preferred to live in Malukazi for its convenient location. It is perhaps interesting to note that the actual number of household heads who said they had moved to the urban fringe specifically in order to find informal employment there was negligible.

Shifts for family life cycle reasons were also fairly common. Marriage or cohabitation, the death of a parent or spouse, the growth of the family, and the coming of age which had marked the time to leave the parental home, were typical events which indicated the transition from one stage of the family life cycle to the next. According to the life cycle proposition such transitions are usually accompanied by new accommodation needs and require an adjustment in residential status which is achieved by shifting. Attempts to promote family cohesion were also recorded here: Rural wives and families coming to visit or live in the urban migrant household were a case in point. Sometimes our respondents had shifted in order to accommodate extra members of the nuclear or extended family permanently or for lengthy periods of time.

Security of tenure and comfort factors prompted a considerable number of moves on the part of the respondents. Aspirations for security of tenure and homeownership usually go hand in hand and are of necessity relative concepts in the case of urban Africans. The comfort factors included references to crowding, the lack of amenities, the state of

disrepair in the previous dwelling or the attraction of extra comfort features in the dwelling to which one would move.

Landlord and authority factors: At the bottom of our list of reasons, we come to two 'push' factors which forced people out of their previous residence. The 'push' forces emanated from landlords in both instances, but a distinction between the (usually informal) landlord and the local authority or government assuming landlord functions was made. Poor relations with landlords accounted for a fair number of 'push' motifs. Frequently respondents were asked to vacate the premises because the landlord needed the extra space for his own growing family.[1] When landlords moved, their tenants were also forced to find alternative accommodation. Poor relationships between tenants and landlords appeared to be aggravated by crowding and shared access to dwellings.

Conflict with the authorities in their landlord function was of a more formal nature: eviction due to loss of urban status, contravention of the pass laws, or arrears in rental payments inevitably led to residential shifts on the part of the respondents. Demolishment of the former residence and relocation forced some few persons in the sample to move at some time.

At this point, some comments on our classification of reasons should be made. It will be noted that the majority of reasons given fall under the rubrics 'job/location' and 'family life cycle'. The space factor which certainly constitutes the most important 'push/pull' factor both in developed (Rossi 1955) and Third World housing environments (Abrams 1970) has somehow fallen by the wayside. This conclusion is perhaps premature. One might argue that the space factor is implicitly included in many of the family cycle shifts which are usually indicative of an attempt to adjust residential status to a new domestic situation.

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1) Approaching our data from a different vantage point, we might have attributed this type of move to the landlord's life cycle or to crowding factors.

4.2 Sequences of residential shifts.

Judging mobility behaviour from the aggregate shifts undertaken by our sample may be somewhat misleading. Residential shifts should never be observed in isolation, ideally they should be viewed in sequential order, as a progression of events. Thus, the experential chain of events which leads up to the actual shift to Malukazi gains significance as a factor influencing migration behaviour.

According to the phase hypothesis of residential mobility, changing housing needs in the course of a life time dictate the progression from one residence to the next. From this point of view, groups with similar life cycles, such as migrants working in town for certain periods in their lives, may be expected to follow a general pattern of residential progress, with minor variations allowing for individual circumstances. By analysing the 'progress' in housing made up to the time of the shift to Malukazi or people's past residential experience, we are able to estimate the significance of the Malukazi shift for the movers concerned.

We shall begin our analysis by inquiring whether such a basic pattern of residential experience holds. Initially, we shall use all the data records at our disposal and include male and female records in the data set. For the sake of convenience, data pertaining to those born at Malukazi have been removed from the data set.

Several problems in analysing the permutations are anticipated. Movers will not have a common starting point and this may prove a stumbling block when attempting to interpret sequences. Migration theory usually assumes a rural starting point, which applies to the majority of sample cases used in this analysis. At a later stage of our research, we may wish to refine our conclusions by distinguishing between the urban and peri-urban born on the one hand and the rural born on the other. Secondly, male and female patterns may differ slightly in some instances. General pattern deviations will be inferred from the aggregate data at this stage of the analysis.

In the analysis of permutations of mobility which follows, the sequences of shifts undertaken by each respondent will be classified according to three aspects: destinations to which moved, residential status upon moving, and the reasons for the move. By comparing the permutations for each of these aspects of residential history, we hope to determine three basic patterns, which characterise the migration behaviour of our respondents. Each pattern will emphasise one facet of the experiential chain, and the three patterns will of necessity be closely related because they are derived from a single set of data.

In order to gain a better overview, we have compressed the permutations occurring in any one experiential chain, that is, consecutive steps which are identical are not displayed.

4.2.1 Destinations to which moved.

In Table 4.5 the permutations pertaining to destination to which moved are given, starting with the first move after birth and ending with the move to the present residence in Malukazi. Moves within destination types are compressed, so that patterns emerge more clearly.

Five distinct types of patterns for destination permutations were observed: direct migration, overspill movements, step migration, circulatory migration and vacillation.

Direct migration to a spontaneous settlement, in most cases to Malukazi, accounted for roughly one-third of cases. A check for the starting point of the sequence assured us that all movers in this group originated in the rural areas.

The 'overspill' group moving from the city to the urban fringe accounted for half of the sequences of moves analysed. The majority in this group had only lived in an African township (inclusive hostels) and the remainder had only had experience of living on work premises or both.

Table 4.5.

Residential mobility permutations: destinations.

permutation type	basic patterns	Sample percentage*
direct migration	s	33,8
overspill	t - s	56,0
	w - s	
	w - t - s	
step migration	r - s	11,6
	m - s	
circulatory migration	s - r - s	4,2
	m - r - s	
vacillation	s - t - s	4,6

N = 216

* percentages total over 100% due to multiple coding.

Legend:

s spontaneous settlement (inclusive Malukazi)
w work premises, labour compound
t African township (inclusive hostel)
r rural area
m other urban centres, mines.

Step migration involved stopping at another destination before moving to the Durban metropolitan area. The basic patterns listed on Table 4.5 do not strictly conform to the classic notion of step migration which usually denotes a stopover at a minor centre - literally en route to the major centre. In most step-migration cases in our study, in-migrants moved to a rural destination before coming to Malukazi. Another variation of step migration involved working at a rival centre, frequently on the mines, before setting out on the trip to Durban. In this case, a rural return was inserted between the two trips, so that this pattern would also be recorded under circulatory migration.

Circular migration patterns referred to one or more lengthy sojourns in the rural areas interspersed between periods of urban residence. Only some few cases fell under this heading. It is likely that respondents failed to indicate rural returns when reciting their residential history, but as we shall see later this is most likely a genuine reflection of the weak rural ties of Malukazi settlers.

According to the vacillation pattern, which is represented by some few cases in the sample, Malukazi settlers penetrated into the formal townships only to retrace their steps and return to the peri-urban fringe at a later date.

To sum up our findings on the permutations concerning destinations which have been couched in migration terms, the most dominant patterns were those of the overspill movement and direct migration to the fringe areas. This result corroborates our findings in the last chapter and supports the major distinction between 'rural-urban in-migrants' and the 'overspill' introduced earlier.

4.2.2 Residential status at places lived.

What kind of residential status have mobile respondents enjoyed on the way to Malukazi? In the course of a normal life cycle, people are expected to shift several times in order to achieve constant residential equilibrium, that is to adjust their dwelling situation to their changing housing needs. Under similar life circumstances, similar residential adjustments will have to be made. This is the basic tenet of the life cycle hypothesis of residential mobility. Generally speaking, we shall expect people to exchange their dependent status as tenants for greater security of tenure and homeownership in later phases of their lives. By way of a spin off, the increasing space requirements needed later in life are automatically met when this type of pattern is adhered to.

Pattern variations toward the end of the life cycle are more common. For example, in a society where only the elementary family usually shares a common roof, it has been observed that the mobility

pattern dictated by the family cycle turns full circle when space requirements rapidly decrease after adult children have left home. This may call for a final isolated shift of the parents late in life, especially if they are renters. By contrast, ageing homeowners once established, tend to adjust their housing needs without shifting. The reduced need for dwelling space is met by taking in lodgers, renting out a part of the house, or reorganising the functions of the rooms in the house and so forth.

In a society, in which enlarged and multiple families are the norm, this phase of contraction of the household size need not occur as a distinct phase in the family cycle. For example, observations made at the Dube farm, an informal settlement outside Durban, proved that the contraction phase of the family life cycle tended to be bypassed entirely when a rapid succession of generations occurred. A secondary phase of expansion followed immediately after the primary phase of expansion. In this secondary phase, grandchildren and sub-families expanded the multiple family household and in some cases called for even further extensions to the household dwelling! Given the flexible housing solutions in the informal settlement at the Dube farm, it was found that two generation households could easily meet their housing needs under one roof and only the three generation households appeared to be predestined to split (Møller 1978b:75).

Mobility patterns pertaining to the specific life circumstances of stabilizing labour migrants have been developed for South America and Africa.

- Turner (1969) outlines a two-step residential mobility pattern for migrants entering South Amercian cities. In this pattern 'tenant' status in slum tenements of the inner city is succeeded by non-authorised 'homeowner' status in the barriadas on the urban periphery.

- Taking only formal and bona fide legal housing steps into account, the typical gravitation of male migrants in Salisbury, Zimbabwe was traced. The pattern ran first through residence on the employer's premises - to single hostel accommodation - to legal lodgings (single or

family) - to accommodation in a rented family unit - and finally to a homeownership family unit. The sequence in this pattern was partly or fully adhered to by 89 and 95 percent of the samples of renters and homeowners respectively observed in Salisbury in 1975, whereby omission of steps was permissible provided the order of the steps was observed (Møller 1978a: Chapter 9).

In the present study, we had expected the general pattern of residential mobility to be more complex than the examples cited above, because shifts through informal and formal housing situations were recorded. We were therefore surprised to find that a very clear and simple pattern for Malukazi shifters emerged. Moreover, the pattern closely resembled observations of residential mobility made elsewhere.

Using change in residential status as the progression criterion, a distinction between six types of residential status designations was made: residence with parents, residence with other relatives or friends, residence in hostels or on employers' premises, residence in lodgings, and finally residence in a home of one's own. The model pattern which emerged was:

Hostel ⟶ Lodgings ⟶ Own home

signifying the graduation from hostel accommodation to lodgings and finally to a home of one's own.

Inspection of Table 4.6 shows that 95 percent of mobility cases in our sample followed the prescribed pattern. Equally large groups phased into the model sequence at the 'hostel' phase and the 'lodger' phase respectively. Judging from the overall distribution of residential status positions held by households in our sample in the past, women were more likely to achieve ownership status immediately and less likely to start following the model sequence at the hostel phase. This means that women frequently joined their spouses in established Malukazi homes and did not necessarily start their urban careers as live-in domestics, the female equivalent to men commencing their working life as 'hostel' migrants.

Table 4.6.

Residential mobility permutations : residential status.

Basic pattern : H - L - O N = 216 (borners excluded)

A. Cases of pattern adherence:

Percentage of sample progressing through basic patterns by stages

pattern:	one-stage progression	two-stage progression	three-stage progression
L	15,7 (6,0)		
H - L		8,8 (0,9)	
O	20,8 (6,9)		
H - O		8,3 (1,4)	
L - O		20,8 (5,1)	
H - L - O			19,9 (3,2)
	36,6	38,0	19,9

* Percentages of cases in which extra steps are added to the basic pattern are given in brackets.

B. Cases in which extra steps are added to the basic pattern:

N = 216

	before first stage	between later stages	total
parents' home	6,9%	5,1%	12,0%
friends'/relatives' home	11,1%	7,4%	18,5%

C. Regression cases: N = 216

pattern	%
O - L - O	3,7%
O - L	1,4%

legend:

H hostel dweller (inclusive other employer-tied accommodation)

L lodger

O 'homeowner'

About one-quarter of the sample reached the final stage in our model sequence, the 'homeowner' stage. Multiple stage progression was the norm, and only one-third of the mobile sample had achieved their present residential status in one stage.

In 20 percent of cases, mobiles had dwelt in their parents' homes, and/or had stayed with friends or other relatives at some stage of progression. These extra steps were frequently inserted between stages of the basic pattern. It is very likely that this type of accommodation was used in transitional periods between major moves. It is also worth noting that the homes of parents, friends and relatives often acted as launching pads for the residential trajectory, underlining the importance of reliance on urban contacts at the beginning of an urban career, to which reference has been made earlier.

Approximately 70 percent of the cases analysed enjoyed homeowner status at the time of the survey. It was expected that these homeowners will most likely have achieved full residential equilibrium. By contrast it was assumed that those respondents who had only reached the 'lodger' stage at the time of the survey would have to progress further to reach equilibrium at a later date. We shall be looking into aspirations for future residential mobility below.

Pattern deviance occurred only in approximately 5 percent of cases, and was accounted for by 'regression' to earlier stages of the prescribed sequence. Significantly, only one-stage regression to lodger status occurred. Moreover, it is likely that this regression was only a temporary phenomenon. 'Spurious' regression occurred when owner-builders briefly took up lodgings in Malukazi whilst building their own homes in the settlement. Complete pattern deviance occurred in the isolated case of a mobile oscillating between an urban friend's home and the rural home before settling down as a homeowner in Malukazi.[1)]

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1) Most probably this case corresponded to the 'vacillation' cases identified when observing the progression through 'destination' types.

Remarkable is the complete turn away from hostel and similar accommodation at later stages in the life cycle. Only one mobile householder in the sample returned to hostel accommodation after an intermittent period at a friend's home, and this case was of course not recorded as such in the notation adopted in Table 4.6. Of course the short-lived utility of single hostel accommodation in the life cycle of urban residents is to be expected. Theoretically, residential equilibrium in hostels can virtually only be achieved by single men at the beginning of their urban career. Later on in the life cycle residential equilibrium is only 'artificially' maintained by married hostel dwellers resorting to the migrant labour practice of leaving wife and children behind in the rural areas. Obviously, the family men in Malukazi were not prepared to live in such circumstances.

4.2.3 Motivations for shifting.

According to the phase hypothesis model of migration, different types of motivations for moving will attain valence at certain peak periods of a person's life. For example, we shall assume that the typical migrant starts his working career in his late teens or early twenties. In the early phases of the migrant career, the initial shift will most probably be dictated by the need for access to employment opportunities. The residential area will need to be in close proximity to the place of work, failing this, access to cheap transportation will be required, if the migrant is to benefit from his low starting wages. At a later stage of his career, family factors, such as marriage and the starting of a family of one's own, will call for a larger home to meet the growing family's needs. Security of tenure for the family home gains valence at a time when the urban worker has gained a foothold in town and has achieved the commensurate wealth which enables him to invest in some form of residential commitment. Similarly, preoccupation with comforts and amenities in the home would presuppose that basic housing requirements have been achieved in the past. Generally speaking, at such times during the life cycle when actual housing conditions do not comply with changing housing values, it is predicted that residential shifts will be undertaken in order

to reconcile the housing situation with dominant housing values.

These are however very broad outlines of changing residential values which would typically be expected to occur during the course of an urban worker's life. Differential starting points of the urban career and the varying circumstances for the men and women in our sample will call for certain modifications in the pattern produced by our data. But by and large, we expected the pattern to progress from the 'location' over 'family' to 'comfort' and 'tenure' emphases in housing values.

What we have called 'landlord' and 'authority' factors are considered to be external determinants which have no direct connection with the life cycle pattern. However, indirect relationships are likely to hold. For example lodger status, which is likely to occur at an intermediate life cycle phase, exposes people to landlord pressures to shift. In the case of women, 'authority' factors involving the eviction of widows upon the death of their husbands, might become pertinent at later stages of the life cycle. It might also be anticipated that such external pressures might mark a decisive incision in the typical mobility pattern guided by life cycle pressures. If, for instance, residential status loss is experienced, this may well necessitate a review of one's housing values.

The large number of idiosyncratic motivation sequences - in all 61 permutations in compressed data form were counted - makes the rendering of a report in tabular form very difficult. For this reason, we resorted to a series of tests, which were applied to the mobility data, to check if patterns confirmed our expectations regarding a model sequence. The results of these tests are discussed in the footnote

below.[1)]

After examining our data we felt confident that our observations by and large supported the notion of a life cycle determined value shift in matters concerning housing. Bringing motivational shifts into model sequence in line with our theoretical considerations and empirical observations, we might approximate the typical graduation of motivational determinants for shifting residence during the lifetime of an urban worker as follows:

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1) The results of these tests are as follows: We shall start with the 'location' factor, which overlaps with the 'job' factor and is an extremely strong shift motivator. 'Location'-motivated shifts occurred in over two-thirds of all 61 permutations, and in 73 percent of the cases the 'location'-motivated shift figured as the first factor. In fact, the compression of shifts motivated by identical factors in the permutations hid the fact that multiple shifts for 'location' reasons frequently initiated the mobility sequence. The 'location' shift factor preceded the 'family' factor in 85 percent of the 78 cases in which both factors occurred in the permutation. The 'location' factor preceded the 'tenure' factor in 90 percent of the 55 cases in which both factors occurred in the permutation. The second strongest motivator, the 'family' factor, occurred in 57 percent of permutations. It preceded the 'comfort' factor and the 'tenure' factor in 91 percent of the 58 cases in which the 'family' and either the 'comfort' or the 'tenure' factor or both occurred in the permutation.

