

NEW PEOPLE

**The younger
informal settlements
in central Durban**

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RUSU 1992

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NEW PEOPLE:

The Younger Informal Settlements in Central Durban

Report commissioned by the
Department of Local Government and National Housing

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March 1992



PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was commissioned by the Department of Local Government and National Housing, and was undertaken by the Rural-Studies Unit of the Centre for Social and Development Studies (CSDS) at the University of Natal. It was executed over a four month period, from December 1991 to March 1992.

The Centre for Social and Development Studies implements research relevant to the needs of the surrounding developing communities, so as to generate general awareness of development problems, and to assist in aiding the process of appropriate development planning in those communities.

Research of this nature typically involves the assistance and cooperation of many people. It is not possible to mention all persons and groups by name and only a few will be singled out for specific mention. The authors would like to thank Chris Gibson, Robin Richards and Dennis Mbona of CSDS for their research assistance and guidance; Richard Devey of CSDS, who processed the data; the City Engineer's Department of the Durban Corporation, and the Aircraft Operating Company, for the aerial photographs; community representatives for their cooperation and advice; Data Research Africa staff (Mr. S. Stavrou in particular) for conducting the main survey; staff of the Community Services Branch of the Natal Provincial Administration and Urban Foundation for valuable information and advice; and Nikki Wells and Mary Smith of CSDS for report compilation.

Finally, the authors would like to acknowledge the commission by the Department of Local Government and National Housing of this project.

March 1992

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

With a new political dispensation coming, the question of in-migration moves into a central position in urban policy. Since the abolition of influx control at the end of 1985, large numbers of rural dwellers have been leaving their home areas to enter the urban centres. On the edge of large-scale political change, it is possible that these numbers may rise. What is certain is that the urban black population will increase, and will be requiring housing and facilities. On a national scale, the demand is massive. The question of designating land for new settlements has therefore become perhaps the most significant urban question of the 1990s for South Africa.

Finding land and providing needed services for the poverty sector of the urban population is a very large task. Areas of physically suitable and still undeveloped land near to transport and amenities are contested terrain in terms of contending urban interests. The cost of facilities will also be extremely high. In the light of the real difficulties for urban planning here, and since the need is immediate, it appears virtually certain that most of the inflow of population will be received into informal settlement rather than into fully serviced formal townships. Several urgent issues emerge from this context.

Little is presently known of the dynamics of the urban migration process. In the past, it has often been assumed that population movement into urban areas followed gravity flow models, in which rural families leaving their home areas followed a fairly direct track into town, and tended to remain in place after arriving. Under this kind of model, a point is reached at which the country as a whole can be said to have gone through an urban transition, when the majority of the total population can be said to be physically urbanized.

International work on migration has now shown that migration flows are not simple. Circulatory flows between rural and urban continue indefinitely in many if not most Third World countries undergoing urbanization. It is likewise clear that in South Africa rural-urban demographic interaction is a complex and continuing phenomenon. An 'urban transition' may be indefinitely delayed as families continue to move back and forth between urban and rural bases.

But in addition, considerable question attaches about the character of the migration flows that are entering the urban areas, and that may also be transferring population

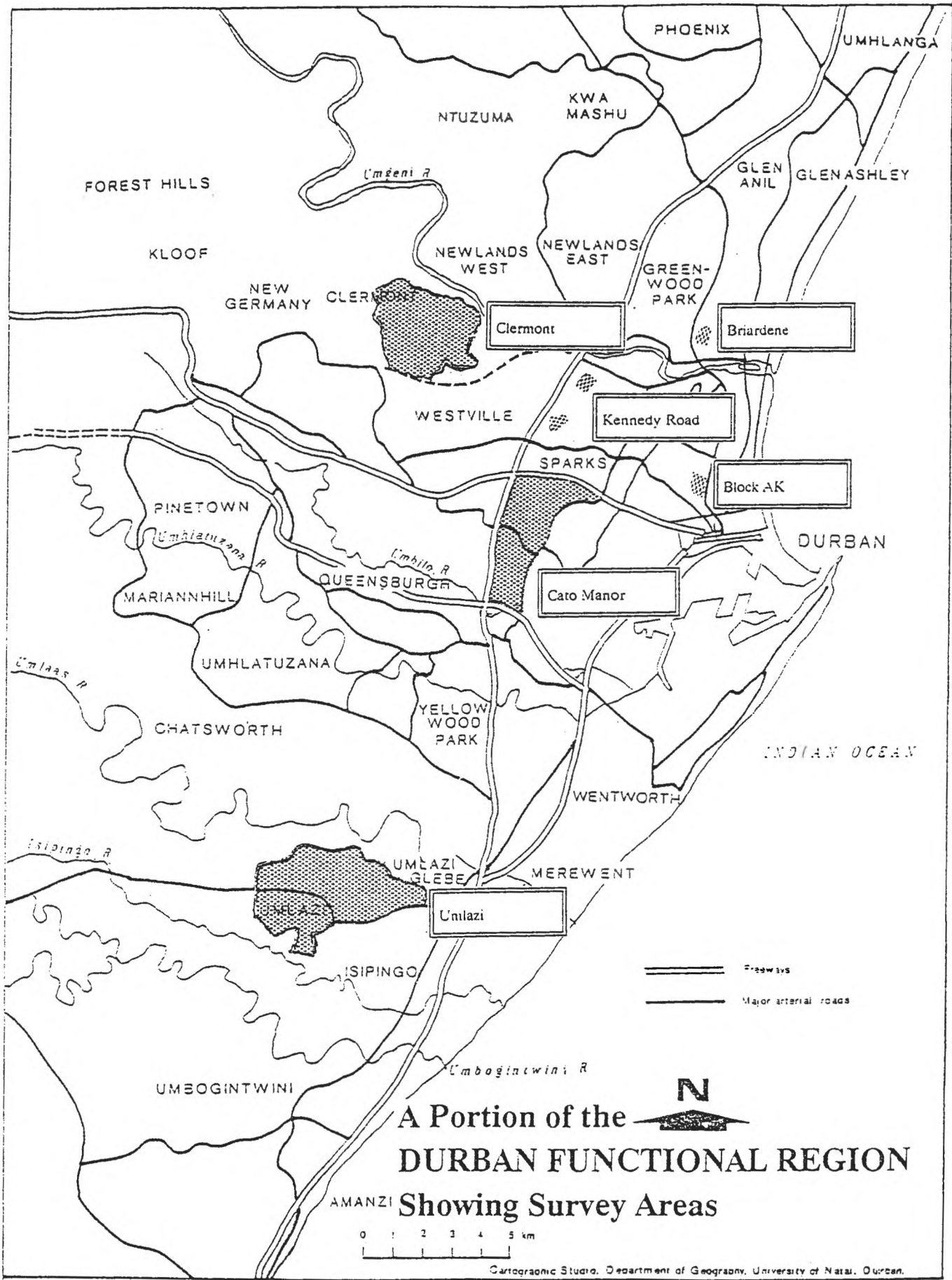
between localities within the urban complex. For urban policy development and for housing and service provision, it is important to understand these flows.

In an attempt to respond to this need, Rural-Urban Studies Unit of Centre for Social and Development Studies at Natal University has been engaged in a series of studies of the dynamics of migration and settlement into informal settlements in the Durban Functional Region. To date, studies on the Mariannhill communities west of Durban and of the Inanda informal settlement complex in the north of the DFR have been completed.

The present study follows up the findings of the first two by investigating migration and settlement dynamics in the younger informal settlements which have been developing in and around the central city area. *Younger informal settlements* represent a new type of informal area. They are characteristically very small settlements occurring on unused urban land, which appear to take settlement very rapidly for a relatively short period of time only. Such settlements have begun to appear in a number of localities in the central residential and business districts of Durban. Results for four representative younger settlements are compared and contrasted against the dynamics of township informal infill and of informal occupation of township backyard structures.

Like its predecessors, this study lays stress on the processes through which new families enter the informal settlements, the mechanisms which filter prospective immigrants into acceptable and unacceptable categories, and the relationship between mechanisms of self-government in the settlement and the process of migration and entry. The analysis then attempts to relate these factors to the observed demographic character of the informal settlements, and to their spatial origins of their populations. In particular, we are attempting to begin an exploration of how population movements among and between informal settlements take place.

A great deal of further study and debate will clearly be needed before answers to these questions come clearly into focus. At the same time, results to date suggest that flows between areas are complex, and that under present conditions the populations of the DFR's informal settlements may be relatively unstable. If so, the implications for urban planning efforts are important, and will need to be confronted in the near future.



CHAPTER TWO: A GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SURVEY AREAS

2.1.: INTRODUCTION

In this section, brief geographical and historical descriptions of the six survey areas, and a description of the local government, community leadership and service delivery situations in each will be given. Of the six survey areas (see Map on previous page), four are younger informal settlements located close to the central city; these are:

- (i) Cato Manor;
- (ii) Kennedy Road.
- (iii) Briardene; and
- (iv) Block AK.

These four settlements will be referred to hereafter as the *younger informal settlements*.

The other two survey areas are formal black townships which have experienced substantial urban infill (whether in the form of free-standing shack settlements or backyard shacks):

- (v) Umlazi (particularly backyard shacking and the free-standing informal area of M-section expansion); and
- (vi) Clermont (particularly the free-standing informal area known as Sub-Five).

In the course of this report, reference will be made to the *informally-housed residents of townships* in order to distinguish the sample population from the formally-housed population of these two settlements.

As will be seen, in two of the younger informal settlements, their histories are largely those of a contest over land usage by racially-defined population groups, a legacy of the Group Areas Act. These settlements are Block AK and Cato Manor.

2.2.: GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL DESCRIPTION BY SURVEY AREA

2.2.1. CATO MANOR:

2.2.1.1. Geography: An open area to the west of the Durban CBD, much of it unsettled, with some areas under dense settlement. The area lies to the west of central Durban and is located just beyond the white residential suburbs situated on the upper and lower Berea Ridge (Butler-Adam, 1984: 12). Cato Manor lies adjacent to Manor Gardens and Sherwood and is also well situated in relation to the light industrial areas of Mayville and Overport. Although the area varies from year to year in shape and size, a rough assessment of its borders would include its eastern boundaries being defined by Bellair Road and the Jan Smuts Highway. The N3 Highway and the outer-ring road constituting its northern and western boundaries respectively and the Mkumbane River serving as the southern boundary.

2.2.1.2. History: The farm Cato Manor was originally given to George Christopher Cato by the Governor of the Cape in 1844/43 in recognition for his services. George Cato was the first mayor of Durban. Cato eventually subdivided the farm into smaller plots and large portions of this land were bought by the Castleyn and Wiggins families. By 1932 Cato Manor was incorporated into the Borough of Durban. By this stage it had been sub-divided and although some whites still owned land in the area on which 'country homes' were built, most of the land was owned by Indians (Butler-Adam, 1984). During the 1930's Indian land owners began to let land to Indian, Coloured and Black tenants who in turn sublet to subtenants (Butler-Adam, 1984: 14). Although the area was still predominantly agricultural, its closeness to Durban made it a 'dormitory area' for workers employed in the city of Durban. The area therefore began to assume an informal peri-urban character. Butler-Adam notes that on the 1931 and 1934 cadastral maps amongst the surveyed and sub-divided plots there were large unspecified areas such as Umkumbaan and Ridgeview. These areas later became the nuclei of shack farming areas (Butler-Adam, 1984: 14).

Maasdorp and Humphreys note that during the 1930's a steady growth of shacks in the Blackhurst and Booth Road areas was recorded and by 1939 there were 500 shacks (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 14). In the absence of sufficient accommodation for the urbanising blacks, sites were rented from Indian landlords. Maasdorp and Humphreys note that it was often more profitable for Indians to lease land for shacks

than to use the land for market gardening purposes. Before the war this area was one of the main banana producing regions in Natal (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 14). Between the years 1936 and 1943 the population in the area increased from 2 500 persons to 17 000 people. By 1950 the Durban Housing Survey estimated Cato Manor to have 6000 shacks with a population of 45 000 - 50 000 inhabitants (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 15). Inhabitants came from the rural black areas in search of work in the urban areas: some came from white farms while others had been born in the area (Butler-Adam, 1984: 16). Poor hygiene conditions and few services led the area to be labelled as forming part of the 'septic fringe' surrounding Durban (Burrows 1952, cited in Butler-Adam, 1984: 14).

The poor hygiene conditions together with worsening social problems led to riots in the area. Maasdorp and Humphreys point out that the serious black housing problem worsened with the Durban riots of January 1949. Violence between Indians and blacks resulted in the destruction of property and rendered some families homeless (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 16).

Under these circumstances the authorities seized the opportunity to clear the area of the informal residents. Indian tenants also lost their homes and landowners lost their properties. Many Indians were moved to Chatsworth. In 1950, the Durban City Council put forward plans to acquire part of Cato Manor for a permanent housing scheme. Although the scheme was approved by the Administrator of Natal, it was rejected by the Government until a permanent zoning scheme under the Group Areas Act had been approved. Maasdorp and Humphreys note that residential segregation by race in South Africa was perhaps more complete in Durban than in other South African cities (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 16).

Until the Group Areas Act was ratified, emergency camps were established as an intermediary strategy to house urbanising blacks close to the core of the city. The Durban Corporation obtained 558 acres of land at Cato Manor in 1952 for the purposes of creating an emergency camp. The Durban Corporation provided basic services including roads, storm water drains, street lights and ablution blocks with toilet and washing facilities. Terraced sites were excavated which enabled families to erect shacks under supervision. Sites were also made available for schools, creches, community halls, sports grounds, shops and a transit camp which consisted of 183 rooms (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 17). The authors note that the emergency camp was totally inadequate to cope with the rapidly growing population of Cato Manor. The

geography and topography of the land surrounding the camp precluded any expansion of the camp. This resulted in the growth of uncontrolled shacklands on the fringes of the camp. These homes lacked even the most basic of facilities (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 17).

Edwards notes that the struggle for the Mkhumbane shacklands was waged in the early 1950's and not in the 1960's as some researchers suggest (Edwards, 1989: 9). Edwards points out that the municipality was very successful in asserting its control over the shacklands and thereby denying blacks permanent freehold residence in the city (Edwards, 1989: 9). In the late 1950's the battle for Mkhumbane was over, despite increased political militancy during this period in protest against the removals. Edwards notes that blacks expressed a strong attachment to the Cato Manor area and refers to a statement made by Colin Shum (1960) who had a long association with the area and was in close contact with its people. Shum notes that

'...the population felt that Cato Manor is a place they have built themselves. One of the many indications of this is the existence of so many place names which in my opinion seem to indicate an attachment to the area in which they live.' (Shum, 1960, cited in Edwards, 1989: 17).

The Durban Corporation obtained 2 261 acres of sugar cane land 18 kilometers north of Durban for the establishment of an extensive black housing scheme to be known as KwaMashu. Other areas including the S.J. Smith Hostel for single males and the Umlazi Glebeland area also served as alternative residential areas for Cato Manor residents and other urbanising blacks. Further expansion of the Chesterville housing scheme adjoining Cato Manor was not allowed to accommodate blacks because, under the Group Areas Act, Cato Manor had been zoned as a white residential area. The removal of shack dwellers from Cato Manor to KwaMashu began in 1958 and was completed by August 1965. By 1958 Cato Manor contained a population of 120 000 inhabitants (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 25). By 1965, 6 062 shacks in Cato Manor had been cleared and a total of 82 826 persons had been removed (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 61).

In May 1989, it was announced that the Government had decided to sell a large tract of land at Cato Manor. The 101 hectare piece of land to be sold was expected to attract a great deal of interest amongst property developers. The land which was zoned for whites is bounded by Francois and Cato Manor Roads as well as the Jan Smuts Highway and Bellair Road and the Umkhumbaan River. The development of Cato Crest had been on the drawing board since 1977 when a scheme was prepared and approved but never

came to fruition. A heated row erupted over these plans, with the House of Delegates and the Cato Manor Residents Association challenging the plan. A campaign was launched to have the area opened to all races. J.N. Reddy, Chairman of the Indian Ministers Council, met with House of Assembly Housing Minister, Ami Venter, and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, to discuss the Cato Crest issue. The Ministers agreed to consider declaring the area a free settlement area. Reddy commented that this was one of the few shale-free areas in Cato Manor for development and the land had lain idle since it was unjustifiably taken away from the Indian community thirty years ago for no reason.

Chairman of the Cato Manor Residents' Association, Roland Parsotham, said that sixty coloured families had been expropriated from Cato Crest (Randgebied). One family had been evicted only three months previously while some fifty informal dwellers faced removal (Bennett, Janette: 'Hands off Cato Manor' in *Natal Witness*, 21 May 1989). The Department of Housing of the House of Assembly said Cato Crest had been declared a white area many years previously and that the area constituted the last piece of land available to whites for residential development. The development would also only occupy a fraction of the land in Cato Manor. Parsotham disputed this, and claimed that the area comprised about a third of the available land in Cato Manor. The Department of Housing pressed ahead with the sale of the 101 hectares of land despite strong objections. They denied the accusation that at a previous meeting the three parties had agreed to proclaim the area a free settlement zone. The land was to be sold by public auction to a white developer for the development of residential plots for whites. If the developer wanted to apply to have the area declared a free settlement area it would be up to him. Alternatively, an Indian developer could buy the land under a special permit but could only develop the land for whites under the present laws.

Former residents of the area met to discuss proposals to buy back the land. Messrs Ganosen and Naicker (brothers) chaired the meeting of former residents who were evicted in the 1960s. It was decided that if they were stopped from buying the land back they would nominate white front men to buy the land.

The House of Delegates attempted to force the Government to re-declare the Cato Crest section of Cato Manor a free settlement area. In their application, the House of Delegates said that the Cato Manor area had been almost exclusively occupied by Indians until June 6 1958 when it was proclaimed a white group area. After lengthy negotiations a 650 hectare portion of Cato Manor was reproclaimed for the Indian group with the Cato Crest

area being excluded. It was argued that as the contested area was situated adjacent to the Indian area, it was well suited for incorporation into that area. In addition the House of Delegates remained convinced that there was not such a dire need for white housing but that such a need did exist amongst the Indian community. It was also argued that if the land was declared a free settlement area there would be a far greater demand for houses than if it was zoned for whites only.

It was reported that the white own affairs administration stood to make about R50 million from the sale of the land formerly owned by the Indian population in Cato Manor. Ray Swart, Democratic Party M.P. for the Berea, suggested that the Minister of Housing in the House of Assembly, Ami Venter, was refusing to hold back on the sale until it was declared a free settlement area to take advantage of the massive windfall which was sparked off by the Group Areas Act. In response to MEC Peter Miller's statement that the Government would not object to an investigation by the Free Settlement Board on the sale of the land, J.N. Reddy noted that this did nothing to solve the problem. No obligation was imposed on the purchaser to apply for free settlement status of the land and there was no obligation on the Government to grant the land such status. Reddy argued that the Government could clear up the controversy by declaring the area a free settlement zone before continuing with the sale of the land.

In the *Sunday Tribune* of 25 June 1989, it was noted that about 60 families faced an uncertain future following the successful bid of R4,2 million for the Cato Crest area by Ilco Homes. A month later, Cato Crest was sold to Ilco Homes for R8 million, almost double its original bid at the previous month's auction. This was the result of a later bid of R8 million put in by Murray and Roberts within the thirty day confirmation period. Ilco Homes as the original bidders were given the opportunity to match the bid. Despite the demands for the area to be declared a free settlement area, there was still uncertainty as to whether this would happen. The Durban Management Committee Chairman Jan Venter said that the Council had voted in favor of applying to the Free Settlement Board for the opening of Cato Crest, and that Ilco Homes just needed to support the application.

The application for proclamation as a free settlement zone was made, and by 10 January 1990 no objections had been raised (objections to the proposal had to be lodged before mid-December 1989). The Free Settlement Board was therefore ready to submit a report to the President who would make the final decision. Development of the area would start once the rezoning application had been approved by the Durban City Council.

In the *Daily News* of 25 January 1990 it was noted that objections against the Durban City Council decision to reduce plot sizes in the proposed free settlement area of Cato Crest had been pouring in. At a meeting of Manor Gardens residents it was unanimously decided that the residents should protest individually against the Council's decision. Residents feared that the proposed plot sizes (180 m²) might result in the area turning into a slum (sic). More than 1 000 objections had been received against the reduced plot sizes. This was the largest number of objections received by the Council to a rezoning proposal. All the objections would be analyzed by the City Engineers Department and the Town and Regional Planning Commission, after which the objections would be considered by the planning committee which would make a recommendation to the Council either in favor of or against the proposed scheme. In addition a hearing would be given to those objecting.

In August 1990, Ilco Homes sold the 101 hectares of land they had purchased back to the Department of Local Government Housing and Works in the House of Assembly. The Chief Executive of Ilco Homes accused the white home owners from the areas adjoining Cato Crest of using 'economic apartheid' as their chosen tool (sic). Democratic Party M.P. Dennis Worrall, who represented the area in Parliament, supported the objections raised by residents in the neighboring area that Cato Crest might turn into a slum given the reduced plot size plan.

In April 1991, a new plan for Cato Crest was submitted by the National Investment Corporation which was negotiating with the Government to buy the land. The plan submitted by the National Investment Corporation was for 868 housing units accommodating about 4 340 residents. The plan envisaged high density housing with medium high rise buildings and plot sizes of 200 m². A buffer zone of open space land on the Bellair Road side as well as less dense housing on the Cato Manor side was also envisaged. The company had also agreed to accept full responsibility for the existing 132 shacks but no new shacks would be allowed. The Cato Manor Residents' Association Chairman noted his surprise at the priority the NIC's proposal was being given and indicated that a detailed memorandum was to be submitted to the Council on the proposed plan.

According to the Natal Provincial Administration Settlement Services (1992), the National Investment Corporation were to purchase the land from the House of Assembly in May 1991. Notices were issued to squatters in Cato Manor to vacate. The Natal Provincial

Administration were to act as agents for the House of Assembly to control further squatting. A vast increase in squatters occurred during these negotiations, and over 400 structures were counted. Aerial photographs were taken of the area in April 1991 and after a meeting with the Cato Manor Residents' Association the shacks were all numbered. Those which were not numbered by the end of April were to be demolished. The National Investment Corporation and Natal Provincial Administration demolished around 127 vacant structures leaving the remaining 245 existing numbered structures.

Negotiations over the future of the area continue into the present day. In January 1992, an informal forum was mooted for the Cato Manor development, and planning and development for the area was back on track. Durban City Councillor Peter Mansfield said that the forum had decided to set up a steering committee. It was agreed that the development of the area would be supervised by a sub-committee comprising representatives of all the various stake-holders. It was agreed that this would improve relations between all the various stake-holders in the area. It was also agreed that no more squatting would be allowed on the land.

This organisation, the Cato Manor Steering Committee, met for the first time on January 27 1992, under the chairmanship of Peter Robinson of the South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners. The Steering Committee is to advise and guide the development of the greater Cato Manor area which includes Maryvale, Chesterville, Ridgeview, Quarry, Bonella, Wiggins, Umkhumbaan, Cato Crest, part of the University of Natal's land and part of Hillary, Bellair, Westville Triangle and Sherwood. The 21 person steering committee wants to get the Development Bank of South Africa and the South African Housing Trust involved in the development. The African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party agreed that no further illegal squatting would be encouraged in the greater Cato Manor area.

2.2.1.3. Local Government, Community Leadership and Service Delivery:

Water: As a result of a meeting between the Natal Provincial Administration and the Cato Manor Residents' Association, the informal dwellers now have 6 standpipes for water.

Sewerage: Ventilated latrines have been provided by the Natal Provincial Administration. Sewerage remains a problem because the settlement is constructed on ecca shale.

Roads and Transport: Poor internal roads. Bellair Road, which runs through the settlement, is a major bus and taxi route.

Local government in the area is complicated by the different landownership patterns. The Natal Provincial Administration, along with the Durban Corporation (the Durban City Council is the local authority for Cato Manor) acts as responsible authority for service delivery, but the House of Delegates also administers and is responsible for the development of portions of the area (see historical section above). Other services delivered by the Natal Provincial Administration include weekly refuse removal and a mobile clinic. The costs for the provision of the above facilities have been shared by the Natal Provincial Administration and the Durban Corporation (NPA Settlement Services 1992). Local leadership for the area takes the form of the Cato Manor Residents Association, a very well-organised civic association which appears to enjoy a great deal of public support among the informal residents of Cato Manor. There is also a very active youth league in Cato Manor.

2.2.2. KENNEDY ROAD:

2.2.2.1. Geography: Kennedy Road is the generic term for two small dense settlements which are located on the eastern side of Kennedy Road in the Clare Hills residential area. The settlements are constructed on steep slopes overlooking the Durban Corporation Dump. Lower Kennedy Road is located above the Clare Hills High School in Bisasar Road and is visible from Kennedy Road. Upper Kennedy Road is located further near the top of Kennedy Road and is closest to the dumping ground. It is not visible from the road (Sikhekhane, 1989: 3). The settlements are approximately 1.8 kilometers apart.

2.2.2.2. History: Lower Kennedy Road was in the early 1970s the home of a number of Indian tenants, who supplied accommodation for blacks who worked for them. When the Indians moved out to settle elsewhere, these blacks were left without a source of income. They remained in the area to scavenge off the Municipal dump. From 1982 the settlement began to grow in size. At present the Durban City Council has agreed to develop the area, and a fair number of facilities have been provided, including the installation of some pit latrines near the entrance to the settlement. The DCC has asked the Lower Kennedy Road community to 'police' influx into the area, and when approximately 12 households established themselves recently at the foot of the slope the Lower Kennedy Road community, while not relocating the new settlers, refused to extend an acknowledgement to them that they were part of the settlement.

Upper Kennedy Road was at one time occupied by an Indian farmer who hired a black tenant to tend his fruit plantations. This tenant was settled on the farm. Other people

started to filter in and settle in the area during 1985 as a result of the violence elsewhere in the DFR. The Indian landowner called on the police to evict the newcomers. Approximately half of those whose shacks were demolished moved elsewhere: the remainder stayed. The Durban City Council has subsequently agreed to develop the area and to provide services, but little has happened (Stavrou, 1992).

2.2.2.3. Local Government, Community Leadership and Service Delivery:

Water: Indians sell water to the residents at 75 c per 25 litres. No formal reticulation of water.

