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RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT

**SEARCHING FOR STABILITY:
RESIDENTIAL MIGRATION
AND COMMUNITY CONTROL
IN MARIANHILL**

Catherine Cross, Simon Bekker,
Craig Clark and Carey Wilson

Working Paper No. 23

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL DURBAN



SEARCHING FOR STABILITY

Residential Migration and Community Control in Mariannhill

Catherine Cross
Simon Bekker
Craig Clark
Carey Wilson

Centre for Social and Development Studies

University of Natal
Durban

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RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT

The Rural Urban Studies Unit was founded in 1983 with support from 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 within the Centre for Social and Development Studies (previously the Centre for Applied Social Sciences and the Development Studies Unit). This unit was directed by the late Professor Jill Nattrass until 1987. From 1989, Professor Simon Bekker has taken over its direction.

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The Centre for Social and Development Studies was established in 1988 through the merger of the Centre for Applied Social Science and the Development Studies Unit. The purpose of the centre is to focus university research in such a way as to make it relevant to the needs of the surrounding developing communities, to generate general awareness of development problems and to assist in aiding the process of appropriate development planning.

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February 1992

Catherine Cross
Senior Research Fellow
Rural-Urban Studies Unit
CSDS

Simon Bekker
Director
CSDS

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CHAPTER ONE . INTRODUCTION

Population growth in the Durban Functional Region is now running at an unprecedented rate, and may nearly double the present regional population by the year 2000. This increase will severely overstrain facilities and invalidate existing policy planning unless steps are taken to estimate and provide for the numbers of new residents.

More than two-thirds of the present population of the Durban area is statutorily defined as black, and this proportion is expected to increase. Over 60 percent of this black population now lives in informal settlements, usually under constrained and unsatisfactory material conditions. These conditions have been identified as a main cause of civil violence and unrest. In the next ten years it is expected that most of an anticipated 100 000 in-migrants per year will enter such informal settlements, compounding the difficulty of maintaining a stable metropolitan community under conditions satisfactory to new and old residents alike.

This stream of migration into the Durban-area informal settlements is therefore of critical significance to the environment for policy planning in the entire Natal region. These in-migrant families, whether of rural or urban origin, will be entering the greatest concentration of 'have-nots' in the province. They will require delicate participatory planning in order to create safe and satisfactory living conditions. Their needs and perceptions, and the perceptions of the informal-settlement residents already in occupation towards these new people, constitute data vital for successful urban planning in the Durban region as well as in the wider national context.

The research inquiry reported here has addressed these issues in relation to Mariannahill, a settlement of long standing in the West Durban informal region. It attempts to explore the origins, history, economic standing and perceptions of the families which have migrated into or within Mariannahill since the end of influx control, and to put this information into context in relation to studies done elsewhere in the Durban Functional Region.

The results are in some ways startling. They suggest that Mariannhill can perhaps be interpreted as a community that offers paths into the future, and to real hopes of peace and development in the new South Africa. If trends here are understood in their national context, some of the findings may have nation-wide implications for the planning and management of urbanisation.

CHAPTER TWO : THE CONTEXT OF THEORY

The older context of international theory concerned with urbanisation has assumed that migration from rural districts to urban centres is a simple and direct process. In these models, population moves according to a gravity flow principle from rural districts into town, where it will remain unless external circumstances intervene. More recently, there has begun to be considerable question as to whether or not this model of a distinct and permanent urban transition really applies in the Third World (Mabin 1990).

Instead of rural populations moving across this indefinable barrier to become permanent urban populations, it has become evident that complex migration interaction between urban and rural areas is a normal event. Some of this interaction takes the form of circular migration, where individuals or families move back and forth between 'urban' and 'rural' bases. In others, it takes shape as a refusal to submit to urbanisation (by investing important resources in the urban area), in favour of investing in rural or quasi-rural communities of origin instead (Cobbett 1989, Bekker, 1990). This reluctance of a 'rural' and an 'urban' to stand up and be counted has implications for the planning of development in relation to the varied communities of the Durban Functional Region.

A number of factors, economic, political, administrative and even institutional, have been advanced to account for the failure of rural-origin families to cross the urban divide unequivocally (cf Seekings, Graaff & Joubert 1990, Martin & Beittel 1987, Møller & Schlemmer 1985). This work has led to a better grasp of the complex nature of migration in the areas around South African cities. It has also led to some re-evaluation of the policy intention of planning for the coming urban transition in South Africa in terms of massive permanent urbanisation.

It is beginning to be recognized that urbanisation is a multiplex process, which may include population flows around and through the urban periphery continuing into the indefinite future. This emerging new focus directs attention to the informal settlements of the urban fringe and the peri-urban periphery as communities in their own right, rather than as satellite way-stations on the route to the urban core.

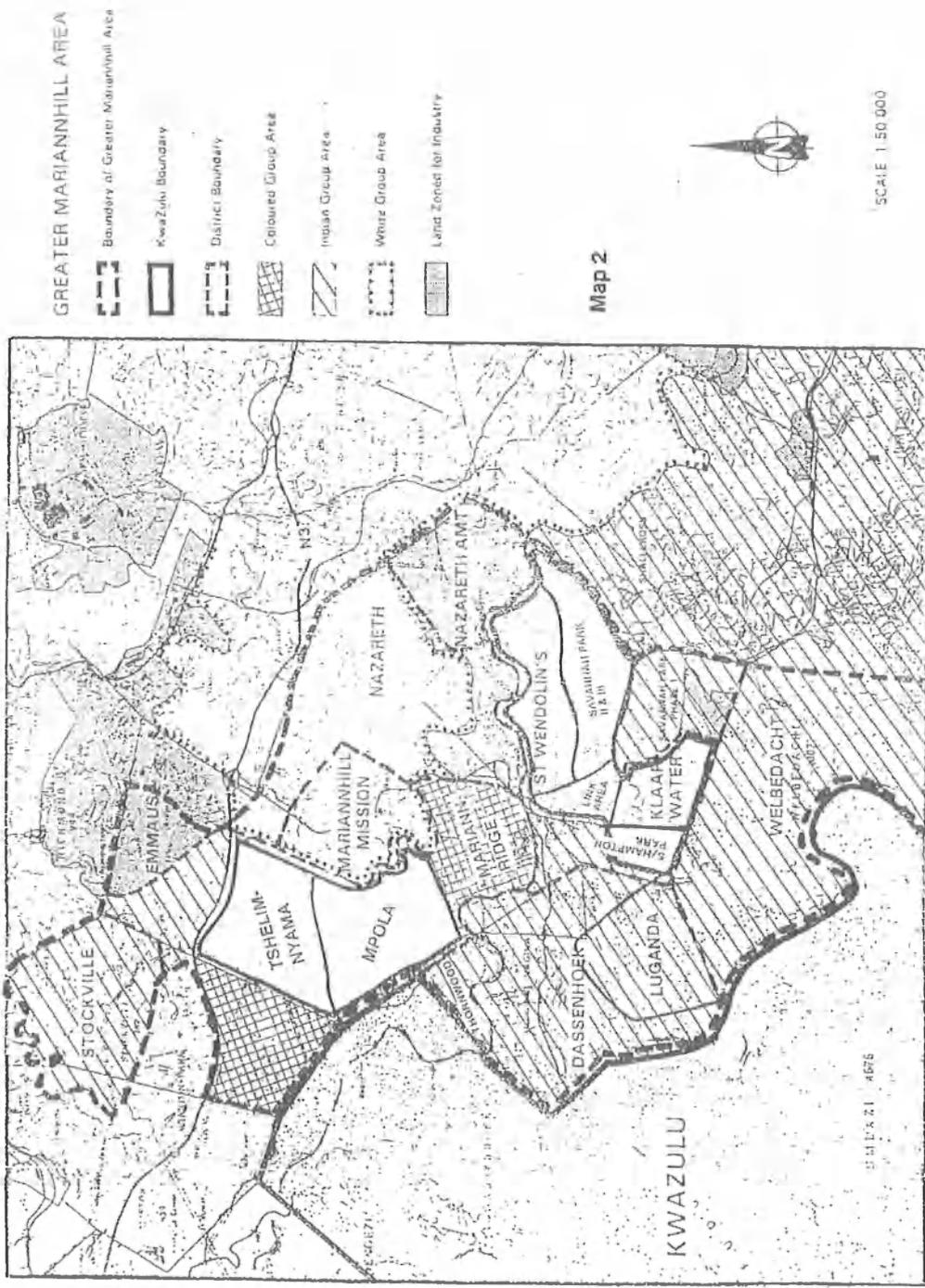
The factors which attract population into these settlements are likely to be numerous, and locally idiosyncratic. The specific individual problems of urban and urban-periphery communities are now being widely recognized as central to

understanding the population flows taking place through them: consciousness of micro-theory (Beinart, Delius & Trapido 1986) has developed along with increased consciousness of the crucial importance of the micro-politics of urban communities (Seekings 1990).

This study of Mariannahill forms part of this approach. The context of the study is one of bootstrap urbanisation on the peri-urban fringe. Seen against the background of the Durban Functional Region, Mariannahill is a community delicately balancing on the edge of the urban zone, doggedly transforming itself from rural to urban.

Within the context of the broad drift inward toward the economic opportunities of the urban core, institutional and political factors are of great potential importance in explaining the space and time distribution of urbanisation in the periphery. The Mariannahill results indicate that, as at Vlakfontein in the Transvaal and at other places (Crankshaw & Hart 1990), most of the urbanisation process had taken place early on, in the 1970s; also, that strong and effective local leadership which has been effective in grappling with local problems has been a factor in attracting settlement. Administrative decentralisation of central bureaucratic functions has also had a leading role in the social micro-politics of migration into Mariannahill.

Much of the Mariannahill report is directed toward understanding the constraints and opportunities facing the various communities which led them to react as they did to the entry of new in-migrant families. The greater number of these constraints are administrative and political; others relate to the endemic violence in the region. The socio-economic forces that have led to an effective encounter between the Mariannahill communities and the local and provincial administration are perhaps becoming stronger as the new South Africa takes form. It is possible that future study of urban-related migration will identify some of the socio-political dynamics of Mariannahill repeating themselves as more and more urbanizing communities coalesce in the demographic ocean surrounding the Durban Functional Region (DFR).



CHAPTER THREE : AN HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DESCRIPTION OF THE MARIANNHILL AREA

3.1 GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF MARIANNHILL

The Mariannhill Region covers an area of approximately 176 square km. To the North, it is bounded by the N3 highway, to the East by Shallcross, Chatsworth and Queensburgh, to the South by the Mlazi river and KwaZulu border, and to the West by the Mgoshongweni rivers.

The settlement areas under study are:

Emmaus Area 1 km². It lies to the north of the N3 and to the west of the Westmeade Industrial Township. The terrain is moderately hilly but not steep enough to preclude settlement. There is one perennial stream which flows out of the settlement.

Tshelimnyama Area 5 km². It is built on the northeastern slopes of the Situndu Hills but the hills themselves are not steep enough to preclude settlement. Non-perennial streams supply the Mhlatuzana river.

Mpola Area 5 km². It is built on the northeastern slopes of the Situndu Hills. Non-perennial streams supply the Mhlatuzana river.

Thornwood Area approximately 2.5 km². It is built on the eastern slopes of the Situndu Hills. There are a few non-perennial streams to the Southeast and the Situndu river arises here.

Mariannridge Area 3 km². A formal Indian group area which is situated in the saddle between two hills and spreads up the slopes of the hills.

Nazareth Area 6 km². It lies on the northern ridge overlooking the valley of the Mhlatuzana river valley.

Dassenhoek Area 10 km². This area includes the formal Indian settlement of Dassenhoek itself, south of which lies a densely settled area of informal settlements. The terrain is hilly - the area includes the Situndu Hills - but save for on the upper slopes of Situndu itself is not steep enough to preclude settlement. The area is well-supplied with perennial streams feeding the Cutshwayo and Mlazi rivers. It includes the settlement of

Luganda Area 1 km² .

St. Wendolins Area 4 km² . It lies on the south ridge overlooking the Mhlatuzana river - the valley slopes are not notably steep.

Link Area 0.5 km² . It is a shallow-sided valley linking Klaarwater and Southampton park to the south with St. Wendolins to the north. Its eastern boundary is the secondary road linking Chatsworth to Mariannridge.

Southampton Park Area 1 km² . It lies in a shallow valley between two hills. It is crossed by a road to the Welbedacht formal township.

Klaarwater Area 3 km² . Built on relatively flat land with two non-perennial streams to the south and west and to the northeast.

Savannah Park Area 3 km² . It lies south of St. Wendolins. It is also known as Ensizwakazi.

Welbedacht Area 11 km² . Its southwestern boundary is formed by the meanders of the Mlazi river and its eastern boundary by the inflow of an unnamed perennial river.

3.2 HISTORY OF MARIANHILL

3.2.1 Origins

The Mariannahill area owes its origins to the establishment of the Mariannahill Monastery in the last century. As part of their missionary work, the Mariannahill Fathers bought two farms - namely Zeekoegat (which included the present-day areas Thornwood, Mpola and Tshelimnyama) and Klaarwater (which included the areas of St Wendolins, Klaarwater, Link area and others) - on which people were settled on condition they were baptised into the Catholic faith.

St. Wendolins was established as a model Christian Community and a town plan was drawn up early in the Twentieth Century. People could get plots for about £10 or £20. About 80 families received title deeds for the land. The Mariannahill Fathers helped them

to build houses and gave them training in gardening and trades. The fact that St. Wendolins is in origin a black freehold area has largely determined the way it and the rest of the Mariannhill area has developed. Such areas, unlike the formal townships, were usually established under the auspices of some intermediary institution such as the Mariannhill Mission, which promoted education and entry into the modern economy, and from an early stage took control of their own affairs and organised the community internally.

In 1936, as a result of the Land Act, the Mission was notified that no more blacks were allowed to own sites in South Africa. Although the Mission continued to provide sites, it could not issue title deeds.

3.2.2 The 1960's to 1980's: The struggle to survive

In the 1960's, the SA Government decided to relocate people to KwaNdengezi and KwaCabeke. In addition, Klaarwater, St. Wendolins, Savannah Park II and III, the Link Area, Ensizwakazi and Southampton Park were declared Indian Group Areas; and Mpola, Tshelimnyama, and Thornwood Coloured Group Areas. Klaarwater, a formal black township, was established by the Pinetown Municipality in 1961.

As a consequence, the Mission's Teacher Training college and trade school were closed - leaving the Mission school and hospital as the only facilities which the Mission offered to the community. Some Mariannhill residents sold their plots to Indians and moved to KwaNdengezi.

