

**RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT**



UNIVERSITY OF NATAL DURBAN

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**RURAL TOWNS AND  
BASIC NEEDS**

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**E M Ardington**

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**CENTRE FOR SOCIAL AND  
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

**WORKING PAPER NO. 20**

**RURAL TOWNS AND BASIC NEEDS**

**E M Ardington**

**Centre for Social and Development Studies  
University of Natal  
Durban**

**1989**

**Rural Urban Studies Working Paper No. 20**

### **RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT**

The Rural Urban Studies Unit was founded in 1983 by the Human Sciences Research Council for the purpose of studying the dynamics of the links between the rural and urban areas of South Africa. It is situated at the University of Natal, Durban and works in close co-operation with the Centre for Social and Development Studies (previously the Development Studies Unit).

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### **Basic Needs and Rural Towns - The Maps**

The report on basic needs and rural towns was designed to consist of a written report and a set of maps. The bulk of the data on which the report is based is reflected on the maps. The intention was that by overlaying one map on another it would be possible to relate human, built and natural resources to one another. For example, if the map indicating the spatial location of schools (Map 2) is overlaid on that indicating the distribution of the population of schoolgoing age (Map C) it is immediately possible to visually relate the number of potential scholars to available schools. Similarly, the maps indicating roads and railways may be used to determine the ideal location of facilities in relation to the location of population and transport.

Maps (size 45cm x 49cm Scale 1:1 000 000) are available as ammonia prints (R5 each) or sepia transparencies (R10). They may be purchased singly or as a set. If purchased as a set they are supplied in a folder. A list of the maps available is given on page (vi) of the report.

Maps may be ordered from The Librarian, CSDS, University of Natal, King George V Avenue, Durban, 4001.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## **RURAL TOWNS AND BASIC NEEDS**

*A report and map series on black access to basic needs in rural Natal and the potential for improving access through the extension of third tier government and access to rural towns to all rural dwellers.*

### **CHAPTER ONE : RURAL TOWNS AND BASIC NEEDS**

#### **1.1. INTRODUCTION**

This report attempts to establish that it is the division of control over rural Natal amongst numerous authorities, the misconception that rural Natal is "white", the classification of rural towns as "white", the absence of any form of democratic representation for blacks from rural areas and indeed of third tier representation for rural dwellers of any race group that has resulted in an inefficient and low level of state services for all rural dwellers, most especially blacks.

#### **1.2. METHODOLOGY**

The report looks first at how the geographical area known as Natal is divided, demarcated and distinguished and how it is governed; then at the demographic structure of the black population and the way in which services are delivered in rural areas. The following sections describe in some detail the levels of access to, and the standards of, certain services - in particular health, education and welfare. The report refers briefly to the availability of black housing and associated infrastructure and the role of the Departments of Justice, Police and Posts and Telegraphs in servicing the rural population. In the final section possible means for improving access and levels of service are discussed.

The information on which this report is based has been obtained from the 1985 Census, the Department of Education and Training, the Department of National Health and Population Development, the Post Office, the South African Police, ESCOM, the Department of Justice, the Development and Services Board, NPA Community Services, NPA Land Usage and Development and responses to questionnaires sent to all local authorities in Natal.

All analysis in this report is based on official figures reports and not on original research or fieldwork. As far as possible all information relates to 1985 - the year of the latest census. The absence of any original research is a serious limitation as it prevents any "on the ground" verification of the data.

The Census data has been adjusted according to the HSRC formula in order to allow for the undercount but is nevertheless felt to be an underestimation of Natal's black population in 1985. As this suspicion has not been tested it is impossible to say whether the suspected underestimation is general or whether it applies more, for example, to employed adult males than rural children. In other words, it is not clear whether it is merely the size of the population which is misrepresented or whether the same could be said of its structure.

As the report is based largely on Census data this has of necessity influenced the way the data is presented. For purposes of the Census the country is divided into magisterial districts which are in turn divided into enumerator subdistricts. Enumerator subdistricts are either urban or rural. Urban enumerator subdistricts are further divided according to whether they consist of white, Indian, coloured or black areas. Areas falling within one magisterial boundary do not necessarily have much in common and in fact conditions within magistracies frequently vary considerably. In an attempt to cater for these differences and to make possible more detailed analysis (by age, sex, occupation or any of numerous details recorded by the Census) magistracies were, for the purposes of this report, divided into subdivisions which consisted of a number of enumerator subdistricts. The 38 magistracies of Natal were divided into 144 subdivisions. These subdivisions form the basis of Maps A,B,C,D,E, and F. It was hoped that by dividing the magistracies in this way it might be possible, for example, to relate certain schools or clinics to the population which actually made use of them. There is of course no guarantee that this was the case and any figures arrived at can only be considered indicators.

### **1.3. STUDY AREA**

This report and map series relates only to blacks in rural Natal. "Rural" has been taken to include all of Natal which has not been classified as urban by the Census. The Census defines urban areas as "areas with some or other form of local authority".<sup>1</sup> It states specifically that "industrial and mining towns with no form of local government are non-urban". This definition is unsatisfactory as there are large settlements which on account of their informal nature and/or lack of local government structures are classified non-urban when they are clearly urban in nature. However as this report makes extensive use of Census data it was necessary to accept the Census definition of urban and non-urban. This shortcoming should be borne in mind throughout the reading of this report.

Table 1: Natal: Urban Areas

Magistracy	Town	Status	Racial Classification			
			White	Coloured	Indian	Black
MOUNT CURRIE	Matatiele	Borough	0	0		0
	Itsokolele	Town Committee				0
ALFRED PORT SHEPSTONE	Cedarville	Town Board	0	0		0
	Mzingisi	LA Committee				0
	Kokstad	Borough	0	0		0
	Bhongweni	Town Committee				0
	Harding	Town Board	0	0	0	
	Port Edward	Town Board	0			
	Munster	Health Committee	0			
	Palm Beach	Development Area	0			
	Trafalgar	Development Area	0			
	San Lameer/BV	Development Areas	0			
	Marina Beach	Health Committee	0			
	Southbroom/Bev	Health Com/Dev Ar	0			
	Ramsgate	Town Board	0			
	Margate	Borough	0			
	Uvongo	Borough	0			
	Shelly Beach	Town Board	0			
	Port Shepstone	Borough	0			
	Umtentweni	Town Board	0			
	Bendigo	Town Board	0			
	Melville	Development Area	0			
Umzumbe	Development Area	0				
Merlewood	Development Area		0			
Marburg	Town Board	0				
Albersville	Regulated Area			0		
Port View	Regulated Area	0				
Middlestone		0				
The Falls		0				
UMZINTO	Hibberdene	Town Board	0			
	Mtwalume	Development Area	0			
	Elysium	Development Area	0			
	Ifafa Lagoon	Development Area	0			
	Ifafa Beach	Development Area		0		
	Bazley	Development Area	0			
	Pennington	Town Board	0			
	Park Rynie	Development Area	0		0	
	Scottburgh	Borough	0			
	Clansthal	Development Area	0			
	Widenham	Health Committee	0			
	Umkomaas	Town Board	0			
	Crbn/WG/SB/WL <sup>1</sup>	DA/DA/RA/RA			0	
	Ocean View	Development Area	0			
	Umzinto	Development Area	0			
Umzinto North	Town Board			0		
Shayamoya	LA Committee				0	
IXOPO	Ixopo	Health Committee	0	0	0	
	Creighton	Health Committee	0			

POLELA	Bulwer	Development Area	o		
UNDERBERG	Himeville	Health Committee	o		
	Underberg	Health Committee	o		
IMPENDLE					
RICHMOND CAMPERDOWN	Richmond	Town Board	o	o	o
	Assegay	Health Committee	o		
	Bothas Hill	Health Committee	o		
	Camperdown	Health Committee	o		
	Cato Ridge	Health Committee	o		
	Drummond	Health Committee	o		
	Sterkspruit	Development Area	o		
	Hammersdale	Development Area	o		
	Inchanga	Development Area	o		
	Inchanga West	Development Area	o		
	Cliffdale	Regulated Area			o
	Lynnfield Park	Development Area	o		
	PIETERMARITZBURG	Pietermaritzburg	Borough	o	o
Mt Michael		Health Committee	o		
Ashburton		Health Committee	o		
Plessislaer		Development Area	o		
Sobantu		Town Committee			o
Imbali					o
LIONS RIVER	Ashdown				o
	Howick	Borough	o	o	o
	KwaMevana	LA Committee			o
	Hilton	Town Board	o		
	Fort Nottingham	Development Area	o		
NEW HANOVER	Lidgetton	Development Area	o		
	New Hanover	Development Area	o		
	Wartburg	Health Committee	o		
	Dalton	Health Committee	o		
	Mpolweni	Health Committee	o		
	Albert Falls	Development Area	o		
MOOI RIVER	Cool Air	Development Area			o
	Mooi River	Borough	o	o	o
	Bruntville	Town Committee			o
ESTCOURT	Rosetta	Development Area	o		
	Estcourt	Borough	o	o	o
	Estcourt	NPA Compound			o
	Colenso	Borough	o	o	o
	Nkanyezi	Town Committee			o
	Winterton	Health Committee	o		o
WEENEN	Winterton	NPA Emergency Camp			o
	Cathkin Park	Regulated Area	o		
	Weenen	Town Board	o		o
	Weenen	NPA Emergency Camp			o
BERGVILLE UMVOTI	Bergville	Borough	o		
	Greytown	Borough	o		o
KRANSKOP	Enhlahakahle	Town Committee			o
	Kranskop	Health Committee	o		
DURBAN	Lower Ilovo	Health Committee	o		
	Kingsburgh	Borough	o		
	Amanzimtoti	Borough	o		
	Umbogintwini	Town Board	o		
	Durban	Borough	o	o	o
	Queensburgh	Borough	o		
	Isipingo	Borough			o

	Lamontville	Ningizimu Town Committee			
	Chesterville	" " "			0
INANDA	Tongaat	Town Board	0	0	
	Hambanati	Town Committee			0
	Urmthloti	Town Board	0		
	Verulam	Borough	0	0	
	Umhlanga	Borough	0		
	Glen Anil	Development Area	0		
	Canelands	Health Committee	0	0	
	Mount Moreland	Development Area	0		
	Redcliffe	Development Area	0	0	
	Newlands East <sup>2</sup>			0	
	Rietrivier	Development Area		0	
	Ottawa	Development Area		0	
	Duffs Road	Development Area		0	
	Newlands West <sup>2</sup>			0	
	Phoenix <sup>2</sup>			0	
PINETOWN	Hillcrest	Town Board	0		
	Everton	Health Committee	0		
	Gillits/Emb	Town Board	0	0	
	Waterfall	Development Area	0		
	Kloof	Borough	0	0	
	Pinetown	Borough	0	0	0
	New Germany	Borough	0		
	Marianhill	Health Committee	0		
	Westville	Borough	0	0	
	Yellow Wood Park	Health Committee	0		
	Chatsworth <sup>2</sup>		0	0	
	Reservoir Hills <sup>2</sup>			0	
	Shallcross	Development Area		0	
	Welbedagt	Development Area		0	
	Klaarwater	LA Committee			0
KLIPRIVER	Ladysmith	Borough	0	0	0
	Steadville	Town Committee			0
	Lynnhurst		0		
GLENCOE	Glencoe	Borough	0	0	
	Sithembile	Town Committee			0
	Hattingspruit	Health Committee	0		
	Wasbank	Development Area	0	0	
DUNDEE	Dundee	Borough	0	0	0
	Sibongile	Town Committee			0
	Talana	Health Committee		0	
DANNHAUSER	Dannhauser	Town Board	0	0	
	Mfusini	NPA Emergency Camp			0
NEWCASTLE	Newcastle	Borough	0	0	0
	Charlestown	Development Area	0		
UTRECHT	Utrecht	Borough	0	0	
PAULPIETERSBURG	Paulpietersburg	Borough	0		
	Dumbe	Town Committee			0
VRYHEID	Vryheid	Borough	0	0	
	Bhekuzulu	Town Committee			0
NGOTSHE	Louwsburg	Development Area	0		
	Louwsburg	Black Development Area			0
LOWER TUGELA	Zinkwazi	Health Committee	0		
	Umdlali	Town Board	0		
	Ballitoville	Borough	0		
	Darnall	Health Committee	0		

	Blythdale	Health Committee	o		
	Stanger	Borough	o	o	o
	Shakaville	LA Committee			
	Port Zimball	Development Area	o		
	Tinley Manor	Development Area			o
	Shakaskraal	Development Area			o
	Tugela	Development Area			o
MTUNZINI	Tugela Mouth	Development Area	o		
	Gingindhlovu	Town Board	o	o	o
	Mandini	Town Board	o		
	Mtunzini	Town Board	o		
ESHOWE	Eshowe	Borough	o	o	
MTONJANENI	Melmoth	Town Board	o	o	
BABANANGO					
LOWER UMFOLOZI	KwaMbonambi	Development Area	o		
	Empangeni	Borough	o		
	Richards Bay	Borough	o		
HLABISA	Hluhluwe	Development Area	o		
	St. Lucia	Development Area	o		
	Mtubatuba	Health Committee	o	o	o

1. Craigieburn, Willow Glen, Sunny Brae and Woodland Lodge.
2. Part of the Durban Metropolitan Area.

Table 1 gives a list by magisterial district of all the urban areas in Natal. This may be related to Map A showing the total black population of Natal and Map 9 showing the urban areas of Natal. It is immediately apparent that there are a number of areas of dense settlement which are classified non-urban which can hardly be considered rural. It is also apparent that "rural Natal" does not consist solely of commercial farms but contains a large number of small towns and industrial and mining enterprises as well as areas of dense but informal settlement.

The black rural population of Natal does not consist solely of farmworkers and their dependents. The 1985 Census indicates that of the economically active in Natal 59,2 percent were in agriculture. Many of the 11,5 percent shown to be in service industries no doubt work as domestics on farms but there remain 29,3 percent who are involved in mining, manufacturing, electrical, construction, commerce, transport and finance or whose industrial sector was unspecified.

#### 1.4. BASIC NEEDS AND QUALITY OF LIFE

Quality of life is often measured in terms of access to certain basic needs. There is no universally accepted definition of basic needs and the concept is not without controversy. However frequent and widespread use of the concept has developed it into a yardstick by which lifestyles may be assessed and compared both within and between communities. Basic needs are usually considered to include nutrition, clothing,



housing, domestic water, sanitation, fuel, education, health, transport, labour participation, income or material standard of living and leisure.

This report is concerned with black access to basic needs in rural Natal. An attempt is made to explain differences in the level of access to certain basic needs of rural blacks from that of urban or homeland blacks. Emphasis is placed upon those basic needs which are normally met by the state or some other public authority. Generally blacks may only legally reside in most of rural Natal if the household head is employed there. As a consequence access to employment, and accordingly to incomes, tends to be better among rural than among urban or homeland blacks. With regard to access to the other basic needs mentioned above rural blacks are generally shown to be in an inferior position.

Basic amenities and access thereto in rural areas are extremely unevenly distributed and even where there is, for example, good quality housing with protected water supplies, electricity and reasonable access to education rural blacks living in these houses have little security. They might at any time lose their right to use the amenities and are most likely to do so on retirement. Although their incomes may be higher than those of homeland blacks they are probably too low to enable them to belong to an economically viable pension fund. Farmworkers are particularly vulnerable in that their homes and all other amenities tend to be supplied by the employer and much of their income is in kind and is dependent on their continued employment.

It is only the black landowner who has any security - and so-called blackspot removals have severely threatened that - in the rural areas of Natal. Chapter IV of the Development Trust and Land Act No 18 of 1936 limited those blacks who might legally reside on white rural land (with a few minor exceptions) to employees, tenants or squatters and their wives and families. Squatting has since been outlawed and tenancy was finally abolished by Government Notice 2089 of September 1980.<sup>2</sup> It is not usually possible for black rural dwellers to obtain a home in the many (approximately 250) towns which serve the rural areas of Natal as only 20 towns outside of the Durban-Pinetown-Pietermaritzburg axis have black residential areas.<sup>3</sup> Thus most blacks in rural Natal live either on their employer's premises or in one of the "illegal" shack settlements which are becoming increasingly common.

Although the percentage of the black population which is resident in white rural areas has declined dramatically in recent years (from 35 percent in 1950 to 13 percent in 1985) it remains a significant portion of the black population and accordingly deserves

attention. If the rate of outmigration from farms is to be slowed in an attempt to reduce the urbanization rate attention must be directed towards the redressing of those factors which are currently pushing people out of the rural areas. Simkins (1989) points out that it is not only changes in the legislation affecting ownership and tenancy of farm land that might enable rural areas to play a greater role in accommodating population increase. He states that the growth and racial opening of small rural towns could also alleviate the pressure on major urban areas.

The designation of rural Natal as a white area means that the state is not involved in initiating the provision of housing, schooling, health care, recreation, water, electricity or roads for blacks there. This places rural blacks in an even weaker position than homeland or urban blacks with regard to access to these facilities. Their inferior positions may be evidenced by numerous statistics or an examination of rural lifestyles. For example, poor rural educational facilities for blacks are reflected in the 1985 Census which indicates that 50,3 percent of rural blacks in Natal have received no education as compared with 44,4 percent in rural KwaZulu and 26,4 percent in urban Natal.

Currently these differences do not appear to be reflected in the relative levels of pressure for change emanating from black communities. Rural dwellers, and farmworkers in particular, live in isolated, widely dispersed, low density situations. They are poorly educated and encounter considerable transport and communication difficulties. They have no political organization and are excluded from the provisions of the labour legislation applicable to other workers. They are totally dependent on their employer - not only for their jobs but also for their houses, schools and other amenities, and, despite the relaxation of influx control, their poor levels of education and the shortage of accommodation in the areas of greater economic opportunity severely limit their freedom to move there. All these factors militate against their expressing their grievances or taking action to redress them. These conditions may explain the relative absence of pressure to open rural towns and land to blacks compared to the pressure to do away with the Group Areas Act in cities or the racial restrictions upon the ownership of commercial farms.

## Notes

- 1 Communication with officials of Central Statistics, Pretoria refined this down to "operational local government". In Natal it would seem that Development Areas which have as their local authority the Development and Services Board are considered urban whereas Regulated Areas which are also controlled by the Development and Services Board are not. However there are four Development Areas which the Census did not classify urban (Cragadour, Craiglea, Driefontein, and Etete), some Regulated Areas which were classified urban (Albersville, Port View, Cathkin Park, Cliffdale, Sunnybrae and Woodland Lodge) and three areas with no status which were classified urban (Middlestone, The Falls and Lynnhurst).

- 2 It is estimated that by 1974, 1,5 million persons had been removed from white farms as a result of the abolition of tenancy.
- 3 One of these is only an NPA compound and three are emergency camps.

## CHAPTER TWO : RURAL NATAL : THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

### 2.1. WHAT IS NATAL AND WHO CONTROLS IT?

This section attempts to define Natal in terms of land usage and control.

In accordance with the Land Act No 27 of 1913 certain **Scheduled Areas** of Natal were reserved for occupation by blacks under the traditional form of land tenure. After 1913 blacks were no longer able to purchase land outside of the Scheduled Areas. At the time blacks owned small pockets of land throughout Natal and much of this land is still owned by blacks today although "blackspot removals" have resulted in some of this land being removed from **black ownership**. The Development Trust and Land Act No 18 of 1936 "**released**" further areas for black occupation and established the South African Development Trust "to acquire land for settlement by blacks, to develop such land, to promote agriculture and generally advance the material, social and moral wellbeing of blacks". At the time of the creation of the **KwaZulu homeland** most of the scheduled and released land in Natal was transferred to KwaZulu. Since then further land has been added in terms of various **consolidation** proposals. There are however still a number of areas in Natal which are **owned by the South African Development Trust**. Although land purchased by the SADT is intended for settlement by blacks much of the SADT land in Natal has not yet been settled and is farmed by the SADT or not utilized. There are a number of towns<sup>1</sup> within the boundaries of KwaZulu of which KwaZulu has not yet taken transfer. These towns remain under SADT ownership. KwaZulu does not have the resources to develop or manage these towns and it is not envisaged that they will be transferred to KwaZulu until they are "fully developed".

Control over SADT land in Natal is exercised by the Department of Development Aid under Minister Viljoen. The DDA determines land usage. Agricultural development falls under the agricultural section. Townships are declared in the normal way and are administered under the Black Local Authorities Act No 102 of 1982. There are no tribal authorities operating on SADT land. All rents and licence fees collected accrue to the DDA.

In general SADT land is land which is destined for incorporation into KwaZulu at some future date, usually when the area has been "developed" by the SADT. Released Area No 33 at Inanda, and SADT owned land in Ntabanana, Babagango and Ubombo are examples of areas not yet considered sufficiently developed for incorporation. Such

land forms part of a different administrative hierarchy from that for other land areas in Natal which are occupied by blacks but which are not destined for incorporation into KwaZulu.

This second category of land includes black owned land, Black Development Areas, Black Townships established under the Black Local Authorities Act No 102 of 1982, Emergency Camps, Transit Camps, Designated Areas, illegal squatter camps, outspans and premises of employers occupied by blacks. Overall control of these areas lies with the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning under Minister Heunis. However on the ground control is exercised by the Black Local Authorities, the NPA Community Services Division, the Department of National Health and Population Development and the various municipalities within whose boundaries blacks are resident.

