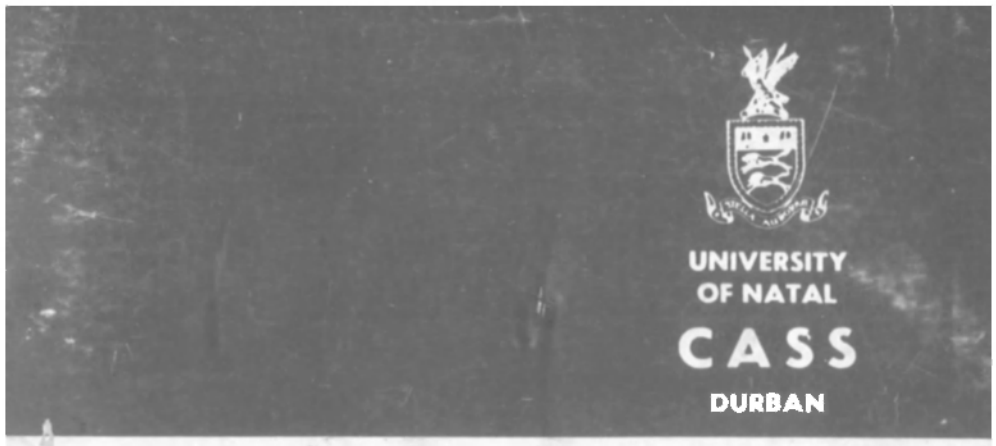

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC BASELINE REGIONAL SURVEY OF THE RICHARDS BAY - EMPANGENI REGION

Edited by
HILSTAN L. WATTS

CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES
SENTRUM VIR TOEGEPASTE MAATSKAPLIKE WETENSKAPPE

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Contributors

R.J. Davies
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1983

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the late 1960's, Professor R.J. Davies and Professor H.L. Watts of the then Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal in Durban, conceived of the idea of a baseline regional survey of the region around Richards Bay, before major development of the area got under way. The planned rapid development of a harbour and industrial centre at the Bay provided a very rare opportunity to study the impact of such rapid planned development on an existing region with established communities and a rural population. It was thought that such a study, constituting a baseline for a series of follow-up studies in the years ahead, would be of applied value to town and regional planners, and of theoretical interest to urban geographers and urban sociologists. Accordingly, proposals for such a baseline study were submitted towards the end of the decade to the then State Department of Planning (now the Physical Planning Branch of the Office of the Prime Minister in Pretoria). In March 1971 the former Department of Planning agreed to provide a financial grant for the proposed baseline study of the Richards Bay - Empangeni Region, and detailed planning for the project commenced under the auspices of the Institute for Social Research (now the Centre for Applied Social Sciences) at the University of Natal in Durban. Exploratory visits and pilot surveys were launched in 1971, and detailed fieldwork for the project commenced in 1972.

During the planning and fieldwork stage of the research (i.e. from 1971 onwards), a Subsidiary Committee of the Planning Advisory Council to the Prime Minister was appointed to maintain liaison between the various interested bodies and to advise the then Institute for Social Research of the University of Natal on the conduct of the survey. The Committee was composed of:-

Department of Planning and the Environment	:	Dr. C.J. Claassen (Chairman)
The University of Natal	:	Professor H.L. Watts (Member and Project Leader)
Natal Provincial Administration	:	Mr. A.M. Little (Member)

Department of Bantu Administration and Development	:	Mr. V. Rabe (Member)
Department of Planning and the Environment, Regional Office, Pietermaritzburg	:	Mr. L.J. Trebble (Secretary)

It must be noted, with regret, that Mr. Trebble passed away suddenly on 20 January 1973. The opportunity is taken here to express gratitude for the valuable services rendered by the late Mr. Trebble to the Committee.

Professor W.J. Argyle, Head of the Department of African Studies, Professor R.J. Davies of the Department of Geography, and Dr. (now Professor) G.G. Maasdorp of the Research Section of the Department of Economics, all of the University of Natal in Durban, were co-opted on to the Committee, as they were each supervising aspects of the research. Professor Davies, who is now at the University of Cape Town, was in fact a co-project leader with Professor Watts.

The original objective of this study was to provide *baseline* material against which subsequent studies could chart developments and change in a region subject to the injection of rapid, planned change in the form of a harbour and industrial centre at Richards Bay (which was planned to grow into a large urban complex). This report has attempted largely to keep to this aim. At some points it has been deemed necessary to give analytical interpretations of our results, but these have been kept to a minimum in order to avoid turning the study into a conventional regional investigation. However, it was possible to do some follow-up work after the baseline surveys, especially in regard to certain aspects of the sociological study of Whites, and so the final sections of this report do have some information on developments and changes since the inception of the research. Hypotheses, and preliminary findings on changes occurring, as well as some predictions, are included at the end of the report, for later researchers to test in follow-up studies.

The writers of this report still have their original hope that a series of studies will be made by researchers in the future, to monitor at intervals of time future changes and developments in the physical,

economic, social and general community components of the region - and thereby build up generalizations of applied interest to planners concerned with future planning projects, and of theoretical value to social scientists interested in urban complexes and social and economic change.

With the benefit of hindsight, the early very rapid development of Richards Bay was drastically slowed down by the economic recession of the mid 1970's. so that some of the dramatic public predictions of incredibly rapid growth were not accurate. Indeed, in terms of strains and stresses generated by rapid development, as Professor Davies has remarked, it probably would have been better to study Newcastle and the effects of the injection of major industry into the town primarily through ISCOR. However, this could not be foreseen when the Richards Bay research was planned and launched. Even so, in the longer run, the value of a study of the Richards Bay region, monitored over a long period of time, may well be of greater interest than a study of Newcastle would have been. However, this is pure speculation! Certainly Richards Bay became virtually a new town starting *de novo* (and almost a 'company town' to boot), and so as a focus of research had this advantage over Newcastle which was an established town.

Grateful acknowledgement is expressed to the former Department of Planning and the Environment, which financed a major part of the research costs of the regional study through a grant made available in 1971; and also to the University of Natal which contributed generously towards expenses through the services of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, and the Geography and Sociology Departments. The views expressed and conclusions reached are the sole responsibility of the authors, and are not to be taken as representing the views of either the former Department of Planning and the Environment, the present Physical Planning Branch of the Office of the Prime Minister, or the University of Natal.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my colleagues, Professor Ron Davies, now Head of the Department of Geography at the University of Cape Town, formerly at the University of Natal, and Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, for stimulation, encouragement, and helpful advice. Without their aid, the study would have

been far poorer.

Many people, too numerous to mention in detail here, helped with the research. However, I do want to mention in particular the assistance of Mr. J.F. Otto and Dr. C.J. Claassen of the former Department of Planning and the Environment; the Town Clerks, and officials of the four towns studied; civic and other leaders, and ordinary townsfolk - their friendly co-operation and help were invaluable.

The geographical section of the study was under the direction of Professor R.J. Davies. Much of the basic data for the section were collected by him and his students whilst he was Head of the Durban section of the Department of Geography at the University of Natal. He wrote up the chapters on the physical and urban geography of the region, and contributed to the conclusions.

The economic section of the project was under Professor G.G. Maasdorp, of the Research Section of the Department of Economics of the University of Natal in Durban. The data collection, analysis for the report, and the writing of it, was undertaken by Mr. D.A. Langham.

The section on Africans was supervised by Professor W.J. Argyle, Head of the Department of African Studies at the University of Natal. The research worker was Mr. H.J. Thomas, who also drafted the report on this section.

The sociological section was under my direction, assisted initially by Stan Kahn, Paul Brown, and other staff of the Institute. The main fieldwork teams and data processing workers were under Stan Kahn. Additional interviewing and data collection were subsequently undertaken by several senior students of the Department of Sociology at the University under my direction. Ulla Bulteel, as the computer processing technician from the Centre for Applied Social Sciences did sterling work, whilst some sociology students helped with final calculations and analyses for this section of the report.

The final maps and diagrams were prepared by the cartographic section of the Geography Department of the University of Cape Town, under the guidance of Professor R.J. Davies.

The photographs are reproduced by permission from Zululand Studios.

The authors of various sections of the report are indicated in the text. The overall editing was my responsibility.

I am most grateful to the typists who typed the various drafts. These are Patsy Wickham, Rosemarie Fraser and Nikki Wells of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, and Jean Howard of the Department of Sociology, all of the University of Natal.

Professor Hilstan L. Watts
Department of Sociology,
University of Natal,
Durban.

April 1983.

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTORY REMARKS[1)]

Durban is the major port in South Africa. By the end of the 1950's and early 1960's it was under severe pressure, handling more cargo than all the other South African ports combined. In addition, the rail link between Durban and the interior was running near capacity and constructing additional lines would be extremely costly. Furthermore Durban was not a deep water harbour, and so was unable to handle the new generation of giant ships, and there were problems in the way of deepening the channels. Virtually all usable harbour area in Port Natal Bay was being utilised. Consequently the Railways and Harbours Administration considered the possibilities of a new deep water harbour on the eastern seaboard, which could be linked to the industrial heartland of South Africa in the Southern Transvaal. Following on an inspection visit by the Minister of Transport to Kozi Bay, Sordwana Bay and Richards Bay, it was decided in 1965 that Richards Bay, 190 kilometres north of Durban, would be the new deep water harbour. Preliminary investigations into the feasibility of the project, commenced in 1967, showed that the authorities could go ahead. In 1972 legislation authorising the construction of the proposed new harbour was passed. The tiny fishing village was thus set on a course of rapid, planned development.

It is not often that social scientists have the opportunity to study the rapid planned development of a region from the early stages of the plan, so that the opportunity provided by the decision in 1965 to develop a deep water harbour at Richards Bay provided a welcome chance to undertake a baseline study on a multidisciplinary basis. Richards Bay was a tiny fishing village at the time, so that planned development meant, in fact, the development of the town *de novo*. From this point of view, one could study what was in effect a new town, and its changing relationships to other towns in its region. The scheme offered interesting opportunities to study the strains and stresses of communities undergoing rapid planned development. It was decided by a group of social scientists

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1) Except where indicated to the contrary, this Chapter was written by H.L. Watts.

at the University of Natal, Durban, to undertake a baseline study, during the early stages of the Richards Bay project, with the intention of subsequently making follow-up studies of the region in the years ahead, with the view to obtaining a longitudinal analysis of Richards Bay and its region over a period of time.

The Institute for Social Research (now renamed the Centre for Applied Social Sciences) at the University of Natal was given a research grant by the Department of Planning and Environment, of the Republic of South Africa, to undertake a socio-economic baseline regional survey. Fieldwork commenced in 1972, covering economic, geographical, and social aspects of the area. The departments of Economics, Geography, Social Anthropology, and Sociology, together with the Institute for Social Research, at the University of Natal collaborated in the study. Approaches were made to the University of Zululand, and discussions were held with the Rector and some academics, but in the end no research workers from that University joined in the investigation.

After an on-the-spot investigation of Richards Bay and its surrounding area, it was decided to define the region involved as consisting of the magisterial districts of Lower Umfolosi and Mtunzini. The sociological aspects of the study involved the urban areas of Empangeni (which was the main town in the region), Richards Bay, Mtunzini and KwaMbonambi. Felixton was excluded as being purely a company village (a sugar mill and paper mill are located there), although it was in the Lower Umfolosi magisterial district.

Figure 1.1 shows the boundaries of the region, as defined, and the towns within it, whilst Figure 1.2 gives the wider setting of region.

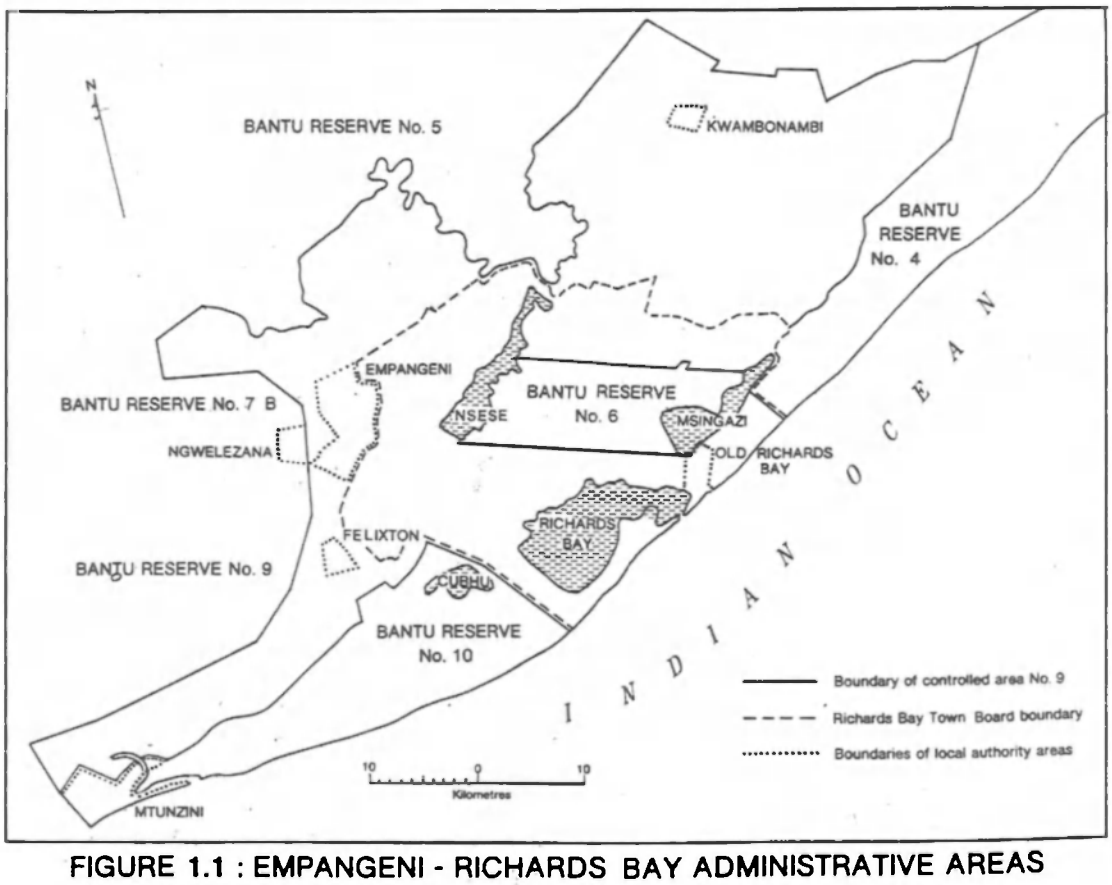

FIGURE 1.1 : EMPANGENI - RICHARDS BAY ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

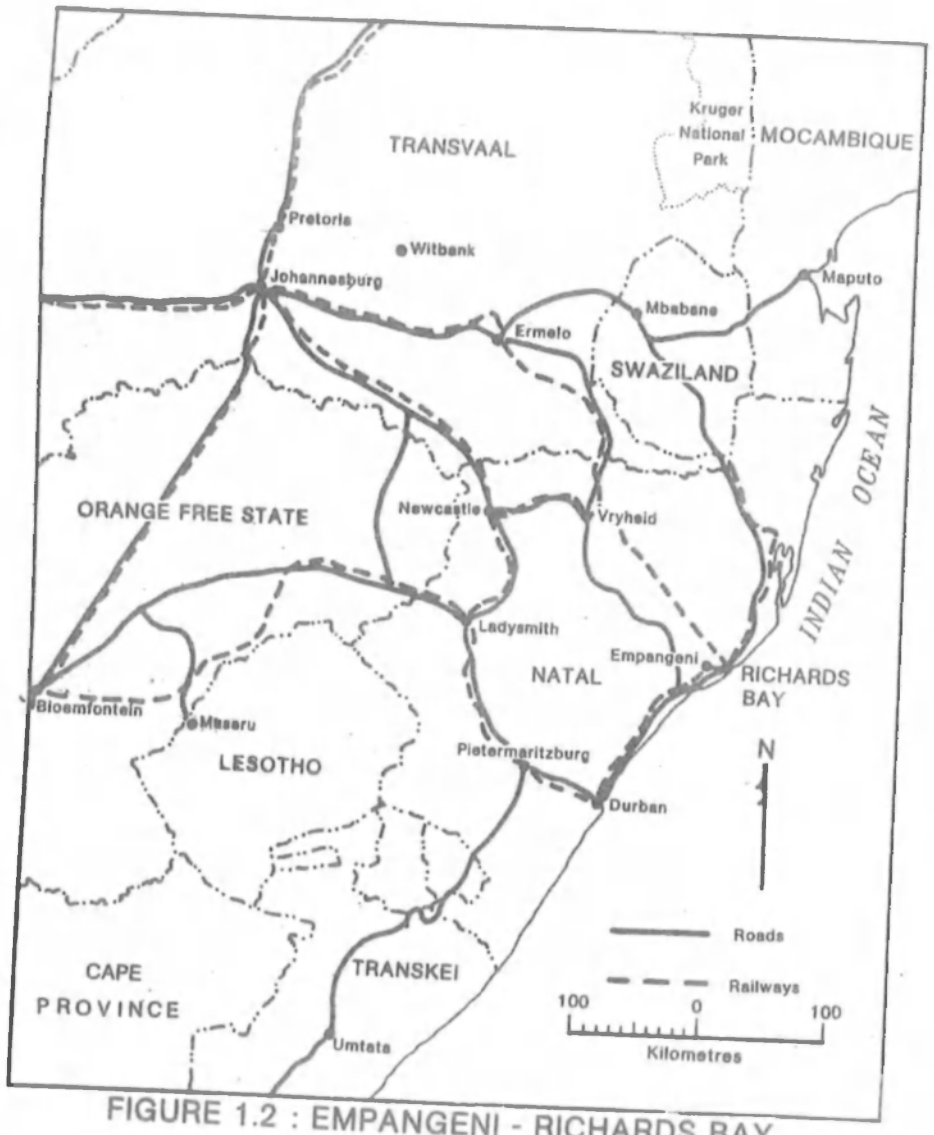

FIGURE 1.2 : EMPANGENI - RICHARDS BAY, PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL SETTING

This report consists of several parts, dealing with different aspects of the region. The author of each part is indicated in the text, with the overall editing being in the hands of H.L. Watts.

1.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF RICHARDS BAY AS A PORT[1)]

The contention that Richards Bay would make a suitable harbour site is not a new one. In fact, such schemes were being hatched not long after Frederick William Richard gave his name to the bay in 1879, when the crews of Her Majesty's Ships, Active, Tenedos and Forester surveyed the coast to find a suitable landing spot for stores to replenish the supplies of Lord Chelmsford, campaigning in the Zulu War of that year. The first soundings were made at the mouth of the Umhlatuzi River, the bay being named after Richard, who, holding the rank of Commodore at the time, was commanding the West African Station of the Royal Navy.

Only ten years later, in 1889, a report on the Richards Bay bed was prepared by H.M.S. Stark.

As early as 1902 Cathcart Methven, an engineer, having conducted a survey of the bay, concluded that it would have made a better harbour than Durban. However, nothing came of the announcement. Development of a sort took place in 1907 when George Higgs pioneered the first wagon track from Empangeni to Richards Bay. Further improvements on this had to wait until 1932 when Mr. S.F.M. Hibberd, who also opened the first store and hotel at the bay, built the first road of reasonable standard following the path of Higgs's wagon track.

A year earlier Mr. George Buchanan, a consulting engineer, had studied Richards Bay and recommended it as a potential port.

Developments now waited twenty years until 1952, when the tug, A.M. Campbell, towed the dredger, Foremost, 320 kilometres north of Durban up the coast, allowing harbour engineers to spend two days examining approaches to the bay; their conclusion being that Sordwana

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1) This section was written by D.A. Langham (pp. 5-12).

Bay would make an excellent harbour.

Finally, on April 16, 1965 Mr. Ben Schoeman, Minister of Transport, announced that he had toured Kozi Bay, Sordwana Bay and Richards Bay with his advisors and had decided to use Richards Bay as South Africa's second largest port on the Natal coast.

August 18, 1966 saw Mr. Schoeman announce in the House of Assembly that construction of the multimillion rand port at Richards Bay might begin in 1968 - two years before schedule. This governmental determination was responsible for the start of the Richards Bay's housing scheme on January 1, 1970 and was evidenced by the opening of the Alusaf and Alcor plants in April and August respectively of 1971, both ahead of schedule.[1]

The *Sunday Times* of September 5, 1971, proclaimed that construction at Richards Bay would start in June 1972. Mr. Schoeman, the newspaper claimed, had his hand to Construction Bill blueprints for a scheduled start on the harbour early in 1972, and financial provision for this would be made in the South African Railways and Harbours budget for 1972/73.

Stage one of the blueprint provided for the dredging of the entrance channel for the harbour and the construction of protective walls, a turning basin, two bulk coal berths and the remainder of the quay to handle general bulk cargoes. Provision for the handling of containers had also been outlined.