In 1979, further directives to relocate the residents of St. Wendolins were issued. The Mission became involved with residents and helped organise a campaign of resistance which eventually succeeded in countering the directives. A residents association was formed, and some years later the Department of Co-operation and Development acceded to the rezoning of the area for black occupation.

After further attempts by the state authorities to incorporate St Wendolins into KwaZulu, the decision to allow the settlement to remain within Natal was eventually taken in 1987.

3.2.3 The role of the Pinetown municipality

From 1975 to 1985, the Mariannhill area was under the control of a Development Board. In the mid-eighties, administration passed to the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA). The NPA administered the area until 2 July 1990, when an agreement was signed between the Province of Natal and the Borough of Pinetown, in terms of which the management and development of Pinetown South, which includes Klaarwater, the Link Area, St Wendolins, Savannah Park, Southampton Park, Thornwood and Mariannhill II, becomes the responsibility of the Borough of Pinetown. The NPA is now serving in an advisory capacity, and will withdraw completely from the area during the next 6 months.

3.3 LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE SURVEY AREAS AT MARIANNHILL

Tshelimnyama and Mpola: These areas, as part of the area officially designated Mariannhill 2, used to fall under the jurisdiction of the House of Representatives, but have recently been declared Black Development Areas (BDAs).

Dassenhoek: Dassenhoek is known as an 'Indian enclave'. It falls under the jurisdiction of the NPA. Service delivery has recently been undertaken by Pinetown municipality.

St. Wendolins and Klaarwater: Both settlements fall under the jurisdiction of the Pinetown municipality.

3.4 SERVICE DELIVERY

Service delivery to the Mariannhill region, as throughout the DFR's periphery, is very limited overall. However, great differences exist within the area, and particularly between Klaarwater, with full township services including water, sewerage, and electricity, and the informal areas, which are largely unserved. St Wendolins and Luganda fall in between.

3.4.1 Water

Water reticulation to the Mariannhill region is principally through a network of standpipes which run along the major roads of settlements. The informal areas also use

water from nearby streams. The bulk supply to the Lower Pinetown supply system is provided by Umgeni Water. Pinetown Regional Water Services Corporation is responsible for distribution through most of the Lower Pinetown system.

3.4.2 Energy

Paraffin, liquid petroleum gas, and candles available at small-scale distributors provide energy through most of the area. Electricity is seen as very desirable in areas presently without it, which include Tshelimnyama, Mpola, and parts of Dassenhoek.

3.4.3 Sanitation

The type of sanitation arrangements is dependent on settlement type and water supply. The informal areas and St Wendolins are largely served by pit latrines, while Klaarwater and the developed parts of Dassenhoek have water-borne sanitation.

3.4.4 Health services

The area is served by two clinics, a mobile clinic and the Mariannahill Mission Hospital. In view of the general demand for additional health services in the area, NPA health planners have agreed in principle to the establishment of a new clinic at St Wendolins.

3.4.5 Education

Mariannahill's schools fall under the national Department of Education and Training (DET). Like those in other peri-urban areas of the DFR, schools in the region are under-provided as to the basic needs of education: qualified teachers, adequate facilities, sufficient classroom space, textbooks, and supplies. To meet this need, the Independent Development Trust has been approached for financial aid, and Pinetown Municipality has offered to act as a channel for communication between the residents' associations and the DET.

3.4.6 Transport

The area is well-situated with regard to principal transport routes. Both a major national road and a railway line pass through or near the study area, and most residents

travel to work daily by bus or taxi. Access from residential areas to these means of transport varies considerably.

The informal areas have no access roads connecting them to the main national road other than informal dirt tracks that are often impassible in bad weather, and residents in Tshelimnyama and Mpola often have long walks through broken country to reach their transport. Dassenhoek, as an Indian Group Area, is provided with full township services by the House of Delegates with Pinetown Municipality providing maintenance; consequently the road network is better developed and well-served, with both buses and taxis operating.

In St Wendolins, direct bus and taxi service is available to the township, but neither service operates after 8:00 pm and many workers consequently have difficulty getting home. There has also been some violence between the community and taxi operators, who have attempted to protect their service monopoly by preventing private car owners from starting lift clubs for late commuters. Klaarwater residents likewise report difficulties in obtaining late transport, and there have been negotiations with taxi operators to get more taxis on the roads.

3.4.7 Housing delivery

To date there has been limited delivery of formal housing into the study area, and most people still provide their own housing. Earth-walled structures make up about half the total, and predominate in St Wendolins, Tshelimnyama and Dassenhoek. Concrete-block houses are general in Klaarwater as it was built as a formal township, but owner-built brick and concrete block houses represent approximately 25-40 percent of dwellings throughout the rest of the area.

There are at present several private-sector housing delivery schemes under way in the area, involving developers such as Innova Homes in Mpola and ComHousing, which formerly operated at Klaarwater and is now operating at St Wendolins. Community suspicion of ComHousing is widespread. Residents have accused the operators of building impressive show houses and then later providing only poor quality, smaller and unfinished houses for actual sale. Acute disagreements ensued over the cost levels of 'affordable' housing. As a result of these disagreements, Klaarwater residents withdrew permission for ComHousing to continue operations, and Klaarwater residents are presently negotiating with the local banks over bond repayments for defective housing.

3.5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE MARIANNHILL POPULATION

3.5.1 Analysis of households in Mariannhill

The average household size for the area is approximately 6 people per household, with the highest figure reported in Klaarwater which has slightly less than 7 persons per household, and the smallest average household size reported in St Wendolins at 5,8 people (see table 3.1). Useful comparisons can be provided here by the recent Tongaat-Hulett planning study of the DFR (Tongaath-Hulett 1989). The average household size in Mariannhill is slightly less than the average household size for black households in the Durban Functional Region (DFR) which is closer to 7 people per household.

An interesting trend to be noted is that black households in the late 1980's in the DFR appear to be smaller than studies conducted in the early 1980's suggested. For example, it had generally been assumed that black households were over 10 persons in size. One of the main reasons for this decrease in household size seems to be a drop in the birth rate, rather than an increase in the supply of housing (Tongaath-Hulett 1989).

The percentage of female-headed households in the Mariannhill region was estimated at 44 percent of all households. This figure is unusually high in terms of the average 25 percent female-headed households in the DFR (ibid). Factors contributing to this high incidence of female-headed households include the ageing of the Mariannhill family (see figure 3), with an increasing chance of widows becoming heads of households, and attractiveness of the area in terms of its relative stability and safety for single women with families.

3.5.2 Literacy rates of the adult population in Mariannhill

Using the Population Development Programme's (PDP) literacy criterion of completion of 7 years of schooling (ie completion of primary school), it appears that 67 percent of black adult DFR residents are "literate". The rate of literacy in Mariannhill is 62 percent which is slightly lower than the DFR average. However, there are significant

differences in literacy levels between the younger adults (16-40 years) and the older adults (> 40 years). 71 percent of the younger adults are "literate", while only 36 percent of the older adults indicated formal schooling levels extending 7 years.

This trend toward greater literacy among the younger population is evident among the DFR population as a whole.

3.6 A PROFILE OF THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE MARIANHILL POPULATION

In assessing the economic standing of Mariannahill residents, indicators such as unemployment rates, type of occupation, informal sector activity and total monthly household income will be analysed.

Across all indicators, Klaarwater - a recently established formal township - stands out as the best-off area, while Tshelimnyama, an informal settlement which is relatively rural, with rapid in-migration and serious violence, ranks as poorest. Dassenhoek stands only slightly better off than Tshelimnyama, with Mpola and St Wendolins located between the extremes on most indicators.

In assessing the economic activity profile of all employable individuals over the age of 16 years (see Table 3.2), Klaarwater appears relatively well placed in terms of the percentage of employable individuals holding down formal sector jobs at 66 percent. Tshelimnyama reflects the opposite situation with considerably less employable individuals holding down formal sector jobs and a higher proportion of unemployed people who are actively seeking work.

The dependency ratio for the Mariannahill population indicated that on average there are 4 dependents per formally employed adult. Klaarwater has the lowest number of dependents, with 3,2 per formally employed person, while Tshelimnyama has the highest number of dependents of 4,5 people to every formally employed person.

3.6.1 Unemployment rates

Two methods of calculating the unemployment rate were used. The initial method employed a calculation that was roughly equivalent to the official definition of unemployment as used by the Department of Manpower. This method divides the

number of unemployed individuals who are actively in search of employment over the total labour force, which includes those individuals over 16 years of age who are either employed, or unemployed but actively seeking employment.

Using this method, the overall unemployment rate in the Mariannhill area is approximately 32 percent. This is in contrast to the Department of Manpower's unemployment rate for black South Africans which was 11,2 percent in 1989, indicating comparatively high unemployment in the Mariannhill area.

Table 3.3 gives unemployment rates for each of the sub-areas. Klarwater reflects its relatively better-off situation, with the lowest unemployment rate reported in the area at 27 percent, while Tshelimnyama and Dassenhoek reflect higher than average unemployment rates at 37 percent and 35 percent respectively.

The second approach used to calculate the unemployment rate attempts to take account of the number of people who are structurally unemployed - i.e. those individuals who would like to work, but are discouraged because of the lack of jobs available. Taking account of these individuals would more than likely double the unemployment rate in Mariannhill. This method of calculation undoubtedly paints a more realistic picture of the level of unemployment in the area, as people living in the various sub-areas saw job availability as a very serious problem, citing that the unemployment rate is presently as high as 70 percent to 80 percent in the area.

A concern voiced by a community leader in Klarwater is that the unemployment problem is more serious amongst the youth, who are obtaining their matriculation, and have expectations that they will find a job, but are quickly disappointed.

3.6.2 Distribution of formal sector occupations

In terms of the distribution of types of formal sector occupations (see table 3.4), it is clear that the majority of employees are employed in low skilled and low paid jobs. On average, four-fifths of formal sector employees in the Mariannhill region are employed in these lower earning jobs, with the majority of workers employed as labourers and significantly fewer as factory workers. This figure is highest in the peri-urban informal settlements of Mpola and Tshelimnyama, with 89 percent and 85 percent of the workers occupying these lower paid jobs respectively.

Klaarwater employees are relatively better off than the other sub-areas and it has the highest number of people working in the 'high' and 'upper-middle' occupations, with approximately one-third of all employees holding these higher earning jobs.

3.6.3 Informal sector activity

Informal sector activity is always difficult to identify owing to its range of activities that are both legal and illegal. Survey estimates of the number of households participating in these activities vary widely. In Kwa Mashu in the North Durban region, the figure is as high as 50 percent - 60 percent reported household participation, while in other areas of the DFR it is reported as low as 8 percent. A study conducted in 1983 in peri-urban KwaZulu indicated that informal sector participation can reach levels where it involves over two-thirds of the households in a given community (Cross and Preston-Whyte, 1983).

An estimate of the rate of informal sector activity in the Mariannhill region places household participation between 12 and 15 percent. The types of informal activity in the area varied and included the following;

- Many shebeens are operating in the region, much to some people's pleasure and to others displeasure.
- Women's groups are also fairly common, with members involved in a range of activities from selling vegetables to dressmaking, selling second hand clothes or selling new clothes purchased on sale outside the area.
- Shack shops and hawkers operate in all areas selling cold drinks, paraffin and small household commodities.
- There are a number of backyard mechanics, informal construction workers, and informal herbalists operating in the area.
- Odd jobs are also performed, usually by the unemployed for those who are employed.
- In the informal settlements particularly, informal credit organisations, more commonly known as stockvels, are prevalent. However, the ability of taking loans for informal business purposes is difficult, since the money is used mainly at festive seasons for consumption purposes.

Earnings among the informal operators varied, with more than half of the operators reporting earnings of less than R200 per month, and considerably fewer (8 percent) reporting lucrative informal activities fetching R2 000 per month.

Problems associated with working in the informal sector were summed up by a few of the operators:

'There are no avenues to get formal skills for people to grow in their ventures.'
'There is not a sufficient market here in the township and therefore few options for business activity.'
'Our sewing machines are outdated. We do not have the money to buy new ones or to get the old ones serviced.'

Apart from a few lucrative informal businesses, informal sector activity is typically a survival strategy for its participants. In Mariannhill, it is clear that there is a potential for growth in the informal sector and although this can by no means address the unemployment problem (given that the growth of the informal sector is closely related to growth of formal sector employment), it should be promoted.

3.6.4 Household cultivation

Small-scale subsistence farming appears to make a significant contribution to households in Mariannhill, particularly in the informal settlements of Mpola and Tshelimnyama, as well as in areas of Dassenhoek. Approximately one-third of all households in Mariannhill are involved in various types of cultivation, with the highest figure reported in Tshelimnyama where approximately one half of all its households report a vegetable garden, a maize field or some other type of cultivation plot.

3.6.5 Place of employment of formal and informal workers

Table 3.5 suggests that the majority of workers are employed in the Pinetown/New Germany area, while one-fifth work in other areas of the DFR. St Wendolins indicated that one-quarter of its workers are employed in the home area. An explanation for this unusually high rate, relative to the other sub-areas is that the Department of Manpower is currently employing residents in a building and training scheme aimed at building a training centre and informal market in the area.

3.6.6 Mode of transport used to and from place of employment

Table 3.6 indicates that approximately two-thirds of the working population in Mariannhill use taxis to commute to and from work, with a significantly smaller proportion using the bus service (14 percent).

3.6.7 Household income

The following figure shows monthly household income from the formal sector for five selected sub-areas in Mariannhill.

Figure 3.1: Monthly household income (Formal Sector) of the sub-areas of Mariannhill

Household income groups	Tsh %	Mp %	Dss %	St W %	KI %	Total %
< R1 000	83	80	71	78	42	74
> R1 000	17	20	29	22	58	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	75	81	65	43	38	302

Approximately three-quarters of all households in Mariannhill indicate that formal sector derived income is less than R1 000 per month. The figure is highest in Tshelimnyama and lowest in the formal township of Klaarwater, where slightly less than one-third of Klaarwater households receive a formal income greater than R2 000 per month.

Formal sector derived income varied enormously between households (see table 3.7), with 12 percent of households receiving no formal income and 9 percent of households receiving over R2 000 per month. These large differences within a community are fairly common in some black informal areas where apartheid laws have disallowed residential differentiation.

Looking at the wider context of the DFR, research reveals that approximately 60 percent of all households are solely dependent on salaries for income (Tongaat-Hulett, 1989). By using this figure, it is possible to work out an estimate of the number of

households who are living below the Household Subsistence Level (HSL). The Household Subsistence Level includes the minimum requirements for an average 6 member household to live. It includes expenses for food, clothing, fuel, lighting and cleansing materials, rental and transport. The HSL calculated for a 6 member black family living in Durban in September 1990 was R631.98. The average household size in Mariannhill is approximately 6 members, and approximately half of the total households are receiving a formal income of less than R600. Using the DFR average of 60 percent of all households that rely totally on formal income, one can extrapolate and conclude that roughly one-third of all households in Mariannhill are probably living below the Household Subsistence Level (HSL).