Sewerage: Until the beginning of February 1992, Upper Kennedy Road was dependent upon the ventilated latrines installed by the Durban Corporation in Lower Kennedy Road. The Urban Foundation has recently installed ventilated latrines in Upper Kennedy Road. Several owner-constructed latrines are still in use in both settlements.

Roads and Transport: No internal roads - only footpaths. The settlements are built on a steep slope which complicates internal transport. Kennedy Road itself is well maintained and tarred and is a major taxi route: also Upper Kennedy Road is very close to Clare Road, a major arterial, which is an important taxi and bus route.

The area is owned by the Durban Corporation and administered by their squatter control unit. Many of the residents are dependent on the Springfield dump for survival. The area is to be upgraded (NPA Settlement Services, 1992). Sikhekhane (1989) notes that the area has no real leader who is able to exercise control over residents in the area. He notes that the area does have a female spokesperson who helps to solve local domestic problems and who screens strangers entering the area. This spokesperson is not regarded by the people as a leader because she does not interfere with land issues and the community also settles disputes without her assistance. A 64 year old pensioner is a co-spokesperson for the area (Sikhekhane 1989). According to Stavrou (1992), Upper Kennedy Road has a males-only committee which is rather ineffectual: Lower Kennedy Road, on the other hand, has a well-organised committee with a rotating chairpersonship and which has dedicated itself to a developmental, rather than a political, agenda.

2.2.3. BRIARDENE:

2.2.3.1. Geography: A dense settlement on the edge of the North Coast Road light industrial area. It is thus bounded by the formal and predominantly-white Riverside

residential area, which is part of the suburb of Durban North. The houses are built on very steep slopes overlooking the North Coast Road industrial area.

2.2.3.2. History: The early history of Briardene is not clear at this point, although qualitative and quantitative evidence from the current study suggests that the area has been settled since 1986. From this it seems logical to conclude that it was established by people fleeing violence in other areas of the DFR. The settlement has grown prodigiously since October 1991. Late in 1991, a bulldozer was brought in to fence off certain areas of Briardene. The security firm hired to protect the bulldozer crew acted in a 'high-handed manner' according to the Democratic Party member of parliament for the Durban North area, Mike Ellis (quoted in the *Northglen News*, February 21 1992). This caused a certain amount of tension in the area as people feared they would have to vacate their shacks. However, once the situation was explained to them, the residents of Briardene co-operated and on request moved certain shacks out of the area.

2.2.3.3. Local Government, Community Leadership and Service Delivery:

Water: No water is reticulated to the area. It has been alleged that water is drawn from the reticulated supply to adjacent white formal homes without the white owners' permission (Interview with researcher, 25 February 1992).

Sewerage: Owner-built pit latrines. These may be inadequate for the community's needs, since it is alleged that some people use bushes as far away from their structures as possible (which means on the edges of formal residential sites).

Roads and Transport: No internal roads- only footpath. The settlement is reached by a very poor road that is gravel (on a very steep slope) for its last few hundred meters. However the settlement is a few minutes walk from North Coast Road which is a major bus and taxi route.

Briardene falls within the boundaries of the City of Durban, and the responsibility for service delivery to the area thus lies with the Durban Municipality. According to a report in the *Northglen News* of February 21 1992, the land occupied by the Briardene residents is owned by several landowners, including the House of Assembly, several large commercial and industrial concerns, among them the construction firm Grinakars, and several individual landowners.

'The people living on the land are all illegal squatters, who will ultimately have to be removed, although some of them have been there for more than six years.'

- Mike Ellis, M.P. for Durban North, quoted in *Northglen News*, February 21 1992.

The Natal Provincial Administration has notified the landowners that responsibility for the squatters rests with the landowners. The Durban City Council, via its Councillor for the area, and the House of Assembly, via the M.P. for the area, are currently considering the situation and seeking solutions. Local leadership is very sophisticated: the area is subdivided into four sections which each have appointed a sub-committee with its own secretary. The entire Briardene settlement is controlled by an area committee.

2.2.4. BLOCK AK:

2.2.4.1. Geography: Block AK is a small but extremely dense settlement in the core of the Durban Functional Region (DFR), close to the CBD. The area lies east of the Greyville Race Course. The original boundaries of Block AK include Kolling Road in the North, Epsom Road in the South, Umgeni Road in the East and Mitchell Road in the West (Maughan-Brown and Associates, 1991: 5). Essentially the informal settlement in Block AK consists of two rows of informal houses down both sides of Newmarket Street, between the intersections of Newmarket and Mitchell Road, and Newmarket and First Avenue. This locates Block AK on the perimeter of the Greyville light industrial and commercial area.

2.2.4.2. History: Block AK dates back one hundred years ago and therefore is one of the oldest residential areas in Durban (Scott, 1991: 71). In 1886 the Indian Grey Street CBD was established. The Indian population in the inner city was 8 000 and there were 200 Indian-owned properties (Scott, 1991: 71). The Indian population continued to acquire land and expanded into formerly white occupied areas. Being close to the Indian business district, Block AK was one of the first areas to be populated by Indian residents. Whites moved out of the area to more select residential areas in the city. By 1911, Block AK and other residential areas surrounding the Indian CBD were predominantly Indian (Scott, 1991: 71).

Prior to the implementation of the Group Areas Act in 1950, about 30 000 Indians lived in the 'Old Borough' which stretched northwards from the centre to the Umgeni River, inland to the Berea Ridge and southwards to the Bluff (Maughan-Brown Associates, 1991, 2). The Group Areas Act provided the catalyst for the Durban Corporation to replan the city of Durban. By 1952, plans to move 3 100 Whites and 55 000 Indians were accepted. These plans were not implemented immediately and the insecurity caused by the impending implementation of the plans resulted in a serious deterioration in the

stability of the resident community. The housing eventually fell into disrepair. Scott notes that the justification for moving these people from the area was that the area had deteriorated to such an extent that it was no longer a suitable residential area. However, the deterioration of the area was precisely due to the uncertainty which the residents felt with regard to the future of the area (Scott, 1991: 72).

By 1963 when Block AK was declared a white area, a total of about 5 000 Indian households qualified for forced removal. Shortly after the rezoning of the area, it was declared a Renewal Area in terms of the Community Development Act. Proclamation 1688 of the act in 1968 declared that the area be 'frozen' with regard to further development for ten years. This freezing was later extended for another ten years until September 1988. The land was gradually expropriated by the Department of Community Development in terms of an expropriation notice issued in 1969. By 1978, all privately owned land had been expropriated (Maughan-Brown Associates, 1991: 3). Former residents who received compensation for their land were paid out according to market prices at the time of the proclamation (1963), and not the date of the expropriation notice (1969). Scott (1991: 3) points out that many people suffered financial loss due to unrealistic valuations and therefore resorted to arbitration measures with the Department of Community Development.

During the 1970's, the Department of Community Development took over almost all of the properties in Block AK. Further development was held up because of the uncertainty of the planned Umgeni-Umbilo freeway (Scott, 1991: 73). By 1980, all buildings were demolished and those displaced residents who qualified were resettled by the Department of Community Development. The area was serviced and re-subdivided with costs born equally by the Group Areas Board and the City Council. The land to the West of First Avenue was zoned for general residential development whilst land to the East was allocated for business development (Maughan-Brown Associates, 1991: 3).

Scott notes that as late as 1981, Indian residents were still living in areas of Block AK. The last Indian traders were finally evicted from the area in 1983 after a bitter struggle to remain (Scott, 1991: 73). At the time of offering residential sites for sale, the Department of Community Development was expressing serious doubts about the viability of the sale in view of the reduced interest generally for white flat development. Estate agents therefore began exploring the possibility of purchasing the land for low-rise office developments. Although the City Council was not opposed to such developments in the Western sector of Block AK, it still believed that the area was suitable for residential

usage and the Council therefore unsuccessfully readvertised the two Northern sites in February 1984 (Maughan-Brown Associates, 1991: 4).

The area was marked by further controversy and indecision when the Indian community decided to lobby for the rezoning of the land between First Avenue and Mitchell Road to an Indian residential area. The Indian community argued that there was a shortage of Indian residential property, especially in close proximity to the Indian Business District. Scott points out that this is a logical extension of the Grey Street complex (Scott, 1991: 73). Although the Council acknowledged the lack of demand amongst the whites for residential development in the area, it refused to support the rezoning of the land. The Council instead formally requested the Department of Community Development to remove all racial restrictions on the residential occupation of this area and thus tacitly acknowledged that the area was in demand for residential purposes amongst other population groups. The residential portion of Block AK was zoned for whites until the repeal of the Group Areas Act (Maughan-Brown Associates, 1991: 4).

In about 1989 informal traders, many of them people who had lived at the old Durban station, started to move in. They occupied land in Block AK but were removed from there and the land fenced off. Currently they occupy the pavements of Newmarket Street. About 50 informal business operators live in the area as this is the only way they can be sure that their merchandise will be secure (Maughan-Brown Associates 1991). The area serves as a delivery point for drums for long haul buses (Corporate Service Unit, Durban Corporation: 1992). The Durban City Council is presently investigating a bus site from which the operators will be able to continue trading and have a storage space for their goods. The cost of commuting daily to the area from the townships would also be too expensive. Block AK is more a temporary place of sojourn for informal traders than an informal settlement in the true sense of the word.

2.2.4.3. Local Government, Community Leadership and Service Delivery:

Water: Supplied by Durban City Council through public taps. A service charge for this is paid (Source: Present survey, qualitative interviews).

Sewerage: A few ventilated latrines are provided to informal community.

Roads and Transport: Access good - the settlement is located on either side of a tarred road, which in turn connects to First Avenue which runs directly to the CBD. Buses stage in the area, and the Durban Station is a few minutes walk away.

The informal residents live in makeshift cardboard shelters and are largely exposed to the elements. There are no water or formal sewerage facilities. Sanitation problems are addressed by portable chemical toilets. Local leadership is more or less nonexistent: a woman heads up a committee which has been engaged in some negotiation with the Durban City Council, but qualitative interviews on the ground detected little awareness of how this committee works.

2.2.5. UMLAZI:

2.2.5.1. Geography: A formal black township in the south of the DFR, and the largest formal black township in the DFR and indeed in KwaZulu. Umlazi is situated adjacent to Chatsworth. It covers some 4334 hectares. The township is confined between the steep valleys of two major rivers, which has confined its development and expansion. The areas to the west - Inwabi and Mgaga - are of 'mostly rural character' (KNPC, 1986).

2.2.5.2. History: Maasdorp and Humphreys (1975) note that during the Second World War the Durban City Council set up a special committee to consider post-war housing requirements of the city. The committee found that 2 300 houses would be needed for blacks in the first five years after the war with a further 1 500 houses being required during the second five years (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975: 16). The major obstacle to implementing the plan was the limited availability of land suitable for housing and situated close to major transport routes. The Umlazi Mission Reserve some 16-19 kilometers south of the city was viewed by the Durban City Council as being a suitable area and, with the support of the Natal Provincial Administration, the Council made representations to the government to acquire all or part of the Reserve. At the time the new National Government refused their application and announced its own plans to urbanize the black population independently of the Durban City Council.

The nucleus of the present Umlazi township, the Glebe area of the Umlazi Mission, settled from 1949 onwards, and the Glebe area was developed as a residential township from 1961 onwards (KNPC, 1986).

2.2.5.3. Local Government, Community Leadership and Service Delivery:

Water: The water reticulation system is administered by the KwaZulu Government. It is not clear how informal residential areas are serviced in this regard, or how backyard shacks receive water: presumably in the latter case they are dependent upon the water

reticulated to the main formal structure on the site (KNPC, 1986).

Sewerage: A waterborne sewerage reticulation system is provided. It is not clear how informal residential areas are serviced in this regard, or how backyard shacks dispose of sewage: presumably in the latter case they are dependent upon the waterborne sewage system reticulated to the main formal structure on the site (KNPC, 1986).

Energy sources: Electricity is reticulated to the formal residential sites by the Durban Corporation. Some 50 % of residential sites have no electricity available: this will presumably include free-standing informal settlements within Umlazi. Some 19 % have a supply of electricity available, but it is not connected; 31 % are connected. It is not clear how backyard shacks are supplied with energy. Unelectrified dwellings in the DFR typically rely on sources such as paraffin for their energy needs (KNPC, 1986).

Roads and Transport: Internal roads are tarred and of fair quality. Umlazi is a short distance by road from the industrial areas in the south of the DFR, and is also located on either side of a railway line which runs through the township itself, with four stations in Umlazi. Taxis and buses serve the area frequently. Informal residents and backyard-dwellers have no particular problem accessing this transport (KNPC, 1986).

The responsible authority for the township is the KwaZulu Government. The local authority for the township takes the form of a Township Manager and a Town Council. The township enjoys the full range of township services. There are a large number of schools although these are neither adequate to the population nor of particularly high infrastructural quality. Tertiary, adult and special educational facilities are all available. The development of community facilities is still at an embryonic stage. Health facilities include a number of clinics and two hospitals. Presumably informal residents and backyard-dwellers have no particular problem accessing these services. Formal housing delivery has supplied a wide range of dwelling types, from some very well-constructed units to hostels and a large majority of 51/9 standard 'matchbox' township houses. The growth of backyard shacks and freestanding informal settlements in the area indicates a failure of formal housing delivery programmes to meet housing needs in the area (KNPC, 1986). Local areas committees have emerged to control immigration into freestanding settlements, and have begun to address the developmental needs of people in these settlements. It is not clear whether backyard shack-dwellers have any local representation of their own (Information from quantitative interviews, February 1992).

2.2.6. CLERMONT:

2.2.6.1. Geography: A formal black township in the west of the DFR. Its area is 696 hectares. The township is built on terrain that varies from mild slopes in the central and western portions to deep valleys and spurs in the north and eastern portions which have confined development (KNPC, 1986).

2.2.6.2. History: Clermont is one of the oldest existing black townships in the DFR, and has its origins as a black freehold area supported by the Mission Station at Christianenburg. By 1936, and the passage of the second land act, most of the area - about 66 % - had been sold to blacks under freehold title. The rapid expansion of the population of the area which was characteristic of the 1960s was a response to the industrial development of the adjacent New Germany. Most of the new population were housed in shacks. The land tenure situation in the area has led to an unusual (in the context of urban black formal housing) development: a considerable number of landowners in the area developed blocks of flats on their land (KNPC, 1986).

2.2.6.3. Local Government, Community Leadership and Service Delivery:

Water: Water is reticulated from a reservoir in KwaDabeka to Clermont. The majority of roads have internal plumbing, but standpipes are also used at road verges. Presumably informal residents use the standpipes (KNPC, 1986).

Sewerage: A minority of residential sites have fully reticulated waterborne sewerage. Pit latrines are in use in the informal areas, and a pail system, widely felt to be unsatisfactory, is also in use (KNPC, 1986).

Energy sources: Electricity is reticulated to the formal residential sites by the Durban Corporation. Some 66 % of residential sites have no electricity supply. They presumably include the informal areas, and rely upon paraffin for energy. Some 15 % of residential sites do have electrification, and 16 % have access to electrification but are not connected. All the streets have street lighting (KNPC, 1986).

Roads and Transport: Only 5 % of roads are gravel roads - this presumably applies mostly to informal areas. The balance are tarred, mostly (80 %) in a fair condition. Taxis and buses run frequently through the township, and there is a small amount of private vehicle ownership (KNPC, 1986).

Clermont is a formal black township which enjoys the full range of township services. The responsible authority for service delivery is the Department of Development Aid, and

the local authority is the Township Manager and Advisory Board. Formal housing delivery has taken the form of blocks of flats in addition to a number of houses (see above). Educational facilities are overcrowded and inadequate to the needs for tertiary and adult education. Clermont shares a clinic with KwaDabeka and other outlying areas. Community facilities were assessed as inadequate by a study undertaken by the KwaZulu Natal Planning Council (KNPC, 1986). The limitations of the above services presumably apply to the informal areas as well. In informal areas the allocation of sites is controlled by area committees which seem to have the support of the residents. They do not seem to be involved in service delivery issues (Information from qualitative interviews, February 1992).

2.3.: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE SURVEY POPULATION

In the following section of the report, the socio-economic status of each of the two categories of survey population - i.e. younger informal settlements, and urban township informal residents - will be analysed, based on the results of the present survey (see Appendix 1 for survey methodology). Characteristics such as household size, literacy levels, and economic activity will be discussed.

In the following tables, all percentages have been rounded off. The data refers either to respondents or to all individuals in the respondent households. Consequently, each table will be labelled as **RD** (Respondent Data) or **ID** (Individual Data).

2.3.1. Analysis of Households in Survey Areas

Household sizes in the survey populations are as indicated in Table 1 below:

TABLE 1: HOUSEHOLD SIZES IN SURVEY AREAS. 1992 [IDI].

	<u>YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS</u>			
	<i>Cato Manor</i>	<i>Kennedy Road</i>	<i>Briardene</i>	<i>Block AK</i>
Average Household Size	4,6	3,5	3,2	2,4
	<u>INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS</u>			
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>	
Average Household Size	3,3		3,9	

It will be noted that these household sizes are smaller than the average household size for black households in the DFR, which is 7 persons per household (Tongaat-Hulett, 1989). They are also smaller than households in the Durban peri-urban zone, such as Inanda (average household size of 5,3 persons - see Cross *et al*, 1992) and Mariannahill (average household size of 6 persons - see Cross *et al*, 1991).

Block AK has the lowest mean household size of the four younger informal settlements. The highest is to be found in Cato Manor. It appears as though the size of the household diminishes in proportion to proximity to the CBD.

The household sizes of informally-housed families in formal townships are also notably smaller than the household sizes for their formal neighbours. In the case of Umlazi, 3,3 persons were found in the present study. The situation is similar in Clermont: the study shows 3,9 persons per household.

2.3.2. Literacy levels of the adult population in Survey Areas

In the following section, the basic literacy criterion of the Population Development Programme - i.e. the completion of seven years of schooling - has been adopted. Table 2 depicts literacy levels among the younger adult population (those aged between 17 and 39) of the survey areas:

TABLE 2: LITERACY LEVELS AMONG THE YOUNGER ADULT POPULATION (17 - 39 YEARS) BY SURVEY AREA. 1992 [ID].

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS								OVERALL	
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Literate	55	49	16	23	25	42	17	49	113	41
Illiterate	58	51	53	77	35	58	16	51	162	59
TOTAL:	113	100%	69	100%	60	100%	33	100%	275	100%

	INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS				OVERALL	
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Literate	49	66	20	44	69	58
Illiterate	25	34	26	56	51	42
TOTAL:	74	100%	46	100%	120	100%

The table shows a slight preponderance of illiterate young adults in the younger informal settlements, with one notable exception: in the case of Kennedy Road, there is a markedly higher percentage of younger adults who are illiterate (77 % of the young adult population of the settlement). Overall, the younger adults of the younger informal settlements show a markedly lower level of literacy than was the case in Inanda (where 60 % of adults in this age cohort were literate: see Cross *et al*, 1992).

The picture is much more optimistic in the case of informally-housed residents of townships. Overall, only 42 % of the younger adults are illiterate. However, there are

important distinctions between the literacy levels in Umlazi and Clermont. In Umlazi, some 66 % of younger adult informal residents are literate, while in Clermont only 44 % of younger adult informal residents are literate.

Table 3 depicts the literacy levels of older adults (aged 40 years or older):

TABLE 3: LITERACY LEVELS AMONG THE OLDER ADULT POPULATION (40 + YEARS) BY SURVEY AREA, 1992 [ID].

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS								OVERALL	
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Literate	12	32	2	12	2	18	2	12	18	21
Illiterate	26	68	15	88	9	82	15	88	65	79
TOTAL:	38	100%	17	100%	11	100%	17	100%	83	100%

	INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS				OVERALL	
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Literate	7	39	1	8	8	27
Illiterate	11	61	11	92	22	73
TOTAL:	18	100%	12	100%	30	100%

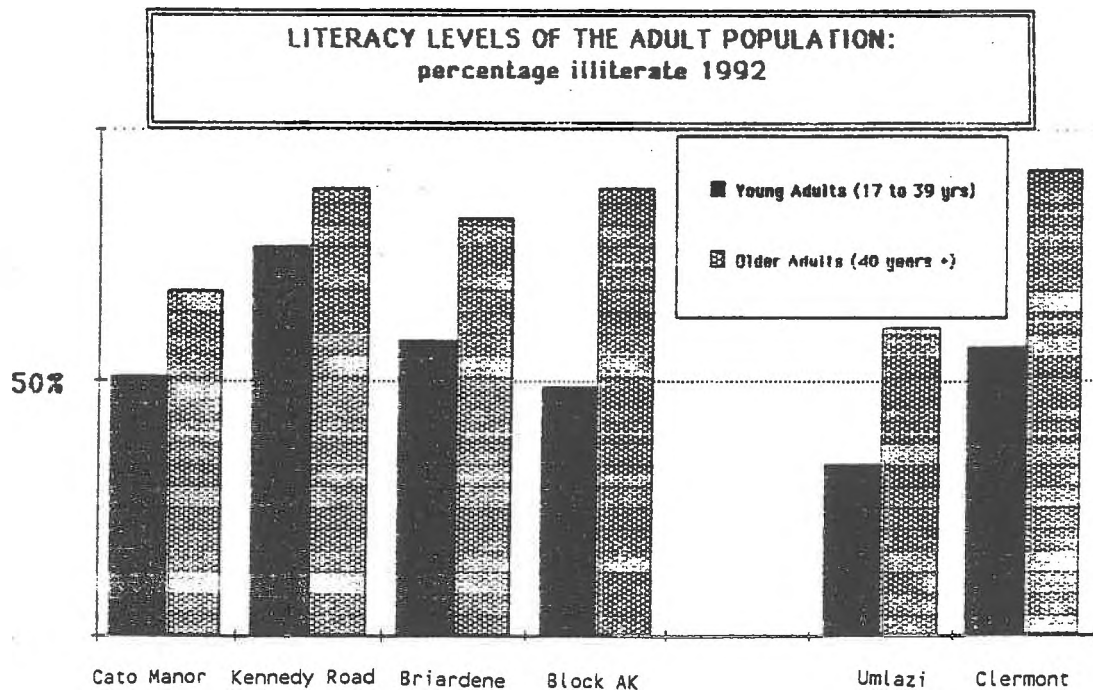
Literacy levels are markedly lower among the older adult population than among younger adults. In the case of the younger informal settlements, 79 % of the older adults, as opposed to 59 % of the younger adults, are illiterate: the lowest illiteracy levels are to be found in Cato Manor, which has a 68 % illiteracy level among older adults. It is worth noting as well that Cato Manor shares with Block AK the lowest illiteracy levels among younger adults in the younger informal settlements. Cato Manor has thus the lowest overall adult illiteracy rate among these settlements.

Older adult informally-housed residents of townships also have higher illiteracy rates than younger adult informally-housed residents of townships. Again, the picture in

Umlazi is somewhat more optimistic than Clermont: only 61 % of older adult informal residents in Umlazi are illiterate, as opposed to 92 % in Clermont.

Figure 2.1 depicts the contrast between the literacy levels of the younger and older adult populations:

FIGURE 2.1



The trend towards greater literacy among younger age cohorts shown in this figure is evident throughout the DFR, according to a 1989 study (Tongaat-Hulett, 1989). That study identified the adult literacy rate in the DFR as being 67 % of the DFR adult black population.

One of the key factors which emerges in educational studies of the black population of South Africa is the inadequate provision of educational facilities. In order to gauge the effect of this upon the sample populations of this study, it is necessary to consider the number of children of schoolgoing age who are not at school (see Table 4):

TABLE 4: CHILDREN OF SCHOOLGOING AGE (6-16) NOT AT SCHOOL, 1992 [ID].

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS								OVERALL N= %	
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Non-schooling Children	7	13	6	26	5	29	5	42	23	21
Schoolgoing Children	48	87	17	74	12	71	7	58	84	79
TOTAL:	55	100%	23	100%	17	100%	12	100%	107	100%

	INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS				OVERALL N= %	
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Non-schooling Children	1	4			3	23
Schoolgoing Children	24	96			10	77
TOTAL:	25	100%			13	100%

As the chapter below on demographic trends in the survey areas indicates, there are very few children between the age of 6 and 16 in either the younger informal settlements or among the informally-housed residents of townships.

The figures for the younger informal settlements are surprising in the light of the findings in Inanda, where the informal settlements surveyed either included a school, or were located near to a school (see Cross *et al*, 1992). Although the present study shows higher percentages of children of school-going age out of school than was the case in Inanda, the current figures are not as high as one might anticipate in areas where there are no schools or no access to schools nearby. Only in the case of Block AK does the percentage of children of schoolgoing age who are out of school approach the percentage who are at school.

The pattern is repeated again amongst the informal settlements in formal townships. Umlazi appears to provide an adequate service in this regard: 96 % of all children

between 6 and 16 are in school. Clermont does not fare quite as well: 23 % of children between the ages of six and sixteen are out of school. Nonetheless there is evidence that school facilities are scarcer in the younger informal settlements than they are to the informally-housed residents of townships. About 10 % more children who are informally-housed residents of townships attend school than is the case in the younger informal settlements.

2.4.: A PROFILE OF THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE SURVEY POPULATION

In assessing the economic standing of the residents of the younger informal settlements and the informally-housed populations of townships, indicators such as occupational status of adults, unemployment levels, type of occupation, commuting to formal employment, informal sector activity and total monthly household income will be analysed.

2.4.1. Occupational status of adults

The occupational status of adults (i.e. those over the age of 17) in the survey areas is depicted in Table 1 in Appendix 3. Overall fewer than half the adult population of the younger informal settlements are formally employed. The rate of formal employment is lowest in Block AK, where the rate of structural unemployment (those who, as a result of a shortage of job opportunities, are unable to find formal employment - a category which includes informal sector workers) is highest - see the following section on unemployment levels. A marginally higher number of adults are still completing their education in Cato Manor than anywhere else: while it is significant that Briardene, which is located directly adjacent to employment opportunities, has the highest percentage of those seeking employment.

In the case of informally-housed residents of townships, a little under half the population resident in informal accommodation are formally employed. In Umlazi approximately one in every two adults resident in informal accommodation is employed in the formal sector, in contrast to Clermont, where only one in every three adults resident in informal accommodation is formally employed; while the structurally unemployed (including the informal sector) is of more or less equal significance in both Umlazi and Clermont. It is notable that the percentage of pensioners resident in informal accommodation is higher in Clermont than it is in Umlazi.