**Black Development Areas** are areas of land set aside in terms of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984 for black settlement which are not destined for incorporation into a homeland at some future date. They may be rural (Trustfeed), urban (Louwsburg) or industrial (Hammarisdale). In terms of the Black Local Authorities Act the Administrator is the local authority for such an area. He in turn designates either a settlement officer or a township manager to administer the area depending upon the nature of the settlement. Where there is closer settlement the township manager will work with the NPA Community Services Division and should in time be replaced by an elected local authority. Where the settlement is dispersed the settlement officer will work with the Land Usage Directorate.

The 1913 Land Act introduced segregation into rural areas. Segregation was introduced into urban areas by the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 - later consolidated into the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945. This act imposed segregation by moving blacks out of mixed areas into locations. Anti-squatting legislation and the Bantu Resettlement Act No 19 of 1954 were also used to move blacks into segregated townships or locations. The Abolition of Influx Control Act of 1986 repealed the Urban Areas Consolidation Act so that today black property rights in urban areas are restricted by the Group Areas Act of 1966. Black urban areas are demarcated and proclaimed in terms of the Black Communities Development Act of 1984.

Anyone may make application for an area to be declared a Black Development Area in terms of the procedure laid down in Section 33 of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984. The procedure is informal and requires consultation with those who

would be considered "interested parties" by the common law and final approval from the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning. However if a township is to be declared the requirements of the Black Communities Development Act are far more formal. Blacks may own land within a Black Development Area and indeed the declaration of such an area does not change the land ownership so that it may include white owned land.

One of the chief difficulties associated with the declaration and development of Black Development Areas is that of obtaining funding - firstly to acquire the land and secondly to build houses and otherwise develop the land. The Land Usage Directorate has very limited funds. Black Development Areas are eligible for loans from the National Housing Commission but that too has limited resources. It is easier to get a loan if the Black Development Area has a local authority which can act as the legal body accepting the loan. Few however have operational local authorities. Private enterprise can buy up and develop land in Black Development Areas but there problems of affordability are encountered. The persons residing in (or wishing to reside in) Black Development Areas seldom have the funds to pay for commercial housing.

**Designated Areas** may be declared by the Administrator in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No 104 of 1988. This enables the province to take control of an area where informal settlement has occurred.

**Transit Areas<sup>2</sup>** may be declared by municipalities in terms of the same Act to obtain control of informal settlements occurring within their boundaries. If a municipality fails to declare a transit area action may be taken by the Administrator in "controlled areas"<sup>3</sup> or Black Development Areas, or by the relevant Minister of Housing and Local Government if the informal settlement occurs within a declared Group Area.

Prior to the introduction of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act the province would have been responsible for controlling any irregular development occurring on public land, such as outspans, and could force the owner to take action where the squatting occurred on private land. However the legislation required all squatters to be removed to "identified areas" which was impossible as the Minister of Development Aid had failed to identify any such areas.

The Black Local Authorities Act contains specific regulations for the control of black settlement which therefore cannot be dealt with by local authorities such as Health Committees or Town Boards or even by the Development and Services Board.

All land not set aside for black occupation may be considered "controlled land". Such land may be demarcated and proclaimed for the exclusive use of whites, Indians or coloureds under the Group Areas Act. Where no such proclamation has been made the land is considered "frozen" in terms of racial usage - in other words such land may not be transferred to or occupied by members of a racial group different from that of the current owner or occupier without a new Group Areas declaration or an exemption permit.

## **2.2. URBAN AND NON URBAN AREAS**

The Census divides Natal into urban and non-urban areas. It defines as urban any area with an operating local authority.

### **2.2.1. Local Authorities**

Local authorities may be Boroughs, Town Boards, Health Committees, Black Local Authorities or the Development and Services Board. There are in Natal 36 Boroughs, 26 Townships and 32 Health Committees. There are 18 Black Local Authorities which control townships outside of borough or town boundaries. The Development and Services Board acts as the local authority for 56 Development Areas and 32 Regulated Areas.

The Department of National Health and Population Development in terms of Section 30(2) of the Health Act No 63 and 1977 is considered the residual local authority in all areas where there is any form of development but no local authority. There are a considerable number of such towns or centres. Table 2 identifies 75 where there is either a post office or police station but no local authority. There are other centres which offer do not offer any of these services and which therefore have not been included in the table.

Map 5 locates all the different local authorities throughout Natal and the centres or towns which supply services but have no local authority. Map 4 indicates where magistrates courts, police stations and post offices are to be found in Natal.

**Table 2: Natal: Towns, Development and Regulated Areas and Service Centres.**

<b>Magistracy</b>	<b>Town</b>	<b>Status</b>
MOUNT CURRIE	Matatiele	Borough
	Itsokolele	Town Committee
	Cedarville	Town Board
	Mzingisi	LA Committee
	Kokstad	Borough
	Bhongweni	Town Committee
	Evatt	
	Ferndale	
	Swartberg	
	New Amalfi	
	Franklin	
	Harding	Town Board
	Weza	
PORT SHEPSTONE	Nqabeni	
	Port Edward	Town Board
	Munster	Health Committee
	Palm Beach	Development Area
	Trafalgar	Development Area
	San Lameer/BV	Development Areas
	Marina Beach	Health Committee
	Southbroom/Bev	Health Com/Dev Ar
	Ramsgate	Town Board
	Margate	Borough
	Uvongo	Borough
	Shelly Beach	Town Board
	Port Shepstone	Borough
	Umtentweni	Town Board
	Bendigo	Town Board
	Melville	Development Area
	Umzumbe	Development Area
	Merlewood	Development Area
	Marburg	Town Board
Albersville	Regulated Area	
Port View	Regulated Area	
Middlestone		
The Falls		
Cragadour	Development Area	
izotsha		
Paddock		
UMZINTO	Hibberdene	Town Board
	Mtwalume	Development Area
	Elysium	Development Area
	Ifafa Lagoon	Development Area
	Ifafa Beach	Development Area
	Bazley	Development Area
	Pennington	Town Board
	Park Rynie	Development Area
	Scottburgh	Borough
	Clansthal	Development Area
	Widenham	Health Committee



	Umkomaas	Town Board
	Crbn/WG/SB/WL <sup>1</sup>	DA/DA/RA/RA
	Ocean View	Development Area
	Umzinto	Development Area
	Umzinto North	Town Board
	Shayamoya	LA Committee
	Saiccor	Health Committee
	Darlington	Regulated Area
	Sawoti	
	Sezela	
IXOPO	Ixopo	Health Committee
	Stuartsville	Regulated Area
	Creighton	Health Committee
	Highflats	
POLELA	Bulwer	Development Area
	Donnybrook	
UNDERBERG	Himeville	Health Committee
	Underberg	Health Committee
	Pevensey	Regulated Area
	Sani Pass	
	Boesmansnek	
IMPENDLE	Elandskop	
	Boston	
RICHMOND	Richmond	Town Board
CAMPERDOWN	Assegay	Health Committee
	Bothas Hill	Health Committee
	Camperdown	Health Committee
	Cato Ridge	Health Committee
	Drummond	Health Committee
	Sterkspruit	Development Area
	Hammarsdale	Development Area
	Inchanga	Development Area
	Inchanga West	Development Area
	Cliffdale	Regulated Area
	Lynnfield Park	Development Area
	Craiglea	Development Area
	Living Waters	Regulated Area
	Harrison	Regulated Area
	Umlaas Road	Regulated Area
	Manderston	Regulated Area
	Mid Illovo	
	Eston	
PIETERMARITZBURG	Pietermaritzburg	Borough
	Mt Michael	Health Committee
	Ashburton	Health Committee
	Plessislaer	Development Area
	Sobantu	Town Committee
	Imbali	
	Ashdown	
	Foxhill	Regulated Area
	Thornville	Regulated Area
	Baynesfield	
	Bishopstowe	
LIONS RIVER	Howick	Borough
	KwaMevana	LA Committee
	Hilton	Town Board
	Fort Nottingham	Development Area

	Lidgetton	Development Area
	Midmar	Regulated Area
	Balgowan	
	Nottingham Road	
NEW HANOVER	New Hanover	Development Area
	Wartburg	Health Committee
	Dalton	Health Committee
	Mpolweni	Health Committee
	Albert Falls	Development Area
	Cool Air	Development Area
	Craddock	Regulated Area
	Harburg	Regulated Area
	Trustfeed <sup>3</sup>	Regulated Area
	Schroeders	
	Fawnleas	
MOOI RIVER	Mooi River	Borough
	Bruntville	Town Committee
	Rosetta	Development Area
	Sierra Ranch	Regulated Area
	Mount Dragon	Regulated Area
ESTCOURT	Estcourt	Borough
	Estcourt	NPA Compound
	Colenso	Borough
	Nkanyezi	Town Committee
	Winterton	Health Committee
	Winterton	NPA Emergency Camp
CATHKIN PARK	Regulated Area	
	Driefontein	Development Area
	Wagendrift	Regulated Area
	Ntabamhlope	
WEENEN	Weenen	Town Board
	Weenen	NPA Emergency Camp
	Muden	
BERGVILLE	Bergville	Borough
	Mont aux Sources	
	Oliviershoek	
	Spioenkop	Regulated Area
	Jaggersrust	
UMVOTI	Greytown	Borough
	Enhlalakahle	Town Committee
	Rietvlei	
	Seven Oaks	
	Ahrens	
KRANSKOP	Kranskop	Health Committee
	Hermansberg	
DURBAN	Lower Illovo	Health Committee
	Kingsburgh	Borough
	Amanzimtoti	Borough
	Umbogintwini	Town Board
	Durban	Borough
	Queensburgh	Borough
	Isipingo	Borough
	Lamontville	Ningizimu Town Committee
	Chesterville	" " "
INANDA	Tongaat	Town Board
	Hambanati	Town Committee
	Umdhloti	Town Board

	Verulam	Borough
	Umhlanga	Borough
	Glen Anil	Development Area
	Canelands	Health Committee
	Mount Moreland	Development Area
	Redcliffe	Development Area
	Newlands East <sup>2</sup>	
	Rietrivier	Development Area
	Ottawa	Development Area
	Duffs Road	Development Area
	Newlands West <sup>2</sup>	
	Phoenix <sup>2</sup>	
	Buffelsdraai	Regulated Area
	Hazelmere	Regulated Area
	Blackburn	Regulated Area
	Mount Edgcombe	
PINETOWN	Hillcrest	Town Board
	Everton	Health Committee
	Gillits/Emb	Town Board
	Waterfall	Development Area
	Kloof	Borough
	Pinetown	Borough
	New Germany	Borough
	Marianhill	Health Committee
	Westville	Borough
	Yellow Wood Park	Health Committee
	Chatsworth <sup>2</sup>	
	Reservoir Hills <sup>2</sup>	
	Shallcross	Development Area
	Welbedagt	Development Area
KLIPRIVER	Klaarwater	LA Committee
	Ladysmith	Borough
	Steadville	Town Committee
	Lynnhurst	
	Elandslaagte	
	Besters	
	Van Reenen	
GLENCOE	Glencoe	Borough
	Sithembile	Town Committee
	Hattingspruit	Health Committee
	Wasbank	Development Area
DUNDEE	Dundee	Borough
	Sibongile	Town Committee
	Talana	Health Committee
	Helpmekaar	
DANNHAUSER	Dannhauser	Town Board
	Mfusini	NPA Emergency Camp
	Durnacol	
NEWCASTLE	Newcastle	Borough
	Charlestown	Development Area
	Drystream	Regulated Area
	Chelmsford	Regulated Area
	Ingogo	
	Narmandien	
	Ballengeich	
UTRECHT	Utrecht	Borough
	Groenvlei	

PAULPIETERSBURG	Kingsley Blood River Paulpietersburg	Borough Town Committee
VRYHEID	Dumbe Vryheid Bhekuzulu Langkrans Nhlazatshe Gluckstadt Hiobane Coronation	Borough Town Committee
NGOTSHE	Louwsburg Louwsburg Magudu Ngome Zinkwazi	Development Area Black Development Area
LOWER TUGELA	Umhlali Ballitoville Darnall Blythdale Stanger Shakaville Port Zimbali Tinley Manor Shakaskraal Tugela Etete Doringkop Glendale Newark Kearsney	Health Committee Town Board Borough Health Committee Health Committee Borough LA Committee Development Area Development Area Development Area Development Area
MTUNZINI	Tugela Mouth Gingindhlovu Mandini Mtunzini Umlalazi Mangete Nyoni Amatikulu Eshowe Ntumeni Nkwalini Melmoth Babanango KwaMbonambi Empangeni Richards Bay Felixton Mfolozi	Development Area Town Board Town Board Town Board Regulated Area Regulated Area  Eshowe Borough     Town Board
MTONJANENI BABANANGO LOWER UMFOLOZI	KwaMbonambi Empangeni Richards Bay Felixton Mfolozi Hluhluwe St. Lucia Mtubatuba St. Lucia Estuary Riverview	Development Area Borough Borough
HLABISA	Hluhluwe St. Lucia Mtubatuba St. Lucia Estuary Riverview	Development Area Development Area Health Committee Regulated Area

1. Craigieburn, Willow Glen, Sunny Brae and Woodland Lodge
2. Part of the Durban Metropolitan Area
3. Declared a Black Development Area in 1988.

The Administrator may by proclamation in the Gazette declare an area to be a **Development Area** or **Regulated Area** where, in respect of any area not being or forming part of any local authority area, he is of the opinion that by reason of the density of the population, or its class or character or sanitary conditions prevailing, it is necessary that special provision should be made for the proper management, regulation and control of matters affecting the public health and development in such an area. The Development and Services Board thereupon becomes the local authority of the area. In addition to performing the powers and duties conferred on urban local authorities by the Health Act, the Board is empowered to carry out and enforce the provisions of the Development and Services Board Ordinance, as amended, and any other law (conferring powers or imposing duties upon it).

The difference between Regulated Areas and Development Areas is that the former cover what might be termed "frozen" areas, which are areas having incipient urbanization, but not requiring, at this stage, services of any kind. Regulated Areas are not rated. In regard to Development Areas, the Board looks upon itself as a "caretaker" body and, as soon as the area is financially and administratively able to take care of itself, its inhabitants are encouraged by the Board to seek independent local authority status. While under the control of the Development and Services Board, most Development Areas have elected Advisory Committees. Development Areas are given municipal services according to their needs. Assessment rates to the extent that they can be afforded are imposed. Half of the income of the Development and Services Board is derived from rates and half from the Province. All rates are spent in the area in which they are raised. Services may include roads, water, sewerage, electricity, libraries, cemeteries, beach facilities, refuse collection and the provision of clinics and mobile clinics.

The Development and Services Board consists of three white, one Indian and one coloured person. Ratepayers are not represented. The Board is somewhat in limbo at present as it does not fit into the tricameral or "own affairs" constitution which requires each house to administer its own local government. Development Areas are by definition areas which are not sufficiently advanced to have **one** fully fledged local authority. Adherence to the 1983 Constitution would require them to have three separate administrations where whites, Indians and coloureds resided in the same development area.

The Board could not become a Regional Services Council and the advisory committees could not be represented on it as they are not statutory bodies. The Advisory Committees which operate under the Development and Services Board are not statutory bodies like the Coloured and Indian Local Affairs Committees. Advisory Committees could be turned into "white Local Affairs Committees" to give them the necessary status to participate in the Regional Services Councils. However Local Affairs Committees cannot be established for areas which have not been proclaimed under the Group Areas Act, and many Development Areas have no such declarations.

The Development and Services Board does not officially have any authority over blacks. However they may be called in to act for a local authority and in this way service blacks who are normally beyond their reach. For this to happen the area must however have a local authority. Trustfeed and Louwsburg were both Development Areas which fell under the control of the Development and Services Board which rendered services to all the inhabitants - black and white - of these areas. Now part of Louwsburg and all of Trustfeed have been declared Black Development Areas. As they have no local authorities the Development and Services Board cannot act as an agent and continue delivering services.

In accordance with Section 20 of the Health Act No 63 of 1977, the **Department of National Health and Population Development** is the residual authority in all areas where there is no local authority. The responsibility of the Department in such areas is to control development but not to render any hard services. Thus the Department registers dairies and abattoirs, exercises environmental control through keeping a check on water and air pollution, and controls any development of a non-agricultural nature. Where development becomes substantial this responsibility should be taken over by some form of local authority - usually the Development and Services Board.<sup>4</sup>

### **2.3. THE BLACK POPULATION OF RURAL NATAL.**

The 1985 Population Census, adjusted to allow for the undercount, shows the black population of Natal to be 1 042 136 of whom 719 398 or 69 percent were rurally based. Table 3 gives the black population by magistracy and indicates the percentage and number in each magistracy which was rural. Map A illustrates the spatial distribution of the population.

#### **2.3.1. Sex and Age**

Males accounted for 51,9 percent of Natal's rural population and females for 48,1

percent. In the whole of the RSA females account for 50,5 percent of the black population.

**Table 3: Natal: Black Population\***

Magistracy	Total Number	Number Rural	Percentage Rural
1. MOUNT CURRIE	32 001	22 503	70,3
2. ALFRED	8 196	7 431	90,7
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	21 799	15 761	72,3
4. UMZINTO	23 622	19 780	83,7
5. IXOPO	28 093	27 780	96,3
6. POLELA	4 786	4 568	95,1
7. UNDERBERG	8 961	7 899	88,1
8. IMPENDLE	4 916	4 916	100,0
9. RICHMOND	21 207	20 451	96,4
10. CAMPERDOWN	24 534	21 839	89,0
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	77 235	12 253	15,9
12. LIONSRIVER	28 220	25 829	81,5
13. NEW HANOVER	34 387	29 236	85,0
14. MOOI RIVER	20 899	15 683	75,0
15. ESTCOURT	32 204	25 960	80,6
16. WEENEN	11 247	8 572	76,2
17. BERGVILLE	24 437	24 122	98,7
18. UMVOTI	34 852	27 858	79,9
19. KRANSKOP	6 834	6 500	95,1
20. DURBAN	82 872	-	0,0
21. INANDA	23 480	11 704	49,8
22. PINETOWN	48 633	9 941	20,4
23. KLIPRIVER	42 894	28 642	66,8
24. GLENCOE	11 144	5 497	49,3
25. DUNDEE	23 269	12 554	53,9
26. DANNHAUSER	13 569	12 236	90,2
27. NEWCASTLE	17 869	15 160	84,8
28. UTRECHT	31 104	29 349	94,4
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	18 930	15 196	80,3
30. VRYHEID	65 402	55 242	84,5
31. NGOTSHE	28 157	26 431	93,9
32. LOWER TUGELA	90 491	84 137	93,0
33. MTUNZINI	12 039	10 366	86,1
34. ESHOWE	9 361	6 917	73,9
35. MTONJANENI	11 281	9 834	87,2
36. BABANANGO	11 560	11 560	100,0
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	38 802	32 215	83,0
38. HLABISA	12 911	11 302	87,5
TOTAL	1 042 200	716 499	68,8

\* Population Census 1985. Adjusted to allow for undercount.

**Table 4: Rural Natal: Selected Demographic Characteristics of Black Population\***

Magistracy	Percentage Total Popu- lation in 0-4 Age Group	Percentage Total Popu- lation in 5-15 Age Group	Percentage Total Popu- lation in Pensionable Age Group	Female Percentage of 20-54 Age Group
1. MOUNT CURRIE	19,7	29,1	4,1	52,8
2. ALFRED	15,8	24,9	4,9	50,5
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	13,0	16,7	2,6	43,6
4. UMZINTO	14,4	20,1	3,4	37,6
5. IXOPO	18,4	29,4	4,9	57,9
6. POLELA	14,0	29,5	3,2	41,4
7. UNDERBERG	17,8	25,9	3,7	51,4
8. IMPENDLE	18,9	29,4	3,9	49,2
9. RICHMOND	13,2	22,0	3,4	43,1
10. CAMPERDOWN	13,3	21,2	2,9	41,2
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	14,2	25,4	3,2	48,0
12. LIONS RIVER	15,7	28,6	3,2	48,3
13. NEW HANOVER	14,6	27,1	3,7	52,6
14. MOOI RIVER	18,6	33,2	3,6	53,8
15. ESTCOURT	20,0	33,2	4,8	57,8
16. WEENEN	21,7	33,2	6,3	65,0
17. BERGVILLE	18,5	34,6	4,6	56,9
18. UMVOTI	15,5	27,4	4,6	59,0
19. KRANSKOP	15,1	23,0	3,8	53,5
20. DURBAN	-	-	-	-
21. INANDA	12,7	16,5	2,2	38,6
22. PINETOWN	16,8	27,8	3,7	50,3
23. KLIPRIVER	20,3	34,2	4,7	56,9
24. GLENCOE	17,6	24,8	3,9	42,3
25. DUNDEE	19,8	32,7	4,4	50,4
26. DANNHAUSER	11,0	17,9	1,9	18,6
27. NEWCASTLE	16,9	28,6	3,0	39,5
28. UTRECHT	18,4	28,7	3,6	34,1
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	18,8	30,1	4,0	44,2
30. VRYHEID	15,1	25,0	3,1	30,3
31. NGOTSHE	19,0	29,5	3,8	54,6
32. LOWER TUGELA	15,2	22,5	2,9	47,3
33. MTUNZINI	10,9	13,9	1,4	38,4
34. ESHOWE	9,9	11,8	2,5	43,9
35. MTONJANENI	12,5	19,8	3,6	56,5
36. BABANANGO	22,8	36,0	4,6	64,7
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	15,5	22,5	2,6	43,3
38. HLABISA	11,2	10,3	1,8	33,2
Total Natal	16,3	26,0	3,5	46,0

\* Population Census 1985



Although most black farmworkers live in a family situation and are not "bachelor migrants" the presence of some migrants, most of whom are males, on some farms and the coal mines explains the slightly lower percentage of females in rural Natal than in the country as a whole. In rural KwaZulu the population is only 43,3 percent male. This is a consequence of the absence as migrants of the majority of males of working age (20 -54 years). Although increasing numbers of females work as migrants today many more males than females migrate and do so for longer periods. Some of these migrants are to be found in Natal where the urban population is 50,4 percent male and the rural population 51,9 percent male. Others are to be found on the mines and in other industries in the Transvaal.