Approximately one third of all households in Tshelimnyama, Mpola and Dassenhoek are living below this Household Subsistence Level. This figure drops slightly in St Wendolins where approximately one-quarter of all households are living below the HSL, and is lowest in Klaarwater where approximately one-fifth of all households are struggling to survive.

If one takes account of the contributions from household cultivation, the above figures of households living below the HSL may be slightly lower than has been presented here. However, these figures do give the reader an idea of the relative poverty in Mariannhill.

3.6.8 Components of mean monthly household income

Formal income is the major source of earnings in Mariannhill constituting 81 percent of mean household income, with informal income contributing an average 8 percent to total household income (see table 3.8). Pension derived income makes an important contribution to household income in Mariannhill, with approximately one-quarter of all households receiving a pension and/or disability grant. Three-quarters of all pensioners were receiving a state old age pension, while the others were receiving occupational pensions, disability grants or both a state and an occupational pension.

Mean monthly household income for Klaarwater is R1 476, which is a little less than double the mean monthly household income for both Tshelimnyama and Mpola, which have mean household income at R818 and R833 respectively. This once again confirms the relatively higher living standards of the Klaarwater residents.

3.7 SUMMARY

Mariannhill households display a slightly smaller average household size, and a significantly higher proportion of female-headed households relative to other areas in the DFR.

The economic standing of Mariannhill residents differed between sub-areas, with the formally proclaimed township of Klaarwater displaying significantly higher rates of formal sector employment, a higher proportion of working individuals employed in higher earning occupations and consequently more households receiving higher monthly incomes. Klaarwater's relatively better-off position contrasted most sharply with the informal settlements of Mpola and particularly Tshelimnyama, where unemployment rates were highest and monthly household income levels lowest.

CHAPTER FOUR: MIGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHY

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE MARIANHILL POPULATION

It was estimated that the number of blacks living in the Greater Mariannhill Region in 1990 was 46 260. The following analysis of the growth of the Mariannhill black population over the period 1986-90 draws on population statistics for the following five sub-areas of Mariannhill: Tshelimnyama, Mpola, Dassenhoek, St Wendolins and Klaarwater.

Figure 4.1: Population increase 1986-90 in the five sub-areas of Mariannhill

Population 1986	Population 1990	Increase 1986-90
25 260	33 360	8 100

Over the period 1986 to 1990, the population in the five sub-areas of Mariannhill increased by 32 percent, or approximately 8 100 people. For the total population of Greater Mariannhill this would imply a total population increase of 11 231 over the same period. Figure 2 gives a breakdown of the components of the population change over the last 5 years.

Figure 4.2: Components of Population Change in Study Area, 1986 - 1990

In-migration	5 340
Natural increase	3 590
Out-migration	- 830
	<hr/>
	8 100
	<hr/>

Approximately 5 300 people migrated into the five Mariannhill areas surveyed over the last 5 years. Recent migrants comprised approximately 16 percent of the total population in 1990.

Natural increase amongst the population was estimated at 3 590 individuals, comprising approximately 11 percent of the total population in 1990. This was calculated by using the DFR average of 2.76 percent natural increase per annum (Tongaat-Hulett, 1989).

The recent migrants settling in the study area (5 340 people), together with the component of natural increase (3 590 people) represent 8 930 individuals which is more than the increase of 8 100 individuals over the past 5 years. The difference of 830 people suggests that this represents out-migration (people leaving the Mariannahill region) over the past 5 years.

4.2 AGE AND SEX PROFILES OF THE MARIANNHILL POPULATION AND THE RECENT IN-MIGRANTS

The age and sex pyramids for both the Mariannahill population and the recent migrants reflect some significant differences in population composition between the two groups.

Figure 4.3: Age and Sex Pyramids: Mariannahill 1990

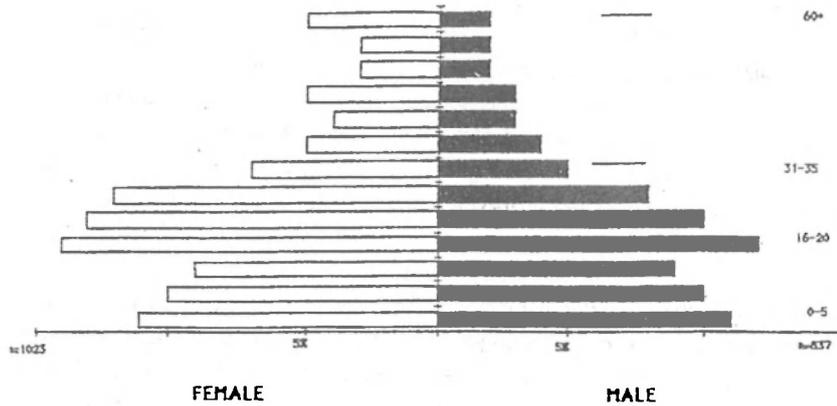
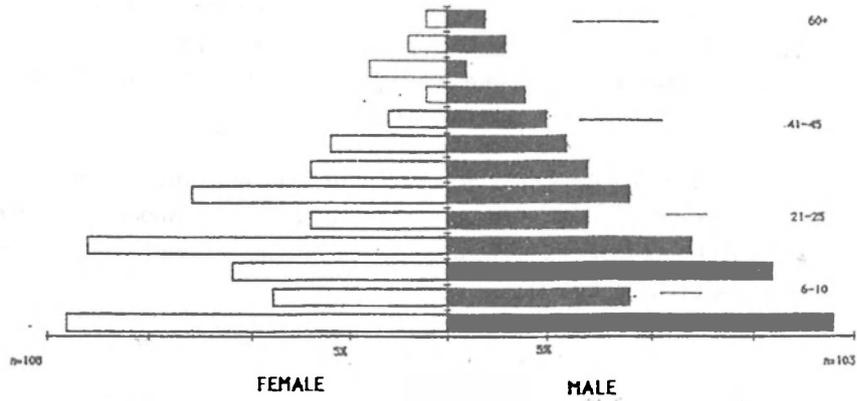


Figure 4.4: Age and Sex Pyramids: Recent in-migrants 1986-1990



The demographic pyramid for the entire Mariannhill survey population in 1990 including all household members (see Figure 3) indicates that approximately 31 percent of the total population is younger than 15 years of age. This is in contrast to the DFR average of 40 percent of the population younger than 15 years of age. This suggests that Mariannhill has an older population relative to other areas in the DFR.

Differences that emerged between the different sub-areas included the following;

In relation to Klarwater, St. Wendolins and Dassenhoek, both Mpola and Tshelimnyama evidenced greater population bulges at 1-5 years with 11 percent and 13 percent of their respective populations in this age category, indicating a greater number of very young children in these areas. In all of the 5 sub-areas, the percentage of young child-bearing adults (i.e. 16-30 years) was high at approximately 37 percent of the total population, while an average of 4 percent of the total population were over the age of 60 years.

In contrast to this 'older' community, the recent in-migrant population (see Figure 4), appears to be a much younger population, with a significantly higher proportion of very young children in the 1-5 year category (19 percent of the total in-migrant population), a higher proportion of youngsters under the age of 15 years (41 percent) and a smaller proportion of young child-bearing adults (33 percent). Only 1 percent of the recent in-migrant population was over the age of 60 years.

The gender ratio (55 : 45) favoured women in all the sub-areas and in Mariannhill as a whole. This was particularly so in St Wendolins where 58 percent of the residents were women. Masculinity ratios were consequently low, with an estimated average of 1,35 females over the age of 16 to every male over the age of 16.

The gender ratio 51 : 49 favours women in the recent in-migrant population, but to a much lesser extent than in the Mariannhill population as a whole. This difference corresponded to the greater percentage of male-headed households amongst the recent migrant population.

4.3 PLACE OF ORIGIN OF MARIANNHILL RESIDENTS

4.3.1 Introduction

To clarify the terminology which will be employed, the following four terms will be used:

'Sub-area' refers to any of the geographical sub-areas referred to in the section on the geography of the Mariannahill region in the previous chapter.

'Migrants' used generally refers to all those who have moved into any Mariannahill sub-area from any other place.

'In-migrants' are those people born outside Mariannahill who have moved into Mariannahill.

'Intra-migrants' are those people who were born inside Mariannahill and have migrated within the Mariannahill area, including those who may have moved via another urban area.

4.3.2 Birthplace as a function of distance from Mariannahill: (See Table 4.1)

To estimate the spatial origins of Mariannahill residents, analysis begins with respondents' places of birth. Data on migration and attitudes has been obtained from the respondent sample, rather than from the total household sample which has supplied the demographic data. It has therefore been collected primarily from heads of household, who make most migration decisions and possess the best information on household composition, employment and finances. It is important to be careful in generalising from this data to the household as a whole: household units are not homogeneous, and the respondent sample is older on average, and also contains more women, than the household sample which more directly represents the overall population of the sample areas (see Appendix One).

Nor do do in-migrants in the respondent sample give a precise demographic reflection of the general population of in-migrating households. Husband, wife, and children may not be born in the same areas. However, if these points are held in view, data gathered from responding heads of household or their spouses may be cautiously used by extension to stand for the mature adult population, subject to conditions.

Qualitative information available for nearby communities suggests that spouses and children of rural-born respondents are most likely to come from the same area as household head, while peri-urban and urban origin individuals most often marry from peri-urban or urban areas respectively if not within their home communities. Estimates given here are furnished on this basis, and should be taken as presently a broad picture on the basis of approximation. Perfect statistical accuracy is not obtained by these procedures, and the characteristics of the respondent population need to be borne in mind when interpreting the results.

In this context, the term 'adult' refers to all persons over the age of 16. To locate the birthplaces of residents relative to Mariannhill, the following terms are used:

'Mariannhill Born' refers to those born within Greater Mariannhill.

'Mariannhill Environs' refers to the area surrounding Greater Mariannhill.

'Other DFR' refers to those parts of the Durban Functional Region which are not either inside Mariannhill or in immediate proximity to it. The DFR stretches approximately from Umkomaas on the south coast to Tongaat on the North Coast, and inland as far as Cato Ridge. It includes not only the central core of the Durban Metropolitan Area but also the areas peripheral to it (such as Mariannhill) which, in terms of their day-to-day dependence upon the economic life of Durban, are functionally linked to the urban core.

'Outside DFR' refers to those areas which are outside of the Durban Functional Region. Residents have come from a variety of different points both within and outside the Republic of South Africa and the TBVC states.

Using these categories, it can be extrapolated that approximately 11 700 study area residents, or little more than half, are likely to have been born in the area or nearby. Forty-two percent or 9 000 of these were born within Greater Mariannhill itself. Roughly one in every ten were born elsewhere in the DFR, while 7 250 or one-third of adults moved into the Mariannhill study area from outside of the DFR.

4.3.3 Place of birth of residents by urban / peri-urban / rural categorisation: (See Table 4.2)

The types of area from which people move can be categorised according to the following definitions:

'Urban' areas are characterised by dense settlement, predominantly industrial and commercial as opposed to agricultural economic activity and land use, a highly developed transport network, and by the presence of centralised service delivery.

'Peri-Urban' areas are at the peripheries of urban centres, and characterised by less dense settlement, dependency upon the urban economy, some developed transport, and minimal centralised service delivery.

'Rural' areas are characterised by less dense settlement, predominantly agricultural as opposed to industrial and commercial economic activity, generally poor transport, and frequently by the absence of centralised service delivery.

About 12 400 residents in the Mariannhill area, or 58 percent of the population, were born in peri-urban areas. Some 5 300 people, or one quarter of the population, come from rural areas, and only approximately 3 400 people come from urban areas.

The households of St. Wendolins and Klaarwater seem to have different spatial origins from those of the rest of Mariannhill. There are significantly more urban-born adults in these two settlements than there are in Tshelimnyama, Mpola or Dassenhoek. The distribution between urban-born, peri-urban-born and rural-born is more or less equal in St. Wendolins, but the population of Klaarwater is significantly more urban or peri-urban in origin than any of the other survey areas.

4.3.4 Social routes and connections involved in entry of migrants

The social routes and connections through which migrants have entered the Mariannhill communities vary substantially. In these communities with limited immigration, most families obtained their homes through family connections based on birthright (48 percent of the total sample of 302 cases). In these instances where settlement rights are inherited, community approval for the settlement of the families of heirs is virtually automatic.

However, actual allocation of a site may be delayed by the availability of land which is officially open to settlement. Unless the parents have inherited either title to, or birthright control of, a large enough plot to settle all their adult children who wish to remain in their home community, access to land has been problematic at this point. Either under influx control or under the more recent institutions of community control, children of residents may have to go onto a waiting list and exercise patience until a

place opens up. It is likely that some people born within the community, either becoming discouraged with their chances or having heard of a place available elsewhere, may have either moved internally or out-migrated.

The balance of the population has obtained knowledge of their present site through other routes. Eight percent went through remote relatives and 3 percent through neighbours, a common procedure when the parents do not control enough land to provide places.

The only other type of connection which was regularly used is through non-related social friends (20 percent) as distinct from co-workers. Obtaining of land through friendship rather than blood or marriage ties is a characteristic feature of the mobilised periphery, as opposed to remoter rural areas where the practice is less common.

Minor connections through which information about sites was also obtained include the churches and voluntary agencies, who are reported to have accounted for 8 percent of cases; township managers or committees at 6 percent; other local leaders at 4 percent, and landlords themselves at 3 percent. Only one family reported going through a co-worker, suggesting that urban-type connections through work are still relatively unusual at Mariannahill.

In a substantial majority of cases (83 percent) respondents report that they continued to work through the person who was their first contact in their negotiations to obtain their sites. Where the initial contact did not continue to assist, other family, neighbours, friends, township authorities and agencies were roughly equally likely to assist by providing advice and sponsorship. Local leaders were slightly less likely to be involved at this stage. However, at the point of actually obtaining a site, landlords at 21 percent and local leaders at 23 percent became significantly involved.

It is interesting that despite the known presence of strongman or warlord activity in allocating sites at Tshelimnyama, the percentage of involvement of local leaders there is reported at only 4 percent, slightly less than at Dassenhoek or Klaarwater (5 percent). In view of the acute tensions and violence within this community over site allocation to outsiders, it appears probable that Tshelimnyama residents are reluctant to report fully on this issue. Involvement of landlords - proprietors of large plots who rent to substantial tenancies - is reported at Dassenhoek (8 percent), at St Wendolins (5 percent), and at Mpola (2 percent).