A South African Railways and Harbours spokesman was reported as saying that although the port had been conceived as a handler of bulk cargo, a countrywide survey had led the authorities to make provision for general cargo as well. There would be a separation of the general from the 'dirty' cargo berths.

Although the quays had initially been planned to accommodate vessels up to 152 400 tons deadweight, this had been amended in the light of maritime development to allow vessels of up to 254 000 tons deadweight

1) Pages 6 - 12 inclusive were written by R.J. Davies.

to dock at the berths. Should the need arise, dredging of the harbour would allow vessels of up to 304 800 tons deadweight to be accommodated.

The adaptability of the harbour was stressed. Further, a survey by the Department of Planning showed that the surrounding countryside offered a greater area for development than that accounted for by the Durban-Pinetown complex at the present time.[1] Rail needs would be catered for in conjunction with the demands of the public and private sector.

Stress was laid on the siting of the harbour in the Reef-Orange Free State-Natal rectangle. Among the locational advantages of the harbour were: (i), good natural protection for shipping; (ii), convenient access to the interior by means of shorter rail routes; and (iii), a hinterland suitable for industrial development and the availability of adequate fresh water.

Construction work was to be undertaken by a consortium known as RB6, starting with the launching of three dredgers. On September 26, 1972 the first dredger known as 'Concorde' was launched, marking the commencement of work upon the harbour itself.

On the 1st April 1976 the harbour was opened by the then Prime Minister, the Hon. B.J. Vorster. The harbour is linked with the Transvaal coalfields, and so with the Witwatersrand conurbation via Broodsnyersplaas, 500 kilometres of railway line having been built and necessary rolling stock acquired. This first phase of the project cost R700 million. (See *The Civil Engineer in South Africa,* 1976.) The channels in the harbour have a depth of 19 metres, compared to Durban's 12,8 metres, and the lagoon area is twice the size of Durban harbour (which is the biggest harbour in South Africa). The harbour design allows for future flexibility in development. (*Civil Engineer in South Africa,* 1976, and South African Railways and Harbours 1976).

Plates 1 - 4 show some aerial photographs of the town of Richards Bay itself, and give a visual indication of the development

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1) "Richards Bay: Urban Development Plan", the Department of Planning, 1972.

which has occurred up to the time of writing (1979).

The harbour-city has been planned along the lines of an economic base model, Alusaf and Alcor, providing an 'aluminium trigger' and the Trek petroleum refinery[1] providing yet another 'trigger-like' impetus to growth. Around the growth induced by these two sectors, 1 200 hectares has been set aside for 'general' industry (which includes aluminium) and 1 200 hectares for petro-chemical expansion. The 2 400 hectares of planned industrial area includes 360 hectares adjoining the harbour, which is strictly reserved for industries relying on this degree of harbour proximity.

The city centre has been planned to lie between the harbour, the industrial areas and the residential areas planned (see Fig. 1.3). As well as accommodating the central business district, this area is also designed to contain community facilities, such as the civic centre, government and provincial departments, a hospital, a technical college, and recreational facilities such as parks and playing fields.

Areas set aside for residence purposes are located to the north of the bay. The first suburb to be developed, Meerensee, adjoins Richards Bay village, and is situated between Lake Msingazi and the sea. By 1973, 300 houses had been erected, with services being provided to cater for the erection of a further 200 in the near future.

A second suburb - Arboretum - lying to the west of Msingazi will accommodate 8 500 persons and is now completed in terms of its basic infrastructure. The location of further residential areas is planned for the undulating land to the north of the bay.

Also in the north will be a major airport, superseding the present airstrip which adjoins the central city area. A commuter rail service from the proposed African "city" south of Richards Bay near Port Durnford in Reserve number 10 (KwaZulu) in the form of a loop round the central and industrial areas has been suggested. Stations are planned at 2 km. intervals. The main line station is located on the eastern side of the main railway marshalling yard (see Figure 1.3).

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1) At the time of writing (1981) this Refinery had not yet been commenced, but a large fertilizer plant already was in production.

PLATE 1

10.

11.

PLATE 4

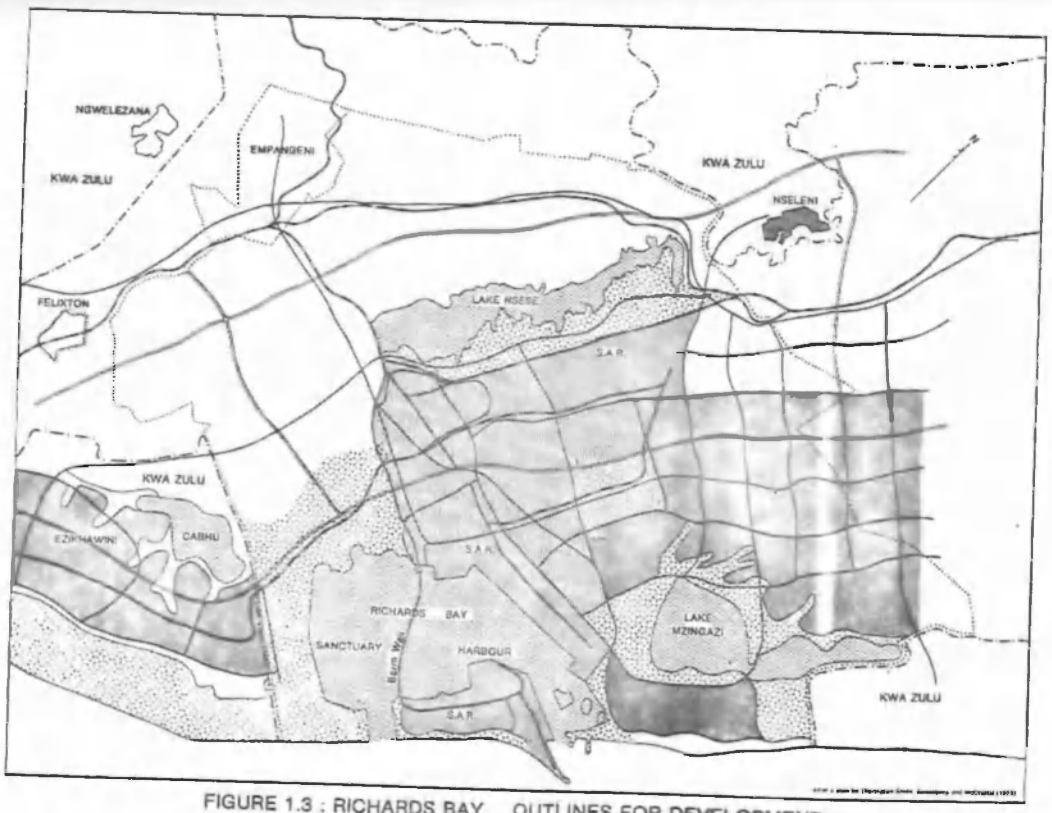

FIGURE 1.3 : RICHARDS BAY OUTLINES FOR DEVELOPMENT

The planned city is traversed by an urban freeway following the north-south linear grid, and connecting with the N14 national road (whose route has yet to be finalised) at one interchange opposite Empangeni and another at the Vryheid freeway terminal, providing easy road access to both the Durban and Witwatersrand complexes. It is felt by the authorities that by the time traffic on the road from African Reserve No. 10 is likely to justify freeway treatment, traffic on this road will be drastically reduced through the abovementioned construction of a commuter link. Thus no direct freeway link with the African "city" south of Richards Bay is planned.

Basic water purification and reticulation schemes have been established, involving a purification plant with a capacity of 65 000 m^3 per day (12 m.g.d.), 47 500 m^3 (10,5 m.g.d.) reservoir and 11 km. of large diameter water mains. The water here is drawn from Lake Msingazi, being the maximum extraction possible without disturbing the ecological balance of the area. Such resources are felt to be sufficient to cater for planned needs until 1980. The first water and sewerage works are at present operating and a 10 000 m^3 reservoir has been erected.

By 1973 the Richards Bay Town Board had let contracts for roads, storm and drainage, water supply and sewerage in Arboretum, involving 22 km. of roads and making provision for the servicing of 2 160 dwelling units.

By 1979 the basic construction at Richards Bay had been completed, and the overseas construction crews have largely dispersed. A variety of heavy industries, including an aluminium smelting plant and a fertilizer factory are sited there. Houses have been built, roads constructed, street lighting installed, and a central business district (CBD) is developing. There is little if anything of the original fishing village left. The first phase of very rapid development seems over.

1.3 POPULATION GROWTH

During the later years of the 'sixties there was a good deal of discussion of, and speculation about, the Richards Bay region,[1] with some saying that it was going to develop remarkably rapidly. One prominent politician went so far as to state that within 20 years Richards Bay would be the same size as Durban. This we discounted, and in fact the growth rate, whilst very rapid, has left the region still a small one as far as population size is concerned. Table 1.1 gives the population figures for Whites in the four urban areas in the region, excluding the company village of Felixton. Table 1.2 gives the figures for all races combined, whilst Table 1.3 gives data for the two magisterial districts we have defined as constituting the region. The data in the three tables are graphed in Figures 1.4 - 1.6 below. Table 1.4 gives annual growth rates calculated from the three tables:

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1) Except in Chapters 2 and 4 the area around Richards Bay and Empangeni has been referred to as a "region". This is for the sake of simplicity, for as Chapter 2 makes clear, technically-speaking the area is a sub-region of a wider region.

TABLE 1.1.

POPULATION GROWTH FOR WHITES IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, 1921-1978

YEAR	RICHARDS BAY	EMPANGENI	KWA-MBONAMBI	MTUNZINI
1921	-	153	-	61
1936	-	703	-	115
1946	128	1 037	38	160
1951	153	1 336	99	159
1960	99	2 570	151	221
1970	411	4 512	269	415
1975	3 424	9 000	?	?
1978	7 069	12 000	?	?

NOTES:

1. A *dash* indicates that the town did not officially exist as an urban area at the date concerned.

2. A *question mark* indicates that recent figures are not available.

3. The 1975 and 1978 figures are estimates provided by the Town Clerk of the town concerned.

4. The 1921-1970 figures are from Republic of South Africa (1976a): *Population of South Africa, 1904-1970,* Report No. 02-05-12, Government Printer, Pretoria. The 1921 figures for Mtunzini are from Republic of South Africa (1963): *Population Census, 6th September 1960: Vol.I: Geographical Distribution of the Population,* Government Printer, Pretoria, R.P. 62/1963.

TABLE 1.2.

POPULATION GROWTH FOR ALL RACES COMBINED, IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, 1921-1978

YEAR	RICHARDS BAY	EMPANGENI	KWA-MBONAMBI	MTUNZINI
1921	-	339	-	156
1936	-	2 117	-	364
1946	240	3 179	346	407
1951	210	4 144	267	681
1960	237	6 614	502	558
1970	598	7 532	556	983
1975	20 418	15 220	697	?
1978	18 834	18 500	?	?

NOTES:

1. A *dash* indicates that the town did not officially exist as an urban area at the date concerned.

2. A *question mark* indicates that recent figures are not available.

3. The 1975 and 1978 figures are estimates provided by the Town Clerk of the town concerned.

4. The 1921-1970 figures are from Republic of South Africa (1976a). The 1921 figures for Mtunzini are from Republic of South Africa (1963).

5. The drop between 1975 and 1978 in Richards Bay is because about 11 000 Africans were moved out of the borough area, and settled in a Reserve.

TABLE 1.3.

POPULATION GROWTH IN THE MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS OF LOWER UMFOLOSI AND MTUNZINI, 1911-1970

YEAR	LOWER UMFOLOSI DISTRICT		MTUNZINI DISTRICT	
	WHITES	ALL RACES	WHITES	ALL RACES
1911	235	13 275	473	23 524
1921	1 122	19 467	686	25 827
1936	1 639	28 959	786	35 256
1946	2 035	36 950	977	38 116
1951	2 616	44 614	927	39 695
1960	4 397	69 249	2 216	56 291
1970	7 285	114 111	3 633	83 529

SOURCE: Republic of South Africa (1976a).

TABLE 1.4.

ANNUAL GROWTH RATES FOR POPULATION IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, 1921-1978

(a) WHITES: PERCENTAGE GROWTH ANNUALLY

YEARS	RICHARDS BAY	EMPANGENI	KWA-MBONAMBI	MTUNZINI
1921-1936	-	10,70	-	4,32
1936-1946	-	3,96	-	3,36
1946-1951	3,63	5,19	21,09	-0,13
1951-1960	-4,56	7,56	4,63	3,59
1960-1970	15,87	6,00	6,16	6,82
1970-1975	52,81	14,81	?	?
1975-1978	27,33	10,06	?	?

(b) TOTAL, ALL RACES COMBINED: PERCENTAGE GROWTH ANNUALLY

1921-1936	-	12,98	-	5,81
1936-1946	-	4,15	-	1,12
1946-1951	-2,63	5,44	-5,05	10,84
1951-1960	1,30	5,14	7,00	-2,11
1960-1970	10,05	1,35	1,06	6,04
1970-1975	102,61	15,11		
1975-1978	?	6,72		

(c) MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS PERCENTAGE GROWTH ANNUALLY

	LOWER UMFOLOSI		MTUNZINI DISTRICT	
	WHITES	ALL RACES	WHITES	ALL RACES
1911-1921	16,04	3,91	3,79	0,91
1921-1936	2,56	2,68	0,91	2,10
1936-1946	2,19	2,47	2,20	0,78
1946-1951	5,15	3,84	-1,04	0,81
1951-1960	5,72	9,19	19,03	7,23
1960-1970	5,36	5,30	5,25	4,17

These rates have been calculated from the figures in Tables 1,1, 1,2 and 1.3. The growth rate for 1975-1978 for all races in Richards Bay represents a decrease of -2,66% p.a. due to 11 000 Africans being moved out of the borough area into a Reserve, so that figure is artificially influenced. The 1970-1978 growth rate is 53,91% p.a. for Richards Bay.

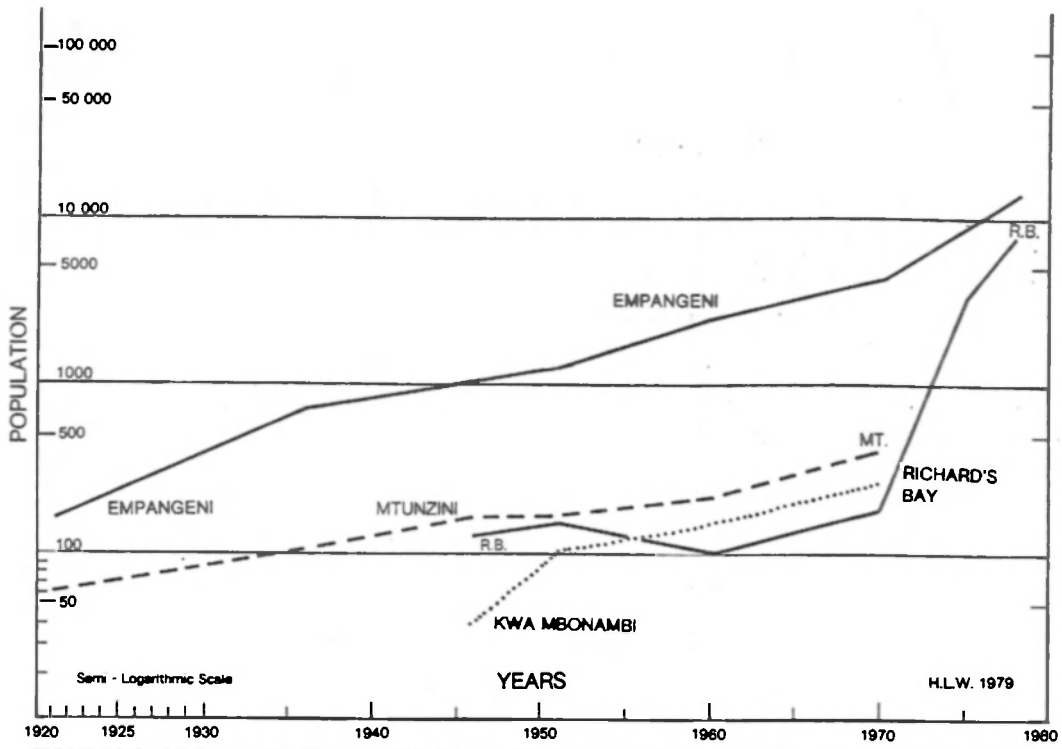

FIGURE I.4: GROWTH IN THE WHITE POPULATION OF TOWNS IN THE RICHARD'S BAY REGION, 1921 - 1978

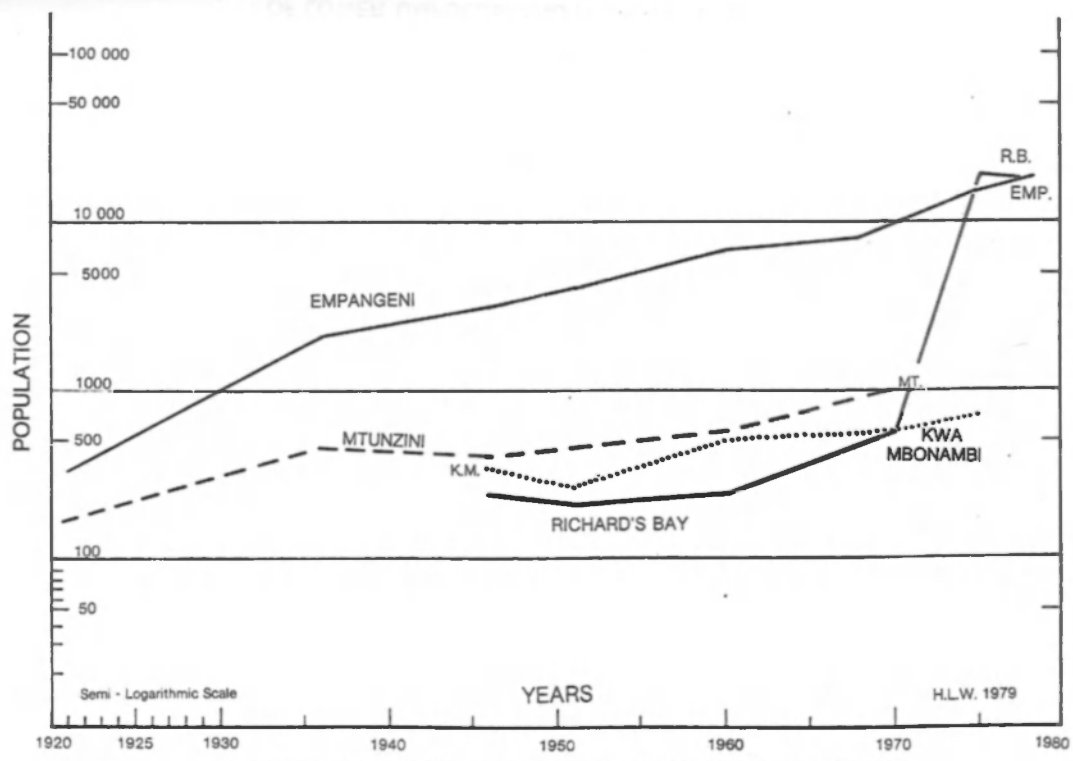

FIGURE I.5: GROWTH IN THE TOTAL POPULATION (ALL RACES) OF TOWNS IN THE RICHARD'S BAY REGION, 1921 - 1978

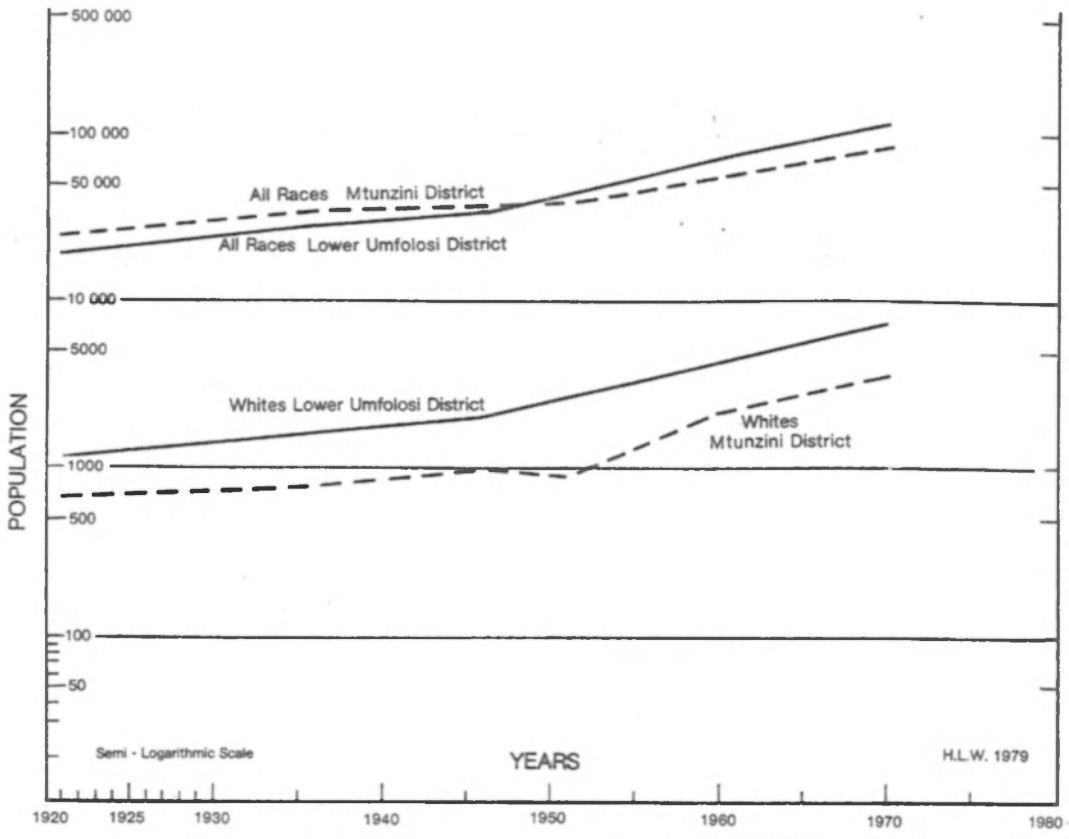

FIGURE I.6: POPULATION GROWTH IN THE MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS OF LOWER UMFOLOSI AND MTUNZINI, 1921 - 1970

The population data show a rapid upsurge subsequent to the 1970 population census, especially in Richards Bay and Empangeni. The growth during the last few years is slowing down after the initial impetus, with the completion of the basic construction contracts for the harbour, railway facilities, factories, and houses. The future rate of growth of the region will probably depend on the state of the South African economy, and its relation to world economic conditions.