Table 4 which indicates by magistracy the percentage of the 20 - 54 age group (the age group one might expect to be economically active) which is female in rural Natal reflects a range from 18,6 percent in Dannhauser to 64,7 percent in Babanango. The female percentage of this age group for the whole of rural Natal is 46 percent. In those magistracies where the female percentage is lowest - Dannhauser, Vryheid, Utrecht, Hlabisa, Umzinto and Mtunzini - there are either mines or farms which employ significant numbers of migrant workers. Where the female percentage is higher than the average - as in Weenen, Babanango, Umvoti, Bergville, Klip River, Ngotshe and Mtonjaneni - this is usually explained by the settlement of blacks on black freehold or SADT land in the area which is destined for incorporation into KwaZulu in the future or on land which is not destined for incorporation and on which they have settled on an informal basis or "illegal basis". The population structure of these communities is closer to that of migrant supplying rural KwaZulu than migrant receiving rural Natal.

Table 4 also indicates the percentage of the population which is under the age of 5. The spatial location of this age group is largely determined by the location of their mothers. Where the percentage of the total population in this age group is below the mean (16,3 percent) for rural Natal this is probably explained by the presence in the area of migrants who are not accompanied by their wives, or certainly not by their wives and young children. Conversely where the area contains black settlements - such as Babanango, Weenen, Klip River and Bergville - the percentage is above the mean. In urban Natal young children constitute only 9,1 percent of the black population. In rural KwaZulu they account for 19,9 percent of the population. Children in this age group require more frequent medical attention than other age groups and knowledge of their location is essential for the effective planning of health services.

For purposes of assessing access to schooling it was decided to work with the 5 - 15 age group. Few rural black children start school before the age of 5 and most have left by the time they are 16. In view of the fact that the educational system is designed to be spread over 12 years and that many pupils repeat a standard or standards, the 5 - 15 age group is however an under-representation of potential scholars, and this should be borne in mind whenever educational facilities are being assessed..

Throughout Natal 22,6 percent of the black population fell into the schoolgoing age group as opposed to 27,5 percent in the RSA and 32,1 percent in KwaZulu. Potential schoolgoers constituted 25,6 percent of Natal's rural population and 13,8 of the black urban population.

Table 4 which gives the percentage of the black population in this age group by magistracy indicates a range from 10,3 in rural Hlabisa to 36 percent in rural Babanango. The range is again largely explained by the migratory labour system, the erratic distribution of housing and state services, resettlement and informal settlement.

All the magistracies in which the percentage of the urban population which potential scholars constituted was above the mean have formal black townships (or emergency camps) except for New Hanover and Richmond where there are urban areas in which although the population is predominantly black no formal black townships have been declared. All these urban areas are comparatively well supplied with state services, and in particular schools. There are state schools in all black townships except Shayamoya.

In Port Shepstone, Inanda, Dannhauser, Mtunzini, Eshowe, and Hlabisa where potential scholars constitute a below average percentage of the rural population there are large numbers of migrant workers who are not accompanied to the work place by their children of schoolgoing age. In rural Babanango, Bergville and Klip River there are settlements of entire black communities, as opposed to black workers only, and accordingly the percentage of these communities which falls in the school age category is above the mean. These differences have serious implications for the provision of education<sup>5</sup>. The state takes no initiative in the provision of education for blacks in white designated rural areas. The provision of education is entirely in the hands of the white landowner. Informal black rural settlements are therefore unlikely to be provided with educational facilities.

The poor educational levels of black rural dwellers reflect the unsystematic way education is provided in rural areas. The 1985 Census showed 50,3 percent of rural

blacks in Natal to have received no education as compared with 44,4 percent in rural KwaZulu and 26,4 percent in urban Natal. Education levels vary in different rural areas reflecting access to educational facilities. A survey of farm dwellers in the Natal Midlands and on the North Coast in 1985 revealed that whereas 61,1 percent of those on the coast had had no education this was true of only 40,1 percent in the midlands. In the midlands the median walking time to a primary school was 10 minutes. On the coast it was 30 minutes (Ardington 1985:71,75).

The distribution of black pensionable persons throughout rural Natal (See Table 4) is largely explained by the same factors as in the case of females, young children and potential scholars. In those areas where a significant number of the employed are migrants the percentage of pensionable persons is low, as the migrants return "home" at the end of their working lives. The percentage is high in those areas which contain black settlements and where farmworkers who were not migrants are permitted to retire on the farm.

### **2.3.2. Black Households on White Farms**

#### **2.3.2.1. Household Size and Dependency Ratios**

Farm households are in general smaller than those in homeland or urban areas (Ardington 1985 and 1988). Since the stricter enforcement of the anti-squatting and tenant laws it has become difficult for persons not closely related to farmworkers to remain on farms. Wives and children of persons who find employment as migrants off the farm are unlikely to be allowed to stay. The percentage of the farm population which is of retirement age and that which is unemployed is generally lower than in the homelands as farmers may evict such persons or require them to leave. The percentage of Natal's rural black population which is 65 years or older is 3,4 as compared with 5,2 in rural KwaZulu. Other household members may leave of their own accord because of an absence of educational facilities or of employment opportunities outside of, or even in, agriculture. Owing to their insecure position on farms some household members leave to secure a foothold elsewhere to cater for retirement or dismissal. Although most farmworkers may live in a family situation few have all the members of their nuclear family with them on the farm and some migrants live as "bachelors". The percentage of the household which consists of non-nuclear family members is generally smaller on farms than in the homelands.

Simkins (1989) states that there was a net immigration from farms outside the homelands of 1,3 million between 1960 and 1980. Even so the farm population grew

from 3,7 to 4,2 million. However between 1980 and 1985 there was a dramatic increase in the rate of emigration with the result that the black farm population actually fell from 4,2 to 3,2 million. The drop was particularly large in Natal. At the same time there was a slight increase in farm employment and the combination of this and the drop in population means that the dependency ratio on farms fell from 7,5 people per regular worker to 5,5.

### **2.3.2.2. Occupations**

The 1985 Census indicates that 59,2 percent of economically active blacks in rural Natal were in agriculture. Many of the 11,5 percent shown to be in service industries probably worked as domestics on farms but the remaining 29,3 percent were in occupations not directly related to agriculture.

Table 5 indicates the percentage of the population which the Census records as occupied as farmer, hunter, fisherman or farmworker. As rural Natal consists almost entirely of white designated land most blacks recorded as occupied in this category will be farmworkers. However there are areas which are black owned and occupied in Natal and in these areas blacks shown to be in this category will be farmers rather than farmworkers. The Lower Tugela magistracy with its very high population includes a considerable number of such farmers.

Where the percentage of the population shown to be involved in agriculture is high - Port Shepstone, Mtunzini, Eshowe, Mtonjaneni and Hlabisa - this is probably explained by the relatively high percentage of migrants among agricultural workers. Such farmworkers are not normally accompanied by their wives, children or other relatives with the result that the economically active constitute a larger percentage of the population than they would do otherwise. Where the percentage of the population in agriculture is low - Bergville, Pinetown, Klip River, Glencoe, Dundee, Dannhauser, Newcastle, Utrecht, Vryheid and Babanango - this is either because these magistracies include areas which do not consist of commercial farms but are centres of black settlement such as Bergville and Babanango, or because they include the residential areas for mines or other industries which have not been classified urban by the Census because they have no local authority. All the magistracies mentioned above which are in Northern Natal fall into this category.

### **2.3.2.3. Employment and Incomes**

Unemployment levels on farms tend to be low today because the unemployed, following the anti-squatting and tenant legislation, are unlikely to be allowed to remain on the farm.

**Table 5: Rural Natal: Percentage of Black Population Engaged in Agriculture:**

Magistracy	Percentage
1. MOUNT CURRIE	29,0
2. ALFRED	32,3
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	52,8
4. UMZINTO	36,8
5. IXOPO	19,9
6. POLELA	22,7
7. UNDERBERG	28,9
8. IMPENDLE	23,6
9. RICHMOND	35,6
10. CAMPERDOWN	34,5
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	27,6
12. LIONSRIVER	29,0
13. NEW HANOVER	34,9
14. MOOI RIVER	27,7
15. ESTCOURT	18,2
16. WEENEN	18,4
17. BERGVILLE	8,7
18. UMVOTI	37,5
19. KRANSKOP	38,3
20. DURBAN	0
21. INANDA	31,0
22. PINETOWN	4,6
23. KLIPRIVER	11,1
24. GLENCOE	17,0
25. DUNDEE	17,8
26. DANNHAUSER	7,1
27. NEWCASTLE	17,2
28. UTRECHT	17,3
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	23,6
30. VRYHEID	13,2
31. NGOTSHE	26,3
32. LOWER TUGELA	23,7
33. MTUNZINI	54,2
34. ESHOWE60,	60,8
35. MTONJANENI	44,9
36. BABANANGO	10,7
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	26,2
38. HLABISA	43,7
NATAL	25,3

\* 1985 Population Census

Current trends in the reduction of the number of farmworkers are alarming in view of the fact that 50 percent of farm dwellers are under the age of 18 (Ardington 1985).

In the light of low unemployment levels and the presence of a second wage earner in many households income levels on farms are surprisingly low (Ardington 1985). In rural Natal 44,4 percent of the black population was economically active according to the 1985 Census as opposed to a mere 15,7 percent in rural KwaZulu. It would seem that incomes are lower than might be expected because the second wage earner is usually a woman whose wage is lower than that of a male and, because the second wage earner regardless of sex, seldom receives the housing, rations and other perks given to the first wage earner. These, in some cases, constitute 50 percent or more of the wage. The fact that a higher percentage of the black urban population is economically active (60,7 percent) does not necessarily imply that there is higher unemployment in rural areas. There are large numbers of migrants in urban areas who are not accompanied by their wives, children or other dependents. This artificially raises the employment rate and income levels.

Income in farm households is almost entirely derived from the employer in the form of wages and perks. Migrant remittances and pensions which constitute the major sources of income in the homelands are insignificant and the opportunities for generating income from informal sector activities are very limited on farms.

The almost total dependence of farmworkers on their employers which results in excessive inequalities in the employer/employee relationship and seriously undermines the security of the worker, is underlined by the fact that he is dependent on this employer for the provision of social amenities as well.

#### **2.3.2.4. Mobility of the farm population**

In the past influx control, which denied both spatial and occupational mobility to farmworkers, and the operation of labour tenancy were probably the chief sources of a relatively stable and plentiful labour supply. There are now other factors which discourage black residents on farms from resolving their problems through migration elsewhere. Current levels of unemployment and the absence of housing in urban areas undermine the attractions of urbanization. Migration to rural towns is generally impossible. Persons who have lived for years in a family situation and been able to hold stock and produce crops may be unwilling to forgo these rights when they have no access to another home, and jobs and urban housing are seen to be insecure. Many farmworkers were born on the farm on which they reside and have no foothold in any homeland. Some are the descendants of those who occupied the land before it was

alienated by the various colonial or South African administrations.

### Notes

- 1 Such as Nongoma, Nkandla, Mahlabathini, Nqutu, Pomeroy, Umbumbulu, Hlabisa, Somkele, Ubombo, Ingwavuma and Impendle.
- 2 These used to be known as Emergency Camps.
- 3 See page 13.
- 4 For example, to date there has been no local authority in Mkuze so that the Department of National Health and Population Development has automatically assumed control. However development of the town has advanced to the stage where the Private Townships Board has frozen any further developments until a local authority is appointed. The Development and Services Board will probably assume responsibility for future developments.
- 5 See Chapter 4

## **CHAPTER THREE : SERVICING RURAL NATAL**

### **3.1. INTRODUCTION**

Although there are areas in rural Natal which have been set aside for black, coloured or Indian settlement and some in which persons other than whites may trade or practice agriculture, the majority of rural Natal consists of commercial farms, state forests and game reserves all of which are designated "white". The population of non-urban Natal according to the 1985 Census (adjusted to allow for the undercount) was 826 462. It was 5,9 percent white, 1,0 percent coloured, 6,0 percent Indian and 87,1 percent black. The designation of almost all of rural Natal as white when 94 percent of its population is not white has not only denied the majority of rural residents the right to acquire land, settle or trade, but has also resulted in a bias in the delivery of services to rural people which has discriminated severely against blacks.

The provision of services - whether roads, water, electricity, housing, sewerage, education or health services - in rural areas will always lag behind that in urban areas where the population is more concentrated, the distances to be covered far shorter and the efficiencies of full usage far greater. The cost and difficulties of providing services in rural areas will hinder even those who wish to provide them or those who wish to use them. They are less likely to be provided where the supplier is not answerable to the end user.

### **3.2. WHO SUPPLIES THE SERVICES?**

Services may be supplied by the central government, regional government, local authorities or private enterprise. Services for rural people are frequently not delivered in the rural areas themselves but in the towns or centres which serve those areas and which rural dwellers support. This is done not only because it is more convenient (in terms of access to the largest number of people, transport, water, electricity, housing for staff, etc.) for the supplier and user but also because it is uneconomic and impractical to provide services for dispersed and low density rural populations separately from those supplied to the residents of rural towns. The natural points from which to supply services to rural dwellers are rural towns and villages. The majority of such towns would not exist without rural support, and, when it comes to the provision of services, there is no reason for separating people living within and without their boundaries.



Where the service is supplied by the central government white (and since the introduction of the Tricameral parliament, Indian and coloured) rural dwellers have been able to ensure that they received their "fair share" of a particular service by threatening to withdraw their electoral support if they did not. In this way pressure has been exerted on the Departments of Agriculture, Transport, Water Affairs, and Education to supply the services required by rural dwellers. Prior to the 1983 Constitution when the provincial or regional government was still elected and therefore answerable to its electors, the latter were able to apply similar pressures on the province to supply the services for which they were responsible. Thus one finds today a distribution of, for example, post offices, schools, hospitals and agricultural extension services throughout Natal which reflects the distribution of the white population and the influence it was able to bring to bear on the authorities.

### **3.3. LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND RURAL SERVICES**

Apart from the fact that most services are delivered to rural dwellers in the towns and villages, a number of these services are in fact delivered by the local authorities of these towns and villages themselves. Such services include clinics, libraries, recreational facilities and cemeteries. There are in Natal 36 boroughs, 26 townships, 32 health committees, 56 Development Areas, 32 Regulated Areas and 18 Black Local Authorities. All these local authorities are elected by and answerable to only those persons who reside within their boundaries and those who are legally entitled to own or lease property within the area of the local authority. As a result some local authorities have only considered themselves obliged to provide services for persons of "their" race group resident within "their" area. Others have seen fit to provide services for persons resident in the surrounding rural areas, but only if they are of "their" race group. Yet others have considered it their responsibility to provide services for all those who support the town regardless of their race or place of residence.

Although it is true that many small towns would not exist but for the rural dwellers, local authorities which provide services for persons of other race groups and persons who live beyond their boundaries incur expenditure doing so which they are not able to recover from rural users who live beyond their rate boundaries. Where the local authority is particularly small or poor this may inflict considerable hardship upon it. However economies of scale and humanitarian concerns will often force, for example, the advisory committee of an Indian occupied Development Area to open its clinic to blacks who live in surrounding rural areas. Although there is no way in which black users can be made to contribute to the rates which support the clinic, such a committee may

appreciate that the establishment of a clinic to serve only the Indian residents of the Development Area would not be warranted.

There is, however, no mechanism to ensure that a service supplied by a local authority is available to rural dwellers; indeed there is not even any means whereby rural dwellers can express their desire for services or apply pressure on the local authority to supply. The result is a dearth of facilities for rural dwellers where they are not able to obtain access to facilities which have been provided for urban dwellers. The position of rural blacks is that much worse than that for whites because there are so few black local authorities, and white local authorities may elect not to open their facilities to blacks. With regard to certain facilities, such as housing, local authorities cannot provide facilities for persons who are not members of the race group for which their particular Group Area has been proclaimed.

Local authority clinics in Natal in general are found in those towns in which there was a demand from the white population for medical services. Although their services may be available to members of other race groups, they have seldom been established as a response to a need amongst those other race groups. "The system" is not directed towards state departments or local authorities providing services for blacks in white areas even where blacks constitute 85 percent of the population. The only health facilities for blacks in white rural areas are those provided by mission hospitals or welfare organizations. These bodies have been able to supply them only because they are considered "white". No black rural community or organization could have done the same and there is no body, organization or department that rural blacks can lobby to provide services for them.

It is clearly unsatisfactory for all rural dwellers that certain state services should be supplied by bodies who are in no way answerable to them. For rural blacks this applies to all services as it is not only the local authorities in rural towns but the regional and central government as well who are beyond their reach.

As rural blacks are liable for the same taxes as all other South Africans, the central and regional governments do not have the excuse that the local authorities have that, as rural blacks have made no contribution to their funds, they are therefore not eligible to receive their services. Nevertheless the government has never accepted responsibility for the provision to rural blacks of even those services they supply automatically to blacks elsewhere.

The Department of Education and Training, far from building schools for rural blacks, has in the past never even attempted to plan rural educational facilities on the basis of population distribution and existing facilities.

Similarly the provincial governments in the past established hospitals where they were required by whites, Indians and Coloureds. It was not their responsibility to provide for blacks and the hospitals which today exclusively serve the black population of Natal were almost all founded as mission hospitals. The State has indeed taken over these hospitals and also runs a mobile clinic service which primarily services blacks. Its provincial hospitals also probably admit more black patients than those of any other race. However this has not happened as a consequence of the development of a clear policy or as a response to demographic pressures for the establishment of facilities where they were most needed.

The absence of "black group areas" in so much of Natal seems to have rendered the state incapable of supplying facilities for blacks in these areas - regardless of how black they are. The position of blacks in rural areas which abut black areas may not be much better. To date when supplying, for example, schooling in a township the state's plans appear only to have taken township residents into account and not to have included those resident in surrounding rural areas. With regard to services supplied by local authorities most black local authorities do not have the resources to adequately serve their own residents let alone those of the surrounding countryside.

Few would question the inability of the commercial centre of a rural town to survive were it to exclude all persons of "other races". Towns such as Charlestown, Wasbank and to a lesser extent New Hanover, which merely removed all residents of other races without forbidding their entry into the commercial areas are today virtual ghost towns. Rural people cannot be effectively, efficiently and economically serviced unless this is done along with those who are resident in the rural towns and unless the services are opened to all regardless of race. This is unlikely to occur while all rural dwellers remain unrepresented at tertiary government level and while rural blacks are without any form of democratic representation at all.

## **CHAPTER FOUR : BASIC NEEDS : EXISTING LEVELS OF PROVISION AND ACCESS**

### **4.1. EDUCATION**

#### **4.1.1. Introduction**

The provision of education in rural areas is problematic worldwide. Scattered, low density populations, undeveloped transport systems, an absence of qualified staff and farmworker parents who have no need to leave the farms/place of employment-residence on a regular basis pose tremendous logistical problems for those who would educate rural children, and make their education more expensive than that of urban based children. In South Africa the problems are magnified manifold by racial attitudes and linguistic differences. It is unlikely that there is a commercial farm in South Africa which, for the education of its youth, could, by law, make use of only one school. All facilities have to be replicated for each racial group necessitating drawing children from a far wider area than would be the case if all rural children were educated together. Thus the costs are increased as are the distances to be travelled. Costs are further increased by the requirement for racially separate transport systems to travel those distances. There is no subsidized school transport for blacks in rural Natal. Artificial political boundaries further complicate the issue preventing the logical provision of education in **one** area by **one** authority, necessitating instead the involvement of two or more departments of education in an area which can only rationally support one system.

#### **4.1.2. Educational Authorities**

Throughout South Africa education is provided for each racial group by separate authorities on different bases. As far as blacks are concerned, not only is there the separate Department of Education and Training, which is responsible for the education of blacks in white-designated South Africa, but there are also separate departments for each homeland (whether independent or not).

#### **4.1.3. State and State-Aided Schools**

Differences in the nature of the education provided are dependent upon not only which of the various departments is the supplier but also whether the education is provided by the Department of Education and Training through state schools or through state-aided

schools. State-aided schools may be scheduled, private, mine, hospital or farm schools. The vast majority are farm schools. All fall under the control of the Department of Education and Training. Table 6 indicates the numbers and types of school providing primary and secondary education for blacks in Natal.