Routes used for entry by recent migrants seem to depend on whether they are born in the area or outside it. Recent intra-migrants, born within Mariannahill regardless of where they have lived most recently, used close family connections in 70 percent of cases, with other connections being insignificant. In-migrants born outside the area used close family ties in 42 percent of cases and remoter relatives in another 8 percent. These figures argue that recently even outsiders have needed to have relatives (presumably, kin by marriage) in the area in order to make an effective connection; the percentage of close family providing initial contact for in-migrants over 20 years in the area was only 23 percent.

The balance of their initial contacts have been made chiefly through friends (24 percent, as opposed to zero for the small sample of intra-migrants), and in a minority of reported cases through township officials (8 percent), local leaders (5 percent), neighbours (5 percent) and agencies such as church or developers (3 percent). Connections through friends have become slightly more common over time.

4.3.5 Conclusions

Approximately 42 percent of Mariannahill adults were born in the area, while a further 24 percent moved into Mariannahill from areas within the DFR. Thirty four percent have moved into the Mariannahill area from areas outside of the DFR. Approximately 75 percent of adults are born in urban or peri-urban areas, and 25 percent are rural-born.

4.4 MIGRANTS IN THE MARIANNHILL AREA

4.4.1 Introduction

The migrant population as defined above may be subdivided in time, into those who have arrived recently, i.e. in the five years since the abolition of influx control, and those who arrived before then. It can also be divided spatially into those who have migrated from within Mariannahill (the intra-migrants in terms of the definitions offered above), and those who have migrated from a place of origin outside the Mariannahill area (the in-migrants in terms of the definitions offered above). The following table gives a breakdown of each of these. In the minor categories, represented by only a few sample cases, the point estimates for the population at large must obviously be taken as very approximate.

Figure 4.5: Migration into and within Mariannahill: proportion and size of total population, 1990.

Mobility :	During Person's Lifetime		During Past 5 Years	
	%	N	%	N
Born In Mariannahill:	42	8 970	-	-
remained in sub-area:				
moved between sub-areas:	30	6 400	-	-
moved out of Mariannahill and returned:	2	430	(< 1%)	-
and returned:	10	2 140	3	640
Born outside and migrated into Mariannahill:	58	12 380	13	2 780
Total Population	100	21 350	16	3 400

The figure above shows that of the approximately 21 350 adults resident in the study area, some 15 000 (or about 70 percent) have moved at some stage in their lifetimes.

3 400 (or about 16 percent of the total population) have arrived in the last five years; most of these people have actually arrived in the last three years, perhaps since some of the sub-areas were declared Black Development Areas.

There seems to be very little internal migration in the Mariannahill area. Two percent of the population have moved between sub-areas in their lifetime, and less than 1 percent have moved in the last five years.

Many of the Mariannahill communities are not on good terms and only a very small number of people leave one sub-area to go to another. However, a substantial number of people (2 140 or 10 percent of the total population) have been born in the Mariannahill area and have moved out of the area only to move back. Of these, 640 or 3 percent of the total population have returned to Mariannahill in the last five years. This return migration may be attributed to two major causes.

First, people who are born in the area often perceive the metropolitan core as a more desirable place in which to live, and so move out; later, unable to find satisfaction, they return to the area of their birth.

Second, many people were forcibly removed from the Mariannhill area during the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, the Government relocated people to KwaNdengezi and KwaDabeka after they declared Klaarwater, St. Wendolins, Savannah Park II and III, the Link Area, Ensizwakazi and Southampton Park to be Indian Group Areas and Mpola, Tshelimnyama, and Thornwood to be Coloured Group Areas. Some St. Wendolins residents sold their plots to Indians and moved to KwaNdengezi, and some of these have subsequently returned.

4.4.2 Where do the recent in-migrants come from? (See Table 4.3)

All adults not born in their present communities of residence are described as 'migrants' for purposes of analysis. Recent migrants are those who have arrived since 1985, and established migrants those who have arrived from 1965-85. Adults having arrived more than 20 years ago can be taken as approximating to the settled community. These intervals are based on peri-urban perceptions of the relative insider status of persons having entered the community in terms of how long they have been in residence.

Thirty-seven percent of all migrants have moved from within the environs of Mariannhill. This is approximately 5 530 adults. Approximately 2 570 adults (or 17 percent of migrants) have moved from the Mariannhill area itself, while 14 percent, or 2 100 people, have moved from outside the DFR. Some 1 500 people - about one-tenth of the migrants - have moved from the DFR.

The largest group among the recent migrants is those who have come from the environs of Mariannhill (57 percent or approximately 2 000). Nineteen percent have come from outside the DFR - approximately 650. Sixteen percent of the new migrants, or approximately 550, are people who have come from within the Mariannhill area but have moved from one part to another. The number who have come from within the DFR itself is approximately 275, or 8 percent of the total new migrants.

4.4.3 How do the recent in-migrants compare with older migrants? (See Table 4.4)

The spatial origins of migration into Mariannhill seem to have changed over the last 5 years. Forty-three percent of older migrants (or 1 450 people) migrated from outside the DFR. This is in contrast to the recent migrants, of whom 19 percent have

come from outside the DFR. This can be explained in a number of ways, for instance, the growth of the importance of Pinetown in the DFR economy, and the perception that the Pinetown area is largely peaceful relative to the rest of the DFR. Further, since the establishment of strict controls by the communities on in-migration, it is necessary to have connections to the communities in order to enter them: people from further afield probably lack these connections. 3 600, or 29 percent of all migrants who entered more than 6 years ago, come from the Mariannhill environs, in contrast to the 57 percent figure given above. In other words, there are now more people entering Mariannhill from the environs than previously and fewer from outlying rural areas.

4.4.4 Which areas are receiving in-migrants? (See Table 4.5)

Migration into Mariannhill in the last 5 years has not been equally distributed. In Tshelimnyama, there is a large component of recent migrants: one out of four households have moved into that sub-area in the last five years. Most of these are migrants in terms of the above definition, and the balance are intra-migrants. A little less than one third of the new in-migrants are settled in Tshelimnyama. Klaarwater is also attracting in-migrants, with 26 percent of recent in-migrants settling there. This can be explained by the number of new houses that have been built in the area, and also to the fact that it is an urban area which offers a wide range of services to residents. Mpola has the lowest percentage of recent in-migrants (14 percent of recent in-migrants have moved to Mpola).

Tenancy is an important vehicle for the entry of migrants (see Chapter 6). Analysis of recent aerial photography indicates that the number of yards containing backyard tenants has approximately trebled at St Wendolins between 1987 and 1990, and has doubled at Luganda. No significant increase in backyard shack distribution can be found at Klaarwater, Tshelimnyama or Mpola for the same period. However, it is clear that tenancy is increasing drastically in areas where there is most pressure on the housing resource.

In spite of the recent modest rise in migration, most migrants to the Mariannhill region are not recent in-migrants, but rather arrived in the period from 6 to 20 years ago. In Klaarwater the number of in-migrants of longer standing (in the area for between 6 and 20 years) is significantly lower than the average - only 12 percent of those who migrated between 6 and 20 years ago have settled in Klaarwater.

4.4.5 How has the rate at which areas receive in-migrants changed over time?
(See Table 4.5)

Twenty-one and more years ago, St. Wendolins and Klarwater were attracting the greatest numbers of in-migrants (31 percent and 30 percent respectively), and Tshelimnyama the least (13 percent of in-migrants). The situation has changed today with Tshelimnyama attracting 30 percent in the last 5 years, Klarwater attracting 26 percent in the last 5 years, with St. Wendolins attracting only 15 percent. In the interim period the major influx of in-migrants was into Dassenhoek (28 percent), Mpola (20 percent) and Tshelimnyama (19 percent). Recently both St. Wendolins and Klarwater have shown an upswing in the number of new in-migrants (from 14 percent to 15 percent and from 12 percent to 26 percent respectively).

4.4.6 Conclusions

Approximately 70 percent of Mariannahill residents have migrated during their lifetimes, and about one in seven have moved in during the last five years. There is very little internal migration in the Mariannahill area. However, 10 percent of the total population born in the Mariannahill area have moved out of the area only to move back. Three percent of the total population have returned to Mariannahill in the last five years.

Thirty-seven percent of all in-migrants have moved from the environs of Mariannahill. Seventeen percent of in-migrants have moved from the Mariannahill area itself, and 10 percent from the DFR. Seventeen percent of the migrants have arrived from outside the DFR. Most recent migrants have moved from the environs of Mariannahill, whereas the older migrants migrated from outside the DFR. There are few other substantial differences between the migrants who have moved within Mariannahill in the last 5 years and those who have migrated more than 6 years ago.

Most migrants to the Mariannahill region are not recent in-migrants, but rather moved in the period from 6 to 20 years ago. Tshelimnyama and Klarwater receive the largest numbers of recent in-migrants. Mpola receives the lowest. In the last five years both St. Wendolins and Klarwater have shown an upswing in the number of new in-migrants.

CHAPTER FIVE: MIGRANT PROFILE AND MIGRATION DYNAMICS

5.1 THE IN-MIGRANT POPULATION

The in-migrant population differs from the general population at Mariannhill in certain respects; but at the same time these differences are not as great as what is usually expected in South Africa five years after the abolition of influx control. The unusual pattern of in-migration reported on here appears to derive from the social and political structure of the Mariannhill communities more than it does from economic or demographic determinants as such. With well-supported local civic committees controlling settlement, the Mariannhill communities appear to be managing the process of in-migration more effectively at ground level than the previous white administration, working without legitimacy and community consent, was able to do.

While in-migration has risen on an average yearly basis since the abolition of influx control, the order of increase has been surprisingly small, approximating a yearly average of 2,5 percent in the years since 1986 as opposed to 1,8 percent for the five years previous - a rise of less than 1 percent on an annual basis. Instead of overwhelming rural-to-urban migration into regions such as Mariannhill, bringing large numbers of the very poor from rural regions into the greater urban region, in-migration into the Mariannhill communities has been relatively slight.

In economic terms, recent in-migrants from outside the Mariannhill region are somewhat poorer than the established residents, but far from destitute. Finally, the dynamics of the urbanisation process itself may differ from that anticipated. Fewer than might be expected of the recent in-migrant families originate in rural areas and are moving directly into Mariannhill. Most Mariannhill in-migration appears to represent re-dispersal of rural- and peri-urban born families who first moved to the urban core and are now returning to the urban periphery.

In addition, it is becoming common wisdom in planning circles that most of the population growth being experienced in the DFR derives from the natural increase of the population already in place rather than from in-migration¹. Results suggest that the

¹This belief, encountered in discussions with planners, occurs in some Urban Foundation publications as well (cf UF 1991). The source given in discussions is an unpublished 1985 report by Schlemmer *et al* on the Inkatha Institute informal settlement survey of 1983. This report has circulated fairly widely among researchers and planners. It must be noted however that Schlemmer *et al* do not make the claim that most informal dwellers are urban born - rather, they report that eight out of ten are rural born. Instead, they observe that DFR shack settlements were not in fact reception areas for newly arrived rural migrants, but rather were predominantly settled at the time of the survey by persons who had resided in the urban region for many years, with fewer than 20 percent having entered the city in the previous ten years.

Mariannahill communities are accommodating their own natural increase only slowly and incompletely: in spite of community efforts to give priority to the settlement claims of their own grown children, in-migration still dominates over new household formation in accounting for total population growth. Pushed perhaps by the tightness of settlement management and the difficulty of finding accommodation locally, substantial numbers of locally born families may be leaving the area.

5.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF RECENT IN-MIGRANTS

International migration studies suggest that the truly destitute rarely move to town; the families most likely to join the urban in-migration stream will be relatively young married couples with young children and few other dependents, poor but not destitute, and in most cases employed. The total recent migrant population in the Mariannahill region fits this picture. As shown above, it is younger than the general population. Likewise, pensions are almost absent from the migrant population. At the same time, migrants as a whole tend to be somewhat worse off for income but rather better off in relation to unemployment than the general Mariannahill population.

However, the migrant population is not homogeneous. Significant differences emerge between the in-migrant population of external origin, and the smaller group of intra-migrants, who have moved between communities in the general Mariannahill region. In relation to the outside in-migrants, the intra-migrants appear to be better off in income terms, have less dependency, and are better placed in terms of unemployment.

There is some evidence in favor of the *a priori* expectation that the small group of intra-migrants are a rather more sophisticated and urban-oriented population than the external in-migrants: they are slightly more likely to have concrete block or brick houses than earth-walled structures. They also appear to be a little more likely to have achieved a standard 6 or higher level of education.

Finally, in-migrants are slightly more likely to claim ownership (Table 5.1) of the land their house stands on (39 percent) than intra-migrants (30 percent). For all recent migrants together, 37 percent claimed land ownership against 17 percent of the settled community (table 5.1). The difference here may reflect the increasing frequency of informal land sales in areas now taking in-migrants, as well as changes in attitudes. While all recent migrants claim ownership of their own homes (Table 5.2) at least 21 percent of in-migrants and 10 percent of intra-migrants appear to be living under site-rental tenancy arrangements in which rent is paid to another party holding the rights to the land on which the house stands (Table 5.3). This pattern of ownership, legal under the Natal Code and still accepted, is common throughout KwaZulu as well. It puts previous studies which have reported nearly-universal private home ownership at Mariannhill in a different light, since land rights cannot be assumed to accompany home ownership.

5.3 ECONOMIC ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR RECENT MIGRANTS: UNEMPLOYMENT

The overall level of formal sector employment among the recent migrant population is on a par with levels in the total population. However, there was considerable divergence in employment levels between the recent in-migrants who entered the area from outside the greater Mariannhill region and the intra-migrants who moved internally. As might be expected, levels of formal sector employment were significantly higher (34 percent) among the recent intra-migrants who had roots in the Mariannhill region compared to in-migrants who were born outside (22 percent). People who had jobs before they moved from another part of Mariannhill to one of the survey areas would have been minimally affected in terms of their distance from their place of employment and would have been able to continue working. On the other hand, in-migrants coming from outside the Mariannhill region could have had to leave their jobs in order to move unless they were already employed in the central DFR.

Compared to the unemployment rate for the region of 32 percent, unemployment for recent in-migrants was relatively low. Using the official definition, the unemployment rate for the intra-migrants, those who have moved within Mariannhill, is 20 percent. For the external in-migrants, it is closer to that for the general population at 30 percent. An attempt at taking account of the structural unemployment in the area would place these figures at 36 and 48 percent among the new intra-migrants and new in-migrants respectively.

Although formal employment rates are relatively favourable for all the recent migrants, a large proportion of these workers (85 percent) are employed in the lower-paid jobs (Table 5.4). Over half of all these formal sector employees work as labourers, with considerably fewer (9 percent) employed as factory workers, which generally implies a higher status in terms of wages.