CHAPTER 2

R.J. Davies.

THE REGIONAL SETTING OF THE EMPANGENI-RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION. [1)]

2.1 DEFINITION AND BOUNDARY OF THE STUDY AREA

Following the decision to develop a new deepwater harbour on the Zululand coast at Richards Bay, the South African Government considered it necessary to control development in the area during the period required to prepare development plans for the new urban area of Richards Bay. Controlled Area No. 9 was thus proclaimed under the provisions of the Natural Resources Development Act (Act No. 51 of 1947 now superceded by the Environmental Planning Act No. 88 of 1967) on 4th June 1965. The Controlled Area included all lands surrounding Richards Bay but excluding the Municipal area of Empangeni, the Town Board Area of Mtunzini, the local Health area of Kwambonambi and land occupied by Bantu Reserves Nos. 4 and 6 (Fig. 2.1). Also excluded from control were other Bantu Reserve lands neighbouring the Controlled Area to the west.

To meet the objectives of present base line studies undertaken for this report the area covered by Controlled Area No. 9 was clearly too restrictive. The requirements of the base line study were to record and analyse information useful for the future research for a more extensive area that would in the future be strongly interactive with and be affected by developments at Richards Bay. In particular it was important that neighbouring urban and quasi-urban places such as Empangeni, Felixton, Mtunzini and Kwambonambi and the Bantu Reserves Nos. 4 and 6 and the near margins of Bantu Reserves to the west be included within the study area.

The boundaries of the area within which base line studies were undertaken are thus broader and more inclusive than those of Controlled Area No. 9. The boundaries are demonstrated in Fig. 2.1. For convenience the study area has been titled the Empangeni-Richards

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1) In most of this report the Empangeni-Richards Bay area is referred to as a "region". This is for convenience, for as this chapter shows technically the area is a sub-region. - Ed.

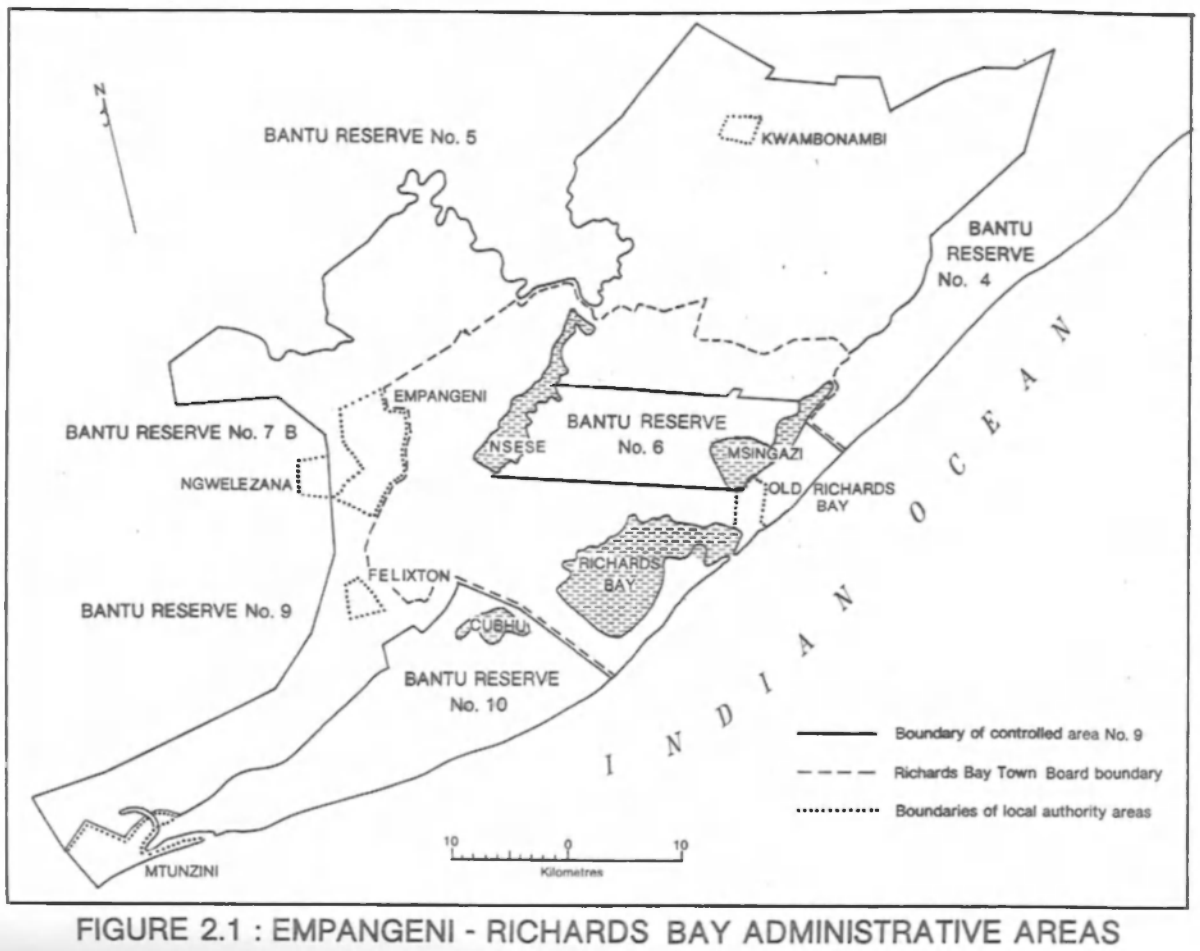

FIGURE 2.1 : EMPANGENI - RICHARDS BAY ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

Bay Sub-region.

2.2 THE REGIONAL SETTING

The Empangeni-Richards Bay Sub-region at the base line date of 1968, fell within a well defined, linear development sector that formed an essential and productive component of the regional space economy of Natal. The sector extending northwards from its focus in the Durban Metropolitan Area, included the Natal North Coast (the magisterial districts of Inanda and Lower Tugela) and the Coastal Margins of Zululand (the magisterial districts of Mtunzini, Eshowe, Lower Umfolozi, Hlabisa and Ubombo). For most of its length the sector was bounded on its western margins by Bantu Reserve lands, later to become the self-governing territory of KwaZulu. Fig. 2.2.

The linear definition of the development sector was underpinned by strong N-S transportation routes, by rail and road, by lines of communication and power and flows of economic and social interaction that reflected the central organizational influence of the dominant core in the Durban Metropolitan Area. A flow diagram illustrating the volume of motor vehicle traffic in the north-eastern quadrant of Natal, Fig. 2.3, clearly demonstrates the systematic organization of the N-S pattern of interaction within the sector and the dominance of its metropolitan core.

The quality of transport linkages between the sector and neighbouring Bantu Reserve territory, the interior of Natal and more distant parts of South Africa was low. The sector was not then linked to the interior by rail except through the Durban Metropolitan Area and link road qualities were marginal. Thus by comparison, the level of lateral interaction with areas beyond the local limits of the N-S axial belt within the sector was tenuous.

The regional economy of the development sector was based principally upon agricultural and forestry production, dominantly associated with sugar cane cultivation and plantation forestry

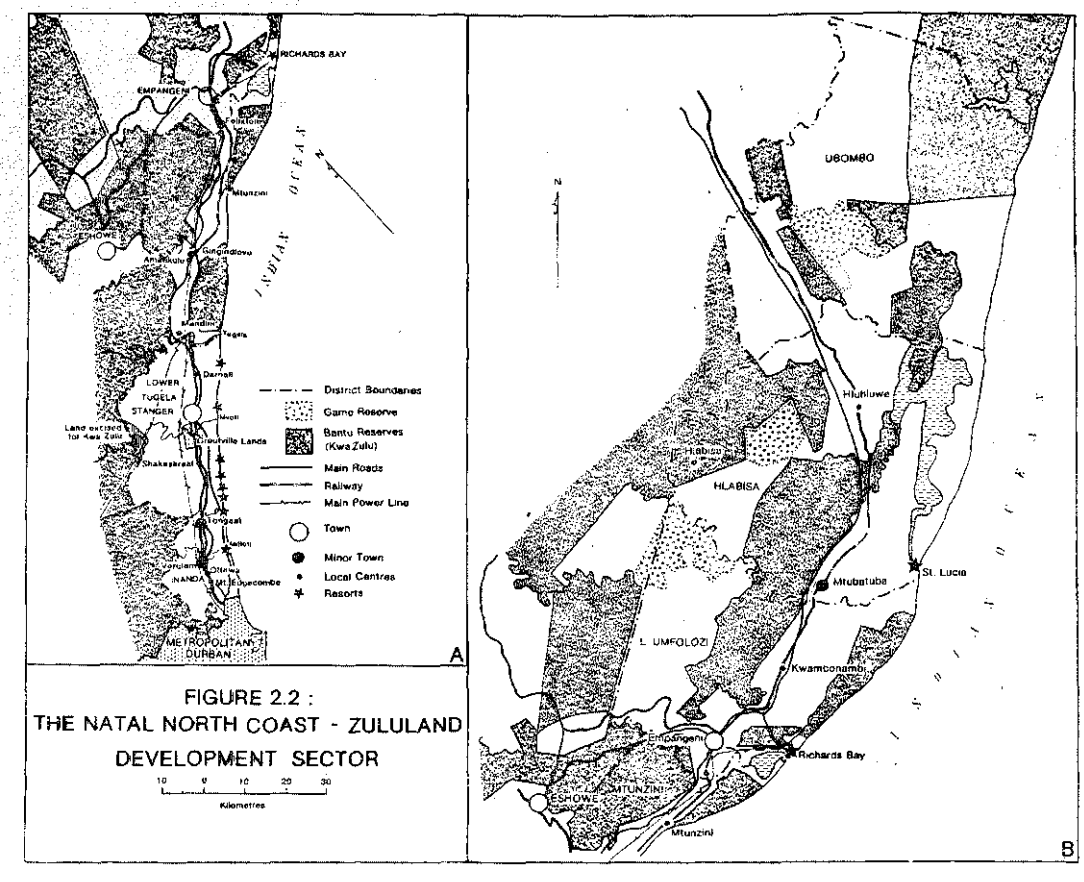

FIGURE 2.2 :
THE NATAL NORTH COAST - ZULULAND
DEVELOPMENT SECTOR

10 0 10 20 30
Kilometres

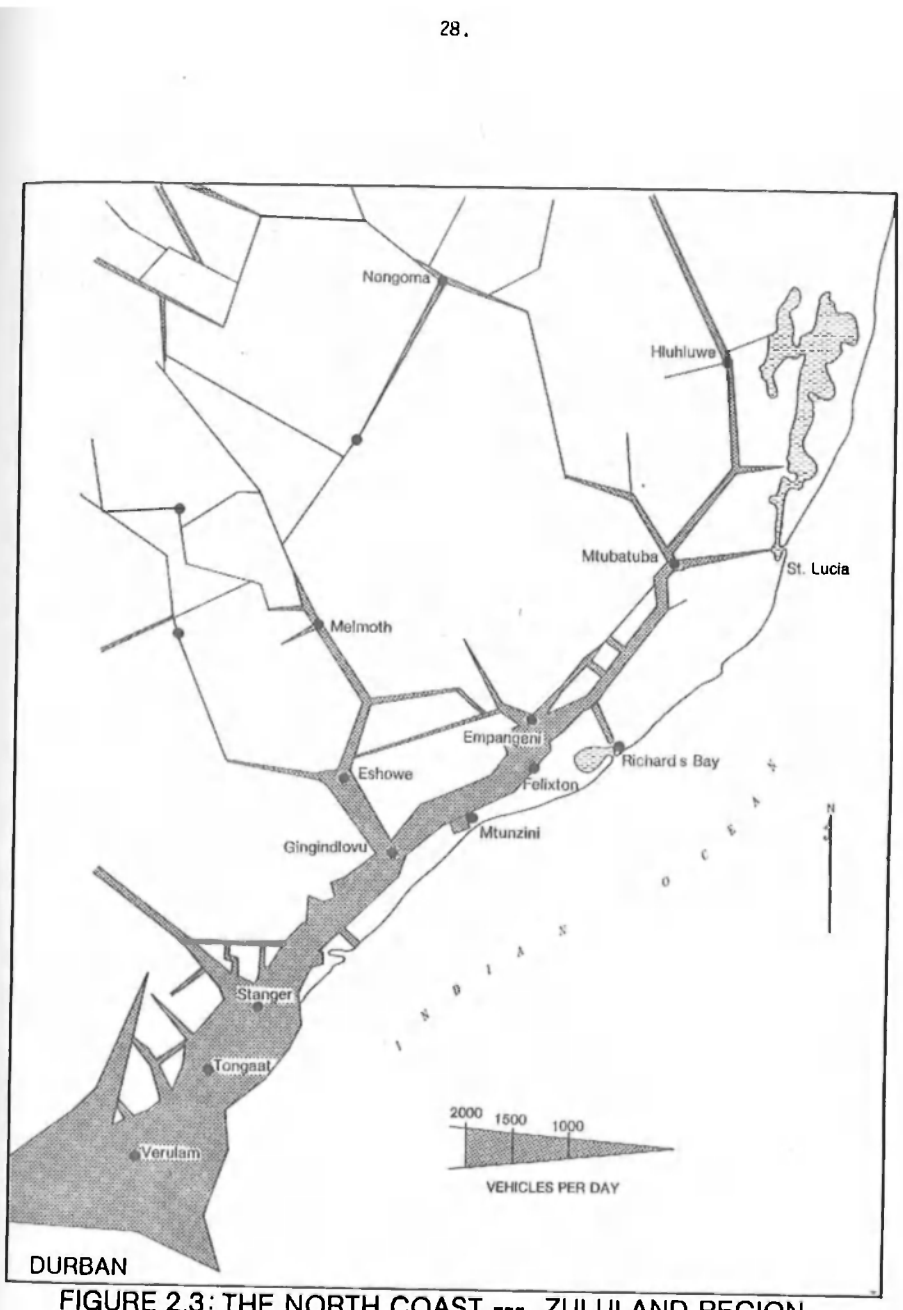

FIGURE 2.3: THE NORTH COAST --- ZULULAND REGION
MOTOR VEHICLE TRAFFIC VOLUMES
1972

(eucalypt and pinus sp.), and upon manufacturing industry based essentially upon the processing of raw materials drawn from agricultural and forestry production. Thus 68 percent of the total regional G.G.P. in 1968 (excluding that of the Durban Metropolitan Area) was derived from these two categories of production (Tables 2.1 and 2.2). Commercial, Financial and Government Services contributed a further 18 percent of the regional G.G.P., the remainder being derived from Construction (4 percent) and Transport (7 percent). The total volume of G.G.P. tended to decline systematically from the margins of the Durban Metropolitan Area to the peripheries of the sectoral space economy. The intensity of economic production and welfare expressed in terms of G.G.P. per unit area and G.G.P. per capita, showed the same systematic pattern of decline and distance from the metropolitan focus. (Table 2.2).

The economic gradient within the sector reflected the effect of distance decay from the economic core of the region to its outer peripheries, on the one hand, but was also related to a decline in environmental quality northwards. Environmental influences are marked in particular by a decline in mean annual rainfall from the southern margins of the Hlabisa district, with a corresponding decline in agricultural and forestry potential. The environmental gradation largely underlay the broad division of the sector into a southern high intensity sugar cane-forestry production zone (the districts of Inanda, Lower Tugela, Eshowe, Mtunzini, Lower Umfolozi and S. Hlabisa) and a northern, drier and more extensive agricultural-pastoral production zone (the districts of N.Hlabisa and Ubombo), Table 2.2). In those areas rural production was associated mainly with drought resistant cropping (sisal, pineapples and cotton), extensive cattle grazing and irrigation farming.

Higher intensities in agricultural and forestry production in the southern two thirds of the sector were reflected also in higher intensities of production in processing manufacturing industry, commercial activity and services (Table 2.1). These conditions, in turn, underpinned generally higher degrees of urbanization and density of the mesh of urban places in the southern zone of the

TABLE 2.1 THE DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS GEOGRAPHIC PRODUCT IN THE NATAL NORTH COAST - ZULULAND DEVELOPMENT SECTOR, 1968, IN THOUSANDS OF RANDS

DISTRICTS	AGRI-CULTURE	MINING	MANU-FACTURING	ELEC-TRICITY	CONSTRUC-TION	COMMERCE	TRANSPORT	FINANCE	SERVICES	GOVERNMENT	OTHER	TOTAL
Inanda	6 394	95	8 297	247	1 982	2 420	613	481	254	1 602	573	22 958
L. Tugela	12 884	24	5 798	133	886	2 742	2 425	746	256	1 957	397	28 168
Mtunzini	4 302	-	13 202	2	131	884	684	26	29	416	204	19 960
Eshowe	4 226	-	768	97	345	1 280	572	602	100	788	282	9 060
L. Umfolozi	8 044	5	4 547	145	498	1 792	2 770	713	154	1 133	455	20 256
Hlabisa	2 727	13	2 388	-	337	793	589	288	33	327	224	7 719
Ubombo	593	-	-	-	5	145	157	6	5	84	68	1 063
TOTAL	39 170	137	35 000	624	4 184	10 056	7 810	2 862	831	6 307	2 203	109 184

TABLE 2.2 THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS GEOGRAPHIC PRODUCT G.D.P. PER KM^2, AND G.D.P. PER HEAD, IN THE NATAL NORTH COAST DEVELOPMENT SECTOR, 1968

DISTRICTS	AGRI-CULTURE	MINING	MANU-FACT-URING	ELECT-RICTY	CONST-RUCT-ION	COM-MERCE	TRANS-PORT	FIN-ANCE	SER-VICES	GOVERN-MENT	OTHER	TOTAL	GDP/ SQ KM R1 000s	GDP/ HEAD R
Inanda	27.9	0.4	36.1	1.1	8.6	10.5	2.7	2.1	1.1	7.0	2.5	21.0	53	118
L. Tugela	45.7	0.1	20.3	0.5	3.1	9.7	8.6	2.6	0.9	6.9	1.4	25.8	25	277
Mtunzini	21.6	-	66.5	0.0	0.7	4.4	3.4	0.1	0.1	2.1	1.0	18.3	18	1 073
Eshowe	46.6	-	8.5	1.1	3.8	14.1	6.3	6.6	1.1	8.7	3.1	8.3	5	656
L. Umfolozi	39.7	0.0	22.4	0.7	2.5	8.8	13.7	3.5	0.8	5.6	2.2	18.6	8	531
Hlabisa	35.3	0.2	30.9	-	4.4	10.3	7.6	3.7	0.4	4.2	2.9	7.1	2	387
Ubombo	55.8	-	-	-	0.5	13.6	14.8	0.6	0.5	7.9	6.4	1.0	0.3	287
TOTAL	35.9	0.1	32.1	0.6	3.8	9.2	7.2	2.6	0.8	5.8	2.0	100.0		

sector in contrast to the pattern characteristic of the northern periphery (Table 2.3).

The urban system within the sector was, in relative terms, only moderately developed by 1968. It possessed 33 urban nodes the largest of which (Tongaat) contained only 13 108 persons (all races), and only four places had populations in excess of 8 000 persons (all races). These were Tongaat, Empangeni, Stanger and Eshowe (Fig. 2.2).