**Table 6: Natal: DET Schools by Type**

Type	Rural		Urban		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
State	29	4,4	76	80,0	105	13,8
State Aided	635	95,6	19	20,0	654	86,2
Farm	(609)		(10)		(619)	
Scheduled	(4)		(4)		(8)	
Private	(9)		(2)		(11)	
Factory	(1)				(1)	
Hospital	(4)		(2)		(6)	
Mine	(8)		(1)		(9)	
Total	664	87,5	95	12,5	759	100,0

In the white designated RSA state (or public) schools are generally established on the initiative of the Department of Education and Training at its expense on land belonging to the State or the Department. The Department has laid down certain norms according to which it assesses the needs of a community and within its budget provides facilities. It appoints the staff and is fully responsible for the administration and financing of state schools. State-aided schools on the other hand are established on the initiative of farmers, mines, hospitals, churches, welfare bodies, communities or interested individuals on land belonging to them. Although the schools belong to such persons or bodies they have to obtain the permission of the Department before they may open a school. Subsidization may be requested from the department for the costs of building and maintenance where the school has been built according to Departmental regulations<sup>1</sup>. The Department will also accept responsibility for the payment of staff where they have approved the post and the person appointed by the school manager to that position.

In Natal only 13,8 percent of schools for blacks are state schools and in the rural areas a mere 4,4 percent are state schools. Eighty two percent of Natal's schools for blacks are farm schools (Table 6).

#### 4.1.3.1. State Schools

In general the Department of Education and Training has only established schools in formal black townships and left the provision of education in rural areas and those towns which do not have a prescribed black area to private concerns. Outside of the Durban-Pinetown-Pietermaritzburg axis there are only 16 black residential areas. With the exception of Shayamoya there are state schools in all these townships.<sup>2</sup>

The few state schools that are found in towns without black areas tend to be on church owned property e.g. Bulwer, Bergville, Weenen and Winterton, and are usually schools which were founded by churches, mission societies or other bodies and subsequently taken over by the State. Some of these schools now belong to the state but others are merely leased from the owner of the land. Although the state controls the latter and accepts responsibility for running costs it may not accept responsibility for maintenance, alteration or expansion. This situation is likely to give rise to difficulties when it comes to the provision or upgrading of major facilities such as water, electricity, sewerage etc.

Over the years the Department has also taken over a number of state-aided schools in the white-designated rural areas of Natal. This has generally happened where the South African Development Trust has bought land on which the previous owner (usually a farmer, but sometimes a church) had established a school. The Department itself has also erected a number of schools in rural areas where the SADT has bought land which is to be developed prior to being incorporated into KwaZulu. The Department has, for example, erected six schools in the Ntabanana area in the Lower Umfolozi magisterial district.

Reference to Table 8 and Map 2 showing the position and type of all schools in Natal falling under the Department indicates that there are only 29 state schools for blacks outside of urban areas.

Fourteen of these schools are on land owned by the South African Development Trust which will most probably be incorporated into KwaZulu once it has been developed. Six of these fourteen schools are in the Babanango/Vryheid area and were originally established as farm schools on white owned farm or Church land. They were taken over by the state and became state schools when the land was purchased by the SADT. There are six state schools in the Ntabanana area which were all established by the DET after the purchase of the area by the SADT. The remaining two state schools on SADT

land which is likely to be incorporated into KwaZulu sometime in the future are in Port Shepstone and Estcourt.

There are four state schools in rural Natal which are on black owned land and which are in fact community schools - schools which have been erected on the initiative of the community. There is also one community school which is on land belonging to a white local authority and is classified as a state school. Its status appears to give rise to some confusion both in the minds of the Department and those who run it.

There are three state schools on state owned rural land - one in Weza forest; one at Cedara Agricultural College and one at Engweni where the SADF 121 Battalion is stationed.

The seven remaining state schools outside of urban areas were founded by farmers, churches or municipalities but were subsequently taken over by the state - generally because the founder was no longer interested in managing the school.

#### **4.1.4. Rural Education**

There is no **system** for the provision of education for blacks in white-designated rural areas and what education there is has developed in a haphazard fashion. There is no formula according to which the Department might plan for the provision of education in rural areas and there has been no overall plan; no attempt to rationalize the placing of schools or staff according to demand or needs; no concentration on areas where facilities are most urgently required - simply a response to individual initiative. This initiative generally cannot come from those most closely concerned with the provision of black education - the parents of black children of schoolgoing age. Only the legal owner of the rural land on which the school will be built can make application to open a school. Although the school will fall under the control of the Department the ultimate control remains with the owner of the land. He can determine who may attend the school; he appoints the teachers and he has the right to close the school at any time.<sup>3</sup> There is no place in the formal structure for the representation of the views of the community served by the school or the teaching staff at it.

The impact of the absence of any formalized system for the provision of education for blacks in white-designated rural areas is clearly reflected in educational statistics.

The 1985 Census showed there to be 235 428 black children between the ages of 5 and 15 (the age group chosen by this study to represent potential scholars)<sup>4</sup> in Natal.

185 463 or 79,1 percent of them were rural based. Table 6 indicates that 87,5 percent of DET schools in Natal were in rural areas. This apparently reasonable distribution of schools is misleading as the average farm school had only 107 pupils and over seventy percent of them did not go beyond Standard 4 (Table 13). The fact that urban schools were larger and provided education to a higher level resulted in 37,4 percent of Department of Education and Training pupils attending urban schools in Natal in 1985 (Table 10).

There were in 1985 664 schools in rural Natal. Twenty nine were state schools and the balance farm, mine or hospital schools. Ninety six percent of the schools were primary schools (Table 7). There were at these schools 82 335 scholars. Expressed as a percentage of potential scholars constituted only 44.4 percent.<sup>5</sup>

**Table 7: Natal: Levels of DET Schools**

Level	Urban		Rural		State		State Aided		Total	
	N	Cum %	N	Cum %	N	Cum %	N	Cum %	N	Cum %
Up to Std 2	24	25,3	204	30,7	20	19,0	208	31,8	228	30,0
Up to Stds 4 or 5	42	69,5	432	95,8	50	66,6	424	96,6	474	92,4
Up to Stds 6 or 7	5	74,8	22	99,1	9	75,2	18	99,4	27	96,0
Stds 6 - 8	5	80,0	1	99,2	5	80,0	1	99,5	6	96,8
Up to Std 10	19	100,0	5	100,0	21	100,0	3	100,0	24	100,0
TOTAL N	95		664		105		654		759	
% of Total		(12,5)		(87,5)		(13,8)		(86,2)		(100,0)

By magistracy the number of actual scholars expressed as a percentage of potential scholars varied from 0 percent in Eshowe to 84.8 percent in Inanda (Table 8). Viewing the position by magistracy can be misleading. Where coverage appears high it may reflect the fact that large numbers of children from outside of the magistracy are attending school within it. Where it appears poor, children may in fact be attending school in an adjoining magistracy or KwaZulu, or even a KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture school within a Natal magistracy. There are significant numbers of KwaZulu schools in the Lower Tugela, Bergville and Klipriver magistracies. All of these magistracies appear from Table 8 to have a very low percentage of children of schoolgoing age at school as the figures have been calculated making use of pupil



figures from the Department of Education and Training only. The position would be considerably improved if the number of scholars at KwaZulu schools were included.

**Table 8: Rural Natal: State (S) and State Aided (SA) DET Schools**

Magistracy	Up to Std 2		Up to Std 4 or 5		Up to Std 6 or 7		Stds 6 - 8		Up to Std 10		Total	Number 5-15	% 5-15 Scholar
	S	SA	S	SA	S	SA	S	SA	S	SA			
1. MOUNT CURRIE	25		1	28							54	6546	62.5
2. ALFRED			1	2							3	1846	18.9
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	4		1	3	1						9	2633	61.0
4. UMZINTO	3			3							6	3981	25.9
5. IXOPO	13			8						1	22	7944	20.4
6. POLELA												1349	
7. UNDERBERG	4			7							11	2043	47.3
8. IMPENDLE	3			4				1			8	1444	59.6
9. RICHMOND	11			13	1						25	4504	48.7
10. CAMPERDOWN	3			9		1					13	4634	33.1
11. PIETERMARITZBURG			5		11						16	3115	51.3
12. LIONSRIVER	10	1	31			2					44	7381	66.4
13. NEW HANOVER	1	3	3	19						1	27	7926	71.1
14. MOOI RIVER	9			24	1						34	5214	59.0
15. ESTCOURT	5	1	23			1					30	8630	35.0
16. WEENEN	1			2							3	2849	13.6
17. BERGVILLE	2			6		1					9	8339	14.1
18. UMVOTI	12	1	15			1					29	7626	45.8
19. KRANSKOP	3			3							6	1495	37.5
20. DURBAN											-	-	-
21. INANDA	5			2						1	8	1936	84.8
22. PINETOWN				1							1	2766	7.2
23. KLIPRIVER	9			14		1					24	9804	23.4
24. GLENCOE	3			6							9	1363	65.9
25. DUNDEE	4			17		1					21	4101	56.5
26. DANNHAUSER	2			5		1					8	2194	59.1
27. NEWCASTLE	3			21							24	4328	75.6
28. UTRECHT	7			24							31	8415	41.3
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	5			18							23	4578	58.9
30. VRYHEID	20	1	37			6				1	65	13790	69.7
31. NGOTSHE	12		20			2					34	7791	48.9
32. LOWER TUGELA	1	1	12								14	18924	15.2
33. MTUNZINI	1			4							5	1443	47.9
34. ESHOWE											-	815	-
35. MTONJANENI	6			4		1					11	1951	51.5
36. BABANANGO	4	5	3								12	4165	47.1
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	4	4	10		1					1	20	7246	75.9
38. HLABISA	1	1	3								5	1169	58.1
TOTAL	1	203	21	411	4	18		1	3	2	664	185463	44.4

**Table 9: Natal: Selected Educational Statistics on 5 - 15 Year Olds in Natal**

Magistracy	5-15 age group as % of population	Rural Areas			Urban Areas	
		5-15 Yr olds N	Scholars N	Scholars as % of 5-15 age group	5-15 age group as % of population	Scholars as % of 5-15 age group
1. MOUNT CURRIE	29,1	6546	4095	62,5	18,0	92,9
2. ALFRED	24,9	1846	349	18,9	4,6	905,7
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	16,7	2633	1607	61,0	3,2	-
4. UMZINTO	20,1	3981	1029	25,9	6,9	131,3
5. IXOPO	29,4	7944	1618	20,4	3,0	635,5
6. POLELA	29,5	1349	-	-	2,9	9716,7
7. UNDERBERG	25,9	2043	967	47,3	2,0	-
8. IMPENDLE	29,4	1444	861	59,6	-	-
9. RICHMOND	22,0	4504	2194	48,7	18,8	-
10. CAMPERDOWN	21,2	4634	1533	33,1	11,5	-
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	25,4	3115	1598	51,3	20,6	95,0
12. LIONSRIVER	28,9	7381	4904	66,4	17,1	269,7
13. NEW HANOVER	27,1	7926	5633	71,1	29,9	-
14. MOOI RIVER	33,2	5214	3077	59,0	19,0	124,5
15. ESTCOURT	33,2	8630	3019	35,0	14,6	146,1
16. WEENEN	33,2	2849	386	13,6	27,1	82,5
17. BERGVILLE	34,6	8339	1172	14,1	2,0	1366,7
18. UMVOTI	27,4	7626	3496	45,8	18,4	131,0
19. KRANSKOP	23,0	1495	561	37,5	3,0	-
20. DURBAN	-	-	-	-	9,3	91,4
21. INANDA	16,5	1936	1642	84,8	14,7	167,8
22. PINETOWN	27,8	2766	199	7,2	14,9	107,4
23. KLIPRIVER	34,2	9804	2296	23,4	20,7	66,1
24. GLENCOE	24,8	1363	898	65,9	23,7	87,8
25. DUNDEE	32,7	4101	2316	56,5	18,5	97,0
26. DANNHAUSER	17,9	2194	1296	59,1	20,8	103,6
27. NEWCASTLE	28,6	4328	3271	75,6	2,0	-
28. UTRECHT	28,7	8415	3477	41,3	11,8	179,6
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	30,1	4578	2698	58,9	26,0	104,8
30. VRYHEID	24,9	13790	9617	69,7	17,4	132,9
31. NGOTSHE	29,5	7791	3810	48,9	32,1	111,3
32. LOWER TUGELA	22,5	18924	2877	15,2	14,4	152,1
33. MTUNZINI	13,9	1443	691	47,9	7,3	-
34. ESHOWE	11,8	815	-	-	5,4	-
35. MTONJANENI	19,8	1951	1005	51,5	9,3	-
36. BABANANGO	36,0	4165	1962	47,1	-	-
37. LOWER UMFOLZOZI	22,5	7246	5502	75,9	7,9	40,4
38. HLABISA	10,3	1169	679	58,1	2,8	-
Natal	25,6N = 185463N = 82335			44,4	13,8	98,5

There are only five magistracies which have secondary schools in rural areas and an additional 14 which have junior secondary schools (Table 8). In these magistracies it

would seem that a high percentage of potential scholars are at school. The percentages are however probably inflated by the large number of scholars flowing into the magistracies in order to obtain access to a secondary school - there being none in the magistracy in which they live.

#### 4.1.5. Educational Levels

It is clear from Table 9, which gives the percentage of potential scholars at school by magistracy and according to the urban rural divide, that in the provision of education rural children are heavily discriminated against (although it is true that in eleven magistracies no education at all is provided for blacks in the urban areas).

It appears from Table 9 that not only are a lower percentage of rural children at school but that the schools that are provided are of a lower level than those provided in the urban areas (Table 7). Whereas 30,6 percent of urban schools offer secondary education this is only true of 4,2 percent of rural schools. Table 10 illustrates the effect this has on the educational levels of current pupils. Twenty nine percent of urban pupils are in secondary schools whereas this is true of only 4 percent of rural pupils. Overall 13,6 percent of DET pupils in Natal were in secondary schools. This compares with 19 percent in all DET schools in the RSA (1986), 19 percent in KwaZulu schools (1985) and 42 percent in white schools in the RSA (1986).

**Table 10: Natal: Level of Education of Pupils in DET Schools**

Level	Urban		Rural		State		State Aided		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Up to Std 2	21325	43,3	58203	70,7	25279	44,6	54249	72,5	79528	60,5
Up to Std 5	13447	27,3	20612	25,0	15666	27,6	18393	24,6	34059	25,9
Up to Std 8	10869	22,1	3110	3,8	12117	21,4	1862	2,5	13979	10,6
Up to Std 10	3586	7,3	410	,5	3719	6,4	277	,4	3996	3,0
Total N	49227		82335		56781		74781		131562	
% Total	37,4		62,6		43,2		56,8		100,0	

The racial and urban bias in the provision of education is also reflected in the educational levels of the total population. According to the 1985 Population Census two percent of

**Table 11: Rural Natal: Educational Levels**

Magistracy	Educational Levels in DET Schools			Educational Levels of 20-24 year olds	
	% 5-15 who are scholars	% scholars in Std 2 or below	% scholars in post primary	% 20-24 no educ	% 20-24 post primary
1. MOUNT CURRIE	62,5	81,6	0	18,3	25,3
2. ALFRED	18,9	79,7	0	19,4	40,8
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	61,0	69,4	4,7	35,3	23,0
4. UMZINTO	25,9	78,7	0	41,6	19,3
5. IXOPO	20,4	75,0	8,7	25,5	27,6
6. POLELA	-	-	-	12,8	42,1
7. UNDERBERG	47,3	75,8	0	18,6	32,8
8. IMPENDLE	59,6	55,8	14,5	18,9	22,8
9. RICHMOND	48,7	73,4	3,6	37,3	22,1
10. CAMPERDOWN	33,1	68,6	1,6	29,2	29,1
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	51,3	77,7	0	21,3	33,9
12. LIONSRIVER	66,4	65,6	3,1	17,7	34,6
13. NEW HANOVER	71,1	61,0	8,5	29,4	26,2
14. MOOI RIVER	59,0	74,7	1,5	31,1	23,5
15. ESTCOURT	35,0	76,2	,7	35,3	25,2
16. WEENEN	13,6	83,9	0	70,2	8,9
17. BERGVILLE	14,1	71,3	4,5	18,0	42,3
18. UMVOTI	45,8	73,9	2,9	46,9	16,5
19. KRANSKOP	37,5	87,3	0	46,3	14,7
20. DURBAN	-	-	-	-	-
21. INANDA	84,8	59,6	18,6	33,1	25,4
22. PINETOWN	7,2	79,4	0	17,4	35,2
23. KLIPRIVER	23,4	78,4	2,1	23,0	25,5
24. GLENCOE	65,9	78,7	-	25,2	28,7
25. DUNDEE	56,5	73,4	1,4	30,1	22,4
26. DANNHAUSER	59,1	74,1	4,2	22,8	36,8
27. NEWCASTLE	75,6	74,8	,7	18,3	27,1
28. UTRECHT	41,3	80,3	0	29,1	22,5
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	58,9	72,3	0	25,3	25,1
30. VRYHEID	69,7	65,3	7,0	28,2	25,5
31. NGOTSHE	48,9	73,6	1,9	47,2	15,6
32. LOWER TUGELA	15,2	71,0	0	38,9	26,9
33. MTUNZINI	47,9	75,4	0	36,4	26,6
34. ESHOWE	-	-	-	46,1	17,2
35. MTONJANENI	51,5	65,3	7,8	44,1	28,3
36. BABANANGO	47,1	72,6	0	26,0	22,6
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	74,9	55,4	17,2	59,0	24,7
38. HLABISA	58,1	84,2	0	42,3	19,8
NATAL	44,4	70,7	4,3	31,6	27,4

Table 12: Urban Natal: Educational Levels and Location of Schools

Registry	Educational Levels in DET Schools				Location of State (S) and State Aided (SA) Schools											
	% 5-15 yr olds who are scholars	% scholars in Std 2 or below	% scholars in post primary	% 20-24 yr olds no edu- cation	% 20-24 yr olds primary	Up to Std 2 S	Up to Std 2 SA	Up to Std 2 or 5 S	Up to Std 2 or 5 SA	Up to Std 2 or 7 S	Up to Std 2 or 7 SA	Std 6-8 S	Std 6-8 SA	Up to Std 10 S	Up to Std 10 SA	Total
1. MOUNT CURRIE	92,9	51,3	17,4	5,7	58,3	1	3	1	3					1	5	5
2. ALFRED	905,7	40,1	0	14,6	60,8											1
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	-	-	-	9,9	50,7											1
4. UMZINTO	131,3	56,9	0	25,5	28,6											2
5. IXPOMO	635,5	74,1	0	10,1	60,1											2
6. POLELA	9716,7	20,9	69,1	12,9	54,8											2
7. UNDERBERG	-	-	-	19,6	47,8											
8. IMPENDLE	-	-	-	-	-											
9. RICHMOND	-	-	-	13,7	31,2											
10. CAMPERDOWN	-	-	-	11,5	47,2											
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	95,0	38,4	35,2	12,5	60,5	6	1	1	6	1	1	1	5	18	3	
12. LIONS RIVER	289,7	34,3	42,2	7,2	54,7											
13. NEW MANDEVILLE	-	-	-	12,9	34,1											
14. MONTI RIVER	124,5	35,0	40,1	10,0	75,1											
15. ESTCOURT	146,1	57,4	13,3	17,2	25,5											
16. WENEN	82,5	79,7	6,9	47,8	25,3											
17. BERGVILLE	1366,7	81,7	0	28,6	42,9											
18. UMOTI	131,0	41,4	31,2	18,3	46,8	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	4	1	
19. KRANSKOP	-	-	-	11,5	35,8											
20. DURBAN	91,4	43,8	25,7	12,4	60,9	4	1	2	4	1	1	1	3	16	4	
21. INANDA	167,8	47,8	28,2	19,2	37,9	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	10	3	
22. PINETOWN	107,4	47,6	24,9	27,7	46,4	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	10	3	
23. KLIPVELD	66,1	44,5	24,8	17,8	37,9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
24. GLENCOE	87,3	44,5	24,2	6,0	55,1											
25. DUNDIF	97,0	38,5	33,6	20,0	39,8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	
26. DANFELDER	103,6	60,1	0	20,0	61,9											
27. NEWCASTLE	-	-	-	28,8	31,3											
28. ULRECHT	179,6	63,5	0	13,1	65,8											
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	104,8	50,9	19,1	16,1	51,1											
30. WYREID	132,9	33,3	45,9	10,7	34,6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	
31. NGOTSHI	111,3	53,5	18,3	28,3	51,5											
32. LOWER TUZELA	152,1	35,8	34,6	25,7	35,1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	
33. MTUNZI	-	-	-	30,6	25,8											
34. ESHOME	-	-	-	11,8	71,3											
35. MTONJANI	-	-	-	11,0	49,1											
36. BABANIGO	-	-	-	-	-											
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	223,4	83,8	0	21,6	27,3											
38. HLABISA	-	-	-	10,8	32,3											
TOTAL				12,2	62,6	19	5	28	13	5	5	5	18	1	95	

Natal's black population had been educated to Standard 10 level or higher. However only ,8 percent of the black population had been educated to this level in rural areas. Comparative figures for other population groups and areas were - Whites 16 percent; Coloureds 8,7 percent; Indians 13 percent and blacks in KwaZulu 2,4 percent. 1985 Census data further reveals that 50,3 percent of blacks in rural Natal had received no education as compared with 44,4 percent in rural KwaZulu and 26,4 percent in urban Natal. A survey of farm dwellers in the Natal Midlands and on the North Coast reveals the influence of accessibility to educational facilities on educational levels (Ardington:1985 71,75). On the coast where the median walking time to a primary school was 30 minutes 61,1 of those surveyed had had no education as compared with 40,1 percent in the midlands where the median walking time was only 10 minutes.