2.4.2. Unemployment levels

Two methods may be used to compute unemployment levels among black South Africans. The first of these follows the definition of the Department of Manpower, and measures the percentage of the potentially economically-active population who are unemployed but seeking formal work. The second method takes into account structural unemployment - the people who are no longer actively seeking formal employment because they are discouraged due to a scarcity of formal employment opportunities. This latter method may well paint a more realistic picture of unemployment than the first, given the perception amongst the informally-housed of the DFR that employment opportunities are extremely scarce (see Cross *et al*, 1991 and 1992). In calculating the unemployment levels for each of the survey areas, the workforce is taken to be all adults (i.e. those of 17 years of age or older) as reflected in Table 1 in Appendix 3, excluding those who are pensioners or still attending school. Table 5 depicts unemployment levels in the survey areas:

TABLE 5: UNEMPLOYMENT LEVELS OF SURVEY AREAS, 1992 IID1.

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS					
	<i>Cato Manor %</i>	<i>Kennedy Road %</i>	<i>Briardene %</i>	<i>Block AK %</i>	<i>OVERALL %</i>
Workseekers only	29	23	30	2	24
Including structurally unemployed ¹	49	48	54	81	54
INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS					
	<i>Umlazi informal %</i>	<i>Clermont informal %</i>	<i>OVERALL %</i>		
Workseekers only	21	30	25		
Including structurally unemployed	40	55	46		

There are significant differences between the unemployment levels of the younger informal settlements depending upon which technique is used to calculate them. It is

¹ Includes informal sector workers.

significant that the rate of those seeking employment according to Table 1 in Appendix 3 is lowest in Block AK (only 2 % of the adult population). This may be interpreted to indicate a loss of confidence in the formal sector to provide employment opportunities. It must be remembered that Block AK is essentially an informal trading centre whose operators sleep at the point of their operation. The present table shows that the structurally unemployed are such a significant component of the Block AK population that including them in the calculation causes the figures to jump from 2 % unemployment to 81 %, a far more realistic portrait of employment in Block AK than a 2 % unemployment level would indicate. This emphasises the significance of informal sector activity to the economy of Block AK. In the other three younger informal settlements, the unemployment rates appear moderately low when the structurally-unemployed are excluded from the calculation: they jump significantly when the structurally-unemployed are included. Overall, approximately one in every four potentially economically-active adults in the younger informal settlements is unemployed according to the official definition of the Department of Manpower; when the structurally unemployed are taken into account, the figure climbs to approximately one in every two potentially economically-active adults in the younger informal settlements.

As with the younger informal settlements, according to the definition of unemployment of the Department of Manpower, one quarter of potentially economically-active adults resident in informal conditions in formal townships is unemployed. This percentage is almost doubled when the structurally unemployed are taken into account. There are significantly higher unemployment levels in Clermont than there are in Umlazi: when the structurally unemployed are taken into account, the unemployment level in the informally-housed population of Clermont is of the order of 15 % higher than the unemployment level of the informally-housed population of Umlazi.

2.4.3. Distribution of formal sector occupations

Formal sector occupations have been recoded according to the following categories:

- 'High income', i.e. professionals and civil servants;
- 'Upper-middle income', i.e. clerical workers, machine operators and artisans;
- 'Lower-middle income', i.e. drivers, shop assistants, hotel workers, factory workers, security workers, panel-beaters, domestic workers;
- 'Low income', i.e. labourers and gardeners.

Table 2 in Appendix 3 depicts the distribution of formal sector occupations by survey area. The majority (58 %) of formal sector jobs held by adults in the younger informal settlements are lower-middle income jobs. Nearly one in every four formal-sector jobs held in the younger informal settlements is a low income job, i.e. a labourer or gardener. High income jobs are extremely scarce - only in Briardene were they encountered, and even then only one person was found to hold such a formal job. Low income jobs are significantly less prevalent in Kennedy Road than they are in Cato Manor or Briardene, and no-one holds a low-income job in Block AK: indeed formal jobs of any kind are very scarce in Block AK, bearing out the observations made above about the perceptions of the formal job market. Lower-middle income jobs are more prevalent among Kennedy Road residents than among Cato Manor or Briardene residents.

As with the younger informal settlements, the majority of jobs held down by informally-housed residents of townships are lower-middle income jobs (72 %); lower income jobs are much rarer, with only one in every ten formal jobs held by informally-housed residents of townships being lower income jobs. Again, higher income jobs are very scarce: but the most significant difference lies in the comparison between upper-middle and lower-middle jobs. In Umlazi, 73 % of informally-housed people who have formal jobs are earning lower-middle category wages: the percentage (68 %) of formal jobs held by informal residents is much lower in Clermont. By contrast, Clermont has a higher percentage of formal-sector upper-middle category jobs held by informally-housed people (one in every four formal jobs held by such people) than Umlazi (less than one in ten).

2.4.4. Gender distribution of formal sector occupations

Table 3 in Appendix 3 shows the percentages of men and women in the survey populations holding the different categories of formal sector jobs noted above. In Cato Manor, Kennedy Road and Briardene, significant distinctions emerge in the gender distribution of upper-middle income formal sector jobs, i.e. clerical workers and artisans. Significantly more males occupy these jobs than women. The situation is reversed when it comes to lower-income formal sector jobs in these areas, most notably because the lower-middle income category includes domestic workers. In all areas except Block AK, the percentage of women holding such jobs is nearly double that of men. In Block AK, the percentage is equal across both genders, although the number of cases involved is very small. In any case, as indicated already, the unique dependence upon informal sector activity in Block AK makes it an exceptional case. Males tend to hold more low

income formal sector jobs in Cato Manor, Kennedy Road and Briardene than women.

In the case of informally-housed residents of townships, women predominate in holding high-income jobs (this would include jobs such as nurse and teacher). Clermont again has a significantly larger percentage of women holding high-income jobs than does Umlazi. In the upper-middle income group, men predominate over women: no women in the informal structures sampled either in Umlazi or in Clermont hold such formal jobs. Again the percentage of males resident in informal dwellings in Clermont earning upper-middle incomes is higher than the percentage of similar males in Umlazi. The principal income category for formal jobs held by women resident in informal housing in both Umlazi and Clermont is the lower-middle income category: this no doubt reflects domestic service again, and accounts for the fact that in both the informal zones of Umlazi and Clermont, the percentage of women holding lower-middle income jobs is significantly higher than the percentage of men. In Umlazi, men predominate in the low-income category: there are neither men nor women recording low-income formal jobs among the informal residents of Clermont (see above).

2.4.5. Place of employment of formal workers

Table 6 shows the place of employment of formal sector workers. Very few formal workers in the younger informal settlements work outside the DFR. By far the largest group work in the central part of Durban, as might be expected, assuming that one of the reasons for relocating to an informal settlement close to the Durban CBD would be access to a job nearby. In this regard the 57 % of formal workers in Block AK who work in the immediate area might be the equivalent of the 55 % overall percentage of workers in the younger informal settlements who work in central Durban. The notable exception in this regard is Briardene, where 42 % of formal job holders work not in central Durban but in north Durban. The reason for this is obvious: Briardene is located between a residential suburb (with formal employment opportunities as domestic workers and gardeners) and a light industrial area (in North Coast Road).

The most striking element with regard to the place of formal work of informal residents in Clermont is the preponderance - four out of every five formal workplaces - of Durban west. Clermont is adjacent to the New Germany industrial complex and near to Pinetown, after Durban the largest commercial and industrial centre in Natal. Durban central accounts for the balance. No-one in informal accommodation in Clermont is employed in the immediate environment, and very few job opportunities exist for persons

in informal accommodation in Umlazi. The majority of informal residents in Umlazi work in the adjacent Durban south area, which includes the Jacobs-Mobeni-Prospecton industrial area; this area accounts for a little over one in every two formal workplaces of informally-housed Umlazi residents. One in every four informally-housed Umlazi residents works in central Durban; the balance commute further distances, to Durban west and north. Clearly - at least as far as informal residents are concerned - Clermont is dependent upon New Germany and Pinetown to provide formal jobs: Umlazi's informal residents are less dependent upon the industrial areas adjacent to the township.

TABLE 6: PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OF FORMAL SECTOR WORKERS BY SURVEY AREA. 1992 (ID1).

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS								OVERALL	
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Immediate area	1	2	1	3	5	19	4	57	11	9
Durban south	9	15	2	7	1	4	2	29	14	11
Durban central	37	62	23	77	7	27	0	--	67	55
Durban north	4	7	1	3	11	42	0	--	16	13
Durban west	9	15	3	10	1	4	1	14	14	11
Outside DFR	0	--	0	--	1	4	0	--	1	1
TOTAL:	60	100%	30	100%	26	100%	7	100%	123	100%

	INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS				OVERALL	
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Immediate area	1	2	0	--	1	2
Durban south	24	55	0	--	24	40
Durban central	11	25	3	19	14	23
Durban north	3	7	0	--	3	5
Durban west	5	11	13	81	18	30
TOTAL:	44	100%	16	100%	60	100%

2.4.6. Mode of transport used to and from place of employment

Table 4 in Appendix 3 reflects modes of transport used by formal workers to and from work. Overall, buses are the dominant mode of public transport used to work by formally-employed persons in the younger informal settlements. Combi taxis are also important. Use of private transport is negligible in the younger informal settlements.

Taxis predominate as the most widely-used form of transport to formal work among informally-housed residents of townships. In the case of the informally-housed population of Clermont, every person who uses transport to formal work uses a taxi. However, one difference is notable between the informal residents of Umlazi and those of Clermont: in the former case, the taxi is less widely used than the train. This reflects the provision of rail transport as an alternative mode of public transport to Umlazi: there is no railway line through Clermont.

2.4.7. Informal sector activity

Informal sector activity is always difficult to identify owing to its range of activities that are both legal and illegal. Survey estimates of the number of households participating in these activities vary widely. In KwaMashu, the figure is as high as 50 %-60 % reported household participation, while in other areas of the DFR it is reported as low as 8 % (May and Stavrou, 1988). A study conducted in 1983 in peri-urban KwaZulu indicated that informal sector participation can reach levels where it involves over two-thirds of the households in a given community (Cross and Preston-Whyte, 1983). In the present survey, 16 % of individuals in the younger informal settlements, and 9 % of informally-housed residents of townships, reported informal sector activity.

Table 5 in Appendix 3 illustrates the range of informal sector activities reported in the survey areas. The selling of bought goods - including the operation of spazas, shebeens and hawking - account for 62 % of all informal sector activities in the younger informal settlements. In particular - as predictable from the above comments - this is a crucial activity in the economy of Block AK, accounting for 95 % of all informal sector activity in the settlement, and (given the low involvement in the formal sector) for a large percentage of all economic activity in Block AK. In Cato Manor, the principal informal sector activity is working for others, while in Kennedy Road and Briardene this kind of informal sector activity is of less importance: selling bought goods predominates.

Providing services and selling home produce are of much smaller importance in all four areas, with no significant variation between the individual younger informal settlements.

The informal residents of formal townships record much less informal sector activity. Whether this is because of their much better placement (along with formally housed people in townships) in terms of the formal job market is unclear. Home production of goods for sale is negligible. In the case of Clermont, the sale of bought goods, provision of labour, and provision of services, are all minimal and equally distributed among informally-housed persons. In Umlazi, the selling of bought goods clearly predominates over other activities.

The low overall significance of the selling of home produce indicates that the informal sector is still to a large extent dependent upon the formal sector for the provision of materials and supplies. This casts a serious doubt upon the prospects for the informal sector to become self-sustaining. It is in fact through the growth of linkages with formal economic activities that the informal sector may grow. Block AK is a case in point.

2.4.8. Household Income

The total household income is comprised of a number of elements: what each member of the household earns per month through both the formal and informal sectors; pensions and grants; and other monies, including remittances. Table 7 represents household incomes for each of the survey areas.

A little over four in every ten households in the younger informal settlements (42 %) has a household income of more than R600 per month. Of the remainder (58 %), one third have a household income of less than R200 per month. Clearly poverty is a severe problem for the households of the younger informal settlements. Kennedy Road is clearly the poorest: only 16 % earn more than R600 per month, and no-one earns more than R1500 per month. Block AK has a remarkable 12 % of households whose incomes per month exceed R1500: this confirms studies conducted elsewhere (see Maughan-Brown, 1992), which suggest that informal sector activities in Block AK are lucrative for a number of operatives. Briardene is also not as well off as Cato Manor or Block AK: it is however less impoverished than Kennedy Road. The residents of Kennedy Road may well represent the poorest of the poor in the DFR.

TABLE 7: TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOMES BY SURVEY AREA, 1992 [ID].

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS								OVERALL N= %	
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>			
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%		
R000	5	8	1	3	1	3	0	--	7	4
R001 - R200	9	15	11	28	2	6	3	9	25	15
R201 - R400	8	13	13	33	7	21	3	9	31	19
R401 - R600	8	13	8	21	5	15	12	35	33	20
R601 - R800	9	15	1	3	6	18	7	21	23	14
R801 - R1000	7	12	3	8	7	21	2	6	19	11
R1001 - R1500	10	16	2	5	3	9	3	9	18	11
R1501 +	4	7	0	--	2	6	4	12	10	6
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%

	INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS						OVERALL N= %	
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>			<i>Clermont informal</i>				
	N=	%		N=	%			
R000	1	4		1	5		2	4
R001 - R200	0	--		5	24		5	11
R201 - R400	1	4		1	5		2	4
R401 - R600	3	13		3	14		6	13
R601 - R800	6	25		4	19		10	24
R801 - R1000	5	21		4	19		9	20
R1001 - R1500	4	17		1	5		5	11
R1501 +	4	17		2	10		6	13
TOTAL:	24	100%		21	100%		45	100%

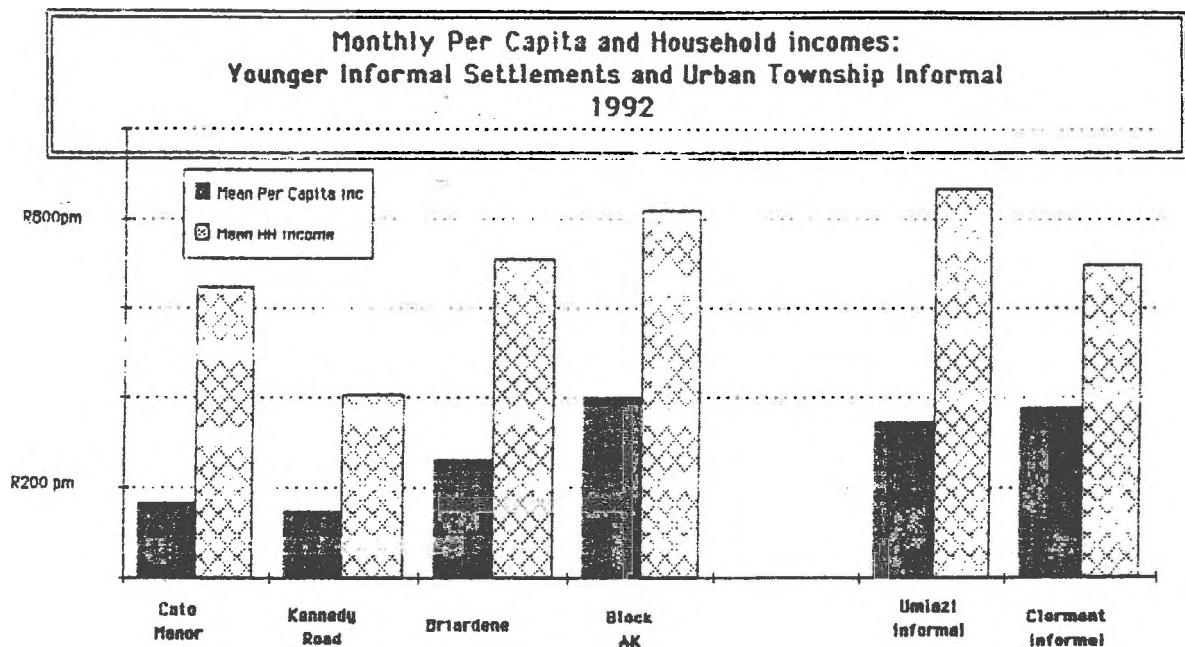
Household incomes amongst informally-housed residents of townships are on the whole higher than among the residents of the younger informal settlements. Some 68 % of the former category of households have incomes of more than R600 per month. The figure is higher in Umlazi, where only 30 % of informally-established households have monthly household incomes of R600 or less; in Clermont the figure for informal households earning R600 or less rises to 48 %. Higher household incomes are also more prevalent among the informally-housed population of Umlazi (approximately one in every three of the informal residents in Umlazi earns more than R1000 per month, and 50 % of these, or 17 % of the total informally-housed population of Umlazi, earn in excess of R1500 per

month: this is in contrast to the situation in Clermont, where only 15 % of the informal residents earn more than R1000 per month, of whom 66 %, or only 10 % of the total informally-housed population, earn more than R1500 per month).

2.4.9. Monthly Per Capita and Household Incomes

Figure 2.2 depicts monthly per capita and mean household incomes.

FIGURE 2.2



It is clear from the above figure that the per capita incomes in Cato Manor, Kennedy Road and Briardene are lower than those in Block AK: the lowest per capita income of all is in Kennedy Road, where it is less than R200 per month. Block AK also has the highest mean household income of all the younger informal settlements, and Kennedy Road the lowest.

In the case of informally-housed residents of formal townships, it is interesting to note that the mean per capita income of both informal Umlazi households and informal Clermont households is less than R400, and thus also less than Block AK households. The mean per capita income of informally-accommodated Clermont households is also

slightly higher than the mean per capita income of informally established Umlazi households.

2.4.10. Household Income and Household Contributions

Table 7 reflects monthly household income as a sum of all monies earned by members of the household (including the household head). However, not all such monies need necessarily be employed to meet household needs. In order to see the distinction, it is necessary to consider the contributions made by each member of the household to the household income. Table 8 shows the total contributions made to the household each month by household members.

As is evident from the table, the majority of monthly contributions to the household in the younger informal settlements are in the region of R200 or less. No households in the younger informal settlements receive contributions of more than R1000 per month. In the case of Kennedy Road, nearly three out of every four households receive monthly contributions totalling less than R200.

The informally-housed residents of townships contribute larger sums to their households per month. One in every two households receives a monthly contribution of between R200 and R400, and nearly 60 % receive monthly contributions totalling more than R200 (this is in contrast to the younger informal settlements, where only one in every three households receives monthly contributions totalling more than R200). A few households receive contributions in excess of R800 per month. It is interesting to note that more informally-established Clermont households receive both contributions of less than one rand and more than R600 than is the case with informal households in Umlazi.

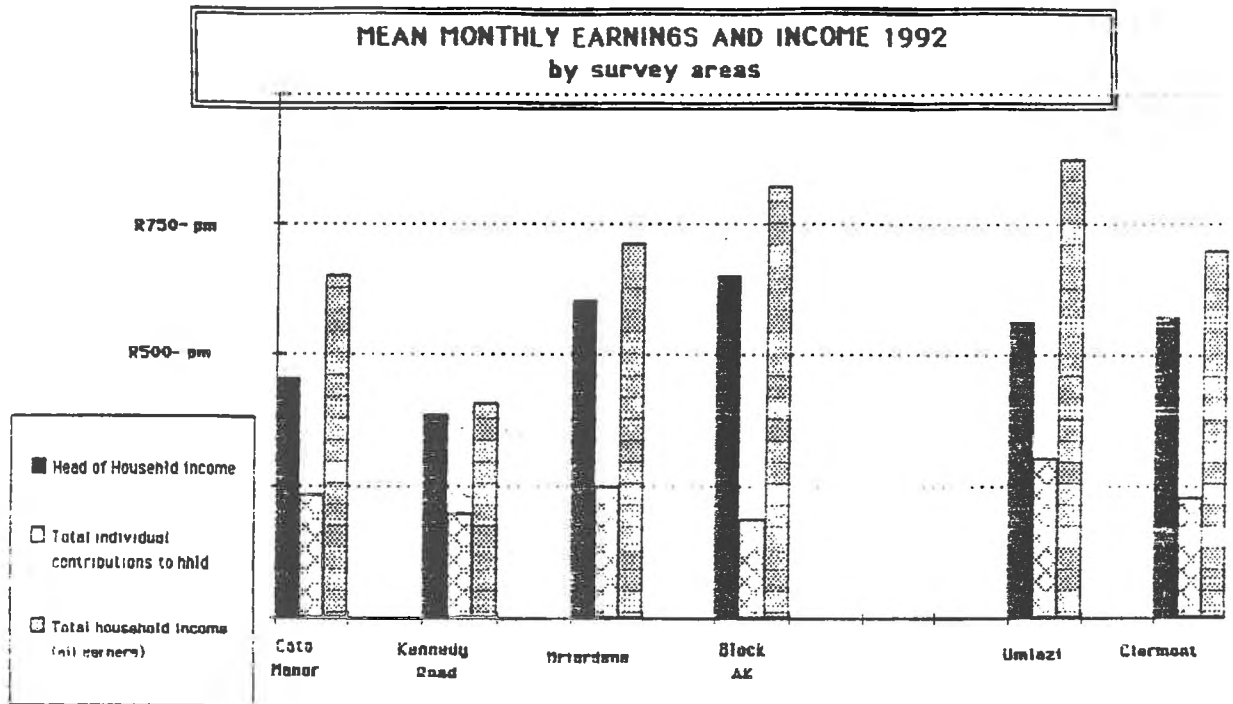
TABLE 8: TOTAL HOUSEHOLD CONTRIBUTIONS, 1992 [IDI].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
R000	4	7	0	--	1	3	0	--	5	3
R001 - R200	30	50	29	74	20	61	23	68	102	61
R201 - R400	17	28	7	18	8	24	10	29	42	25
R401 - R600	8	13	2	5	3	9	1	3	14	8
R601 +	1	2	1	3	1	3	0	--	3	2
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%

INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
R000	0	--	2	9	2	3
R001 - R200	16	38	8	36	24	37
R201 - R400	22	52	11	50	33	51
R401 - R600	2	5	0	--	2	3
R601 - R800	1	2	1	5	2	3
R801 +	1	2	0	--	1	2
TOTAL:	42	100%	22	100%	64	100%

A comparison between Tables 7 and 8 indicates a notable discrepancy between total monthly household income (from all sources) and total monthly contributions by members to their household. Before discussing to which purposes earnings not contributed to the household are put, it is revealing to compare, in the six survey areas, mean monthly figures for household income, head of household income, and contributions to the household. This is done in Figure 2.3:

FIGURE 2.3



Two facts emerge from this figure: firstly, that the head of the household tends to be, in the case of each of the survey areas, the major breadwinner¹ (as will be shown in the next chapter, heads of households tend to be significantly younger than those found in more established settlements); and secondly, that contributions to the household constitute a fraction of both the income of the head of the household, and also of the total household income.

The highest mean head of household income for any of the six survey areas is to be found in Block AK - R652 per month - whereas the mean total individual contribution to the household in Block AK is a mere R188 per month: the lowest in any of the survey areas. This is despite the fact that Block AK has, at R816 per month, the second highest mean total household income in the sample, and the highest mean total household income in the younger informal settlements (see Table 10 on page 45).

1 Note that the second column reflects the mean contributions of all individuals in the household, including the household head.

Household members who receive a regular income typically use some of these monies for their own purposes. A discrepancy between total household earnings and total contributions to the household is normal. The scale of this discrepancy shown in Figure 2.3, particularly when compared to the mean income of the head of household, points to large pressures on poor households to allocate their earnings elsewhere. One such need is to maintain ties with, and contribute regularly toward, a second dwelling and household. Residence in informal settlements is risky at the best of times, and particularly so in younger informal settlements close to the city centre. Table 9 shows the percentages of household heads in the survey areas who own, or regularly contribute toward, another dwelling and household.

TABLE 9: OWNERSHIP OF AND EXPENDITURE ON SECOND DWELLING, 1992 [RD].

<u>YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS</u>				
	<i>Cato Manor</i>	<i>Kennedy Road</i>	<i>Briardene</i>	<i>Block AK</i>
Own another house	22 %	33 %	33 %	65 %
Contribute to another house	28 %	36 %	58 %	74 %
<u>INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS</u>				
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>	
Own another house	21 %		32 %	
Contribute to another house	41 %		36 %	

What emerges from the above table is that, in all six survey areas, linkages to other dwellings and households are apparent in more than one case in three. Survey results suggest that, where contributions are made, sums in the region of R200 per month are regularly contributed to these second 'homes'.

2.4.11. Components of Household Income

It is also of interest to analyse household budgets in terms of the different sources of income. The ratios of the various components of household income are reflected in Table 10.

TABLE 10: COMPONENTS OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY SURVEY AREA. 1992 [ID].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS									
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		
	<i>R</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>%</i>	
Mean income (in rands) derived monthly from:									
Formal earnings	530	81	255	62	479	67	107	13	
Informal earnings	110	16	140	34	219	30	652	79	
Pensions/grants	5	1	0	--	8	1	53	6	
Other sources	4	1	12	4	5	1	4	--	
MEAN MONTHLY INCOME:	649	100%	407	100%	711	100%	816	100%	
INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS									
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>						<i>Clermont informal</i>		
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>					<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	
Mean income (in rands) derived monthly from:									
Formal earnings	694	79					506	72	
Informal earnings	137	15					168	24	
Pensions/grants	18	2					14	2	
Other sources	21	2					10	1	
MEAN MONTHLY INCOME:	870	100%					698	100%	

Differences exist between the individual younger informal settlements with regard to the importance of different components of household income. In Kennedy Road and Briardene, formal income accounts for a little over three out of every five rands entering the household: in Cato Manor, on the other hand, the significance of formal income is much higher - four out of every five rands is derived from formal work, in contrast to Block AK, where four out of every five rands is derived from informal work. Pensions, grants and other sources of income are minimal, and in fact pensions make no contribution at all to monthly household incomes in Kennedy Road. The interesting case is again Block AK, which alone of all the survey areas in this study is dependent more upon informal earnings than formal earnings.

In the case of the informally-housed residents of townships, the largest source of income into the household is formal income, accounting for nearly four in every five rands

entering informal households in Umlazi, and nearly three in every four rands entering informal households in Clermont. In the case of Umlazi, informal earnings are of small significance: but in Clermont they account for one in every four rands entering informal households, or most of the balance once formal earnings have been taken into account.