5.4 HOUSEHOLD INCOME AMONG RECENT MIGRANTS

In contrast to the Mariannhill regional population, the recent in-migrants as a whole seem to be relatively less likely to be very poor, though the intra-migrants were better than the in-migrants. Just under a quarter of all recent migrant households are living below the Household Subsistence Level. In comparison, approximately one-third of the general Mariannhill population is struggling below this breadline. Thirty percent of the recent in-migrants have a household income of less than R400 per month, while all the intra-migrants have monthly household incomes above R400. At the same time, mean income for all the recent migrants is comparatively low in relation to the area as a whole.

Intra-migrants are significantly better off than the external in-migrants from outside the region. On average, the total household income for an intra-migrant household is R937, while for an in-migrant it is considerably less at R733 per month. These figures can be compared to the average R969 household income for the region as a whole, and to the range provided by the R1 476 mean for Klaarwater at the one end against the average R818 for Tshelimnyama at the other (Table 3.8).

5.5 INFORMAL EARNING AMONG RECENT MIGRANTS

The incidence of informal sector activity among all the new migrants is low. At the same time, in terms of informal-sector contributions to household income no intra-migrants reported involvement in informal earning, while 8 percent of external in-migrant households did report informal earning. The levels of income involved varied from R100 - R800.

5.6 PENSION INCOME AMONG RECENT MIGRANTS

Only two of the new migrant households reported deriving income from pensions.

5.7 MOTIVATIONS OF RECENT MIGRANTS IN DECIDING TO MOVE TO MARIANNHILL

Motivational factors can be separated analytically into factors connected with entering the migration stream, comprising reasons for leaving the last place of residence, and factors connected with dropping out of the stream, at least temporarily, by settling at Mariannahill. A basic analysis can then be derived by considering entering and leaving the migration stream in terms of push and pull factors (Table 5.5).

Reported reasons connected with the decision to leave last place of residence centered on three major factors: family life cycle concerns (39 percent of all migrants), access to the urban core (21 percent) and violence (19 percent). The first grouping includes the life-crisis events which normally affect living arrangements, such as marriage, birth of children, children starting schooling, divorce, death, and so forth. Access to the urban core includes access to jobs or transport, and also access to amenities. 'Violence' directly reflects the rising need to escape physical danger.

Less-mentioned factors included 'compulsion' (9 percent) which includes any circumstances which oblige the family to leave their residence, so that they have no choice about moving. This category centres on removals and evictions. 'Escape' at 6 percent includes physical conditions that can put people into refugee status or otherwise push them to move, and here appears to relate mostly to flooding. 'Aspiration/advancement' (5 percent) indicates moving to obtain better conditions, higher standards or social status. Lastly, 'social-economic infrastructure' at 1 percent refers to moving in order to mobilise resources to support the family in the widest context, for instance by moving so as to be able to join a network of relatives or people from the home area.

Recent in-migrants show a general pattern of motivation for entering the migration stream not greatly different from that for the overall migrant population. Life cycle factors (36 percent), access (21 percent) and violence (18 percent) predominate for the recent in-migrants. Compulsion, escape, and socio-economic infrastructure take a comparatively minor role at 4 percent each, while 'aspiration' reaches 11 percent.

The pattern as a whole appears to be dominated by so-called 'push' factors, which can be defined as conditions which are present at home which are not wanted or tolerated, and which therefore drive the family to leave. Life-cycle factors, violence, compulsion and escape can all be interpreted as push factors. This group accounts for 62 percent of the reasons mentioned by recent in-migrants for leaving their last homes. 'Pull' factors, which refer to conditions absent from the home environment which will draw people to move in order to pursue them, account for only 36 percent of mentions.

This pattern matches closely to that for all Mariannahill migrants taken together; the only major difference is in the rising incidence of violence (18 percent) as compared to the lower percentages reported for 6-20 (15 percent) and more than twenty years ago (7 percent). References to violence have risen as references to compulsion have declined (21 percent, 20 percent, 4 percent).

If reported motivations can be taken as substantive and not merely as 'last straw' causes, this pattern suggests that people are entering the migration stream chiefly because of conditions they cannot otherwise escape or deal with, rather than because they are seeking the city. More specifically, reasons intrinsic to the life cycle are still the major trigger for migration into Mariannahill. In addition, the replies indicate that the endemic violence of the last few years has moved into third place as a precipitating factor in residential moves, and is challenging for second place.

This result underlines the point that the repeating violence which continues to flare into life at different points within and around the DFR will tend to keep people moving almost ceaselessly, in semi-refugee status. If the present civil order collapses at Mariannahill, further migration will be the result.

For the very small group of ten recent intra-migrants, the pull of transport factors is again lower than expected. Here 9 out of 10 respondents failed to mention the pull toward urban access, while violence was cited by three, or 30 percent. If the trend for this small sub-sample is any reflection of a larger population, it may suggest that for people born in the Mariannahill area urban access is not a major problem, while violence has proportionately more significance.

A somewhat different pattern comes out in relation to reasons for moving into Mariannahill (Table 5.6). Pull factors appear more significant for recent in-migrants arriving, with heavier loadings for 'aspiration' (21 percent), and for 'socio-economic

infrastructure' (13 percent) but also for 'constraint' (16 percent), which in this context refers to being able to find accommodation at Mariannahill while not being able to locate any reasonable other choice. Altogether, pull factors account for nearly all the reasons mentioned why Mariannahill was chosen.

Recent intra-migrants may differ from recent in-migrants chiefly in less apparent importance given to access (10 vs 26 percent) and in more apparent aspiration (40 vs 21 percent). Both come close to the overall distribution for all migrants taken together. This would indicate that the reasons involved in migration decisions have not changed greatly for the last thirty or forty years. However, if the distribution of replies for coming to Mariannahill is compared with the pattern of replies for why respondents who have moved more than once chose the last place they lived (Table 5.7), it appears that access was less important for the Mariannahill move (20 percent vs 34 percent for all migrants) than for the one previous.

This outcome may reflect the substantial numbers of respondents who appear to have come to Mariannahill from an urban area without being urban-born. If so, it could indicate that the decision to come to Mariannahill is somewhat less dominated by the question of transport and urban access than is often assumed, and that factors other than location, perhaps institutional factors connected with the social atmosphere of the community, could play a significant role as well.

5.8 PERCEPTIONS OF NEW ENVIRONMENT BY RECENT MIGRANTS

The research inquiry into migrant perceptions of the environment they were entering focussed on three areas: first, the in-migration process itself, second, felt needs of migrants, and last, the meaning of violence in the community.

Throughout the DFR informal settlements the entry of new people has been a catalyst for conflict. Mariannahill has not been an exception: over the past three years violence has repeatedly broken out in Tshelimnyama between new migrants and old residents, and the same tension has been a factor in violence in the other communities as well.

To assess perceptions of in-migrancy, the migrant sub-sample was asked to estimate how many new people had moved into their neighbourhood of residence during the last year (Table 5.8) and then to describe the attitude of the new people toward the

older residents (Table 5.9). The rationale for these questions was to explore how salient an issue in-migration was in the community context and how new residents themselves evaluated the acceptability of the in-migrant sector of the population.

Under the ideology of black settlement systems in Southern Africa, it is assumed that communities should out of human charity and civic spirit make room for people in need of homes, given that these new arrivals observe the social compact under which they receive a place in the community by merging into the settled community, behaving in a respectful manner and taking a low profile in local affairs (Cross 1985, 1988, 1989). At the same time, it is tacitly acknowledged that cross-pressures in the form of possible conflict over resources and over political control can make the acceptance of any large number of new entrants problematic. This is especially true if they come in a group that is not likely to assimilate.

Under these conditions the phenomenon of in-migration at Mariannhill is perceived with ambivalence by the migrants themselves. Interview questions relating to the subjective position of entering migrants in their new communities tended to draw very high non-response rates from both recent migrants and established local residents, suggesting a high degree of cognitive conflict and a reluctance to take a position from both groups.

For the entire migrant population, more than half the respondents admitted to being aware of some in-migration, heavy or light, into their area of residence over the past year. Recent in-migrants, who themselves belong to the category of people who have moved in and who are likeliest to be residing in areas into which migration is taking place, were least likely to say there had been no in-migration at all. But at the same time, nearly half returned non-responses to the question, in the form of 'don't know' reactions. High non-response for recent in-migrants on this item can be interpreted as reflecting anxiety and hesitancy over their own status.

Older long-settled migrants who are presumably more secure in identity as members of the community tended to claim to know of no in-migration, which may well reflect the objective situation in communities where in-migration is discouraged. While people in these categories were only half as likely to make 'don't know' replies as the recent migrants, nearly a quarter of these established residents still claimed not to know who had moved into their neighborhoods. The question "How would you describe the

attitude of new people towards the older residents?" indicated that recent migrants were likeliest to attribute respectful attitudes to new arrivals (37 percent) but also likeliest to adopt a neither-respectful-nor-disrespectful position (18 percent) or to say 'don't know' (table 5.9). Fewer assimilated migrants were favourable (2 percent, 31 percent), but at the same time few were neutral. In the light of the evident tension over in-migration, relations between new migrants and older residents appear to become a specific locus of anxiety, with both parties reluctant to appear hostile but unwilling to evaluate the phenomenon of in-migrants in an unequivocally positive light. For all groups, the percentage willing to approve the behaviour of new migrants towards older residents nowhere reached 40 percent; excluding the migrants themselves, those willing to approve were well under 30 percent.

Probing for reasons elicited further indications of tension. Although it is socially expected that people residing in the same community will speak positively of each other to outsiders, only 30 percent of the new migrants indicated the thinking behind their replies in terms of genuinely positive relations between migrants generally and the settled local population; the remaining 70 percent of replies were neutral to negative in tone ('we have seen no evidence of disrespect', 'we have never been in a position to judge', 'there are no new people here', 'it is common to youth to be disrespectful').

5.9 MIGRANTS' FELT NEEDS

To estimate relative perceived needs in service delivery, Table 5.10 indicates the rank ordering of migrants' priorities. Water leads the list with 72 percent of the sub-sample and 76 percent of the recent migrants mentioning it. Convenience in the form of taps for homes that do not have them is a major component of the demand for better water supply. Transport issues follow at 65 percent overall, but 76 percent for the recent migrants. Clinics and schools rank joint third and contribute 44 percent for the total sample, but follow a different order for the recent migrants. For this group, schools rank third with 40 percent, followed by electricity at 36 percent and clinics in fifth place with 32 percent.

Recent migrants therefore place a higher rank on transport improvement even though they, together with the established community, consider it good to begin with. Their stress on transport is consistent with the development among recent migrants of ribbon-type settlement pattern following transport routes, which is typical of the entire

DFR peri-urban region and for Mariannhill most marked at Tshelimnyama. The somewhat higher priority for schools over clinics contributes to a pattern suggesting a younger population more involved with the urban core than is the older settled group.

Less important services range downward in frequency from 32 percent. In view of the general poor state of housing in the area, accommodation ranks surprisingly low overall, in seventh place at 32 percent for all migrants and 24 percent for recent migrants. This appears striking in view of the difficulties experienced with the housing delivery process in the entire Mariannhill area, and the anger and anxiety the struggles over housing have given rise to. However, in view of the very slow in-migration now going on, demand for housing at any point in time may be acute only for a relatively small sector of the total population. If so, an overall ranking such as this may not accurately reflect its actual importance in the total hierarchy of needs in the community.

Telephones rank tenth for both groups, far behind electrification, and rubbish disposal and fuel and energy resources come in at the bottom of the list, with 4 and 1 percent mentions for all migrants and 4 and 2 percent of the recent migrants.

5.10 VIOLENCE

Views of the perceptual environment of new migrants begin and end with violence. Conflict at this level in their previous homes is a major factor influencing migrants to choose the Mariannhill area; it is almost certainly a factor in out-migration, and it has the potential to limit or cripple future planned development. At Mariannhill itself, violent conflict has been very severe only at Tshelimnyama, and to a lesser extent at Mpola, though it has occurred in the other areas as well. Respondents' replies to questions about violence in their localities (Table 5.11) suggest general agreement between recent migrants and older established people. 42 percent of recent migrants state that there has been violence nearby, as against 39 percent of the older grouping. Non-responses amount to 2 and 5 percent respectively.

Migrants' perceptions of the reasons behind violence appear in Table 5.12. Numerous highly specific reasons are given for the violence where it does occur, centering on social and political factors (38, 31 percent of replies). Economic factors are seen as relatively unimportant at 5 percent and a number of ad hoc, local-oriented replies occur (21 percent).

In contrast, far fewer reasons are given for violence being absent, and the great majority refer to the essentially moral unity of the community (69 percent). A small number of exclusionary reasons are also given, referring to the importance of keeping strangers out of the community (3 percent), and political factors receive one mention (2 percent). The balance of the replies deny the occurrence of violence without attributing it to any reason (29 percent).

The very low salience of economic factors in the eyes of the migrants is of interest, particularly when combined with the intense stress on unity and correct social and moral relations in preventing violence. The moral reasons given are strikingly clear and focussed, having to do with the integrity and institutional strength of the community in resisting the forces tearing at it. This strong focus relates to the ethical beliefs connected with the settlement system, but must derive partly from the successful experience of the older Mariannahill communities in overcoming polarisation and factionalism through effective negotiation and appeals to the principle of unity.

In contrast, the political factors often cited when violence does occur are very scattered. They reflect no unity of thinking among respondents, but perhaps a widespread conviction that aspects of political relations are wrong, without certainty as to what they are.

CHAPTER SIX: THE IMPACT OF IN-MIGRATION ON RECEIVING COMMUNITIES

6.1 IN-MIGRATION AND THE RECEIVING COMMUNITIES

Partly through the impact of the development process itself, most of the Mariannahill communities have a long-standing serious scarcity of sites available to allocate to new people. In black rural districts, social values prescribe that communities able to accommodate new people should do so, and be strengthened in return by the greater political weight of larger numbers. In Mariannahill, where various development initiatives are in the planning or implementation stages, settlement is partly frozen by administrative measures or by agreements with developers.

In the townships, land and housing are at a premium. Outside of the inherited private freehold plots at St Wendolin's where owners may settle either descendants or tenants, almost no land is available for new settlement. In Klarwater, applications for new houses are administered by the local settlement committee working together with the developers. Substantial areas of open land are being held closed to settlement by the Pinetown municipal authorities in terms of the structure plans, pending formal development. Nor are settlement sites readily available in the informal areas. Only in parts of Tshelimnyama, which has no operating civic association and where sites are informally allocated by a local strongman, can land be obtained without community procedures being invoked.

