

RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT



UNIVERSITY OF NATAL DURBAN

**K5 — A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF
AN INFORMAL RURAL
SETTLEMENT**

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Centre for Applied Social Sciences

WORKING PAPER NO. 12

K5 - A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF AN INFORMAL RURAL SETTLEMENT

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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 Development Studies Unit.

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K5 - a preliminary study of an informal rural settlement¹

Introduction

It has been argued that the apartheid period up to the end of the 1950's can be broadly characterized as one of allocation of labour whilst that of the 1960's and 1970's as the decades of relocation of labour (Maré, 1979:37). From the earliest times of European settlement in the Cape to the present, the procurement of labour in South Africa has almost always been a central theme in the policy planning of successive governments. The provision and stability of both industrial and agrarian labour has remained at the core of most of these state policies, although the emphasis and direction of this policy has periodically altered. From the middle of the last century a policy of separate residential and agricultural areas, based on racial criteria, was initiated by the Natal Administration. Thus began a process of restricting the amount of land available to various indigenous black communities.² This process, refined and formalized

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1. Our thanks are due to Mike Morris for helping with the planning of the interviews and to Paulus Zulu, Julian May and Andrew Crouch who commented on earlier drafts of this paper. Any faults remain our own. We are grateful to Mike Khan, Jeff McCarthy, Mike Morris, Jill Nattrass and Dan Smit for helping motivate the funds necessary in order to undertake this project.
 2. As early as 1843, the British Commissioner in Natal, Henry Cloete, proposed the delimitation of six rural "locations" or "reserves" wherein the black population could settle. This was directly aimed at restricting the settlement of blacks into those areas set aside for white farming and allow blacks to farm unhindered on their "own" land. Although, not unanimously supported by all the white settlers, the Natal Administration began the demarcation of reserves and in 1846 the Zwartkops Location near Pietermaritzburg and in 1847 the Umvoti and Inanda Locations were gazetted and officially declared black "reserves".

nation-wide following the enactment of the 1913 Natives Land Act is still operative today. One of the major consequences of the tribal areas is that they became labour reserves, which during the 1960's and 1970's, were used as dumping grounds for millions of resettled people.

Freund (1984) argued how, particularly since 1950, the manifestation of a separate development ideology along with a changing socio-economic infrastructure, has witnessed; the eviction of surplus blacks from white cities, the expulsion of squatters, tenants and farm labourers from white farms, the removal of black freehold farmers from 'black spots' and the relocation of thousands of blacks from every corner of the Republic to their designated homelands. The process did not end there for a system of resettlement of blacks within the homeland areas to 'betterment' villages resulted in more forced relocation adding to the hardships already suffered by the victims of removals.

Over the past ten years numerous informal settlements have sprung up in both the homelands and trust lands particularly on the peripheries of white urban areas. Freund described the first stage of removal as being into tents or temporary shacks which sometimes developed into permanent arrangements, and how the new resettlement sites are invariably poorly provided with basic amenities, such as: clinics and access to doctors, schools, electricity and sanitation (1984:57). Relocation still continues to occur and both urban and rural formal and informal settlements will continue to remain an important feature of the country's geography.

Smit and Booysen (in Maré 1979:44), when commenting on the artificial reasons for urban development in the homelands, as reflected in the location and functional composition of most of these towns, argue that an analysis of most of these settlements leads to the conclusion that they generally lack a sound economic base, being little more than economic appendices to or dormitory towns for white urban areas. In some instances these settlements have acted as labour pools for white rural areas, however, a number of these settlements have grown spontaneously in homeland rural areas which service no economic sector and not simply because of betterment schemes. These informal rural settlements are a relatively recent phenomenon which the central State and homeland Governments persist in identifying as transitory phenomena, thus effectively absolving themselves of the necessity of planning and providing. In some instances the informal sector settlers also regard themselves as being in a state of transition whilst in others they have resigned themselves to accepting their situation as permanent.

Mabin has labelled these informal rural settlements as 'semi-urban' places, qualifying the use of this phrase as meaning to imply that the residents of these settlements, which are of urban densities, are not engaged in supporting themselves through agricultural work, but rather through a mix of activities (1986:2). Although he argued that any short classificatory system would never adequately describe these settlements, his assumption that economic agrarian activities do not feature as an important means of support excludes an important number of settlements where economic agrarian activities have in varying

decrees some relevance. It is suggested therefore that the phrase, 'informal rural settlement' may better describe such places in general, with the proviso that the terms: dormitory, spontaneous or planned be reserved for specific case studies.

Method of survey

The survey intended as a pilot study of informal settlements was conducted by the Development Studies Unit, University of Natal and financed by both the Built Environment Support Group and the Rural-Urban Studies branch of the Development Studies Unit. The object of the study was to identify an informal rural settlement exhibiting some of the characteristics described by Freund, (1984) Mabin, (1980) Maré (1979) Platzsky and Walker, (1985).