Either the 'tenure' or the 'comfort' factor were named in 90 percent of the 109 cases in which one or the other of these factors occurred in multi-stage permutations. In only 14 percent of cases, the 'comfort' and/or the 'tenure' factor deviated from their prescribed place in the sequence. The 'landlord' factor appeared in 36 cases and was usually effective after mid-sequence or toward the end of the sequence. In the 25 cases of three or more stage permutations in which the 'landlord' factor occurred, this factor occupied an intermediate stage in 17, the ultimate stage in 8 cases.

The 'authority' factor appeared in 31 cases and was equally effective in the earlier and intermediate stages of the permutation. In 22 cases of three and more stage sequences which included the 'authority' factor, this factor occupied an intermediate stage in 19, the first stage in 3 instances. In 7 cases of one or two stage permutations including the 'authority' factor, mobility was initiated by this factor.

Approximate order of factors motivating residential mobility in the course of a working lifetime.

primary factors:	secondary external factors:
L ocation	A uthority
F amily	L andlord
C omfort	
O wnership	

The approximate period in the life cycle when external factors are likely to become crucial for the decision to move can only be empirically determined according to contextual circumstances. However, if we wish to bring all six major motivating factors onto a single plane of prediction in line with the model sequences proposed for 'destinational' and 'residential status' aspects of moving, the 'motivational' sequence would read as follows:

Approximate order of primary and secondary determinants affecting residential mobility behaviour in the course of a working lifetime.

L ocation
F amily
A uthority
L andlord
C omfort
O wnership

Stages in the sequence above may be omitted, but the order of the stages must be observed if the postulated pattern holds.

Some comments on the external factors might be apposite at this point. Our observations lead us to believe that pressure from the 'authorities' may have affected household heads' movements during the phase of life when 'location' and 'family' factors usually determine shifts. It is also very likely that 'landlord' factors may have precipitated concern for consolidating one's housing status. Especially in the case of multi-stage movers, the landlord factor may have acted as a 'last straw' factor which effectively increased the decision-maker's interest in homeownership, in order to free him or her once

and for all from compliance with a landlord's bids. However, there is little evidence in our data to support the notion that relocation (which will be subsumed under the 'authority' factor) necessarily instigated a regression in motivational terms, in the sense that relocated decision-makers may have to be forced to reassess their housing needs in relation to their overall urban status which had been undermined. 'Motivational regression' would call for placing greater priority on securing a new job within easy access to transport; in terms of our progression model the decision-makers would come full circle. However, 'motivational regression' presupposes that relocation is severely uprooting. Our Malukazi findings may have been exceptional, because the choice siting of the spontaneous settlement close to the former place of residence may have obviated relocated persons having to start afresh, unlike so many other involuntary movers.

Lastly, it should be noted that the 'motivational' sequence, unlike the 'destination' and 'residential status' sequences, has illustrative rather than predictive value. It should be stressed once again, that the model 'motivational' sequence is a mere corollary of the two other sequences in the sense that all three sequences are based on the notion of a life cycle model of mobility adjusted to the local situation. The three model sequences are certainly interrelated on the empirical level because they are derived from the same data set. The purpose of identifying three sequences is to illuminate migration behaviour from three slightly shifting angles. Whichever angle proves most useful for the explanatory or heuristic task at hand, may be adopted as the most appropriate research instrument.

4.3 Summary.

In this chapter two exercises in analysing residential mobility data were undertaken. The residential shifts made by the sample household heads who had moved to Malukazi after birth were analysed from a quantitative as well as from a qualitative perspective. It was discovered that the majority of the respondents for whom data was analysed had undertaken two or three residential shifts in the

course of a lifetime. Using shifts as the basis of analysis, township destinations including hostel accommodation accounted for approximately one-third of the total destinations. In the majority of places where household heads lived, household heads had been lodgers. Dominant reasons for shifting referred to career or location reasons, family reasons, and security of tenure reasons. Analysing the sequences of shifts which made up the past and present residential experience of the respondents, three basic patterns of movements were detected which corresponded to the categories of settlers used in the classificatory system introduced in the preceding chapter. The most dominant patterns described the flows of the urban overspill and the direct migration streams. The basic shift pattern described in terms of residential status designations experienced by the mobile persons in past or present dwelling circumstances corresponded to a sequence order: hostel dweller - lodger - homeowner. In terms of sequences of housing aspirations which precipitated the moves which made up the chains of residential shifts analysed, it was evident that mobile persons first exhibited greater preoccupation with convenience factors - such as access to employment - and to transport in their earlier moves, and in later moves were more interested in intrinsic housing values such as comfort, living independently, or living in a home they considered their own. The most significant finding emerging from the analysis was that the shift to Malukazi may have arisen in response to higher aspirations in housing including the need for independent living, for privacy, for family living and for security of tenure. One might conclude that in the case of the Malukazi settlers these needs could not be satisfied in other dwelling circumstances in the urban areas. Employing the postulated basic sequence 'hostel accomodation - lodgings - a home of one's own' - as a standard of reference, it was also observed that very few 'regressions' occurred. This finding suggests that once household heads had experienced living in a home they could call their own, they might be reluctant to return to more dependent living circumstances in lodgers' quarters, in single men's accommodation on employers' premises or in hostels catering for migrant labourers. This supposition will be examined more thoroughly when discussing aspirations for future residential mobility in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5.

THE MOVE TO MALUKAZI AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE MOVES.

Having looked into the experiential chain of the Malukazi settlers concerning destinations, residential status designations and motivations for moving in the past, we shall now focus on the more recent move to Malukazi, the motivations for moving there, and the residential status position achieved since arrival.

5.1 Reasons for moving to Malukazi.

In comparison to the brief inquiry into single events in the residential history of the respondents, a more extensive study of the motivations for the shift to Malukazi was made. Respondents were encouraged to describe the circumstances of the move in detail and to name as many motivating factors as they liked. The reasons for moving to Malukazi fell into three broadly defined categories: 'location and job', 'housing' and 'family' factors. Economic factors played an important role when deciding to move, but very often such factors were very closely linked to the 'location' and 'housing' aspects of mobility, so that it was felt that they could meaningfully be ordered under these headings.

Let us look at the reasons elicited in detail. In the reason analysis set out in Table 5.1, items have been related to the respondent base as well as to the pool of responses, and a distinction between 'push' and 'pull' forces has been made.

The single most important reason for moving to Malukazi given by one-fifth of the respondents was that the settlement was conveniently located near the employment centre or near town. Just under 10 percent of respondents said they had suffered overcrowding in their previous residence before moving to Malukazi. It is perhaps significant that all but two persons in this group were referring to formal township residences. A further 8 percent of the respondents referred to the shortage of township accommodation. If all mentions of family cohesion are pulled together, we can also say that roughly one-fourth of the respondents came to Malukazi in order to be able to enjoy living as a family or to live with persons of their choice.

Table 5.1.

Reasons for coming to Malukazi.

	%*	%*	
Location/job factors			25
Pull factors:		23	
Proximity to place of work	20,5		
Cheap transport	3,2		
Seeking work	4,0		
Found work	1,1		
Informal sector opportunities	1,8		
Proximity to facilities	2,5		
Push factors:		2	
Job shift	2,5		
Housing factors			39
Pull factors:		12	
Own home/plot	5,8		
Cheap rental	5,8		
Easy access to accommodation	3,6		
Desire to gain access to Umlazi	,7		
Push factors:		27	
Overcrowding in previous (township) accommodation	9,0		
Shortage of township accommodation	8,3		
Nowhere else to go	4,0		
Given notice at previous residence	4,0		
Poor relationship with landlord	3,2		
Pass laws, no urban qualifications	2,9		
Relocation	2,9		
Eviction	2,2		
Illegal residence	1,8		
Family and social factors			20
Pull factors:		18	
Live with family, friends	25,5		
Inherited Malukazi home	,4		

Continued/

Table 5.1 Continued

	%*	%*	
Push factors:			
Family reasons	2,5	2	
Borners (non-response)	22,3	16	16
		100	100
	N = 278 respondents	N = 390 responses	

* multiple responses

This first overview corresponds closely to the results obtained from the 'push-pull' analysis of reasons. The location of the Malukazi settlement relative to employment centres and the opportunity to live with whom one pleased, were particularly attractive 'pull' forces. Housing prospects in Malukazi appeared to be less attractive, here it was mainly 'push' factors which appeared to have imposed the Malukazi option onto people searching for a home.

Looking at the specific types of reasons given under each of the three broad categories: 'job/location', 'housing' and 'family' factors, we found that proximity to the place of work was Malukazi's greatest asset. Some persons also emphasised the economic advantage of living on a major transport route. For some few, Malukazi was also a place to stay while hunting for work in the nearby employment centres or in the informal sector. Not only workseekers, but also those persons who had found work but no place in which to live, were attracted to Malukazi. For those coming from the rural areas, Malukazi was the closest they could get to urban facilities such as hospitals and clinics.

Regarding housing, Malukazi's main attraction was its offer of 'instant' housing on easy terms. Settlers could obtain a living space to themselves, or build their own home in a relatively short period of time. Some respondents who were tenants-at-will emphasised the modest rentals. It is interesting to note that two sample households came to Malukazi in

the hope of gaining access to the adjacent formal housing scheme, a motif which was also encountered in an earlier study of the peri-urban fringe converging on Ntuzuma township (Møller 1978b).

Housing factors 'pushing' people into Malukazi covered the whole range of issues affecting the 'urban overspill'. The shortage of formal housing had resulted in overcrowding and increasingly tense social relationships in township homes, which had become intolerable for some respondents. For others who had in the past relied upon private and local authority landlords for accommodation, the period of lease had expired. They had either been given notice to leave, or had been evicted. The laws regulating access to formal accommodation had proved a stumbling block for others. Some few persons in the sample had been left homeless after the bulldozer had demolished the place where they had lived. A substantial proportion of the respondents figuring under the 'housing' heading, simply said they had 'nowhere else to go' without going into specific details.

As regards the social factors influencing mobility flows converging on Malukazi, fringe settlements offered accommodation to 'families of choice'. For instance, some few respondents in the sample had been able to escape social pressures and family strife by moving to Malukazi. As in the earlier Inanda study conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, which found that the fringe settlement promoted family cohesion, it was likewise found that Malukazi <u>united</u> rather than split families, thus dispelling one of the popular myths which associates fringe settlements with 'pools of vice'. The pattern detected in Table 5.2 is clearly one of the rural-based family being brought in to Malukazi to join the town-based section of the family - usually represented by the male head of household who was working in town. Likewise a visiting wife from the rural home could easily be accommodated in Malukazi for the duration of her stay. As regards the 'city overspill', the number of respondents in the sample who wished to find joint accommodation with their wives in Malukazi was twice as high as the number who wished to live with their girl friends from town. This pattern of family cohesion was further confirmed by the fact that of the 46 respondents who indicated the desire to live with their spouse cum partner in Malukazi as their first reason, only six persons - or 13 percent - were party to an irregular

union.

Table 5.2.

Breakdown of 'family reasons' for coming to Malukazi.

	%*
Women:	
Join spouse	16,9
Join other member of family	7,0
Men:	
Live with family from rural area	26,8
Live with wife from rural area	5,6
Live with visiting wife from rural area	11,3
Live with wife from town	21,1
Live with girl friend from town	11,3
	100,0

N = 71 responses

* multiple responses possible

Having gained an overview of the specific reasons bringing people to Malukazi, we might stop and ask if the results of the reason analysis support the life-cycle proposition of mobility outlined earlier. The present reason analysis is of course not entirely independent of the data used to verify the life-cycle proposition in the preceding chapter. The shift to Malukazi figured as one of the last shifts in the experiential chain. Nevertheless, the in-depth analysis of the shift to Malukazi shows up the various nuances in motivation more clearly. When regrouping the detail items under the three broad headings of 'location', 'family' and 'housing', we again can demonstrate that settler groups who may be identified by their degree of advancement along the model experiential chain, have different reasons for coming to Malukazi. Thus, settlers with only rural living experience, shifted to Malukazi predominantly for 'location' reasons, whilst those who had gained a foothold in the city came to Malukazi chiefly for 'housing' reasons: in order to gain a home of their own, or more living space. External housing 'push' factors exercised by private landlords and the authorities fulfilling their landlord

functions, were included under the 'housing' factor in this analysis.

We might go on to express the correspondence to the life-cycle pattern from a somewhat different angle: namely from the point of view of timing. The early arrivals in Malukazi, who were by definition[1] in the early stage of their life-cycle, migrated directly to town for job or location reasons. On the other hand, those who were further advanced in their life-cycle, and had already found their bearings in town, came to Malukazi chiefly for housing reasons. We have referred to this group as the 'urban overspill'.

Consonant with the life-cycle pattern outlined for developing urban situations, we would expect the 'family'-motivated persons coming to Malukazi to fall somewhere between the 'location' and 'housing' poles of the motivation dimension and to be approximately midway in their life-cycle. Does the data for the Malukazi shift also meet our expectations in this respect?

In order to be in a position to answer this question we must first distinguish between the moves made by the male and female household heads in our sample. In major mobility studies, it has been observed that women tend to shift more often for family reasons and this is particularly true for the African women observed in this and earlier mobility studies. The dependent role of African women shows up very clearly in migration and residential mobility behaviour patterns. Whereas it has been convenient to consider the migratory unit in terms of family mobility in other societies, the migrant labour system in Africa has given the decisive role in migration to the male head of the family. The movements of women in migrant families are best considered in conjunction with the previous moves undertaken by the household head. Moreover, in South Africa Group Areas legislation and labour laws severely restrict the movements of women seeking employment in town. Therefore, in a purely theoretical sense, shifts undertaken by women may be viewed as the by-product of the male household head's decision-making situation. For example, in the Inanda

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1) Inferring from the fact that there is little evidence of step migration in the mobility behaviour of the sample respondents (cf. Chapter 3).

study of residential mobility, in which the residential mobility patterns of all household members were analysed, the moves undertaken by women and children usually parallelled the moves previously made by the male head of household. Such parallel moves were referred to as 'dependent' moves which were undertaken by 'followers' rather than by persons initiating residential mobility on their own. Analogously, it was felt that the 'family'-motivated shifts to Malukazi made by the female heads of household in our sample were best interpreted as instances of 'chain migration'. The fact that 'family'-motivated shifters usually obtained their information on where to move through the kinship network supported this interpretation.

Even the moves undertaken in order to join the husband before his death or in some instances for the very reason of his death, could be cited as examples of chain migration.[1)]

As for the men in our sample, the strongest motivation to shift to Malukazi for 'family' reasons emanated from the hostel dwellers. This supports the life-cycle theory precisely. Hostel dwellers would have reached the phase in life where prospects of moving were imminent and the utility function of the centrally-located single dwelling quarters could easily be traded off for a more suitable family home on the urban periphery.

The conclusions drawn from our survey analysis of the shift to Malukazi are charted in Figure 5-1. It will be noted that the postulated sequential order of motivating factors bringing settlers to Malukazi is very similar to the one postulated for individual rural migrants wishing to settle permanently in town. This is purely coincidental. On the other hand, Turner's typology of rural-urban settlers is included in the chart with every intention of showing up a blatant anomaly in the housing situation for some Malukazi residents. It is possible that a large proportion of the 'city overspill' seeking security of tenure and a permanent home in Malukazi received only 'locational' rewards - such as proximity to the

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1) See the case of a woman 'inheriting' the Malukazi home from her husband upon his death listed in Table 5.1.

workplace, and access to transport - in return for their efforts in moving.

Figure 5-1.

Dominant motivating factors for in-migration to Malukazi by phase of the settlement's development.

	Phase in the development of Malukazi		
	early: (1900-1950s)	intermediate: (1960s)	late: (1970s)
predominant in-migration type:	rural - urban migrants: male initiators	female chain migrants	urban overspill
dominant shift motivator:	location needs	family needs	housing needs
classification according to Turner's (1968) typology:	b r i d g e h e a d e r s		consolidators

This meant that for many would-be consolidators, the shift to Malukazi turned out to be an extension of the 'bridgeheader' phase of their urban career, rather than progression to the 'consolidation' phase. The disappointment which this type of housing situation caused for this group is understandable.

On second thought, one might argue that it is perhaps presumptuous to enter Turner's 'consolidator' type in Figure 5-1 on a par with the 'urban overspill'. The proportion of location-motivated shifts to Malukazi by far outweigh the proportion of housing-motivated ones in this group. However, two factors may mask the consolidation efforts of the overspill group in a tight housing market. Firstly, our question as to why people came to Malukazi, refers to an accomplished feat, and therefore replies were less often purely a reflection of motivation than a justification for the move which had already been undertaken. It is strongly suspected that many would-be consolidators had been forced to attune their

'housing' aspirations to 'locational' advantages in the case of the Malukazi move. Even so, we may still wish to see what kind of 'consolidation' can actually be achieved in Malukazi.

5.2 Prospects for consolidation and internal residential turnover.

Judging from survey findings the prospects for consolidation in terms of homeownership were bright to say the least in Malukazi. An examination of residential status achieved in Malukazi by the sample respondents in 1977 revealed that homeownership was the norm (cf. Table 5.3).

Table 5.3.

Residential status designations in Malukazi.

	%
Sub-tenants	14,4
Tenants	10,1
'Owners'	6,1
Self-builders	47,4
Established borners	13,7
Borner self-builders	8,3
	100,0

N = 278

Self-builder homeowners accounted for 48 percent of the sample as a whole and for 60 percent of the in-migrant group. Thus, only one-quarter of the respondents were living as tenants or sub-tenants in their Malukazi homes whilst three-quarters were living in homes of their own.