As accessible land resources have run out, potential conflict over resources and over the power to control resources has surfaced and violence has broken out, making it more difficult for the Mariannahill communities to take in outsiders. At present, residents perceive the impact of in-migration partly in terms of conflict over development-related resources and of loss of sovereign control over the community's socio-political processes, but chiefly in terms of violence and factionalism.

For a brief period after the end of influx control, most of the Mariannahill communities appear to have allowed a relatively free and informal form of in-migration. It is now widely believed that the emergence of violence and factionalism in the area was a direct consequence of this uncontrolled in-migration process. Free in-migration was accordingly curtailed and the former resistance committees took control of the settlement process.

Interview material in conjunction with the survey results makes it clear that the low observed rates of in-migration are determined by deliberate community action as well as by the uncertain state of formal development initiatives. One means of reducing and/or slowing in-migration is through prioritising settlement permission in favor of the children of the settled community.

Another mechanism with the same effect is thorough screening of new in-migrants. Vetting is regarded as necessary because the communities have become aware of the potential for social breakdown associated with violence:

"As from 1985 to 1990 people have been coming to settle here without any screening of their previous records in their old area. An older community official was solely responsible for negotiating with them over permission to stay. Due to the increase in violence in most Black areas, the old procedure has been affected. Violence spilled over into our area where the newcomers were harboured. That made the old residents seek means of controlling this movement. Some of the newcomers were responsible for trouble. Others fought in connection with political rivalry. They used to fight on meeting each other here since they were opponents in their old areas..." (Group Interview)

The implied 'objectives' of the Mariannhill settlement system appear to be to minimise the risk of factional violence while protecting the stake of the old residents in the community, and at the same time promoting the further mobilisation of the area for development.

6.2 COMPARATIVE DYNAMICS OF SETTLEMENT SYSTEMS IN AREAS WITHOUT COMMITTEE ORGANISATION

Settlement at Mariannhill is administered through a sophisticated and urbanised transformation of the older rural settlement system. Under indigenous tenure institutions in Natal/KwaZulu, the right to hold land and build confers citizenship in the community. Site allocation is therefore public business; any black community as a group is assumed to have a legitimate right to screen proposed new in-migrants for good moral character before admitting them to the closed community. Outsiders are often treated with

suspicion unless and until they are well known to community members. In addition, they are expected to defer to old residents until they have gained seniority by years of residence.

With the demographic pressure exerted by rapid urbanisation increasing, contemporary peri-urban areas tend to admit a great many outsiders rapidly. Rapid in-migration weakens the local institutions that control settlement, resulting in a community too weakly organised to enforce its customary right to oversee and control settlement. In informal areas of this type, depending on the degree of control exercised by tribal officials, land may be sold off widely to outsiders by either landholders or the officials themselves. Community control disintegrates, leaving little effective control of in-migration.

Such informal areas are in effect destabilised by the urbanisation process. Institutional structure readily collapses into anarchy if any widespread violence occurs. Informal areas and especially new informal settlements appear to be very prone to develop violent and authoritarian forms of patron-client organization or 'warlord' structures. Once competing patron-client groupings establish themselves in informal settlements they tend to escalate conflict in competing for control of resources and of new clients. The point has recently been made that development itself tends to trigger violent conflict in factionalised patron-client areas, with the result that rational planning and development usually become impossible. To achieve stable conditions for development, forestalling the emergence of patron-client structures is likely to be an important pre-condition.

6.3 COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT COMMITTEES AT MARIANNHILL

The structures that presently administer settlement at Mariannahill appear to descend in principle from the landowners' associations commonly formed in black freehold areas in the 18th and 19th Centuries. The modern versions developed their identity and legitimacy during the struggles over the proposed removal of the Mariannahill communities during the 1960s and 70s, when they were ultimately successful in reversing the administrative decision.

Like most of their earlier counterparts, the community civic structures are democratically elected and serve both as local government bodies and as guardians of the larger interests of their constituents. At Mariannahill, civic organisation works closely

with the organised youth movements, and both have representatives on the settlement committees. They also maintain contact with the white administrative bureaucracies in Pinetown and at Natal Provincial Administration through regular consultation and negotiation on development issues. In the Mariannhill communities, the civics fill the organisational gap which in informal areas tends to lead to institutional collapse and authoritarian patron-client structures.

Given the legitimacy of civic organisation at Mariannhill, the settlement committees have also been able to take up the customary community oversight function and give it teeth. They do this at the price of slowing in-migration to the relative trickle that can be assimilated without community organisation being overwhelmed. Conversely, on the urban periphery, successful control of settlement and in-migration is probably indispensable to the successful operation of civic organisation in a stable and unified community.

6.4 TENANCY IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS AT MARIANNHILL

Under indigenous tenure institutions in remoter areas, outside families wishing to enter the community are expected to find a local family to act as sponsor. The new family then lives with their sponsors for a period of roughly 1 - 3 years so that they can become acquainted with the people of the neighbourhood and establish their good faith. At the end of this period, they can be allocated a site by their sponsors or by another local family, given that they have obtained the approval of the neighbourhood and the relevant tribal officials. They then become probationary members of the community and can begin to build. In years past, tenure rights could be withdrawn for serious offenses even after a generation had passed. Though it is no longer in use there, this system provides the model for Mariannhill's civic-run tenure, in which tenancy appears to be an important component.

Under the *de facto* tenure system practised at Mariannhill, new families wanting to enter the community do so either by staying with sponsoring relatives or by becoming tenants of a family with land rights. When they have established some residential standing they may submit the forms requesting a site to the local settlement committee and be put on a waiting list. Since tenancy is treated as a private commercial transaction that does not convey community membership, rent tenancy in the townships especially can serve as a route to introduce new migrants into the community gradually, without going first through community scrutiny.

Given the principle that children of residents have priority for available sites, families with tenant or client standing are not official members of the community and can expect a long wait before they can hope to receive site permission. However, unlike the usual practice on freehold land under tenancy, the Mariannhill committees recognise the principle that tenants of long standing do have some claim on the community to be provided with a site and residence rights. One committee member remarked:

'There are people who have been tenants for over 20 years in the area. It is a genuine problem for people to stay so long and remain here without any rights of ownership of land. Such people qualify for houses in the area. Recently, we have elected chairpersons in all wards to look into this issue... the qualification for getting a site is now two years and upwards...'

Insofar as tenancy is the vehicle through which most in-migration is entering the stricter Mariannhill communities, it is likely to be the medium through which in-migration into Mariannhill accounts for a greater proportion of estimated population growth than natural increase. It can also be suggested that in the generally hostile and suspicious climate faced by outsiders, tenancy still constitutes the main mechanism, apart from kinship networks, through which in-migrants are assisted to find a place in the Mariannhill area. Survey inquiries concerning any other such mechanisms returned little information apart from the point that churches occasionally helped in-migrants to get settled.

6.5 COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPACT OF IN-MIGRATION ON DEVELOPMENT

Most of the region is under the control of Pinetown Municipality at present, with some parts still said to be under the authority of the mission. Residents and members of some of the committees expressed themselves very satisfied with the arrangement, since under this decentralised arrangement they were in direct contact with the service-delivering agency even while they were not always able to reach agreement on specific issues. Members of one committee indicated that they were thinking of representation on the Pinetown Town Council. Another committee expressed dissatisfaction with their relationship to Pinetown Municipality over specific issues but were not intending at the time of the interview to break off relations. Through survey results indicate that some

private community members are not clear as to the process of service delivery or the responsible agencies, the principle of local-level face-to-face negotiations over service delivery appeared to be generally supported.

At the same time, the communities appear to view the impact of in-migration on the chances for service delivery in a context of scarce resources and limited funds as broadly negative. Ambivalence toward or unfavorable perceptions of in-migration interlocks with unfavorable assessments of service provision in the Mariannahill communities. Recent migrants and older migrants who had established themselves as part of the community were asked to evaluate the situation in regard to schools, health care, water, shopping, transport, and other important service elements.

For both intra- and in-migrants during the last five years, evaluation of service provision closely mirrored the assessment of the settled community. On average, 23 percent of recent internal migrants evaluated services as 'good' or 'very good', as compared with 25 percent of outside in-migrants. Fifty nine percent and 54 percent respectively saw service delivery as 'bad' or 'very bad', with 17 and 20 percent either answering 'don't know' or refusing to take a position.

The most favourable evaluations went consistently to transport, which received 60 and 39 percent 'good/very good' reactions. Water, fuel, sewerage, rubbish disposal and recreation all received 'bad/very bad' evaluations falling between 60 and 100 percent from both groups (see Table 6.1).

In-migration appears to be one of the factors identified as responsible for the unsatisfactory state of service delivery (see Table 6.2). Both the settled population and the recent in-migrants seemed to see a beneficial effect on service provision arising out of the entry of new people only in a minority of cases (31 percent on average by both new intra-migrants and new in-migrants).

However, conflict over their own role and standing may again have been making in-migrants reluctant to state that in-migration harmed service provision outright. Thirty two and 34 percent of internal and external migrants on average stated that in-migration was harmful, while 36 and 34 percent refused to take a position. In contrast, an average 47 percent of the settled migrant population saw in-migration as specifically harmful, with

only 24 percent non-response. This earlier group of migrants therefore appears to have experienced less hesitancy and conflict, perhaps due to their less precarious standing and more comfortable identification with the local community.

In either case, the negative associations between in-migration and service delivery in the minds of inhabitants appears to be fairly pervasive. The position taken by the Pinetown Municipality appears to be not dissimilar at some points, but occasionally at cross-purposes.

Although Pinetown is presently enforcing a ban on new site allocation in most areas in order to promote orderly development, the municipality has expressed a wish to bring in a substantial bloc of people from Clare Estate, an unsanctioned community alongside the N3 north of Durban. These people would then be allowed to build in the area. While Pinetown has argued to the Mariannahill committees that more people are needed in the area to make service delivery economic, the committees perceive a contradiction and are opposing the proposal on the grounds that it will cause factional divisions and lead to violence.

There have been several cases in the past in which groups of outside migrants have been imported into the Mariannahill communities, either for reasons of administrative convenience somewhere else or in order to separate groups already in violent conflict. Since these attempts did result in violence at Mariannahill which was only defused with difficulty by the civics, there are indications that the community evaluation of the risks may well be correct. In that this kind of administrative dumping of groups or sections of communities without officially sanctioned land appears to be fairly common in the DFR and its surroundings, and seems to go on at a low administrative level without a policy decision, the possibility exists that the practice carries serious hidden risks. Should imported violence reach a level that the community organisations are not able to deal with, a presently unified and development-oriented region could tip over into patron-client organisation; such groupings have taken form and tried to gain control several times when violence broke out at Mariannahill in connection with outsiders.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CIVIC ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT

7.1 CIVIC STRUCTURES IN THE SURVEY AREAS

Apart from Tshelimnyama, where only remnants of civic organisation seem to survive, the areas sampled appear to have two types of representative association. In areas where information is available, these comprise a civic organisation or residents' association proper which represents the interests of all residents, and also a youth organisation. These structures appear to run broadly in parallel. In instances reported, they comprise a series of local area or ward committees in each community headed by an area chair. Above the local committee level is the community's control committee itself, which appears to be elected at an interval of several years.

Most of these local civics are then affiliated to the Greater Mariannhill Co-ordinating Committee, a larger umbrella body which represents the greater part of Mariannhill to the outside world and has been involved in the negotiations with the Pinetown Municipality. Pinetown and the GMCC come together through a Steering Committee which was originally established by the GMCC and the NPA to deal with development issues and with service provision after the Mariannhill communities refused Black Local Authorities. Mariannhill Mission, which still owns significant amounts of land in the area, is also represented on the joint committee. At present the Steering Committee meets monthly.

Individual civics also deal through the committee with representatives of the NPA, DET, the Urban Foundation, and the developers on a continual basis. Certain civics are also reported to be variously involved in negotiations with the SAHT, DBSA, and local banks over financial aspects of infrastructure development.

Although the formal civics are the senior organisations and exercise greater control over local affairs and particularly over permission to settle and site allocation, the youth organisations interviewed do not appear to be directly under the authority of the residents' associations. Youth organisations may have the greater responsibility for the physical security of the community and the prevention of crime and violence. They are also represented on the committees negotiating development.

7.2 POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF CIVIC STRUCTURES

The residents' associations are in most cases the same organisations which emerged during the communities' struggles against removals during the 1960s and 1970s. The legitimacy which they achieved during this period has allowed them to exercise anew role in the development of the area and the control of in-migration and settlement as urban issues became significant in the 1980s. Members of the committees continue to reject Black Local Authorities.

Accountability to the civics' constituencies is provided through regular and ad hoc public meetings at which both development concerns and other local issues are openly debated by both male and female adult residents. Politically the Mariannahill area has broadly progressive sympathies, with the possible exception of Tshelimnyama, where residents of other communities assert that outside influences with police backing have been involved in destabilising civic structures. Similar attempts to penetrate other communities leading to violence have been reported elsewhere at Mariannahill and particularly at St. Wendolins after incorporation into KwaZulu was turned down. One civic member interviewed suggested that there were no objections to individual Inkatha supporters living in the area so long as there was no attempt to damage the existing democratic structures through violence.

The actual size of any Inkatha-aligned element for any of these areas is impossible to determine with existing resources, but the likelihood is that it would be very small and not organised. Representatives of the civics and youth report that it is a practice to visit new families arriving to explain the work of the organisations and invite them to participate by attending public meetings.

The overall area is working-class or underclass, and appears to view party political involvement as a luxury less immediate than survival. In general, the areas' civics appear to have much stronger developmental and social-policy agendas than narrowly political goals.

7.3 CIVIC CONTROL OF IN-MIGRATION AS A PRECONDITION FOR DEVELOPMENT

In cases where comparative interview material is available, members of civics and youth organisations have indicated very similar views on both development and in-migration. Both types of organisation in the several Mariannahill communities sampled

express intense commitment to the development of their own communities and of the region in general. Several individual committee members described the role of the civics as lying in ensuring the proper development of the land they occupy.

Members have been emphatic in regard to the close control of in-migration as essential both to orderly development and to the maintenance of peace and social order.

Residents' associations, youth groups and ordinary residents consistently express a strong commitment to maintaining the dominant stake of the present residents in the region, and to preventing any uncontrolled flow of new in-migrants from 'overpowering' the older residents so that they lose control of local institutions, as has happened in Tshelimnyama.

Given that what are seen as the legitimate interests of the older residents are properly accommodated, some committee members indicate that their communities would probably be prepared gradually to accommodate large numbers of new in-migrants so long as the area receives developed infrastructure first, and so long as the migrants come individually through the established settlement process and maintain their reputation as solid and respectable people. One committee member estimated the likely eventual population of the area as over 300 000.