In order to obtain a more up to date picture of the educational standards of the black population and the impact of the very uneven spatial provision of education the educational levels of the five year cohort which should most recently have completed its education - 20 to 24 year olds - were looked at separately. Table 11 gives the percentage of the 20 to 24 age group in rural areas which has received no education and that which has received some education beyond primary level. There is of course no guarantee that a person received (or didn't receive) his education in the place where he was resident (and accordingly recorded by the Census) when aged 20 - 24. There does however appear from Table 12 to be some correlation between educational levels achieved and ease of access to schooling. Significantly higher levels of education were recorded by this age group in urban areas reflecting not only the easier access of urban people to schools but also the fact that the better educated persons from rural areas are more likely to find employment in urban areas. In urban areas 12,2 percent of the age group had received no education as compared with 31,6 percent in rural areas. Of the urban dwellers 62,6 percent had received post primary education. This was true of 27,4 percent of the rural population in this age group.

#### **4.1.6. Farm Schools**

The educational position of farm children is little different from that of rural children in general. However as their education is often considered separately, both by the DET and by organisations such as farmers' associations, it may be helpful to look at the position on farms specifically.

**Table 13: Natal: Farm Schools**

(1)	Level of School		
	N	%	cum %
Up to Std 2	202	32,6	32,6
Up to Std 4	239	38,6	71,2
Up to Std 5	163	26,4	97,6
Stds 6 and 7	15	2,4	100,0
	N=619		

  

(11) Number of Pupils	Size of School		
	N	%	cum %
Up to 50	145	23,4	23,4
Up to 100	212	34,3	57,7
Up to 150	127	20,5	78,2
Up to 200	75	12,1	90,3
Up to 250	31	5,0	95,3
Up to 300	13	2,1	97,4
Up to 350+	16	2,6	100,0
	N=619	Mean 107,1	

  

(111)	Pupils by Standard		
	N	%	cum %
Sub Std A	17297	26,1	26,1
Sub Std B	12357	18,6	44,7
Std 1	10993	16,6	61,3
Std 2	8609	13,0	74,3
Std 3	7341	11,0	85,3
Std 4	5085	7,7	93,0
Std 5	3654	5,5	98,5
Std 6	722	1,1	99,6
Std 7	241	,4	100,0
TOTAL	66294		

According to the DET's 1988 Synthesis Report one third of black children living on white farms do not attend school. Many of those who do do not stay at school long enough to achieve functional literacy. Many others are only able to attend school because they live close enough to a homeland or town to walk to school each day. The figures in Table 11 indicate that only 44,4 percent of black rural children of schoolgoing age in Natal may be in DET schools.

In Natal in 1985 the average farm school had 107 pupils (Table 13) and two teachers. These poorly or unqualified teachers (Synthesis Report 1988) were required to teach an average of 50 pupils each in multi-standard classes. One third of farm schools did not go beyond Standard 2. Two thirds did not go beyond Standard 4 (the minimum level required to retain functional literacy). Until 1984 farm schools were not allowed to go beyond Standard 5. By 1985 2,5 percent of farm schools in Natal had Standards 6 and 7. None went beyond Standard 7. There was only one secondary school with boarding facilities to cater for the black children from Natal's approximately 7500 farms.

There is no subsidized transport for black scholars in Natal and in fact very little transport is available in rural areas. With less than one school to ten farms (619 schools:approx 7500 farms) it is clear that large numbers of children have to travel considerable distances to school in rural areas. In a number of urban areas in Natal there are many more scholars than there are, according to the Census, residents in the 5 - 15 age group. Rural persons in this age group are clearly travelling into urban areas in order to obtain an education (Table 9).

The position in Natal is not significantly different from that in the rest of the country. The Synthesis Report states that half of farm schools in the RSA are one teacher schools and that three-quarters have two or less teachers. It reports that over half of the one teacher schools have more than 50 pupils and that overall 40 percent of farm schools have a pupil teacher ratio of more than 45:1. This is the case in only 18 percent of urban DET schools, and it is furthermore unlikely that many, if any, of these urban classes would be multi-standard classes. The Report states that almost half of farm school teachers have no teaching qualification and that only 8 percent have passed Standard 10.

A breakdown of the pupils in Natal's farm schools (Table 13(iii)) illustrates the appalling dropout rate. Only 7 percent of the pupils enrolled in 1985 were in a standard higher than Standard 4. Although the dropout rate is high in all schools (Table 14) a comparison of the figures in Tables 14, 13 and 10 indicates just how much worse the position in rural and, more particularly, farm schools was than in urban based state schools. Lubbe (1986) states that in 1982 the dropout rate in farm schools in Sub Standard A was 28,1 percent as compared with a rate of 13,3 percent in urban schools. He states further that half the pupils in farm schools left before they had completed Standard 2 and were therefore not literate.



**Table 14: Natal: All DET Pupils by Standard**

Standard	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Sub Std A	26572	20,2	20,2
Sub Std B	19679	14,9	35,1
Std 1	18143	13,8	48,9
Std 2	15134	11,5	60,4
Std 3	14169	10,8	71,2
Std 4	10882	8,3	79,5
Std 5	9008	6,8	86,3
Std 6	6047	4,6	90,9
Std 7	4308	3,3	94,2
Std 8	3624	2,7	96,9
Std 9	2316	1,8	98,7
Std 10	1680	1,3	100,0
TOTAL	131562		

#### 4.1.7. The Problems Confronting Rural Education

The problems confronting the education of blacks in rural Natal may be summarized under four heads. They relate either to the facilities and resources of the school; the relationship of the school to the farmer/manager; the position of the teaching staff or the communities which they serve.

##### 4.1.7.1. Facilities and Resources

There are insufficient schools to serve the children of school going age in the rural areas of Natal. The result is that many children never attend school and others are forced to drop out sooner than they would have wished. Those who live close to an area of KwaZulu may overcome the educational deficiencies of rural Natal by crossing over into KwaZulu in order to attend school.

The level of education provided is very low with 96 percent of rural pupils being in Standard 5 or below. There are no secondary schools on farms and only 5 in the whole of rural Natal. Rural schools have comparatively few pupils (the average farm school has 107 pupils) with the result that they operate with multi-standard classes. The classes are large, the pupil:teacher ratio poor and the teachers unqualified or poorly qualified. All these factors aggravate one another and contribute to the high drop out rate (Tables 13 & 14).

Many potential pupils live long distances from the nearest school and very little public transport is available even for those who could afford it. Lubbe (1986) states that no pupil up to Standard 2 level should be required to walk more than 2 km to school and that older pupils should not have to walk more than 3 km. Krige (1988) states that 75 percent of Natal's 5 - 15 year olds are within 5 km of a junior primary school and 74 percent within 10 km of a primary school.

Apart from the shortage of classrooms in the countryside which prevents potential scholars from attending school, those who do find a place in school suffer from a shortage or absence of a number of other facilities which school children elsewhere take for granted. Many schools do not have access to piped water; very few have electricity (which means that they cannot make use of technical aids such as tape recorders, TV's, computers etc. even if they were able to afford them); and all rural schools are at a distinct disadvantage when it comes to buying books and stationery.

#### **4.1.7.2. Control of Rural Education**

The current system places the education of rural blacks under the direct control of a non-educationalist and someone who has no direct interest in it. The farm school manager, who is the owner of the farm on which the school is situated or someone appointed by him, has the power to open or close the school; to appoint or dismiss staff; to decide how many children should attend the school; to determine to what level education should be offered (up to a ceiling imposed by the Department) and to decide whether neighbouring children should be allowed to attend the school. He is also responsible for supplying, or not supplying, accommodation for the teachers and all the other facilities or resources of the school which are not supplied by the Department. Whether the school has electricity, educational aids, running water, sports facilities, transport etc. ultimately depends on whether the manager wishes to supply them and is in a financial position to do so. He may alternatively approve the raising of funds to supply such facilities from either the parent community or some other body. He has the power to decide whether a parent teacher or community body should exist and have some say in the running of the school.

The person who exerts all this control is also the employer of the scholars' parents and the person on whom they are dependent for their wages, their accommodation and very often food, clothing and other amenities. Their security with regard to so many different aspects of their lives is in the hands of this man. Children who come from neighbouring

farms are also dependent on this person for the provision of education. In addition they are dependent upon the owner of the farm on which they live for permission to attend the neighbour's school and upon the owner(s) of any farm(s) they may have to cross to reach the school for permission to do so.

The farm school manager's interest in the school has been variously described (Nasson 1988). Some farmers see a school as a means of ensuring a secure and satisfied labour force and a means of ensuring that their future labour force has the necessary skills required by the technological advances that have taken place in agriculture. Some farmers are anxious to provide education to a higher level, acknowledging that they will be unable to offer employment to all their employees children and wishing to equip them for jobs in commerce or industry. Others resent schools feeling that the education provided is undermining their access to the potential agricultural labour force. Similarly whereas some farmers build schools to ensure that the children of their employees are occupied being educated, others wish to make use of child labour seasonally and object to their being unavailable and may even insist that they leave school for a period.

The position of the farm school manager also places teaching staff in an invidious position. They have no autonomy within their schools and are dependent in almost every respect on the farm school manager - whether in regard to educational policy, the control of funds, the provision of facilities or resources or even their own accommodation.

The farmer too is in an unsatisfactory position. He is expected to provide education for the children of employees - something that is not expected of other employers, even those with a far larger capital base. The numbers of potential scholars are so small on most farms (less than 20 on the average Natal farm) that the farmer, in order to become eligible for teacher and building subsidization, has to provide schooling not only for children from his own farm but also those from neighbouring farms - to whom he cannot be considered to have any obligation at all<sup>6</sup>.

Prior to September 1988 although the farmer might claim subsidization for the building of classrooms this was limited to 50 percent of the cost up to a maximum of R6000. It is unlikely that a classroom could be built according to Departmental specifications for R12000 - indeed it would seem that the Department spends up to six times that amount when building schools itself. There was no separate subsidy for the supply of electricity and the subsidy for the provision of water was 50 percent up to a maximum of R60! The limit for the provision of toilets was R120. A subsidy of 50 percent of the cost up to a limit

of R1200 could be claimed every 5 years for maintenance. There was no subsidy for teacher accommodation, no subsidy for transport and no subsidy for any other facilities or resources that the school might require over and above those supplied by the Department. A farmer had to be prepared to incur considerable expense and inconvenience for the privilege of having a school on his property.

In late 1988 new regulations for the subsidization of rural education were introduced. In general 75 percent of the value of a building (as estimated by technical officials of the department) may be claimed and will be paid out if funds permit. An official of the department stated that when allocating funds preference would be given to claims for classrooms and toilets, so that, although teacher accommodation has officially been placed on the same footing as classroom accommodation in terms of the subsidy, in view of the history of the shortage of funds required to meet classroom subsidization it would seem unlikely that a significant number of loans will be made for accommodation unless the budget is substantially increased.

#### **4.1.7.3. Professional Staff in Rural Areas**

The position of the farm school teacher is hardly one that is likely to attract well qualified, mature and committed persons. They are generally required to teach multi-standard, large classes in facilities which are often poor. Their pupils are drawn from a community which lacks the social, economic and cultural resources to supply the support a school requires. This community often has little permanence or security and the very high pupil drop out rate is a result not only of the lack of adequate facilities and pupil motivation, but also the fact that a child's access to school is dependent on his father's continued employment on a farm with a school. If the father is dismissed or is a migrant who returns "home" from time to time, the pupil will be forced to drop out of school.

Farm schools exist in a very isolated environment. There is little or no contact with other schools and the surrounding community has often had little experience of formal education. It is not an easy environment for an "outside" teacher to move into. The teacher may, moreover, have accommodation difficulties. There is no obligation on the farmer to provide accommodation and, until very recently, no subsidy if he did. A teacher will be unable to build, buy or lease a house in the area, unless there is a black township nearby. Where accommodation is provided the teacher may still feel unsettled and uncommitted to the school and community as he/she will be unable to obtain secure tenure of the house and may be forced to leave his/her spouse and children in an environment where their tenure is secure and where there are educational and

employment opportunities for them outside of agriculture.

Like other civil servants teachers are entitled to housing loans. There is however a regulation which requires the house acquired with such a loan to be in the RSA and within 50 km of the person's place of work. There are very few black townships in Natal and their spatial distribution makes adherence to this regulation impossible for many farm school teachers. Apart from the distance factor there are only 20 black townships in Natal and houses and sites are at a premium in all of them. Rural teachers stand little chance of being given preferential treatment in the long queues of would-be-homeowners. Those who were lucky enough to be able to acquire a house within the 50 kilometer limit would however incur enormous costs travelling to and from work. The formula for housing loans relates the amount a person may borrow to his salary. As the majority of farm school teachers are unqualified their salaries are low and the amount they could borrow limited accordingly.

#### **4.1.7.4. Rural Communities and Education**

The nature of the community served by rural schools is itself the source of many of their problems. This community lacks permanence and security; is socially, economically and culturally deprived; is isolated and dispersed; lacks organization and cohesion and is without any legal basis for taking control of its situation. It has neither the resources nor the legal standing to give rural education the support it requires or to control it. The total absence of access to land or any form of secure land tenure lies at the root of the community's insecurity and their inability to act. Commitment and involvement are impossible under the circumstances. A study by Gordon (1988) of farm schools in a peri-urban area on the outskirts of Johannesburg revealed interesting differences between the farm schools which were controlled by the farmer and those which were run by a church or community committee. Among other differences the latter were found to have better facilities, transport and teacher accommodation. The increased involvement of the school community in the running of the school had led to their providing additional facilities for an institution to which they felt a commitment.

Rural black children are educational Cinderellas in a society where even their urban and homeland sisters' education leaves much to be desired. They come from homes which are educationally deprived and which have low incomes. They are unlikely to have the financial or mental resources to enable them to get a boarding school education (were this available). There is little chance that the farms will absorb all of them into their workforce and yet their residence on these farms normally denies them the education

that would enable them to break out of the cycle of poverty in which they are currently trapped. There can be no justification for the educational discrimination currently experienced by this sector of South Africa's black population. There is, moreover, no prospect of a real improvement in black rural education while it is provided on a basis different from that used elsewhere and while it is left in the hands of the white farming community.

#### **4.1.8. Official Attitudes and Possible Responses**

The Synthesis Report (1988) produced by the DET on the Provision of Education for Black Pupils in Rural Areas confirms that the state is aware of many of the alarming inadequacies of the current system. The proposals it makes to remedy the situation are however made within the constraints of the current political ideology and are unlikely to achieve the aim expressed in the 1983 White Paper on the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa which states that "equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education for every inhabitant irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the state" and that "the provision of formal education shall be the responsibility of the State". The Report considers certain matters affecting rural education to be beyond its "sphere" or "political" and therefore does not deal with them, but as they are amongst the contributing causes of the current situation it will not be effectively tackled until these matters are addressed. It is not educational theory that classifies a school with 500 pupils and 17 teachers as a "farm school" but the misclassification of commercial farms as "white areas" when over 90 percent of their population is black.

##### **4.1.8.1. Assumption of Responsibility by the State**

It is clear that until the state takes full responsibility for the initiation and management of rural education for blacks access to education in rural areas will remain poor in terms of the number of facilities, the distances which pupils are required to travel to reach them, the standard of education and the levels to which education is offered. It has been suggested that in order to obtain control of farm schools the state should either purchase or lease the schools. As the schools are frequently placed centrally on the farm this would involve having to obtain planning permission for complicated subdivisions of agricultural land. Permission for the use of access roads and arrangements for their maintenance would have to be made. Water and electricity supplies would have to be negotiated. There is no guarantee that a farmer, who was prepared to have a school on his farm while he was in control of the school and the

people crossing his land to reach it, would be prepared to allow the school to continue if he were no longer in control. The expense and difficulties which would be encountered if the State were to purchase or lease all existing farm schools would be considerable and the final outcome would include a large number of schools which were non-viable in terms of pupil numbers.

#### **4.1.8.2. Centralization and Rationalization**

Map C which illustrates the distribution of 5 - 15 year olds makes it clear that it is only through the rationalizing and centralizing of the position of rural schools that schools with an enrolment large enough to avoid the necessity of multi-standard classes could be established. Currently the average farm school has just over 100 pupils. This only entitles it to two teachers, who in the case of a primary school, will be required to teach seven standards between them. There are few farm schools which have more than 100 potential primary pupils living within the 2 or 3 kilometres that Lubbe (1986) considers the maximum distance that a primary school pupil should be required to walk to school. If instead of attempting to take over existing farm schools the state were to concentrate on establishing schools in the centre of an area in which there were sufficient potential pupils to support the establishment of a viable school it would be possible to improve pupil teacher ratios and ensure the elimination of multi-standard classes.

There are currently 619 farm schools in Natal. At the outside only two thirds of that number would be required to accommodate all children (as opposed to the roughly 44 percent currently at school) in rural Natal in primary schools if the schools had a minimum enrolment of 280 pupils and could therefore have one teacher per standard and one teacher to 40 pupils. It would be a start if the majority of the 250 towns/places marked on Map 8 were to have a school. Many of the towns could support more than one school or a school with more than 280 pupils. Once primary education had been rationally and comprehensively provided it would be possible to plan for the provision of secondary schools which would draw pupils from a number of primary schools.

Rationalizing and centralizing rural schools should also decrease overall the distances which pupils have to travel to school and enable them to use routes on which public transport is more likely to be available. Buses or even private farm vehicles are not normally available to transport pupils from one farm to another. Were the schools placed in rural towns, villages or growth points to which people were attracted for a number of other reasons public transport would be more likely to be available.

The provision of education to higher levels is simply impractical without centralization. In view of the high dropout rate and the dispersed nature of rural populations the provision of secondary education can only be tackled realistically on a centralized basis and by the State. Where left to farmers the provision of primary education has proved inadequate and unsatisfactory. This would be even more the case with secondary education.

At enormous expense the state, through buying up or leasing existing farm schools and obtaining land on which to erect schools in areas where there are none, might be able to ensure that all rural children were within a specified distance of a primary or secondary school or a similar distance from transport to such schools. This would deal with the inadequacies experienced by 35 percent of farm children who the state claims currently do not attend school and by almost all farm children who at present have no access to secondary schooling. It would also do away with the arbitrary and autocratic control which farmers and school managers have over these schools. It would however do little to improve the shortage of teachers; the poor qualifications of existing teachers; the appalling dropout rate; the lack of parental involvement or commitment; the unsatisfactory position of teachers; the low economic status of rural communities and their malnutrition all of which are seen by the report as contributing to the unsatisfactory position.

There are other differences between state and state-aided schools which one might hope would be eliminated by a state takeover of state-aided schools. State schools are widely held to have better teacher:pupil ratios; more administrative staff; access to larger schools funds; better facilities; more technical aids and books; easier access to funds for travel, sports and other extra-mural activities etc. In theory these differences between state and state-aided schools do not exist. In practice limited funds only permit the appointment of administrative staff, the allocation of teaching aids, the building of sports fields and so on at the biggest and most accessible schools - all of which happen to be state schools. Converting small farm schools into state schools will not change the position unless the budget for these purposes is substantially increased. Moreover even if more funds were made available it would remain impractical to provide many of the above facilities at schools with less than 100 pupils.

#### **4.1.8.3. Teacher Accommodation**

The Synthesis Report appreciates that a lack of suitable accommodation for teachers is an important reason why older and better qualified teachers are not attracted to farm



schools and recommends that farmers who supply teacher accommodation should be subsidized and that where, in future, the State obtains land for schools it should erect housing for teachers. The cost of supplying housing would be enormous. The classroom subsidy received by farmers was calculated on the basis that a classroom costs R12000. Accommodation suitable for the professionally qualified person the department wishes to attract to teach in that classroom, would cost at least double that and would further necessitate the provision of water, electricity, access roads etc. However no matter how good the physical accommodation supplied might be, professional staff are unlikely to be attracted to areas where they are essentially "non citizens", where there are no employment opportunities (outside of agriculture) for their spouses or adult children, where there is no land available on which they may conduct commercial, industrial, religious or recreational activity and where there is not even a proposed system for political representation. Worldwide, where there are no such limitations a professional prejudice against working in rural areas is common and as long as rural areas in South Africa continue to be classified white, there is little chance that black professionals will be attracted to them. Were schools to be established in rural towns or centres where teachers could house themselves in a home of their own choosing it would do much to reduce teacher isolation and insecurity.

#### **4.1.8.4. Positioning Schools in Towns and Villages**

Declining farm populations undermine further the rationale for providing rural education through farm schools. Apart from the need to allow for the dramatic decline in the black farm population in Natal between 1980 and 1985 (Simkins 1989) it should not be forgotten that many of those classified as non-urban by the Census do not live on farms but in small towns or dense settlements which are classified non-urban because they do not have local authorities.