Did shifting within the Malukazi settlement play an instrumental role in boosting residential status? The answer is yes, 50 percent of the sample had shifted at some time during their stay in Malukazi. In most cases people had moved to a place of their own, most often to a house built by themselves, less often to a unit of the existing housing stock in Malukazi.

The people born in Malukazi constituted a special category in the sample. Even in this stable group, 50 percent had experienced internal residential mobility. The majority had left the parental home to establish a home of their own, some few had taken lodgings, possibly to tide them over until they had found a place of their own. It is perhaps pertinent at this point to emphasise that not only in-migrants, but also those born in the settlement had made considerable contributions to the structural development of Malukazi by building for themselves.

The majority of the in-migrant self-builders first secured a foothold in Malukazi before proceeding to build their own homes. Sixty percent of the self-builders graduated from tenant status to their present status. In most cases this was a one-step shift from lodgings to the self-built home. A small proportion of this group stayed with friends and relatives whilst building. The remainder of the self-builder group erected their Malukazi home whilst living elsewhere; it is interesting to note that two of three persons in this group were resident in one of Greater Durban's formal townships at the time of building.

Even among the group of respondents occupying lower residential status positions in Malukazi, 20 to 40 percent had graduated all or at least part of the way on the sub-tenant - tenant - homeowner continuum.

Residential mobility in Malukazi can be seen as a product of the date of arrival in the settlement and the time elapsed since then. As shown in Table 5.4, the date of arrival in Malukazi was significant for the instant residential status conferred upon settlers. Thus, arrivals in the earlier phase of Malukazi's development were immediately accorded a higher residential status than was usual at the time of the study. At that time, they had very easy access to a plot, which they could purchase, alternatively, they could build a home of their own on a rented site. By contrast, the latest arrivals on the scene at the time of the study, the 'city overspill' - were predominantly lodgers of some description. The highest proportion of lodgers as against 'owners' was found among those who had moved from their parents' or relatives' homes in the townships.

Seen from a more optimistic point of view, it was inferred from the close relationship observed between the date of arrival and residential

status (as shown on Table 5.4), that the settlers' residential position could only improve in time.

Table 5.4.

Residential status by date of arrival.

Present residential status	Arrival in settlement during phase of Malukazi's development: late phase	intermediate	early phase		N
Sub-tenant	65%	30%	5%	= 100%	40
Tenant	61%	39%	-	= 100%	28
'Owner'	24%	47%	29%	= 100%	17
Self-builder	31%	48%	21%	= 100%	132
					217

borners included

This argument was supported by the finding that significantly higher proportions of those born in Malukazi and of homeowners as against lodgers had undertaken shifts in Malukazi in the past to achieve residential equilibrium. This meant that apart from in-migration, the constant residential turnover taking place in Malukazi had contributed to the growth of the settlement from within. Thus, one might expect that lodgers would find an opportunity to revise their residential status in time. It was estimated that approximately 10 to 20 percent of the stable lodger group observed in Malukazi in 1977, would make good their shift deficit some time after that date. It was also thought likely that lodgers in the sample who had been born in Malukazi would achieve homeownership status later in life.

5.3 Alternatives to living in Malukazi perceived in the past.

It was mentioned earlier that all prospective movers faced a number of considerations and constraints, which determined whether a shift could take place at all. How little choice did the settlers have when deciding to move to Malukazi? We were again asking our respondents to reenact a decision-making experience from the past, and an evaluation

of their current situation might creep into their replies.

Where else could Malukazi in-migrants have gone to live? The responses to this open-ended question were very heterogeneous, reference was made to residential locations and specific housing situations (cf. Table 5.5).

Table 5.5.

Alternatives to living in Malukazi in the past.
"Where else could you have gone to live?"

		%
Reference to township alternatives		35,2
Unqualified	13,0	
Hostel	8,6	
Lodger	5,4	
Township accommodation inaccessible	4,3	
Reside with parents, relatives	1,4	
Own house	,7	
Other	1,8	
Reference to non-township alternatives		17,4
Reside in nearby settlement	10,2	
Return to remitting area	7,2	
No alternative, don't know of alternatives		29,5
Not applicable (borner)		16,5
No information		1,4
		100,0

N = 278

Regarding the locational dimension, the majority of the respondents said they could alternatively have gone to live in a formal township, usually as lodgers or hostel occupants. The remainder could have chosen to live in nearby settlements or to return to the country.

Quite striking was the relatively large proportion of the sample

who said they had no other alternative than to come to Malukazi. The response given by this group accounted for the largest single reply to the question. If references to the inaccessibility of the township alternative are included in this response group, 'no alternative' accounted for one-third of the sample distribution.

Excluding those persons born in Malukazi, who were apt to say that this question did not apply to them, we found that approximately 40 percent of the in-migrants to Malukazi believed that they had had no choice of residence at the time of moving to Malukazi.

When analysing the factors determining which alternatives were open to in-migrants at the time of their coming to Malukazi, we found that the experiential chain strongly influenced later decision-making situations. Former career and residential choices effectively limited the range of residential options from which respondents could choose. For instance, significantly larger proportions of those respondents who had chosen to work in the informal sector stated that they had had no alternative but to come to Malukazi. By contrast, larger proportions of the formally employed indicated that the 'township' alternative had been open to them.

By and large people gave their previous residence as the alternative place in which they could have lived instead of in Malukazi. In other words, they need not have moved to Malukazi in the first place. This was most evident in the case of the lodgers and the former hostel dwellers in the 'overspill' group. There were however notable exceptions: in the 'overspill' group we found that many of those who had formerly been living with parents and relatives and in the white suburbs had perceived no alternative but to live in Malukazi. Persons who had formerly lived on the urban fringe were also more likely to have had a very limited choice.

In some cases, references were made to specific alternatives and a list of these was compiled. Umlazi township was the single most frequently mentioned place name indicated. Glebelands hostel, which is situated adjacent to Umlazi township, was named by one-fifth of the respondents referring to the hostel alternative. Kwa Mashu township was mentioned in some few cases. The Inanda fringe area figured as a prominent

alternative in the category of informal housing. Once again, it was evident that references made to place names were obviously closely linked to the experiential chain and most likely referred to the immediate past residential experience.

Having inquired into the housing alternatives open to respondents in the past, the question was repeated for the present situation, focussing on the township alternative. Respondents were asked specifically why they were not living in a township house at the time of the interview.

By and large three broad groups of reasons for not living in a township house emerged. Respondents alternatively stated that they were in fact on the waiting list for township housing, or that they did not qualify for township housing, or that township life was not attractive. A further group indicated that the issue of a township house was irrelevant to them.

Glancing at Table 5.6 for details, we find that just under one-quarter of the respondents claimed to have their names on the waiting list for formal housing and this included a small percentage who intended to put their names down. The majority of the people in this category belonged to the overspill group. It is perhaps telling, that a classification system of Malukazi settlers drawn up independently of our own, included a category labelled 'waiting list people'.

A larger group, over one-third of the sample, pointed out that they did not qualify for a township house. Former hostel dwellers, former lodgers in townships and single persons figured prominently in this group.

Direct and vicarious experience had rendered one-quarter of the respondents despondent about township living. Residing as a lodger in someone else's home was considered to be particularly unsatisfactory.

Malukazi homeowners found the rentals for township houses exorbitant when compared with their rent-free accommodation in Malukazi. They reasoned that the size of the township houses was too uniform and usually too small for the average size family, let alone for large households containing enlarged or multiple families.

Table 5.6.

Reasons for not living in a township house.

"Why are you not living in a township house?"

	%	%
Waiting list applications		23,7
Name is on waiting list	21,2	
Intends to apply for township house	2,5	
Qualification problems		38,2
Not qualified for township house	30,6	
Not married (hence cannot qualify)	6,5	
Name is not on waiting list (no reason given)	1,1	
Negative attitudes and past experience		25,2
Disillusioned with housing situation (shortage of units, long waiting list)	6,5	
Living with parents/as a lodger unsatisfactory	1,4	
Could not find lodgings in township house	1,1	
Rentals of township house prohibitive	11,5	
Size of township house unsuitable	2,5	
Dislikes townships/township housing	2,2	
Irrelevance of issue		11,8
No intention of moving	9,7	
Remote idea, never thought of it	1,4	
Umlazi township non-existent when decided to come to Malukazi	,7	
No information	1,1	1,1
	100,0	100,0

N = 278

It was evident that a township house was simply not a relevant prospect for those born at Malukazi and also for some of the more established residents living in the settlement. In many cases these persons lacked the necessary urban qualifications. Living in a township might even have presented serious drawbacks for them. It might be considered uneconomical because they were living rent-free on the fringe, and they would lose their

income from tenants. Alternatively the size of their present home was considered ideal whilst township houses would not satisfy their needs for dwelling space. Some persons in this category simply expressed a strong dislike for township living.

5.4 Perceived alternatives to living in Malukazi in the future.[1)]

Perceived alternatives to living in Malukazi in the past, to living in a township at the present moment and to living there in the future appeared to be closely linked together in the minds of the respondents. Moreover, the impression was gained that these perceptions were very much part and parcel of the decision-making situation in which respondents were involved at the time of the survey. The uncertainty of the spontaneous settlement's future had affected the day-to-day existence of its settlers even at the time of our inquiry in 1977. The uncertainty seemed to be particularly pertinent to the most recent arrivals in the settlement, who had been constantly reviewing their tenuous position in the light of Malukazi's insecure future since arrival instead of applying themselves to the task of settling down.

When asked where they would go if they left Malukazi, just under half of the respondents said they would go to 'proper accommodation', in other words to a formal township, and specific mention was made of the adjacent Umlazi township. Small groups mentioned living in a hostel or on their employers' premises. Peri-urban and rural destinations were named by some few, a point we shall look into more closely later (cf. Table 5.7).

Most importantly, over 40 percent of the sample did not name a specific destination. Either they adopted a more active stance, indicating for example that they had no intention of leaving Malukazi in the future, or that they would not go anywhere, or that this sort of question simply did not apply to them. A more passive mode of reply was adopted by those persons who said they did not know where they would go, or by those, who referred to the possibility of their being resettled.

Again we found that past experience was extremely influential as regards the direction of the mobility path and certain decision-making characteristics.

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1. For a fuller discussion of factors related to residential trajectories out of Malukazi cf. Stopforth's (1980) report on trade-off exercises in housing choice.

Table 5.7.

Alternatives to living in Malukazi in the future.

"If you leave Malukazi where will you go?"

	%	%
Urban alternative		48,1
A township, "proper accommodation"	23,5	
Township qualified	4,7	
Umlazi	8,3	
Umlazi qualified	3,6	
Other specific township named	2,2	
Hostel	4,7	
Job premises	1,1	
Fringe and rural alternatives		10,5
Umbumbulu and other rural area nearby	4,0	
Rural home	6,5	
No alternatives		41,4
Not applicable, will go nowhere, no intention of leaving	19,8	
Don't know	19,4	
Reference to relocation	2,2	
No information	,4	
	100,0	100,0

N = 278

The impression was gained that the immediate past residence offered a line of retreat for many Malukazi settlers in case things did not work out for them in the spontaneous settlement. Certainly the possible and optimal future alternatives mentioned above were frequently consonant with the alternatives considered in the immediate past. Even accounting for the fact that recollection of past events might suffer some distortion through their reconstruction by the respondents, the close correspondence of future options to past steps taken in the experiential chain was striking. Clearly, those persons born in Malukazi fell by the wayside because of their limited residential experience. They were so to speak, 'stranded'

when compared to their neighbours who perceived some lines of retreat in case of having to give up their home in Malukazi.

The last question asked in this section concerned the choice of the future destination, rather than the most likely future destination discussed above. As the home of their choice, the overwhelming majority in the sample chose a township destination; 60 percent of respondents chose Umlazi by name (cf. Table 5.8). A substantial group referred to formal housing in the general sense of a ready-built home. Fringe and rural destinations were less popular, but Malukazi figured as a notable exception in this respect. It would thus appear that all respondents had a similar choice but that specific circumstances tended to narrow or widen the range of options. As might be expected, persons born in Malukazi were most likely to select Malukazi as their choice destination, and rural-urban in-migrants were overrepresented in the rural choice group.

At this point we might consider how realistic the Malukazi settlers were about their prospects for future mobility and for which groups the future appeared the brightest, for which groups things looked hopeless. In order to answer this question, it is perhaps instructive to look at the constellation of alternatives perceived by the different mobility types which were largely indicative of differential residential experiences.

The 'city overspill' group constituted the largest single group in the sample, whose alternative might have been to remain in various kinds of township accommodation. A large proportion of the members of this group were not qualified for township housing in their own names and some were disenchanted with the second class treatment they had experienced whilst living in a township. The disqualified and disenchanted tended to be indecisive about their future plans. Perhaps the best illustration of this type of frustrated settler was the young man who had been living with his parents or relatives and felt he had no other option but to go to live in Malukazi if he wanted to improve his residential circumstances. The 'waiting list' people in the sample were most assertive about their desire to move to township accommodation in future. The former hostel dwellers in the overspill group were of course more likely than others to indicate that they might land back in hostel residence.

Table 5.8.

Choice of future residence.

"If you could choose, where would you like to go and live?"

	%	%
Urban choice		78,6
Umlazi township	59,5	
Kwa Makuta, Lamontville and other township	4,7	
Township house, ready-built house	14,4	
Fringe area choice		8,3
Malukazi	7,9	
Settlement similar to Malukazi selected by authorities	,4	
Rural choice		3,6
Umbumbulu	1,8	
Other rural area	1,8	
No choice		8,0
Has no alternatives	2,2	
Don't know	5,8	
Other	,4	,4
No information	1,1	1,1
	100,0	100,0

N = 278

Although 'waiting list' people who could visualise living in a township house were proportionally well represented among the rural and the Malukazi born, their numbers were very small. The rural-urban in-migrants made more frequent references to a rural retreat when speaking of their past and future alternatives. Because of their history of establishment on the fringe, proportionally larger groups rejected the township alternative, which they thought might hold certain disadvantages for them. In many respects their commitment to Malukazi, through long residence there, put them in a mobility situation similar to that of the people born in Malukazi itself.

At the time of the survey, people born in Malukazi seemed to operate within the largest set of constraints. There was a tendency for them to see township housing as irrelevant. Not only did most fringe people not qualify for township housing, they did not perceive township living to be a viable proposition. Generally speaking persons born in Malukazi tended to be indecisive and reluctant to review any other alternatives apart from the Malukazi one. This attitude was of course consonant with their record of past residential experience which had been limited to living in Malukazi. In a defiant mood the Malukazi born would cling to their peri-urban home, in a dejected one, they referred to relocation.

5.5 Conclusions.

In conclusion to the inquiry into prospects for future mobility, one might state that the 'waiting list' people in the sample held the highest hopes for future living. They saw themselves as residents in a formal township, where they would hold a relatively privileged position if allocated a home of their own. We might refer to this group of the 'city overspill' as the 'voluntary overspill', who preferred to use the fringe areas while waiting to improve their housing situation through the authorised channels. This notion supports the research findings of earlier studies undertaken in the urban fringe areas by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, in which the 'recess' function of the peri-urban settlement was also well defined by some of its inhabitants.

Other groups in the sample were less certain of their prospects for future mobility, a township destination was certainly preferred, but the majority could also think of a line of retreat which they could follow should this become necessary. It was discovered that the people born in Malukazi were least tractable, they refused to reconsider their housing position and stubbornly defended their position on the fringe. This defensive stance was also typical for the early arrivals on the fringe, the direct rural-urban in-migrants who had established permanent homes in Malukazi. Lastly, one should not overlook a small but very interesting group within the overspill section. This group of young arrivals to Malukazi might represent the 'desperate' overspill in contrast to the 'voluntary' overspill described above. Members of the 'desperate' overspill

did not have a strategy outlined for their future residential mobility. Persons in this group were particularly dissatisfied with their immediate past housing situation. Their experience of the housing 'push' force which forced them to seek accommodation in Malukazi was particularly painful. They also lacked the lifeline which would permit a convenient retreat, and they certainly did not opt for continued residence in Malukazi. On the contrary, they were extremely negative about their lot in Malukazi, because they felt they had for the most part been served with a poor deal there. We shall come back to this despondent group in the following chapter, when discussing how residents evaluated the housing situation in Malukazi.

5.6 Postscript : rural ties and the perception of housing options.

By way of a postscript to this chapter, we shall seek to explain why the rural alternatives to living in Malukazi were so poorly represented in the various lists drawn up of the past, present and future dwelling options for the Malukazi settlers. One possible explanatory clue lies with the links that the Malukazi settlers maintained with their rural home. Table 5.9 shows that 60 percent of the sample had no rural home.

Table 5.9.

Maintenace of rural home.

	%	%
No rural home	60,1	60,1
Rural home		39,9
Maintained by:		
members of parental and older generation	20,5	
siblings with eventual assistance of above category	8,6	
wife with eventual assistance of above categories	8,6	
other	2,2	
	100,0	100,0

N = 278

In the cases where such a home existed, it was more often run by the respondents' parents than by their spouses or siblings. In an earlier study of rural and urban commitment (Møller 1978a: Chapter 11), it was suggested that when members of the parental rather than the respondent's generation remained in the rural home, only token links such as courtesy visits and gifts would be exchanged with the stem family remaining at the rural base until the stem family finally petered out. Analogously we would expect that the Malukazi settlers maintained very weak links with their rural homes.

This proposition was borne out by several indicators of rural ties listed on Table 5.10.

Table 5.10.