The informal rural settlement - locally referred to as "K5" - situated in the Nondweni area on the eastern periphery of the KwaZulu magisterial district of Nqutu was surveyed. (See Appendix Map Two) The area and specifically K5 was chosen because of its relative remoteness to any existing economic centres, the nearest of which is Vryheid just over 50kms away.

The major purpose of the survey was to determine the origins, growth and dynamics of K5. Other broad objectives were:

- (i) to identify development needs in the settlement and the surrounding area,

- (ii) to publicize the results in an attempt to highlight the problems of the people in the area,
- (iii) to co-operate with any other relevant interested groups and/or individuals engaged in similar projects, and
- (iv) to further explore any activities which are deemed necessary in an attempt to fulfil the above objectives.

The study covered 26 households in K5. The unit of interview in K5 was the household, which was defined as the number of persons living in the same house or kraal. Nine key informants included the local chief, administrative, clinic and school staff from the nearby Nondweni village (See Appendix, Map Four), storekeepers in the area, as well as relevant KwaZulu Government and Natal Provincial persons. Key informants were asked specific questions about K5 concerning their own special field of interest.

It was decided to use a probability sample based on a modified quadrant, whereupon K5 was divided into four equal sectors radiating from the mid-point of the settlement. Six interviews were undertaken in each quadrant.

Certain factors militated against the use of a scientific random sample for the survey of K5, the most important of which were:

- (i) inadequate and dated aerial photographs and topographical maps,
- (ii) no recent listing or records of the population or households,
- (iii) multiple households within one structure, and

(iii) the smallness of the sample.

An anthropological method was used in order to gather information through open ended recorded interviews which were transcribed daily. The interviewers were given 32 topics of discussion divided into 5 sections. These were used in order to confine the interview within broad boundaries and to enable a subsequent analysis.

The research was completed in four days in early November, 1987.

Description of the area

Nondweni, presently South African Development Trust (SADT) land is located at the juncture of the KwaZulu magisterial district of Nqutu and the Natal magisterial districts of Babanango and Vryheid. (See Appendix, Map One) The area is almost entirely surrounded by rivers, the Magongoloza in the north, Sibiyela in the south and the larger Mvunyana and Nondweni in the east, all of which lie approximately 5 kms due west of the confluence of the Mvunyana and White Umfolosi.

Following defeat by the British in 1879, the area presently known as Nqutu, located on the western periphery of the Zulu Kingdom, lost large tracts of lands to Boer settlers which were subsequently incorporated into the South African Republic in 1887. When Britain formally annexed the Territory in 1887 pressures mounted for white settler control, but almost immediately, it was declared a reserve location. The Natal Act, No. 43 of 1899 delimited the area as,

Native Location No. 18 and it was reserved solely for the purpose of black settlement. However, the 1902-4 Delimitations Commissions opened 11 000 ha of land just south of Ngutu village, and the Nondweni area for white settlement, the former for cattle grazing, the latter for gold prospecting (Marks, in Surplus Peoples Project 1983b:23). These proposals were updated by the Natives Land Act, No. 15 of 1913 and ammended by the Native Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936.

First mention of the area in resettlement proposals was made in the Tomlinson Report, which proposed that Ngutu village, (See Appendix, Map Two) 16kms east of Nondweni, be established as an administrative, educational and cultural centre in order to lay the foundation for a possible black township. Nondweni was acquired as Trust Land by the SADT in 1964 with the last of the white farmers only vacating the area during 1972. As early as the mid-1960's a number of dislocated black farm labourers and their families moved into the part of the area now referred to as K5, but the presence of white farmers restricted numbers to less than 20 homesteads. The 1968 official Chief Director Survey and Map of the area, drawn from aerial photographs taken during 1967, indicates the presence of six homesteads. After 1972 the number of displaced people began to increase, so that by 1982 it was estimated that there were 2000 people resident in K5 (Surplus Peoples Project, 1983b:65) However, during 1975-6 an official resettlement camp was planned 2km west of K5, and came to be locally referred to as Nondweni Tin Town. The major purpose of this formal settlement was to accomodate forcefully displaced farm labourers from farms in the Paulpietersburg and Vryheid areas, as well as squatters on SADT land

at Paulpietersburg and later farm labourers and squatters from the Greytown and Weenen areas (Surplus Peoples Project, 1983b:65).

In 1982 the State, responding to fears that a major cholera epidemic was about to break out, called for a temporary halt to further relocation. While this official policy remains in force today unofficial relocation to the neighbouring K5 has continued since 1982. Aerial photographs taken in 1986 show that the land area occupied by K5 is now larger than that of Tin Town. It must be noted however, that the amount of land occupied by individual households is on an average twice as large in K5 as in Tin Town. The Surplus Peoples Project (1985:65) calculated that the ratio of population between the two settlements was 2:5 in 1982. From aerial photographs taken in 1986, it may be conservatively estimated that the ratio of households between the two is now approximately 2:3. Local Nondweni administrative and clinic staff indicated that there was no difference in household sizes between the two areas and estimate the present population of Tin Town to be 6000 persons. From this it may be assumed that the population of K5 is at least 4000 strong. This indicates a doubling of the population between 1982 and 1986.