All urban places within the set provided tertiary services but at varying levels. No urban place within the sector enjoyed the status of a Major Town (Order 4) in the South African urban hierarchy. (Davies and Cook, 1968) and only Stanger, Empangeni and Eshowe reached the status of Country Town (Order 5). All other places providing tertiary services were either Minor Towns or Local Service Centres (Orders 6 and 7).

The three Country Towns, each providing a range of middle-low order services, though not absolutely evenly spaced nevertheless provided a systematic coverage of service needs to significant market areas. These centres were spaced at a mean distance of some 74 km apart. Low order service needs in the southern zone of the sector were provided by a relatively dense mesh of order (Minor Towns) and 7 (Local Centres) places spaced at a mean distance of some 10-20 kms apart. The nothern periphery of the sector, (the districts of Hlabisa and Ubombo), consistent with its lower population densities and lower production and market potentials, on the other hand, was served by only two service centres at Mtubatuba and Hluhluwe (Orders 6 and 7 respectively). The role of Empangeni, the northernmost Country Town, as the provider of middle order services for an extensive market area that included the northern periphery of the sector is of significant note. The sector as a whole was highly dependent upon the Metropolitan focus for all higher order services.

The distribution, size characteristics and composition of the urban set was influenced not only by the need to provide central

TABLE 2.3

URBANIZATION PATTERN. NATAL NORTH COAST-ZULULAND DEVELOPMENT SECTOR 1970 (White Areas Only)

ALL RACES

DISTRICT	TOTAL URBAN POP.	% URBAN	POP.LARGEST CENTRE	% OF URBAN POP.	NO. PLACES	M.C.*	IC*	R*
Inanda	32 347	48.8	13 108	39.5	7	3	2	2
L. Tugela	19 596	19.8	11 064	55.6	13	4	2	7
Mtunzini	5 804	31.6	2 538	43.1	5	1	2	2
Eshowe	8 975	49.7	8 975**	100.0	1	1	-	0
L. Umfolozi	16 168	42.9	12 868**	78.5	4	1	2	1
Hlabisa	4 453	22.6	2 907	65.3	3	2	-	1
Ubombo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	87 343		12 772		33	12	8	13

* M.C. = Multifunctional Centres
IC = Specialized Industrial Centres
R = Coastal Resorts

** Include Black townships on borders of Kwa Zulu.

services but also by the distribution of processing manufacturing activity and resort functions within the sector. Processing manufacturing industry was dispersed and included not only the more important urban centres but a range of small, specialized industrial centres. These included places such as Mt. Edgecombe, Melville, Darnall and AmatiKulu (sugar-milling), Felixton (sugar-milling and paper), Mandini (paper), Kwambonambi (saw milling) and Tongaat-Maidstone (sugar milling and secondary industry). Of the Country Towns, only Empangeni possessed a significant industrial component that included processing industries (sugar milling, fruit and vegetable canning and service industries).

2.3 THE EMPANGENI-RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION

Within the regional economy of the Natal North Coast - Zululand development sector, the Empangeni-Richards Bay Sub-region (Fig. 2.2) clearly occupied a significant position. The Sub-region formed a part of the more intensively cultivated and developed southern zone of the sector and was well located to benefit from the exploitation of the agricultural and forestry resources of its immediate sphere of influence. The Lower Umfolozi District of which the Sub-region formed the most significant component, for example, produced over 18 percent of the sectoral G.G.P. in 1968, of which 40 percent was derived from agriculture and forestry and 22 percent from industrial activity, for the most part associated with processing industry.

Empangeni as the main focus within the Sub-region lay astride the regional transportation - communications axis at a point where it could exert a marked influence as a service and process industrial centre over an extensive market area. The Town served an asymmetrical tertiary service market area for middle order services and goods that extended southwards to include Felixton and Mtunzini, westwards to include the irrigation farming area in the Mkwaleni valley and northwards to the margins of the development sector. As a sugar-milling centre its market area was determined by the pattern of

allocation of specific cane producing areas to specific milling companies in Zululand for the processing of cane. The Empangeni sugar mill served a market area that extended mainly westwards to include the immediate vicinity of Empangeni, between the Mhlatuze and Enseleni rivers, and the area extending inland towards the Nwaleni Valley. The sugar mill at Felixton, on the other hand, served a market area to the south of the Mhlatuze river in the Mtunzini District and north of the Enseleni river extending to a line north of Kwambonambi.

As a Town providing administrative services to the Lower Umfolozi District, as a commercial, banking and educational centre for an extensive market area and as a centre of processing and service industries, Empangeni had developed as the largest urban place in Zululand by 1970. By that year it had also surpassed its historical rival, Eshowe, as the most important service centre in the territory. In relative terms, however, its significance as an urban place remained locally constrained. Thus in regional terms it was only one of several service centres of similar status and in Provincial and National terms it occupied a position of low significance.

Within the Sub-region, Richards Bay served as a local weekend resort and fishing village attracting only a relatively small number of holiday-makers and tourists from further afield. The importance of the Richards Bay Nature Reserve, controlled by the Natal Parks Board and that covered the entire Bay and its immediate surrounds, far outweighed the significance of the village as a holiday resort.

To the south of Empangeni, Felixton served as a specialised processing industry centre (sugar milling and paper manufacture) and Mtunzini was no more than a small resort. The village, however, was the magisterial seat of the District of Mtunzini. A significant function with an important potential social and residential impact upon the Sub-region, was the establishment and growth of the University of Zululand some 10 km to the south of Empangeni in the margins of KwaZulu. The establishment of the University clearly suggested that the Sub-region would in the future become an important, though controversial, Black educational focus of regional and national significance.

To the north the village of Kwambonambi was a centre of saw milling and lower order service activity based on the extensitve State and private forestry plantations developed on the Coastal Plain north of Richards Bay.

In the years immediately prior to the baseline survey, the Sub-region, though showing some promise of future growth and development had been a relatively static and slow-growing area. Its growth depended upon the further expansion and exploitation of agricultural and forestry resources in its sphere of influence. Though the area had enjoyed rights to concessions under Government's industrial decentralization policies, these had not at that stage greatly influenced the establishment and growth of industry in the Sub-region. Clearly the coastal margin also possessed a not inconsiderable potential for resort development based on the magnificent natural beauty and resources of Richards Bay and its ocean frontages. The expansion of commercial agricultural production (sugar cane) and the possible upgrading of infra-structure in the neighbouring territory of KwaZulu, following the implementation of Central Government Homeland development policies, would also have influenced growth in the Sub-region more particularly in service activity.

None of these factors, however, would in any measure have resulted in the sudden and dramatic change in economic fortune experienced by the Sub-region in consequence of the selection of Richards Bay as the site for a future deep-water harbour. That event will in the future totally re-orientate the space relationships of the Sub-region. The creation of new transport links with the interior and the establishment of new industrial and commercial activity within the Sub-region will create a new growth core in the north of the development sector. The overwhelming influence of the Durban Metropolitan Area is likely to be reduced and the Sub-region and indeed, the development sector as a whole is likely to become more directly and closely integrated with the space economy of the economic heartland in the interior of South Africa.

CHAPTER 3.

AN ECONOMIC BASE STUDY OF THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION.[1)]

D.A. LANGHAM.

The material for this chapter was written in 1973, and relates to the embryonic stage of the development of Richards Bay.

3.1 DEMARCATION OF THE REGION ECONOMICALLY.

The literature in economics on the demarcation of regions reveals three different approaches to the problem: The first of these, the homogeneous approach, stresses uniformity or similarity of characteristics as its specific delimitational criterion. Such characteristics might take economic, geographical or even social or political forms. The approach is held to be largely collective or macroeconomic in so far as applicatory implications are concerned (Richardson 1969), although Boudeville (1960) has pointed out that the concept might also be used in a microeconomic study to determine optimal location sites for individual producers, for instance.

The second approach is the so-called nodal or polar approach. It emphasises functional criteria, meaning that while heterogeneous units are allowed (e.g. differences in demographic distribution), stress is laid on functional inter-relationships between nodes or poles. The functional interconnections are revealed in measurement of flows (e.g. transport, communication, sales, etc.), the heaviest flows tending to polarize towards the dominant node (or nodes) usually large cities. While inter-regional flows do lend a macroeconomic flavour, culminating in an examination of inter-relationships between nodes within national boundaries, as evidenced in the works of Singer (1936), Zipf (1946) and the so-called 'rank-size rule', it is possibly the microeconomic or inter-regional aspects which have attracted more attention in recent years. An example of such research is evident in the gravity model formulation of Harris (1954) and

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1) This chapter is the result of drastic reduction through editing of a thesis-type report from Mr. Langham, (which also considered future aspects of the region). Only baseline data are presented here.

Dunn (1956) in an attempt to explain the location of industry.

The third method of classifying regions consists of dividing a country into so-called planning or programming regions. Such a categorization becomes necessary when questions of regional policy or planning arise. A planning region may be viewed broadly as an area within which administrative coherence is desired, thus lending it an aspect of unity. It becomes immediately apparent that the delineation of administrative 'areas of action' should be no arbitrary decision. Arbitrary delineation without due consideration to economic forces over space and time can only weaken the effects of centralised action if and when this is desired. To some extent, therefore, this does tend to revert attention to the two previously considered methods of regional delineation. The planning region is likely to be most effective, it would seem, when it coincides with economic regions of one of the two types mentioned earlier. On the other hand, since planning requires statistical data, and the collection of these normally takes place on a regional basis, there might be no choice other than to work with existing planning regions. With regard to this last point, there are substantial gains to be experienced if data are collected on the basis of very small units, so that statistical information can be made to relate to any size of area, the reason for this being that the optimal planning unit may vary according to the nature of the problem under consideration (Richardson 1969, 110).

Strictly speaking, then, the three definitions of regional type are not mutually exclusive. In the opinion of the author, however, the differing types of categorization lead to differing implications, methods of analysis, results and conclusions (Boudeville 1960, Richardson 1969).

It seems necessary to provide briefly a thumbnail sketch of the Zululand area with particular reference to Richards Bay.

Forming the north-eastern part of Natal, Zululand is bordered in the east by the Indian Ocean, in the north by Mozambique on the coast, and Swaziland, further inland, and in the south by the Tugela River. The magisterial districts tangential to the western

or inland boundary are Ingwavuma, Ubombo, Nongoma, Mahlabatini, Mtonjaneni, Nkandhla and Nqutu (in an anti-clockwise direction from north to south); while the coast belt, which is this study's area of interest, runs from the magisterial district of Ingwavuma in the north, through Ubombo, Hlabisa, and Lower Umfolosi to Mtunzini in the south.

Zululand comprises an area of 26 561 km.^{2} being 33,6 per cent of the total area of Natal. The sea frontage from the Tugela River mouth to the northernmost tip of Ingwavuma is approximately 340 kilometres, while the straight line distance between the northern- and southernmost extremities (latitudes 26^o 50'S and 29^o 13'S respectively) is approximately 230 kilometres.

TABLE 3.1

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS WHICH GO TO MAKE UP ZULULAND[1]) GIVING THEIR AREA.

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT	AREA Km^2 (1960)
Eshowe	1 748
Mtunzini	1 124
Ingwavuma	4 206
Mahlabatini	1 580
Mtonjaneni	1 649
Nkandhla	1 889
Nongoma	2 156
Nqutu	1 592
Ubombo	4 160
Hlabisa	3 766
Lower Umfolosi	2 691
TOTAL AREA	26 561

1) 'Zululand' is an historical area annexed by Britain in 1897. The Tugela River is regarded as the boundary. It is not to be confused with the present-day 'Homeland' of KwaZulu, which is made up of many scattered segments, a good number of which lie south of the Tugela River, outside the boundaries of Zululand.

Although industry is being promoted at the site of the harbour at Richards Bay, this was, at the time of writing this section of the base-line study (1973), in its embryonic stages, with agriculture dominating the bulk of activity in the area.

Predominant in agriculture are the sugar and timber industries. The dispersion of sugar farms is fairly uniform throughout the Zululand coastal belt up to the Hluhluwe area in the north from the Tugela River in the south. In this area are contained five mills, at Umfolosi, Empangeni, Felixton, Entumeni and Amatikulu. Production of the mills has varied in the period 1969-72 around 100 000 - 140 000 tons of sugar per annum per mill. This combined total, around 550 000 tons of sugar, is around 30 per cent of the country's total output over the given period. This, the most lucrative of primary activities in the area, with an annual value of output in the early 1970's of R35 000 000, draws attention to the magisterial districts of Mtunzini and Lower Umfolosi - an area along the coastal strip of Zululand stretching from Mtubatuba in the north, to the Tugela River in the south, and embracing most of the sugar growing area in Zululand and all five sugar mills.[1)]

Timber growing is centred around the Lower Umfolosi magisterial district with 46,80 per cent of the cultivated land in the district under timber, compared with 13,85 per cent for Mtunzini and 7,42 per cent for Eshowe, completing the triangle around Richards Bay. Further, Lower Umfolosi contained all the saw mills in the area and one of the two paper mills, and would thus seem to be the 'core' timber district, (excluding the large paper mill at Mandini, which falls within the Mtunzini magisterial district). It seemed, then, that there was a good case for including both Lower Umfolosi and Mtunzini in the timber area, which coincides exactly with the sugar area considered.

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1) In point of fact the sugar mill at Umfolosi falls within the magisterial district of Hlabisa, across the Umfolosi River, which forms the northern boundary of the Umfolosi magisterial district. Because the mill is so close to the Umfolosi River, and because a great deal of the mill's sugar originates from the Umfolosi magisterial district, the Umfolosi mill shall be regarded, for the purposes of the economic study, as falling within the Umfolosi-Mtunzini region.

Having discussed the two major primary activities, it does not seem unreasonable, then, to treat the magisterial districts of Lower Umfolosi and Mtunzini as the agricultural 'core' around Richards Bay, the stress being placed not only on the growing of sugar and timber, but also on their processing.

Although a fairly comprehensive network of service facilities has been located at Empangeni, the greater proportion of this serves a purely distributive function and, as such, cannot be considered to constitute industry. The five sugar and three saw mills can be considered either as agricultural, or industrial depending on whether their primary inputs, or on the other hand the secondary or tertiary aspect of their endeavours are used as a basis for classification. Under the more definite category of industry, there were in 1972 two aluminium plants at Richards Bay, vertically linked, (one producing and the other processing aluminium), and a fruit cannery at Empangeni. Other concerns of an industrial nature include several quarries, of which one, Ninians Quarries, has been awarded the Richards Bay stone contract, and a brick factory near Empangeni.[1)]

What can be said of an area embracing two out of eleven Zululand magisterial districts, and which accounts (in 1972) for all of Zululand's sugar and timber processing, half of her fruit canning interest (the other half being found in the Hlabisa magisterial district), and one of Zululand's largest service centres, Empangeni? It might be considered that the above factors indicate the likelihood of a nodal region. This possibility has not been overlooked by the author, but it is felt that postulation of the nodality of the region might be dangerous on two counts; firstly, since the tracing of service flows, normally used as an indicatory of nodality, might be misleading as the region is in its structural infancy; and second, and most important, is the fact that a nodal 'regrouping' has been

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1) By 1982 the industry in the area had increased significantly, with the distributive functions increasing even more. This is not reported on here, as the economic study was intended to provide a baseline, prior to much growth in the area.

planned; Richards Bay will be competing with Empangeni, the local node, in the first instance, and Durban, one of the provincial nodes, in the second instance, for the allocation of resources. To the extent that this competition might be successful, a considerable alignment of nodal fences would be taking place. On the strength of the above reasons, consideration of a nodal region might lead to the overlooking of significant functional changes over space and time.

On the other hand, there is evidence of strong characteristics displayed by the region. A list of regional characteristics for consideration would include:

(i) Topographical homogeneity; the strip delineated is part of the 'coastal belt' of Zululand, having similar geological characteristics, (see pp.44-46 of this chapter), and climate. Further, the northern and southern boundaries of the area are clearly delineated by two rivers, the Umfolosi and Tugela, respectively.

(ii) Similarity of agricultural characteristics. Not only does the area incorporate significant proportions of the sugar and timber growing interests in Zululand, but it also includes the location of the secondary and tertiary industries connected with these forms of agriculture in the region. On the strength of these characteristics, particularly the latter, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the region exhibits as an important aspect of its character one which is very close to homogeneity.

On the basis of this, and the fact that data are more readily available by magisterial district, the area encompassed by the magisterial districts of Umfolosi and Mtunzini will be the focus of the economic study, and will be considered to be an homogeneous region. *Reference, then, to 'the region' or 'the Richards Bay region' will signify the magisterial districts of Umfolosi and Mtunzini, including the Umfolosi sugar mill.* (This coincides with the region as defined by an independent on-the-spot visual

inspection undertaken by a geographer (R.J. Davies) and a sociologist (H.L. Watts), and referred to in Chapter 7 - Ed.)

3.2 BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

It seems fairly safe to say that any economic history of Zululand generally can be traced largely through the growth of agriculture in the region, and the sugar and timber industries in particular. Before 1897 Zululand had been largely under Zulu influence, but with the British annexure in that year came the opportunity for the extension of agriculture into the area.

Because of protection granted to the industry and the expansion of overseas and internal markets it became possible to establish sugar plantations north of the Tugela River from 1905 onwards. This yielded an initial harvest in 1908 of 42 000 tons and steady expansion of the area planted with sugar cane. By 1924 the Umfolosi River had been reached and in 1936 sugar cane was to be found near Lake St. Lucia.

Timber plantations were established about the same time as sugar in the Lower Umfolosi and Hlabisa magisterial districts after 1904. Again growth was steady (helped along by a wattle boom in 1926-28) until the 1950's, since which time acreages planted have remained fairly constant. There are at present two paper mills and three saw mills in the area, which together with the five sugar mills, accounted for over 90 per cent of the gross value of Zululand's industrial output in 1960.[1)]

More recent years have seen the introduction of cotton, groundnuts and pineapples into Zululand, but as yet these products remain insignificant in terms of output, or value of output, compared with the sugar and timber industries.

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1) McCrystal and Moore (1967, 66).

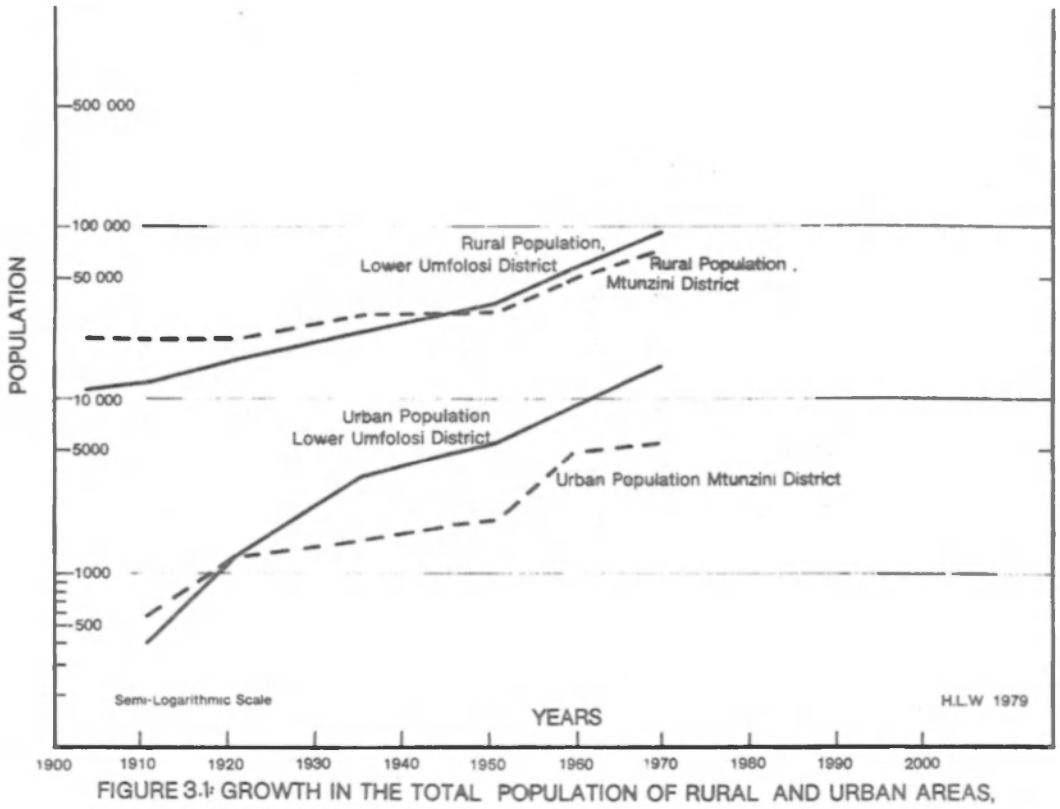

FIGURE 3.1: GROWTH IN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, LOWER UMFOLOSI AND MTUNZINI MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS, 1904 - 1970

Population figures (split up into urban and rural sections) in the period 1904-70 indicate a slow unspectacular growth of towns with a predominance of rural dwelling throughout the period. The data are shown in Table 3.2 and are graphed (on a semi-logarithmic scale) in Figure 3.1 below.