Rural ties maintained by respondents

	Percentage indicating yes
Spouse in rural area	12%
Cattle in rural area	25%
Land in rural area	31%
Remittances sent to rural area	35%
Visits to the rural area	42%

N = 278

In earlier studies of urban commitment (Møller 1978a,b) it was discovered that such items typically formed a Guttman-type scale, in the sense that the respondents who maintained one kind of rural tie also maintained all the preceding kinds of ties. The given order of the typical links held by the Malukazi settlers were identical with those held by Inanda fringe settlers (Møller 1978b:52-58). The most common form of ties in descending order were visiting, followed by remittances, access to land, cattle and finally the least common tie was represented by leaving one's spouse behind in the rural home. A positive score on all these items would suggest the typical situation of the migrant who oscillates between town and country. This is the model migrant to whom much of the literature on

migration in South Africa is devoted (cf. Wilson 1972). Clearly, the Malukazi settlers at the time of the 1977 survey were to be found closer to the opposite end of the scale, which epitomises the situation of the stabilized worker in town. The majority of the sample tended to be urban-oriented, at least for the stage of their lives in which they currently found themselves. Over 60 percent of the respondents had cut off all their ties with the rural areas, and did not even maintain visiting connections, which is the least indicative of rural commitment. Even among those who did visit their rural home, less than half did so on a regular basis (cf. Table 5.11).

Table 5.11.

Rural visiting patterns.

	%
No visits	58,3
Regular visits (at regular intervals, e.g. monthly, whenever free)	20,1
Occasional visits (holiday, leave, several times per year)	11,9
Sporadic visits (once per year or less)	9,7
	100,0

N = 278

Given the strong urban orientation of the Malukazi respondents, it came as no surprise, that a more direct measure of rural as against urban commitment was so saturated at the urban pole, that it completely lost its discriminatory power for purposes of the study: With the exception of one single respondent, all members of the sample said they intended to continue living or working in town regardless of whether they were employed or not.

We have seen that both rural-urban in-migrants and members of the overspill groups were predominantly rural born. At the time of the survey, the Malukazi born and those well established in Malukazi - the latter included persons who had alternatively obtained a plot of land,

built their own homes, or lived in Malukazi for over a decade, were most effectively cut off from the rural hinterland. It is likely that these household heads had brought their rural stem family forward to the urban base. Equally severed from their rural roots were the small groups of peri-urban mobiles and the urban born youngsters who had left their parents' homes in the townships.[1)]

In contrast to the Malukazi born, the rural-urban in-migrants and the urban overspill were for the most part rural born. Of these three groups only the rural-urban in-migrants spoke of a possible retreat to the rural hinterland.

Judging from their age and limited urban experience, many members of the overspill group would barely have gained a foothold in town and one might have expected them to still retain links with the rural home and perceive it as a 'sheet anchor' in adverse times. However, not all of these expectations were confirmed by the survey findings. On the one hand, it was precisely the former township lodgers and the former hostel dwellers who retained the strongest rural links. On the other hand, they disregarded the rural alternative completely. The only explanation which can be offered for this anomaly at this stage of our research, is that this group was particularly susceptible to the 'schizophrenia' imposed upon urban workers by the migrant labour system. Assuming that the former lodgers and hostel dwellers in the sample were on average younger men, they would still have their whole urban career before them. If they were as committed to town as our urban commitment measure would lead us to believe, it was foreseeable that they would continue working in town as 'permanent target workers' with few urban rights. It is proposed that even in this marginal urban position, they would prefer to keep one foot in town and 'regress' to a second class township destination such as a single men's hostel, rather than to return to the rural areas. By contrast, one might consider the situation of the

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1) Regarding their rural links, peri-urban settlers and second generation urban Africans are by and large identical. Surely the mutual lack of rural ties provides a strong case for grouping spontaneous settlers with their urban neighbours on the 'right' side of the city boundary and granting both groups urban rights.

rural-urban migrants, who had come directly to Malukazi, and had never penetrated the townships. Why should they experiment with hostel or lodger accommodation in town at a later stage in their lives? According to survey findings they cherished their privileged residential status in Malukazi too highly to forfeit their peri-urban prestige.

Lastly, one must also remember that unfortunately the distinction made between the urban periphery and the remoter areas of the hinterland was by no means clear in this study, so that the 'rural retreat' might have referred to a place closer to town than the label suggested.

CHAPTER 6.

EVALUATION OF THE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT - NEEDS AND PROBLEMS IN MALUKAZI.

In terms of the decision-making approach to residential mobility, the evaluation of one's housing circumstances may be seen as an integral part of the process of moving which involves weighing the pros and cons of staying or shifting, assessing the viability of shifting, anticipating the outcomes of such a move, the improvements to be gained and the risks involved. Such assessments of one's situation will not always be made consciously, so our investigation into the housing satisfactions of the Malukazi settlers may have prompted respondents to become more active decision-makers for survey purposes. On the other hand, given the impending uncertainty hanging over the future of the Malukazi settlement, it was thought that most members of the community would more likely than not have given some serious consideration to what living in the informal settlement meant to them.

In Malukazi, our aim was to identify the criteria which people employed when assessing their present housing situation in Malukazi, and to simulate the kind of trade-offs people would actually make when considering a residential shift. These tasks were made somewhat more difficult than expected because interviewees tended to produce stereotype responses to our questions. For this reason the data collected in this section of the inquiry tended to be somewhat less informative than the data assembled in the other sections of the survey.

We commenced the inquiry into the evaluations of life quality in Malukazi by asking people what they liked and what they disliked about living there. Significantly, the list of good things about living in Malukazi was considerably shorter than the list of bad things, a result which was expected for several reasons. Firstly, the positive aspects of informal living may have appeared to be self-evident to the spontaneous settlers and therefore they may have felt that there was hardly any need to communicate these positive aspects to our field staff. There may also have been a tendency for settlers to under-emphasise the good things in their lives in order to gain as much political mileage out of the survey

as possible and to draw attention to their plight. This, of course, may have posed problems for the recording of evidence by the fieldworkers. We suspected that after hearing about the respondents' needs and problems time and again, the interviewers became so familiar with the situation in Malukazi, that they automatically tended to fill in any omissions in the interviewees' responses and elaborated on the issues whenever the respondent implied that the problems were self-evident. One way of reducing this type of interviewer bias in future might be to obtain interviewer assessments of the objective conditions obtaining in the study area at the beginning of the inquiry and to compare these with the observations they make when in the field.[1)]

However, there is every reason to believe that the fieldworkers shared the same frame of reference as the respondents, which would minimise the danger of their misrepresenting the respondents' life situation in Malukazi. It is therefore reasonable to expect that members of the field staff were capable of empathising with their respondents and were in a position to give an accurate report of the needs and problems of the Malukazi community.

6.1 The good things about living in Malukazi.

Listed in order of the frequency of votes received, it was discerned that low rentals, and inexpensive and convenient transport were the most attractive features which Malukazi had to offer (cf. Table 6.1). According to the respondents Malukazi was conveniently situated on the transport route for city workers; its proximity to the industrial areas and to the shopping centre of Isipingo reduced travel time and cost.

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1) In the quality of life study conducted by Campbell et al. (1976:245ff.) interviewer and respondent ratings of the environment were compared. In the majority of cases the ratings were highly correlated. By contrast Lansing and Marans (1969) reported discrepancies between the environmental evaluations made by outside observers and those living in a particular residential situation. It is assumed that the differences observed by Lansing and Marans may be accounted for by the fact that the observers and the inhabitants included in their study may have belonged to different social groups which attached disparate meanings and significance to particular symbols in their environment (cf. also Jencks 1977:63ff.).

Table 6.1.

Good things about living in Malukazi.

	%*
No/low rental	43,9
Transport	32,7
Near to work, city	20,5
No regulations, restrictions, harrassment	8,3
Ownership, place of your own	7,6
Informal employment opportunities	7,6
Lodgers permitted	4,0
Choice of accommodation	3,6
Freedom to build	2,9
Adequate living space	2,9
Agriculture	2,2
Friendship ties	1,8
Refuge function	1,4
Quiet	,7
Grew up in Malukazi	,7
Nothing	23,7

N = 278

* multiple votes

Malukazi people felt they could live in peace because they were removed from the rules and regulations which regimented the lives of township people and they were not subjected to the harrassment resulting from the rigorous enforcement of the pass laws. In Malukazi, people could acquire a sense of place; at least people could find a place they could call their own in town, be it a single room or a whole house. Self-reliance in housing and independence from paternalistic or dominant landlords was highly esteemed by some respondents. Malukazi offered extra income from informal employment and subletting practices, which were not subject to formal regulation.

Choice in housing was important to many respondents. Renters and homeowners alike were free to choose the kind of dwelling which best

suited their family needs. "Freedom to build" (Turner, Fichter 1972) ensured that Malukazi settlers could erect their homes swiftly, inexpensively and without having to conform to inappropriately high building standards. Choice in housing and freedom to build jointly ensured that space was utilised efficiently. If necessary, extensions to the house could be made to adjust dwelling space to the needs of a growing family. Some Malukazi dwellers emphasised that they were able to acquire working as well as living space in their homes, something which was out of the question in a cramped township house. Respondents were of the opinion that in some areas of Malukazi, there was still sufficient land on which to plant vegetables and crops. Some respondents pointed out that Malukazi fulfilled a welfare function by offering accommodation to those who were homeless or destitute and could not be legitimately housed in formal townships. Attachment to Malukazi was expressed by some few respondents who had grown up in the settlement, had lived there most of their lives and had many friends there. A small number of respondents remarked that Malukazi was a quiet place in which to live.

However, not all respondents were favourably disposed towards living in Malukazi, in fact almost one-third of the sample was not prepared to admit to any positive aspects of living there. Roughly one-quarter of the unfavourably disposed qualified their attitudes by saying that they had had no choice in coming to live in Malukazi, or they had only achieved lodger status and disliked living there.

We had assumed that many people would be living in Malukazi, because a spontaneous settlement would offer certain advantages from which they would not benefit elsewhere. Table 6.2 shows that such advantages by and large mirrored the 'good things' about living in Malukazi. Respondents made fewer multiple votes when discussing advantages of living in Malukazi, possibly because they felt that they had already mentioned them while responding to the first question concerning the 'good things' about living in the settlement. The same rough order of importance emerged. The advantages of convenient and cheap transport and low rentals again headed the list. A large number of survey respondents referred to choice, space, and minimal restrictions with respect of the housing sphere. Some few persons explicitly mentioned that Malukazi offered them alternative accommodation while they were waiting for formal housing. The informal

employment sector and good business opportunities in Malukazi were seen to be particularly beneficial by a small group in the sample.

Table 6.2.

Advantages of living in Malukazi.

	%*
No/low rental	27,7
Transport	15,8
Near to work, city	11,9
Ownership, place of your own	9,7
Lodgers permitted	6,5
Informal employment opportunities	6,1
Adequate living space	3,6
Freedom to build	3,2
No regulations, restriction, harrassment	2,5
Choice of accommodation	1,8
Good business area	1,8
Friendship ties	1,8
Agriculture	1,8
Refuge function	,7
Grew up in Malukazi	,7
Alternative housing	,7
Near rural areas	,7
Nothing	24,5

N = 278

* multiple votes

Summarising the lists of 'good things' and of the 'advantages' of living in Malukazi shown on Tables 6.1 and 6.2 one might conclusively say that Malukazi's contribution to the good life falls under three headings:

1) Malukazi is centrally located with regard to the city and places of employment;

2) Malukazi offers a flexible housing solution; and
3) Due to Malukazi's central location, its versatile housing programme, and its informal employment opportunities, Malukazi is an inexpensive place in which to live.

In short, apart from its central location, Malukazi's greatest assets according to the evaluations of the survey respondents were the flexible solutions to housing and job opportunities it afforded. At the same time, it was doubtful whether fewer restrictions in the sphere of housing and employment without the extra advantages of a central location and good communication links with the city would make Malukazi an attractive housing alternative when compared to the better serviced formal residential urban areas.

Comparing the advantages of living in Malukazi with the chief motivations for moving there, we found that the expectations of the settlers were by and large met. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the chief motivating factors for shifting to Malukazi were job/location, housing and social factors. When evaluating life at Malukazi, its central location was highlighted by the respondents and indications were made that flexible arrangements regarding housing and social living circumstances could be achieved in the settlement. We discovered that significant proportions of the sample who stated that they had moved to Malukazi for 'location' reasons, also indicated that the transport situation was advantageous in Malukazi. It will also be remembered that the 'housing' motivator was identified as a force 'pushing' people to Malukazi. It was therefore hardly surprising that a large proportion of those persons moving to Malukazi for 'housing' reasons, felt there was nothing good about living in the settlement because it was not the home of their choice. The remainder of the 'housing'-motivated group emphasised that they were grateful for finding a housing alternative on the fringe because they had no other place in which to live.

6.2 The bad things about living in Malukazi.

It was possible that the improvement in a person's housing situation achieved by shifting to Malukazi had been obtained at the cost of other disadvantages. In which case the 'bad things' about living in

Malukazi must be compared with the 'good things'.

"What are the bad things about living in Malukazi?" The response rate to this question was overwhelming. Whereas an average of only 1,6 'good things' were named by the respondents, an average 4 'bad things' were identified. The impression was gained that Malukazi was considered a deprived residential area by the majority of the respondents. The short list of major grievances included: inadequate water supply, inadequate sanitation, poor roads, no electricity, no clinics, dense settlement and poor quality housing, a high crime rate, an inadequate police service, no street lighting, no schools, few shops, no refuse removal, no creches and no post office.[1)]

The concerns voiced by the respondents are given in full on Table 6.3. They are listed under the major headings: 'conveniences', 'housing', 'facilities', 'services' and 'environment' in order to permit easy comparison with the categories used in a trade-off exercise conducted later during the interview session. We shall discuss the major issues in approximate order of importance:

Conveniences: The problem of access to an adequate water supply was considered critical. The only reliable water supply existing at the time of the survey was a single water tap located at one end of the settlement. Obviously this source was totally inadequate to serve the needs of the entire community. People had to carry water long distances and queue for hours. Sanitary services were considered inadequate.

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1) It is believed that the problems identified by the respondents were in many respects typical for spontaneous settlements around the world. Compare for example the list of grievances produced by the Malukazi settlers with the one obtained from the inhabitants of a 'squatter colony' in South America, which reads: "Lack of drinking water, lack of drainage, uncollected rubbish, deficient roads, lots held illegally, instead of by right of title, insufficient medical care, floods causing landslides and danger to houses and lives, insufficient community cohesion amongst neighbours, lack of police protection." (Juppenlatz 1970:69). This list was compiled as part of a community development project reported on by Juppenlatz (1970:66-71), in which a research team compared the problems felt by the 'squatter' community with the problems recognised by the authorities before drawing up a programme of community improvement.

Table 6.3.

Bad things about living at Malukazi.	%*
No/inadequate community conveniences	
water	60,1
toilets	48,2
roads	34,2
electricity	30,6
street lighting	12,9
general	5,4
Housing	
densities	23,7
quality	23,0
shortage	11,2
rentals	2,9
No/inadequate public facilities	
clinic	24,5
creche	7,9
community centre	2,2
general	5,4
other: church, beerhall, sports ground	
No/inadequate services	
police station	19,8
crime, physical security (tsotsis, thugs)	19,4
schools	15,1
shops	13,7
refuse removal	9,7
post office	5,8
transport	4,0
butchery	1,4
general	2,5
Environment	
filth	5,0
smell	3,2

Continued/

Table 6.3 Continued.

	%
other; physical environment: noise, health hazard, mosquitoes, damp	
other; social environment: disorganised, poor place for bringing up children, too many loafers, oversupply of liquor	
nothing	4,7
don't know (new to area)	,7

N=278

* multiple responses

The pit latrines used by the majority of households (cf. Haarhoff 1979:35) were frequently located in inconvenient places and the number of latrines available was insufficient for the number of people using them. Malukazi dwellers complained that the latrines were unhygienic and unpleasant. The roads in Malukazi were untarred and rutted, dusty in fine weather and muddy when it rained. The rutted roads posed a particular problem for the residents who owned cars.

Housing issues concerned densities, the quality of some of the structures and the housing shortage. It is important to note that densities referred to houses per area rather than to overcrowding within the homes. Overcrowding was particularly evident in the shack farming areas. In other areas of Malukazi space in the home and large plots were a source of delight for some residents. Some tenants felt the structures in which they were living were unsafe. A major complaint was leaking roofs. Survey results revealed that residential shifts within the settlement were frequently caused by the poor maintenance of lodgers' quarters.

Public facilities: The need for a local health service was epitomised by the demand for a clinic. Respondents stated that a creche [1] was urgently

1) Since the survey was conducted in 1977, a creche has been established in a converted Malukazi home as a community development project. It was well supported soon after its opening and became a significant landmark in the community.

needed for the children of working mothers. Fewer respondents expressed the need for a community centre where residents could meet to resolve their problems or join in social activities.

Services: Security services were seen as a top priority in this section. Possibly an incident involving the murder of a local resident at the time of the survey had destroyed the image of the settlement being a safe place in which to live for the respondents concerned. Education was placed in second place under the 'services' heading. At the time of the survey Malukazi people had successfully negotiated with the Umlazi school board to gain admission for their children in the neighbouring township schools, so that the residents themselves had been able to temporarily satisfy education needs.