K5 may be described as an informal settlement which lacks every conceivable rudimentary service, although recently two very small stores have opened in competition to a larger and more established store. Tin Town on the other hand, has been formally planned with a road network, road lights, road taps and numbered housing. Individual houses have access to electricity, water and the telephone network whilst the village is serviced by inter alia a state administrative

centre, clinic, junior and senior school, KwaZulu Finance Corporation sponsored supermarket and bottlestore, as well as three private stores.

It would seem, particularly after the SADT acquired more white farms in the west of Babanango and south of Vryheid, as well as planning a new relocation spot at Luvisi next to Nqutu, that no further official relocation would occur in Nondweni. However, unofficial in-migration continues in the area as farm labourers, surplus to the requirements of commercial agriculture in the Uitrecht, Vryheid and Babanango districts, as well as unemployed industrial and commercial workers from Vryheid, trek to K5 in the hope of establishing a place of refuge.

The present status of the area remains essentially very vague. Although it is officially SADT land which has not been handed over to KwaZulu, different services are provided for by a variety of different departments emanating from different centres. The administration of the area falls under the Department of Development Aid in Pietermaritzburg, although pensions are paid by the Vryheid branch of the Department of Co-operation and Development. The Department of National Health and Population Development, (Ladysmith branch), controls the clinic whilst teachers are appointed and paid by the Department of Education and Culture in KwaZulu, although one of the schools was provided for by the Natal Provincial Administration. The KwaZulu Finance Corporation built and administers the shopping centre and KwaZulu police and magistrates are ultimately responsible for

providing law and order. South African Posts and Telecommunications provide postal and telecom services from the KwaZulu administrative village of Ngutu.

Origin of residents

"Die nuwe boer het gesê dat hy hou nie van kaffirs op sy land nie - 'n plaas is vir beeste".

The greatest single force behind the resettlement of people in Natal during the past 30 years can almost certainly be attributed to the evictions of black farm labourers from white owned farms. Centralization of farm ownership and increasing levels of capitalization have resulted in greater levels of mechanization, thus not only decreasing the overall demand of black farm labour but also drastically altering the social composition of the farm labour force. During this time period, many white farmers, in response to changing relations of production which resulted in the transformation away from tenant to wage labour, made hundreds of thousands of farm labourers and residents surplus to the requirements of white commercial agriculture and thus evicted them from that sector (Stavrou, 1987).

With the exception of two families, one of which originally resided in the area, having been employed by the last white farmer in Nondweni and the other which moved from the black township of Mondlo in order to keep cattle, all the other families interviewed had originally come from white owned farms in the Vryheid, Paulpietersburg and White Umfolosi areas.

Most of the people interviewed claimed that they had experienced years of severe harassment and suffering as they laboured under poor conditions - in most instances merely for the right to reside on white farms. A large number of the respondents claimed that they had worked all their lives for no cash remuneration at all, but simply for the right to remain in their homes and permission to keep livestock and cultivate small garden plots. Those families which had been forced to reduce livestock to a few beasts or even to none at all continued to work for no cash wage. Furthermore, labour obligations were not restricted to the head of the household but also to the rest of the family. One ex-farm labourer described how conditions of labour on his farm were extended to the rest of the household:

"Children were not expected to attend school but to serve their masters whilst married men had to work for at least three years before they were allowed to migrate to the towns in order to seek alternate employment."

Should any member of the family have disobeyed any of these rules, the entire household was evicted. Thus, effectively, every able member of the black farm labourers household was part of a private reserve army of unemployed compelled to provide their labour at anytime for no remuneration at all. Another ex-farm worker claimed:

"I worked for this boer for 20 years without any cash wages, my wife for 16 years and so did all my children. One day he sold the farm and the new owners from the Orange Free State told us to go".

During the early 1980's a larger number of the smaller white farmers suffering from the economic consequences of a prolonged drought sold

their farms. Many of these farm units were bought by neighbouring farmers and consolidated into larger holdings, but a good number of farms were bought by farmers from the Orange Free State. This heralded a new era of removals as many of the new farm owners reduced the numbers of the existing labour force or replaced them almost entirely with their own labour. Not one of those ex-farm labourers interviewed who had settled in K5 were paid any compensation for houses which they had built, often at their own cost, crops which they left behind nor in many instances were they offered any transport away from the farm. Almost all these ex-tenants had been born on these farms, as had many generations of their families before them.