The pupil:teacher ratio advocated by the Department for primary schools is 40:1. On this basis a primary school requires a minimum of 280 pupils if it is to avoid multi-standard classes. On average there are probably less than 20 children of schoolgoing age on each farm in Natal<sup>7</sup> and the average farm school has only 100 pupils. Were the Department to acquire land and build schools where there were 280 potential pupils within a 3 kilometre radius of such a place or transport to it a number of problems relating to size and multi-standard classes might be addressed. If this were done in an already existing town or village the schools would obtain immediate access to water, electricity, roads, transport etc. Where such a town or village had a township it would not be necessary to provide housing for teachers but where this was not the case the

Department could at the same time as it acquired land for the school acquire land on which to provide housing for teachers.

#### **4.1.8.5. Natal and KwaZulu**

As Lubbe (1986) states compulsory, free or equal education cannot be instituted while rural education continues to be supplied through farm schools. This can only occur if the state takes control of rural education and sets about centralizing and rationalizing it. In the case of rural Natal this cannot be done in isolation. Any logical planning must be done in conjunction with KwaZulu.

Nowhere in the Synthesis Report is any consideration given to the special conditions of any region. There may be no alternate source of education for rural dwellers in the Free State or Northern Cape but this is not the case in many areas of Natal where rural children may be within a couple of kilometers of a KwaZulu school. Currently thousands of farm children in Natal having grown tired of waiting for education to be brought to them by the "right" authority have simply walked over the border into KwaZulu to find it for themselves.

#### **4.1.9. Conclusion**

If the provision of education is to be effective and economic schools must be positioned where demand directs regardless of whether that is in KwaZulu or a white-designated area. Through taking control of rural education the state could ensure that sufficient and satisfactory facilities were supplied and that they were distributed in such a manner as to ensure that no rural children were required to travel more than a specified distance to school. By placing such schools in towns or villages or on public land a number of the other problems of rural education would be addressed. Farmers would be relieved of the responsibility of providing education and their exclusive control over the current provision of education would be removed. Teachers would have their professional autonomy restored and would no longer be dependent on the farmer for accommodation. Both pupils and teachers and indeed the school community would no longer be isolated. Children's attendance at school would no longer be dependent on their fathers' continued employment on a farm with a school. Transport to school would be more likely to be available. School buildings could become true community assets utilized at night and during holiday time by the whole community.

In itself the erection of schools in towns or villages would do little to address the problems of the communities they serve. Their lack of security and poor socio-

economic status would not automatically be affected. If however the placement of schools in such towns was part of a broader program to open them to all race groups the way would be opened to give such communities access to land, housing, employment, recreation and social support independent of their current employment. The impact this could have on the community would be considerable and in turn the community might be expected to display greater commitment to and support for the schools.

## **4.2. HEALTH**

### **4.2.1. Health Facilities**

Public health facilities for blacks in Natal include hospitals, tuberculosis hospitals, health centres, clinics and mobile clinics.

#### **4.2.1.1. Hospitals**

There are 21 hospitals in Natal which admit blacks. Three are private hospitals. The balance are under the control of the Natal Provincial Administration. Four of these hospitals used to fall under the Department of National Health and Population Development and were known as "departmental hospitals". Three of the four "departmental" hospitals are in areas classified as KwaZulu by the Census, but nevertheless form part of the Natal Provincial Administration health system. There are 9 tuberculosis hospitals, two of which are in KwaZulu. The spatial distribution of these hospitals is shown on Map 3 and their allocation by magisterial district in Table 15. Provincial hospitals tend to have been placed in the larger towns or centres where there is a significant white population. Departmental hospitals, which were originally mission hospitals, on the other hand were placed in areas where there was an absence of health facilities for blacks and are generally in rural areas where the population is relatively dense. Tuberculosis hospitals are all in rural areas.

#### **4.2.1.2. Clinics**

There are 75 clinics in Natal which attend to blacks. They have varied origins. Some were established by the Department of National Health and Population Development; some by the Natal Provincial Administration; some by local authorities; some by the Development and Services Board and others by private welfare organisations. Health Centres, clinics that used to be known as Departmental Clinics, and Welfare Clinics fall

Table 15: Natal: Health Services for Blacks

Magistracy	Hospitals		Clinics				Black Population			
	Hos- pital	TB Hos- pital	Health Centre	Depart- mental	Local Welfare Authority	Development Services Board	Total No. of Clinics	Mobile Clinics	0 - 4 Total	years Feminisable
1. MOUNT CURRIE	2	1			2		2	67	32 001	5 611
2. ALFRED	1							10	8 196	1 258
3. FORT SHEPSTONE	1				6		6	25	21 799	2 365
4. URZINTO	1	2			3	1	4	4	23 622	3 113
5. IXOPO	1			1			1	13	28 095	5 011
6. POLELA								3	4 706	651
7. UNDERBERG			1					27	6 961	1 643
8. IMPENDE					1		1	6	4 916	900
9. RICHMOND	1		1				1	9	21 202	2 785
10. CAMPERDOWN				1			1	17	26 536	3 121
11. PIETERITZBURG	1				3		3	19	77 235	8 065
12. LIONS RIVER				1	1		1	5	28 220	4 227
13. NEW HANOVER								24	34 387	4 932
14. MOOI RIVER			1					23	20 899	3 481
15. ESTCOURT					2		2	30	32 204	5 781
16. WEEHEN	1				1		1	9	11 247	2 268
17. BERGVILLE					1		1	11	24 437	4 470
18. UMVOTI	1				1		1	23	34 852	5 151
19. KRANSKOP								5	6 036	986
20. DURBAN	4 (XP)	1			6		7	0	82 872	6 608
21. INANDA	1 (D)				2	3	5	7	23 480	2 632
22. PINE TOWN	1 (P)			1	4	1	6	6	48 633	4 051
23. KLIPRIVER	1				1		1	29	42 894	7 756
24. GLENDEE	1				1		1	7	11 166	1 687
25. DUNDEE	1				1		1	14	25 269	3 776
26. DANNAUISER					1		1	5	13 569	1 687
27. NEWCASTLE								20	17 869	2 631
28. UTRECHT	1				1		1	33	31 104	5 330
29. PAUL PIETRIBURG					1		1	5	18 930	3 406
30. VRYHEID	1				1		1	19	65 402	9 327
31. NGQISHE					1		1	18	28 157	5 278
32. LOWER TUGELA	1	2			2	2	6	12	90 491	13 541
33. HUNZINI			1		1		1	13	12 039	1 291
34. ESIQHE	1				1		1	14	9 361	869
35. MTONJANENI	1 (P)				1		1	2	11 281	1 375
36. BARANNGO					1		1	0	11 560	1 633
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI					2		2	20	38 802	5 531
38. ILABISA					1		1	22	12 011	1 340
TOTAL	21	7	4+1	4	11	43	70	644	1 042 200	166 316
KWAZULU TRANSKEI	3 (D)	2		3	2		5	71		
TOTAL	24	9	4+1	7	13	43	75	716		

1985 Regular Census. Adjusted to allow for undercount.

P = Private

D = Departmental

under the control of the Natal Provincial Administration. Local Authority Clinics and Development and Services Board Clinics fall under the Department of National Health and Population Development.

Clinics are subsidized by the authority under whose control they fall.

The range of services offered by clinics varies considerably and should be borne in mind when availability of health services is being considered. The 43 local authority clinics and 7 Development and Services Board clinics which offer a service to blacks are only open on weekdays (not necessarily every weekday), during the day and offer only preventative services. They offer no curative service; they have no medical officer in attendance and offer no night, weekend or emergency service. Many local authority clinics do not offer ante-natal care. On the other hand there are some local authority clinics which have separate dental and psychiatric clinics. The health centres, departmental clinics and welfare clinics all offer some curative services. Many of them have medical officers, at least on a part-time basis; most offer a night, weekend and emergency service; some offer a maternity service and all offer ante-natal services.

#### **4.2.1.3. Mobile Clinics**

Mobile clinics operate from 644 points in Natal, 71 in KwaZulu (or places considered to be KwaZulu by the Census) and one in the Transkei<sup>8</sup>. Nineteen of these mobiles are attached to Development and Services Board Clinics and the balance now fall under the NPA Health Department. Previously they were the responsibility of the Department of National Health and Population Development which was responsible for all health matters outside of local authorities areas. Today the NPA is responsible for all nursing and family planning services in rural areas and the Department of National Health and Population Development only responsible for environmental health matters.

The services offered by mobile clinics generally include child health care, inoculations, mother education and the treatment of minor ailments, TB and sexually transmitted diseases. A few mobile clinics offer ante and post natal services.

#### **4.2.2. Health and the State**

In terms of the 1983 Constitution health became an "own affair". In other words "white health" was to be the responsibility of the House of Assembly, "Indian health" that of the House of Delegates, "Coloured health" that of the House of Representatives and "Black

health" in the RSA that of the Department of National Health and Population Development. Previously the Department of National Health and Population Development had been responsible for some areas of "black health" but the provincial administrations (which were responsible for all other race groups) had been responsible for supplying services to blacks where the Department did not.

The consideration of health as an "own affair" may be expected to give rise to logistical problems nationwide but nowhere more so than in the rural areas with their scattered and low density populations. It would be difficult to design a health system which adequately served all those resident in rural areas - to design four entirely separate systems to serve the four racial groups resident in rural areas would be totally impractical. Although the Browne Commission of Inquiry into Health Services only reported in 1986, it was appointed in 1980 and most of its findings refer to the health system as it existed prior to the 1983 Constitution. It nevertheless found that there was "an excessive fragmentation of control over the health services and a lack of central policy direction" which led to a misallocation of resources and to wasteful duplication of services (Race Relations Survey 1986 Part 2:774).

In August 1986 the Minister announced a new health dispensation. There was to be a National Health Policy Council which would be responsible for planning, co-ordinating and monitoring health policy. "In terms of the new plan health care would be divided into six levels: the first three would be concerned with the provision of basic subsistence needs (such as safe drinking water, sewerage and garbage disposal), health education and primary health care. These three levels would be the responsibility of the "own affairs" departments of health services and welfare. Levels four, five, and six would be concerned with the management of community, regional and teaching hospitals under the Department of National Health and Population Development, and with African health services. These functions would be delegated to the provincial administrations, which would act as the department's agents" (Race Relations Survey 1986:767).

Health care in rural areas is generally at the first three levels only. These are the areas which are to be the responsibility of the "own affairs" departments of health and welfare. The new dispensation implies a further fragmentation in the provision of primary health care in rural areas - something that can only lead to a deterioration in the level of service supplied, a level which is already too low. The Browne Commission found "an inappropriate under-emphasis on preventative primary health care and an over-emphasis on expensive secondary and tertiary health services. It also considered that there was "a concentration of facilities in major urban areas, while the rest of the country

was inadequately served". Cedric de Beer of the Department of Community Health at the University of the Witwatersrand stated at a medical congress in Cape Town in 1988 that "Much of the shortfall in primary care can be explained by the racial politics of the country, as reflected in the segregation and fragmentation of health services"(Race Relations Survey 1987/88).

Responsibility for health services for Blacks was in the past chiefly with the Department of National Health and Population Development. This Department established departmental clinics and operated the mobile clinic service. It was also responsible for certain departmental hospitals for blacks and for the TB hospitals. The provincial administration was however responsible for the majority of hospitals and clinics in white-designated Natal. Although some of the hospitals are reserved for whites (Addington, Empangeni, Greys and Newcastle), as is the case with some of the Local Authority Clinics (Matatiele, Kokstad, Howick, Amanzimtoti, Glencoe, Vryheid, Dundee, Newcastle and Ladysmith), the majority of hospitals and clinics served blacks as well as members of the race group of the local authority under which they were established - even though this may have been in segregated premises or at separate times.

That the services for blacks have been both inadequate and inferior to those provided for other race groups may be established in a number of ways. Infant mortality rates for the different race groups provide one such indicator. In 1985 the rates were stated in Parliament to be the following: Whites 9,3 per 1000; Coloureds 40,7 per 1000; Indians 16,1 per 1000 and Blacks 80 per 1000 (Race Relations Survey 1987/88:808).

#### **4.2.3. Rural Health Services**

Since April 1988 black health services in Natal have been the responsibility of the Natal Provincial Administration which acts as an agent for the Department. For the first time curative services (previously chiefly supplied by the Natal Provincial Administration through its hospitals and clinics) and preventative services (formerly supplied by the Department through its clinics and mobiles) have been brought together under one authority. There are undoubted advantages to this but in rural areas much of the advantage may be undermined by the classification of health as an "own affair".

In many rural areas there are hardly enough persons to justify the provision of a health service for the entire population. If separate services are to be provided for each racial group the problems are multiplied manifold. There are, and no doubt always will be, areas in the countryside in which the provision of health services on a regular basis

cannot be justified. In such areas rural health care may be more effectively served by improving roads, transport and the telecommunications system than by providing an occasional service from a mobile unit. It may be that rural communities would be better served by telephones which enabled them to call ambulances which could travel on improved roads to collect the sick than by monthly or weekly visits by health personnel.

Various minimum population figures and catchment area sizes have been suggested as the threshold for the establishment of a permanent clinic. Krige (1988) uses the figure of 15 000 as being the minimum. There are very few towns or villages in Natal which would qualify for a clinic on this basis even if the clinic were designed to serve all racial groups and accordingly persons of all racial groups were included in the population count. There is however clearly a need for a permanent health facility in many of these towns - one that would serve not only the town residents but also the people resident in the surrounding countryside. How wide the net should be thrown when assessing who would be served by the clinic will depend on the number and condition of the roads linking the town and the surrounding countryside and the transport available. With readily accessible transport people may be expected to travel to a clinic from as far as 20kms away. The availability of transport is of critical importance to the aged, the infirm, pregnant women and the very young and should be considered very carefully before clinics are established.

Krige suggests that a smaller type of clinic should be established to serve a smaller number of people in order to improve access to health facilities in those rural areas where the population density did not merit the regular type of clinic with six professional nurses. She suggests that schools might be suitable venues for these clinics as they already exist as centres and have access to telephones, running water and electricity. This might be a solution if these schools were to be found in the small towns of Natal. This however is not the case. Ninety six percent of black schools in rural Natal are farm schools. This makes them unsuitable in certain respects (some of which are mentioned by Krige) to be the "centres" at which to position the smaller clinics. These schools do not exist as centres; do not usually have telephones, running water or electricity; are situated on private property which could give rise to access difficulties and finally are normally neither the end point of or even an intermediary point on a public transport route. Experience has shown that where clinics are not on transport routes they will be bypassed as people travel longer distances to hospitals or clinics which are served by public transport.

The difficulties which confront the establishment of permanent clinics in rural areas are so many and apparently insurmountable that it would seem that any improvement in the



delivery of health services to rural people could only be based upon the provision of clinics in existing towns or villages. Such clinics would have to service all race groups regardless of the group area's classification of the land on which they stood.

#### **4.2.4. Health Care and Divided and Racially Based Authorities**

Most towns in rural or non-metropolitan Natal are classified white; some have Indian or coloured areas and a few have black townships. Almost all the local authorities controlling these towns are white. The Development and Services Board which controls all Development and Regulated Areas has authority over whites, Indians and coloureds. The population in rural Natal is however 85 percent black.

The State has provided 5 health centres and four departmental clinics to serve black people. Eleven welfare clinics have been provided by the private sector. Eight of the welfare clinics and two of the state clinics are in rural areas. In effect primary health care for blacks in rural Natal is provided by clinics established by local authorities for the other three racial groups or is unavailable.

The provision of health services for one race group by a local authority of another race group may give rise to certain practical problems. Although the clinics are subsidized by the Natal Provincial Administration or the Department of National Health and Population Development, the authority which establishes the clinic has to bear certain costs. It has to provide the building, maintain it and meet administrative and limited medical costs. This it does with rates obtained from residents of the local authority area. The Development Areas in which some of the Development and Services Board clinics are found have a very small rate base. Although the ratepayers may only be white, Indian or coloured the majority of the patients (who will be drawn from the entire community surrounding the clinic) will inevitably be black. Ratepayers may resent subsidizing a clinic 80 percent of whose patients are black when there is no mechanism whereby blacks may be made to contribute to the cost of the service. In the end they will probably be forced to accept the situation on the basis that if blacks from surrounding areas are not accepted at the clinic the population serviced by the clinic would not be sufficiently large to justify its existence. Planning for the provision of health services cannot be effectively done in this manner. It should not be necessary to rely on altruism or the need for services for one race group in a particular area in order to secure services for another race group in that area.

The provision of health facilities will never be rational or adequate while it is in the hands of a number of independent authorities. This is particularly true of rural areas. A

comprehensive and effective service will only result where planning and provision for all is in the hands of one authority. It furthermore makes little sense for health planning in Natal to be done in isolation from that in KwaZulu. There is already considerable overlap. In a number of areas people cross borders in order to obtain health services which are more conveniently situated than those provided by the authority in whose area they reside. There is perhaps more need for planning and co-ordination in rural areas than there is in urban areas. The health services offered are likely to be of a relatively low order, making links to the hospital and ambulance service of critical importance.

#### **4.2.5. Access to Health Services**

When assessing the accessibility of existing health facilities and the level of service offered it would seem advisable to differentiate between mobile clinics on one hand and clinics and hospitals on the other.

##### **4.2.5.1. Access to Mobile Clinics**

The services offered by mobile clinics are available once, or at most twice, a month and are very specific. The role they play in improving community health may be as important or, initially at least, more important than that played by clinics and hospitals but it is directed at different areas and should be considered separately.

Mobile clinics do not offer curative services; they do not provide a service in emergencies; indeed they do not offer a service on a daily basis. Their role is essentially one in preventative medicine and perhaps more importantly in health education. Although they may not be there to assist in a case of dire enteritis, through mother education that emergency may be avoided altogether.

Krige (1988) estimated that 70 percent of the rural population of Natal was within 5km of a mobile clinic. Where they conduct a regular and efficient immunization service and where their mother education is effective mobiles may bring about significant improvements in certain health indicators - for example the infant mortality rate. They achieve this not by offering a continuous service to the sick but by arming the community with the immunity and knowledge that may prevent such sickness.

There are mobile clinics in every magistracy except Durban and Babanango. In those magistracies in which mobiles operate coverage varies enormously ranging from one per 322 black persons in Underberg to one per 15 446 in Pietermaritzburg. A largely

urban magistracy such as Pietermaritzburg, Durban or Pinetown (where coverage is also poor) probably is better served by fixed rather than mobile clinics, but this is not the case in Umzinto, Mtonjaneni, Paulpietersburg, Inanda, Dannhauser and Vryheid where coverage ranges from one mobile per 5905 persons in Umzinto to one per 2713 in Dannhauser, or of course Babanango where there are no mobile points at all.

The picture revealed by looking at mobile clinic coverage by magisterial subdivision<sup>9</sup> differs little from that according to magistracy. However it does indicate that although the number of clinics per person in Dundee and Estcourt was reasonable on a magisterial basis there were large areas which were not serviced at all. The magisterial subdivision of Natal divided it into 144 divisions. There were no mobile clinic points in 33 (23 percent) of these.

Calculations were also made to indicate the number of babies and pensionable persons per mobile point in magistracies and the subdivisions - these being considered two age groups requiring medical attention more often than others. From these calculations certain areas may be identified as being very poorly provided for or as not being provided for at all.

The areas where babies were poorly provided for were similar to those where the total population was poorly serviced. However in addition Bergville and Ixopo showed up badly. These are both magistracies where the percentage of the population under 5 years of age (17,8 and 18,3 percent respectively) is well above the average (11,1 percent).

Analysis according to the number of pensionable persons per mobile clinic point produced results almost identical to those for children under the age of 5 with Bergville and Ixopo revealing poor coverage in addition to those where the coverage of the total population was poor. Here again pensionable persons constitute an above average percentage (4,6 and 4,8 percent respectively as opposed to 3,5 for the whole of Natal) of the population.

#### **4.2.5.2. Access to Clinics and Hospitals**

Calculations similar to those made for mobiles may be made with regard to clinics and hospitals. Here it should be remembered that three hospitals and five clinics which serve rural Natal are in fact in KwaZulu and are therefore not included in the calculations.

Krige (1988) estimates that only 33 percent of the rural population of Natal is within 10km of a clinic. She states that in 14 magistracies over 80 percent of the rural population was further than 10km from regular health care.

Table 15 indicates that 15 magistracies have a hospital, one (Mount Currie) has two and one (Durban) four. It further indicates that in 8 magistracies there are no clinics and in 17 only one. There are no clinics in Alfred, Polela, New Hanover, Kranskop, Newcastle, Utrecht, Ngotshe or Babanango. In Ixopo, Richmond, Camperdown, Pietermaritzburg, Mooi River, Bergville, Umvoti, Klip River and Vryheid there are more than 20 000 black people per clinic.

In general it makes little sense to look at access to health facilities in rural Natal and KwaZulu separately. With regard to access to hospitals it makes no sense at all. The population threshold required to support a hospital does not allow for the provision of a hospital in many magistracies and people must be expected to go to the nearest hospital outside of the magistracy in which they live under such circumstances. Frequently such a hospital will be in KwaZulu. The provision of medical facilities and their supporting infrastructure (such as an ambulance service) require substantial sums of money and a poorly serviced area such as KwaZulu/Natal cannot afford to waste money on duplication.