The local 'shopping centre', as the two corner shops located on the edge of the settlement bordering the Indian area of Isipingo Farm were referred to, hardly provided the range of goods one would expect in an urban neighbourhood. At the time of the survey, Malukazi residents travelled to Isipingo for their major purchases. The two shops in Malukazi were also too distant to serve even the minor needs of the southern areas of Malukazi. Shack shops were scattered throughout the settlement to meet the needs for convenience shopping. Because there were no postal services in Malukazi, residents said they felt cut off from their neighbours and friends in other parts of the city and the country.

In contrast to other needs, transport problems were considered negligible. Grievances mainly concerned the need for transport services at night for shift workers. Respondents also stated that the provision of an internal transport network in Malukazi would make the southern areas more accessible and safer to reach at all hours of the day.

Some 10 percent of the respondents explicitly made references to the refuse problem. As Malukazi residents made their own arrangements for the disposal of refuse, unsightly garbage dumps were scattered throughout the settlement. Some of the survey respondents complained that Malukazi was 'filthy', 'smelly' and a 'health hazard'. Some few respondents made references to typical social problems which are frequently associated with

slum environments. By comparison to the quarter of the respondents who could think of nothing positive to attribute to Malukazi, less than 5 percent of the sample did not feel inclined to complain about the quality of life in the settlement.

6.3 Differential evaluations of the quality of life situation in Malukazi and comparative standards of reference.

Perhaps it is apposite at this point to consider whether Malukazi residents were unanimous about their evaluation of Malukazi. From an objective point of view, most of the issues raised for and against living in Malukazi would appear to have some substance. Certainly the freer way of living in the informal settlement provided for a more flexible solution to housing, yet the lack of basic amenities such as water undermined the very existence of the settlement. Were certain groups in the Malukazi community more affected by these shortcomings in their environment than others?

Analysis of the survey results showed that residential status in Malukazi had considerable influence on the respondents' evaluation of their housing situation. Of all the residential groups, tenants were most likely to state that there was nothing good about living in Malukazi. Obviously the plight of the tenants was made worse if their landlords did not undertake maintenance and repairs of properties. Almost two-thirds of the lodgers included in the sample said their landlords did take an interest in their welfare. In these cases references were made to general repairs, to repairs to roofs and to the paintwork of the houses. Some few respondents mentioned that their landlords also kept doors and windows in good working order, cleared yards or dug new latrines and garbage pits from time to time. One-third of the tenants in the sample stated that their landlords took no interest in their welfare or they had not experienced any interest on the part of their landlords during the time they had been resident in Malukazi (cf. Table 6.4). It is highly probable that the support function of the landlords contributed substantially to the tenants' perception of their housing environment. Although numbers were small, the majority of those tenants who stated that their landlords neglected them, could think of nothing positive about living in Malukazi.

Table 6.4.

Do landlords take any interest in the welfare of tenants?

	%
Yes: landlords take an interest	16,5
No: landlords take no interest	9,7
N/A, no landlord	73,1
No information	,7
	100,0

N = 278

On the other hand, the well established, and especially the Malukazi born, were more likely to paint a somewhat more rosy picture of life in the settlement. A careful examination of the list of 'good things' about Malukazi revealed that the majority of the items named were closely related to the situation of the committed resident, for example to the situation of the landlord who lived in his own house and paid no rent. Correspondingly, it was mainly the homeowners and the Malukazi born who tended to stress the advantages of rent-free living. Transportation was one of the few factors which was considered particularly beneficial for the tenants living in the settlement.

As demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the distinction made between tenants on the one hand, and the landowners and homeowners on the other hand, was replicated in the juxtaposition of the established settlers and the newcomers to the settlement. For this reason the date of arrival in Malukazi was indicative of general housing satisfactions expressed by the respondents. The data analysis revealed that factors which determined alternative choices of residence in the past and the future also tended to soften or consolidate opinions about living in Malukazi. Regarding their evaluation of the quality of life in Malukazi, it is proposed that the community clearly divided into two polar groups: the privileged and the newcomers.

Using the terminology introduced earlier, the privileged group

included those persons born in Malukazi and the early arrivals, the rural-urban in-migrants, who along the lines of a first-come, first-served basis had gained access to land and had built good homes for themselves. A large proportion in this group were likely to be landowners, certainly all in the privileged group were living rent free. According to the data analysis informal employment was more likely to be a source of reliable income in this group, some persons may actually have been attracted to Malukazi in order to gain access to informal employment. Others may have been forced into the informal sector for age reasons, because they lacked formal education or industrial skills, or through the force of circumstances. Whatever the case may have been, the informal workers in the sample were significantly more likely to stress the advantages of living in Malukazi. In short, whatever resources Malukazi had to offer by way of land and home-ownership, employment opportunities, and landlord functions, these were highly esteemed and were also more accessible to the oldtimers in Malukazi than to the newcomers.

According to survey evidence the less privileged in Malukazi at the time of the survey were by and large the newcomers to the settlement, the 'urban overspill', who had come chiefly for 'location' reasons, but more significantly, because they had been compelled to move out of the township in order to resolve their housing problems. Most likely they had been given the rawest deal in Malukazi. Forty percent of the 'overspill' group in the sample were tenants and it was precisely the tenants who were most likely to feel that there was absolutely nothing positive about Malukazi that was worth reporting to the interviewers. The newcomers to Malukazi who felt that they had had no choice in coming to live in Malukazi, and were indecisive about where they should go in future, were particularly aware of their deprived living circumstances. Moral frustration was typically observed among the younger 'overspill' people and in particular among the urban born. The latter felt they had been cheated of their 'birthright' when they were deprived of a township home. Similarly the disillusioned 'waiting list' people were frustrated and impatient about improving their housing situation.

It is possible that the cleavage between the oldtimers and the frustrated newcomers described above was aggravated by the education and employment differentials separating the two social groups. It is very likely that the majority of the tenants may have belonged to the newer

generation of the better educated Africans who held city jobs. The fact that they contributed to the city's development and earned a regular income may have strengthened tenants in their moral indignation at not being able to live in a 'decent' township house if they so desired. Similarly, tenants may have resented the fact that they were forced to be dependent on landlords of lower social standing for their housing needs.

Of course, we have only outlined the situation of the two most extreme groups living in Malukazi at the time of the survey. In between these two extremes, there were some groups of residents who felt they derived some few benefits from living in Malukazi. More satisfied persons tended to rationalise their housing situation by highlighting the choice in housing offered to them in Malukazi. In this connection the case of the former hostel dwellers might be cited. Many hostel residents had come to live in Malukazi for 'social' reasons. Therefore they appreciated being able to live with their dependents from the rural areas as a family instead of leading a bachelor existence in town.

A further point one might explore here is the extent to which the experiential chain affected the respondents' reactions to the Malukazi environment. As we have seen above the type of residential experience gained in the past provided the respondents with a frame of reference for interpreting their present dwelling situation and also placed certain constraints on their views of future prospects in housing. In other words, past residential experience partly determined what living in Malukazi *meant* to the respondents evaluating their housing circumstances. For instance past residential experience suggested to the respondents whether the present situation should be accepted, merely tolerated, or whether it should give rise to justified indignation or frustration. In this connection, it is probable that personal experience of township living, particularly of living with parents or relatives in township homes, would make some settlers far more critical of their living circumstances in Malukazi. Their past living experience would call for a more exacting comparison of Malukazi housing standards with township housing standards. It was therefore more likely that the 'city overspill' who had gained wider housing experience would not consider informal living as an adequate housing solution. By the same token, for those committed to living in Malukazi, for those born in the settlement, and for the 'oldtimers', the alternative of living in a

formal township may have seemed rather remote, and clearly their outlook on life in the fringe settlement was probably a reflection of their perception of life chances in Malukazi.

Just how influential was the Malukazi settlers' past residential experience for their evaluations of the residential environment in which they were presently living? In the Malukazi study, the dimension 'length of residence' used to distinguish between the polar types of the 'oldtimers' and the more recently in-migrated 'overspill' group conveniently coincided with the dimension 'experience in township living'. The majority of the urban overspill had actually lived in family housing units in the formal township, whereas the Malukazi 'oldtimers' (the Malukazi born and the rural-urban in-migrants) had not. Nevertheless, when it came to judging the state of affairs in Malukazi, whether things were good or bad, it was observed that *both* groups employed a *common* frame of reference. They compared the quality of life in Malukazi with that in Umlazi Township across the road. Inferring from the survey data, it is suggested that Malukazi as a residential environment was by and large compared with its formal counterpart. When asked to specify 'advantages' to be gained from living in Malukazi, which might not be gained *elsewhere*, the formal township was obviously chosen as the comparative frame of reference. If we examine the list of the 'good things' about living in Malukazi, it would similarly appear that things were relatively good, when compared to things in the formal townships. It was also noted that the main contributors to the list of 'good things' were the well established in Malukazi who were less likely to have gained township experience and employ the township standard of reference rigidly.

By this reasoning, those who stated their grievances concerning life in Malukazi most loudly would be comparing the informal settlement with the formal township. It therefore seems pertinent to compare the typical needs and problems of township dwellers with those of their counterparts in the informal settlements.

6.4 An exercise in the comparison of needs and problems in formal and informal settlements.

In an earlier investigation conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in the Durban township of Kwa Mashu in 1975 (Møller et al.

1978), the major problems confronting a cross section of township residents were elicited. The list of needs and problems which emerged is reproduced in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5.

Comparison of typical needs and problems in formal and informal settlements.

formal settlement	informal settlement
Kwa Mashu township 1975	Malukazi 1977
Issues* in approximate order of importance:	
- community administration	- water
- crime	- sanitation
- transportation	- roads
- housing	- electricity
- education	- crime and physical security
- community facilities	- community facilities (clinic, creche, etc.)
- the Urban Bantu Council	- housing
- medical services, ambulances	- shops
- sanitation, drains, stormwater, refuse collection	- street lighting
- roads	- refuse removal
* multiple responses	
from Møller et al. *A Black Township in Durban : A Study of Needs and Problems*, 1978, p.10	compiled from Table 6.3 : "Bad things about living at Malukazi", and Table 6.6 : "Improvements needed in Malukazi".

In the same Table this list of township dwellers' grievances is contrasted with a comparable list of the major problems faced by the informal settlers living in Malukazi. The latter list was compiled from the grievances voiced by the respondents in the present study shown on Table 6.3 and from a further discussion of local issues with the survey respondents.

Although it was only feasible to indicate an estimated order of importance for the issues relevant to the Malukazi settlers for this exercise, some very general comparisons between the needs and problems facing informal and formal settlers may be made. Firstly, the living

circumstances of the township people did not appear to be considerably better than those of the spontaneous settlers in many respects. Whilst this finding may be attributed to the heightened perception of problems in their environment by the more demanding township people, it is suggested here that the greater expectations of township residents may only in part account for their statement of dissatisfaction with the quality of township life.[1] It is highly probable that the problems faced by township dwellers were only marginally different from those which confronted the spontaneous settlers.

The greatest discrepancy between the two lists of grievances concerns the water and sanitation issue, which represented a major problem for the Malukazi settlers, whilst it did not figure prominently in the list of township problems. Other problems which Malukazi residents faced tended to pale in comparison to their basic need for an adequate water supply. For example, crime was considered a lower priority issue by the spontaneous settlers whilst it was regarded as a prominent one by the township dwellers. Community administration as such was not considered a problem by the Malukazi community, indeed it was non-existent! Instead the lack of conveniences which would normally be provided by the authorities in charge figured as a major source of grievances on the list of problems faced by the spontaneous settlement. On the other hand, the Malukazi population might have considered themselves better off as regards transport. In fact transport issues were considered too insignificant in the eyes of the respondents to merit a place on the list of grievances. Surprisingly the housing problem vexed both residents in the informal settlements as well as their counterparts living in formal housing. Whilst lack of dwelling space was considered particularly distressing for township people, high dwelling densities were considered a problem for those living in informal housing. But significantly the quality of housing was deplored by both formal and informal dwellers. Education was possibly a higher priority for the township people and its inadequacy was possibly felt more intensely,

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1) The Malukazi residents' apparently greater concern with the electricity issue may have reflected the mood of the times in which the survey was conducted. The Malukazi survey was conducted in 1977 after the electrification of Soweto had become a prominent issue among urban Africans following the urban unrest of 1976. The Kwa Mashu study was conducted in 1975.

but as regards other community facilities, in particular medical and health services, both communities may have felt equally deprived. In conclusion to this exercise, one might state that although township people may have been considerably better off than their counterparts living on the urban fringe judged by an objective standard of comparison, the township dwellers did not perceive the township environment as a better place in which to live. Most significantly, it would appear that township developments, using the case of Kwa Mashu as an example, might have failed to provide acceptable housing despite the fact that township housing standards are considerably higher than those found in informal settlements judged by conventional measures. One might suggest that it is precisely the perception of the shortcomings of township life in the sphere of housing which precipitated the movement from 'township to shantytown'[1] encountered in the present study. The 'overspill' movements to the urban fringe tend to make a complete mockery of the planning principles of yesterday which forced 'slum dwellers' to vacate their fringe settlements in order to be housed in higher standard township houses.

6.5 Improvements needed in Malukazi.

How did the people living in Malukazi see the future of their settlement, in which areas could the quality of community life be improved? As might be expected, the list of suggested improvements given in Table 6.6 closely resembles the list of grievances shown earlier in Table 6.3. A reliable water supply and adequate sanitation were the highest priority improvements named, followed by the need for roads, for electricity and street lighting, for police protection, for a clinic, and for schools and shops. It was thought that the quality and standard of housing could be upgraded. As one person put it: we need help in building better homes. It is interesting to note that the conceptions of standards of conveniences varied greatly. For example, suggestions were alternatively made for water to be supplied to individual homes or to standpoints at given intervals throughout the settlement.

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1) Maasdorp and Humphreys (1975) report on the rehousing programmes in the Durban metropolitan area which were undertaken in the late fifties and the early sixties in their book entitled "From Shantytown to Township".

Table 6.6.

Improvements needed in Malukazi.

"What things could be put right in Malukazi?"

Community conveniences	%*
water supply	46,8
toilet, sanitation, sewerage system	42,8
roads	37,1
electricity	32,7
street lighting	15,5
general	4,3
Other: ablution blocks	
Services	
police station, physical security	27,7
schools	14,4
shops	12,2
refuse removal	11,8
postal service	5,8
transport	2,5
butchery	1,8
general	5,8
Other: laundry	
Public facilities	
clinic	23,7
creche	9,4
community centre	1,8
church	1,1
general	1,1
Other: beer hall, sports ground	
Housing	
quality	15,5
densities	13,3
shortage	10,1
general	10,4
Environment and organisation	
clean up area	1,4
demolish and replan	1,1

Continued/

Table 6.6 Continued.

	%*
Environment and organisation	
Other: community meetings	
don't know, nothing, disinterested	11,2
no information	,4

N = 278

* multiple responses

Recommendations for a sanitary solution for the settlement ranged from suggestions for a bucket system to water borne sewerage. One person thought communal ablution blocks would greatly improve day-to-day living in Malukazi.

Disturbing was the attitude adopted by some 11 percent of the respondents, who either stated that they did not know what could be improved, that nothing could be improved, or simply that they were disinterested. Two explanations were considered to account for this kind of reaction. A lack of concern for community issues might be characteristic of transient dwellers who were casually using the settlement as a stopover and were not committed to living there for any great length of time. Alternatively, this despondent attitude might be interpreted as the typical reaction of inhabitants living in a 'slum of despair' as against a 'slum of hope' (Stokes 1962). Fortunately, the survey findings indicated that the first explanation was more correct. A multi-variate analysis of the survey data revealed that those persons in the sample who had nothing good to say about Malukazi were prominently represented among the despondent group. Thus we can identify the negatively inclined group as a subgroup of the 'urban overspill' who was most disappointed at being refused township residence and who was not prepared to accept living in Malukazi as an alternative solution to its housing problem.

By and large, the respondents' priorities for improving the Malukazi settlement tended to support the somewhat unconventional thesis that asserts that "in housing, the house is least important". This thesis

was put forward by Marais (cited by Revel Fox in Lazenby 1977:258), who lists the three most basic requirements which housing must satisfy as being "first, access to work; second, water supply and sanitation; and third, shelter". The order of the three requirements named by Marais was not immaterial, and shelter was consciously placed in the third position. Applying Marais' thesis to the study findings, one might conclude that the first requirement, 'access to work', was certainly satisfied in the case of the Malukazi community, so that an adequate water supply and sanitation were identified as the chief community priorities.

Having accepted recommendations for the improvement of Malukazi, the interviewers went on to inquire who should effect such improvements. The majority of the respondents unanimously appointed an agent of authority at the local, provincial or national level to undertake improvements in the area (cf. Table 6.7). 'Government' was referred to by the majority of the respondents and a large number of persons referred to the 'KwaZulu Government' in particular. Other respondents voted for any one of the several bodies who were in charge of housing throughout the Durban metropolitan area, notably the Port Natal Administration Board or the KwaZulu Government or the Durban Corporation. Some respondents thought these bodies should share the responsibility of improving the quality of community life in Malukazi. Possibly one of the most insightful replies to the question concerning responsibility was supplied by the small number of respondents who remarked that none of the authorities appeared to be willing to shoulder the responsibility for attending to Malukazi's problems.