TABLE 3.2.

THE TOTAL POPULATION OF ALL RACES COMBINED 1904-1970, IN THE LOWER UMFOLOSI AND MTUNZINI MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS.

	LOWER UMFOLOSI DISTRICT		MTUNZINI DISTRICT		TOTAL	
YEAR	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1904	-	11 461	-	22 797	-	34 258
1911	396	12 879	582	22 550	978	35 429
1921	1 201	17 022	1 324	23 817	2 525	40 839
1936	3 658	25 301	1 597	32 203	5 255	57 504
1946	4 997	31 973	1 880	35 230	6 877	67 203
1951	5 598	39 016	1 967	36 801	7 565	75 817
1960	9 224	60 025	5 104	51 187	14 328	111 212
1970	20 680	121 452	8 038	88 559	28 718	210 011

Source: Republic of South Africa (1960) 1904-1960. The 1970 census data are from Republic of South Africa (1976B, 24-25, 56-57), and include KwaZulu - they were added by the Editor.

3.3 GEOLOGICAL RESOURCES OF THE REGION.

The region under consideration (the magisterial districts of Lower Umfolosi and Mtunzini) is of essentially limited geological interest. Figure 3.2 below provides some information. A sandy belt is found running along the entirety of the coastline, broadening south of Richards Bay to a maximum width just south of the St. Lucia estuary mouth. This so-called 'sandy' region can be divided into two sub-categories:

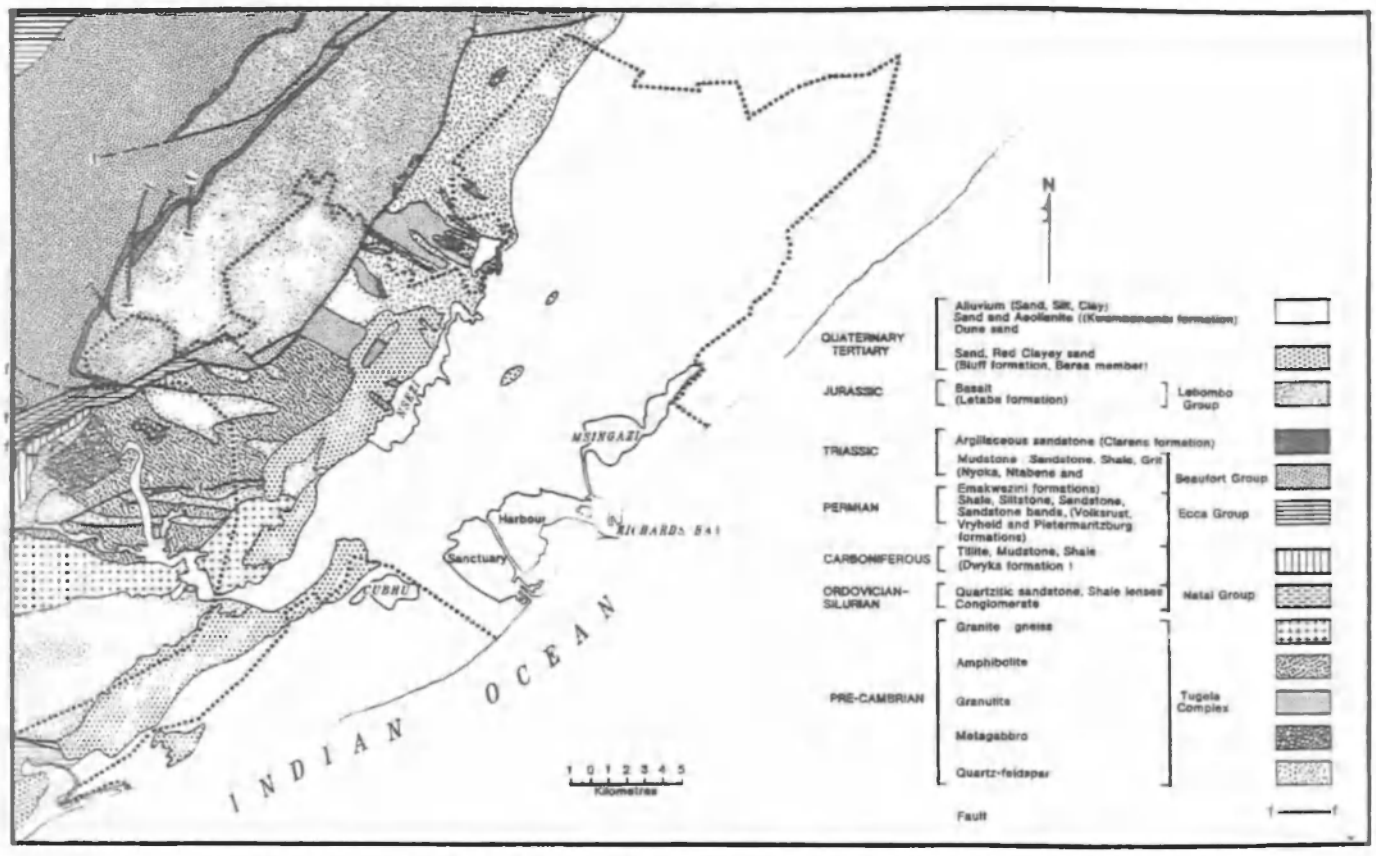

FIGURE 3.2 : EMPANGENI - RICHARDS BAY GEOLOGICAL OUTLINES

Recent Sands (red): which are present throughout the Zululand coastal strip south of Umlazi, and, according to Beater (1962), are representative of the old shore line as far north as the Mocambique border. While playing an important role in Zululand's caneareas, the sand is poor in fertility and requires heavy fertilization.

Recent Sands (grey): generally regarded as the poorest soil group of the sugar belt, most of these expanses are being used for tree plantations. Of this geological area 43 per cent is under cane.

Further inland, moving from south to north, sandstone shale (Table Mountain Series, Cape Dominion Reef System and Ecca Series, Karroo System) is encountered along with granite gneiss in the inland reaches of the Lower Umfolosi district. Traces of lava sediments (Table Mountain Series, Cape Dominion Reef System) and sandstone limestone (Cretaceous System) are found in the inland northern extremities.

Zululand in general, and the Richards Bay region in particular, is poorly endowed with minerals which can be worked in anything approaching an economic form. While many of the more common minerals have been traced in the region, few offer promise of any meaningful exploitation. (One exception in the region is the existence of titanium deposits in the dune sands, which were being mined by 1979. - Ed.)

3.4 POPULATION.

Table 3.3 shows the 1970 Population Census estimates for the magisterial districts of Lower Umfolosi and Mtunzini, subdivided into enumerator subdistricts. The statistics show the breakdown into race groups, along with the totals for each race in the region and the grand population total in the region.

Of the total population in the region 5,5 per cent were White, 0,4 per cent were of Coloured extraction, 2,4 per cent were Asians, the remainder, 91,7 per cent, being Africans. The region has, then, comparatively small White and Asian communities, and a correspondingly large African section of the population when compared with Natal for instance. Also noteworthy is the fact that 88,7 per cent of the population were classified by the census as 'rural'. Seventy-one per cent of the total population live in KwaZulu.

Although boundary delineations have changed since the previous census (1960), comparisons are nevertheless interesting (Table 3.4).

Table 3.5 shows the extent of urbanization (i.e. the percentage of the urban population is of the total population) for the region over the period 1911-1970. It can be seen that the extent of urbanization in the region as a whole increased steadily in the period 1911-1960 with a slight decrease in the decade thereafter. However, even the 1960 'high' figure of 11,4 per cent compares unfavourably with Natal as a whole, 36 per cent (approximately) and South Africa, 47 per cent (approximately) for the same year.[1)]

What population census figures suggest, then, is a relatively non-urbanized region with a rapidly growing population. Further, we might expect urbanization ratios to increase rapidly, probably topping 30 per cent at the very least, in the long run, if the rest of South Africa can be used as a yardstick for demographic distribution guidance.

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1. The figures were taken from an unpublished paper by A.. Best (1972), Department of Geography, University of Natal, Durban.

TABLE 3.3.

POPULATION, BY RACE GROUP, FOR THE MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS AND THEIR ENUMERATOR'S SUBDISTRICTS TAKEN AS CONSTITUTING THE RICHARDS BAY REGION, AT CENSUS HELD ON 6 MAY 1970.

DISTRICT AND TOWNS	NUMBERS BY RACE				TOTAL
	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Africans	
LOWER UMFOLOSI:					
Empangeni	4 512	96	157	2 767	7 532
Felixton	475	16	756	1 112	2 359
Kwambonambi	269	17	24	246	556
Richards Bay	411	7	7	174	599
Ngwelezana	-	-	-	5 336	5 336
Rural	1 618	134	1 796	94 181	97 729
TOTAL	7 285	270	2 740	103 816	114 111
MTUNZINI:					
Amatikulu	327	34	559	828	1 748
Gingindhlovu	296	8	25	197	526
Mandini	1 540	30	410	558	2 538
Mtunzini	415	-	9	559	983
Tugela Mouth	64	-	3	17	84
Rural	991	451	1 035	75 173	77 650
TOTAL	3 633	523	2 041	77 332	83 529
GRAND TOTAL	10 918	793	4 781	181 148	197 640

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics (1976): *Population of South Africa 1904-1970 : Report No. 02-05-12* Pretoria, Government Printer, Tables 2A, 4A (Whites); 2B, 4B (Coloureds); 2C, 4C (Asians); and 2D, 4D (Africans).

Note: Langham, in his report had used earlier preliminary figures of the Department of Statistics. The above figures from Report 02-05-12 represent data from a final report, and are slightly different from the earlier figures (usually slightly larger)(Ed.)

TABLE 3.4.

POPULATION CHANGES, 1960-1970.

DISTRICT	White Areas 1960	1970	△ % p.a.	African Areas 1960	1970	△ % p.a.
Lower Umfolosi	36 101	38 150	0,577	33 148	75 961	9,022
Mtunzini	14 299	18 610	2,783	41 992	64 919	4,643
TOTAL	50 400	56 760	1,246	75 140	140 880	6,767

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics (1976a), *Report 02-05-12,* pp. 102-3; 211 and 213, 320-2; 429 and 431.

Note: 'White Areas' are Natal; 'African Areas' are KwaZulu areas as defined at 6 May 1970.

The annual compound population change for all race groups in the region 1960 to 1970 was 4,84 per cent. The intercensal period from September 1960 to May 1970 has been taken as 9,6 years.

TABLE 3.5.

EXTENT OF URBANIZATION FOR THE REGION, 1911-1970.

	Percentage Population in Urban Areas			
DISTRICT	1911	1946	1960	1970
Lower Umfolosi	2,98	13,52	13,32	14,55
Mtunzini	2,52	5,06	9,07	8,32
TOTAL	2,69	9,29	11,41	12,03

Source: Table 3.3. above.

3.5 THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR.

3.5.1 A Categorization Scheme for Industry in the Region

North (1955) and Cohn (1954) distinguish four different types of manufacturing that will develop in the process of industrialization in a region. These are:

(i) *Material-orientated industries* which, because of marked transfer advantages of the manufactured product over the raw materials, locate at the source of raw materials. Examples of such industries would be sugar refining, flour milling and sawmilling. Vertical integration may be developed until transfer-cost advantages are equalized (at the margin). Such industry is typically classified as part of an economic base (North, 1955, 253).

(ii) *Service industries to the export base industry:* Foundries and establishments making machine tools and specialized agricultural implements serve as illustrations of this category.

(iii) *Residentiary industry producing for local consumption.*

(iv) *"Footloose" industries,* where transfer costs are not of significant importance in location. It would seem that a great many examples of this type develop purely by chance in some locations.

The above provides the framework within which the locational advantages and disadvantages of the region are explored, and in which the existing industrial infrastructure is analysed.

3.5.2 Categorization of the Existing Industrial Infrastructure in 1972

The first problem, then, should be the categorization of the existing industrial infrastructure in the Richards Bay region according to the four categories as set out above:

At the outset it is clear that the sugarmills and sawmills, and fruit canning factory, fall into the first category, namely that of material-orientated industries.

The technologies of the two pulping mills at Felixton and Mandini differ considerably. In point of fact, the mill at Felixton has as inputs not timber, but sugar cane bagasse and as such has strong linkages with the sugar mill at Felixton. What would be of

importance in categorization is the raw material orientation, however. Thus, this too would fall under the first category. The pulping mill at Mandini, while being raw-material orientated in so far as 80 per cent of its timber inputs originate in Zululand, is also strongly attracted towards water. The object of the location of such an industry would seem to be to locate so as to minimize timber haulage costs, subject to the availability of sufficient water. This could also be said to form part of the first category of industry.

The classification problem with respect to the aluminium smelter at Richards Bay is a slightly more difficult one. While the siting of the smelter seems to be neither raw material nor market orientated, this is not entirely true of its location, as a measure of indirect access to each is provided by the plant's proximity to the new harbour. Thus, as South Africa has no alumina deposits and as the process of aluminium smelting is weight reducing, the location of the smelter in the proximity of the harbour could be said to be a manifestation of quasi raw-material-orientation, and as such would constitute a conditional constituent of category (i). Its vertically linked site companion, the aluminium cabling and conductor producer, is clearly orientated towards the 'hot' aluminium which the smelter provides, and is thus input-orientated, falling into category (i).

For the rest, there seems to be one example of the second category, namely an engineering works supplying agricultural equipment, with most of the remainder falling into category (iii).

3.5.3 Outline of the Patterns of Industrial Development in the Region up to 1972

McCrystal and Moore (1967) have observed that in the region during the period 1956-60, growth in the net value of output in industry was largely accounted for by firms already established in the region. In other words, there was a deepening, as opposed to a broadening, of the industrial framework. This is almost certainly also true of the period 1960-72. If we consider for the moment the large influential industries within the region, one is struck by the fact that all of these industries, except for three cases, were

established prior to 1960.[1] In 1960 there were six sawmills, carpentry and joinery works, and two papermills in the region. In 1972 the picture was identical excepting the three new concerns. As in 1960, four sugarmills fell within the confines of the amended regional delineation. The single large fruit canning factory in the region was created in 1956.

The construction industry, while displaying the same overall characteristics, appeared, upon closer investigation, to be readying itself in the early 1970's for large expansions in the scale of business activity likely to accompany the construction of the Richards Bay harbour. In addition, a brick factory had been located near Empangeni with surplus capacity such as to allow it to cater for similarly increased demands.

More important, for the immediate future, has been the establishment of the two aluminium factories at Richards Bay. These two factories were significant employers of labour (1 200 in all), but their greatest impact is the fact that their establishment had, at the time of writing, approximately doubled regional production.

Such are the patterns that have emerged with regard to the industrial sector. It seems reasonable at this stage, then, to examine the logic underlying decisions to locate in, and the locational attractions of, the Richards Bay region

3.5.4 Factors affecting the location of Industry in the Region

McCrystal and Moore (1967, 70) set out a list of what were considered in 1967 to be the advantages and disadvantages of industrial location in the region In 1967, the situation was viewed as having very little to offer prospective industrialists other than the Border Area concessions available at Empangeni. When compared with areas offering similar concessions in Natal - Hammarsdale near Pietermaritzburg,

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1) Zululand Furniture Factory and Zululand Sawmills are taken as ONE concern, and not four concerns (two of which are small).

and Rosslyn near Pretoria, this was not felt to be particularly strong recommendation. As things stood before the announcement of the harbour construction plans, none but the most optimistic could envisage industrial development blossoming in the region, other than that taking place as a result of further agricultural expansion. Even in the event of such expansion, the existing agricultural infrastructure could conceivably boast excess capacity sufficient to cope with increased output, thereby reducing the scope for the establishment of new plants. However, the opening of a shortened rail route to the Witwatersrand via Vryheid, and the establishment of the port at Richards Bay, would bring with them improved access to markets for industries established in the region on the one hand, and to material sources outside the region on the other hand.

On the negative side it has been pointed out that the small size of Zululand's local market in general, and that of the Richards Bay region in particular, does not encourage the emergence of market-orientated industries, other than firms operating on a very small scale. In point of fact, there were, in 1967, only six bakeries, a soft drink works, Bantu-beer brewing, blacksmithing, agricultural machinery, fertilizer and wood-working concerns, as the only market-orientated industries in Zululand. All the remaining industries were orientated towards material sources.

Another aspect to which attention was drawn by McCrystal and Moore (1967) was an almost complete lack of labour-orientated industries in Zululand. This was taken to be indicative of the shortage of skilled labour, or alternatively that the wage costs of inducing sufficient skilled labour to the area would be high, comparative to alternative location sites. The McCrystal-Moore argument hinges around the fact that the Africans (largely of Zulu origin) are by and large without skills, and with (in 1967) no concessions provided to industrialists to offset the cost of their training, they provide little in the way of attraction for labour-orientated industries. (McCrystal and Moore, 1967, 68-69). This point, however, was no longer valid in 1972 for labour-training concessions.

Until the opening of the Vryheid-Witwatersrand rail link, the region had suffered from a lack of access to the main markets of the country. However, with the opening of the shortened rail link to the Witwatersrand in particular, market access to this large area compares favourably with that of Durban to the same area.

A further point made by McCrystal and Moore, also invalid at the time of writing, concerns the unavailability of electric power. Zululand in general has at the time of writing and for the previous three years, been in the throes of conversion to Escom power, while the plan for the Richards Bay harbour has ensured that there will be no shortage in this regard.

Finally, the point was made by McCrystal and Moore that all industrial requirements in the form of machinery and maintenance, as opposed to raw materials, would have to be obtained from Durban or other large centres. The potential location sites in the region were seen as being near neither unexploited materials nor markets, and as a result, undesirable in so far as the location of large firms was concerned.

It should be pointed out at this juncture that such arguments could embrace only the short and possibly medium terms.

The contention that the region would suffer from a shortage of skilled labour is debatable. It has been argued that the establishment of such an employment incentive, nearer home, would lure many of the trained Zulu labourers away from the Witwatersrand in particular, and also other centres, such as Durban. This would, from a planning point of view, ease a potential labour bottleneck in the region. However, the causes of labour migration are varied and not altogether clear; the extent of migrant returns might be said to depend upon the relative strengths of Mitchell's (1959) 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' forces. If the combination of wages and proximity to family is pleasing to the migrant, significant numbers may well be tempted away from the large towns (which offer at present the most attractive inducement to migrate). A

further point to take into account with regard to the return of migrant workers is the "pull" of Richards Bay in the long-run as an established town. Thus, as Richards Bay develops in the medium and long terms, its magnetic attraction as a town may increase in so far as migrants are concerned. Follow-up studies in the future will have to check on this aspect.

In the short-run all the industrial requirements of the region have to be imported into the region. This situation would in some measure be alleviated by the harbour's ability to land foreign materials comparatively cheaply, by minimizing handling and railage charges. There would seem to be an inducement, then, to firms having an import-orientation to locate at or near the harbour.

Nearly all the above disadvantages to industry have been formulated specifically with a short time period in mind. A longer period of time tends to change the framework and situation within which one is working. An attempt is made below to sum up the locational advantages and disadvantages of the Richards Bay region in general in the short-run (with the existing infrastructure

Short-run trends are taken as those operating in the 'present framework', at the time of writing this part of the report in 1973. The 'present framework' shall be taken to consist of the (then) existing industries, and the direct Witwatersrand rail link, *embracing the time up to, but not including, the proposed completion of the harbour in 1975-76.*

Limited markets for goods will restrict the scale and scope of market-orientated expansion. It seems reasonable that initial service requisites should be provided on an increasingly localized basis. This could be viewed as a step up in the urban hierarchy - a trend which should continue steadily, as suggested by the Central City Plan of Richards Bay. There would be small-scale narrow-scoped service expansion. An interesting facet of the expansion at this

very early stage in the development of Richards Bay is the possibility, and extent, to which Richards Bay will find itself competing with Empangeni for the location of service facilities. In the short-run Empangeni certainly offers a larger resident population and the advantage of being a recognised and established service centre. To the extent that this is true, then, and to the extent that Empangeni will provide a "dormitory suburb" for Richards Bay, it could continue to compete successfully with Richards Bay for the creation of service facilities.

The increasingly pressing shortage of industrial land at Empangeni should help insure that continuing competition by Empangeni with Richards Bay will not be maintained on an industrial front, similar to that possible in the services field.

A second inhibiting factor in so far as industry is concerned in the short-run, is that already discussed by McCrystal and Moore (1967) - the fact that for the most part industry's requirements of materials, other than aluminium, sugar and timber inputs, will have to be obtained from other major centres. The other side of the coin is that short-run linkage possibilities are restricted. The linkage possibilities at present existing in the region concern aluminium processing, sugar and sugar by-product processing, and paper processing. No further advantages can be found other than those stemming from the general existence of agriculture. An agricultural engineering works in Empangeni bears evidence of the type of development likely in this direction.

Future developments are beyong the scope of a baseline study. However, some ideas may benefit future follow-up studies.