#### **4.2.6. Conclusion**

The numerous divisions of responsibility and control in health in the past and the fact that rural blacks, who constitute 85 percent of Natal's rural population, have no public representatives on whom they might apply pressure to provide facilities, have led to the situation where access to health facilities is as poor, uneven and inadequate as that to educational facilities. Black private practitioners cannot establish practices in white-designated areas and nor can black individuals or organisations establish clinics or hospitals in such areas. Furthermore there is no mechanism whereby they can apply pressure on others to do so.

Almost the only permanent health services for blacks in rural Natal are those provided by welfare organisations. There are only eight such clinics, and accordingly access to fixed health services in rural areas is extremely poor. Clearly one cannot rely on such a system to provide a service. It may be that there are few welfare organisations prepared to establish such clinics but it is also true that there generally is not the population in rural areas to support permanent clinics. The towns which serve these rural areas have

local authorities which are mostly white. Although they have the authority to establish clinics they do not necessarily see it as their responsibility to serve the population outside of their jurisdiction. They do not receive rates from them and are not answerable to them. Most clinics established by white local authorities do in fact offer a service to all race groups and to all persons regardless of whether they live within the local authority area or not. There are however only 43 such clinics in Natal. The population of many towns is too small to justify the establishment of a clinic to serve the people of the town only.

It is clearly impractical for permanent clinics or hospitals to be provided in rural areas. They need to be established in centres which are linked to and serve an area with a population large enough to support them. If provision is to be made on racial grounds the fact that there are only 20 black local authorities outside of the Durban-Pietermaritzburg axis means that the majority of blacks in Natal will be left without facilities unless the local authorities of the other race groups see fit to provide them. To ensure a comprehensive and rational coverage the provision of health services must be planned and co-ordinated by one authority. To ensure that these services are accessible they must be positioned at centres which are served by the necessary transport infrastructure. If these facilities are positioned in previously existing towns or villages they are likely to be able to obtain immediate access to piped water, electricity, sewerage, garbage disposal etc. and will not have to go to the expense of providing these facilities for the use of one institution alone. If established in a town or village the need to provide accommodation for the clinic staff might also be able to be met from the town's existing housing stock - provided of course that a Group Areas Classification does not preclude the staff members from living in that particular town.

### **4.3. WELFARE**

The only widely established welfare service for blacks in rural Natal is the pension system. Other welfare services for blacks (such as they are) are only available to those who travel to an urban area to obtain access to them.

#### **4.3.1. Caring for the Aged**

##### **4.3.1.1. Aged Statistics**

The percentage of a community which the aged constitute varies widely and reflects fertility and mortality rates and migration patterns. Fertility and mortality rates are in turn

influenced by the socio-economic circumstances and stage of development of the community. The President's Council Report on Ageing (President's Council 1/1988) quoting figures from the United Nations Periodical on Ageing 1984 shows that the percentage of the total population that the 65+ age group constitutes varies from 21.9 percent in Sweden to 13,1 percent in the USSR. According to the 1985 Population Census (unadjusted figures<sup>10</sup>) in South Africa the 65+ age group constitutes 8.4 percent of the white population, 3,4 percent of the coloured population, 2,8 percent of the Indian population and 4,0 percent of the black population.

The aged are not evenly distributed throughout the country. The spatial distribution of the black aged in particular has been largely determined by legislation controlling the movement and residence of blacks in South Africa. A plethora of laws dating back to the Land Acts, and culminating in the laws determining influx control and creating the national states has had the effect of confining the majority of the aged to the rural areas, particularly black rural areas. The overall percentage of the population which the black aged constitute can be explained by reference to fertility and mortality rates but their geographical distribution has largely been determined by political factors.

Although age breakdowns and urbanization rates can be obtained for the black population, population projections cannot be based solely on these spatially based figures. Political factors have to be taken into account. Projections on the future aged population which are based on the current numbers and location of the labour productive age group will overestimate the numbers for urban areas and commercial farms and underestimate those for the rural areas. They will have made no allowance for the fact that many workers and their families may be forced to leave the urban area or farm on their retirement and take up residence in a homeland or rural area.

Current population figures show the percentage of the aged to be higher in KwaZulu (4,6 percent) than in Natal (3,3 percent) or the RSA (4,0 percent) and to be higher in rural KwaZulu (5,2 percent) than in urban KwaZulu (2,6 percent), and in rural Natal (3,4 percent) than in urban Natal (2,9 percent). The fact that 69 percent of blacks in Natal and 76,6 percent of those in KwaZulu are rurally based means that 84,7 percent of blacks aged 65 or older in KwaZulu and Natal are resident in rural areas.

#### **4.3.1.2. Black Aged in White Rural Areas**

The position of the black aged in white rural areas is somewhat unique. Some blacks resident in white rural areas are migrants while others may be considered permanent

residents, at least in the sense that they have no other home in a homeland or black area. Some of the migrants are accompanied by their families, others not. Some migrants may oscillate between the homelands and white rural areas throughout their working lives whereas others may complete only one or two contracts in white rural areas. Generally on retirement/dismissal a migrant (with or without his family) will return to his "home area". The position of the permanent rural worker is not as clearcut. His fate is largely dependent on his employer, there being few places in rural Natal where a black may legally reside other than on his employer's premises with his permission. The position of aged blacks in rural South Africa has varied over the years and according to local practice. As a general rule in areas where the labour tenant system prevailed the aged remained in their homes on retirement. Elsewhere the wishes of individual farmers and the attitude of local employment committees determined whether the aged were allowed to remain on the farms on their retirement.

Table 16 which shows the percentage of the community which the pensionable age group<sup>11</sup> constitutes in each magistracy reflects differences both in the migrant content of the labour force and the practice of local employers.

The Riekert commission made specific recommendations that farmworkers should be allowed to retire on the farms on which they had lived and worked and a more relaxed attitude to the continued residence of retired farmworkers on farms followed. This was recognized in the President's Council Report on Ageing where it states "Concessions should be made to farmers to encourage them increasingly to provide accommodation for aged people who have worked for them for a long period and for the aged parents of their workers" (own emphasis)(President's Council 1988/1 78).

Although there may have been a relaxation in officialdom's attitude towards the residence of aged blacks on farms, there has not been a general acceptance of this by employers. The improved standards of housing required by rural workers and the need to supply piped water and electricity have greatly increased the costs of housing on farms. Little assistance has been available from the state and farmers, burdened with the cost of accommodating **employees**, may be reluctant to permit non-workers to occupy houses.

Despite a more relaxed approach on the part of the state one therefore finds that the percentage of the black population in the white rural areas of Natal (3,4 percent) which is aged is somewhat lower than the national percentage (4,0 percent) and considerably lower than in rural KwaZulu (5,2 percent). The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No

**Table 16: Natal: Selected Statistics on Aged Blacks**

Magistracy	Pensionable (Number) <sup>1</sup>	Pensioners (Number) <sup>2</sup>	Pensioners (Percentage) <sup>3</sup>	Pensionable (Percentage) <sup>4</sup>
1. MOUNT CURRIE	1 426	1 432	100,0	4,5
2. ALFRED	390	0	0	4,8
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	563	31	5,5	2,6
4. UMZINTO	788	1 327	168,4	3,3
5. IXOPO	1 350	1 508	111,7	4,8
6. POLELA	148	0	0	3,1
7. UNDERBERG	309	263	85,0	3,4
8. IMPENDLE	194	0	0	3,9
9. RICHMOND	750	2 014	268,5	3,5
10. CAMPERDOWN	691	700	101,3	2,8
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	2 350	2 171	92,4	3,0
12. LIONSRIVER	933	1 181	126,6	3,3
13. NEW HANOVER	1 322	1 095	82,8	3,8
14. MOOI RIVER	690	566	82,1	3,3
15. ESTCOURT	1 462	1 499	102,5	4,5
16. MEENEN	683	983	143,9	6,1
17. BERGVILLE	1 131	600	53,1	4,6
18. UMOVOTI	1 636	3 197	195,4	4,7
19. KRANSKOP	253	300	118,6	3,7
20. DURBAN	3 137	335	10,7	3,8
21. INANDA	532	0	0	2,3
22. PINETOWN	1 549	2 341	151,1	3,2
23. KLIPRIVER	1 905	2 591	136,0	4,4
24. GLENCOE	469	447	95,3	4,2
25. DUNDEE	972	1 038	106,8	4,2
26. DANNHAUSER	310	270	87,1	2,3
27. NEWCASTLE	492	415	84,3	2,8
28. UTRECHT	1 077	867	80,5	3,5
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	776	570	73,5	4,1
30. VRYHEID	2 098	3 386	161,4	3,2
31. NGOTSHE	1 120	947	84,6	4,0
32. LOWER TUGELA	2 627	2 118	80,6	2,9
33. MTUNZINI	156	0	0	1,3
34. ESHOWE	225	0	0	2,4
35. MTONJANENI	385	610	158,4	3,4
36. BABANANGO	526	594	112,9	4,6
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	933	608	65,1	2,4
38. HLABISA	219	0	0	1,7
Total	36 001	36 577	101,6	3,5
	N	N	%	%

1. Population Census 1985
2. Old age pensioners estimated to be 75 percent of those in receipt of social pensions. Balance Disability Grants etc.
3. Number pensioners expressed as a percentage of number pensionable.
4. Number pensionable expressed as percentage of total population.



**Table 17: Natal: Distribution of Pension Points:**

<b>Magistracy:</b>	<b>Number Pensionable<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Number Pension Points<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Ratio Pension Points Pensionable Persons</b>
1. MOUNT CURRIE	1 426	5	1:285
2. ALFRED	390	0	-
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	563	1	1:563
4. UMZINTO	788	8	1:99
5. IXOPO	1 350	5	1:270
6. POLELA	148	0	-
7. UNDERBERG	309	9	1:34
8. IMPENDLE	194	0	-
9. RICHMOND	750	1	1:750
10. CAMPERDOWN	691	2	1:346
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	2 350	6	1:392
12. LIONSRIVER	933	3	1:311
13. NEW HANOVER	1 322	14	1:94
14. MOOI RIVER	690	3	1:230
15. ESTCOURT	1 462	7	1:209
16. WEENEN	683	6	1:114
17. BERGVILLE	1 131	1	1:1131
18. UMVOTI	1 636	12	1:136
19. KRANSKOP	253	1	1:253
20. DURBAN	3 137	1	1:3137
21. INANDA	532	0	-
22. PINETOWN	1 549	5	1:310
23. KLIPRIVER	1 905	14	1:136
24. GLENCOE	469	3	1:156
25. DUNDEE	972	8	1:121
26. DANNHAUSER	310	1	1:310
27. NEWCASTLE	492	5	1:98
28. UTRECHT	1 077	6	1:180
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	776	7	1:111
30. VRYHEID	2 098	24	1:87
31. NGOTSHE	1 120	13	1:86
32. LOWER TUGELA	2 627	13	1:202
33. MTUNZINI	156	0	-
34. ESHOWE	225	0	-
35. MTONJANENI	385	4	1:96
36. BABANANGO	526	7	1:75
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	933	5	1:185
38. HLABISA	219	0	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>36 001</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>1:180</b>

1. Population Census 1985.
2. NPA Community Services Durban.

104 of 1988 may reopen the gate for the compulsory eviction of aged from farms on which they might have been born and spent their entire working life. The Act gives no indication where these people should be removed to and their eviction will not be dependent on their having somewhere to go.

The spatial location of black aged will continue to be determined by factors other than socio-economic ones for as long political policies in South Africa are race based. Accurate projections are accordingly impossible.

#### **4.3.1.3. State Old Age Pensions**

State services generally develop slowest in rural areas. Old age pensions for blacks presented no exception to the rule. Social pensions were extended to blacks in 1944. However, whereas all white pensioners received the same amount, the pension received by blacks differed according to whether the pensioner was city, town or rural based. Rural based pensioners received approximately half of what city pensioners received. In 1965 one rate for all black pensioners was introduced in an attempt to discourage aged persons from moving to urban areas in order to claim the larger pension. Apart from being paid less than urban pensioners rural blacks were at a further disadvantage in that they were frequently a considerable distance from a place at which they might register for a pension or collect one. Indeed in 1985 there were still 7 magistracies in Natal in which it was not possible for a black to register for or collect a pension.

In the remaining 31 magistracies aged persons may register for a pension at the magistrate's court and, if granted a pension, collect it either from the magistrate's court or from one of the points at which the mobile pension teams stop. There were in 1985 200 such points in Natal. Table 17 indicates in which magistracies these points were to be found. It further relates the number of pensionable people in the magistracy to the number of pension points. Over the entire province the ratio is 1:180. Within magistracies it ranges from 0:532 (Inanda) to 1:86 (Ngotshe). In Durban there is only one pay point for 3137 persons of pensionable age. Such people would not however be inconvenienced in the same way as the 1131 pensionable people in Bergville who also only had one pension point available to them, but would have had to travel considerably further to get to it.

Information regarding the position of pension points and the numbers of pensions paid from each point were obtained from the Community Services Division of the NPA. Their figures grouped together all pensions paid. They did not differentiate between old age

pensions and disability grants, blind pensions etc. Old age pensions constitute roughly 75 percent of all pensions paid and in order to calculate the percentage of pensionable persons in receipt of pensions etc. it was assumed that 75 percent of the pensions paid from each point were old age pensions. In order to calculate the percentage of pensionable persons in receipt of pensions the number of pensions paid in a magistracy was divided by the number of pensionable person resident in that magistracy. Such a figure can only serve as a guideline as there is no restriction, based on residence, determining where a person may collect his pension. The figures merely indicate the relative convenience with which pensioners can collect their pensions.

In most cases the number of points appears to bear some relation to the number of pensionable people and the size of the magistracy. However reference to Map 4 (indicating the position of pension points) in conjunction with Map F (indicating the number of pensionable persons in each magisterial subdivision) makes it clear that, as there are no pension points in 34 percent of the magisterial subdivisions, there are large areas of rural Natal where pensioners are not serviced. Column 3 of Table 16 expresses the number of pensioners as a percentage of the pensionable people in a magisterial district and indicates just how uneven the coverage is.

The absence of a service for pensioners in so much of rural Natal means that many aged people, if they are to receive pensions at all, have to cross magisterial boundaries in order to do so. The frequency with which this occurs is indicated by the fact that in more than half of those magistracies in which pensions are paid out, more pensions are paid than there are persons of pensionable age in the magisterial district (Table 16 Column 3). In some of these magistracies the proximity of some of the pension points to areas of KwaZulu probably means that some aged persons from KwaZulu are collecting their pensions in Natal as Natal pension points are more accessible than those in KwaZulu. The reverse is known to be the case in KwaZulu magistracies which abut Natal Magistracies in which no pensions are paid. This is a practical solution to a problem which only arises because of the artificial division along arbitrary political lines of what is essentially one pension system.

#### **4.3.1.4. Homes for the Aged**

In Natal there are 7 old age homes for blacks which accommodate less than 300 aged persons on a permanent basis. The homes receive a subsidy of R60 per pensioner per month and the pensioners pay over two-thirds of their old age pension to the home. Two of these homes are situated in rural areas and may therefore be more accessible to

the rural aged than those which are situated in urban areas. The availability of old age homes is probably more crucial to rural than to urban people in Natal. With the exception of those who live on black owned land black rural dwellers are unable to secure themselves a home without leaving the area. This applies equally to those who were born in the rural area and those who have merely lived or worked there for a short time. Those who live on farms cannot own the houses in which they live; they have no guarantee that they will be able to remain in their homes on retirement and they are (with very few exceptions) not even able to secure a home for themselves in the towns or villages which are found throughout rural Natal. It would do much for the security of farmworkers and their peace of mind if they were able to secure for themselves during their working lives a home to which they could retire without having to remove themselves from the environment in which they have lived and worked and in which their families and friends will continue to live. This would be possible were the +200 towns and villages to open their residential areas to those who support their business and trading areas. If this were done not only could individuals acquire houses for themselves but community and welfare organisations would be able to erect old age homes in the communities which desired them with the result that people would not be required to relocate in their old age or compete with urban dwellers queuing to obtain a place in an urban old age home.

#### **4.3.1.5. The Potential of the Pension System**

Much of rural Natal is serviced by pension points. Pension teams travel considerable distances to take pensioners their money. They thus receive a service which is more convenient than any that might be offered by post offices, banks or building societies, which are not nearly as well distributed throughout the rural areas, and one which puts cash rather than a cheque or post office credit in their hands. The 1985 Census indicates that 76,7% of Natal's rural blacks aged 65 or older have had no education at all. This and the fact that many post office and building society employees do not speak Zulu implies that three-quarters of old age pensioners might experience considerable difficulties dealing with withdrawal slips or cheques. However the pension teams do no more than hand over cash. There seems little reason why this spatially comprehensive service should not be used to do more. It has already established contact with the aged - with comparatively little extra expenditure a nursing service could be supplied to the aged at the pension point.

The pensions service is operated by the Community Services Division of the NPA which is not only concerned with the aged. The system is operated by their personnel who

should therefore be able to offer those other services which are available in the Division's permanent offices. Certain welfare functions might be performed at pension points as might some services which are usually undertaken at magistrates courts. Rural people are poorly serviced with regard to the delivery of state services and it would seem that there is considerable scope for an improvement of the position through an extension of the pension service.

#### **4.3.1.6. Conclusion**

Although the aged are relatively well provided for by the state as a section of the black rural community they are probably the most insecure. The ability to obtain some form of secure tenure to a home in the area in which they have lived and worked would do much to improve their quality of life. State services to the aged, and indeed to the entire community, could be significantly improved if the range of services offered by pension teams were to be extended.

#### **4.4 HOUSING AND ASSOCIATED INFRASTRUCTURE**

Rural blacks have very little chance of being able to obtain housing close to their workplace. There are only 22 townships in Natal and very few areas where blacks are able to own land. Houses or sites in these areas are not easy to come by. Generally rural blacks have no option but to live in accommodation provided by their employer or settle informally or illegally.

Prior to the mid-1980s the State was the sole supplier of urban housing, water, roads, sewerage and other associated infrastructure for blacks in the RSA. A steady progression of laws beginning with the 1913 Land Act and the 1923 Urban Areas Act changed black housing from something provided by individuals on privately held land to a commodity supplied by the state or a local authority in a racially defined area - a commodity which moreover could no longer be owned but only leased. In the 1950s the State removed black urban areas from the control of local authorities and became the sole supplier of housing for blacks.

Today it is again possible for private individuals, bodies or local authorities to acquire land and develop housing for blacks. This had not happened to any significant extent prior to 1985 and almost all the housing and associated infrastructure indicated on Map 6 were supplied by the State. In the 22 areas indicated in which housing was supplied there were approximately 25 000 sites on which the State (or local authorities in the

earlier years) had erected roughly 18 000 houses of which approximately 12 000 were in the Durban-Pinetown-Pietermaritzburg area. Water was reticulated to individual sites in seven of the townships; some houses were electrified in a third of the townships and there was waterborne sewerage in 6 townships.

Table 18 indicates the location of state provided housing and the level of service supplied. The information was obtained from questionnaires sent to all local authorities in 1988. A number of the townships were then in the process of opening up new sites. Housing was to be supplied on these sites by the state, local authorities and private developers. Half of the townships were involved in upgrading services supplied.

**Table 18: Natal: Black Township Facilities**

Township	No. Gov Houses	Water	Sewerage	Electricity
ITSOKOLELE	156	Will be supplied to sites	W.C. to be installed.	Available
MZINGIZI	80	Odd standpipe	Buckets	None
BHONGWENI	400	Will be supplied to sites	W.C. to be installed	Available
SHAYAMOYA	50	Odd standpipe	VIP/Chemical	Available
SOBANTU	1094	All sites	W.C.	Electrified
IMBALI	5595	All sites	W.C.	Electrified
ASHDOWN	1043	All sites	W.C.	Electrified
KWA-MEVANA	137	Odd standpipes	Bucket	None
BRUNTVILLE	453	Will be supplied to sites	W.C. to be installed	Available in some areas
NKANYEZI	123	All sites	W.C.	Available
ENHLALAKAHLE	621	Will be supplied to sites	W.C. to be installed	Available
HAMBANATI	543	All sites	Septic Tanks	Electrified
LAMONTVILLE	2700	All sites	W.C.	60% Electrified
CHESTERVILLE	1200	All sites	W.C.	40% Electrified
KLAARWATER	301	Will be supplied to sites	W.C. to be installed	50% Electrified
STEADVILLE	970	Odd standpipes	W.C. to be installed	25% Electrified
SITHEMBILE	530	Odd standpipes	Bucket	Available
SIBONGILE	851	Odd standpipes	Bucket	None
DUMBE	306	Odd standpipes	-	None
BHEKUZULU	923	To sites or standpipes	Buckets/ Will be WC	40% Electrified
SHAKAVILLE	186	Odd standpipes	Buckets/ will be WC	Available
THUBALETHU	134	Odd standpipes/will be supplied to sites	-	None

Information obtained from questionnaires submitted to Black townships in 1988.

As noted it is now possible for parties other than the State to erect housing for blacks and provide the associated infrastructure. There are also moves to privatize services such as the supply of water and sewerage. Electricity is supplied by a parastatal on an economic basis, and there have been indications that the privatization of the post office and telephone system may be investigated in the near future.

The privatizing of these services and the increased availability of land for black housing developments may be significant for those who can afford economic housing but it will do nothing to reduce the numbers of homeless who could at best afford sub-economic housing. There is barely an area in Natal into which ESCOM does not reach. Electricity is accordingly available to anyone anywhere in Natal - provided they can afford it. The fact that so few black owned houses are electrified implies that it is affordability as well as accessibility that determines levels of access. In half of the townships in which electricity is available hardly any houses are in fact electrified.