The lack of a clear conception of who should take the initiative to effect improvements in Malukazi was hardly surprising. At the time of the survey Malukazi - like so many other spontaneous settlements - had successively been placed under the jurisdiction of one authority after another or it had temporarily been declared a 'no man's land' which relieved all parties of their responsibility. Seeing that the provision of water points was considered the highest priority in Malukazi, the call for outside assistance on the part of the respondents was surely warranted. This finding would also support the previously made contention that whereas solutions to housing can in large measure be achieved autonomously in spontaneous settlements, assistance of external authorities is most beneficial when it comes to the installation of amenities and the operation of services.

Table 6.7.

Who could put things right in Malukazi?

	%	%
Local authority and government responsibility		73,1
government	38,5	
KwaZulu government	15,5	
KwaZulu or Port Natal Administration Board/Durban Corporation	2,2	
KwaZulu and Port Natal Administration Board/Durban Corporation	5,4	
Port Natal Administration Board	1,8	
local authority and national government	1,4	
Durban Corporation	,7	
Receiver of Revenue	,4	
authority responsible for housing	3,2	
no authority appears to be responsible	4,0	
Community responsibility		14,0
people of Malukazi	12,9	
local Induna, local committees	1,1	
no information	3,2	3,2
n/a, no response to preceding question	9,7	9,7
N=278	100,0	100,0

It is interesting to note that a small group of established Malukazi settlers, who were highly committed to the settlement in terms of land ownership or homeownership, exhibited a higher degree of self-reliance regarding community development proposals. More persons in this group than in the sample as a whole proposed that the residents of Malukazi should organise themselves and undertake improvements to the area.

The last question discussed in this section contains the theoretical link between the analysis of destinations discussed in Chapter 4 and the analysis of the environmental evaluations presented in this chapter. In Chapter 4 it was demonstrated that the Malukazi people interviewed

behaved in accordance with theorems derived from migration and mobility theory. The shift to Malukazi and the destinations to which Malukazi residents would tendentially gravitate in future could be explained in terms of mobility theory. The most significant finding concerned the fact that the alternative destinations named by the survey respondents were in most cases identical to their place of residence occupied before coming to live in Malukazi. Moreover, respondents were of the opinion that in cases of emergency this penultimate destination in the experiential chain could be used as an area of retreat. According to survey findings, future mobility was also expected to gravitate toward the penultimate destination in most cases. On the other hand the aspired destination voted for unanimously by the majority of the respondents was the formal township. It was noteworthy, that even a large proportion of the Malukazi born and those highly committed to Malukazi aspired to township life. By contrast to the importance of the past residential experience, how significant was the evaluation of the present dwelling situation for determining the direction and timing of future residential mobility? Theoretically speaking, questions concerning migration and residential mobility and investigations into the quality of life met up at this juncture (cf. also Figure 2-1). A negative evaluation of the present environment might provide the impetus - in terms of the push-pull theory of migration the 'push' force - to shift residence in order to achieve housing congruence. Thus we might expect the projected reasons for wishing to leave the Malukazi settlement to yield an evaluation of the present situation which might precipitate future residential mobility to a particular destination. Survey findings presented above suggested that the respondents would use their past housing experience or the township standard as a comparative reference standard in their evaluations.

Corresponding to their evaluation of living circumstances in Malukazi, respondents reported that the inadequate water supply and inadequate sanitation might precipitate their departure from the Malukazi settlement (cf. Table 6.8). As many residential mobility studies have proved that the chief 'push' force in residential mobility is the dwelling unit as such rather than the residential environment, it was not surprising that the 'housing shortage' and 'quality of housing' factors figured prominently on the list of reasons for wanting to leave Malukazi.

Table 6.8.

Reasons for leaving Malukazi.

"Are there any reasons why you might want to leave Malukazi?"

	%*
Specific push factors:	
Conveniences	
water supply	42,1
toilets, sanitation	28,1
electricity	17,3
roads	8,3
Housing	
shortage	19,1
quality	17,3
rental	1,8
Services	
police protection, schools, shops, post office	14,0
transport	2,5
refuse removal	,7
other services	4,7
Facilities	
clinic, creche, community centre, beer hall	12,9
general	2,9
Environment	
crime	10,8
filth	8,6
insects	2,5
noise	1,8
health hazard	1,1
poor environment for raising children	1,1
fuel shortage	,4
General push factors:	
disorganisation in the community	,7
poor living conditions	,7
no signs of improvement in Malukazi	,4

Continued/

Table 6.8 Continued.

	%*
Personal factors	
no personal adjustment	1,8
dislike of the place	1,4
External factors	
reference to resettlement	1,8
Pull factors:	
career cycle	1,1
family cycle	,7
access to township housing	3,6
No push/pull factors:	
nothing	20,9

N = 278

* multiple responses

In fact, it was probably an indication of success rather than of failure on the part of the informal community that the housing issue did not head the list. 'Services' and 'facilities', especially the ones mentioned on the list of 'bad things' about living in Malukazi may have acted as an element of the 'push' force, but would hardly have been effective on their own. High percentages on the list of reasons for desiring to leave Malukazi were only achieved by tallying the multiple votes of smaller percentages of respondents. Combining the frequency of the 'crime' factor listed under 'environmental' factors with the 'lack of police protection', perceived physical insecurity in Malukazi might have represented an effective 'push' factor for some respondents. The 'filth' and 'dirt' in the Malukazi settlement, which resulted in part from the inadequacy of conveniences and services in the community, represented a further effective environmental 'push' force.

The complete list of general 'push' items is given in Table 6.8,

because the omission of the many items which were given as single responses would distort the accurate reporting of the responses to this question. By and large 'general push' factors reflected disenchantment with the residential milieu in Malukazi and little hope for improvement of the situation. Inability or refusal to adapt to the new housing situation to which they had shifted in Malukazi was expressed by some few newcomers, who felt that they did not belong to the community or could not get used to the place.

A small proportion of the sample did not refer to 'push' factors at all, but concentrated on the 'pull' factors, which would secure them a place of residence elsewhere. Most frequently, explicit mention of access to township housing was made by this group.

The highest single vote returned may be interpreted as an expression of commitment to Malukazi. One-fifth of the sample stated that nothing would cause them to leave Malukazi. Reference to an external factor, 'relocation' was perhaps a more pragmatic expression of the same kind of commitment.

As might be expected, those persons who chose Malukazi as their preferred residence, tended to state that nothing would cause them to leave Malukazi. For those for whom the 'choice in housing' factor was important, 'push' factors were also less likely to be relevant. Those who had made a negative assessment of Malukazi were most likely to be least integrated into the community and appeared to be more disturbed by the general untidy appearance of the place than others in the sample.

6.6 Summary.

The Malukazi residents interviewed in the study thought that their community was deprived of basic services and that this negatively affected the quality of life in the settlement. The impression was gained from the study results that the Malukazi settlers employed 'township' standards as a basis of comparison for assessing their relative state of deprivation. The chronic shortage of water was unanimously considered the most urgent community need and according to the respondents' opinion, might cause them to consider moving elsewhere. However, substantial proportions of the

sample felt they did derive some benefits from the informal settlement's location in close proximity to the city and places of emplyyment. The rent structure which obtained in the settlement was particularly advantageous for the more established members of the community who lived rent-free. It was notable that housing issues as such were not particularly prominent on the list of grievances compiled from the Malukazi survey responses when these were compared to a similar list of grievances obtained from township dwellers' responses in an earlier survey conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences.[1] The present study highlighted the fact that whilst the quality of Malukazi housing may have left much to be desired in some instances, Malukazi housing fulfilled the high priority housing needs of social groups who would otherwise be deprived of 'decent' accommodation. In particular the housing needs of hostel migrants who were unable to live with their families in town, and the needs of the younger generations of township dwellers who had formerly lived as lodgers in other people's homes, or as dependents in their parents' homes could be met in Malukazi. A hard core of particularly frustrated and dissatisfied residents was identified who tended to feel even less privileged than the majority of Malukazi residents. This group included the more recent arrivals to Malukazi, in particular the tenants who were renting rooms rather than occupying homes of their own in Malukazi, and those who felt angry that they did not have access to suitable township accommodation.

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1) Shortage of accommodation and overcrowding in township houses figured among the high priority concerns identified by the residents of Umlazi, Kwa Mashu and Lamontville Townships who participated in a more recent quality of life exercise conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (Møller and Schlemmer 1980).

CHAPTER 7.

IMAGES OF COMMUNITY.

No community study would be complete without some reference to certain focal points, landmarks and boundaries which make up the unique fabric of a settlement. Most organically developed settlements undergo some territorial differentiation in time and subdivisions emerge as neighbourhoods with an atmosphere of their own and individual characteristics. If this type of differentiation were to have taken place in Malukazi, we would expect people to attach certain characteristics, meanings, and reputations to the various neighbourhoods making up the settlement. In our study we wished to determine the images local residents had evolved of their home and their neighbourhood (cf. Finlayson 1977:140). In the sense that status ascription can frequently be discerned in the connotations attached to place names (Timms 1971:111), some areas in Malukazi might be considered more desirable to live in, more classy or respectable for reasons which might not be readily discernible to the uninitiated outside observer. These images might not necessarily be consistent throughout the community, in which case some indication of dissensus concerning community values might be detected (Pahl 1970:22 ff.).

More importantly, we wished to discover whether Malukazi residents identified with their settlement and were able to establish a sense of place there. Studies of areas victimised by urban renewal schemes have drawn our attention to the fact, that not only do people associate neighbourhood attachment with the people living there, but also with the way in which the neighbourhood shapes and patterns their lives (Fried, Gleicher 1961; Hartman 1963). The loss of such an orienting system adds to the social costs of relocation (Maasdorp, Pillay 1977:17). It is this type of neighbourhood pattern which is irretrievably lost when the bulldozer is brought into informal settlements.

Our inquiry into the topic of environmental images, was of necessity extremely superficial. It did not represent a focal part of the study and little time could be spent on discussing cognitive maps (Downs, Stea 1973) with our respondents. Moreover, survey techniques are not wholly suited to eliciting this type of information. Our brief interrogation

should ideally have been followed up with in-depth interviews, projective tests and participant observation, which of course was out of the question with a modest research budget.

This chapter will therefore contain a largely descriptive account of some of the findings pertaining to residents' perception of their community, and the general impressions gained from the field observations.

7.1 Neighbourhood images.

In a first exercise, we asked people to identify the place where they lived in Malukazi by name. We expected that newcomers would possibly be less familiar with local place names. Alternatively, old landmarks might vanish or be overshadowed by new developments. Our rationale was to use the ability to differentiate between certain areas of Malukazi and to refer to them by name, as an index of commitment to one's place of residence.

Unfortunately, the only means we had of locating a respondent's area of residence in Malukazi, was by referring to the sampling frame, in which 19 sections in Malukazi had arbitrarily been distinguished. Of course, like all arbitrary divisions used for administrative purposes, our sampling sections did not conform to the local divisions. But they provided us with a fairly fine grid-system, which incorporated certain natural and man-made boundaries, and most important of all, the areas demarcated by the sampling system were thoroughly familiar to the interviewers. The difficult task of translating the spatial conceptions of the Malukazi community into our sampling sections had to be left to the field assistants who seemed to cope extremely well with this problem.

Initially, we had hoped to be able to divide Malukazi into a small number of meaningful sections by aggregating our original sampling sections according to the dimensions indicated in the images produced by the respondents. The sample households, from whom interviews were obtained, were distributed over 19 sampling sections and the highest sample fraction in any one section was 12 percent. Naturally, this dispersion tended to make our task more difficult. Images of one sampling section would have to be pieced together from a small number of responses.

We discovered that a very crude distinction could be made between the upper or northern area of Malukazi and the southern or lower area. As far as we could make out, no particular prestige differentials obtained between the lower and upper part of the settlement. One might have expected that the social distinctions pertaining in the Malukazi community, to which frequent reference has been made in the preceding chapters, for example the distinction between oldtimers and newcomers, or the distinction between landlords and homeowners on the one hand and tenants on the other, might be reflected in territorially defined neighbourhoods. However, it appeared that the system of tenancy operated against the spatial separation of different residential groups in Malukazi. Landowners were evenly distributed throughout Malukazi, and surrounding each major landlord we found clusters of tenants and tenants-at-will. Small and large household sites were also evenly distributed throughout the settlement. There were too few people located in the southern part of Malukazi at the time of the survey to allow for a statistical comparison to be made between the respondents living in the upper and those living in the lower part. This in itself may be taken as an indication of the greater popularity of the northern part of the settlement at the date of the survey. As we shall see later, the few facilities which Malukazi boasted, acted as magnets which drew in-migrants to the upper part of the settlement.

A finer division of Malukazi was achieved by mapping out the areas which the respondents could identify by name. Three-quarters of the survey respondents said that the area in which they lived was called 'Malukazi'. However, the remainder of the sample supplied over twenty references to individual place names. Names frequently denoted the most prominent landowner in the area or a special function performed there; place names less often referred to geographical landmarks. Some names were anecdotal in character. By way of illustration, one name indicated by the respondents recorded local history for posterity. It was said that at one time, shack dwellers in the lower part of Malukazi were continually raided by the Isipingo police, whereupon they swore that if a policeman should attack them again, they would beat him until he died. Which they did and to this day, the spot where this defiant act took place is commemorated in the name 'Kwamshayazafe' or 'beat him until he dies'! It is interesting to note that two respondents in the inquiry called the

area where they lived 'mjondolo', which in recent usage has evolved as the general designation for a 'shack settlement' in the vernacular.

Four place names supplied by the respondents were sufficiently common for us to trace the designated areas onto our map of Malukazi. 'Emakehleni' was a religious centre originally founded by the 'old man' who gave the place its name. The centre was located in the upper central part of Malukazi as shown on Figure 7-1. To the west of Emakehleni towards the Umbumbulu hinterland, the water pump, 'Empompini' was the major landmark. To the east of Emakehleni towards the Indian section of Malukazi called 'Isipingo Farm', the 'shopping centre' consisting of two trading stores, gave the area its name, 'Ezitolo'. The Ezitolo area may have been referred to by a less commercial designation in former days. The research team was informed that the late Chief Cele and his officials used to convene there under a large tree, and older residents still remembered the area in this way. However, none of the survey respondents mentioned the old name of this area. The southern area, referred to above, was situated to the south of these three landmarks and was identified by another religious centre known as 'Kwa Hlabazihlangane'.

These four areas relating to the most common place names in Malukazi, 'Emakehleni', 'Empompini', 'Ezitolo' and the 'southern area' provided a useful division of the settlement for further analysis. For instance, it was discovered that the development of Malukazi may well have crystallised in three of the designated areas: at the pump, (Empompini), at the shops (Ezitolo) and in the southern part. In each of these three areas we found a stable nucleus of persons born in Malukazi. These focal points must have attracted waves of in-migrants during the intermediate and most recent phases of development of the settlement. By contrast, Emakehleni was originally not a residential area.[1] We gained the impression that only in the years closer to the date of the survey had extensive shack farming taken place in the vicinity.

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1) In actual fact the religious centre itself lay outside our sampling frame, which explains why the territory referred to as Emakehleni by the respondents was so diffusely defined in terms of the sections included in our sampling frame.

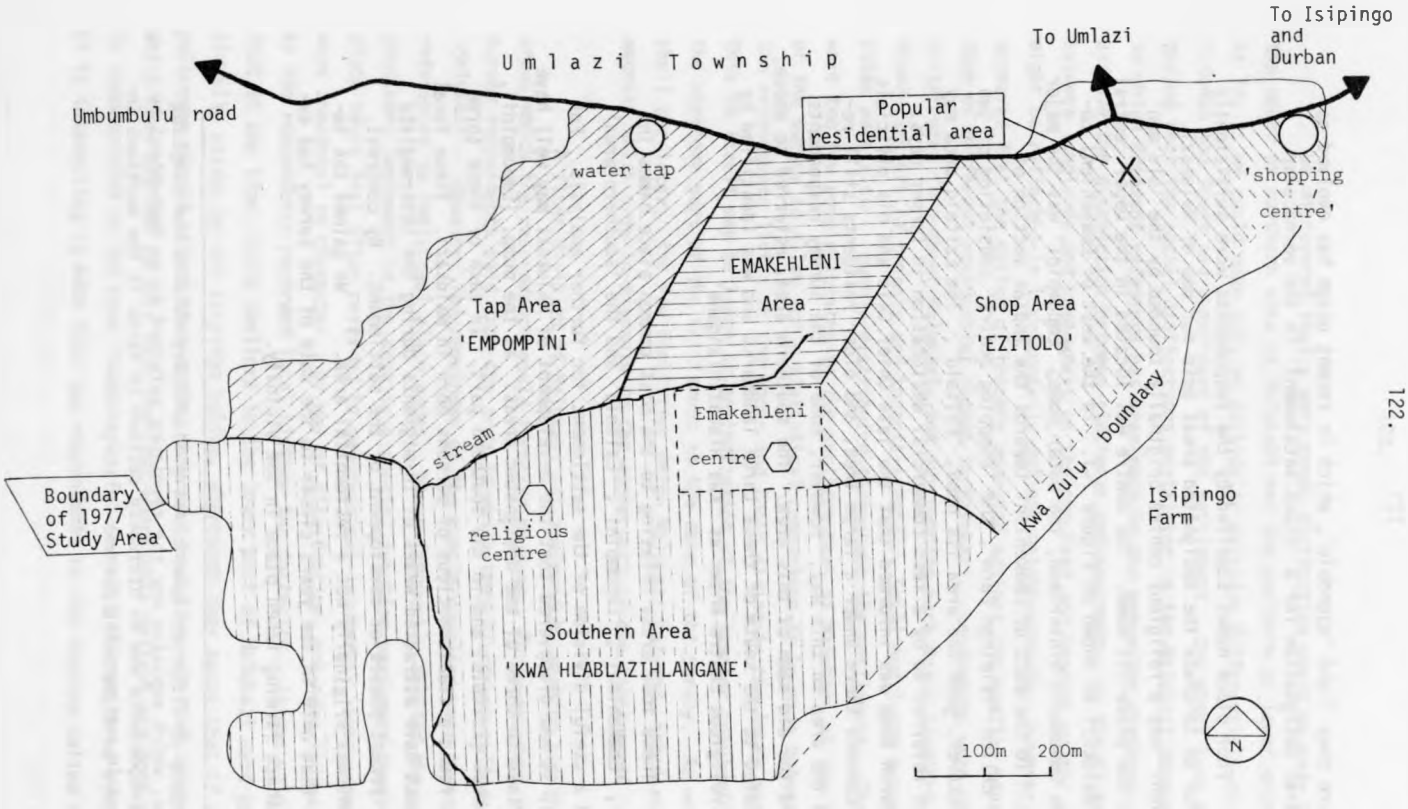

Figure 7-1 Neighbourhoods and landmarks in Malukazi.