While the aluminium and petrochemical industries do offer linkage possibilities, it appears that the real momentum in local expansion will come about as a result of Richards Bay's harbour facilities. The speed at which harbour facilities can be brought into use and expanded appear to be critical both in the

rate at which the local region is to expand, and the nature of this expansion. The line of reasoning is an entirely logical one - the quicker the harbour can assume significance in South Africa, the more rapid will be population expansion at Richards Bay, and the sooner will "large scale" production incentives be offered to local industry.

Richards Bay initially offered few "natural" locational advantages to base industries. As a result it would appear that industrial incentives will be dependent upon harbour and population growth. This suggests that Richards Bay will be attractive to harbour (import and export) industries, and labour-orientated, rather than raw material-orientated, industries.

In conclusion it can be said that the development of Richards Bay will be dependent upon three factors: the growth of the harbour in the first place; and the growth of population and development of labour skills in the second instance.

A tentative pattern can be seen to emerge: it is suggested that Richards Bay will tend to become the primary servicing port for the Witwatersrand, particularly with respect to the handling of bulk cargoes. Taking into account the large relative size (in a South African context) of the Witwatersrand market, it seems distinctly possible that Richards Bay will become South Africa's primary bulk-handling port in the future. This would in turn alleviate a great deal of the existing pressure on Durban harbour facilities, and could act as an incentive to ship repair concerns, able to undertake large vessel repairs, to locate at Richards Bay. Such firms would probably experience only weak competition from Durban, which cannot handle very large vessels. Extending this line of reasoning brings one to the possible conclusion that Richards Bay could in the future house the backbone of South Africa's ship repairing and building concerns. Linkages such as this indicate that McCrystal and Moore's (1967) suggestion that an ISCOR plant be established at Richards Bay bears future

investigation. Follow-up studies can examine the validity of these hypotheses.

3.5.5 Locational Decisions of Firms in the Region : Responses to a Questionnaire

The existing industrial firms in the region were contacted, and the questionnaire shown in Appendix A was used to gather information on a variety of topics. This section presents the replies to the questions about locational factors concerning industries in the region.

Sugar Milling

It emerged from the questionnaire that the primary factor in sugar mill location decisions was that of proximity to raw materials (sugar cane). All other factors assumed a secondary importance. The reason for this is that sugar milling is a markedly weight reducing one. Proximity to suitable sugar growing land was felt to be a *sine qua non* of sugar mill location.

Further secondary factors to emerge as influential in the location decision were (in order of importance), the availability of suitable labour, and land. Proximity to markets was a minor factor, although obviously, if suitable lands were close to market areas, this would be responsible for a saving in the costs of transportation of processed sugar.

No incentives had been offered by government, nor did any of the mills benefit from serviced industrial estates.

All the mills in the area had originated in the period 1908-1913 - thus no relationship could be derived between their location decision and the proximity of the Richards Bay harbour. Benefits from the harbour could result if a sugar terminal at Richards Bay similar to that in operation in Durban was established.

Clearly sugar milling remains in category (i) of the North-Cohn formulation, as suggested in 3.5.1 above.

Timber Industry: Sawmilling and Pulping

Although one of the two pulping mills, namely that located at Felixton, did not use timber as input, but bagasse (a residue of sugar production), this will for the sake of convenience and clarity of categorization be included in the timber industry section.

Proximity to raw materials again emerged as the dominant factor in the location decision. The situation in two cases in particular was not quite as clearcut as this. In the first instance, as mentioned above, the pulping factory at Felixton was only indirectly dependent upon "raw" materials. Inputs for the mill came about as a result of the existence of the sugar mill at Felixton. The pulping mill could, as a result, be said to be vertically linked with the sugar mill at Felixton, and indirectly raw-material orientated, by virtue of the sugar mill's raw material orientation. The second case was that of the furniture factory at Port Durnford. In point of fact it was revealed that 75 per cent of timber requirements were, in this instance, imported from Singapore. However, it was intimated by the management that in view of the decline in quality of Singapore timber, and the planting of more satisfactory local hybrid timber forests, the use of imported timber would probably cease in five to eight years' time. Thereafter reliance would be placed on locally grown timber for the manufacture of furniture.

Lesser factors concerning the consideration of the location decision were the availability of sufficient labour (particularly in the cases of the two largest labour employers at Mandini and KwaMbonambi), and the existence of suitable land. This becomes especially important in the case of the pulping mill at Mandini, where the term "suitable land" could be taken to

include the proximity of large water supplies (in this case, the Tugela River). A further factor with the pulping mill concerned odour given off by the process - the mill could not be located too near a town.

Although the location of the mills had not taken place as a result of the planned establishment of the harbour at Richards Bay, this could to a limited extent provide an outlet for possible timber-based exports in the future. As in the case of sugar milling, proximity to markets was not an important factor, due to the varying degrees of weight reduction of the processes involved.

No government incentives were offered, except to the furniture factory at Port Durnford in the form of a Bantu Investment Corporation loan.

Once again examination strongly supports the previous classification of the industry as a whole in category (i).

Fruit Canning

The solitary concern of this type located in the region was raw material orientated. Two alternative locations were considered, the Eastern Cape and Northern Natal, before the final location decision was taken. Although the process is not, strictly speaking, weight reducing, raw material orientation comes about as a result of the fact that the uncanned fruit is easily damaged en route to the factory. It is necessary, therefore, to minimize distances travelled by uncanned fruit.

A second contributory factor in the location was the existence of abundant labour, as was, to a much lesser extent, the existence of suitable land.

Since the concern was established in the area in 1956, the existence of the harbour was not of significance in the location

decision. However, as almost 95 per cent of factory output was exported, this would constitute a significant railage saving once established.

No government incentives were offered.

Consideration of the above factors clearly supports the view that the factory can be classified under category (i).

Aluminium Industry

Proximity to the new harbour, and thus raw materials (all of which are imported), was a significant factor in the aluminium smelter's (ALUSAF's) decision to locate at Richards Bay, while the cabling and conductor factory (ALCOR) was vertically linked with ALUSAF. A further reinforcing factor with regard to this harbour orientation was felt to be the possibility of aluminium exports.

Further important factors in the aluminium industry's location included government assistance (in the form of Industrial Development Corporation loans), the situation on the more direct Witwatersrand rail communication link (despite the existence of Alcan in Pietermaritzburg, and its vertical linkage with ALUSAF), the fact that both factories were on serviced industrial estates, and suitable land. As the processes in both factories are weight reducing, the industry is not market orientated.

3.5.6 The effects of the Port: Responses to the Questionnaire

During the fieldwork each industrial firm was questioned about the likely effects of the harbour at Richards Bay. (See Appendix A.)

Sugar Industry

The only benefits envisaged in this instance would seem

to hinge around the possibility of the establishment of a sugar terminal at Richards Bay, which would have the effect of marginally decreasing railage costs on Northern Natal and Eastern Transvaal export sugar. This, in turn, is dependent upon the extent to which mills in the abovementioned sugar growing areas export sugar, relative to the rest of the sugar belt in Natal. The greater the proportion of total sugar exports provided by these mills, the greater would be the benefits involved in establishing a sugar terminal at Richards Bay.

Timber Industry

In two instances, reported gains would be made on railage charges concerning timber imports. The furniture factory in particular stands to benefit considerably, as this concern imports 75 per cent of its wood requirements at the time of writing. For the most part, the remainder of the firms in the timber industry would gain largely from the more direct link with the Witwatersrand, rather than as a direct result of the establishment of the harbour. There was, however, the possibility of a more direct benefit which would accrue if wood or wooden products came to be exported by local concerns in the future. If this were to come about, it was felt that it would be due to an ever-increasing demand for, and decreasing supply of, wood throughout the world.

Fruit Canning

Considerable savings in the costs of railage would be experienced by the fruit cannery, as 95 per cent of the total output of the factory was exported.

Aluminium

This sector in general, and Alusaf in particular, stands to benefit a great deal from the establishment of the harbour at Richards Bay. Factors underlying this include the concentration

of the industry (with the exception of ALCAN) at Richards Bay; and the fact that all raw materials are imported (this concerns ALUSAF). This latter fact will give management more direct control over inputs; (there is at present an alumina silo at Durban, necessitating careful rail-coodination between Durban and Richards Bay), and will decrease railage and handling charges on the landed raw materials. A further point to emerge, (and one which is generally applicable), is the possibility that harbour development will attract experienced black labour away from other industrial centres to Richards Bay. This will expand possibilities for the recruitment of labour, and will facilitate the training of labour, or the "spreading of skills" required by local labour. This in turn could encourage the establishment of heavy industry in the area.

3.5.7 Transportation: Responses to the Questionnaire

The questionnaire used (see Appendix A) enlisted comments on transportation provision under four headings: Road, Rail, Air and the effect of the Richards Bay-Witwatersrand rail link. Although there existed at Richards Bay at the time of writing, an air strip, this played a totally insignificant part in commercial activities, and will, for the purposes of the analysis below, be disregarded. Observations on the transport network will be presentec on an industry-by-industry basis under the headings: Road, Rail and the Effect of the Richards Bay-Witwatersrand Rail Link.

Sugar Industry

Observations on *road transport* varied from "no comment" to "good". On the whole no outspoken criticisms of the road facilities were voiced. It should be noted in this respect, however, that all the sugar mills were reasonably placed with regard to the arterial transport network, in contrast with firms in the timber industry.

While on the whole there was no harsh criticism of the

rail service provided, it was pointed out that congestion and plant stoppages were caused by ineffectual truck supervision (being in-transport in the case of Umfolosi, and out-transport in that of Felixton and Empangeni).

As sugar is not despatched directly to the Witwatersrand markets, the effect of the *Richards Bay-Witwatersrand rail link* would not be fully felt by the mills. However, in two cases, mill service constituents (e.g. spare parts) would be more readily accessible, and further possible savings on coal (inputs) and molasses (outputs) railage costs were mentioned.

Timber Industry

As accessibility *by road* to the firms constituting the industry varied greatly, some being closely-linked arterially, others remote, comments were mixed. In one case (at KwaMbonambi) it was observed that roads were becoming overcrowded and difficulty was experienced with heavy transport. In yet another case (at Mandini) difficulty was experienced in negotiating satisfactory terms for road permits. The more remote mills using predominantly tractor-trailer in-transport experienced difficulty with unpaved district roads to the mills.

Although generally *rail links* were felt to be satisfactory, three mills lamented the periodic shortages of trucks, while another pointed out that the "bunching" of trucks had led to the necessity of paying demurrage in the past.

The *Effect of the Richards Bay-Witwatersrand Rail Link* was dependent upon the extent of Witwatersrand market penetration. In two cases this was minimal. For the rest, one firm conceded a slight rail rate advantage, while another, having a large Witwatersrand market, felt this to be of considerable benefit.

Fruit Canning

The *road transport* service was felt to be generally adequate, largely due to recent improvements on the Gingindhlovu-Empangeni stretch of road.

Difficulty was experienced with damageable goods, particularly of inputs - i.e. cans from Durban, and grapefruit from the supplying farms when using the *railways* for transportation.

Coal (from Vryheid) and grapefruit rail costs (from the Eastern Transvaal) would be decreased by the *Richards Bay-Witwatersrand Rail Link* due to a more direct link with the factory. In addition, that proportion of output not exported could be transported to Witwatersrand markets more cheaply.

Aluminium

The *road service* was generally felt to be adequate, although attention was drawn to the fact that there was no adequate black passenger transport service.

Once again factory servicing facilities by the *railways* were adequate, but passenger transport was non-existent.

The *Richards Bay-Witwatersrand Rail Link* would lead to a reduction in transportation costs: with Alusaf, particularly on spare parts for machinery, and with Alcor on transportation to its significant Witwatersrand market.

3.6 LABOUR IN THE REGION.

3.6.1 Existing Labour

The labour force was made up as follows:

TABLE 3.6.

EXISTING LABOUR FORCE OF BASE INDUSTRIES, 1972.

TYPE OF INDUSTRY	Number of labourers	% of total employment
Sugar Milling	4 176	6,00
Timber Milling and Pulping	7 416	10,65
Agriculture	33 504	48,12
Fruit Canning	1 230	1,77
Aluminium	1 222	1,76
TOTAL BASE EMPLOYMENT	47 548	68,30
Estimated Total Labour Force	69 620	100,00

3.6.2 GROWTH OF THE LABOUR FORCE: EXPECTED GROWTH IN THE LABOUR FORCE IN BASE INDUSTRIES.

Sugar

It was felt that the growth of the labour force would be minimal. In fact, if anything, a slight reduction in the labour force could be effected due to increased productivity.

Timber

Once again, no significant expansion was envisaged. On the contrary, technical advances could pave the way for a reduction in total employment.

Fruit Canning

Expansion in output of up to 50 percent, accompanied by corresponding employment increases was possible. If so this would entail the additional employment of up to 600 persons in this sector.

Aluminium

Estimates of increased absorption of labour for the two concerns (Alusaf and Alcor) varied between 5 per cent and 10 per cent. It is of interest that since its inception in 1971 Alusaf has in fact slightly reduced its labour force. If expansion of the expected proportions does take place this would entail the additional employment of between 60 and 120 persons.

In total, then, it can be seen that employment expansion estimates can be responsible for the absorption of up to 720 additional labourers, which constitutes 1,01 per cent of the existing total labour force.

The prospects of the base industries as employers of large additional numbers of labourers are not, then, very bright, certainly in the short to medium term.

3.6.3 Labour Problems

Sugar Industry

White Labour: Trouble had been experienced in obtaining suitable white labour. In two cases it was observed that the labour appeared to have a very casual approach to the jobs concerned.

Black Labour: A very high annual turnover rate of black labour had been experienced. In two cases, this was attributed to a lack of basic education, which resulted in difficulties with regard to further training, and a consequent lack of proficiency among the labourers.

Timber Industry

White Labour: The timber industry did not, at the time of writing, employ many white workers; but, in general, the

availability and quality of the labour force was felt to be satisfactory. In one case difficulty was experienced in obtaining certain classes of labour (especially of the artisan type) and attention was drawn to the fact that there was a high annual rate of turnover amongst the white labour force, sometimes as great as 40 per cent per annum. This was felt to be symptomatic of the great countrywide demand for artisan type labour. As a result of this, if a job proved unsatisfactory to the employee in any way, alternative employment was easily obtained.

Black Labour: Of the firms interviewed, four were not satisfied with the quality of the black labour force, while the remainder expressed satisfaction only with the semi-skilled ("educated") black labour. In the latter instances, this satisfaction was due to the ability of the employers to motivate this section of the labour force, which in turn led to greater stability, the labourers concerned being less prone to a high rate of turnover. In addition, two firms were satisfied with the labour's response to in-job training, but felt that the need for this might have been obviated by the establishment of technical or vocational training facilities for black labour. Reasons given for dissatisfaction with the black labour included: lack of basic education resulting in unfamiliarity with any form of mechanisation, which in turn necessitated a "wasteful" apprenticeship period; and lack of motivation.

In this case it was generally proposed that the wider provision of educational facilities would result in improved expectations due to greater comprehension, both of the task at hand, and of the prospects for individual betterment through promotion.

Fruit Canning

White Labour: A measure of difficulty had been experienced in obtaining workers of the engineer-artisan class, due, it was felt, to a reluctance to live in a "rural" community.

Black Labour: It was felt that the firm involved absorbed a "surplus" element in the labour force, lacking real motivation.

Aluminium

White Labour: Satisfaction was expressed with this section of the labour force. It was felt that this was partially due to the fact that experienced labour had been drawn from similar concerns on the Witwatersrand, with the prior knowledge that such workers were capable of performing the tasks allotted them.

Black Labour: The quality of the black labour force showed a steady improvement. Aptitude tests performed on these workers had revealed great potential in so far as the competent performance of the available jobs was concerned. High rates of absenteeism still proved to be a source of worry to one concern.

3.6.4 Educational Levels Required in the Labour Force

In this subsection firms were asked to estimate their "ideal" educational requirements of the labour employed. This was broken down into four categories for the white labour force and five categories for the black labour force (see Appendix A). On the basis of the answers to the questions contained in the questionnaire an attempt was made to establish an industry-by-industry "average" set of labour force educational requirements. This was possible due to a remarkable consistency in the answers on the part of those questioned. Where a range of estimates existed this is revealed in the data below. The data, as before, are presented on an industry-by-industry basis and retain the categorizations as originally set out in the questionnaire. The findings in each industry are summarized at the end of each categorization group.

Sugar Industry

White Labour

Educational Level	% of Labour Force
(a) University degree	3 - 5
(b) Vocational and Technical qualification	95 -98
(c) High school	
(d) Other	

Most of the labour force in this sector are artisans, and qualifications for jobs varied considerably, although firms expressed a preference for trained artisans rather than "raw" high school graduates.

Black Labour

Educational Level	% of Labour Force
(a) University degree	5
(b) Vocational and Technical qualification	3 -20
(c) High School	Up to 90
(d) Primary school	
(e) Education unimportant	

An educated trained "core" of the labour force was necessary, consisting predominantly of artisans. Other than this, education was not considered important, although a primary school education would be preferable.

Timber Industry

White Labour

Educational Level	% of Labour Force
(a) University degree	1 - 3 (5 maximum)
(b) Vocational and Technical qualification	95-98
(c) High school	
(d) Other	

Experience emerged as the most important requirement in this sector. University educations were needed only in the larger concerns.

Black Labour

Educational Level	% of Labour Force
(a) University degree	1 - 2
(b) Vocational and Technical qualification	2 - 5
(c) High school	50 -60
(d) Primary school	30
(e) Education unimportant	10 -15

Although some jobs (10-15 percent) required no training or education whatsoever, for the most part at least primary school education would be required.

Fruit Canning

White Labour

Educational Level	% of Labour Force
(a) University degree	5
(b) Vocational and Technical qualification	95
(c) High school	
(d) Other	

A high school education would be preferable in all instances, while a university education would be an asset to top administrative and engineering staff.

Black Labour

Educational Level	% of Labour Force
(a) University degree	
(b) Vocational and Technical qualification	
(c) High school	10
(d) Primary school	90
(e) Education unimportant	

Few skills were required, the operations being of a repetitive nature for the most part (90 per cent).

Aluminium

White Labour

Educational Level	% of Labour Force
(a) University degree	10 -30
(b) Vocational or Technical qualification	
(c) High school	70 -90
(d) Other	

A Junior Certificate, or its equivalent, was the minimum educational level required for the training involved, but a better qualified labour force would be preferred.

Black Labour Educational Level	% of Labour Force
(a) University degree	4 - 5
(b) Technical and Vocational qualification (c) High school	85 -90
(d) Primary school (e) Education unimportant	5 -10

A Bach. of Science qualification was necessary for the majority of jobs requiring university degrees, as most of this involved laboratory testing work.

3.6.5 Wage Structure

Here again an attempt was made to assess a "modal average" wage on an industry-by-industry basis and by race group. However, in an attempt to avoid the recognised pitfalls and half truths involved in the concept of an average, more flexibility was allowed by introducing a "modal range" in wage structures, along with the high and low wage extremities for each group. Wages are given on a monthly basis.

Sugar Industry

	Ranges	
Race Group	Extremities	Mode[1]
Whites	R100 - 1 000	R250 - 300
Blacks[2]	30 - 240	40 - 45
Coloureds	140 - 240	190 - 220
Asians	50 - 175	80 - 90

1) This excludes food and housing, which is provided in most cases.

2) This term refers to 'Africans'.

Timber Industry

Race Group	Ranges Extremities	Mode
Whites	R120 - 1 000	R300 - 350
Blacks	20 - 350	25 - 80
Coloureds	200 - 350	225 - 250
Asians	200 - 350	225 - 250

In the case of the black sector, the picture is distorted by the fact that the lower echelons of the range received free food and housing whereas in the higher echelons this was not the case.

Fruit Canning

Race Group	Ranges Extremities	Mode
Whites	R100 - 1 000	R300 - 350
Blacks	36 - 150	50 - 80
Coloureds	-	-
Asians	-	-

Aluminium Industry

Race Group	Ranges Extremities	Mode
Whites	R280 - 1 000	R300 - 350
Blacks	36 - 150	50 - 80
Coloureds	-	-
Asians	-	-

Two factors significantly distort any patterns which might emerge from the data. In the first place, the wage in many cases includes overtimes payments up to as much as a 220 hour month, as opposed to the "normal" working month of approximately 160 hours, and in the second instance a great many of the wages paid, to white and black

groups in particular, are not reflective of the fact that free board and lodging is provided.

3.7 TOURISM.

The region itself in 1973-74 offered limited tourist attraction and accommodation, the two main tourist centres being at Mtunzini and Richards Bay, where there were hotels and Natal Parks Board reserves. However, if one is to consider the effect of the establishment of a large centre at Richards Bay, it seems likely that the effects will be felt further afield in so far as tourism is concerned. While eventually providing the more sophisticated facilities of a larger city, Richards Bay will at the same time, open up greater access to the Game Reserves in Northern Zululand in particular, via improved rail and road links, and the establishment of an airport north of the proposed city. Even at the time of writing, the airstrip can provide a staging point for entry by tourists to the region.