A generation old situation of black farm labourer's being total dependant on white farmers created an impasse whereby those farm workers threatened with eviction could not conceptualize any alternative. When evicted initial feelings of loyalty to the farmer restrained them from demonstrating their true emotions, but this state of confusion changed towards one of hatred, anger and bitterness as their entire existence was confiscated. This was best described by one resident when he claimed:

"In one week we lost everything we ever had. My father and his father were born on the farm, my grandfather's father was here before the first boer arrived".

This emotional delima soon changed to panic as many workers could not find any alternative place of residence and was further exacerbated by the fact that they did not know which authorities could be approached about the issue. Some farm labourers trekked hundreds of kilometres

carrying all their possessions in an attempt to find a place to live.

One of the families from the Paulpietersburg area commented:

"We walked for nearly three weeks until we found a chief in Nkandla who gave us a small plot to settle in, but there was too much unrest and faction fighting, so after a short while we left. We then came to this place."

Many displaced ex-farm tenants expressed similar tales of woe, having moved around from location to location until finally settling in K5. Notwithstanding the suffering they experienced under white farmers further suffering was experienced at the hands of black bureaucrats. A number of families initially settled in the formal settlements of Nondweni and Mondlo but were harassed, threatened and jailed for trespassing by KwaZulu authorities. The following describes the experience of one of these families:

"Authorities failed to control this situation (at Mondlo) because they had no other place to settle us and so kept threatening us and finally put my husband in jail. We left and came to K5".

This harassment was certainly not restricted to the formal settlements and indeed for some of the people who initially settled in K5 arrest and imprisonment for trespassing also followed but most returned after they were released out of sheer desperation as they could find no other place to settle in. Thus, for some families, K5 provided the only place of refuge - "we were desperate and could not afford to wait". Whilst for others problems experienced in gaining entry into formal settlements - "difficult to get into Mondlo and Nondweni, too many channels" - forced them into this informal settlement. However, for many families K5 was not a last resort but a choice because it

provided a place where a limited amount of livestock could be kept, which was impossible in the formal settlements. Therefore, a fundamental motive for this group of residents was the question of access to land for livestock purposes.

The land question

Following the departure of the last white farmer in the area, the land was placed under the jurisdiction of Chief Molefe who, according to the older residents, demanded R5,00 per annum from each homestead. Over and above this fee, they were also obliged to pay an annual rent to the Nqutu magistrate of R2,00 for the use of fields and R1,00 for every residential site, as well as 30c per cow and 15c per goat or sheep registered as theirs. However, in 1975, by order of the Nqutu magistrate, all these payments ceased. During this time a Chief Mdlalose from Dumbe (near Paulpietersburg) laid claim to the Nondweni area and attempted to obtain an annual stipend from the residents of K5. Most residents refused to acknowledge his claims. During early 1976 Chief Hlatshwayo, whose land was expropriated from him in the Paulpietersburg area, was installed as the local tribal chief. Chief Hlatshwayo attempted to reimpose a land rent but this was again successfully resisted and residents of K5 still continue to resist this payment.

It has been argued that displaced people settling into both formal and informal settlements have done so not only because of their landless predicament but also in the belief that they could improve their living standards. Mabin (1986:3) claims that access to land for

residential purposes has been the major force behind the growth of semi-urban places. Whilst agreeing with this it must be noted that access to land for purposes of production has also been an important locational factor for many ex-farm labourers and their families.

Many of the early settlers in K5, who had a choice of either residing in the formal settlement of Nondweni Tin Town with its rudimentary services or K5 boasting nothing, chose the latter simply because they had access to land for purposes of production. Having ended the hardships of life under white farmers which in many instances was simply in order to maintain livestock and having been expelled from these farms many were not prepared to rid themselves of their stocks in order to live in a formal settlement.

Those residents who still keep livestock recognised that this restricts their ability to migrate to an area which might perhaps improve their standard of living and offer greater opportunities for employment. Nevertheless they are prepared to forgo better facilities offered in a formal settlement, in order to keep livestock. One resident argued:

"The boer tried to rob us of our cattle and we resisted so he evicted us. After this we cannot give up our livestock in order to simply live in a township".

It can therefore be assumed that the issue of land for the purposes of production and the holding of livestock, still acts as a determining factor influencing people in the type of settlement they migrate to.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the issue of land and livestock does not conceal the fact that the major source of subsistence comes from cash remittances outside the area and not from the land. Migrant remittances are the major source of income for most households with contributions coming from family migrants working mainly in Johannesburg and Durban, and in a few cases Vryheid and Dundee. Pensions remain the second most important source of income, particularly for those families having no economically active employed members. Very few people are involved in any type of self employment. From the survey it would seem that, on an average, every migrant directly supports eight people and every pensioner, seven. Migrant remittances varied from R15 per month to R170 per month, whilst pensions were the standard R192 every two months. Clearly very little cash comes into and is circulated within K5.