2.4.12. Household Incomes and Household Subsistence Levels

The Household Subsistence Level (HSL) includes the minimum requirements for an average household to live. The HSL calculated for a four member black family matching the demographic profile of the survey areas (see chapter on Demography below) living in Durban in March 1992 was approximately R626 (Potgieter, 1991). This figure includes expenses for food, clothing, fuel, lighting and cleansing materials, and transport. The average household size in the younger informal settlements is approximately 3.4 persons (see section 2.3.1. above), and 58 % of household incomes fall below R600 per month. This means that in effect approximately one half of households in the younger informal settlements probably fall below the HSL.

Amongst the informally-housed residents of formal townships where the average household size is approximately 3.6 members (see section 2.3.1. above), some 32 % of informally-housed households earn less than R600 per month. It is accordingly probable that between one quarter and one third of these households fall below the HSL.

2.4.13. Household Cultivation

Household cultivation could be a potentially important factor in the household economy, providing support in the absence of significant wage-earning through either the formal or informal sectors. In studies conducted in the western and northern areas of the peri-urban zone of the DFR, however, household cultivation has played a very small role in the household economy (see Cross *et al*, 1991 and 1992).

Table 11 reflects household cultivation in the survey areas.

TABLE 11: HOUSEHOLD CULTIVATION BY SURVEY AREA, 1992 [RD].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Kitchen garden	33	55	8	21	6	18	0	--	47	28
Vegetable garden	1	2	2	5	0	--	0	--	3	2
Maize field	10	17	3	8	3	9	0	--	16	10
No cultivation	16	27	26	67	24	73	34	100	100	60
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%

INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Kitchen garden	9	21	0	--	9	14
Vegetable garden	0	--	1	5	1	2
Maize field	1	2	2	9	3	5
Other plot	1	2	0	--	1	2
No cultivation	31	73	19	86	50	78
TOTAL:	42	100%	22	100%	64	100%

The table reflects a low rate of household cultivation, with only 40 of sampled households in the younger informal settlements engaging in any form of household cultivation. Kitchen gardens - defined as gardens growing for subsistence purposes only - account for the majority of household cultivation activities taking place in the surveyed younger informal settlements. Cato Manor is more significantly involved in kitchen garden cultivation than either Kennedy Road or Briardene: this may be because the nature of the land on which the settlement is built - a large open tract - is more conducive to cultivation activities than either Kennedy Road or Briardene (built on pockets of land located between land extensively used for other purposes). The steep slopes of Kennedy Road and Briardene may also be a factor. Not particularly surprisingly, given that they are living on the pavement in an urban area, there is no household cultivation in Block AK.

A little over one in every five informal households in formal townships is engaged in household cultivation. As with the younger informal settlements, the dominant form of household cultivation is the growing of vegetables for own consumption, to augment low household incomes. Fewer informal households in Umlazi practise no household cultivation than is the case in Clermont. There are however more maize fields in Clermont than in Umlazi. This may be a reflection of the freehold origins of the area: these maize fields may represent the last remnants of the original farms to which the first residents were allocated title deeds.

The above table shows clearly that there is little household cultivation occurring in the survey areas, and that the ameliorating effects of household cultivation on the poverty noted above (in terms of incomes) is likely to be slight.

2.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study population can be divided into two broad groups: residents in younger informal settlements, located close to the central city, on land which is occupied under ambiguous legal circumstances, and informally-housed residents of townships, who occupy a wide range of positions, from backyard shacking to clusters of informal housing on vacant land in formal townships.

The four younger informal settlements are all characterised by low standards of infrastructure and service delivery, while the informal areas of formal townships have some access to township services, which are themselves of fairly unsatisfactory standard.

Household sizes are smaller than the average 7 persons per black household in the DFR. They are also smaller than households in the Durban peri-urban zone, such as Inanda and Mariannhill. Block AK has the lowest mean household size of the four younger informal settlements. The highest is to be found in Cato Manor. The household sizes of informally-housed families in formal townships are also smaller than the household sizes for their formal neighbours. These figures may reflect decompression of large households during the latter half of the 1980s, as formal housing delivery failed to meet the needs of the growing urban population.

Literacy levels are lower among older adults (aged 40 years or more) than among younger adults. There is an inadequate provision of educational facilities among the

younger informal settlements, while the informally-housed residents of townships seem to have reasonable access to educational facilities.

Fewer than half the adult population of both the younger informal settlements and those informally housed in formal townships are formally employed. Structural unemployment is a severe problem in the younger informal settlements, with approximately one in every two potentially economically-active adults in the younger informal settlements being either structurally unemployed or unemployed and seeking employment. The same is true of the informally-housed residents of townships.

The majority of formal sector jobs held by adults in both the younger informal settlements and among residents in the informal areas of formal townships are lower-middle income jobs. Nearly one in every four formal sector jobs held in the younger informal settlements is a low income job, i.e. a labourer or gardener. High income jobs are extremely scarce. Only one in every ten formal jobs held by informally-housed residents of townships is a lower income job.

In some younger informal settlements, significantly more males occupy upper-middle income jobs than women. The situation is reversed when it comes to lower-income formal sector jobs in these areas, most notably because the lower-middle income category includes domestic workers. In the case of informally-housed residents of townships, women predominate in holding high-income jobs (this would include jobs such as nurse and teacher). The principal income category for formal jobs held by women resident in informal housing in formal townships is the lower-middle income category: this no doubt reflects domestic service again.

By far the largest group of formal workers in the younger informal settlements work in the part of Durban adjacent to their place of residence. Clermont is dependent upon New Germany and Pinetown to provide formal jobs while Umlazi's informal residents are less dependent upon the industrial areas adjacent to the township. Buses and taxis supplement walking as the means of transport to formal work in the younger informal settlements, while the informally-housed residents of townships use trains as well where these are available.

Informal sector activity is probably under-reported, given the high levels of structural unemployment. In both the younger informal settlements and the informal areas of formal townships, the selling of bought goods - including the operation of spazas,

shebeens and hawking - accounts for most informal sector activities, although in Cato Manor the principal informal sector activity is working for others. Providing services and selling home produce are of much smaller importance in all areas.

A little over four in every ten households in the younger informal settlements have a household income of more than R600 per month. Of the remainder, one third have a household income of less than R200 per month. Clearly poverty is a severe problem for the households of the younger informal settlements. Household incomes amongst informally-housed residents of townships are on the whole higher than among the residents of the younger informal settlements. Per capita incomes in Cato Manor, Kennedy Road and Briardene are lower than those in Block AK, which has not only the highest mean household income of all the younger informal settlements, but also a higher mean per capita income than the informal households of Umlazi and Clermont.

When household income is compared to total regular contributions to a household by its members, a significant discrepancy is apparent. Simultaneously, households are poor: approximately one half of households in the younger informal settlements probably fall below the Household Subsistence Level whereas between one quarter and one third of informally housed households in the townships fall below the HSL. One common need identified in close to one half of households surveyed, a need which puts regular pressure on the household budget, is to maintain ties with, and contribute regularly toward, a second dwelling and household.

CHAPTER THREE: DEMOGRAPHY AND MIGRANCY.

Analysis of population and of migrancy will be done by separating households residing in the survey areas into three categories:

- (i) very recent in-migrant households are defined as households who have migrated into, and settled within, one of the survey areas **after 1989**;
- (ii) recent in-migrant households are defined as households who have migrated into, and settled within, one of the survey areas **between 1986 and the end of 1989**; and
- (iii) established households are defined as households who either have migrated into, and settled within, the relevant areas **before the end of 1985**, or have **resided in that area from the date of their establishment**.

Since the four younger informal settlements are of recent establishment, the three-way distinction between very recent, recent, and established will, in a number of cases, be conflated into two categories to improve analysis.

Since the focus of this report is on the four younger informal settlements which are free-standing and located close to the Durban city centre, analysis will concentrate on households in these four settlements: Cato Manor, Kennedy Road, Briardene, and Block AK. Households selected for study in the informally housed township households of Umlazi and Clermont will be used as a comparative case so as to highlight noteworthy common as well as singular features of the younger informal settlements. A number of interesting features of the Umlazi and Clermont households will also be discussed in their own right.

Migration data has been gathered primarily from heads of household, who make most migration decisions. It is important to be careful in generalising from this data to the household as a whole; household units are not homogeneous, and individual members have different migration histories.

Accordingly, it is probable that the great majority of households, including very recent and recent migrants have been together as a unit at least since their move into their current settlements. Migrant families also as a rule trace their social origins to the birthplace of the present household head. Qualitative interview data on migration histories confirms that using respondent data to represent household origin and immediate area from which the household staged its move to current locations will not result in substantial error.

For planning purposes, data gathered from responding heads of household or their spouses may also be cautiously used by extension to stand for the mature adult sample population, subject to conditions. Perfect statistical accuracy is not obtained, and the characteristics of the respondent population need to be borne in mind in interpreting the results.

This chapter will address four separate issues:

- (i) Estimates of the number of dwelling units, the population, and length of residence of households, in the four younger informal settlements in 1992. Attention will also be given to certain trends in the housing delivery process in Umlazi and in Clermont (Section 3.1).
- (ii) Age and gender profiles of this population, compared to those of the informally housed township sample. In addition, age, gender and socio-economic comparisons between very recent, recent and established resident households in the survey areas will be presented (Section 3.2).
- (iii) Origins of survey area populations (Section 3.3.).
- (iv) Migration processes into the survey areas (Section 3.4.).

3.1.: DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF SURVEY AREAS

Since the younger informal settlements selected for analysis are all of recent origin - the late 1980s or the early 1990s - solely their present populations will be analysed. To gain an understanding of their establishment, moreover, their populations will be analysed in terms of how long households have resided in the communities. When this profile of lengths of residence is compared with the equivalent profile in the informally housed township sample, significant differences appear.

TABLE 12: DWELLING UNITS, POPULATION, AND PERIODS OF RESIDENCE IN THE YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS, 1992 [RD].

	<i>Cato Manor</i>	<i>Kennedy Road</i>	<i>Briardene</i>	<i>Block AK</i>
No. of dwelling units	245 ¹	135 ²	120 ³	50 ⁴
Estimated population 1992	1127	473	384	120
Proportion of population who settled after 1989 ⁵	68 %	36 %	75 %	70 %

1. Verbal communication, Official, NPA Settlement Services Branch, January 1992.
2. Verbal communication, S. Stavrou, 5/02/1992.
3. *Northglen News*, 21/02/1992.
4. Verbal communication, M.J. Maughan-Brown, 5/02/1992.
5. Current survey results.

Table 12 reveals a number of interesting trends. In the first place, the settlements are small (though, in the case of Cato Manor, substantial growth is likely). Second, as was shown in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3.1), household sizes are also small, significantly smaller than households in the larger and older informal settlements of Inanda and Mariannhill. Third, these settlements are of recent origin: with the exception of Kennedy Road, a majority of in-migrants have taken up residence during the past two years. Finally, it should be borne in mind that Block AK is more a temporary place of sojourn for informal hawker households than an informal settlement. As will be shown below, Block AK households, for this reason, reveal a number of singular features.

No comparable statistics regarding dwelling units and population were developed for the informally housed in Umlazi and Clermont. On the other hand, hut counts drawn from aerial photographs (in 1985 and 1990) were undertaken (See Appendix 2) and reveal three relevant trends in Umlazi and Clermont. As shown in Table 13 below, no new formal housing appears to have been provided in the two townships during that five year period. In the second place, a significant proportion of households in the townships are accommodated (in 1990) in informal housing (both in backyard as well as in separate informal dwellings). In the third place, there has been a massive increase in informal housing in Umlazi over the period, an increase not found in Clermont where a small decrease in units in fact is indicated.

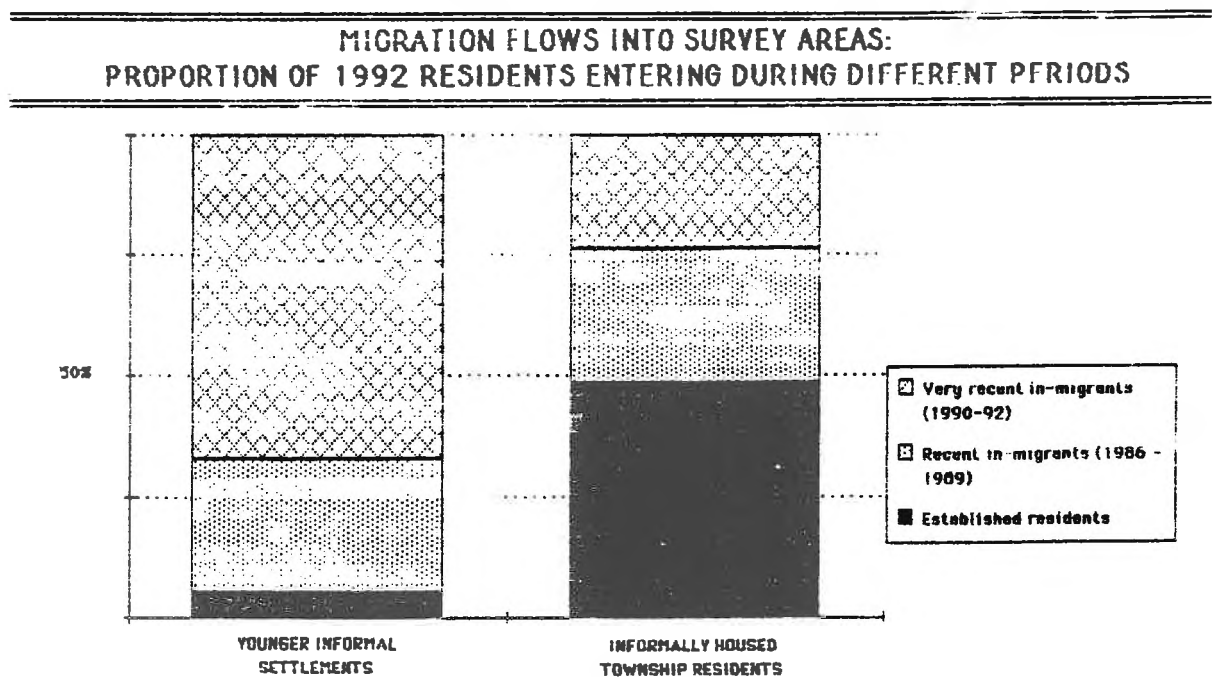
The small decrease in Clermont may not be reliable. Some infrastructural development has taken place in certain areas of Clermont, but difficulties encountered during sampling (see Appendix 2) probably led to an undercount of informal dwellings, many of which are barrack-type structures or long row houses, and largely explain away the drop.

TABLE 13: FORMAL HOUSES, EXTENSIONS TO HOUSES, AND INFORMAL DWELLING UNITS IN UMLAZI AND CLERMONT, 1985 AND 1990.

	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>% incr</i>			<i>Clermont informal % incr</i>
	1985	1990		1985	1990	
Formal	1313	1313	0	258	216	-16
Extensions	33	149	352	27	30	11
Informal	472	902	91	133	104	-22

When migration flows of households into younger informal settlements are compared with equivalent migration flows into informal housing in Durban's townships - as is done in Figure 3.1 - two significant trends are apparent. The younger informal settlements have grown rapidly from their period of establishment, especially during the past two years. Reasons for this growth will be discussed below. In the second place, though informally housed township households include a large component of established households (including residents who were born in the township), approximately one informally housed household in four has migrated into the township during the past two years.

FIGURE 3.1



3.2.: AGE / GENDER PROFILES OF SURVEY POPULATION.

Demographic data has been collected for all household members. When this data is aggregated for the younger informal settlements (Figure 3.2) and for informally housed township residents (Figure 3.3), similar age and gender profiles emerge, profiles which differ strikingly from those of established populations in Inanda, for instance.

The striking difference is the predominance, in both samples under scrutiny, of young adults and small children, pointing to the predominance of households comprising young parents with babies. The mean household sizes reported on in Chapter 2 point to the additional feature that these households tend to be small.

FIGURE 3.2

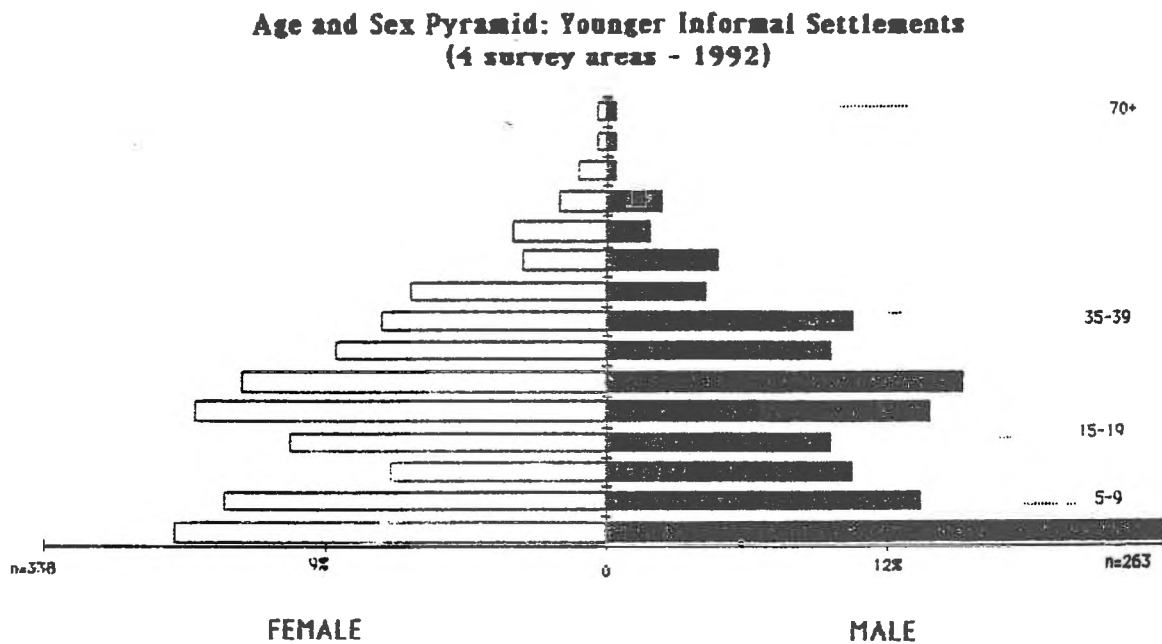


FIGURE 3.3

**Age and Sex Pyramid: Informally housed townships residents
(2 survey areas - 1992)**

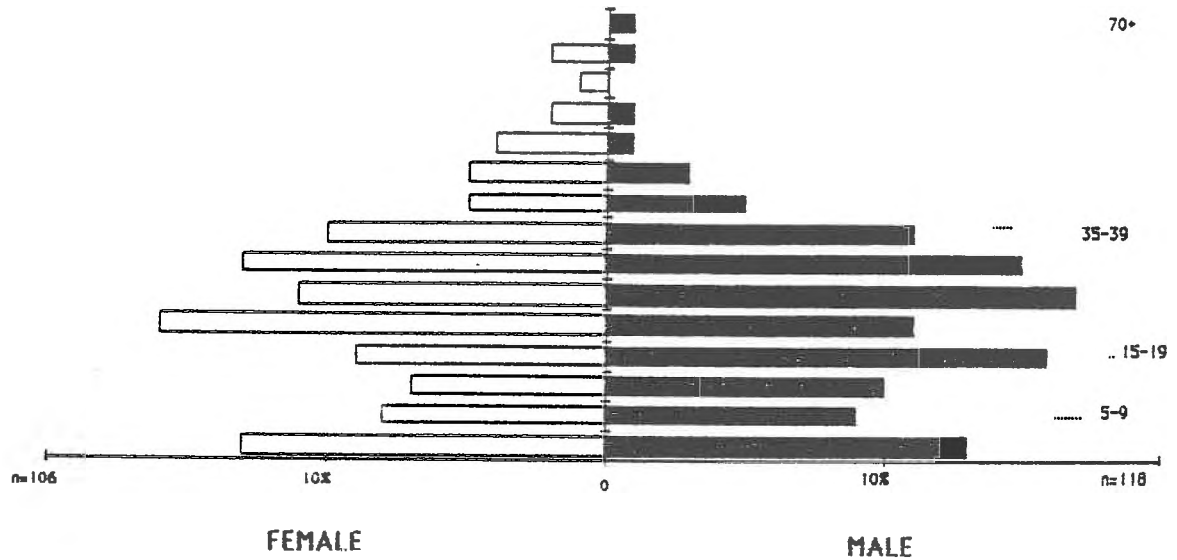


Table 14 which compares the relative sizes of age cohorts in these populations to those of recently surveyed populations in Inanda underlines the fact that most households under discussion here are small, youthful and include babies and small children rather than teenagers.

TABLE 14: PROPORTIONS OF AGE COHORTS IN THREE TYPES OF INFORMALLY-HOUSED POPULATIONS, 1992 [ID].

	<i>Younger informal</i> %	<i>Informally-housed Township</i> %	<i>Inanda</i> %
0-4 yrs	16,6	12,0	15,9
5-9 yrs	11,9	7,8	14,2
10-19 yrs	17,0	19,2	21,9
20-39 yrs	40,9	47,5	33,7
40 + yrs	13,6	13,5	14,3
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%

(Source: Current survey and Cross *et al*, 1992)

In the younger informal settlements of Cato Manor, Kennedy Road, Briardene and Block AK, additional demographic features are unexceptional: some 37,5% of the population is under the age of 15 (compared with an estimated DFR mean of 40%), and the female/male ratio for the aggregated sample is 56:44.

Block AK, as was shown in Chapter 2, stands out as an exception with regard to its particularly small mean household size, and relatively higher household earnings. This atypical profile is further borne out when the gender of heads of households is analysed. In Block AK, some eight household heads in ten are female, a ratio approximately the converse in the other three younger informal settlements selected for analysis (see Table 15 below).

TABLE 15: GENDER OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THE YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS, 1992 [ID].

	<i>Cato Manor</i>	<i>Kennedy Road</i>	<i>Briardene</i>	<i>Block AK</i>
Male	65	85	82	18
Female	35	15	18	82
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	60	39	33	34

When age, gender and socio-economic comparisons between very recent in-migrants, recent in-migrants and established residents in the survey areas are drawn, one significant trend emerges. The incidence of unemployment, in particular of adults actively seeking jobs, rises significantly in the very recent in-migrant category. This is a trend not only in the younger informal settlements but also in the informally housed township resident groups (See Table 16 below).

As may be expected, this unemployment trend relates to demographic profiles which, among very recent in-migrant households, conform more closely to a normal distribution. This suggests that, during the past two years, families moving into the settlements under discussion are more likely to have been older or to include teenage children. In addition, they tend to earn less than those families who settled earlier.

TABLE 16: PROPORTIONS OF ADULT UNEMPLOYED IN SURVEY AREAS, 1992
[ID].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS			
	<i>Unemployed seeking</i> %	<i>Structurally unemployed</i> %	N=
Arrived 1990-1992	27	32	230
Arrived 1986-1989	17	18	95
Arrived pre 1986	--	--	0

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS			
	<i>Unemployed seeking</i> %	<i>Structurally unemployed</i> %	N=
Arrived 1990-1992	32	36	55
Arrived 1986-1989	16	16	37
Arrived pre 1986	16	16	37

3.3.: ORIGINS OF THE YOUNGER CENTRAL SETTLEMENTS POPULATION

Most of the younger central settlements have existed in terms of people present today for less than three years. A few residents appear to have been present in Kennedy Road and Briardene prior to 1985. As noted, Cato Manor did have a small but substantial population in the years between the clearances and the lifting of influx control. Still expanding, all the younger settlements contain a population of highly mobile households. At the same time, it would appear that if these areas can be maintained as peaceful settlements comparatively free of violence the present population may remain relatively stable.

Nearly the entire population has migrated into the settlements where they now live. Only three individuals in the younger central settlements - old residents of Cato Manor - report having been born in their present area of residence. No one in the sample reports having lived in their present areas since birth.

At the same time, because of the illegality or quasi-illegality of most of the younger settlements, they tend to have been subject to official sanctions against uncontrolled structures. Some 23 % of residents in the four surveyed younger settlements have

moved within their present communities (see Table 6 in Appendix 3). The great majority of these moves appear to have followed action by the authorities in destroying new residents' shacks, which in these cases have resulted in the family moving a short distance and putting up a new structure.

In Briardene, which seems to have been subject to little official discouragement, 94 % of residents report that they have never moved house since arrival, and the community appears to be a very stable one. In Cato Manor and Kennedy Road, where official action against new shack construction has been intensive, 26 % and 36 % respectively of respondents report having moved within the area.

By comparison, for the Umlazi and Clermont quota samples of informal township residents, 12 % and 6 % respectively were born in the areas where they now live. In these older established townships, a significant percentage of the sample represents persons born in the townships who have not been able to find formal accommodation at the point in their life cycles when they needed it, and have therefore moved into informal housing. In the cases noted, they have obtained accommodation in their communities of birth.

At the same time, some 40 % of the Umlazi-Clermont sample report having moved within the area since arriving. In these established townships, less of this movement appears to be due to official action and more of it to the normal turnover involved in temporary accommodation under rental tenancies and clientship arrangements. To the extent that these samples represent tenant and client accommodation rather than township infill sharing the dynamics of younger settlements, it appears likely that the informal residents of the older townships will remain as an unstable floating population.

3.3.1: Birthplace in relation to urban migration

Results for in-migration are derived from the respondent population and apply broadly to the adult population of the survey areas. The greater part of the adult population of the younger settlements was born in rural districts or in urban areas outside the DFR, and has migrated into the urban core during the lifetimes of the respondents. This holds to a considerable extent for the population of township informal accommodation as well.

For the younger central settlements, some 29 % of the adult population appears to have been born inside the DFR. Some 50 % come from parts of Natal outside the DFR,

including both rural districts and secondary urban centers. The remaining 21 % originate from largely rural districts beyond the borders of Natal, with the majority coming from Transkei. By origin, the younger central settlements population therefore appears to be about 71 % rural.

By way of comparison, the quota sample for informal township accommodation suggests that about 32 % of adults in this informal population may originate within the DFR. Another 60 % of this sample comes from the outlying regions of Natal, and 8 % from the Transkei. No other areas are represented, and the sample appears to be about 68 % rural in origin.

In these terms, the two populations appear generally similar, with the township sample comprising only a few percentage points more individuals of urban origin than the younger settlements sample.

3.3.2: Rates of migration into the survey areas

In relation to the 1985 population, rates of in-migration into the sample areas have differed very significantly (Table 17).

TABLE 17: REPORTED RATES OF IN-MIGRATION INTO SURVEY AREAS, 1985-1991 [RDI].