At present control committees regulate settlement by maintaining a waiting list for site applications. To become available for settlement, sites need to be demarcated and numbered, and located in compliance with local structure planning. Prospective householders apply for residence in their local subdistrict, and are placed on the waiting list if approved by the local committee.

At present most area civics report no difficulties with people moving onto undemarcated land without approval. One procedure adopted for such cases is for representatives of the civics or youth to visit the families involved and explain that such activity is not accepted and if persisted in will lead to trouble with the civics. However, in one instance some illicit selling of sites has been reported to be going on within a civic-controlled area. In Tshelimnyama, outside of civic control, illicit selling of sites without planning approval and at prices below those agreed by the local committees and the Urban Foundation has reached a high level. The situation there was described by one of the planners involved as 'a nightmare messing up the planners' job'.

At present the various civics appear to be holding the line successfully in maintaining compliance with structure planning. At the same time the demands for sites implies that cooperation here cannot be maintained indefinitely unless benefits are returned to the communities involved. Tensions and potential cracks in unified purpose are clearly apparent here.

Representatives of one civic expressed deep frustration over the freeze on new settlement because no tangible development benefit had yet occurred in their area, remarking that the community was losing patience and could see little point in continued cooperation. It is probably not by coincidence that it is in this area that some selling of sites has been reported. At present Klaarwater township is carrying on a rent and services boycott to protest lack of action over grievances submitted to the township management by the civic organisations, and Klaarwater residents have emphasised their need for housing and sites. In St. Wendolins, a respected committee member stated that the position of the civics had been precarious before road development began, noting that it was a time when 'we as leaders were really in trouble because nothing was happening'.

7.4 CONCLUSIONS

For successful planning relationships between communities and service-delivering authorities at Mariannahill, recognition needs to be given to the need to provide the civics with the tangible development returns necessary for them to maintain order and cooperation. In interviews both civic representatives and residents emphasised the need for state bodies to speed up the provision of education, housing and infrastructural development. Failing such returns, the present favourable climate for development may change rapidly. In communities such as Mariannahill, the development process itself is a crucial test of the new national society.

CHAPTER EIGHT : CONCLUSION

7.1 POPULATION GROWTH AND IN-MIGRATION IN THE DFR

It is generally accepted that population growth in the Durban Functional Region (DFR) is very high, and comprises natural increase as its main component. Simultaneously, some 100 000 in-migrants into the region are expected over the next decade. More than two-thirds of the present population of the Durban area, moreover, is statutorily defined as black, and this proportion is expected to increase. Since a majority of this black population lives in informal settlements, usually under unsatisfactory material conditions, the potential for continuing civil violence and unrest is high.

7.2 COMPLEXITY OF MIGRATION PROCESSES

Migration streams within this region are complex: some households and some individuals move into and some out of the region; others move from one settlement to another; and yet others move out of their settlement only to return some time later. Decisions to move are influenced by economic, social, moral and political factors, by family networks, and by constrained choice or by coercion. Decisions are also fashioned by the type of tenure in the migrating household's sending area as well as by the type of tenure and anticipated reception in the receiving area. Finally, decisions to migrate need to be understood within the planning and managerial contexts of both local civic associations and of formal authorities. To understand migration streams in the DFR adequately requires an understanding of the dynamics at community level, ideally in both the sending and receiving areas.

In short, the notion that migration streams accord to the gravity flow principle - trekking from rural areas to urban areas and subsequently from urban areas to the metropole - is overly simplistic. The process is multiplex.

7.3 MIGRATION INTO A PERIPHERAL COMMUNITY : MARIANHILL

Mariannahill, a settlement of long standing, is located on the urban periphery west of Durban. It is located in Natal (rather than in KwaZulu) and at its origin it was a black freehold community. It comprises sub-areas which differ from one another in a number

of important ways. Within Mariannhill, there are formal black townships, black freehold communities, informal black settlements, residents living on church land, and clusters of black homesteads on land zoned for other statutorily defined population groups. There are also communities classified as coloured and as Indian in the area.

There are also strong civic and residents associations, and the Catholic Church has played an important intermediary role in the changing relationship between these associations and state planning and local authorities. Pinetown municipality has recently taken over responsibility regarding services for most of the area.

Mariannhill residents are older, on average, than black residents of the DFR. Households are slightly smaller in size, and comprise a significantly higher proportion of female-headed households than in other comparable communities in the DFR. Moreover, as is the case in the DFR, household size has fallen over the last decade.

With few exceptions, these households tend to be poor (one third probably fall below the Household Subsistence Level and unemployment rates are high) and large differences in levels of living are found when local communities are compared to one another: the formal township of Klaarwater scores highest, for instance, and the informal settlement of Tshelimnyama lowest. Formal employment is at low-skilled levels and jobs held down by residents tend to be located in the Pinetown-New Germany region and in Mariannhill itself. Many homesteads cultivate gardens and maize on arable land, and informal sector activities are common.

7.4 COMMUNITY ORGANISATION AND THE PROCESSES REDUCING THE LEVEL OF IN-MIGRANCY

In-migration at Mariannhill has been gradual, rising only slightly since the abolition of influx control. Simultaneously, population growth in the area is due more to in-migration than directly to natural increase. There appears to be a small but persisting outflow of residents.

In-migrants choose to settle in Mariannhill for kin-related and political reasons, rather than with economic motives in mind. They may be characterised as families seeking stability in an unstable region, often through family ties, and under the strong community institutions of the area. Substantial numbers live in tenant status - a standard way of entering the community - and have not obtained sites of their own.

Civic and residents associations, particularly those which are well-organised and locally respected, manage the process of in-migration into their communities. Priority in the allocation of plots and houses is usually given to insiders. Simultaneously, since tenancy is controlled by heads of households (who are often kin-related to tenants) rather than by local associations, in-migrants are able to qualify as insiders after serving a tenancy period in the community. In-migration is thus filtered and held down to a level which the community institutions can assimilate without being overwhelmed.

Recent in-migrants, those who settled during the past five years, are younger than the settled population. Intra-migrants, those born within Mariannahill, overwhelmingly comprise migrants who have left the area for a period and have subsequently decided to return. There is little migration between communities within the area. Intra-migrants tend to be economically better off than those who have entered from outside and have settled in the area for the first time. Recent in-migrants are less often destitute than Mariannahill's established population, but display a tighter income distribution and have average incomes below the mean for the area.

7.5 IN-MIGRANT PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY, DEVELOPMENT AND VIOLENCE

In-migrant perceptions of the social relations of their own group to the settled population suggest tension and ambivalence. Well under half of both the recent migrants and the settled community were confident enough to attribute correct behavior towards older residents to the new migrant grouping. The unrestricted entry of strangers was generally identified as the main factor leading to violence, and the community has mobilised behind efforts to control in-migration.

Recent in-migrant perceptions of service priorities put water, transport, clinics, and schools in the first placings. The only substantive difference between the priorities of new migrants and those of the established population was in greater concern with transport among the former. Housing ranked relatively low for all groups.

In comparative DFR perspective, the area has suffered little violence. Tshelimnyana, however, stands out as the exception. Reasons offered in connection with local violence centered on the unity and moral integrity of the community in areas which had successfully defused violence; and on the role of cliques and factions created

by in-migration in undermining cohesion in cases where violence was reported. Where violence was present there was a general but unfocussed concern with political as well as social factors. Economic factors received little attention overall.

7.6 POLICY IMPLICATIONS: CIVIC ORGANISATION, SETTLEMENT MANAGEMENT AND MIGRATION RATES

Broad-based community organizations such as the civic organizations at Mariannahill appear able to maintain stability and a productive environment for planned development so long as they are able to ensure political unity among their constituents and at the same time keep control over the process of in-migration. Any such group which loses control of the rate at which new migrants arrive and settle - as has been the case in Tshelimnyana - will be likely to lose legitimacy and popular support at the same time as it is being destabilised by the turbulence which accompanies uncontrolled in-migration.

The community's pervasive fears of the consequences of uncontrolled in-migration - in terms of violence, loss of sovereignty and chaotic public process - have frequently been borne out by actual events. These fears on the part of the Mariannahill public appear to be rational. The managerial procedures which the community support appear to be both rational and democratic.

Planners appear to be faced with a choice as to whether to support grass-roots community organisation at the price of promoting a very slow and cautious settlement process, or to pursue the short-term goals of packing the maximum number of homeless migrants into presently stable communities and risking the spread of violence into areas now peaceful.

The alternative in the latter case is likely to be the spread of patron-client organisation and conflict. Informal settlement systems with weak institutions are able to accommodate high levels of in-migration, but pay a price in chaos and violence. Strong community institutions can probably only be maintained if they are allowed to control settlement. The same organisations which filter in-migration also negotiate service delivery.

Administrative dumping of unaccommodated communities by state organisations - mooted in the Mariannhill area - appears to be a widespread but dangerous practice. While the protection services of the city of Durban may believe they are putting out fires, the real situation may be closer to one of health workers spreading plague among the healthy.

7.7 POLICY IMPLICATIONS : PLANNING AND SERVICE DELIVERY

Migration into and within Mariannhill can be seen as a microcosm of the migration streams within the DFR, but also as an example of how social and political factors can converge in a way which is highly favourable to sound, well-planned development. The Mariannhill communities are unified and mobilised for development: they are already engaged in productive local-level negotiations with the counterpart white authorities. Structure plans are being implemented, and service delivery is proceeding. This outcome represents what an orderly planning process would wish to promote. Its price will be slower accommodation of in-migrants than has been assumed. This in turn will imply utmost mobilisation by planners to designate additional settlement areas in the DFR for the current in-migration stream.

7.8 POLICY IMPLICATIONS : AREAS OF CONCERN

There are three vital components controlling this process in Mariannhill. The first is the participative and managerial role played by civic associations. The second is the role played by the institution of tenancy, and the third is the extent to which housing delivery, land and services are negotiated and provided by state authorities and by the community itself. Though sharing many of the disabilities with other black DFR communities, Mariannhill does seem to provide some valuable lessons to planners, service-delivery authorities and other communities in the DFR.

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APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH DESIGN

The project which was commissioned by the (then) Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, was designed to be completed within a specified six month period (August 1990-January 1991).

The research conducted for the project was executed in five distinct phases:

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

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

THE FIRST PHASE

After the research team (comprising three members and a coordinator) had been constituted, relevant secondary material and maps relating to the Mariannhill region and to the Durban Functional Region were collected. On the basis of these data, the team wrote a preliminary descriptive socio-economic report on Mariannhill and selected an appropriate number of sub-areas within Mariannhill upon which to focus. These decisions were approved by the project committee at a meeting held during the early stages of the research period.

In view of the complex nature of settlement in the Greater Mariannhill region, the five sample areas were chosen to reflect a range in terms of spatial distribution, older and newer communities, degree of urbanisation, and migration dynamics. St Wendolins, an old established community, balances Klaarwater, a new formal township, and contrasts with the less dense and relatively more rural settlements at Tshelimnyama and Mpola. These last two settlements are centrally located next to the Mariannhill Mission, suggesting the choice of Dassenhoek, a relatively rural area to the southwest of the other communities on the KwaZulu border. In terms of settlement dynamics, Dassenhoek was also chosen as an area through which KwaZulu residents enter the central Mariannhill area. For the entire area, Mpola and particularly Tshelimnyama were also receiving the highest in-migration at the time of the survey.

Although the sample has been carefully selected to be as representative as possible of the dynamics of urbanisation at Mariannhill at the time of survey, care must still be taken in generalising the results to the entire area. Results for the five sample areas may perhaps best be taken as offering examples and a general guide to the urbanisation process in the Greater Mariannhill Region, suggesting broad trends across the area.

Subsequently, the team visited the region on a number of occasions and made contact with community leaders, with a number of residents, and with relevant local authority officials involved in service delivery within the region. Contact was also made with church representatives and with experts who had knowledge of local conditions.

THE SECOND PHASE

A draft questionnaire (in English) was constructed (using data gathered during the first phase) and tested in the community by members of the team and other CSDS researchers. After a number of adjustments, the questionnaire (which may be obtained upon demand from CSDS, University of Natal) was applied to a sample of 302 households which were randomly chosen from maps collected during the first phase.

Household heads (or their spouses) were selected as respondents. Comprised of household heads and the wives of male heads, the respondent sample is an adult population older than the general household population. Some 21 percent are 34 years of age or less, 42 percent from 35 to 49, and 38 percent over the age of 50. In gender terms, respondents represent both men (38 percent) and women (62 percent), due largely to the high overall percentage of female household heads. Some 56 percent of respondents are married, and 41 percent formally employed. Twenty percent are not employed, and 21 percent receive pensions, the remainder being in part-time and/or informal work only. Eighteen percent report having entered the area in the past five years, 31 percent have resided there from 60 to 20 years, and 51 percent for twenty-one years or longer.

The survey itself was executed by Research International (South Africa) after the survey manager had been fully briefed by the research team during a number of meetings. Cluster sampling procedures were applied by first identifying a number of randomly-generated map-based starting points and subsequently executing five interviews at each starting point. Research International interviewers were fully briefed before starting the survey. The sampling ratio (sample households to the universe of households) was approximately 1:18.

The survey was conducted during November 1990. There were a minimal number of refusals by respondents, and the potential problem of an expected high frequency of absent adult respondents during weekdays was addressed by continuing the survey over two weekends. Standard random check-backs were also completed.

THE THIRD PHASE

Depth interviews on salient research issues were held with 4 Mariannhill civic leaders, 3 local authority officials, and a church representative. Transcripts of these interviews were prepared and circulated to research team members. In addition, four focussed group discussions - two comprising Mariannhill women and two involving Mariannhill youth - were organised and transcripts prepared in similar fashion. These data were collected throughout the research period.

THE FOURTH PHASE

Survey data were coded and aggregated into two separate files for analysis: one relating to household data, and a second to individual data. These files were analysed by using a computer programme tailored to statistical social scientific information. Close liaison between Research International and the research team was maintained throughout this phase. Research International undertook the actual data processing.

THE FINAL PHASE

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

While it is widely acknowledged that it is extremely difficult to develop a level of reasonable trust with survey respondents within communities like Mariannhill in the interview situation, the research team used as many techniques as possible in the time

available to minimise bias and understatement of items. In particular, the third phase was seen to be essential in extending the data base beyond survey results. As a consequence, the research team is confident that the results reported here, while indicative of trends - rather than hard and fast facts - in Mariannahill, are essentially correct.