Living conditions and problems

Availability of and access to adequate, clear running water was perceived, by the inhabitants of K5, as the basic need most lacking. A small stream which acts as the boundry between Tin Town and K5 as well as the Nondweni River provide all the water needs for the settlement. These however not only provide drinking and cooking water, but in the words of one resident:

"People also throw out their waste into the river so that it is carried away, bath in it and wash their clothing - also our livestock, including the sick and infected ones, drink from it. This stream is our life, but also the death of some people".

Medical staff at both Charles Johnson Hospital in Ngutu village and Nondweni clinic endorsed this statement - claiming that many of the illnesses emanating from K5 are directly and indirectly caused by the lack of clear water. Health authorities have prescribed disinfectants in order to clean water meant for human consumption, but the cost of obtaining the prescribed disinfectant on a continuous basis is prohibitive for the majority of the population.

It is ironical that Nondweni Tin Town pumps its water from an underground source which runs directly beneath K5. The water is pumped at K5 but piped straight through to Tin Town without any of it being diverted for the use of K5 residents. A second pump is also located in K5 but since its installation four years ago has never been used. During the drought when both the stream and Nondweni River had all but dried up and more recently during the floods when residents could not get water out of the rivers, people fetched water from Tin Town. Many K5 settlers were quick to praise some Tin Town residents for their help and co-operation in obtaining regular supplies of water, but for many others a different story emerged:

"We feel very exploited by the township authorities who take water from beneath our lands and homes for the benefit of the township residents. What is worse though is that the township residents know that they get the water from underneath our land but charge us for it whenever we need it."

The basic charge for 25 litres of water is 20c which many K5 residents regularly pay as a matter of course, in an attempt to avoid drinking the stream and river water.

The lack of firewood ranked as the second most important problem faced by the people especially since they have to pay neighbouring white farmers a standard 35c for three pieces of wood. Given that the immediate surrounds are barren of any type of vegetation and that no electricity is available - another irony being that ESCOM powerlines run almost above the settlement - this remains the sole source of firewood. It was often noted that one piece of firewood was rarely used for more than one meal as, unlike electricity, it could not be switched off. Indeed one respondent calculated that the money his family spends on firewood and coal is twice as much paid in electricity bills by his relatives in Pimville, Soweto.

Although medical treatment can be readily obtained at the clinic in Nondweni and hospital in Ngutu, K5 residents complained about the lack of privacy in the former and cost of transport in getting to the latter. Nevertheless, the level of service at both was generally considered to be very good and they did not feel discriminated against in any way whatsoever. It was felt that in times of emergency, police from Ngutu village were often very slow in coming to attend to the problems, particularly cattle thefts. This was unlike Tin Town, where police were much more responsive. The pensions officer in Tin Town was praised by all for his efficiency and helpfulness, but his presence has only been very recent many problems having been previously experienced. For years early residents were shuttled between unhelpful white farmers and authorities when attempting to transfer their pensions to Nondweni or Ngutu and only recently have most of their problems been solved. Nevertheless, thousands of rands in unpaid pensions have been lost to many people in K5 over the past

decade. Neither the parents nor school children (a number of whom were interviewed at random) felt that - apart from the longer distances that they had to walk compared with Tin Town children - that they were being discriminated against at school. Certainly, the headmaster of the junior school and teachers from both schools who were questioned claimed not to distinguish the children by virtue of where they resided.

However, a general feeling of inferiority is still prevalent amongst the people of K5, as one resident exclaimed,

"In Nondweni (Tin Town) they consider themselves better off because of the facilities they have. In Nondweni rural areas they consider themselves better off because of the land they have. The G.G. (Central Government) authorities help the township residents and the chief helps the rural residents, no one helps us, nobody respects us and everybody looks down upon us."

These feelings of inadequacy, inferiority and helplessness have fuelled frustration amongst themselves, manifesting itself in confrontations between the older and newer residents. Unable to turn to any authorities these problems merely continue to fester. Furthermore three factions of Inkatha, all claiming sole heirship to legitimacy within K5, have done very little to provide any sense of stability within the settlement, and although no major violent clashes have occurred it may only be a matter of time before this does happen.

Despite the lack of a basic infrastructure and low moral, three shops have been built in K5, a Zionist church crechê was recently completed and an effort to fix the only road - a crescent that run through the

settlement - is underway. Five households have installed telephones and a number of people have applied for electricity. Clearly for some people K5 is the end of the road.

Expectations

Confusion about the permanency of their future residency remains the major stumbling block concerning the implementation of any self improvement and development schemes. This has brought about a feeling of a lack of security amongst most of the residents, as the spectre of a further removal and resettlement hangs over them. Consequently this has caused some residents to view their stay as being transitory.

Although less than one third of the people hoped to move to a better place in the future, the feeling of insecurity was shared amongst most. A direct result of this lies in the fact that no improvements are being made to houses or in the community at large. Furthermore no serious attempt is being made to form some sort of community council, although most residents feel that this would be able to represent their grievances to the relevant authorities.