CENTRAL CITY INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS					
	<i>Cato Manor</i> %	<i>Kennedy Road</i> %	<i>Briardene</i> %	<i>Block AK</i> %	<i>OVERALL</i> %
Pre-1986 population	10	3	--	--	4
1986-89	25	59	27	24	33
1990-92	65	39	73	77	62
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	60	39	33	34	166

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS			
	<i>Umlazi informal</i> %	<i>Clermont informal</i> %	<i>OVERALL</i> %
Pre-1986 population	31	27	30
1986-89	41	27	36
1990-92	29	46	34
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
N=	42	22	64

Survey results suggest that the present population of the younger settlements was almost non-existent in 1985. Across the four survey areas, the overall percentage of pre-1986 settlement is 4 %. Only in Cato Manor, an older black settlement area in which some shack settlement had managed to return after the clearances, is any significant pre-1986 population still evident in the area today (10 %). What are today the other younger central settlements appear to have been largely unoccupied areas at the lifting of influx control.

Between 1985 and 1989, significant contingents of new settlers appeared in these areas, comprising 33 % of the present population overall (see Figure 3.1). However, the major inflows into these areas have taken place for the most part since the end of 1989. Some 62 % of the present household population across all four survey areas reports having entered since January 1990.

Without reliable baseline occupation figures referring to a pre-existing population it is difficult to derive any estimation of population outflow during the life of the settlement. However, survey data dealing with household fission indicates that a minimum of 12 % of households in the younger settlements sample have had household members move out, for the most part to form households of their own. Depending on the area, some 50-75 % of these persons seem to have left the parent settlement and moved to other informal areas within the DFR; or, in one case, to a semi-rural area in the outer periphery.

It is not possible to estimate the percentage of households which have entered the survey areas and left again as complete units. However, a minimum fission-derived outflow for the younger central settlements over their lifespans so far can be approximated as equivalent to 2-5 % of the total present population, perhaps 1-2 % per year on average. The low figure here can be attributed to the characteristically young, small households involved, together with the immature, expanding character of the settlement process in these areas.

For the informally-housed township dwellers, generalization from the available figures is more difficult.

In-migration into these areas can be related directly to conditions on the ground. By comparison with older informal settlements such as Inanda, the younger informal settlements in the central city area appear to have more room for expansion and may have a less stressful and more constructive social climate. In contrast to many or most of the mature informal settlements, the younger settlements in the sample have been peaceful to date, giving the residents cause to hope for the future development of their communities. In qualitative interviews residents have expressed hope and satisfaction in regard to their present living conditions (see next chapter). At the same time, these new settlement areas also contain significant social tensions and maintain equivocal relations with administering authorities. In consequence, it appears that the probability of significant on-migration (i.e. migration onwards) leaving these areas will depend to a great extent on official action and the character of development work undertaken in the future, and on the effect of these factors on the containment of violence.

CATO MANOR: Physically the largest area of new settlement and the one with the greatest capacity to absorb further in-migration, Cato Manor is subject to an array of contending interests overlaid on those of the informal settlers. These interests have

promoted rather than deterred settlement, but face the area with serious risk of violence, land invasions and a large-scale breakdown of social order.

As a long-contested area of old settlement, Cato Manor has recently drawn in both Indian and African informal settlers and has also been subject to conflict of interest between opposing political groupings on the ground. The area appears to be legally under NPA and House of Delegates control.

Both Inkatha and ANC-aligned groupings have seen Cato Manor as old ground to be re-taken in order to position adherents for future control of the area. House of Delegates also maintains an interest in the area and has been involved in building, sometimes apparently on behalf of supporters who already have significant housing resources. These processes seem to have resulted in additional population, beyond that drawn by the possibility of open land for settlement, being pushed into the area. A large number of interest groups are also operating in the area, and some of these appear to be attempting to obtain access to land for distribution to adherents as patronage. Against this background the potential for serious conflict breaking out is high.

In-migration into the area has been nominally frozen since the middle of 1991, and new shacks are subject to demolition. Population has continued to flow into the area and official action against new entrants continues. The area can be estimated to contain between 1200-1400 people. A large percentage appear to represent on-migration from the Inanda area.

The possibility of holding the line on a strict settlement freeze appears to be small, and the chance of large-scale land invasions taking place may be very real. Against this background of potential violent conflict, informal residents now in place report seeing the area as a relatively peaceful one with scope for an orderly settlement process. Continuation of this relative calm will depend on a viable framework for local government, land allocation and development which adequately responds to the concerns of the major local interests.

KENNEDY ROAD: Established in 1986 soon after the construction of the Springfield municipal dump on the adjoining site, the two settlements at Kennedy Road are located on Durban Corporation land. Together they appear to contain some 450-500 persons. Apparently the most impoverished of the younger central settlements, much of the Kennedy Road population uses the resources of the dump as a means of support. The

settlements were initially subject to official pressure against shacks. Residents have expressed unwillingness to move away from the area as long as dumping is continued.

Previously not centrally organized, the Kennedy Road settlements are now receiving development inputs from Urban Foundation, which has helped to catalyze formation of residents' committees in each settlement. At the same time, the Urban Foundation input in development organization and service provision may have helped to sharpen tension and increase the potential for conflict between the two settlements, which are not on good terms with each other. Residents report that some violent conflict occurred following a proposal by the developers that the two settlements merge. To some extent the two groups see themselves in competition for possible development benefits.

Unlike the other younger settlements, which have expanded most rapidly since 1990, the Kennedy Road communities received the greater part of their in-migration flow (59 %) between 1986 and 1989. In-migration into these areas has now been officially closed as part of the agreement with the Urban Foundation for development and service provision. A resident is said to have been appointed by the landowner to control settlement and/or look after the land but his authority is said to be limited. Opinions appear to differ on whether the residents' committees are concerned with settlement or not. It nevertheless appears that some new population has continued to make its way into these settlements. Other than data on household fission, no direct evidence is available on possible population outflow.

BRIARDENE: Located on private Indian-owned land in the industrial/commercial area on Durban's North Coast Road and almost hidden from the road by trees, the Briardene settlement has emerged in an ethnically mixed area and seems to have avoided coming under pressure from administrative bodies. In close touch with transport, shops and basic amenities, residents have been able to obtain building materials from discarded wood and packaging available from the numerous local shops and factories.

The area appears to have developed into an integrated community of some 350-400 people with effective committee structures well supported by the population. Since many local households are said to be refugees from violence in other areas, emphasis appears to be placed on self-reliant and law-abiding behavior, and on social discipline and the maintenance of peace in the community. The area committee is generally agreed to be in direct control of settlement.

The settlement seems to date back to approximately 1988, but received heavy immigration (some 73 % of present population) only after 1990. Like Cato Manor, Briardene has received considerable population inflow from the Inanda informal settlement complex to the northwest. The area has now been closed by the committee to further immigration, though it appears that some population inflow may still be occurring at a low level. No direct data is available on population outflow other than household fission counts.

BLOCK AK: Representing temporary rather than semi-permanent accommodation, Block AK displays different dynamics from the other younger settlements in the central city. The area shelters a predominantly female population of informal traders, most of whom are attempting to contribute to the support of families residing outside the DFR. Now located on the pavement of a public street in the Durban CBD, the Block AK population is a rural trading colony rather than a residential settlement.

The area as a whole originally accommodated a large Indian population but was declared white and cleared by 1980. As a delivery point for long haul buses Block AK was an attractive opportunity for informal traders. Still empty, the larger AK area was informally settled by shack dwellers in 1989-1990 but cleared again and fenced, leaving the informal population confined to living on the pavement in plastic or cardboard shelters with their goods. The largest population inflow took place after 1990, creating a present population of 100-140.

Most of the present population formerly lived and traded at the Old Durban Station and many came to Block AK by way of trading at the New Durban Station. Durban Corporation supplies portable toilets and maintains control of the area. Only very loose informal leadership prevails, but group members consult each other closely and maintain order so as to be allowed to remain and continue to trade. No further entrants are allowed in terms of the traders' agreement with Durban Corporation.

3.4.: MIGRATION PROCESSES IN THE YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS AND TOWNSHIP INFORMAL AREAS

Virtually the entire population of the freestanding younger central settlements has entered their present areas of residence from outside and therefore represents immigration. At the same time, virtually the entire population has appeared in these new areas since 1985. This process represents an abrupt return of informal settlement from

the DFR's periphery to the central city districts from which it was banished in the 1950s and 60s. This explosive development of new informal settlement areas appears to be linked to changes in official policy since the abolition of influx control at the end of that year, as well as to developments in other informal settlement areas within the DFR. However, these links are not simple.

While the lifting of the influx control barrier might have been expected to lead to a flood of population leaving the rural areas and entering the urban core to look for accommodation in new settlements, this does not appear to be the dynamic process directly behind the formation of the younger settlements. Instead, survey results suggest that the process of the formation of younger settlements is demographically more complex.

Most of the younger settlements-population does not represent direct migration from rural districts. Instead, the majority of younger settlements residents have been in the urban areas for some time. In this respect, they tend to represent on-migration from other, longer-established forms of urban accommodation, and particularly from the longer-established informal settlement areas.

For the central area settlements surveyed, the Inanda region plays an important part in staging new migration into the new settlements. The endemic violence of the Inanda region, as perhaps of other established informal settlements, appears to act as an engine driving on-migration across the northern part of the DFR (Cross, Bekker, Clark and Richards 1992). Violence and the precarious state of civil order in some of the existing informal communities appear to play a role in the formation of new settlements as important as that of the urbanization policy changes which have made settlement of informal dwellers in the central districts possible.

At the same time, relaxation of official controls on township settlement appears to have had significant effects on the pattern of temporary and permanent informal accommodation available in the formal townships. Rental tenancies on freehold land under comparatively arduous conditions seem to be declining in West Durban (Clermont), while private backyard infill has increased very significantly in Durban South (Umlazi). At the same time, other new infill communities have emerged on unoccupied land within and adjoining the large West and South Durban townships. These new areas appear to follow younger-settlement dynamics.

This overall pattern suggests that population formerly squeezed into physically and economically marginal tenant accommodation is decompressing and moving out to take up unoccupied urban land on a settlement system resembling that found in some of Natal's modernizing black rural districts. The extent to which this new urban demography will take hold and consolidate into a socially useful or socially destructive pattern will depend to a great extent on the way in which policy and planning mobilizes to meet its new demands.

3.4.1.: Urban and rural origins of household heads

The following sections attempt to track the migration process from urban and rural household origins through entry into the urban complex and on-migration into present household area of residence. It attempts to clarify the mechanisms involved in informal settlement by assessing the roles of direct and indirect migration in transferring population into the younger central settlements and into township informal housing.

The adult population now residing in the younger central settlements is largely of rural origin, but contains a significant component (29 %) born within the DFR. The large Cato Manor region, which extends on the city's western boundary from the northern to the southern areas, is centrally placed in relation to the urban areas contributing DFR-born population. Of the four central younger settlements, it is the only one to draw its heads of household more or less equally from central, north, west and south urban districts (see Table 7 in Appendix 3), with 18-29 % of its DFR-origin population born in each of these areas.

For the other settlements, located in the central and northern areas, the available samples suggest a consistent preponderance of northern DFR origins for the urban-born heads of household, though numbers for individual settlements are too small to be conclusive. For the three smaller settlements together, 61 % of the DFR-born population originates in the northern DFR, with 6 % from the central area, 23 % from western areas and 10 % from the south¹.

¹ These figures cannot be read directly to the adult population as a whole. While head of household and respondent origins tend to coincide (75-91 percent) for rural districts, the urban-born population displays more variation at 50-67 percent shared area of origin. Figures for head of household have been presented here since qualitative results indicate that in these often fragile urban households, household heads are the major actors in making settlement decisions.

For the outlying areas beyond the DFR, all the younger central settlements consistently appear to find the largest proportion of their household heads born in Natal's large and impoverished northern black districts (39 % of rural-born heads). The southern districts contribute 25 % and Transkei some 24 percent, followed by the peripheral districts beyond the DFR at 7 % and areas outside Natal at 6 %. While the separate sample sizes are too small to be conclusive here, this distribution of original sending areas does not appear to have changed significantly between in-migrants to these settlements before and after 1989.

For the residents of informal township accommodation in the south and west of the DFR the picture appears to be somewhat different. Some 34 % of Umlazi informal household heads and 29 % of Clermont informal heads were born inside the DFR. Of these, 86 % of the Umlazi urban-born sample and half the very small urban-born Clermont component were born in the southern and western DFR respectively. It appears that for both freestanding and township informal accommodation, the factor of proximity and local knowledge is important in guiding household heads as to where to look for a place to stay.

For rural-born household heads in Umlazi and Clermont, areas of origin suggest a mirror image of the freestanding younger settlements in the center and north. In Umlazi and Clermont, 43 and 81 % of rural-born heads respectively came originally from Southern Natal. Some 29 and 19 % were born in the northern districts. The outer periphery and the Transkei contribute 11 % and 18 % in Umlazi, but are not represented in the small Clermont sample. As with the freestanding settlements, the distribution of origins does not appear to be changing rapidly as in-migration continues to arrive.

The apparent correspondence of northern origin with northern and central freestanding settlement as opposed to southern origin and southern or western informal township residence is not clearly maintained in terms of the areas through which rural-born residents¹ entered the DFR (see Table 8 in Appendix 3). For the younger central

1 Respondents identifying themselves as urban born do not include everyone nominally born within the DFR. Rather, they tend to categorize the Durban area as comprising only the built-up formal and informal urban areas, and exclude black-occupied quasi-rural districts falling under KwaZulu but defined by planners as part of the DFR. Residents by birth of these areas tend to see themselves as rural born and consider that they have entered the Durban area during their lifetimes. Accordingly, the self-defined urban-born component in Table 8 in Appendix 3 is smaller than the formal figure computed by the researchers from data on in-migrant areas of origin. In particular, residents by birth of the northern DFR tend to see themselves as rural-origin people.

settlements, 31 % entered an area in central Durban and 29 % overall through the northern DFR. For Cato Manor and Block AK, central areas were more frequent ports of entry than the northern DFR at 33 vs 23 and 47 vs 21 % respectively. For Kennedy Road central and northern entries were equal at 26 % each. Only in Briardene was entry through a northern DFR area most common, at 55 % vs 16 %. Initial urban experiences then appear to cluster around the central city rather than the northern DFR areas closest to areas of origin for most of the present population.

However, for township informal accommodation the fit remains closer. Some 56 % of Umlazi residents entered the Durban area through the southern DFR, with only 10 % coming in through the central city and 7 % through the northern districts. Similarly, 60 % of Clermont informal residents report having entered the Durban area through the western districts. It therefore appears that residents of the younger central settlements have had more spatially dispersed urban experience than the residents of township informal housing.

3.4.2.: Date of arrival in Durban for younger settlement and township informal residents

Considerable urban experience appears to lie at the heart of the younger settlements in-migration process. Mention has already been made of the relatively long migration paths followed by present younger-settlement adults in arriving at their present places of residence. Such paths imply elapsed time. Dates of arrival in the urban area for rural-origin respondents underline the point that both the younger settlements and the informal township tenures tend to call for urban knowledge as a condition of entry.

Table 9 in Appendix 3 indicates that relatively few of the self-defined rural-origin respondents belong to the waves of in-migration which have entered Durban since the abolition of influx control.

Counting people who call themselves urban-born, 61 % of the younger-settlements respondents and 78 % of township informal dwellers report that they were already in the Durban complex at the time of the lifting of influx control in 1985. Although an overall 62 % of the younger settlements' present population arrived there since 1989, few seem to have entered them soon after coming to Durban. Only 12 % of the present younger settlements population and 10 % of the township informal residents actually entered the urban area after 1989.

For informal township accommodation the population appears to be more stable and the discrepancy is less marked. Some 30 % of the present population were already living in their present areas in 1985. Only 34 % overall entered their present areas of residence after 1989. Figures here suggest again that township informal dwellers have been less mobile than the population of the younger freestanding settlements.

3.4.3.: Entry zones for younger settlements and township informal housing

Perhaps the most significant dynamic factor in the younger settlements migration process is the point of entry itself, which defines the channel through which the younger settlements population is recruited.

TABLE 18: IMMEDIATE SOURCE AREAS FOR MIGRATION INTO YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS AND TOWNSHIP INFORMAL ACCOMMODATION. 1992 [RD].

	<i>Younger informal settlements</i> %	<i>Informally-housed township residents</i> %	OVERALL %
Informal settlement	35	5	27
White urban areas	24	--	18
Black townships	22	74	36
Rural tribal areas	11	16	12
Other	8	5	7
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%
N =	152	57	209

Table 18 above indicates some clear similarities and differences in the migrations dynamics of the two sample populations.

Both are drawing population very largely from within the urban region. For the younger central settlements, 88 % of the present household population has entered from within the urban area. Only 12 % has arrived directly from a rural tribal or other rural area. For township informal housing, the direct rural component entering is slightly larger at 19 %. Identifiable similarities appear to stop at this point. The main immediate sources of in-migration for the two samples are otherwise very dissimilar.

The largest part of the present younger settlements population has arrived from other informal settlement areas (35 %). The result here tends to confirm the hypothesis that substantial population flows are taking place between the DFR's informal settlements at present: over one third of the younger settlements population represents on-migration from existing informal areas.

In addition, the relatively large interaction with white urban areas in staging in-migration into the new freestanding settlements appears to be an important element in their total migration process. Together, these two sources account for 59 % of the present population of the younger central settlements, with arrivals from townships filling in the remaining 22 %.

Neither of these two elements is significant in the population dynamics of township informal accommodation. For the Umlazi/Clermont quota sample, on-migration from informal settlements represents 5 % of the present population and arrivals from white urban areas do not appear at all.

Instead, the recruitment process for township informal housing seems to take place very much within the confines of the townships themselves. Some 74 % of these informal dwellers have moved into their present accommodation from a township entry point.

This endogenous type of process in unofficial township housing suggests that this type of informal accommodation is not open in operational terms to general in-migration on the part of the DFR's homeless. Rather, township informal housing appears to represent an increasingly important mechanism for dealing with the limitations of formal housing stock by accommodating homeless members of the specific community. In this respect it is dynamically unlike the freestanding settlements, which receive their population from a range of immediate source areas.

Further, though some of the people being accommodated here are clearly children of township residents unable to obtain formal housing, the results presented above suggest that the majority of these persons may be adopted rather than born members of the community. That is, they appear to be people of rural origin who have entered the area and remained there for some time while moving between forms of temporary accommodation. By different routes, a similar proportion of rural-born in-migrants

appear to be finding shelter in the townships and the freestanding settlements on temporary and quasi-permanent terms respectively.

Finally, the younger central settlements themselves appear to play a part in accommodating households unable to find township accommodation or unsatisfied with what is available. This openness of the informal freestanding areas to township on-migration appears in demographic terms to represent a one-way street.

At 22 % of all in-migration, significant population flows enter the younger informal settlements from township sources. Flows back from the informal areas into township informal accommodation amount to only 5 %. This level of on-migration from townships suggests that if informal housing within the townships were to fill up, the demographic contribution of these areas to the freestanding settlements would climb steeply. Conversely, in the event of the formation of younger settlements being effectively interdicted, the pressure on township informal housing would presumably also increase.

3.4.4.: Direct and indirect migration into younger settlements and township informal housing

The results presented above draw attention to the wider issue of rural-to-urban migration in relation to the younger settlements. The majority of the household sample for the younger central settlements records at least three moves beyond their place of origin, and four or five moves seems to be not uncommon. Table 10 in Appendix 3 shows the time dimension of direct and indirect migration into the younger settlements in terms of the date of the household head's arrival.

Direct rural-to-urban migration, where the household moves without stopping from area of origin to destination, makes up only 14 % of all moves into the younger informal settlements. Only for Block AK, a non-residential settlement of women informal traders, does direct migration become a significant factor at 36 %. Indirect migration, where the household enters the area of settlement after making one or more intermediate stopovers, is the form of route taken in 86 % of cases for the younger central settlements taken together.

This principle does not hold for township informal housing. For moves into Umlazi and Clermont informal accommodation, 38 % appear as direct in-migration and 62 % as

indirect. While some of these direct moves represent locally born people moving into local temporary accommodation, others are sourced from rural areas.

On the basis of prior research, it has been suggested that direct migration from rural areas depends on a prior scouting process in terms of indirect moves that establish a route into the destination area and set up a network of connections to the source area (Cross *et al*, 1991). Results for the new informal settlements suggest that direct migration tends to appear along with or later than indirect migration into these areas (see Table 10 in Appendix 3). At the same time it remains a minor source of in-migration in survey areas other than Block AK, where 29 % of Block AK's respondents are Transkeian and personal and local networks have served to bring new entrants directly from rural areas over long distances.

For the Umlazi informal residents, direct migration is a much larger percentage of total in-migration at 45 % overall, and has increased over time from 30 % prior to 1985 to 63 % of 1990-92 entries. For Clermont, direct migration only appears in the small quota sample after 1990, when it represents half of reported in-migration. For the whole Clermont sample, direct migration accounts for 22 % of cases reporting.

The increase in direct migration would appear to relate to the recent appearance in Clermont and Umlazi of new settlement areas with younger-settlements dynamics. These new areas appear to serve the parent township communities primarily and to make more extensive use of network connections in arranging entry than do the younger central settlements.

The immediate spatial sources of direct and indirect migration are given in Table 11 in Appendix 3. For the younger central settlements, entry from points within the DFR makes up 93 % of cases. Of these, direct migration from household head's point of origin makes up 12 %. Of this direct urban-to-urban in-migration, entries from the DFR's northern districts make up half.

In-migration entering from rural districts then accounts for twelve cases, or 7 % of younger settlements arrivals. Half of these come from Southern Natal. Two thirds of this inflow is direct migration, with Block AK accounting for five of these eight cases. Only four cases represent rural-to-rural indirect migration into the central younger settlements as a group.

Entry into the younger central settlements is therefore predominantly indirect migration of rural origin staging from within the urban core, and typically from a fairly long series of intermediate moves. Direct migration from rural districts appears to be an almost negligible factor.

For the township informal residents, direct migration from rural areas appears to be more significant. For the Umlazi quota sample, all entries where the immediate source is rural are direct migration. This group accounts for 19 % of all Umlazi arrivals. Half this direct in-migration, or four cases, has come in from Natal's northern districts. For residents entering from within the DFR, direct in-migration accounts for 32 % of cases, with 82 % of these coming from the southern DFR.

In the small Clermont sample, only three cases represent rural immediate source areas, for 14 % of recorded Clermont arrivals. Two of these are direct in-migration, both from Southern Natal. A further three cases represent direct migration from source points within the DFR, or 8 % of Clermont's recorded urban-origin migration. Two entered from the west, and one from the south.

Although results relating to small quota samples can only be taken as a very approximate guide to in-migration process, it appears that direct migration is more significant in Umlazi than in Clermont. By comparison, Umlazi has a more complex and differentiated range of tenures, and the settlement process appears to be more based on networks and less on impersonal contract dealings. Results here draw attention to the social-process mechanisms which convey households out of the migration stream and into different types of informal settlement.

3.5.: CONCLUSION

With the emergence of the new informal settlements in central Durban, informal housing has returned to the city center after the clearances of the 1950s and 60s. Somewhat similar areas of new settlement have also appeared as urban infill in Umlazi and Clermont.

Migration data suggests that significant differences obtain in dynamics of in-migration between the younger settlements in north and central Durban and the types of informal accommodation encountered in Clermont and Umlazi to the south and west of the city. With little new formal housing stock being provided, both in-migration from outside the

DFR and population increase within the urban core appear to be moving into accommodation.

Both the populations of the younger central settlements and of the southern and townships informal residents are characterized by young and small households young children predominating. Among very recent in-migrants, arriving in their areas of residence since 1990, unemployment also appears to be high household earnings are lower.

For the younger central settlements, nearly the entire population has migrated into these areas since 1986. This population, like that of the Umlazi and Clermont informal settlements, is largely of rural origin. For the younger central settlements, over 60 % of the population has arrived in its present area of residence in the last two years. At the same time, the majority have resided within the DFR since before the lifting of influx controls. The great majority of in-migration into the younger central settlements represents indirect migration from rural districts by a series of intermediate moves from a number of informal settlements within the urban core. In contrast, in-migration into township informal housing represents more direct migration, and is much more closely tied to the parent township population.

Although social conditions in the younger settlements are seen by residents as satisfactory at present, potential exists for serious violence. Violence also appears to be a major factor driving on-migration from the older informal settlements into the newer settlement areas (see Chapter Five).

CHAPTER FOUR : SOCIAL ROUTES AND CONNECTIONS IN THE ENTRY OF MIGRANTS

Results suggest that the mechanisms involved in in-migrant entry into informal accommodation vary in terms of how structured and how exclusive the entry process is by area. These factors appear to change over the lifespan of the younger settlements, and differ in degree from township informal accommodation¹. In addition, these entry mechanisms develop to some extent in dialogue with the actions of official agencies concerned with these areas.

4.1.: TYPES OF AVAILABLE TENURE

Several major types of urban tenure with a number of variations are at issue here. While the main random sample for the younger settlements comprises almost entirely unpaid informal land occupation, the comparison quota samples for Umlazi and Clermont include a high proportion of paid tenure arrangements. The Umlazi sample includes 71 percent backyard structures whose occupants in most cases pay rent (see Table 12 in Appendix 3). For Clermont, rental tenancies in row housing represent 41 percent of the sample. For both townships, the remainder of the sample is made up of residents of the areas of urban infill which resemble the younger central settlements in many respects.

These tenures tend to be relatively insecure in different ways. For the younger central settlements, land has been relatively easy to obtain, but ownership is not accessible and relations with responsible authorities are uncertain². Being forced to move is a

1 Other differences obtain where the new community is the result of a land invasion by a group of in-migrants. No such area is represented in the present sample and these dynamics are not dealt with here.

2 The role of intervention by authorities and developers in persuading the community to accept upgrading and/or cut off further settlement may be significant. The model of development interaction for all the younger settlements appears to be one in which informal occupation on an empty land parcel goes undetected or at least undeterred in its initial stages. The relevant administrative bodies may or may not attempt to remove the existing informal structures before significant numbers have been erected. At a later stage, when the settlement is too large to be readily removed, official bodies and/or development agencies may acknowledge the emerging settlement, approach the residents and attempt to get into communication with a leadership which can make commitments on behalf of the residents as a group. In return for a freeze on further settlement, an offer of recognition and upgrading or development may be made. Alternatively, if the area is unsuitable or believed unsuitable for upgrading, the residents or the leadership may be offered another site if they will agree to move. Depending on how effectively both sides observe the agreement and on whether the promised benefits materialize, new settlement may slow or stop at this stage. Otherwise, negotiations may break down and authorities may fall back on coercive methods of dealing with in-migration.

constant hazard. Very few residents feel secure enough to claim even informal ownership of their sites (see Table 13 in Appendix 3). Some ten percent think no one owns the land, and 19 percent are unsure of where title lies, with Cato Manor and Briardene residents showing the highest uncertainty. By contrast, 71 percent of the younger central settlements respondents claimed ownership of their dwelling (see Table 14 in Appendix 3).