This was suggested by the higher proportion of newcomers residing in the Emakehleni area than in other Malukazi areas.

According to the survey findings, there was every reason to believe that the southern area may have retained its rural character until shortly before the study had commenced. The southern area was represented in our sample by a small number of persons born in Malukazi and the remainder of the southern representatives were very recent arrivals.

We also discovered that persons living in the different areas of Malukazi tended to make use of different water sources, which would alleviate the enormous pressure placed on any one of the major sources supplying the settlement. At the time of the survey, approximately three-quarters of the respondents living in the Empompini area drew their water from the communal tap. The majority of the Ezitolo residents got their water from the nearby shops or from Umlazi township. Residents in the Emakehleni section divided neatly into users of tap water and users of shop or township water. The only substantial use of river water was made in the southern area. Thirty-nine percent of the respondents living in southern Malukazi drew water from nearby streams for daily use.

According to the survey respondents the best residential neighbourhood in Malukazi was situated in the upper area, notably in the stretch of land bordering the road (cf. Table 7.1).

Table 7.1.

Best residential area in Malukazi.

	%
Northern part	65,5
Southern part	10,4
No difference	10,1
Don't know	10,4
New to Malukazi	2,5
No information	1,1
	100,0
N = 278	

Two-thirds of the sample indicated one or several sampling sections in the north as being preferred residential areas in Malukazi. By contrast, the southern part of Malukazi was considered less desirable. Some 10 percent of the respondents stated there was no difference between areas in Malukazi. A small number in this group felt that all areas were equally rough. Over 10 percent of the respondents were indecisive or felt they were too new to Malukazi to be able to give an opinion.

Encouraging was the high number of persons, who said that 'their' place was the best part of Malukazi in which to live. We took this attitude to convey a certain pride or at least some kind of identification on the part of the respondents with the neighbourhood in which they lived. Any other more specific place names mentioned referred to the three northern areas: Empompini, Emakehleni, and Ezitolo.

True to expectations we found that the ability to indicate a preferential area in which to live in Malukazi and to refer to it by a place name, increased systematically with the length of residence in Malukazi. Hence, tenants, being for the most part new arrivals, were least capable of perceiving such differences in their housing environment.

We also undertook a type of sociometric exercise to determine whether people evaluated their own area differently from other areas in Malukazi. By and large, auto- and heterostereotypical responses were very similar. A sampling section bordering on the road, located in the Ezitolo area, was unanimously voted to be an extremely popular residential neighbourhood. It is interesting to note that representatives of all phases of Malukazi's development, ranging from the Malukazi born to the most recent newcomer, agreed on this point. The section where the water tap was situated had a slightly heightened self-image. By contrast, residents living in the section usually identified with the religious landmark, Emakehleni, appeared to suffer from feelings of inferiority. They underestimated the prestige of their section. We drew the conclusion that since the inhabitants of this section were mainly tenants, they might not be too happy about their residential situation and therefore gave an unfavourable vote to the neighbourhood in which they lived. On the other hand, due to the crude subdivision of the settlement in terms of our sampling frame, the large number of hetero-votes given to this section might have referred

to the prestigious religious landmark rather than to the residential qualities of the Emakehleni area.

Access to community conveniences, services and facilities were the major criteria which characterised the northern part of Malukazi as the choice residential area. The southern part of Malukazi could hardly compete with the utilitarian advantages of the northern part, but for some few it had retained an atmosphere of tranquillity, spaciousness and familiarity. Thus we found that the northern Malukazi residents appeared to value their residential area for its practical convenience rather than for the more intangible values which might well be associated with a sense of place.[1)]

Reasons given by the respondents for thinking that one particular area excelled another one for residential purposes are given in Table 7.2. Proximity to transport, water and shops figured prominently on the list. Proximity to Umlazi Township was extremely important and it is proposed that some of the northern sections of Malukazi were seen as an extension of Umlazi Township. At the time of the survey, water could be obtained from Umlazi Township free of charge. Similarly, some of the facilities of the formal township were used by Malukazi residents at the time of the survey, most importantly the Umlazi schools.

Some environmental factors such as space, sentimental attachment, peace and quietness figured lower down on the list of preference criteria. It should also be pointed out that some of the reasons indicated for preferring a particular Malukazi area for residential purposes have actually fallen away since the survey was conducted in 1977. For instance, shortly after the study was undertaken, Umlazi water was metered and no longer freely available to the Malukazi people living across the road. It is also possible that attractive environmental factors such as open space and quietness were in part eradicated by the arrival of new waves of in-migration.

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1) This is consistent with findings produced by a study of the quality of life among blacks in Durban recently undertaken by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. In day-to-day living, the key issues of concern tend overwhelmingly to be the practical, utilitarian and functional aspects of the environment (Schlemmer 1978:4-5).

Table 7.2.

Criteria for evaluating best residential areas in Malukazi.

Proximity to:		%*
Transport		32,8
Water supply		22,7
water tap	8,9	
Umlazi township water	12,8	
Indian (shop?) water	1,0	
Shops		19,1
Umlazi township		8,5
(water, see above	12,8)	
unspecified	7,7	
schools	,8	
Space, low densities		4,8
At home in area, friends, birthplace		4,8
Quiet, less rough		4,3
Other: good business, near doctors, telephone booth, no rental, flat area, place of own		3,0
		100,0

N = 392 responses

* multiple responses

Whereas 'proximity' factors were the most positive residential features which characterised the northern areas closest to the roads, the further south we went, the greater was the impact of 'environmental' and 'sentimental attachment' factors such as space, tranquillity, and a feeling of belonging.

7.2 Perceived power structures in Malukazi.

Who were the community leaders in Malukazi? Community power studies have a long tradition in social research. This type of study attempts to describe the concentration of power in a community and identify

the institutional base of the power structure. In western-industrial contexts typical power structures include the pyramidal, the bifurcated and the issue-dominated structure. In the case of power being located outside the community, reference is made to a power vacuum. A power elite is said to exist when power is wielded by a handful of prominent people in the community, who dominate the decision-making process concerning local issues. The bifurcated power structure is characterised by a split in the elite, usually between two major institutions represented in the community. In an issue-dominated power structure, the decision-making caucus is composed of representatives of the interest groups concerned with the outcome of the decision.

For many years community researchers have argued about the merits and risks involved in using various methods to determine the community power structure. For example, the so-called 'reputational' method asks a panel of experts to list the most powerful people in their community. A short list of key community figures is then prepared from the panel's votes. By contrast the 'decision-making' approach observes community in action and selects the key figures involved in the resolution of major community issues over a certain period of time. A major dispute has arisen over whether the power structure observed is not merely a product of the technique used in community research. The pyramidal and bifurcated power structures are thought to be biased toward the reputational method, whereas a more even power distribution usually emerges when the decision-making approach is adopted. Furthermore, it has been argued that the selection of the panel of experts as well as the choice of issues discussed during the study period are largely determinant of research findings.

Such controversial issues did not arise when the research design employed in the Malukazi study was discussed. Right from the start, the research team had placed greater emphasis on the priorities of the rank and file members of the community rather than on the opinions of community leaders or spokesmen. Secondly, the research team was committed to the survey method, so that the reputational approach to assessing the community power structure was adopted as a matter of course. In the Malukazi study we were chiefly interested in discovering whether members of the community recognised community leaders in their midst or if they felt the community

suffered from a 'power vacuum'. It was assumed that effective community leadership would boost community morale and confidence in the future. Protection of the community interests by powerful spokesmen would increase the bargaining power with the authorities concerned, and if outside assistance were forthcoming community leaders could channel it into worthwhile community projects. On the other hand, if a power vacuum existed in the opinion of the local residents, this would possibly amplify their own feelings of hopelessness in a marginal situation.

Our inquiries into Malukazi's power structure were of necessity superficial and they exhibited a definite 'reputational' flavour. Without much reflection we fell for the key question employed in Floyd Hunter's (1953) classic community study conducted in Atlanta, Georgia, and asked our respondents if there were any 'big men' in Malukazi. We then went on to inquire from the respondents if they knew of any committees which had formed in Malukazi to help people with their problems.

Two-thirds of the respondents were of the opinion that community leaders existed in their midst and could indicate the name of one or two leaders (cf. Table 7.3).

Table 7.3.

Are there any 'big men' in Malukazi?	%
Yes, there are big men	65,5
No, there are no big men	18,3
Only knows landlord	2,9
Don't know, (new to place)	13,3
	100,0

N = 278

On the other hand, the response rate to the question concerning community associations was disappointing. Less than one-fourth of the sample knew of any committees meeting in Malukazi (cf. Table 7.4). Newcomers to the

community were prone to plead ignorance of community affairs.

Table 7.4.

Knowledge of committees which have developed in Malukazi.

	%
Names committee(s)	24,3
There are no committees	50,4
Don't know, non-response	25,3
	100,0

N = 278

This was consistent with their general apathy concerning their present living circumstances which has been reported on earlier. Attitudes toward and knowledge of community affairs tended to be evenly distributed throughout the northern and southern areas of Malukazi. Residents of the Kwa Hlabazihlangane area in the southern part of Malukazi appeared to be least convinced that community leadership existed in Malukazi. Perhaps this was due to their isolation from the rest of the community. All respondents answering in the affirmative to the question concerning 'big men' were able to supply us with the name of at least one leader. Traditional leaders and officials, and members of prominent families established in Malukazi received by far the highest recognition in the community. At the same time, these men for the most part represented the business community. Typically independent businessmen in the informal sector such as shopowners, and taxi operators were the key figures. Signs of the future overlap of an external 'neo-traditional' layer of power over the one existing in Malukazi at the time of the survey could be detected in our data. Since 1977, the Inkatha movement will have gained ground in Malukazi. Some respondents to the question concerning committees qualified their references to Inkatha meetings by mentioning that the meetings took place in the neighbouring Umlazi section.

Only one-quarter of the sample could name one or more committees which were operating in Malukazi for the benefit of the community. Half

of the respondents stated that no such committees had been established in Malukazi. Burial societies and similar mutual aid associations were the most popular type of committee. Some Malukazi residents were said to be attending Inkatha meetings. Some few respondents reported that school committees and a residents' association had been formed in Malukazi.

Information on the type of persons manning these committees was supplied by virtually all those answering the questions concerning committees. Committee members appeared to represent a cross section of the community: businessmen, the educated or the well known and the respected, government officials, and lay members of the community in their roles as parents or householders. Unfortunately no finer distinction was made by the respondents within the category of well known and respected persons.

Without having undertaken first hand observations in Malukazi over a longer period of time, the research team was, of course, not in a position to accurately assess the effect of the leadership structure on the life of the community. Judging from the survey data, Malukazi was certainly not without a power caucus, for the majority of the residents interviewed had acknowledged the existence of powerful figures in their midst. In this respect they may have felt less anomic than their counterparts living in formal townships. For instance, in an in-depth study conducted among Kwa Mashu township residents in 1975, just under 60 percent of respondents said they had no leaders in their community to whom they could turn for help (Møller, et al.1978:76). However, one might argue that the Kwa Mashu township respondents were referring to a lack of *effective* leadership and representation. In the Malukazi study, we must admit to ignorance on this point. We were not able to discover whether the Malukazi residents accepted the leadership of their 'big men' or not.

In the preceding chapters we reported that the old established residents and in particular those persons born in Malukazi were more likely than other residents to expect the local community to effect improvement in Malukazi. Although one might accept this response as a sign of confidence in local community leadership, it was suspected that even among those persons born in Malukazi, there may have been a split of opinion concerning

the effectiveness of their community leaders and local committees. However, it was impossible to pick up sufficiently clear trends in the data to corroborate these suppositions. On the other hand, one can say with sufficient confidence that the nucleus of dissatisfied overspill people, to whom reference has been made from time to time in the preceding chapters, were as apathetic and disinterested with regard to questions of community leadership as they were regarding community improvements and what was going on around them in Malukazi at the time of the survey.

Conclusively, if one is allowed to speculate, it was suspected that the power structure in Malukazi was not acceptable to all residents at the time of the survey. For example, the survey results suggested that the cleavage between the old established and the overspill newcomers was reflected in their perception of community leadership. It was highly likely that the overspill group which consisted by and large of younger persons, represented a new generation of albeit minimally but even so educated persons who held city jobs. One can well imagine that they may have resented the dictate of the older business elite, who were also their landlords in Malukazi.

In this paper we have argued along the lines that the admixture of a stable core of established residents and of groups of newcomers exhibiting varying degrees of commitment to the community, will inevitably produce tensions and cleavages in the informal settlement. By contrast, Payne (1977:139) is of the opinion that a mixture of stable and mobile groups has its advantages for the development of informal settlements, in that it provides for continuity and meaningful change in the social and physical structure of the settlement. According to Payne, informal settlements can typically accommodate a wide range of spatial and social needs. However, when the limits of the settlement's responsiveness to the particular needs of any one settler group is exhausted, people tend to move out to new areas and thus make place for others whose needs are more compatible. The spontaneous settlements studied by Payne in New Delhi contained a strong core of residents who had lived in the same area for many years and who were unlikely to move unless external pressures forced them. On the other hand there was evidence of socially mobile younger generations.

These more recent migrants were filtering through the community and using it to establish themselves within the wider socio-economic structure of the urban area before moving on to other types of housing which they felt answered their new requirements. According to Payne the mixture of stable and mobile groups operates to the possible benefit of both, there is a strong sense of community and coherent social structure to which new arrivals can relate themselves and also a healthy mixture of families who move through and prevent the community from becoming introverted or acquiring the characteristics of a ghetto.

The discrepancy between the existence of community influentials and the dearth of community associations suggested by the present survey findings, might indicate that the Malukazi power caucus did not act in concert and had failed to organise a community forum in which local issues could be discussed. Certainly the field staff did not gain the impression that the community in Malukazi - referring to 'community' as a communion of interest rather than in the territorial sense - had developed an internal organization which might provide the basis for a community decision-making or administrative body.[1] Instead, they saw persons occupying prominent positions in the community acting independently of each other. It was however possible, that when the threat to wipe out the settlement in its present location were to become imminent, community cohesion might increase and an effective leadership emerge.

7.3 Summary.

The impression was gained from a brief inquiry into the images of community held by the survey respondents that the Malukazi community was not homogeneous with respect of territorial and social divisions. Four neighbourhoods characterised mainly by landmarks such as water points, shops, and religious centres, were identified in a mapping exercise. The preferred residential neighbourhoods were situated closest to the main road

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1) In Zambia, Martin (1974) reports that traditional organizations took on new functions to administer spontaneous settlements in a 'semi-formal' manner which made for their orderly, but - in comparison to conventional townships - less regulated development.

which bordered the settlement and were characterised by accessibility factors including access to transport, to the community water supply, and to shopping facilities. The results of the mapping exercise indicated that the Malukazi residents were possibly forced to make use of different water supplies obtained from the local shops, from the neighbouring Umlazi Township houses and from streams as well as from the single water point serving the settlement. One might consider that if any of these extra water supplies were to cease, the water situation in Malukazi would be even more precarious than it was at the time of the survey. In a second exercise community influentials were readily identified by the majority of the survey respondents, but the impression gained was that community leaders did not act in concert or apply themselves to solving community problems or creating a forum where community issues could be discussed. The inquiry into community images strengthened the impressions gained in other sections of the study that the Malukazi community was divided into two camps. It was observed that the newcomers to the settlement appeared to be less knowledgeable concerning community landmarks and community leaders and were less likely to identify with the neighbourhood in which they lived, whilst the established residents were more confident of the effectiveness of their community leadership.

CHAPTER 8.

CONCLUSIONS AND ASSESSMENTS.

Reports on selected aspects of residential mobility and residential satisfactions revealed by a survey conducted in the Malukazi settlement in 1977 have been presented in the preceding chapters and major findings have been summarised at regular intervals. It now remains to outline some general impressions gained from the present study. The inquiry into mobility and quality of life topics reported on in this paper was exploratory in nature and some insights gained in the course of the data analysis raised questions which might profitably be studied in greater depth in further investigations into the forces shaping urban settlement patterns. Final comments will be subsumed under three headings: Quality of life experiences in the spontaneous settlement; the effects of comparative reference standards; differential satisfactions and evaluations: the case of the 'established' and the 'city overspill' settlers.