Nearly every person surveyed expressed a wish for some kind of employment in the area and hoped that a recent interest in a disused gold mine on the southern periphery of K5 might result in future work. Rumours that factories were to be built in the area and that more land would be given to people, were tantamount more to wishful thinking, rather than having any substance at all. Finally, they hoped that

should the land be transferred from the SADT to KwaZulu Government, overall conditions would improve. However, they cautiously acknowledge that the presence of Inkatha or the KwaZulu Finance Corporation had thus far done absolutely nothing to alleviate their plight. In the words of one respondent:

"We can only hope that the government brings about changes so that we may feel like other communities".

Conclusion

The Surplus Peoples Project described the massive programme of population relocation in Natal over the past three decades "... as a basic support of the apartheid system, and a system of dispossession and expulsion" (1983b:545-6). Mass State sponsored relocation had by the beginning of the 1980's gradually tapered off, being surpassed in magnitude by evictions from white farms. It would seem that coupled to the demise of State removals has been a decline in the planning of new or upgrading of any existing formal settlements. Unable to absorb any new settlers, the existing underplanned and overcrowded settlements have ceased to expand. Consequently, the majority of post-1980's removal victims have been forced to seek alternative places of residence, hence the growth of informal rural settlements such as K5.

This perspective would certainly seem to explain the doubling of the population of K5, between 1982 and 1986. Since 1982 removal victims in the Nondweni area have been prohibited from settling in Nondweni Tin Town and have thus been absorbed into K5. It has been argued however, that those inhabitants of K5 who are livestock holders have a

preference for an informal settlement leading them to migrate into that settlement, as opposed to a formal settlement. Hence, the conclusion that land for the purpose of production remains for some homesteads an important locational factor.

Clearly it would seem that the majority of removal victims are ex-farm labourers who are victims of a process in which they have no influence whatsoever. The changing form of farm labour exploitation after World War II, the structural change in farm size, unit and area holdings as well as the concentration of capital, and the process of mechanization have all led to a shift away from labour-intensive to capital intensive production in the agrarian sector. This shift has had far reaching consequences for the re-organization of the labour force in terms of changing supply and demand for labour, ultimately leading to the decline in not only the size of the farm labour force but also the black population in white rural South Africa.

Traditionally a more backward agricultural sector, commercial agriculture in Northern Natal only reached the stage of surplus farm labour during the past decade. Subsequently black farm labour evictions so prevalent countrywide during the 1960's and 1970's continue to manifest themselves in Northern Natal during the 1980's. Protected by apartheid designed legislation white farmers continue to evict black farm labourers almost at will, in re-organizing their methods of production, in order to attain the most compatible formula which will yield the highest profits. The majority of residents in K5 are ex-farm labourers who do not feature as part of this formula and

are therefore surplus to the needs of agrarian capital. No longer the "responsibility" of white farmers they have all sought refuge in an area that can offer little more than a plot of land to build a kraal.

The lack of even the most basic amenities in these informal sectors creates a magnitude of problems which cost the inhabitants, dearly. Indeed, in treating the symptoms of these problems, it directly costs the State millions of rands per annum. A lack of clean and adequate drinking water causes perhaps the majority of illnesses emanating from K5, the victims of the various diseases being treated at State expense. What makes the whole matter so pathetically ludicrous is the fact that adequate amounts of fresh, clean water are pumped up from a source directly beneath K5, but piped away without any taps remaining for the benefit of its inhabitants, whilst another pump lies idle. The lack of health, education and administrative facilities merely compound the problems faced by the residents of K5, who are unable and in some instances unwilling to improve their circumstances.

Confusion as to their future status of residency remains the major stumbling block to any attempts at forming any cohesive self improvement strategy. Although some people have clearly constructed homes with the intention of long term residency, others reside in shacks which could be dismantled in a matter of hours. However, any feeling of security and permanency is lacking amongst most of the inhabitants. Instead, residents perceive themselves as inferior to those living in the formal settlement of Tin Town and the agriculturalists in the surrounding countryside. It would seem that the removal victims of K5 feel guilty and responsible because of their

circumstances, having resigned themselves to waiting for something which will improve their standard of living, yet knowing that their expectations are unlikely to materialise.

Recommendations

In presenting the following recommendations, it is hoped that they might provide the essential starting point towards a cohesive strategy which would improve the standard of living of K5 residents and set about formalising the settlement.