For the townships, rental accommodation is relatively easy to obtain, but is subject to insecurities and drawbacks of its own. Tenancy requires continuing payments that are now reaching over R 1000 per month for some backyard accommodation. Rentals are continued on verbal contracts and depend on maintaining the good will of the landlord. Tenancy also implies subordinate status and residential marginality. Given insecurity and expense, an outflow from rent tenancies to informal accommodation is probable if open and accessible land is available.

4.2.: CONDITIONS OF OCCUPATION IN YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS

Respondents' qualitative accounts suggest that younger settlements on unoccupied urban land differ in regard to their conditions of settlement from older well-established informal settlements. These differences appear to underlie the striking demographic profile of such areas.

The cognitive model which underlies settlement in such areas appears to be a weak version of the rural African system of first settlement right, in which the first people to take up empty land acquire the right to allocate land adjacent to their own sites to later arrivals. In the younger settlements, the first people to arrive are often able to exercise some informal seniority in admitting new arrivals. However the rural allocation system has formalized procedures and normally admits only persons with recognized connections to people already in residence. In contrast, the procedures used in the urban younger settlements are unstructured and ad hoc, and regularly admit complete strangers.

As population increases in the new settlement the dynamics of control over settlement may change. Local leaders may emerge from among the first settlers or from persons connected to political groupings. Where the settlement is located on private land, the landlord or his representative may have the final say on new entrants. In the present policy environment it is very common for new settlements to establish residents'

associations or civics as they coalesce into communities. In the four central younger settlements as well as in the younger-settlement areas of Umlazi and Clermont, all had developed local residents' committees which dealt with development and other issues of local concern. In the large informal area at Cato Manor, local leaders or strongmen were present as well.

These local committees may be volunteer groups or may be elected. They do not necessarily deal with questions of land allocation. The younger-settlement areas at Clermont and Umlazi appeared to have strong committees with solid control over access to sites. In contrast, the loosely organized Block AK traders, with their marginal claims to pavement sites, disclaimed authority over allocation of sites to new arrivals, though internal turnover is presumably organized informally among the group of residents.

While the Cato Manor and Briardene committees were believed by most residents interviewed to be legitimately concerned with land allocation, the Kennedy Road community was divided over the issue. Some Kennedy Road residents denied that their residents' committee, appointed to deal with the Urban Foundation after the decision had been taken to close the area to settlement, had any authority over land. Likewise, some Cato Manor residents disputed the authority of their local committee and preferred to keep control of land at ground level with the neighboring residents. In both these areas, certain local residents functioned as contact men who put prospective entrants in touch with committees and potential neighbors. Approval at both levels appears to have been necessary for entry.

What appears to happen in these settlements as they grow is that the pre-existing informal system of control by prior settlers continues in partial competition with higher-level systems. Where group identity is strong and committees or leaders are strong and/or legitimate, the role of prior settlers becomes one of introducing new people to the leadership and supporting their application. Where local identity is not cohesive and leadership structures are weak or disputed, de facto authority over conferring residence rights on new arrivals appears to remain with prior settlers at local sub-neighborhood level. In practice, new in-migrants may then come into the younger central settlements through one of several routes.

4.3.: MECHANISMS OF ENTRY INTO YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Qualitative interviews indicate that mechanisms of entrance to the younger settlements

vary in terms of the prospective in-migrant household's connections into the area. In many cases, new entrants are guided to the area by relatives, friends or home people already living there, who can introduce them to the community and may provide or arrange a site. In other cases, prospective in-migrants looking for a place to stay may hear of the area and visit the locality to assess its advantages and to investigate possibilities of obtaining a site. Otherwise, people may simply notice the emerging settlement while in the course of their normal urban activities.

In these latter cases, prospective in-migrants make inquiries on the spot from any local resident, who will inform them as to whether there is a committee, a leader, landlord or caretaker who must be consulted. Once an area has established a residents' committee, prospective in-migrants may approach the organization directly about obtaining a site and moving in. Committee members may then formally assign a site, or informally negotiate with prior settlers in an area where space is available.

For the four younger central settlements, 24 percent report having heard about the area from family and relatives, 8 percent from neighbors, 18 percent from friends, 5 percent from a local leader, 4 percent from landlords. Some 21 percent heard from various other sources and 20 percent report being told by no one but having discovered the area without assistance. For the township quota samples, 46 percent heard from family, 8 percent from neighbors, 11 percent from friends, 2 percent from landlord, and 11 percent from other minor information sources. Some 22 percent discovered the area for themselves.

For the younger central settlements, 51 percent of respondents who reported that they were told about the area, say they were introduced to the community by the same person who first told them. For the remainder, roughly 84 percent indicated that no one had introduced them and that they had made their own arrangements without sponsors.

In the township samples, 58 percent of those who were told about the area report that they were introduced to the community by the person who first informed them. Some 81 percent of the rest indicated that they had not been introduced by anyone. In these cases, ad hoc deals with prior residents or local leadership admit the new entrants.

Results suggest that substantial differences prevail between the younger central settlements and the younger-settlement areas of Umlazi and Clermont in terms of exclusivity. These differences seem to relate to the distinction between a freestanding

younger settlement and one which is attached to an existing township as a functioning extension of it.

In the central younger settlements, new areas of settlement emerged on unoccupied land belonging to the municipality, the province or to a local landowner. These areas then developed in their own terms and received in-migration from a number of sources, with many or most new entrants arriving as strangers to the area. With the tenure situation approaching one of open access, rapid expansion followed.

In contrast, the younger-settlement areas in Clermont (Sub-Five) and Umlazi (M-section expansion) developed in terms of the identity of the parent township. Most strikingly at the new M-section area, residents characterize the area as one committed to people from the parent community. While the Sub-Five residents described their area as one reserved for poor people rather than tightly committed to Clermont residents, the effect in both cases has been that the new areas have developed with close network structures and a strong local identity.

The implication is that access to these areas is significantly more conditional on having relatives or home people to provide introductions and support the applicant's good character than appears to be the case in the central younger settlements (Tables 15 and 16 in Appendix 3). For Sub-Five in Clermont, 76 percent of resident households not of urban origin had relatives in the community, and 77 percent had people from the home area. In the M-section expansion area at Umlazi, 82 percent had kin in the community and 55 percent had people from the home area.

In contrast, for the central younger settlements having relatives in the survey community was less general though still common. For the older settlement at Cato Manor some 44 percent of households not of urban origin had relatives in the area, and half had people from the home area. At Kennedy Road, 32 percent had relatives and 41 percent home people, and at Briardene 17 percent had kin and 36 percent people from home. For Block AK, which has apparently relied more on network connections to recruit members, 32 percent had relations and 47 percent people from the home area.

The pattern of results here suggests that younger informal areas that develop as expansions of existing townships may tend to have stronger local identity and a more cohesive community base than freestanding younger settlements with no clear identity and little in the way of interior social networks. To the extent that this is so, the second-

generation younger township settlements may be capable of more rapidly establishing stronger community structures able to control the settlement process. At the same time, they are likely also to require more credentials in the way of local connections from prospective in-migrants. In the process of maintaining greater exclusivity, they are likely to maintain their social cohesion.

By comparison, the freestanding younger settlements not attached to any older settlement appear to begin their careers with what approaches open access to land under a weak system of first settlement right. Whether or not they later develop strong local community structures is uncertain, depending to a considerable extent on local events, interaction with authorities, the character of the embryonic community leadership and the type of settlers attracted into the area. Where they do not, control over who is allowed to enter the community will continue to rest on an ad hoc basis with the prior settlers in any local sub-neighborhood cluster. Depending on events, such communities may continue to admit outsiders more rapidly than younger township informal settlements. As the area available for settlement fills up and the area becomes crowded, it is likely that the settlement process will slow and come to approximate that of a mature informal settlement.

4.4.: POPULATION DYNAMICS IN RELATION TO CONDITIONS OF ENTRY

It is likely that the striking population dynamics of the younger central settlements are linked to their sequential development in these terms. In younger settlements, the more difficult conditions of entry found in mature informal settlements such as Inanda appear to be relaxed to a considerable degree.

In terms of rural settlement models, only married couples with children normally qualify to receive land and join the community. Results of the Mariannhill and Inanda migration studies suggest that where land resources are already largely occupied and claimed, informal communities tend to employ the same standard. Under crowded conditions established informal communities appear rarely to accept single people or single mothers with children, and give preference to two-parent families. Population pyramids for such areas show the typical smooth-sided peak, and family sizes may tend to cluster around 4-8 persons.

Where older, more crowded informal areas may provide few opportunities for single persons and single women with children to find accommodation, the younger

settlements expanding on unoccupied land seem to provide nearly open access even to these disadvantaged categories of household. Qualitative interviews and narrative migration histories for the younger central settlements indicate that at least some of these areas do routinely admit even young women as plotheolders, as well as accommodating functionally single men who have rural wives but no urban family accompanying them.

It appears to be part of the dynamics of the younger settlements that they rapidly absorb younger and smaller households than those which normally appear to enter the established informal settlements. Very small average household sizes - as low as 2-4 persons - appear to result. The choked population pyramid (Figures 3.2 and 3.3 on page 56) dominated by young adults and small children, appears as the signature of this immigration process.

Table 17 in Appendix 3 illustrates the household forms accommodated in the areas surveyed. The modal type of household appears to vary in terms of the areas' functional dynamics.

For Cato Manor as the largest and most established younger settlement, the largest category of entering household is the normative type with both parents and children at 30 percent. Single people arriving alone are next in frequency at 27 percent, followed by couples arriving without children at 13 percent, women arriving with children only at 12 percent, and persons arriving with their natal families of parents and siblings at 10 percent. Other categories represent less than five percent each. Parents were in charge at the time of arrival in 15 percent of cases (see Table 18 in Appendix 3).

For all the other younger central settlements, single people are the leading category, and couples with children represent roughly one quarter or less of entrants. Kennedy Road, the next most established younger settlement and one which is having some difficulty establishing effective social control, shows the arrival of single people leading at 39 percent, followed by parent/children families at 26 percent. Couples without children represent a further 21 percent, and other categories are of comparatively minor importance. Briardene, a much more stable community, records 33 percent single people, 27 percent childless couples, 24 percent parent/children families, and 12 percent single mothers.

Block AK, a trading colony rather than a quasi-permanent settlement, is dominated by women arriving as single entrants at 53 percent even though individual histories indicate that many are married with families at home in rural districts. Women with children only place second at 21 percent, and couples with children place a distant third at 9 percent.

The types of household recorded here reflect a significantly earlier developmental phase than the nuclear-structured family which tends to obtain land rights in both black rural communities and mature informal settlements. Qualitative interviews indicate that in many cases these younger households have not reached their final structure and are still going through the process of separating from the natal family. In these early stages households are demographically unstable, and household members may split up and recombine. In addition to the need to send money home to either parents or spouses and children residing elsewhere, the relatively fragile and ad hoc character of household structure in these areas may help to explain the large discrepancies noted between household nominal income, income of head, and actual recorded total contributions to the household (see Chapter 2). This also indicates the fallacy of using household incomes as a guide to how much households can invest in housing in younger informal settlements.

For the Umlazi and Clermont quota samples, single people arriving alone are also very dominant at 50 percent and 41 percent respectively. However, the number of single entrants here is likely to be increased by the involvement of rental tenancies, which normally accommodate large numbers of single people. In addition, the older settlement structure of these areas appears to account for the larger proportion of respondents arriving with their natal families, at 13 percent for Umlazi and 18 percent for Clermont. As these settlements mature, changes in settlement dynamics are likely to lead to larger and more stable households and to a smoother population pyramid.

4.5.: EXPERIENCE WITH RENTAL ACCOMMODATION

Results along these lines draw attention to the dynamic relation of the younger informal settlements, not only to the older informal settlements from which they draw much of their population by on-migration, but also to accommodation in rental tenancies in the townships. The dynamics of population cited above suggests the interaction between persons moving through and out of rental tenancies and into younger settlements.

A large number of types of rental and unpaid accommodation are available (see Table 19 in Appendix 3). For the immediate source areas for the Clermont/Umlazi informal resident populations, respondents reported having stayed free of charge either as members of the householding family or as single non-family members without payment in 34 percent of reported cases. Forms of paid accommodation reported include rented rooms or parts of rooms, backyard structures, accommodation in row houses, rooms added by owners onto township houses, and hostels.

These forms of rental accommodation were most commonly used by households moving on from the townships at 80 percent of reported cases. Households moving in from informal settlements and from white urban areas were rarely involved in this type of rental market. Arrivals from rural tribal areas reported an involvement in rental at 14 percent of cases.

Experience with rental accommodation by the larger population of household heads (see Table 20 in Appendix 3) suggest that past involvement in the rental market for accommodation chiefly characterizes households originating outside the DFR, though the overall difference is less marked in the younger settlements than in the townships.

For the younger central settlements, 68 percent of households originating inside the DFR reported experience of staying in townships only as family members or guests, with the remaining 32 percent having experience of rented rooms or row house accommodation either as single people or as families. By contrast, for the larger population of households originating beyond the DFR, 47 percent had stayed in the townships in free family accommodation. Some 53 percent had experience of rental accommodation, chiefly as singles renting rooms or in backyard structures.

In the township quota sample, 77 percent of the households originating inside the DFR reported experience of staying free in family accommodation, with 15 percent reporting renting in backyards as families and 8 percent renting in row housing. For the households coming from outside the DFR, only 22 percent reported free family stays. The remaining 78 percent had been in the rental market, with 22 percent renting rooms as singles, 16 percent renting in backyards as singles, 16 percent renting rooms as families and 13 percent renting as families in row houses.

This close association between rental tenancies, and the households originating outside the DFR seems to imply that these rural-origin households tend to remain marginal when

they become township residents. Such residential marginality is likely to contribute toward the strong observed outflow of these households into the new informal areas of urban infill linked to the townships. The similar but weaker relationship observed for the rural-origin households in the younger central settlements may also contribute to the inflow of rural origin households to these areas.

4.6.: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Both informal occupancy of sites in the younger settlements and rental accommodation in the established townships are insecure forms of urban tenure. At the same time, informal occupation of sites offers greater independence at less cost, and migration out of rental accommodation into new areas of informal settlement can be anticipated as such areas open up.

The in-migration dynamics of the younger central settlements appear to be more open and accessible than those of the new settlements attached to the established townships, and require fewer personal connections to obtain entry. At the same time, in consequence of this greater openness, the younger central settlements are less closely organized and appear to vary more in the degree of control achieved over the processes of in-migration. Where residents' committees or other local structures do not control in-migration, de facto allocation processes devolve down to ad hoc arrangements with residents at local sub-neighborhood level.

With greater unclaimed space resources than older informal settlements, these areas tend to admit women and single in-migrants who have difficulty in obtaining accommodation in more established informal areas. Predominantly young, small households and a distinctive population structure dominated by young adults and very young children appear as a result.

CHAPTER FIVE : PERCEPTUAL DYNAMICS OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS

In relation to planning needs, the younger settlements offer some useful points. They are relatively young communities, still peaceful for the most part, and not so crowded onto their land that planned development bogs down in the need to negotiate any land use initiative. At the same time, a need remains to see the situation in regard to migration and development from the viewpoint of the younger settlements residents themselves.

5.1: MOTIVATING FACTORS IN MOVING INTO THE YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS

Respondents indicated a wide variety of factors involved in their decision to leave their previous place of residence and enter the younger settlements. Violence was the single factor most frequently cited at 23 percent overall, and reaching 46 percent in Briardene where many residents are refugees from Inanda. Other elements of importance included evictions at 18 percent, the desire to live independently at 9 percent, overcrowding at 8 percent overall and 17 percent for Cato Manor, and distance from work at 6 percent. Various crisis situations amounting to desperation - lack of shelter, loss of job - were mentioned by some 24 percent overall.

Attractive factors associated with residence in the younger settlements included freedom from violence at 21 percent overall, but 43 percent at Briardene, accommodation or open land available for building at 24 percent, convenience to work or transport at 21 percent, opportunities for informal business at 8 percent, rising to 32 percent for Block AK, lack of other realistic choices at 8 percent and the absence of rentals or charges at 7 percent.

The issue of violence has become steadily more important, rising from 14 percent for established migrants to 19 percent for recent migrants and 26 percent for very recent migrants.

Availability of free land for accommodation was more attractive to women than to men at 23 versus 17 percent, as was access to work and transport at 23 versus 12 percent. People arriving from other informal areas were most impressed with the absence of violence at 29 percent, while people entering from townships tended to cite the absence of rental charges and the opportunities for informal business at 15 percent each. Both these latter groups were impressed with the availability of free land at 23 and 21 percent respectively.

In relation to those factors which respondents might consider as motivations for possible on-migration, a peaceful area ranked first at 37 percent overall. Freedom from violence was most important to residents of Kennedy Road at 51 percent and Block AK at 50 percent, followed by Briardene at 38 percent and Cato Manor at 20 percent. The overall second-ranked factor was good services at 27 percent overall, rising to 38 percent for Briardene and descending to 18 percent for Kennedy Road. Good transport ranks a distant third at 10 percent overall, with 20 percent at Cato Manor.

In comparison, the Clermont sample ranked good services first at 46 percent, followed by a peaceful area at 18 percent and transport at 14 percent. For the Umlazi sample, services and a peaceful community tied for first ranking at 29 percent each, followed by transport at 22 percent.

5.2: PERCEPTIONS OF IN-MIGRATION LEVELS

Respondents' assessments of the numbers of new in-migrants entering the younger settlements over the past year are given in Table 21 in Appendix 3. In-migration was perceived highest in Cato Manor where 45 percent of respondents felt that many new entrants had arrived and 12 percent said none had come in. Lowest in-migration was perceived in the two Kennedy Road settlements, with 41 percent reporting no new in-migrants and 28 percent reporting many. Both settlements are officially closed to in-migration, but it would appear that entrants with connections are still able to get in. Block AK respondents showed a fairly even split of opinion, while perceptions in Briardene converged at 52 percent on few in-migrants arriving. In that Briardene is also officially closed to new entrants, residents' perception is likely to be accurate.

For all areas together, families longest in the area appear most likely to assert that many new entrants have arrived. A weaker opposite trend is apparent for 'don't know' replies, while 'few' or 'none' show no clear variation with date of arrival.

5.3: ACCEPTANCE OF NEW MIGRANTS BY THE ESTABLISHED COMMUNITY

Effective integration of new households into the settled community is a significant factor in establishing structures able to deal with authorities and developers on behalf of the younger settlements communities. At present, many if not most of the younger settlements have relatively weak organization and are experiencing problems in

engaging with the development process.

Table 22 in Appendix 3 summarizes results in relation to how far respondents are willing to go in giving approval to the behavior of new arrivals toward the prior settlers with first settlement seniority. In a well-integrated community, high levels of approval should provide an index of good internal relations.

Most effective integration is apparent in Briardene, where 52 percent of respondents evaluated the new in-migrants as 'very respectful'. Fairly good relations also appear to characterize Cato Manor, with 25 percent 'very respectful' and 30 percent 'respectful', and Block AK, with 29 percent and 29 percent. For Kennedy Road, where most internal stress has been apparent, only 8 percent were willing to go as far as 'very respectful', with 49 percent saying 'respectful' and 39 percent asserting that there were no new in-migrants at all.

By comparison, community relations in the township informal areas were more varied and often appeared weaker. In Clermont, 36 percent attributed very respectful behavior to new in-migrants, and 59 percent chose 'respectful' behavior. But for Umlazi, 2 percent selected 'very respectful', 31 percent said 'respectful', 10 percent took a neutral position and 31 percent refused to take a position by adopting 'don't know' as their response.

Results here would appear to suggest reasonably good community relations for Clermont, where most of the sample was located in the Sub-Five informal infill area. But for Umlazi, where the bulk of the quota sample is located in backyard housing, the pattern of response may suggest serious tension located either in the landlord-tenant relation, or in marginality and potential competition between present tenants and potential in-migrants.

5.4: PERCEIVED NEEDS OF RESIDENTS

Considerable similarity is apparent between the younger central settlements and the township informal residents in relation to ranking of perceived needs (Table 23 in Appendix 3). For both samples, housing ranked first overall with 50 percent of responses for the younger settlements as a group and 52 percent for the township informal residents. All individual areas also ranked housing first with the exception of Briardene, where water was placed first and housing second.

Second place overall was held by employment, with 16 percent of mentions for the younger settlements and township informal residents both. Briardene ranked jobs fourth, after water and sewerage, and Umlazi put employment fourth after education and sewerage. Water ranked third overall for the younger settlements with 13 percent overall, but there was little agreement between areas: Block AK did not rank water at all, Briardene put it first and Cato Manor sixth. Sewerage, education and more money stood fourth, fifth and sixth overall, but received less than 10 percent each and had little agreement between areas.

For the township informal dwellers, education, sewerage, water and transport in that overall order took up the minor placings with less than ten percent mentions each. There was little further agreement between the Clermont and Umlazi samples.

5.5: VIOLENCE

At present the situation for violence in the younger settlements is remarkably favorable (Table 24 in Appendix 3) and a source of satisfaction as expressed by residents in qualitative interviews. Only the divided community at Kennedy Road reports any conflict during the past year, and at 10 percent of responses this conflict would appear to be relatively low-level. At the same time internal tensions in these small and weakly organized settlements represent a continuing threat. How long Cato Manor, a major potential arena for resource conflict, can maintain its peaceful present climate is a matter for conjecture and a source of concern to administrators and service organizations.

At the same time, the situation in the younger settlements at present is clearly more favorable than in the larger township areas. Twenty-seven percent of Clermont respondents and 19 percent at Umlazi noted that there had been violence in their areas during the past year. While these figures are far below what was reported by respondents last year at Inanda, it is still substantial. Depending on the distribution of conflict through these areas, it is possible that apprehension over violence may become a factor pushing informal residents to leave the townships and move to informal areas that may appear more peaceful.

5.6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Residents' perceptions of issues associated with migration processes and the arrival of in-migrants in their communities suggest substantial opportunities for successful

participative planning, shadowed by the potential for severe conflict. A substantial proportion of younger settlement residents cited threat of violence as their reason for leaving their previous area. Attractions of the younger settlements then included both freedom from violence and the availability of open land to build.

Internal community relations appeared to be relatively good in most areas, and residents' expressed perceptions seem to suggest that in-migration has slowed substantially. Against this background, community priorities for development centered on housing, followed by jobs. At the same time, concerns expressed in relation to possible on-migration returned to freedom from violence and to service delivery in general. Given the general low level of financial resources available to these households, it is likely to be very difficult for a rational planning process to deliver both housing and services at a level affordable to these young families.

CHAPTER SIX : CONCLUSIONS

The objective of the present study of the DFR's younger central settlements is to relate these new communities to the context of informal accommodation in the Durban area, and to place them in relation to the larger urban policy context for the Natal region. To do this, the study focuses on the processes which determine the population dynamics of these new settlements. Analysis is directed to the mechanisms which control the recruitment of the younger settlements population, in relation to larger migration flows affecting the region.

6.1: YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE DURBAN FUNCTIONAL REGION

In the new policy environment of the 1990s, informal settlement has abruptly returned from the urban periphery and reappeared in the city center. Complementary to the established large freestanding informal settlements which have characterized the DFR, a series of small new settlements has appeared on unoccupied ground in parts of the city previously protected from black settlement by racial frontiers. Similar areas are developing as infill within the black formal townships.

As such new informal areas continue to appear, they are likely to have a significant impact on the ethnic character of the central city. The next five years are likely to see the urban underclass coming into the open and putting new demands on existing services and infrastructure.

6.2: CONCEPTUALIZING MIGRATION INTO THE YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS: ORIGINS

In terms of origin, the adult inhabitants of the younger central settlements, of the township infill areas and of the informal township rental housing sample all represent mainly rural-born population. However, comparatively small numbers of them derive from the large flows of rural-to-urban migration which have arrived in the DFR since the lifting of influx control.

For the most part, the younger-settlements residents and township informal dwellers represent a marginal urbanized category which has resided in the DFR in temporary or quasi-permanent accommodation since before the relaxation of influx control. In view of

the limits on formal housing stock provision, this urbanized element faces difficulties in achieving acceptable permanent settlement status.

Alternative accommodation to the younger and established informal settlements largely comprises rental accommodation in the townships or perhaps residential employment in a white area.

6.3: CONCEPTUALIZING MIGRATION INTO THE YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS: PATHWAYS

Most younger settlements residents have entered their present areas by extended indirect migration, three to five moves beyond their rural place of origin. Comparatively few represent rural-to-urban direct migration.

The largest number have entered the younger central settlements from one of the DFR's established informal areas. Other major inflows arrive from white urban areas and from the formal townships.

Results suggest that substantial population exchanges take place between informal settlement areas inside the DFR, with violence as an important driving force. In addition, the townships contribute marginal and impoverished population to the younger informal settlements without receiving important counterflows in return.

6.4: CONCEPTUALIZING MIGRATION INTO THE YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS: ARRIVALS

Prospective in-migrants with urban experience are able to locate new areas of informal settlement through personal connections, by word of mouth or through chance discovery. A majority of younger settlements residents have either relatives or home people in their present communities.

In very new or weakly organized settlements new entrants are taken in through ad hoc arrangements with prior settlers. Near open access prevails. In somewhat older or better organized areas residents' committees or other leadership structures may take over all or part control of the settlement process. Low-level friction between the two systems may result.

For the township infill areas surveyed, settlement procedures resemble those for the freestanding younger settlements but appear to be tighter and more exclusive. Correspondingly more control is exercised by residents' committees.

6.5: DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORY OF YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Results for the younger central settlements in the DFR suggest that such areas may develop through a series of demographic stages. Very new areas take in large numbers of new settlers to establish their identity and presence, with velocity increasing as the area becomes known. Authorities may attempt to discourage, prevent or expel settlers.