While Zululand has hotels at Eshowe, Mtunzini, Richards Bay, at and near Empangeni, Mtubatuba, Hluhluwe, Mkuzi and St. Lucia on the 'coastal' section, of note in the area, however, is the significant part played by nature reserves as tourist attractions. There are game reserves at Mkuzi, Hluhluwe, Umfolosi, St. Lucia and Ndumu; and further nature reserves at Eshowe, Mtunzini, Nseleni (North East of Empangeni), Richards Bay, St. Lucia, False Bay, Sordwana Bay and Kosi Bay.

Accommodation in the form of hutted camps or campsites is available at Hluhluwe, Umfolosi, Mkuzi, Fanies Island, Charters Creek, Fanies Island inland, and at Sordwana Bay, St. Lucia, Mapelane, Richards Bay, and Mlalazi (Mtunzini) on the coast. While these cover a wider area than our region, it seems worthwhile to provide baseline data for these camps. Tourist numbers and revenue received from these institutions are set out below in Tables 3.7.1 to 3.7.12 below:

STATISTICS FOR CAMPS AND RESERVES IN THE REGION ITSELF AND BEYOND.

TABLE 3.7.1.

NUMBER OF VISITORS TO THE RESERVES, 1973.

Camp	Whites	Asians	Africans
Hluhluwe	43 459	1 332	210
Umfolosi	21 056	67	499
Mkuzi	14 698	52	56
Fanies Island	8 107	-	-
Charters Creek	8 678	4	16
Ndumu	2 266	20	-

TABLE 3.7.2.

PERCENTAGE OCCUPANCY; SELF-CONTAINED COTTAGES, 1973.

Camp	% Rest Huts	% Self-contained cottages
Hluhluwe	78,8	76,0
Umfolosi - Mpila	85,4	-
Masinga	26,0	-
Mkuzi	81,4	-
Fanies Island	78,0	-
Charters Creek	64,8	-
Ndumu	72,9	-

TABLE 3.7.3.

REVENUE: VEHICLE ENTRY, 1973 (RANDS)

Camp	Revenue in Rands
Hluhluwe	25 510
Umfolosi	9 822
Mkuzi	7 804
Fanies Island	1 966
Charters Creek	2 042
Ndumu	1 088

TABLE 3.7.4.

REVENUE: HUTTED CAMPS, 1973 (RANDS)

Camp		Revenue in Rands
Hluhluwe		32 286
Umfolosi	Mpila	9 252
	Masinda	5 752
Mkuzi		5 391
Fanies Island		8 873
Charters Creek		11 523
Ndumu		4 840

TABLE 3.7.5.

REVENUE: CAMP SITES, 1973 (RANDS)

Camp	Revenue in Rands
Mkuzi	2 778
Fanies Island	3 564

TABLE 3.7.6.

REVENUE: CURIO SALES, 1973 (RANDS)

Camp	Revenue in Rands
Hluhluwe	22 989
Umfolosi	8 761
Mkuzi	9 395
Fanies Island	1 589
Charters Creek	1 662
Ndumu	603

TABLE 3.7.7.

ORIGIN OF VISITORS TO CAMPS.

Camp	Visitor Origin. Number from overseas	Number from South Africa
Hluhluwe	20 796	26 058
Umfolosi	7 734	13 564
Mkuzi	4 936	9 738
Fanies Island	806	7 439
Charters Creek	1 833	6 688
Ndumu	487	1 918

TABLE 3.7.8.

VISITOR ENTRY REVENUE: COMMERCIAL VEHICLES, 1973 (RANDS)

Camp	Revenue in Rands
Hluhluwe	7 898
Umfolosi	1 135
Mkuzi	794
Fanies Island	-
Charters Creek	-
Ndumu	-

TABLE 3.7.9.

REVENUE: GAME GUARD HIRE, 1973 (RANDS)

Camp	Revenue in Rands
Hluhluwe	2 259
Umfolosi	784
Mkuzi	298
Fanies Island	-
Charters Creek	-
Ndumu	-

TABLE 3.7.10.

TOTAL VEHICLES ENTERING RESERVES.

Camp	Number of vehicles
Hluhluwe	12 459
Umfolosi	4 957
Mkuzi	4 048
Fanies Island	2 416
Charters Creek	2 626
Ndumu	631

TABLE 3.7.11.

NUMBER OF VISITORS ENTERING CAMPSITES FOR 11 MONTHS ENDED 28 FEBRUARY 1974

Campsite	Number
St. Lucia	15 015
Sordwana	21 123
Richards Bay [1]	7 642
Mapelane	1 731
Mlalazi Nature Reserve [2]	2 372

TABLE 3.7.12.

TOTAL REVENUE FROM COASTAL RESERVES YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1974.

Reserve	Revenue in Rands [3]
St. Lucia	96 178
Sordwana	82 364
Richards Bay	40 732
Mapelane	3 262
Mlalazi	4 642

1) Richards Bay - the bay itself - was proclaimed the 'Richards Bay Game Reserve' in September 1935, under the Natal Parks Board. Langh... has probably included the Nseleni Nature Reserve at the head of the Nsezi Lake here, as it is in the Richards Bay area. This latter reserve was declared in January 1948 under the Natal Parks Board.

2) This is the estuary and swamp area at Mtunzini, and was proclaimed in February 1948.

3) Includes bait sales, etc., where these facilities are provided.

While it is apparent that a brisk tourist trade is experienced in the broad area covered by the Tables, it is also equally obvious that there is scope for the handling of far greater numbers of tourists attracted by the beaches and nature reserves which the area offers. To this can be added in the future a medium sized coastal city (Richards Bay) with more sophisticated urban attractions and proximity to the tourist attractions fo the area.

3.8 THE RICHARDS BAY ECONOMIC BASE.

Sections 3.5.5 - 3.6.5 above set out the information obtained by the questionnaire from what appeared to be the basic industries in the region. However, the problem of delineation of marginally basic industries was a troublesome one.

The first stumbling-block encountered concerned primarily agriculture. Detailed census information was available, but black labourers were divided into three categories: permanent farm labourers; casual farm labourers; and domestic servants. The first two categories should be included under the base sector, but what of domestic servants? After due consideration had been given, both to the nature of their work, and the complexity of the solution if it was decided that a proportion of their endeavours were in fact of a service or residentiary nature, it was concluded that the census categorization should be followed. In other words, all labourers employed in what the census considered to be the agricultural sector, would be regarded as components of the economic base.

A second problem arose with the identification of service industries to the basic sector. Were these in fact base or service industries? These industries' contributions to the base sector should be calculated and included in the base sector. However, this presents two difficulties, the first being conceptual, and the second arithmetic.

> While it might seem intuitively appealing to lump all service contributions to the base sector as basic, this would be losing sight of one of the fundamental tenets of base theory - namely that service industries play a passive role in the development of a region. Now, to include service contributions to the basic sector as components of the economic base is to make the implicit assumption that the base industries are dependent on these service contributions. This can be viewed as being tantamount to an inversion of base theory. What is implied is that the base industries, far from promoting a lagged service development in their wake, are in fact dependent upon service facilities for future growth. Clearly this constitutes a contradiction of the admittedly simple rationale of the economic base. (Blumenfeld, 1955).

The second shortcoming of this type of reasoning hinged around its calculus. On examination it became evident that the calculations of service contributions to the basic sector were, if not impossible, certainly difficult and imprecise.

For these reasons it was decided to include all industries, which did not display obvious basic characteristics, in the service or residentiary sector.

A further consideration in the determination of the extent of the economic base concerned the classification of tourism. This has proved problematical to base theory adherents since the inception of the theory in 1937. Strictly speaking, on the one hand, tourism forms part of the economic base as it concerns flows (of money and people) in and out of the region. It performs a "regional export-import" function. Countering this, one can argue that this is an activity subsidiary to the economic development of a region as envisaged by Hoover (1948) and North (1954). Thus, if we are to couch an analysis in terms of the economic infrastructure of a region, tourism is a doubtful consideration. It does, however, play a role in the determination of regional product. From the

point of view of the present project what would appear to be important is the development of a regional infrastructure round the harbour at Richards Bay. Bearing this in mind, and following the procedure adopted in the standard preparation of National Accounts, it was decided that tourism would not be taken as a part of the economic base.

The analysis to be performed below was structured so as to offer the most simple of classification rules: only those industries or sectors which indubitably constituted part of the economic base were included as such. *All contentious and obscure cases were relegated to the residentiary sector.* In this way it was felt that the effect of the economic base "core" on the region could most easily be isolated, ascertained and understood, lending to an extremely clearcut, though in places, oversimplified, analysis.

A further consideration to be borne in mind was the extremely limited scope of the project. Due to lack of facilities, severe curtailment of any greater analytical ambitions had to be enforced. The analysis, then, will be couched in terms of this "simplified" base theory model, and the resulting conclusions should be qualified accordingly. This work has no pretention to unqualified acceptability - it is merely striving to point out, within a rigorously simplified framework, some of the possible trends in the development of the region, and the generalized conclusions that can be drawn from the results of the analysis.

3.8.1 The Residentiary Sector

With regard to classification, it follows by a process of elimination that firms or concerns not comprising part of the economic base fall under the broad classification of service or residentiary activity. Therefore, once the economic base has been ascertained and delimited, all residual activity can be lumped together to form the passive, tertiary sector.

With the exception discussed above, the delineation of service industries was fairly clear. However, the numbers of firms involved presented a problem in so far as the limited resources available for fieldwork were concerned. For instance Smith (1970) found there to be 254 wholesaling and retailing concerns alone in the region. Further, records of the Bantu Investment Corporation revealed that 363 firms of all types had been licensed in KwaZulu in 1973 (which of course extends far beyond our region). When one adds to this firms from the "white sector" it becomes apparent that the sheer weight of numbers involved intensive fieldwork of a kind not possible given the research budget.

One alternative to this would have been to construct a sample representative of the residentiary sector. Consideration of the fact that these firms varied greatly in so far as types of endeavour and size were concerned leads one to the conclusion that a carefully supervised stratified sample would be necessary for the purpose. However, insufficient data were available for the construction of such a stratified sample. The seeming deadlock was finally resolved by the decision to calculate approximate employment numbers in the service sector and use this as a unit of measurement in the construction of a base model, as has been the normal practice in the empirical application of economic base studies in the past.

It became possible to estimate employment in the area due to two factors. Firstly, examination of past industrial and agricultural censuses for the period 1951-64 revealed that employment as a percentage of population had remained remarkably stable, around 36-37 per cent. Although the age and sex structure might have changed, this was seen to be irrelevant as total numbers were, in this instance, the only important consideration. On the strength of this constancy then, it seemed reasonable to assume that this trend would persist and that an annual employment estimate in the region of 36-37 per cent of the total population would be permissible and reasonably accurate. In this way total employment for the region was calculated, and from this was

subtracted total employment in the base sector, this having been ascertained from the fieldwork, leaving a residual which would approximate to total employment in the service sector.

Bearing this in mind there remains but to proceed to the actual base analysis.

3.8.2 The Model

In Table 3.6 above, it was calculated that 47 548 employees were concerned in organizations which could be classified as having basic industry links. The figures can be broken down as follows:

TABLE 3.8.

LABOUR FORCE OF BASE INDUSTRIES IN THIS REGION BY RACE, 1972.

TYPE OF INDUSTRY:	Number of workers				
	Whites	Blacks	Asians	Coloureds	Total
Agricultural and associated activities (linkages)					
(a) Primary agriculture	319	32 816	346	23	33 504
(b) Sugar milling	388	3 688	76	24	4 176
(c) Timber milling and pulping	589	6 448	329	50	7 416
(d) Fruit canning	30	1 200	-	-	1 230
Manufacturing					
(e) Aluminium	322	900	-	-	1 222
Total base activity	1 648	45 052	751	97	47 548

Now the total regional population (1970 census) was 193 389. The estimated employed population if taken at 36 per cent of the total is 69 620; if taken as 37 per cent of the total works out at 71 554 workers.

Taking 36 per cent of the total population as being the total labour force employed in the region, we calculate:

Service sector (69 620 - 47 548) = 22 072
Base/service ratio = 47 548/22 072 = 2,15 : 1
Regional employment multiplier = 3,15

The possibility of the base-service ratio changing over time always exists. In an attempt to counter this, a regional multiplier was developed with reference to changes in employment.[1] The regional employment multiplier above was taken to represent the year 1972. On the other hand an alternative employment multiplier incorporating base-service employment changes during the period 1960-1972 can also be calculated.

3.8.3 'Marginal Multiplier', 1960-1972[2]

Population, 1960	125 540
36% of population	47 548
Total basic employment[3]	29 576
Total service employment (est.)	17 792

The marginal base service ratio is now calculated according to the formula:

$$\frac{\text{change in basic employment 1960-1972}}{\text{change in service employment (1960-1972)}}$$

which is equal to $\frac{17\ 972}{4\ 100}$ yielding a base service ratio of 4,38 for the period.

On the strength of this evidence we would expect the base-service ratio for 1960 to have been considerably lower than in 1972. More precise calculations based on the relevant figures above for

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1) See the Wichita Study, by the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City.

2) Langham provided a detailed appraisal of multiplier theory. But because of the request of the Planning Branch of the Office of the Prime Minister, after seeing a draft of this Chapter, that theoretical aspects of the report be reduced to a minimum, this has been omitted here. (Ed.)

3) Extracted from 1960 Manufacturing and Agricultural Censuses.

basic and service employment in 1960, revealed this ratio to be 1,66. The three multipliers as calculated then read:

Regional multiplier 1960	2,66
Regional multiplier 1970	3,15
Regional multiplier 1960-1972	5,38

3.8.4 Concluding General Comment

Several salient points emerge immediately from the above analysis. The most important for this baseline study, is that in 1972 the infrastructure of the Richards Bay region was in its formative infancy. Secondly, as is obvious to an economist, from the varying natures of the above multipliers any attempts at projections would be, by definition, self-defeating. Fortunately, it is not the task of this baseline report to prepare such projections!

CHAPTER 4

THE SETTLEMENT GEOGRAPHY OF THE EMPANGENI-RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION

R.J. DAVIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Within the boundaries defined for the Empangeni-Richards Bay Sub-region a settlement geography of considerable complexity had evolved by 1968. The object of this chapter is to examine the evolution and characteristics of the settlement pattern at the base-line period (c. 1968) to serve as a foundation for later research on the development responses in the Sub-region to entirely new circumstances of growth. Rural and urban settlement patterns receive attention but the emphasis has been placed upon an analysis of the urban geography of Empangeni as the urban place likely to be most affected by growth within the Sub-region. The analysis commences with a brief description of the physical setting of the Sub-region and then proceeds to an analysis of its rural and urban settlement patterns.

4.2 THE PHYSICAL SETTING

4.2.1 Physiography and Drainage

The study area lies astride two morphological components of the Zululand Coastal Lowlands physiographic region (Fair, 1951). The Zululand Coastal Plain occupies the eastern portion of the area flanked by the Indian Ocean. To the west the Zululand Coastal Margin grades inland towards the more elevated Coastal Hinterland.

The Zululand Coastal Plain extends northwards from Mtunzini for some 240Kms to the borders of Mocambique and widens from approximately 8km in the South to over 20km in the North of the study area. It is a morphological unit of very subdued and ill-drained relief rising almost imperceptibly from sea-level to elevations on the inland margins varying from 30 metres

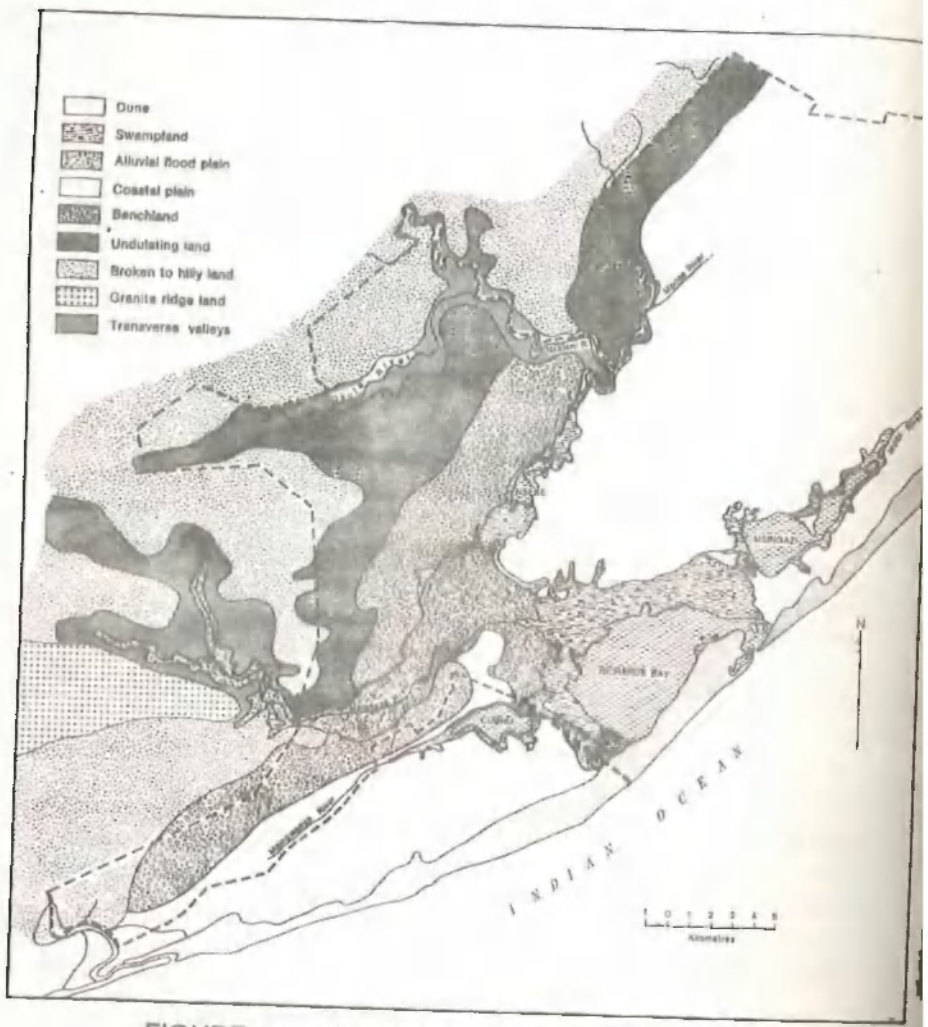

FIGURE 4.1 : EMPANGENI - RICHARDS BAY
PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

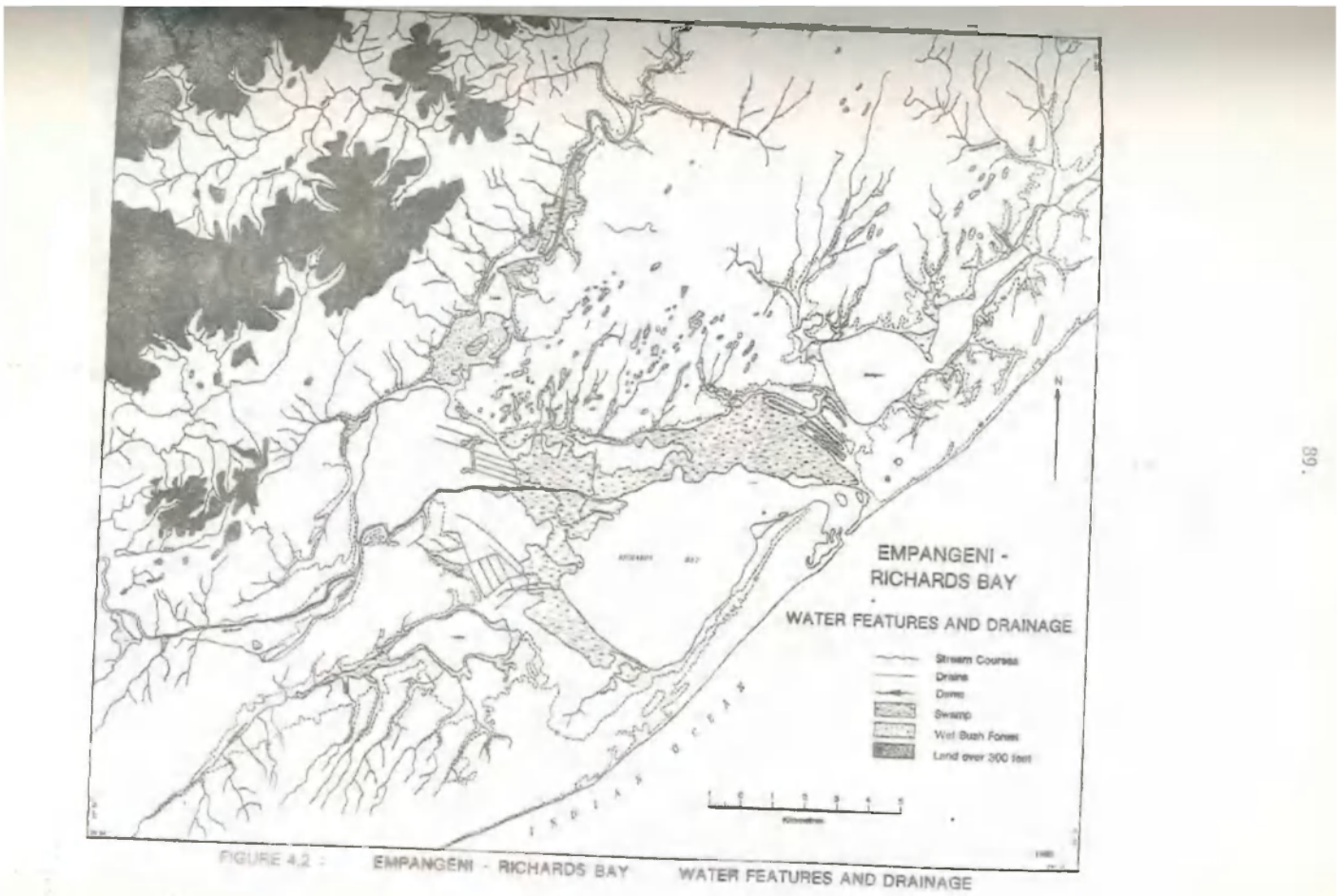

FIGURE 4.2 : EMPANGENI - RICHARDS BAY WATER FEATURES AND DRAINAGE

to about 80 metres. Though low in relative relief the sub-region displays considerable complexity in morphological history and in its detailed features which include aquatic components of considerable environmental sensitivity. (Figs 4.1 and 4.2).