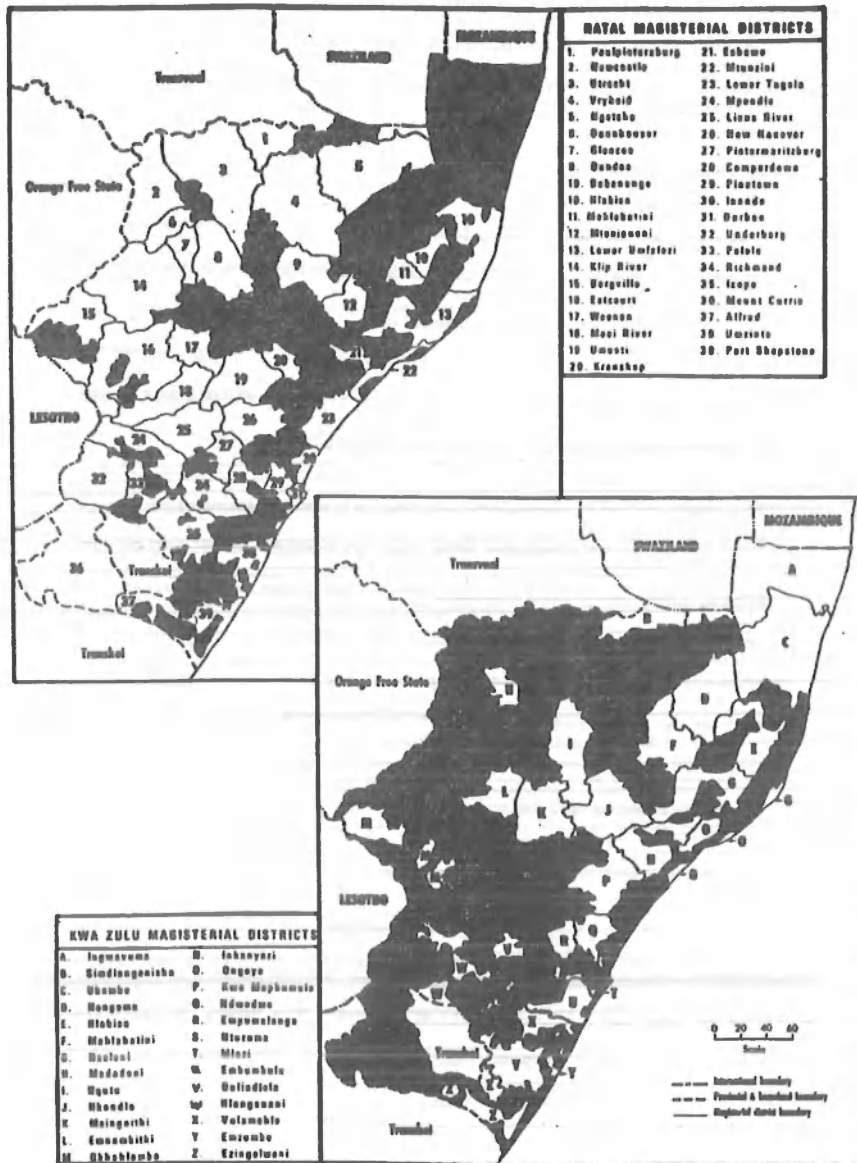
- i. First and foremost, it is the moral obligation of all concerned State and quasi-state authorities to clarify the issue relating to the future status of the land i.e. when and how the SADT will hand over Nondweni to the KwaZulu Government. This would almost immediately ease the confusion still prevalent in peoples minds with respect to the permanency and legitimacy of their residence.
- ii. Secondly, an immediate solution regarding the lack of clear and adequate running water must be found. This could easily be achieved by merely supplementing pipes to the water pumps already located in K5, for the purpose of that settlement. A number of street taps would alleviate the immediate health problem. The responsibility for this should lie with the Department of Development Aid.
- iii. Thirdly, with both advice and help of relevant development aid agencies viz. Urban Foundation, Rural Foundation, Built Environment Group, Red Cross, etc. a co-ordinated self help

strategy aimed at improving housing, land and the public infrastructure could be implemented. A woodlot scheme similar to those implemented in Lesotho would go a long way in providing some of the wood materials utilized by the settlement (Powell and Wellings, 1983).