1) Quality of life experiences in the spontaneous settlement. In the present study, the sense of deprivation keenly felt by the majority of the spontaneous settlers was reflected in the survey respondents' statements of grievances. The grievance list compiled from the survey responses read like an outline of 'basic needs' (Ghai et al. 1977). Even the more privileged members of the community were concerned with the obvious deficiencies of their housing environment. The most serious problems faced by the community were the acute shortage of water and inadequate sanitation. Further grievances included the inadequate provision of services and infrastructure. The general impression was gained that settlers also suffered from the psychological strain of living without security of tenure. It was observed that the ever present threat of removal was a factor which significantly influenced respondents' attitudes and assessments of their life chances. For example, survey findings indicated that Malukazi residents who felt secure in their dwelling situation tended to evaluate their residential environment in more positive terms than others. With the possible exception of the psychological stress caused by insecurity of tenure, all other residential problems faced by the settlers tended to be overshadowed by the need for

a reliable and accessible water supply and for adequate sanitation. It is important to note that in the opinion of a substantial number of respondents, the Malukazi settlement - despite its glaring deficiencies - did provide both convenient and adequate dwelling circumstances for underprivileged households. This was particularly evident from the fact that some Malukazi residents did not wish to shift residence because they anticipated they would suffer economic or social costs as a consequence of moving.

According to survey findings, convenient location, flexible approaches to solving settlers' varying accommodation needs, and low housing costs were some of the features which were attractive to the Malukazi settlers. Whilst the former factors were relevant mainly to newcomers to the settlement, the economic savings achieved by living in Malukazi were more significant to the established settlers. Regarding access to housing, Malukazi fulfilled the need for 'instant housing' in the case of persons finding urban employment or changing their jobs. It was concluded that the procedure whereby houses could be obtained in Malukazi was more comparable to that of the open market than the system of housing allocation in the organised townships, (cf. Chapter 3, and Haarhoff 1979:116) and thus ensured an optimal level of user satisfaction upon arrival in the settlement. In the course of their stay in Malukazi, residents were also afforded further opportunities to progressively adjust their dwelling situation to suit their current housing needs. It was observed that settlers achieved housing congruence in the settlement - that is adequate correspondence between housing needs and wants and the opportunities to fulfill these aspirations - by phasing the construction of their dwellings to suit individual needs and capabilities (cf. Haarhoff 1979:72 ff) and by undertaking residential shifts (cf. Chapter 4). The flexible and user-oriented approach to solving housing problems and the relaxation of standards and restrictions in all spheres of life was particularly appreciated by those respondents who had previously suffered under the rules and regulations controlling the lives of black workers in the urban areas. Similarly, survey respondents welcomed the opportunities to supplement their incomes from informal employment in Malukazi and enjoyed living in houses of their own choice.

The location of the Malukazi settlement was considered particularly convenient for urban workers. Access to transport and urban employment was one of the chief factors attracting new settlers to Malukazi. An exercise in residential preferences also revealed that the Malukazi neighbourhoods situated on the major road separating the informal settlement from Umlazi Township were more popular than other neighbourhoods. It was suggested that access to transport in part offset some of the disadvantages experienced by the Malukazi settlers living without basic amenities, and this supposition may apply to other spontaneous settlements which have sprung up on the urban fringe.

It is proposed that the low building costs reported by Haarhoff (1979: 90 ff, 121 ff) affected both the suppliers and the consumers of housing in Malukazi. Present study findings suggested that the direct advantages of low housing costs accrued mainly to the more established settlers who were by and large landowners or owner-occupiers of Malukazi houses. However, one might argue that the indirect advantages of low housing costs were passed on to the tenant consumers in the form of increased access to rented accommodation, which effectively increased their choice in housing in the urban areas.

The assumption is made here that planning policies aimed at improving the quality of residential life in fringe settlements such as Malukazi will fall somewhere between the extremes of rehabilitation or relocation.[1)] Regardless of the policy guideline adopted it is urgently suggested that the planners do not overlook the fact that some aspects of informal living, such as those outlined above, have been experienced as advantages by spontaneous settlers. It is recommended that a housing policy which does not include similar advantages or compensations for loss of such advantages for the informal settlers will not gain community acceptance and will be difficult to implement to the satisfaction of all parties involved.

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1) cf. Stopforth 1978: Chapters 5, for a review of housing alternatives in relation to the Malukazi Settlement.

2) The effects of comparative reference standards. It was assumed that assessments of the advantages and disadvantages of residing in Malukazi and perceptions of feasible alternatives to living in informal housing circumstances would in part be influenced by the comparative reference standards employed by the residents. Survey findings tentatively suggested that for the majority of the Malukazi settlers the standard of housing and amenities provided in black townships was used as an orienting frame of reference. Support was given to this contention by the fact that the Malukazi settlement was contingent to the Township of Umlazi and approximately half of the respondents had gained experience of some form of township living before moving to Malukazi. Township living as an alternative to living in an informal settlement had been seriously contemplated by a substantial number of respondents, particularly by those who wished to gain access to a township house of their own. The impression was gained from this study, that those settlers who applied the township standard of comparison most rigidly to their housing circumstances tended to experience the hardship of day-to-day living in Malukazi most intensely. They suffered more than others from feelings of relative deprivation and were most likely to express dissatisfaction with living in informal housing circumstances. Manifestations of dissatisfactions included disgust with one's surroundings, alienation, and a sense of inability to control or improve one's housing situation. It was contended that if the proportion of Malukazi residents who saw their life chances restricted by their housing circumstances were to increase substantially, the informal settlement might lose its dynamic character and assume an air of neglect which typically characterises 'slums of despair' rather than 'slums of hope'.

Consider also that if the respondents saw the advantages of living in an informal settlement in relation to the ones afforded by living in a formal township, the positive aspects attributed to living in Malukazi might be interpreted as a reflection of the deficiencies and disadvantages associated with township living.

Lastly, it is suggested that the use of a 'township' reference standard will become increasingly prevalent among peri-urban settlers as experience of urban living becomes more widespread. It is expected

that the adoption of the 'township' frame of reference by higher proportions of the informal settlers will raise expectations and aspirations with regard to housing and increase the demand for better services outside the formally developed residential areas.

3) Differential satisfactions and evaluations: the case of the 'established' and the 'city overspill' settlers.

Survey results demonstrated that the living conditions in Malukazi satisfied dweller expectations and aspirations to varying degrees. An analytic distinction was made between two extreme types of Malukazi settlers who experienced different levels of satisfaction with their residential environment.

A picture of the physical and social development of the settlement was assembled from the residential histories of the survey respondents. The most important finding emerging from this exercise was the fact that different types of settlers representing different housing needs had contributed to different phases of Malukazi's physical development. Whilst the original Malukazi settlers had been attracted from the rural areas, the more recent arrivals were by and large city people whose housing needs for various reasons could not be satisfied in other urban residential areas. This finding suggested that the spontaneous settlement at the time of the survey was complementing and expanding the stock of standard type housing provided in the formal townships which could not meet the demand for housing made by a growing population with divergent housing needs. In this connection one might note that the respondents named a variety of reasons for coming to live in Malukazi (cf. Chapter 5) and that a wide range of structural solutions were represented in the settlement (cf. Haarhoff 1979: 71). According to the survey data new waves of in-migrants were distributed fairly evenly among the previously developed neighbourhoods in Malukazi so that all residential neighbourhoods were characterised by a mixed population consisting of more established residents as well as newcomers.

It was ascertained that the housing needs of the earlier settlers had been adequately met in Malukazi. Correspondingly, larger proportions of the more established residents tended to express satisfactions with

housing and the residential environment than the newcomers to the settlement. As the attitude survey was based on observations made at only one point in time, it is possible that the more dissatisfied residents who had arrived during the earlier stages of the development of the settlement had meanwhile left Malukazi. Nevertheless, the existence of a group of relatively satisfied residents at the time of the survey was considered a significant finding. In the case of the established residents, satisfactions were by and large related to factors such as home ownership,[1)] economic well-being, choice of lifestyle, adequate dwelling space, and opportunities to adjust housing circumstances to changing user needs. Judging from the respondents' personal perceptions of their life situation, the more established residents stood to suffer greater financial losses than others if they moved or were relocated. Rent-free living and informal sources of income, in particular from the renting of accommodation, were major sources of residential satisfaction for the established settlers. Survey results suggested that the better established residents were more thoroughly familiar with and attached to local landmarks, had developed a sense of place, and experienced feelings of belonging in the neighbourhoods where they lived. These residential ties would be disrupted in the case of residential shifting or relocation.

Whilst the more established members of the community tended to indicate higher levels of satisfactions and were inclined to give a more positive evaluation of their residential environment, the 'city overspill' settlers,who were often younger persons and late arrivals to the settlement, were generally less positively inclined towards informal housing. Convenient location and easy access to housing were the chief features attracting the 'city overspill' in-migrants to the settlement from urban housing circumstances ranging from single-sex hostels, workers' compounds, live-in quarters on employers' premises to lodgings in township houses. It was observed that the newly arrived 'overspill' settlers were less likely

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1. Disregarding the fact that ownership can only be defined vaguely in in the study context, subjective feelings of ownership are significant factors affecting morale and general well-being.

to achieve housing congruence than the more established residents, because resources such as land, and accessibility to services and facilities were becoming increasingly scarce. Correspondingly, higher proportions of the newcomers to the settlement were dissatisfied with their standard of living in Malukazi. Furthermore, it was observed that because the newcomers tended to compare their housing circumstances with a 'township' reference standard they were inclined to feel they were inferiorly housed. In extreme cases of perceived deprivation, some members of the 'overspill' group did not acknowledge any advantages of living in the informal settlement.

The results of the mobility study suggested that newcomers' capabilities for improving their dwelling circumstances in Malukazi by shifting or undertaking home improvements had not been fully exhausted in some cases and 'overspill' satisfactions might increase in time. On the other hand, it was doubtful that newcomers would voluntarily lower their levels of aspirations in the sphere of housing to correspond to the lower standard of living and amenities offered in Malukazi in order to achieve low-level satisfactions.

It was assumed that relocation would present fewer hardships for the discontented and less committed 'overspill' settlers, provided the housing alternatives offered met their needs and matched their rent-paying capabilities. Some members of the 'overspill' population of Malukazi who were tenants in their present residential situation and who held expectations concerning housing which could not be met in Malukazi, stood to gain rather than to lose from relocation. According to survey findings the most serious obstacles preventing the members of the 'overspill' group from achieving housing congruence outside of Malukazi were factors including shortage of suitable accommodation and eligibility for township housing.

It is proposed that residential dissatisfaction on the urban periphery may pose a challenge to regional planning in future:

Firstly, as noted above, the opportunities for achieving housing congruence in informal settlements in dimensions other than that of dwelling space are limited by the available resources presently available

which are overtaxed by the increasing number of persons gravitating to the urban periphery. In Malukazi the most popular residential neighbourhoods favoured for 'location' reasons were already overcrowded at the time when the survey was conducted.

Secondly, this report cites evidence of malcontent, disillusionment and frustration on the part of the 'overspill' settlers with regard to their housing situation. It was observed that many of the 'overspill' settlers felt justified in stating their demands for 'proper housing'. It is thought that advancement experienced in the educational and occupational spheres may have raised expectations for a higher standard of housing.

Thirdly, the numbers of discontented persons living on the urban fringe may be expected to increase in proportion to the increasing numbers of persons living as additional residents in township houses whose demands for dwelling space cannot be met. It is likely that overcrowding in township houses will force young blacks to join the ranks of the 'overspill' population waiting on the urban periphery for suitable accommodation in a township setting. In this connection it may be of interest to learn that young township dwellers interviewed in a more recent quality of life exercise undertaken by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in Durban townships were frequently dissatisfied with their housing situation. They anticipated that they would have to leave their parents' homes and shift to peripheral shack settlements in order to relieve the overcrowding in the township home.

In short, it is argued here that the members of the most frustrated and discontented group of informal settlers have imported their residential dissatisfaction to the spontaneous settlement and will therefore not be capable or willing to reconcile their relatively high housing aspirations with the limited opportunities offered to them on the fringe. It is expected that the high levels of dissatisfaction observed among township youth in the study referred to above will simply be shifted to the urban periphery without solving the underlying causes of residential discontent among the displaced township dwellers. Of course, the outmigration of

township people will in part relieve the overcrowding in township homes for those remaining, but the dissatisfied sector of the township population will not disappear. The 'city overspill' will continue to articulate its discontent from outside the township rather than from within.

Certainly a housing policy affecting the future of the Malukazi settlement will have to cater for the needs of the discontented and less committed 'overspill' group as well as for the needs of the more established settlers. According to survey results these two types of settlers are living side by side. It would therefore appear that the differential satisfactions and housing aspirations of both types of inhabitants will have to be catered for simultaneously. It has been suggested that whilst the 'rehabilitation' type of housing solution might be more suited to the needs of those settlers who are reasonably satisfied with informal living, various types of 'relocation' solutions might be compatible with the needs and aspirations of city workers who orient themselves according to 'township' standards of living.

Regarding the needs of the 'overspill' settlers who represented a majority in the Malukazi community at the time of the survey, a variation of the site-and-service approach to housing which makes provisions for superior services might be attractive or at least acceptable as an alternative to the 'instant' housing to which the 'city overspill' aspires. At the same time 'unconditional' access to such a housing scheme such as offered in informal settlements like Malukazi, would have to be given due consideration. It will be remembered that flexibility and lack of restrictions in the housing sphere were highly valued by members of the 'overspill' group, although these positive features of informal settlements did not provide sufficient compensation for the lack of adequate services and amenities.

If an alternative solution to living in Malukazi is not offered to the discontented 'overspill' residents and they cannot continue to live in Malukazi, survey results suggest that in the long run this group will either retrace its steps back to the townships and contribute to the deterioration of living standards in the existing housing stock, or resettle in another informal settlement according to the 'musical chairs'

principle described by Stopforth (1978). In both cases the housing aspirations of a growing group of urban workers will not be satisfied.

Lastly, it is particularly important to consider the housing problems of the less committed spontaneous settlers in conjunction with the housing needs of the younger generations of township dwellers. It is suggested that a single housing 'package' would very likely be attractive to various types of urban workers presently living in single-sex hostels, overcrowded township houses, as well as in unserviced fringe settlements such as Malukazi, and assist in realising their housing aspirations.

To sum up, we have learnt that the Malukazi residents stated their housing satisfactions in terms of their participation in the urban economy and social structure. Similarly, it would appear that the effects of a housing policy aimed at solving community needs in settlements like Malukazi would spill over the boundaries of the informal settlement and simultaneously increase life chances as they are affected by environmental quality for city workers living in both informal and formal housing circumstances in the Durban Metropolitan area.

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APPENDIX

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION ON SELECTED BACKGROUND VARIABLES

APPENDIX.

Sample distribution on selected background variables.

N=278 household heads.

1. Sex	%
male	82
female	18
	100

2. Age	%
under 24 years	1
25 - 29 years	10
30 - 34 years	15
35 - 39 years	19
40 - 44 years	16
45 - 49 years	16
50 - 54 years	8
55 - 59 years	7
60 years and more	8
	100
median	43 years

3. Marital status	%
never married	5
married	66
widowed	14
divorced/separated/deserted	2
firm negotiations for marriage	4
irregular union	8
other	1
	100

4. Place of birth	%
Cato Manor	3
Durban, Umlazi, Glebeland, Lamontville, Clermont, Chesterville	6
Malukazi	23
Bhekitembe	1

Continued/...

Place of birth continued.	%
Mariannhill, Inanda	1
Umzinto, Umkomaas, Umfume, Umbumbulu, Umthwalumi, Mgugu	19
North Natal	24
Mid Natal	9
South Natal	10
Transkei	3
Rest of South Africa, Swaziland	1
	100

5.

Years spent in town	%
4 years and less	4
5 - 9	7
10 - 14	11
15 - 19	16
20 - 24	10
25 - 29	13
30 - 34	9
35 - 39	10
40 years and more	20
	100

6.

Education	%
nil	15
Substandards A and B	2
Standards 1-3	18
Standards 4-6	30
Form I or Standard 7	6
Form II or Standard 8	15
Form III or Standard 9	9
Forms IV and V or Standard 10	5
	100

7. Employment	%
unemployed	2
formally employed	54
formally and informally employed	24
informally employed	17
pensioned	1
household duties	2
	100

8. Type of formal employment	%
not formally employed	23
professional	5
owner of small business	2
clerical and sales	6
routine non-manual	23
semi-skilled manual	7
labourer	29
domestic worker/garden	3
other	2
	100

9. Place of employment	%
City	19
Jacobs, Merebank, Montclair, Clairwood	16
Isipingo	12
Bayhead, Maydon Wharf	8
Prospecton, Reunion	7
Congella	6
Umlazi	6
South of Amanzimtoti	2
Amanzimtoti, Umbogintwini	1
Other	1
no information, not applicable (not formally employed)	22
	100

10. Ownership of house occupied by respondent		%
household head		68
born in Malukazi	19	
born elsewhere	49	
landlord		26
relative of household head		2
information not clear		4
		100

11. Monthly rental payments	%
nil	61
R 1-3	15
R 4-6	12
R 7-9	2
R10-12	3
R13-15	4
R16 and more	3
	100

12. Part of house occupied	%
whole house	57
part of house	43
	100

13. Number of rooms occupied	%
one room	24
two rooms	21
three rooms	14
four rooms	24
five rooms	7
six rooms	5
seven rooms and more	4
no information	1
	100

14. Intention to build onto house	%
yes	20
no	80
	100