As the settlement reaches a size of some two hundred or more, authorities and development agencies may recognize its existence. An offer may be made of either upgrading or an alternative site with security and recognition in return for a freeze on further in-migration. This process of dialog may help to catalyze representative structures.

Depending on compliance by both sides with any agreement reached, new settlement may decline to a low level and entry may come to depend on convincing personal connections. The active lifespan of in-migration into such smaller settlements may then be some 2-4 years, culminating in the process repeating in another location.

6.6: YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS DEMOGRAPHY AS A CONSEQUENCE OF IN-MIGRATION

The younger central settlements and corresponding areas of township infill appear to share a distinctive demography with the population participating in the township rental accommodation market.

The quasi-open access system of settlement which appears to be part of the younger settlements process admits large numbers of younger women and single people as well as informal couples. These categories of in-migrant are at a disadvantage in obtaining permanent accommodation either in formal townships or in mature informal settlements and are frequently confined to informal tenancy and lodging arrangements.

Family structure in younger informal areas tends toward very young and small households with fragile, non-nuclear structure. Many of these households appear to be

incompletely separated from parent families in other localities. Distinct from population pyramids for mature informal settlements, demographic pyramids for younger settlements show a characteristic choked shape dominated by young adults and very young children.

6.7: YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS ECONOMICS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF IMMIGRATION

Low household income levels appear to be characteristic of younger settlements populations as a whole. Though considerable variation obtains between areas, younger settlements households tend to lower incomes than informally housed residents of Umlazi or Clermont.

Younger settlements heads of household tend to be functioning as main breadwinners relatively early in their working lives. High levels of formal unemployment also obtain in the younger central settlements, and a high proportion of households are supported wholly or partly on low-level informal sector work.

Income distributions for the younger settlements show wide discrepancies between theoretical total household income and de facto household income as the sum of contributions. Some of this discrepancy may be due to the spending expectations of young adults without clear obligations to support housemates. In addition, roughly a quarter of younger settlements residents maintain membership claims in other households either rural or urban to which they have financial obligations.

6.8: SPECIFIC DEMOGRAPHY OF YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS SURVEYED

The younger central settlements in the Durban region display individual responses to their historical and spatial circumstances and to the forces affecting them. All but Cato Manor have developed only since the lifting of influx control.

6.8.1: CATO MANOR

The largest, oldest and most strategically placed of the younger settlements, Cato Manor is relatively well off in terms of income. At the same time, it is the only remaining large area of unoccupied land within the central city area, and subject to powerful contending interests. Political groupings have been moving supporters into the area, and a

significant number of outside interests are attempting to establish their stake, resulting in high conflict potential.

Cato Manor retains a small percentage of population from the period before the lifting of influx control, but has experienced most of its in-migration since 1990. A negotiated freeze on settlement has been in effect since early 1991 and has been stringently policed, but large areas of unoccupied land remain and in-migration appears to be continuing.

6.8.2: KENNEDY ROAD

Established adjacent to the Springfield dump which serves as a strategic resource to the informal residents, the population of the two Kennedy Road settlements is possibly among the most impoverished in the city. After early attempts at evicting the informal residents, Urban Foundation has undertaken upgrading initiatives for the area and has helped to catalyze representative community structures. Some violence has also been reported between the two communities in connection with upgrading proposals.

The Kennedy Road settlements were established before the other younger central settlements and received most of its in-migration between 1986 and 1989. Under Urban Foundation pressure the community has now agreed to close off in-migration so as to promote upgrading and service provision.

6.8.3: BRIARDENE

Located inconspicuously on private land in a commercial and light industrial area between established white, Colored and Indian residential districts, the Briardene settlement has not apparently been subject to pressure from authorities to vacate the settlement. Briardene was settled to a large extent by refugees from the Inanda violence and has developed strong community structures charged with overseeing land allocation and maintaining the peace. Residents report that violence has been totally absent during the past year.

Established in 1989, Briardene received most of its in-migration flow after 1990. In an effort to maintain unity and prevent discord with the surrounding area, Briardene has taken a resolution to close off further in-migration.

6.8.4: BLOCK AK

Block AK was originally an Indian residential district in the heart of central Durban which was cleared in the 1950s. Zoned for white occupation, the area remained empty and was later occupied by a black informal population. In 1989 the area was cleared again and fenced.

Now occupying the pavements of a small cross-street cutting through the Block AK district with the reluctant consent of the city authorities, the present informal occupants of Block AK make up a trading colony comprised mainly of women. Most of these informal traders are members of families located elsewhere which are partly supported on their remittances. Incomes are significantly higher than for the other younger central settlements. Most in-migration occurred in 1990, and the settlement is now closed to further arrivals by agreement with the City Council.

6.8 IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING INITIATIVES

The younger central settlements in the DFR appear to be characteristically small areas which may have short demographic lifespans of rapid expansion, followed by relative closure and slow in-migration. In this light they may appear relatively unstable. For planning purposes, the phase in which they pose the most acute need and seem to exhibit the greatest instability may come within a year or less of their reaching a size which makes them visible to outsiders.

If these model propositions approximate the real phenomenon, the planning requirements of younger informal areas are likely to center on proactive policy formulation and a need to anticipate rather than to react. Sub-regional urban metropolitan planning with attention to equity for those with no access to housing is required.

Informal areas of this type have advantages for planning in that for the most part they are very much less crowded than the mature informal settlements. Many of them have working room such that not every physical planning initiative will necessarily become entangled in exhaustive negotiations with densely settled occupants. In addition, in the case of the smaller areas political forces may not be openly engaged in conflict with one another.

Younger settlement areas may also be significantly less unstable than they appear. If issues of tenure, security and service provision are handled with sensitivity in terms of participative planning, areas of this type may provide the occupying households with the secure low-cost accommodation and minimal basic services which this marginal population has been hitherto unable to obtain. Given peace and an affordable tenure, younger settlement populations may prove to be very stable.

While the younger settlements populations clearly appear to be very poor in relation to better established communities, it is also true that potential household income is significantly higher than households are realizing from contributions. Given opportunities to dedicate a percent of earning to secure housing stock, more of this income may become committed to fixed capital investment. What is required here is that costs remain at absolute minimum levels, which will probably involve substantial work contributions from residents for infrastructure and housing delivery. Perhaps the major attraction of the younger settlements to their residents is the absence of continuing payments for land, housing, and water. Forms of 'low-cost housing' customary in this country are too expensive for the poor.

Any real progress along these or other lines will require that these new communities remain peaceful. The force of violence in driving on-migration is beginning to become clear in relation to the outflow of Inanda population into the younger settlements. Like the weakly structured communities in the northern DFR, the younger central settlements need to have development benefits strategically channeled through their representative structures in order to help catalyze stronger organization. Where risks are involved in such interventions, they will need to be faced.

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B: NEWSPAPERS CONTAINING RELEVANT ARTICLES

Daily News, 16.05.89.

Natal Witness, 21.05.89.

Natal Mercury, 23.05.89.

Natal Witness, 26.05.89.

Natal Mercury, 16.06.89.

Sunday Tribune, 25.06.89.

Post, 10.01.90.

Daily News, 25.01.90.

Natal Mercury, 1.02.90.

Natal Mercury, 31.07.90.

Daily News, 31.08.90.

Natal Mercury, 17.04.91.

Natal Mercury, 18.09.91

Natal Mercury, 20.01.92.

Daily News, 22.01.92.

Northglen News, 21.02.92.

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH DESIGN

The project which was commissioned by the Department of Local Government and National Housing, was designed to be completed within a specified four month period (December 1991- March 1992).

The research conducted for the project was executed in five distinct phases. These represent an attempt to replicate, with some modifications, the research methodology employed in similar studies in Mariannhill and Inanda. The phases were as follows:

- (1) a preliminary reconnaissance and familiarisation phase during which mainly qualitative research techniques were employed;
- (2) a second phase during which a socio-economic survey of the community was executed;
- (3) a focussed group and individual discussion phase during which selected groups of residents were formed and group discussions organised, and interviews conducted with informants in the survey communities;
- (4) a data analysis phase during which survey results and secondary sources were identified and analysed;
- (5) a final phase during which the project report was presented to the project committee for discussion and evaluation.

In practice, phases 1, 2, 3 and 4 overlapped with one another chronologically.

THE FIRST PHASE:

After the research team (comprising three members and a coordinator) had been constituted, relevant secondary material and maps relating to the relevant survey areas and to the Durban Functional Region were collected. On the basis of these data, the team wrote a preliminary descriptive socio-economic report on the survey areas and decided upon a division of labour regarding the different sections of the final report that was to be written.

The six selected areas were:

Cato Manor, Kennedy Road, Briardene, Block AK, and samples of informal dwellings in Umlazi and Clermont.

The first four represent younger informal settlements. These areas were chosen according to the following criteria:

- (i) location of free-standing informal settlements close to the Durban city core; and
- (ii) substantial backyard and informal settlement in-fill in formal townships of the Durban Functional Region.

Subsequently, the team made contact with community leaders, and a visit to a number of survey areas was arranged for members of the project committee.

THE SECOND PHASE

A draft questionnaire (in English) was constructed (using data gathered during the first phase) and tested in the community. After a number of adjustments, the questionnaire (which may be obtained upon demand from CSDS, University of Natal) was applied to a random sample of 230 households, which were randomly chosen from maps collected during the first phase. Given that the younger settlements characteristically have very small populations, the small samples selected appear to have picked up between one-quarter and one-half of the total household population in the areas other than Cato Manor. Household heads (or, in a few cases, their spouses) were selected as

respondents. The survey itself was executed by Data Research Africa (DRA) after the survey manager had been fully briefed by the research team during a number of meetings.

Cluster sampling procedures were applied by first identifying a number of randomly-generated map-based starting points and executing a number of interviews at each starting point. DRA interviewers were fully briefed before starting the survey. The sampling ratios (sample households to the universe of households) in the central city informal settlements were

Cato Manor	1:2,5	n = 60
Kennedy Road	1:3,5	n = 39
Briardene	1:3,5	n = 33
Block AK	1:1,5	n = 34

In the case of backyard and informal settlement in-fill in formal townships, quota sampling techniques were used, and a total of 64 interviews were conducted (in Umlazi, n = 42, and in Clermont n = 22).

The survey was conducted during January 1992. There were a minimal number of refusals by respondents, and the potential problem of an expected high frequency of absent adult respondents during weekdays was addressed by continuing the survey over one weekend. Standard random check-backs were also completed.

THE THIRD PHASE:

Depth interviews on individual migration issues were held with 60 informants equally selected from each survey area. Transcripts of these interviews were prepared and circulated to research team members. In addition, 15 focussed group discussions on migration and related issues were organised and transcripts prepared in similar fashion. These data were collected throughout the research period.

THE FOURTH PHASE.

Survey data were coded and aggregated into two separate files for analysis: one relating to household data (n = 230), and a second to individual data (n = 825). These files were analysed by using a computer programme tailored to statistical social scientific information.

THE FINAL PHASE.

The final report compiled by the research team was made available to members of the project committee for their scrutiny, criticism and approval. Amendments they proposed were duly incorporated.

While it is widely acknowledged that it is extremely difficult to develop a level of reasonable trust with survey respondents within communities like these in the interview situation, the research team used as many techniques as possible in the time available to minimise bias and understatement of items. In particular, the third phase was seen to be essential in extending the data base beyond survey results. As a consequence, the research team is confident that the results reported here, while indicative of trends - rather than hard and fast facts - are essentially correct.

APPENDIX 2: DWELLING UNITS IN UMLAZI AND CLERMONT, 1985 AND 1990: AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC METHODOLOGY

Sampling Method:

1. Area samples of the Umlazi and Clermont townships have been conducted in order to determine the extent of the following types of residential structures:

- * backyard shacks and informal dwellings
- * house extensions
- * formal houses

2. 1985 and 1990 air photos for both areas were obtained in order to conduct an area sample for each township.

3. Each area was divided into sub-regions to facilitate the sampling method and to ensure that the samples drawn for each township were representative and covered the whole township. Each sub-region within the two townships was sampled using a transparency grid overlay. Every 5th block on the grid was selected for sampling and the frequency of the types of accommodation was recorded.

4. When reporting on the findings, cognizance of the sampling procedure should be taken into account. Sample results may be misleading. It should be noted that the sample starting points differed between 1985 and 1990 for each of the sub-regions identified on the airphotos. Blocks selected through the skip interval or sample ratio (1:5) for the 1985 and 1990 airphotos were usually different. In consequence, blocks from the 1990 airphoto which showed a growth in informal dwellings (through a cursory scan of the whole sub-region) might not have been selected in the 1985 sub-sample. The Clermont case illustrates this. A comparison of the two sub-samples for 1985 and 1990 shows a decrease in the number of informal dwelling units. A cursory visual inspection of the two sets of air photos (1985 and 1990) however would seem to indicate that in some parts an increase in shack and informal dwelling structures has occurred since 1985.

5. Half of the air photos were available for Clermont and therefore only half of the area was sampled.

Air photo interpretation of the two areas

A) UMLAZI

The description of this area is based on the sampling procedure. The township was divided into three strips from Umlazi North on the Mlazi River side (strip 1), a central strip (2) running East to West and a lower strip (3), Umlazi South which borders Malukazi. The description also includes a comparison of the 1985 and 1990 air photos to indicate changes which might have occurred in the area between the two dates.

Strip 1: Umlazi North adjacent to Mlazi River

Far North-East section:

- * formal housing, no informal housing in this area evident in 1985 and 1990.
- * 3 schools and playgrounds
- * Land relatively flat

North East Section:

- * moderate gradient
- * formal housing
- * school with playground
- * no informal housing evident between 1985 and 1990

Central Section:

- * Increased housing concentration between 1985 and 1990
- * Dense informal housing evident in 1990 on North facing slopes. Informal housing also evident in the centre of this section in 1990
- * 6 schools (probable)
- * 3 hostels (probable)
- * gradient moderate

North West Section:

- * Gradient undulating
- * Evidence of informal housing in 1985 and 1990 on Easterly facing slopes

Far North West Section:

- * Gradient slight
- * formal housing on flat land
- * 1985 and 1990 informal housing evident on NW facing slopes
- * 1990 informal housing spread to upper slopes
- * 4 schools evident
- * 1 hostel (probable)

Strip 2: Middle Strip

Far East:

- * Bordered partially by Mlazi River and Main Rd
- * Gradient slight
- * Warehousing or hostel evident in 1990
- * Formal housing density appears to have increased between 1985 and 1990

- * 1 school

East of Central

- * Situated to the East of Mangosotho Technikon
- * Southern Boundary main road
- * Mainly formal housing but some informal housing on the other side of the main road evident in 1990

Central Strip

- * gradient slight
- * Area incorporates the Mangosotho Technikon
- * Main road dissects the area
- * Formal housing
- * school or hostel like structures evident

West of Central

- * Gradient undulating
- * 1990 informal housing on hillsides
- * 4 schools, hostel and football field evident in 1990

Strip 3: Southern Strip bordering Malukazi

* South Easterly Area:

- * Gradient slight
- * Far South East 1985 mainly bush, 1990 residential road development although no houses evident. Formal housing on Northern side of this area

Central strip:

- * Railway line on the Northern border
- * Area characterised by undulating slopes but on Northerly side the land is relatively flat and formal housing is located on this section
- * 1990 evidence of informal housing on hillsides of South Easterly slopes. Also informal housing on North Westerly side of formal housing
- * 2 hostels and 2 schools (probable)

Central West:

- * Gradient mainly flat

- * Formal housing
- * 4 schools evident in 1990
- * 1 hostel

West:

- * Main Rd runs through area
- * Gradient slight
- * Formal Housing
- * 6 school structures and 1 hostel

Extreme South West:

- * Main Rd runs through the area
- * Formal housing located on hill top
- * Evidence of informal housing increase between 1985 and 1990 on Southerly facing hill sides
- * 1 school and 1 hostel

B) CLERMONT

A sample of the Easterly side of Clermont was conducted in the absence of aerial photographs for the Westerly portion. For the purpose of sampling, the Easterly strip was divided into two sections, the Umgeni River section and the Pinetown section.

The Umgeni River Section:

- * The Main Rd dissects
- * Northern or Umgeni side bordered by factory/warehousing
- * The topography is undulating but residential areas are situated on the flatter hilltops
- * Growth of informal housing has occurred between 1985 and 1990 on the Umgeni or North Westerly side
- * Housing tends to be dense in the central portion with a mix of formal and informal structures which make classification of dwelling types difficult. Commercial or trading activity is evident along the main road.
- * Hostel or barrack-like structures are more evident in the 1990 photo than the 1985 photo.

Pinetown Side:

- * Mainly formal housing along road system running through the area

- * Topography relatively flat where housing occurs
- * Some warehousing evident.
- * Recreational space

APPENDIX 3: TABLES

Note: all percentages in the following tables have been rounded off to the nearest whole number. The data refers either to respondents or to all individuals in the respondent households. Consequently, each table will be labelled as **RD** (Respondent Data) or **ID** (Individual Data).

**TABLE 1: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF ADULTS IN THE SURVEY AREAS, 1992
[ID].**

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS								OVERALL	
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>			
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Formal	67	46	42	48	31	43	9	18	149	42
Unemploy seeking	38	26	19	22	21	29	1	2	79	22
Structurally unemployed	27	18	20	23	16	22	38	76	101	28
Still schooling	13	9	3	3	2	3	1	2	19	5
Pensioner	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	6	2
TOTAL:	147	100%	86	100%	71	100%	50	100%	354	100%

	INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS				OVERALL	
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>			
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Formally employed	47	51	19	32	66	44
Unemployed and seeking	17	18	13	22	30	20
Structurally unemployed	15	16	11	18	26	17
Still schooling	11	11	10	17	21	14
Pensioner	2	2	5	9	7	5
TOTAL:	92	100%	58	100%	150	100%

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF FORMAL SECTOR OCCUPATIONS BY SURVEY AREA, 1992 [ID].

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS									
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
High income:	0	--	0	--	1	4	0	--	1	1
Upper-middle:	11	18	5	16	6	21	0	--	22	17
Lower-middle:	30	50	24	75	13	46	6	100	73	58
Low income:	19	31	3	9	8	29	0	--	30	24
TOTAL:	60	100%	32	100%	28	100%	6	100%	126	100%

	INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS							
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>			<i>Clermont informal</i>			<i>OVERALL</i>	
	N=	%		N=	%		N=	%
High income	2	4		1	6		3	5
Upper-middle	4	9		4	25		8	13
Lower-middle	33	73		11	68		44	72
Low income	6	13		0	--		6	10
TOTAL:	45	100%		16	100%		61	100%

'High income', i.e. professionals and civil servants;

'Upper-middle income', i.e. clerical workers, machine operators and artisans;

'Lower-middle income', i.e. drivers, shop assistants, hotel workers, factory workers, security workers, panel-beaters, domestic workers;

'Low income', i.e. labourers and gardeners.

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF FORMAL SECTOR OCCUPATIONS IN SURVEY AREAS BY GENDER, 1992 (IDI).
(Percentages of male and female formal sector workers.)

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS								OVERALL	
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>			
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High income	--	--	--	--	--	9	--	--	--	2
Upper-middle	25	5	29	--	35	--	--	--	27	2
Lower-middle	35	80	53	100	35	73	100	100	42	86
Low income	38	15	18	--	30	18	--	--	30	8
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS				OVERALL	
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>			
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
High income	--	9	--	20	--	11
Upper-middle	18	--	36	--	24	--
Lower-middle	59	86	64	80	60	85
Low income	23	5	--	--	16	4
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 4: TRANSPORT USAGE BY FORMAL WORKERS, 1992 IIDI.

Note: Because the table is based on multiple responses, the percentages given do not sum to 100 %.

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Taxi	15	25	5	16	3	11	0	--	23	18
Bus	29	48	16	50	15	56	3	50	63	50
Own car	3	5	0	--	0	--	0	--	3	2
Other car	2	3	0	--	1	4	0	--	3	2
Train	1	2	0	--	1	4	1	17	3	2
TOTAL RESPONSES:	60		32		27		6		125	

INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Taxi	14	31	17	100	31	50
Bus	24	53	0	--	24	39
Other car	0	--	1	6	1	2
Train	15	33	1	6	16	26
TOTAL:	47		17		62	

TABLE 5: REPORTED INFORMAL SECTOR ACTIVITIES BY SURVEY AREAS, 1992
[ID].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Selling home produce	2	10	0	--	2	13	1	2	5	5
Selling bought goods	5	24	10	43	6	46	41	95	62	62
Home-produced & bought goods	0	--	1	4	0	--	0	--	1	1
Work for others	10	48	8	35	3	24	0	--	21	21
Providing service 4		19	4	17	2	16	1	2	11	11
TOTAL:	21	100%	23	100%	13	100%	43	100%	100	100%

INFORMALLY-HOUSED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Selling home produce	1	7	0	--	1	5
Selling bought goods	8	54	2	33	10	48
Work for others	4	27	2	33	6	29
Providing service 2		14	2	33	4	20
TOTAL:	15	100%	6	100%	21	100%

'Selling home produce' includes selling handicrafts as well as fruit and vegetables grown at home.

'Selling bought goods' includes hawking, and operating shebeens and spazas.

'Selling both bought goods and home produce' is self-evident.

'Working for others' includes informal employees, local casual labour, and spaza employees.

'Providing service' includes child sitting, informal medicine, repair work, construction work, and political activity.

TABLE 6: NUMBER OF TIMES MOVED WITHIN SURVEY AREA, 1992 [RD].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Once	11	19	9	23	2	6	5	15	27	16
Twice	4	7	4	10	0	--	-	--	8	5
Three times	0	--	1	3	0	--	0	--	1	1
Never	43	74	25	64	31	94	29	85	128	78
TOTAL:	58	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	164	100%

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Once	10	24	9	41	19	30
Twice	4	10	2	9	6	10
Never	27	66	11	50	38	60
TOTAL:	41	100%	22	100%	63	100%

TABLE 7: ORIGINS OF MIGRATION STREAMS INTO SURVEY AREAS BY HOUSEHOLD HEAD REGIONAL ORIGIN, 1992 [RD].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Central DFR	5	8	2	5	0	--	0	--	7	4
North DFR	5	8	12	31	4	12	3	9	24	14
West DFR	4	9	4	10	2	6	1	3	11	9
South DFR	3	5	0	--	2	6	1	3	6	4
Outer periphery	3	5	1	3	0	--	4	12	8	5
South districts	8	13	7	18	7	21	6	18	28	17
North districts	19	32	7	18	12	36	8	24	46	28
Transkei	11	18	5	13	3	9	10	29	29	17
Other	2	3	1	3	3	9	1	3	7	4
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Central DFR	0	--	0	--	0	--
North DFR	2	5	1	5	3	5
West DFR	0	--	3	14	3	5
South DFR	12	29	2	9	14	22
Outer periphery	3	7	0	--	3	5
South districts	12	29	13	59	25	39
North districts	8	19	3	14	11	17
Transkei	5	12	0	--	5	8
TOTAL:	42	100%	22	100%	64	100%

TABLE 8: AREA STAYED ON RESPONDENT'S ARRIVAL IN DURBAN. 1992 [RD].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS					
	<i>Cato Manor</i> %	<i>Kennedy Road</i> %	<i>Briardene</i> %	<i>Block AK</i> %	<i>OVERALL</i> %
N/A, urban born	19	31	13	6	18
Central DFR	33	26	16	47	31
North DFR	23	26	55	21	29
West DFR	7	8	3	12	8
South DFR	18	8	13	15	14
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	57	38	31	34	160
URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS					
	<i>Umlazi informal</i> %	<i>Clermont informal</i> %	<i>OVERALL</i> %		
N/A, urban born	27	15	23		
Central DFR	10	20	13		
North DFR	7	5	7		
West DFR	--	60	20		
South DFR	56	--	38		
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%		
N=	41	20	61		

TABLE 9: DATE OF FIRST MOVE TO DURBAN BY RESPONDENT. 1992 [RD].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS					
	<i>Cato Manor %</i>	<i>Kennedy Road %</i>	<i>Briardene %</i>	<i>Block AK %</i>	<i>OVERALL %</i>
N/A, local born	19	31	12	6	18
Before 1985	52	33	52	30	43
1986 - 1989	19	28	24	46	28
1990 - 1992	10	8	12	18	12
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	58	39	33	33	163
URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS					
	<i>Umlazi informal %</i>	<i>Clermont informal %</i>	<i>OVERALL %</i>		
N/A, local born	27	13	22		
Before 1985	54	55	56		
1986 - 1989	10	18	13		
1990 - 1992	7	14	10		
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%		
N=	41	22	63		

TABLE 10: DIRECT AND INDIRECT MIGRATION INTO SURVEY AREAS BY DATE OF ARRIVAL OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, 1992 [RD].

	YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS												OVERALL N=
	<i>Cato Manor</i>			<i>Kennedy Road</i>			<i>Briardene</i>			<i>Block AK</i>			
	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	
Before 1985	17	83	100	--	3	100	--	--	--	--	--	--	7
1986-1990	25	75	100	14	86	100	--	100	100	--	100	100	47
1990-1992	10	90	100	13	88	100	8	92	100	32	68	100	112
TOTAL:	13%	87%	100%	13%	87%	100%	6%	94%	100%	33%	67%	100%	100
N=	8	52	60	5	34	39	2	31	33	9	23	34	166 %

	URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						OVERALL N=
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>			<i>Clermont informal</i>			
	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	
Before 1985	30	70	100	--	100	100	13
1986-1990	38	63	100	--	100	100	25
1990-1992	63	36	100	50	50	100	26
TOTAL:	45%	55%	100%	22%	77%	100%	64
N=	19	23	42	5	17	22	

TABLE 11: DIRECT AND INDIRECT MIGRATION BY IMMEDIATE SOURCE AREA, 1992 [RD].