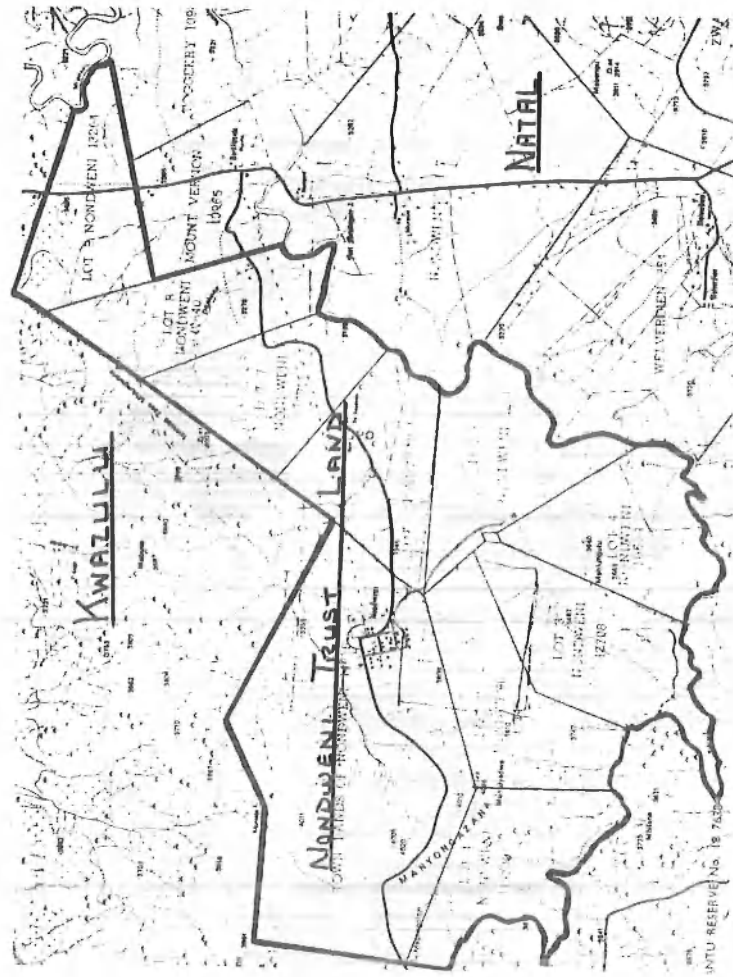
- iv. Fourthly, it is imperative that whoever the ultimate governing authorities are to be, that they should provide an administrative centre in K5. The appointment of a development aid and a community worker, would be essential as a first step in attempting to redress some of the more urgent problems and begin to service the area with a the long term plan in view.
- v. Finally, to the residents of K5, although accepting their constraints it is necessary that they themselves break out of the apathy that many find themselves in and adopt a more positive outlook into the future. This they can only achieve as a cohesive unit and as a starting point they can do so by initiating a community organisation that many have spoken about. Only they can present their problems and discuss solutions with other interested and relevant bodies, and must not rely on others to represent them.

The future of K5 is linked to that of Nondweni at large and given the growth rate within the region it is possible that in a few years there will be no spatial differentiation between Tin Town, K5 and the surrounding villages. Nondweni Tin Town, K5 and surrounding villages should ultimately be treated as one.

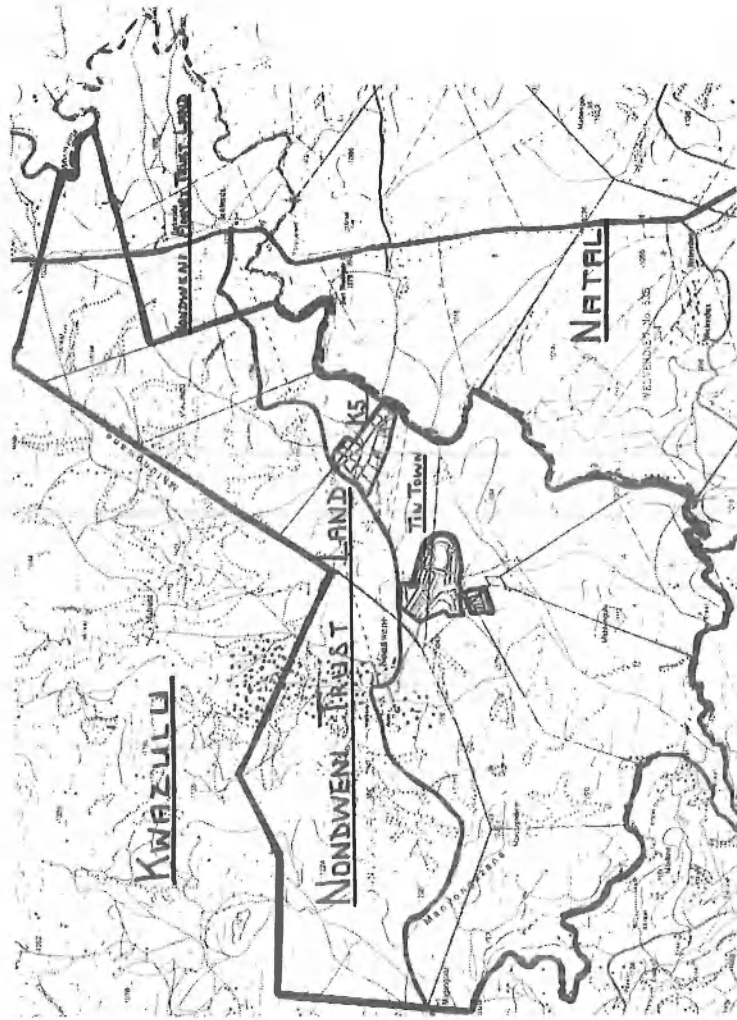
Map One: Natal and KwaZulu Magisterial Districts



Map Three: Nondweni, 1967



Map Four: Nondweni, 1986



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