Formal housing stock for blacks in Natal outside of the Durban-Pinetown-Pietermaritzburg axis is exceedingly small. There were less than 6 000 units in 1985. Services in the townships in which these houses are located were minimal - in fact there were almost none until the recent upgrading programs began.

Black Local Authorities should be the source of sites and services in the black townships. In a number of the townships there is no operational local authority and those that are in existence generally don't have the necessary resources to develop the township. The result has been that major developments have only taken place where there has been intervention from "outside" - by the Departments of Development Aid or Constitutional Development and Planning or a Joint Management Committee. This intervention is only likely to occur where there are large settlements, or where a crisis situation sometimes referred to as an "oliekol" has developed. Accordingly there are few places in Natal where housing and services are available for blacks outside of the major metropolitan areas. Conversely there are over two hundred places in which houses and services are available to members of other race groups. These towns are of varying size and offer differing levels of service. There are in these towns many vacant sites and some spare capacity in the services delivered (water, sewerage, refuse removal etc.).

The towns and villages of rural Natal acknowledge the importance of the local black population through granting them commercial and industrial access. Many of them in

addition offer blacks services such as clinics and libraries and sometimes recreational facilities. However less than 10 percent of these towns have black residential areas with the result that the majority of Natal's rural blacks do not have the option of owning or leasing a house. No data exists which would enable one to determine the demand for houses for blacks in these towns. It may be that in some cases the demand would initially be too small and the towns' resources too limited to contemplate the creation of separate black townships. However, if they were to ignore existing racial restrictions, many of these towns could, at a relatively low cost, provide housing or sites for blacks to the mutual benefit of all. Such towns would gain financially from an extended rate and consumer base and the new residents would be offered a security and choice currently available to homeland and urban blacks but not to the majority of rural dwellers.

#### **4.5. MAGISTRATES COURTS, POLICE STATIONS AND POST OFFICES**

##### **4.5.1. Magistrates Courts**

At the centre of each magistracy is the magistrate's court. Its jurisdiction extends to all within the boundaries of the magistracy. Table 19 lists the location of the magistrates courts in each of Natal's 38 magisterial districts. Three magistracies have sub-offices or sub-courts - Ngotshe at Magudu, Mount Currie at Matatiele and Estcourt at Colenso. The position of the magistrates courts in Impendle and Polela is somewhat anachronistic. The Impendle court is in the town of Impendle which is in the KwaZulu magistracy of Hlanganani and not within the magistracy of Impendle. It is staffed by KwaZulu. The Polela magistrate's court sits in Bulwer on a couple of days each week. It is staffed by a KwaZulu magistrate who has been seconded from Pretoria.

Although magistrates courts are staffed by persons from the Department of Justice and may have a judicial or "court orientated" public image, many of the tasks they perform might more correctly be termed administrative. The recording of births, deaths and marriages; the issuing of identity documents and vehicle and trading licences; the registering of persons for pensions etc. are examples of some of the many functions performed by the staff of the magistrates courts.

There can be few people who do not have to attend the magistrate's court at some time in their life. It is therefore important that access to the courts should be easy for all. The existence of only one court in most magistracies means that some people may have to travel considerable distances to reach the court. Indeed in some magistracies it may not be possible to travel to the court and back in one day, if use has to be made of public



**Table 19: Natal: Location of Magistrates Courts**

Magistracy	Magistrates' Court
1. MOUNT CURRIE	KOKSTAD, MATATIELE (Sub-Office)
2. ALFRED	HARDING
3. PORT SHEPSTONE	PORT SHEPSTONE
4. UMZINTO	SCOTTBURGH
5. IXOPO	IXOPO
6. POLELA	BULWER
7. UNDERBERG	HIMEVILLE
8. IMPENDLE	IMPENDLE
9. RICHMOND	RICHMOND
10. CAMPERDOWN	CAMPERDOWN
11. PIETERMARITZBURG	PIETERMARITZBURG
12. LIONSRIVER	HOWICK
13. NEW HANOVER	NEW HANOVER
14. MOOI RIVER	MOOI RIVER
15. ESTCOURT	ESTCOURT, COLENZO (Sub-Office)
16. WEENEN	WEENEN
17. BERGVILLE	BERGVILLE
18. UMVOTI	GREYTOWN
19. KRANSKOP	KRANSKOP
20. DURBAN	DURBAN
21. INANDA	VERULAM
22. PINETOWN	PINETOWN
23. KLIPRIVER	LADYSMITH
24. GLENCOE	GLENCOE
25. DUNDEE	DUNDEE
26. DANNHAUSER	DANNHAUSER
27. NEWCASTLE	NEWCASTLE
28. UTRECHT	UTRECHT
29. PAULPIETERSBURG	PAULPIETERSBURG
30. VRYHEID	VRYHEID
31. NGOTSHE	LOUWSBURG, MAGUDU (Sub-Office)
32. LOWER TUGELA	STANGER
33. MTUNZINI	MTUNZINI
34. ESHOWE	ESHOWE
35. MTONJANENI	MELMOTH
36. BABANANGO	BABANANGO
37. LOWER UMFOLOZI	EMPANGENI
38. HLABISA	MTUBATUBA

transport. This may give rise to difficulties, particularly for rural blacks who may be forced to stay overnight in a town which has no black residential area.

Despite the fact that the majority of the population of most magistracies is black some magistrates courts do not deal with blacks when it comes to what might be regarded as

"own affairs". This practice however predated the 1983 Constitution and cannot be explained by it. In these magistracies blacks are unable to register births, obtain identity documents, apply for pensions etc. They are forced to complete these activities either in KwaZulu or a neighbouring RSA magistracy which does supply these services for blacks.

#### **4.5.2. Police Stations**

Map 4 locates 172 police stations in Natal. The distribution per magisterial district ranges from 1 to 15 and averages 4,5. The South African Police are responsible for the maintenance of law and order and their jurisdiction extends to all persons, regardless of race. Most of the population of Natal has reasonable access to police stations and they are the arm of the state the public can most readily contact.

Persons of all races staff police stations. The composition of the staff of local police stations probably reflects the racial breakdown of the total population more accurately than that of most state services. This creates its own problems for the South African Police. There are 172 police stations in Natal but only 22 black residential areas. Accordingly many black policemen are required to live considerable distances from their workplace. Some are able to find accommodation in nearby KwaZulu. They would however be unlikely to be able to obtain secure title to such a home for which they would therefore be unable to get any sort of housing loan. Where there is no local accommodation available black policemen may be forced to become illegal squatters. The large squatter settlement outside Nyoni on the North Coast is said to have been started by policemen stationed at Nyoni who had nowhere to live.

#### **4.5.3. Post Offices**

There are 143 post offices in Natal. The distribution by magisterial district ranges from 1 to 45 and averages 3,8. Although post offices used to be racially segregated today they deal with all members of the public in one office. Whites, Indians and coloureds may collect their social pensions from the post office but this service is not available to blacks.

The staffing of post offices, particularly in the rural areas, does not usually reflect the racial composition of the public they serve. This may give rise to difficulties where staff are unable to speak the language of the public, particularly where the latter are illiterate. However were the post office to employ more blacks in towns which did not have black townships those employees would experience the same housing problems as policemen

do. Moves to privatize the post office might be expected to lead to increasing deracialization of staff.

Telephones are increasing in importance as a medium of communication. They have a particular attraction for illiterate people. The incomes of most black rural dwellers do not allow for private telephones, and most rural populations are too dispersed to warrant the erection of pay phones. Any policy which led to an increasing concentration of rural populations or the growth of rural towns would have important implications for the development of the telephone system.

### Notes

- 1 Currently 75 percent of building costs may be claimed.
- 2 See Map 2 for the location of schools and Map 5 for the location of black townships.
- 3 He might however have to refund a proportion of any subsidy he may have received from the DET if he doesn't keep the school open for nine years and eleven months after receiving the subsidy.
- 4 This age group was selected on the basis that very few black children start school before the age of five and that, in rural areas where there are very few secondary schools, most have left before the age of 16. Ardington's 1985 survey on farms in the Natal Midlands and North Coast found that 82,5 percent of scholars were between the ages of 7 and 16. The school system is designed to cover 12 years. Many children however repeat one or more standards, and the number of years actually spent at school varies according to attitudes to education, economic factors and availability of facilities. The 1985 survey found school attendance levels to be related to accessibility to schooling. On the coast where the median walking time to school was 30 minutes 30 percent of potential scholars were not at school, whereas in the Midlands where the median walking time was 10 minutes this was only true of 3.5 percent of the children.
- 5 No accurate information is available as to what percentage of black rural children are or are not at school. From the Census it is possible to establish the number and the ages of rural children. The number of black children at school in rural areas can be obtained from the Department of Education and Training. However there is no way in which the children recorded by the Census as being resident in a particular enumerator subdistrict can be related to those the Department records as being at school in that area. It is only possible to compare the number of children at school with the number of potential scholars in an area. The 5 - 15 age group is an underrepresentation of the size of the group which ideally should be at school as it does not allow one year for each standard, let alone repeats. When therefore it is calculated, using this age group and DET enrolment figures, that the equivalent of 44,4 percent of potential black rural scholars are at school in Natal, this exaggerates the extent to which the educational needs of rural blacks are being met.
- 6 In the farm schools surveyed for a study in the Natal midlands and north coast up to 90 percent of pupils came from farms other than that on which the school was situated (Ardington:1984).
- 7 According to the 1985 Census there were 185 463 persons between the ages of 5 and 15 in rural Natal. There were approximately 7500 farms. If all these persons were resident on farms an average of 25 would reside on each farm. However many of these persons reside in small towns or villages or in peri-urban settlements.

The Census defines as rural anyone who does not reside in an area controlled by a local authority. Map 9 distinguishes urban and rural areas according to the Census. It indicates that many small towns and areas of closer settlement are classified rural.

- 8 Mobiles operating from the ex-Departmental (now NPA) hospitals which are in KwaZulu form part of KwaZulu's and not Natal's health service.
- 9 See page 2.
- 10 If the HSRC formula to allow for the undercount is applied the percentage of the white population which is 65+ would increase to 10.4 percent and that for blacks decrease to 2,7 percent.
- 11 Women aged 60 or older and men aged 65 or older.

## **CHAPTER FIVE : IMPROVING ACCESS IN RURAL AREAS**

### **5.1. INTRODUCTION**

The descriptions and statistics contained in previous chapters place the inferior position of rural blacks in regard to access to certain basic needs beyond doubt. Their urban and homeland brothers are generally in a better, if nonetheless unsatisfactory, position and this is certainly true of members of other race groups.

It is suggested that access to basic needs for blacks in rural Natal would automatically improve were third tier government extended to rural dwellers and rural towns opened to persons of all race groups.

### **5.2. LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND BLACK REPRESENTATION**

There is no third tier or local government for rural dwellers in Natal. It was pointed out in the sections on service delivery and health, amongst others, that this has resulted in a serious bias against rural dwellers in the delivery of some state services. Rural people have obtained access to certain services which are supplied in urban areas but are frequently at a considerable disadvantage having to travel long distances to perform simple functions such as the registration of a birth. The result is that these tasks are often avoided which inevitably gives rise to difficulties in later years.

The level of state services available to rural dwellers would be considerably improved if they were incorporated into the third tier levels of government and could therefore ensure that they received their fair share of state services. A white health committee of a town in an area where most of the population is black and rural cannot be expected to strive for a level of health care for rural blacks equivalent to that of urban dwellers. The jurisdiction of local authorities does not extend to residents of surrounding rural areas. The structure of local government is such that they are not expected to or designed to service rural communities and they are not able to collect rates from them.

No rural dwellers are represented at third tier level but black rural dwellers have no democratic rights at any level. They are taxed on the same basis as all other South Africans but in return receive services at a very much lower level than their fellow citizens. Their lack of political representation denies them the means of enforcing their rights. At local, provincial and national level they are entirely at the mercy of other groups, whether black or white, to represent them in their quest for equality.

### 5.3. BRINGING THE STATE TO RURAL PEOPLE

There are four times as many police stations as magistrates courts and almost as many post offices. There is little reason why one or other or both could not be utilized as representatives of the state at local government level. In this way the ease with which the public could interact with the state could in certain instances be increased fourfold. Police stations could, for example, be given the necessary staff and jurisdiction to enable them to register births and deaths. As representatives of the state they should be able to register the birth of a baby of any race, regardless of the Group Area in which the station is positioned or in which the baby was born.

Since taking over the payment of social pensions for blacks from the Department of Development Aid the Community Services Division of the NPA has established a number of regional offices specifically to deal with pension matters. This has been a commendable and effective effort to improve the level of service to black pensioners. However the distribution of black pensioners in Natal, as indicated on Map F, is so dispersed that there are few areas which warrant such an office on a permanent basis. Were state officials, who were competent to deal with a number of matters (which previously could only be attended to at a magistrates court), to be placed in police stations or post offices the level of state service could be significantly improved for all rural dwellers, not just pensioners.

The tendency of state departments to operate independently of one another needs to be reversed in rural areas if an improved access to services is to be achieved. There is generally no scope for specialization in rural areas. Pension teams having travelled to remote corners of the country need to do more than hand over money. As a start they could take the opportunity to check the general health of those who have come to the pension point. Ideally they should use the opportunity to enquire into the health and welfare of all resident in the areas of the payment point.

The Hoexter Commission in 1983 produced widespread evidence of a desire for the separation of the administrative and judicial functions of the magistrates courts. This came not only from the Department of Justice but from many other quarters as well. The arguments for separation are generally sound and where the staff and work load of the courts is sufficiently large to allow for a splitting of functions without closure of one section this would no doubt be ideal. At present the staff of the magistrates courts act on behalf of a number of government departments which have no representatives at

magisterial level. For example they represent the Department of the Interior when they register a birth and they represent the Department of Welfare when they register a pensioner. If these tasks are to be taken away from the magistrate's court this should be done in such a way that the level of service offered the public does not deteriorate. All the different government departments cannot afford to have their own representatives at magisterial level. However there is no reason why a number of different departments could not be jointly represented by a local government official at this level. In many senses the Department of Justice does just this at present. It would be to the benefit of rural people if state officials were to be placed in police stations, post offices or local government offices to perform functions similar to those being carried out in the magistrates courts today. Were this to be done the administrative functions of the courts could be separated from the judicial functions without the level of service to the public falling. Indeed if these functions were performed in a number of local authority offices rather than in just one magistrate's court in each magisterial district the level of service would be considerably improved.

All towns, let alone all police stations or post offices, might not merit the appointment of a local government officer. The appointment of such an official would only be justified where the office serviced a population sufficiently large to require the service. Some of the 250 places marked on Map 8 do not have the potential to develop into service centres. It is unlikely that there would ever be a sufficient demand for such a service at a police station at a mountain outpost on the border of Lesotho or some other strategic position. However in some magisterial districts the population in and surrounding a number of small towns is quite large enough to make such a service economic both to the state and the individuals concerned.

What is absolutely clear is that if it is not possible to have **one** local government officer based in the smaller towns of Natal to represent, for example, the Departments of health, education, agriculture and the interior, it will never be possible to have one for each race group. Divided control and authorities create difficulties and lead to unnecessary expenditure and inefficiencies everywhere. In rural areas they make the efficient delivery of services to the public impossible.

The concentration of more people into rural towns and villages would certainly make it easier to improve their access to certain basic needs, but specialized delivery of many services will never be possible. Rural populations are declining and will no doubt continue to do so except where some new industrialization or mining occurs. Effective planning for services in rural areas will only be possible where it is done on a non-racial and centralized basis.

#### 5.4. THE POTENTIAL OF OPEN TOWNS

If authority structures operating in rural areas and small towns were racially unified and all rural dwellers incorporated into third tier government a natural development would be the opening of such towns to all race groups. Such opening might of course occur without there being any change in the current system of local government.

In response to demand the Central Business Districts of some of Natal's larger towns have been declared open to all race groups over the past few years. Local authorities, the Development and Services Board or private individuals could either apply for permits or exemptions to allow residence by races not traditionally found in rural towns or simply apply to have the town declared a free settlement area.

The impact of opening rural towns or declaring them free settlement areas would be varied and widespread affecting not only those living in the towns but all in the surrounding rural areas as well. It would offer rural blacks security that has thus far been denied them. It would give them a base for citizenship, representation and taxation - a means for taking control of their lives.

In a general sense it would facilitate planning for the entire population of rural areas. It would enable facilities to be erected at natural growth points instead of being randomly scattered across the countryside as they are at present. It would enable population concentration and the availability of transport and other services (water, electricity, etc.) to determine the situation of amenities rather than the whims of individual farmers.

The concentration of all facilities in one area would make possible the supply to these facilities of services such as piped water and electricity far sooner than would be the case if they were isolated on different farms. The aggregation of facilities would have a symbiotic impact on the town drawing to it other amenities, services and employment opportunities which do not originate in the State.

The opening of towns would end the State's "inability" to treat rural blacks as full citizens. Consequently their access to all state provided amenities should at least become equal to that of other blacks. It would remove the need for the state to become involved in costly and impractical subdivisions of farms (and the need to obtain planning permission for a change of land use) in order to gain control of facilities such as schools and would remove the necessity for them to accommodate professional personnel such as nurses



and teachers who might be posted to these clinics or schools. It would also enable the people for whom these services are intended to accept responsibility for initiating their provision themselves.

The opening of towns should lead to improved access to houses, water, electricity, sewerage, cemeteries, libraries, roads, transport, education, health, recreation and commerce and increased employment opportunities both in the public and private sector. In particular there should be a significant increase in job opportunities in the service and informal sectors.

The placing of facilities in towns should assist in attracting better quality personnel to man rural schools, clinics, libraries etc. No longer would teachers be forced to accept the housing (if any) offered by the farmer; they would be able to decide whether to buy or rent a house and would be able to make a choice to suit their needs. Employment opportunities for their spouses and families would no longer be restricted to agriculture or migrancy. Teachers, frequently former urban dwellers, would no longer be required to lead an isolated existence surrounded by people with whom they might have little in common. Finally they would be independent and fully entitled to participate in any form of local government that might be instituted.

The opening of towns would make possible the centralization and rationalization of schools from which the schools would benefit in a number of ways. Increased numbers would make it possible to improve staff student ratios, to eliminate (as far as is possible in rural areas) multi-standard classes and provide education to higher levels. Centralization should decrease overall the distances pupils are required to travel to school and transport should be more readily available to a town growth point than between isolated farms. The independence of schools from the farmer manager would enable parents to play their proper role in the education of their children and the ability of a pupil to attend school would no longer be dependent upon the pupil's parent retaining his job on a farm which has a school.

The opening of towns would have an important, if intangible, impact upon farm workers whether they remain on farms, opt to move into town while continuing to work on the farm or move to the town and find employment there. The separation and isolation of farm workers both from other farm communities and the rest of the community would be broken down.

The total dependence of farm workers on their employer which results in demotivation both in the work place and at home would be reduced. Likewise the opportunities for exploitation, both by the employer and the worker, would be reduced.

Open towns would enable farm workers to take control of their own lives. They would be able to choose whether to rent, buy or build a house to their own requirements in the town or live on the farm on which they work. They could weigh up, both for the short and long term, the security (for themselves and their families), choice (not only of house but also of schools etc.) and independence of town life against a rent free house - but one which might be lost on dismissal or retirement. Similarly they could balance the cost of the relatively easy access to roads, lights, water and sewerage in the town against spending hours collecting free wood and water and perhaps falling prey to unprotected water supplies or primitive sewerage. They could compare the problems of transporting children to school or clinics against transporting the worker to the farm.

Secure in his home a town dweller would be able to choose who to work for and when to retire. His family would not be subject to the control of his employer. All farm dwellers would acquire an occupational and spatial mobility not available to farm dwellers who do not have the security of a home or possible home. The town would offer employment opportunities currently unavailable to farm workers. This is particularly important to someone who has no unemployment insurance and whose salary is generally so low that he cannot afford to belong to a contributory pension scheme and who previously had nowhere to go when dismissed and could not make arrangements for himself or his family on retirement/retrenchment.

The town lifestyle and its independence would enable farm workers better to protect the rights they have and to organize and press for those they desire or are entitled to. It would open the possibility for both democratic political and worker organization.

The opening of existing towns to all should not be confused with relocating farm workers currently resident on farms into especially created "villages for farm workers". Rather than suggesting a form of social engineering it implies that an end should be put to the social engineering that has taken place in the past, so that the already existing towns with sound economic bases which are positioned at natural growth points may be opened to all who wish to live and or trade in them regardless of where they work.

Resettlement in special villages would be doomed to failure. It would be resisted just as all removals, however disguised, are. Farm workers would see themselves being

deprived of their homes, their stock and their right to plough and would view their resettlement as a ploy by farmers to relieve themselves of the responsibility of providing for employees, and by the State to obtain direct control of them. Such villages would indeed have little to offer the resettled. Without a sound economic base they would require perpetual subsidization and instead of enabling better use to be made of existing facilities such as post offices, police stations etc., would require them all to be duplicated.

Most of the potential residents of rural towns are already in the district. The towns are there with their vacant lots, police stations, post offices and other services. They have the potential to service the rural majority far more efficiently than is being done at present and they would flourish in the process.

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