	<u>YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS</u>												<i>OVERALL</i> N= %	
	<i>Cato Manor</i>			<i>Kennedy Road</i>			<i>Briardene</i>			<i>Block AK</i>				
	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>		
Central DFR	25	35	33	--	53	46	--	6	6	--	48	35	52	31
North DFR	38	50	48	40	29	31	50	81	79	22	24	24	75	45
West DFR	13	8	8	40	6	10	--	3	3	11	8	9	13	8
South DFR	13	6	7	--	6	5	--	6	6	11	20	18	14	8
South districts	--	2	2	--	6	5	50	3	6	11	--	3	6	4
North districts	13	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	33	--	9	4	2
Transkei	--	--	--	20	--	3	--	--	--	11	--	3	2	1
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	166	100%
N=	8	52	60	5	34	39	2	31	33	9	23	34		
	<u>URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS</u>							<i>OVERALL</i> N= %						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>			<i>Clermont informal</i>										
	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>Dir</i>	<i>Indir</i>	<i>Tot</i>								
Central DFR	--	4	2	--	6	5	2	3						
North DFR	5	9	7	--	12	9	5	8						
West DFR	5	--	2	40	76	68	16	25						
South DFR	47	87	69	20	--	5	30	47						
Outer periphery	5	--	2	--	--	--	1	2						
South districts	11	--	5	40	6	14	5	8						
North districts	21	--	10	--	--	--	4	6						
Transkei	5	--	2	--	--	--	1	2						
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	64	100%						
N=	19	23	42	5	17	22								

TABLE 12: PARTY TO WHOM RENT IS PAID. 1992 [RD].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Don't pay	51	91	36	92	32	97	25	74	144	88
Owner of land	0	--	1	3	1	3	0	--	2	1
Owner of house	1	2	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	1
T/ship authority	0	--	2	5	0	--	0	--	2	1
Dbn Municipality	0	--	0	--	0	--	8	24	8	5
Don't know	4	7	0	--	0	--	1	3	5	3
TOTAL:	56	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	162	100%

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Don't pay	14	33	13	59	27	42
Owner of land	8	19	6	27	14	21
Owner of house	18	43	2	9	20	31
T/ship authority	1	2	1	5	2	3
Don't know	1	2	0	--	1	2
TOTAL:	42	100%	22	100%	64	100%

TABLE 13: OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN SURVEY AREA. 1992 [RDI].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Household head	4	7	0	--	0	--	0	--	4	2
Landlord	6	10	17	44	4	12	0	--	27	16
Other local	2	3	4	10	3	9	4	12	13	8
Businessman	3	5	1	3	0	--	0	--	4	2
Government	8	13	7	18	7	21	16	47	38	23
Dbn Municipality	4	7	10	26	2	6	10	29	26	16
NPA	7	12	0	--	0	--	0	--	7	4
No-one	8	13	0	--	6	18	2	6	16	10
Don't know	18	30	0	--	11	33	2	6	31	19
TOTAL:		100%		100%		100%		100%		100%
URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS										
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>					
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>				
Respondent	0	--	1	5	1	2				
Household head	3	7	0	--	3	5				
Landlord	17	42	15	68	32	50				
Chief	0	--	1	5	1	2				
Government	14	34	0	--	14	22				
Other local	1	2	0	--	1	2				
No-one	0	--	2	9	2	3				
Don't know	3	7	2	9	5	8				
NPA	1	2	0	--	1	2				
KwaZulu Govt	1	2	0	--	1	2				
T/ship authority	0	--	1	5	1	2				
Parents	1	2	0	--	1	2				
TOTAL:	41	100%	22	100%	63	100%				

TABLE 14: OWNERSHIP OF HOUSE IN SURVEY AREA. 1992 [RD].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		OVERALL	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Household head	40	67	31	80	26	79	21	61	118	71
Other h/hold	14	23	5	13	5	15	6	18	30	18
Landlord	2	3	2	5	0	--	0	--	4	2
Other local	3	5	0	--	0	--	0	--	3	2
Government	0	--	1	3	2	6	7	21	10	6
Don't know	1	2	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	1
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%
URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS										
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		OVERALL					
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>				
Household head	23	58	12	55	35	56				
Other h/hold	11	28	3	14	14	22				
Landlord	6	16	7	32	12	19				
TOTAL:	40	100%	22	100%	62	100%				

**TABLE 15: NUMBER OF RELATIVES OF RESPONDENTS IN DURBAN AREA, 1992
[RD].**

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
No relatives	28	56	19	67	26	83	21	68	94	67
1 relative	12	40	5	18	3	10	10	32	30	21
2 relatives	3	10	2	7	1	3	0	--	6	4
3 relatives	2	6	0	--	1	3	0	--	3	2
4 relatives	3	10	1	4	0	--	0	--	4	3
5 relatives	1	4	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	1
6 relatives	1	4	1	4	0	--	0	--	2	1
TOTAL:	50	100%	28	100%	31	100%	31	100%	140	100%
Born urban	10		11		2		3		26	
URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS										
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>					
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
No relatives	6	18			4	24	10	19		
1 relative	16	47			4	24	20	39		
2 relatives	5	15			5	29	10	19		
3 relatives	4	12			0	--	4	8		
4 relatives	1	3			2	12	3	6		
5 relatives	1	3			2	12	3	6		
6 relatives	1	3			0	--	1	2		
TOTAL:	34	100%			17	100%	51	100%		
Born urban	8				5		13			

**TABLE 16: PEOPLE FROM RESPONDENT'S AREA OF ORIGIN IN SURVEY AREA.
1992 [RD].**

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
None	30	50	23	59	21	64	18	53	92	55
1	18	30	9	23	6	18	12	53	45	27
2 or 3	6	10	11	3	5	15	4	12	25	15
4 or more	6	10	6	15	1	3	0	--	13	8
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
None	19	45	5	23	24	37
1	10	24	4	18	14	21
2 or 3	10	24	5	23	15	23
4 or more	3	7	8	36	11	17
TOTAL:	42	100%	22	100%	64	100%

TABLE 17: IN-MIGRATION BY TYPES OF FAMILY ARRIVING. 1992 [RD].

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Parents & siblings	6	10	0	--	1	3	1	3	8	5
Spouse/partner	8	13	8	21	9	21	1	3	26	16
Spouse & children	18	30	10	26	8	24	3	9	39	24
Children only	7	12	3	8	4	12	7	21	21	13
Siblings only	1	2	2	5	0	--	0	--	3	2
Siblings & children	1	2	1	3	0	--	2	6	4	2
Other relatives	2	3	0	--	0	--	2	6	4	2
No-one	16	27	15	39	11	33	18	53	60	36
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Parents & siblings	5	13	4	18	9	15
Spouse/partner	4	10	3	14	7	11
Spouse & children	5	13	3	14	8	13
Children only	6	15	0	--	6	10
Siblings only	0	--	2	9	2	3
Siblings & children	0	--	0	--	0	--
Other relatives	0	--	1	5	1	2
No-one	20	50	9	41	29	47
TOTAL:	40	100%	22	100%	62	100%

TABLE 18: WHO WAS IN CHARGE OF HOUSEHOLD AT TIME OF ARRIVAL IN SURVEY AREA, 1992 IRDI.

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Parents	9	15	0	--	1	3	2	6	12	7
Self	28	47	25	64	24	73	26	77	103	62
Spouse/partner	15	25	13	33	8	24	5	15	41	25
Other relatives	4	7	1	3	0	--	1	3	6	4
Don't know	4	7	0	--	0	--	0	--	4	2
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Parents	5	13	4	18	9	15
Self	26	65	12	55	38	61
Spouse/partner	6	15	4	18	10	16
Other relatives	3	8	2	9	5	8
TOTAL:	40	100%	22	100%	62	100%

TABLE 19 (a): EXPERIENCES OF INFORMAL ACCOMMODATION IN TOWNSHIPS: RESPONDENTS BY TYPE OF AREA OF LAST HOUSE, 1992 [RD].

	YOUNGER SETTLEMENTS											
	Informal areas		Black township		Rural /tribal		White urban		Other		TOTAL	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Member of H/holding family	9	39	21	61	2	66	5	50	2	40	39	52
Single nonfamilyfree	2	9	2	6	0	--	2	20	0	--	6	8
" " with h/holding fam 1		4	3	9	0	--	0	--	0	--	4	5
" " memberrentng room	5	22	1	3	0	--	1	10	0	--	7	9
" " member renting in backyard	2	9	2	6	0	--	2	20	1	20	7	9
" " memberrenting in row house	0	--	1	3	0	--	0	--	1	20	2	3
Tenant family renting room	2	9	0	--	0	--	0	--	0	--	2	3
" " staying free	1	4	0	--	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	1
" " rentng in backyard	0	--	2	6	0	--	0	--	0	--	2	3
" " renting in row house	0	--	1	3	1	33	0	--	0	--	2	3
" " renting in add-on room	0	--	1	3	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	1
Hostel resident	1	4	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	20	2	3
TOTAL:	23	100%	34	100%	3	100%	10	100%	5	100%	75	

TABLE 19 (b): EXPERIENCES OF INFORMAL ACCOMMODATION IN TOWNSHIPS: : RESPONDENTS BY TYPE OF AREA OF LAST HOUSE, 1992 [RD].

	<i>Informal areas</i>		<i>Black township</i>		<i>Rural /tribal</i>		<i>White urban</i>		<i>Other</i>		<i>TOTAL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Member of H/holding family	0	--	14	40	0	--	0	--	0	--	14	31
Single nonfamilyfree	0	--	1	3	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	2
" " with h/holding fam 0		--	5	14	1	17	0	--	1	5	7	16
" " memberrenting												
in backyard	0	--	3	9	2	33	0	--	0	--	5	11
" " member renting												
in row house	0	--	1	3	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	2
Single nonfamilymember renting												
in add-on room	0	--	1	3	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	2
Tenant family renting room	1	100	2	6	2	33	0	--	0	--	5	11
" " rentngin backyard 0		--	2	6	1	17	0	--	0	--	3	7
" " rentng in												
row house	0	--	5	14	0	--	0	--	1	5	6	14
Hostel resident	0	--	1	3	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	2
TOTAL:	1	100%	35	100%	6	100%	0	--	2	100%	44	

TABLE 20: EXPERIENCES OF INFORMAL ACCOMMODATION IN TOWNSHIPS BY AREA OF ORIGIN OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, 1992 [RD].

<u>YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS</u>							
	<i>Inside</i>		<i>Outside</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>		
	<i>DFR</i>	%	<i>DFR</i>	%	<i>N=</i>	%	
	<i>N=</i>		<i>N=</i>		<i>N=</i>		
Free accomodation as family members or guests	11	68	23	47	34	53	
Paid rental accomodation and tenancy							
single renting room	2	13	9	19	11	17	
" renting backyard	0	--	8	17	8	13	
" renting in row house	0	--	2	4	2	3	
family renting room	1	6	2	4	3	5	
" renting backyard	0	--	2	4	2	3	
" renting in row house	2	13	0	--	2	3	
Hostel	0	--	2	4	2	3	
TOTAL:	16	100%	48	100%	64	100%	
<u>URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS</u>							
	<i>Inside</i>		<i>Outside</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>		
	<i>DFR</i>	%	<i>DFR</i>	%	<i>N=</i>		
	<i>N=</i>		<i>N=</i>		<i>N=</i>		
Free accommodation as family members or guests	10	77	7	22	17		
Paid rental accomodation and tenancy							
single renting room	0	--	7	22	7		
" renting backyard	0	--	5	16	5		
" renting in row house	0	--	1	3	1		
family renting room	0	--	5	16	5		
" renting backyard	2	15	2	6	4		
" renting in row house	1	8	4	13	5		
Hostel	0	--	1	3	1		
TOTAL:	13	100%	32	100%	45	100%	

TABLE 21: 'HOW MANY PEOPLE HAVE ARRIVED IN THIS SURVEY AREA SINCE LAST YEAR ?' [RD]

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS											
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>		
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	
Many	27	45	11	28	8	24	6	18	62	37	
Few	10	17	6	15	17	52	10	29	43	26	
None	12	20	16	41	2	6	8	24	38	23	
Don't know	11	18	6	15	6	18	10	29	33	20	
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%	

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
Many	8	19	16	73	24	37
Few	6	14	5	23	11	17
None	14	33	0	--	14	21
Don't know	14	33	1	5	15	23
TOTAL:	42	100%	22	100%	64	100%

TABLE 22: ATTITUDE OF NEW RESIDENTS TO OLD, 1992 IRDI.

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS										
	<i>Cato Manor</i>		<i>Kennedy Road</i>		<i>Briardene</i>		<i>Block AK</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
No response	6	10	1	3	0	--	3	9	10	6
V. respectful	15	25	3	8	17	52	10	29	45	27
Respectful	18	30	19	49	9	27	10	29	56	34
Neutral	5	8	0	--	0	--	0	--	5	3
Disrespectful	3	5	1	3	0	--	0	--	4	2
V. disrespectful	1	2	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	1
Don't know	8	13	0	--	6	18	3	9	17	10
No new migrants	4	7	15	39	1	3	8	24	28	17
TOTAL:	60	100%	39	100%	33	100%	34	100%	166	100%

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS						
	<i>Umlazi informal</i>		<i>Clermont informal</i>		<i>OVERALL</i>	
	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N=</i>	<i>%</i>
No response	4	10	0	--	4	6
V. respectful	1	2	8	36	9	14
Respectful	13	31	13	59	26	40
Neutral	4	10	1	5	5	8
Don't know	13	31	0	--	13	20
No new migrants	7	17	0	--	7	11
TOTAL:	42	100%	22	100%	64	100%

TABLE 23: GREATEST PERCEIVED NEEDS IN RANK ORDER. 1992 [RD].

<i>Need</i>	<i>OVERALL Ranking Order</i>	<u>YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS</u>					<i>Block AK rank</i>
		<i>No. of responses</i>	<i>Cato Manor rank</i>	<i>Kennedy Road rank</i>	<i>Briardene rank</i>		
Houses	1	75	1	1	2	1	
Employment	2	24	2	2	4	3	
Water	3	20	6	3	1	-	
Sewerage	4	11	3	6	3	5	
Education	5	9	3	4	5	4	
More money	6	7	-	7	-	2	
Clinics	7	5	5	4	-	-	

<i>Need</i>	<i>OVERALL Ranking Order</i>	<u>URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS</u>		
		<i>No. of responses</i>	<i>Umlazi informal rank</i>	<i>Clermont informal rank</i>
Houses	1	29	1	1
Employment	2	9	4	2
Education	3	5	2	-
Sewerage	3	5	2	-
Water	5	4	5	4
Transport	5	4	6	3

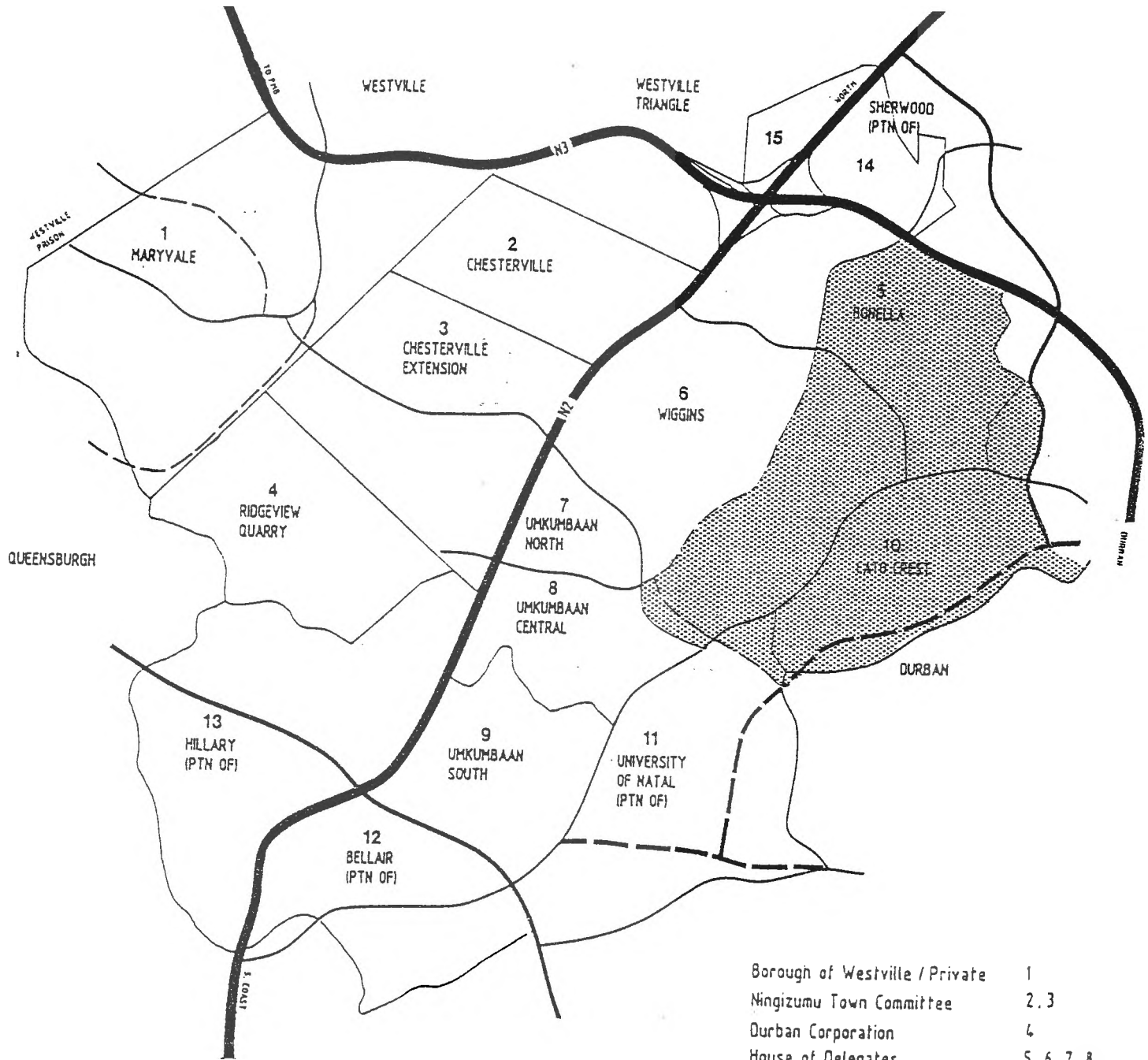
TABLE 24: HAS THERE BEEN VIOLENCE IN THIS AREA ? IRDI.

YOUNGER INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS					
	<i>Cato Manor %</i>	<i>Kennedy Road %</i>	<i>Briardene %</i>	<i>Block AK %</i>	<i>OVERALL %</i>
Yes	2	10	0	0	3
No	95	87	100	97	95
Don't know	3	3	0	3	2
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

URBAN TOWNSHIP INFORMAL RESIDENTS			
	<i>Umlazi informal %</i>	<i>Clermont informal %</i>	<i>OVERALL %</i>
Yes	19	27	22
No	76	64	72
Don't know	5	9	6
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%

APPENDIX 4: MAPS

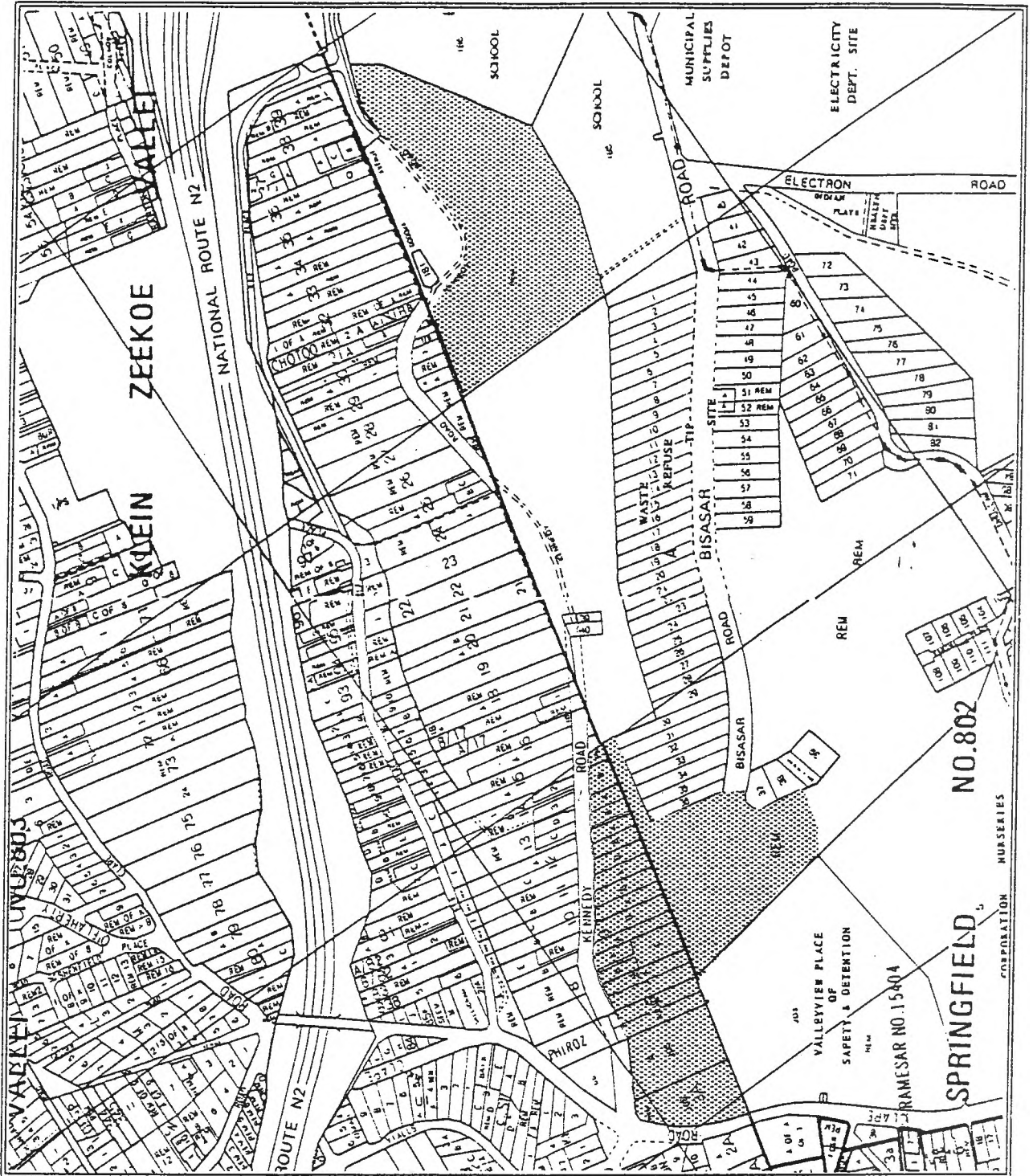
Cato Manor
(Source: V.A.R.A., 1992)



Informal settlement

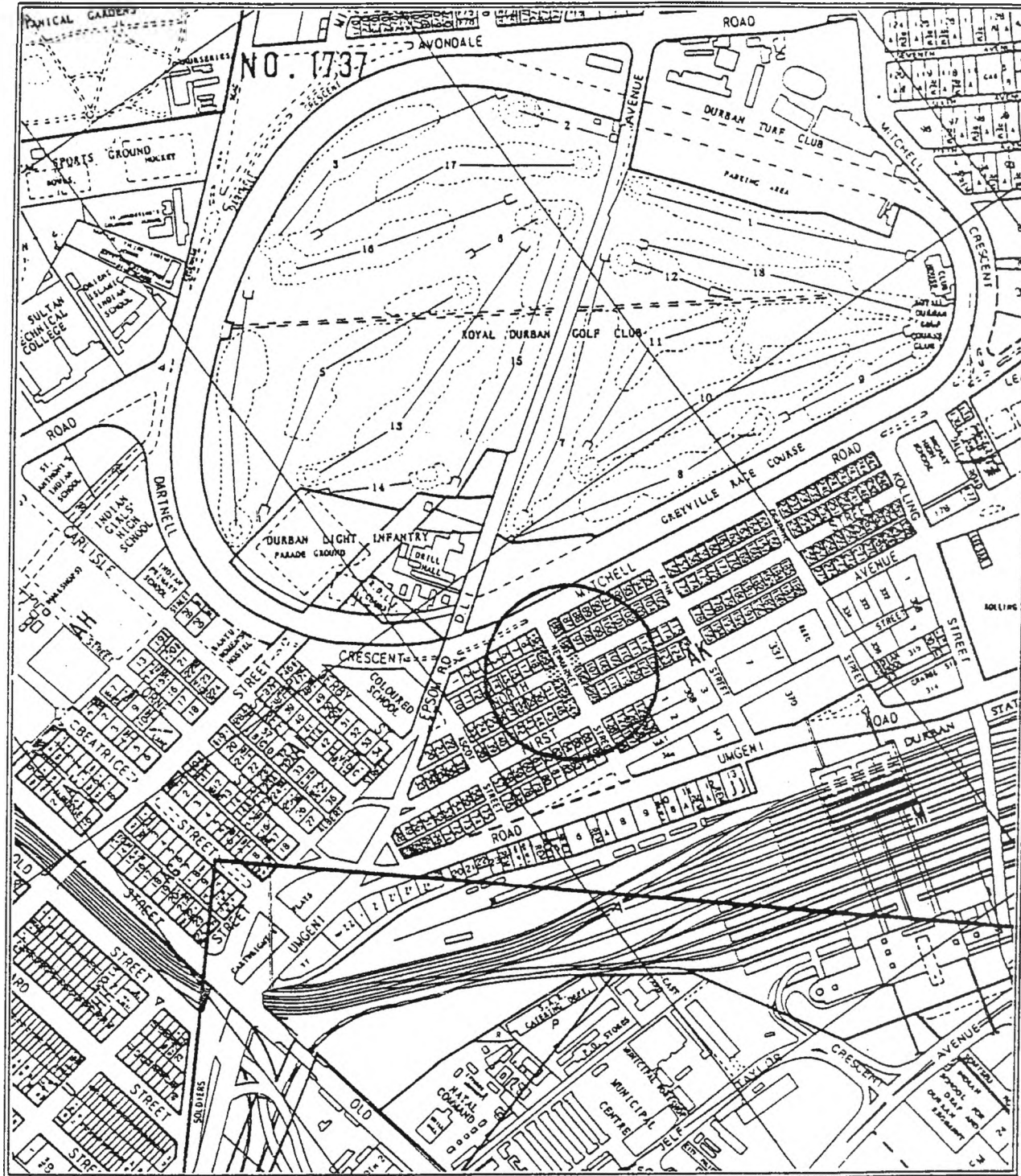
Borough of Westville / Private	1
Ningizumu Town Committee	2, 3
Durban Corporation	4
House of Delegates	5, 6, 7, 8
NPA / Private Trust	9
House of Assembly	10
University of Natal / OC / HOA	11
House of Assembly / Private	12
Private	13, 15
Durban Corporation	14

Kennedy Road
 (Source: Durban 1:6 000 Cadastral Series, 1986)



Informal settlement

Block AK
(Source: Durban 1:6 000 Cadastral Series, 1986)



Informal settlement 



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