APPENDIX II

Name abbreviation Index :

Tshelimnyama =	Tsh
Mpola =	Mp
Dassenhoek =	Dss
St Wendolins =	St W
Klaarwater =	Kl

TABLE 3.1 : AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE IN 5 SUB-AREAS OF MARIANNHILL

	TSH	MP	DSS	ST W	KI	TOTAL
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE	5.95	6.16	6.26	5.79	6.82	6.16

TABLE 3.2 : ECONOMIC ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR EMPLOYABLE INDIVIDUALS IN 5 SUB-AREAS OF MARIANNHILL

% by sub-area

VOCATIONAL STATUS	TSH %	MP %	DSS %	ST W %	KI %	TOTAL %
EMPLOYED-FORMAL	50	58	52	53	66	55
UNEMP-SEEKING	29	23	28	21	24	25
UNEMP-NOT SEEKING	7	10	6	10	5	8
(OTHER-INCLUDING INFORMAL WORKERS)	14	9	14	16	5	12
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	197	209	195	124	120	845

TABLE 3.3 : UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPANTS IN 5 SUB-AREAS OF MARIANNHILL

% by sub-area

	TSH %	MP %	DSS %	ST W %	KI %	TOTAL %
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	37	29	35	28	27	32
N =	155	171	155	92	108	681

TABLE 3.4 : FORMAL SECTOR JOB CATEGORIES FOR INDIVIDUALS IN FORMAL EMPLOYMENT IN 5 SUB-AREAS OF MARIANNHILL

% by sub-area

JOB RANKING	TSH %	MP %	DSS %	ST W %	KI %	TOTAL %
'HIGH'	7	2	10	6	18	8
'UPPER-MIDDLE'	8	9	14	12	14	11
'LOWER-MIDDLE'	32	44	31	51	29	37
'LOW'	53	45	45	31	39	44
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	98	122	101	66	79	466

'HIGH' = Professionals and civil servants

'UPPER-MIDDLE' = clerical workers and artisans

'LOWER-MIDDLE' = drivers, shop assistants, hotel workers, factory workers, security workers, domestic workers

'LOW' = labourers, farmworkers, gardeners, and mineworkers.

TABLE 3.5 : PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL WORKERS IN 5 SUB-AREAS OF MARIANNHILL

% by sub-area

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT	TSH %	MP %	DSS %	ST W %	KI %	TOTAL %
HOME AREA	18	13	17	26	4	15
PINETOWN/ NEW GERMANY	59	61	55	59	65	59
OTHER DFR	16	22	26	11	24	20
OTHER	7	4	2	4	7	6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	107	135	114	74	80	510

TABLE 3.6 : MAIN TRANSPORT MEANS TO AND FROM PLACE OF WORK IN 5 SUB-AREAS OF MARIANNHILL

% by sub-area

TRANSPORT MEANS	TSH %	MP %	DSS %	ST W %	KI %	TOTAL %
TAXI	76	72	54	60	66	66
BUS	3	7	27	7	26	14
TRAIN	3	10	8	7	1	6
(OTHER INCLUDING DOES NOT USE TRANSPORT)	18	11	11	26	7	14
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	107	135	114	74	8	510

TABLE 3.7 : MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME (FORMAL SECTOR) IN THE 5 SUB-AREAS OF MARIANNHILL

% by sub-area

HOUSEHOLD INCOME GROUPS	TSH %	MP %	DSS %	ST W %	KI %	TOTAL %
ZERO	12	17	14	14	3	12
R1 - R200	8	7	9	9	5	8
R201 - R400	12	15	15	10	8	12
R401 - R600	28	18	15	9	16	19
R601 - R800	16	11	14	24	6	14
R801 - R1000	7	12	4	12	5	8
R1001 - R1200	2	2	5	4	3	3
R1201 - R1400	1	3	5	7	12	5
R1401 - R1600	4	10	5	-	3	4
R1601 - R1800	4	2	5	2	5	4
R1801 - R2000	2	1	3	-	5	2
R2001 +	4	2	6	9	29	9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	75	81	65	43	38	302

TABLE 3.8 : MEAN HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY EARNINGS (FORMAL, INFORMAL AND PENSIONS) IN 5 SUB-AREAS OF MARIANNHILL (RANDS)

% by sub-area

MEAN HOUSEHOLD EARNINGS	TSH	MP	DSS	ST W	KI	TOTAL	
FORMAL WAGES	671	669	758	773	1342	788	81%
INFORMAL WAGES	61	65	124	83	50	77	8%
PENSIONS/ DISABILITY GRANT	86	99	125	131	84	104	11%
MEAN TOTAL	R818	R833	R1007	R987	R1476	R969	100%
N =	75	81	65	43	38	302	

TABLE 4.1 : PLACE OF BIRTH OF MARIANNHILL RESIDENTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

	MARIANNHILL	MARIANNHILL ENVIRONS	OTHER DFR	OUTSIDE DFR	TOTAL
	42	13	11	34	100
n =	302				

TABLE 4.2 : AREA OF BIRTH BY URBAN/PERI-URBAN/RURAL CATEGORY IN 5 SUB-AREAS, 1990

% by sub-area

	TSH	MP	DSS	ST W	KI
URBAN BORN	5	4	15	33	42
PERI-URBAN BORN	71	67	62	33	39
RURAL	24	27	23	33	18
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
N =	75	81	65	43	38

TABLE 4.3 : LOCATION OF PREVIOUS HOUSE OF MIGRANTS (PERCENTAGE BY LOCATION)

	MARIANNHILL	MARIANNHILL ENVIRONS	OTHER DFR	OUTSIDE DFR
< 5 YEARS	27	43	23	15
6-20 YEARS	45	22	46	46
21+ YEARS	27	35	31	40
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
N =	22	49	13	48
% of TOTAL MIGRANTS	17	37	10	36

TABLE 4.4 : LOCATION OF PREVIOUS HOUSE OF MIGRANTS (PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANT GROUPS)

	< 5 YEARS	6-20 YEARS	21+ YEARS
MARIANHILL	16	20	59
M/HILL ENVIRONS	57	23	9
OTHER DFR	8	13	26
OUTSIDE DFR	19	43	6
TOTAL	100	100	100
N =	48	80	75

TABLE 4.5 : RECEPTION INTO AREAS OF MIGRANTS

% by length of establishment

	< 5 YEARS	6-20 YEARS	21+ YEARS
TSH	30	19	13
MP	14	20	16
DSS	15	28	21
ST W	15	14	31
KL	26	12	30
TOTAL	100	100	100
N =	48	80	75

TABLE 5.1 : LAND OWNERSHIP AMONG MARIANHILL MIGRANT FAMILIES

"Who owns this land?"

% by MIGRANT GROUPINGS

OWNER OF LAND	Recent migrants < 5 years	Established migrants 6-20 years	Settled community 21+ years	Total migrant sub-sample
RESPONDENT HOUSEHOLD	37	21	17	26
LANDLORD	5	9	7	7
CHIEF	24	11	14	16
GOVERNMENT	-	-	12	4
MISSION	5	11	12	10
PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT AGENCY	16	2	7	8
OTHER LOCAL PERSON	3	11	2	5
OTHER	3	23	19	16
DON'T KNOW	8	9	10	9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
N =	38	47	42	127

TABLE 5.2 : HOUSE OWNERSHIP AMONG MARIANHILL MIGRANT FAMILIES

"Who owns this house?"

% by MIGRANT GROUPINGS

OWNER OF LAND	Recent migrants < 5 years	Established migrants 6-20 years	Settled community 21+ years	Total migrant sub-sample
RESPONDENT HOUSEHOLD	100	91	100	96
LANDLORD	-	9	-	3
CHIEF	-	-	-	-
GOVERNMENT	-	-	-	-
MISSION	-	-	-	-
PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT AGENCY	-	-	-	-
OTHER LOCAL PERSON	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
N =	38	47	32	127

TABLE 5.3 : PARTY TO WHOM RENT IS PAID IN SURVEY SUB-AREAS

"If you pay rent, to whom do you pay rent?"

% by SURVEY SUB-AREAS

RECEIVER OF RENT PAYMENT	SURVEY SUB-AREAS				
	TSH	MP	DSS	ST W	KI
NO RENT PAID	97	86	69	25	50
LANDOWNER	-	-	7	25	-
HOUSE OWNER	3	9	3	38	-
CHIEF	-	-	-	-	-
GOVERNMENT	-	3	17	13	10
MISSION	-	-	-	-	-
HOUSEHOLD HEAD	-	-	-	-	-
PRIVATE DEVEL AGENCY	-	-	3	-	15
OTHER	-	-	-	-	25
DON'T KNOW	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

N = 129

TABLE 5.4 : FORMAL SECTOR JOB CATEGORIES OF THE RECENT IN-MIGRANTS

JOB RANKING	RECENT IN-MIGRANT	
	%	n
'HIGH'	6	3
'UPPER-MIDDLE'	9	4
'LOWER-MIDDLE'	32	15
'LOW'	53	25
TOTAL	100	
N =		47

TABLE 5.5 : MOTIVATIONS OF MIGRANTS IN MOVING FROM LAST RESIDENCE

"Tell us why you and your family left your last house"

% by migrant groupings

	< 5YRS INTRA	< 5 YRS IN	6-20 YEARS	21+ YEARS	TOTAL
ACCESS	10	21	22	24	21
ASPIRATION	10	11	-	-	5
SOCIO-ECON	-	4	-	-	1
CONSTRAINT	-	-	-	-	-
<hr/>					
LIFE-CYCLE	40	36	40	43	39
ESCAPE	10	4	2	5	6
VIOLENCE	30	18	15	7	19
COMPULSION	-	4	20	21	9
<hr/>					
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
N =	10	28	45	42	129

TABLE 5.6 : MOTIVATIONS IN MOVING TO MARIANHILL

"What are the two main reasons your family chose to move here and not to any other area?"

% by migrant groupings

	< 5YRS INTRA	< 5 YRS IN	6-20 YEARS	21+ YEARS	TOTAL
ACCESS	10	26	39	16	20
ASPIRATION	40	21	19	20	17
SOCIO-ECON	20	13	15	24	30
CONSTRAINT	10	16	15	18	12
<hr/>					
LIFE CYCLE	-	-	-	-	-
ESCAPE	-	-	-	-	-
VIOLENCE	-	-	-	-	-
COMPULSION	-	-	-	-	-
DON'T KNOW	20	24	11	23	21
<hr/>					
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
N =	10	38	79	85	302
<hr/>					

TABLE 5.7 : MOTIVATIONS IN MOVING TO PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

"What were the two main reasons your family chose to move here and not to any other area?"

% by migrant groupings

	< 5YRS INTRA	< 5 YRS IN	6-20 YEARS	21+ YEARS	TOTAL
ACCESS	30	39	37	32	34
ASPIRATION	40	25	20	20	21
SOCIO-ECON	-	7	17	14	12
CONSTRAINT	-	14	9	5	12
<hr/>					
LIFECYCLE	-	-	-	-	-
ESCAPE	-	-	-	-	-
VIOLENCE	-	-	-	-	-
COMPULSION	-	-	-	-	-
DON'T KNOW	30	15	17	30	21
<hr/>					
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
N =	10	28	46	37	121

TABLE 5.8 : PERCEPTIONS OF IN-MIGRATION BY SUB-AREAS SURVEYED

"How many people have moved into your neighbourhood over the last year?"

% by sub-area

PERCEIVED TSH NUMBER	MP	DSS	ST W	KI	TOTAL
MANY	27	9	17	13	18
FEW	19	23	17	-	5
NONE	16	43	38	63	40
D/KW	38	25	28	25	35
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
n =	37	35	29	8	20

TABLE 5.9 : ATTITUDES OF NEW MARIANNHILL RESIDENTS TOWARDS OLDER RESIDENTS

"How would you describe the attitude of new people towards the older residents?"

% by migrant groupings

	Recent migrants < 5 years	Established migrants 6-20 years	Old community 21+ years	Total sub-sample
RESPECTFUL	37	26	31	31
NEUTRAL	18	11	7	12
DISRESPECTFUL	3	7	-	3
DON'T KNOW	24	22	26	23
NO MIGRANTS	18	37	36	31
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
N =	38	47	32	127

TABLE 5.10 : GREATEST PERCEIVED NEEDS OF MARIANHILL MIGRANT POPULATION

"What are your greatest needs?"

RANKING OF NEEDS:	ALL MIGRANTS		RECENT MIGRANTS		
	N MENTIONS	% MENTIONING	N	%	RANK
Water/water supply	96	72	28	76	1
Transport/roads	84	65	28	76	1
Clinics/health care	55	44	12	32	5
Schools	55	44	15	40	3
Electricity	48	36	13	36	4
Urban amenities (shops, community hall, churches library, park, pool, butchery)	42	32	11	32	5
Housing	40	32	8	24	7
Sewerage/toilets	34	28	8	24	7
Recreation	20	16	6	16	9
Telephones	17	12	5	12	10
Creche/pre-school	15	12	5	12	10
Better security	7	4	2	4	12
Fuel resources	1	1	1	2	14
	N = 129		N = 38		

TABLE 5.11 : PREVALENCE OF VIOLENCE IN LOCALITY

"Has there been any violence in this area?"

% by MIGRANT GROUPINGS

PRESENCE OF VIOLENCE	Recent migrants	Established migrants	Settled community	Total migrant sub-sample
YES	42	40	38	41
NO	55	51	57	53
DON'T KNOW	2	9	5	5
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
N =	38	47	42	129

Table 5.12 : I. REASONS FOR PRESENCE OF VIOLENCE

	Total for Category	Total Specific Reasons
SOCIAL REASONS		
MORAL: there is general violence /intolerance children have no respect for elders		5 1
	6	
AGE-RELATED: misunderstanding, fighting between children it's only youth		7 5
	12	
EXCLUSIONARY: fighting is people against taxi men Indians cause violence [purpose is to] exclude outsiders		1 1 2
	4	
	22	
POLITICAL REASONS		
comrades fighting for rights/political differences in reasoning/ideol/parties UDF/ANC against Ink fighting to force recruitment/ joining leaders impose violence		4 4 4 5 1
	18	
ECONOMIC REASONS		
blacks are poor quarrels over land		1 2
	3	
AD HOC		
family quarrels, neighbours join in clash between gangs/ community groups schools demand big amounts for school fees		4 7 1
	12	
NON-RESPONSE		
not prepared to say/ don't know cause rather not say/ afraid to say		2 1
	3	
	N = 58	
II. REASONS FOR ABSENCE OF VIOLENCE		
SOCIAL REASONS		
MORAL: people are united, so no violence people respect each other		29 13
	42	
EXCLUSIONARY:outsiders not allowed to riot in area no outsiders/ newcomers		1 1
	2	
	44	
POLITICAL REASONS		
leaders impose peace		1
	1	
BEWILDERMENT/DENIAL		
don't know why (no) violence no violence		3 16
	21	
	N = 66	

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