Sands and aeolianites of Quaternary age, forming part of the Kwambonambi formation, underly the Plain. It owes its origin to the accumulation of sediments laid down in the shallow waters of a gently graded continental margin. On its Indian Ocean flank the Plain is bounded by a complex belt of dunes 1 - 1,5km wide and up to 30m high increasing in definition and elevation northwards from Mtunzini. Through the belt of sand dunes, here taking the form of two sand spits, the narrow mouth of the Richards Bay lagoon made its way to the sea. Southwestwards from its exit the shallow water lagoon expanded in a waterbody covering some 35 sq.Km. It is upon that waterbody that the development of the proposed deepwater bulk cargo port of Richards Bay depended and about which the spatial organization of the future urban area of Richards Bay-Empangeni will become articulated.

Richards Bay is the estuarine outlet for several rivers of the area including the Mhlatuze, Nseleni and Mdibi (Fig. 4.2). The Mhlatuze is the most important of the rivers and enters the sub-region across a widening and ill-drained flood plain from the south-west. From the north the Nseleni and its tributary the Mposa meander across narrower flood plains to empty in the freshwater Insese lake, dammed behind a natural levee of sand and swamp vegetation, before draining through marshlands to enter Richards Bay. The Mdibi flowing from the north east and the Mzingwenya from the south, locally drain portions of the Coastal Plain and similarly flow through fresh water lakes (Lakes Mzingazi and Cubhu) and swampland before draining into Richards Bay.

The flood plains of these rivers, locally bounded by low, sand levees, are very gently graded and are underlain by alluvial deposits of silt, clay and sand. Extensive areas of the flood plain surrounding Richards Bay, lakes Insese, Mzingazi and Cubhu were occupied by swamplands which in their natural state served as filters for the sand and silt brought

down by the rivers in not infrequent summer floods. Increasing modification through canalization, drainage and agricultural use of the Mhlatuze flood plain in particular resulted in the progressive siltation of the bay head. At the time of the survey, delta formations at the bay outlets of the canalized Mhlatuze, Nseleni and Mhlagabezani rivers were clearly discernible. Extensive drainage and utilization of the Mhlatuze flood plain for sugar cane cultivation has in effect removed the natural filtration mechanisms provided by the bay head marshlands and pose a positive threat to the aquatic environment of Richards Bay.

Above the level of the flood plains the Coastal Plain forms a low featureless surface underlain by aeolian sands and is locally drained by short streams and rivers. North of Richards Bay and in the surrounds of Lake Mzingazi the land is ill-drained and small freshwater bodies occupying local depressions abound in the landscape. Drainage lines on the Plain in general show a N-S orientation conforming to the orientation of the aeolian land form features.

The inland margins of the Coastal Plain are marked by the position of an earlier coastline, to the west of which the land rises to the landforms of the Zululand Coastal Margin sub-region. The rising ground westward of the Coastal Plain is for some distance northwards of Mtunzini underlain by sands and red clayey sands (the Berea member) of the Bluff Formation of Middle-Upper Pleistocene age. The change in slope above the Plain is particularly well marked west of Lake Insese where a Bench-like landform marks the underlying Bluff formation.

Inland the underlying geology is more complex in composition and is markedly influenced by regional and local fault systems. To the west of Empangeni, the Empangeni fault, trending roughly NE-SW and downthrown on its western flank, separates a group of formations of Pre-Cambrian and Paleaozoic age to the east from rocks of Mezozoic age to the west. East of the fault line occur the feldspars, metta gabbros, granulites, amphibolites and granite-gneisses of the Tugela Complex together with quartzitic sandstones of the Karroo System. To the west

of the faultline the landscape is underlain mainly by Basalts of the Letaba Formation (Lebomba Group). The underlying geology and local faulting have exercised a significant influence upon the formation of surface landforms.

The country west of Empangeni, underlain by quartz and feldspars, metta gabbros and quartzitic sandstones, generally horizontally bedded, is broken to hilly in character. It is finely dissected by tributaries of the Mhlatuze River and reaches elevations of over 130 metres above sea level. Much of the more broken country of this morphological unit falls within the margins of Kwa Zulu. The more gently sloping site of the town of Empangeni occupies the eastern extremity of the unit where a radial drainage pattern has produced a set of spurs radiating from a central high point approximately 140 metres above sea level.

Northwards and southwards from Empangeni the landscape is gently undulating, sloping downwards from elevations that reach 130 metres to the more gentle gradients of the Benchland underlain by the Bluff formation. This landscape type is characteristic also of the area north of the Nseleni River and southwards to near Mtunzini beyond the Mhlatuze flood plain.

To the west of the Empangeni fault line the country underlain by basalts of the Letaba Formation reaches elevations in excess of 130metres above sea level and is hilly to undulating. This landscape unit falls essentially within the borders of Kwa Zulu.

The most elevated land in the local region, over 300 metres above sea-level, forms part of the Ngoye range and lies beyond the S-W margins of the study area. The landscape of complex, boulder strewn, convex hill slopes with frequent rounded exposures of bedrock, is characteristic of the granite-gneiss formation by which it is underlain.

The land surface west of the Coastal Plain is breached by the prominent transverse valleys of the Mhlatuze and Nseleni river systems. Valley sides

are generally steep and valley floors are occupied by narrow flood plains underlain by alluvial deposits. Natural sand levees at the margins of the flood plains have served to create small lakes which form characteristic features in the upper flood plain of the Mhlatuze River. The transverse river valleys constitute distinct physical barriers to movement in a N-S direction and thus have a significant influence upon the location and alignment of major transport and communications routes within the study area.

4.2.2 Climatic Characteristics

The eastern margins of Zululand within which the study area is located experiences a sub-tropical climatic regime with warm-hot, moist summers and mild, generally drier winters. (Tables 4.1 and 4.2).

Summer temperatures (January) are generally high averaging at 24-25^{o}C and with mean maxima of 30^{o}C. In winter, conditions are mild with July temperatures falling to a mean of between 16^{o}C and 17^{o}C. Daily temperature ranges are moderate in both summer (8^{o}C) and winter (9^{o}C) and the climate over the year is equable with a mean annual range also of only 8^{o}C. Low temperatures with very occasional frosts may occur in winter in the interior parts. An east coast location with temperatures moderated by warm ocean waters and prevailing onshore NE gradient winds explain these characteristics.

Temperature variations at the meso-scale are difficult to determine in the absence of a detailed network of recording stations. Certainly the low relative relief characteristic of the study area is insufficient to produce marked differences in temperature between sites on the Coastal Plain and those on the neighbouring uplands to the west.

Elevation, however, has an important influence upon the distribution of humidity and more elevated sea facing sites on the western uplands are likely to be distinctly more comfortable than those on the low-lying Coastal Plain. The cooling effect of the NE Gradient Wind, supplemented during the day by a NNE Sea Breeze, is likely to augment the level of comfort of more elevated and better ventilated upland sites. It is not

TABLE 4.1 MEAN MONTHLY TEMPERATURES ($0^{o}C$)

STATION	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Empangeni	25.4	24.7	23.7	21.7	19.3	17.0	16.7	18.3	18.7	21.3	22.7	24.0
Felixton	24.3	24.2	23.4	21.6	19.4	17.3	16.9	18.3	19.6	21.2	22.3	23.2

Source: South Africa (1954) Department of Transport, Weather Bureau, Climate of South Africa, Part 1, Climatic Statistics.

by accident, for example, that the town of Empangeni is sited on an elevated, well ventilated site away from the enervating conditions of the lowlands below.

Enervating climatic conditions on the Coastal Plain and more particularly in the immediate vicinity of the land-enclosed water bodies of Richards Bay and the lakes, are likely to be a factor that should influence the design and composition of the future urban area of Richards Bay at both the meso- and micro-scales. Air conditioning and its attendant inputs of energy, in work places and residences is likely to become necessary in the summer months.

Although no detailed observations are available, experimental recordings undertaken during the baseline survey suggested that cooler air drainage from inland sources in winter could create mild inversion conditions on the Coastal Plain at that season. Enclosure provided by the coastal sand dune belt certainly would inhibit the seaward drainage of cool air. A C.S.I.R. survey (1967) has also indicated that inversion conditions may be expected in winter over the Richards Bay surrounds up to a level of approximately 46 metres. Above that level the predominant air movement in winter is from the N-NW and such air is likely to move out to sea. These circumstances suggest that the control of air pollution on the Coastal Plain could become an important factor in the planning of industrial development undertaken in conjunction with the development of the new harbour (Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1978).

The coastal margins of Zululand receive the bulk of their rainfall in summer although the records show that significant falls may be expected during the winter months (30 - 40 per cent). (Table 4.2). Rainfall totals within the study area range from 760mm to 1500mm. The Coastal Plain forms part of a rainfall region extending from Mtunzini in the south to St. Lucia Estuary in the north which receives the highest rainfalls in Zululand (1100-1500 mm p.a.). Richards Bay itself records a mean annual rainfall of 1106mm. Rainfall totals decline further inland and Empangeni receives approximately 1055mm p.a.

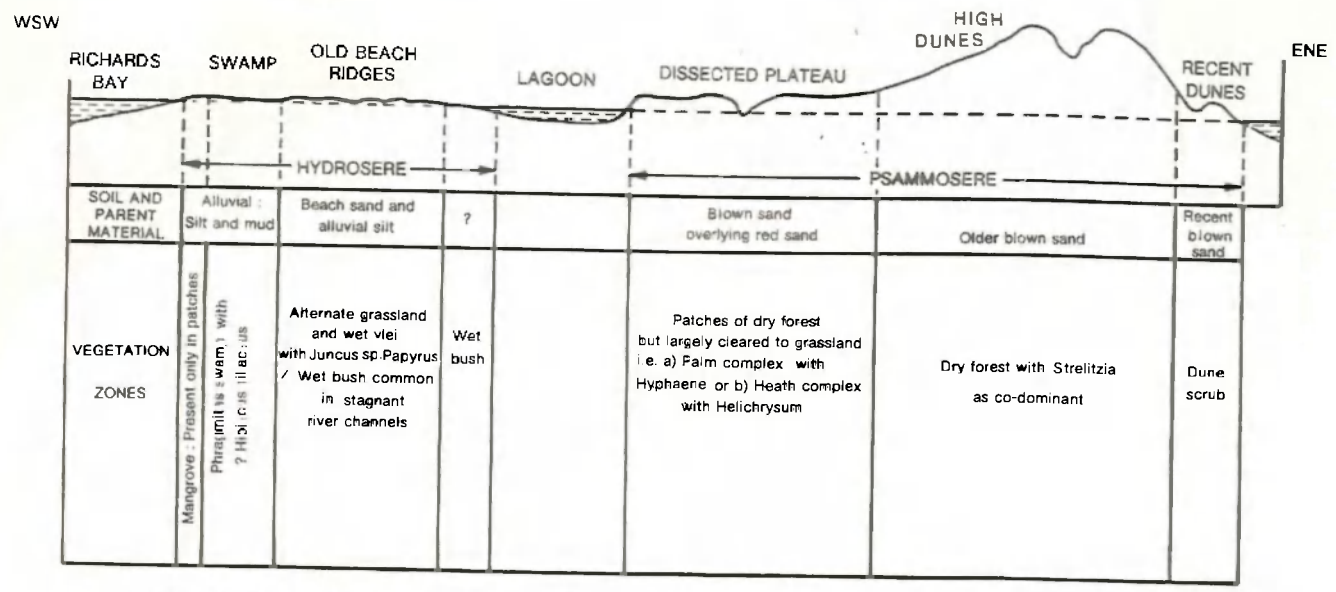

FIGURE 4.3 : SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF NATURAL VEGETATION AT RICHARDS BAY

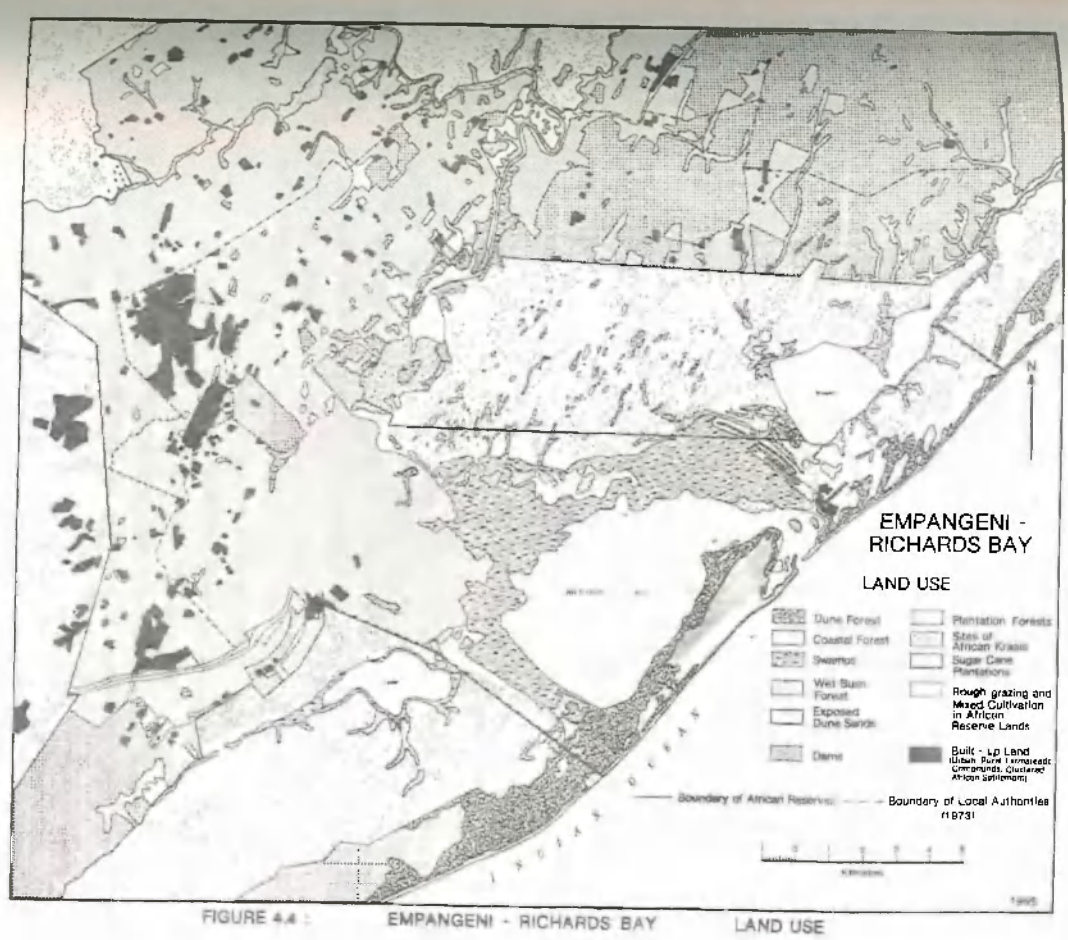

FIGURE 4.4 : EMPANGENI - RICHARDS BAY LAND USE

4.2.3 Natural Vegatation

In terms of Phillips' Bioclimatic Divisions of Natal (Phillips, 1973) the vegetation of the greater part of the study area forms a part of Group 1: Coastal Lowlands, Evergreen Forests, Medium-Tall Thicket and Woodland. The drier transverse valley of the Mhlatuze River, largely beyond the bounds of the study area falls within Group 10; Sub-arid Riverine and Lowland Mixed Scrub and Wooded Savannah.

The history of human occupation of the area, first by indigenous Black peoples, and, later by White settlers and the intense utilization of soils (Fig. 4.4) has meant that very little of the existing vegetation in the area may be described as natural. At the time of the base-line survey, natural vegetation of an extent worthy of study was confined to the immediate coastal belt where there had been least interference from farming. The area south west of Richards Bay, which from the air suggested the best preserved sequence of vegetation, was inaccessible as it lay within a Native Reserve. Most work was therefore carried out north east of Richards Bay itself. Enough of the other area was seen to suggest that it does not differ markedly from that described here.

Basically the coastal vegetation can be considered as either wet or dry. It can be further subdivided into five classes or generalised associations which are closely related to morphological divisions as follows:- (Fig. 4.3).

1. DUNE SCRUB is found on the recent low dunes closest to the sea and on the seaward face of the older dunes behind.

2. DRY FOREST is nowadays confined in its well-established form to the high dunes where it develops its best expression on the sheltered inland slopes; but there are also outlying patches throughout the plateau.

3. GRASSLAND covers the plateau in association with patches of dry forest and it may be the sub-climax following clearance. It is also found on the higher and drier beach ridges.

4. SWAMP occurs along the low-lying silted banks of the bay and former lagoons whether saline, brackish or fresh.

5. WET BUSH FOREST occurs mainly along the former river channels although it may represent the climax from swamp.

These five vegetation types are discussed below; a list of species identified in each association is attached.

1. DUNE SCRUB covers the recent sand dune nearest the coast and colonises blow-outs on the old dunes, especially east of Spinach Pt. This association shows the typical dune succession from Scaevola thunbergii or Gazania ringens on the loose sand, through low shrubs where Passerina ericoides grows with Chrysanthemoides monlifera as the ground flora, to forest-bush dominated by Brachylaena discolor which has Cassine sphaerophylla as the chief member of the undergrowth.

2. The DRY FOREST consists of fairly tall trees, best developed on the landward side of the old dunes which here trend north east to south west. It is in this area that extensive plantations of the Australian casuarina have been established to help fix the loose sand and they may later compete with the natural species. As this is an eroding coast the problem of renewed blow-outs will remain.

   Patches of forest also exist on the high banks of the freshwater lakes and on the dry plateau as outliers among the grassland. As recent sands here overlie the Red Beds the forest is still growing on recent blown sand.

   North of Richards Bay in the Native Reserve, eucalypt plantations have been established (but are not nearly so extensive as farther inland) and there are signs that the eucalypts can invade the

remaining dry forest patches and thus in time crowd out the seedlingsof the natural vegetation.

The dry forest is dominated by tall Acacia spp. and Strelitzia with Mimusops caffra and Rhus crispa among the undergrowth. This develops into a dense thicket, typical of the sub-tropical coastal bush of which it is a variety.

3. GRASSLAND sometimes with isolated Hyphaene _____ palms is the dominant vegetation on the plateau. It may be the sub-climax following clearing. In the reserves this grassland consists chiefly of Aristida sp. but elsewhere Pennisetum sp. appear to be more important. In some patches the grassland had a heathy appearance being dominated by Helichrysum krausii.

4. SWAMP vegetation of varying types occurs below the break of slope and in the valleys cut into the plateau. It is most extensive over the infilled flats to the north, west and south-west of the bay itself. Phragmites forms most of the swamps and also lines the river beds inland. In places a scattering of low trees, which Millard and Harrison suggest may be Hibiscus tiliaceus rise above the Phragmites. Where these swamps are being drained for the extension of the cane fields and drains have been dug, the water table has been lowered and the trees appear to be affected by the change in regime.

In places, particularly along the banks of the sluggish channels Papyrus takes the place of Phragmites. Water hyacinth colonising what were clear channels also presents a problem.

MANGROVES which are but one type of swamp vegetation are limited to the actual shores of the bay where the salinity is higher and thus occur near to the actual mouth. However, the more important limiting factor appears to be that mud is relatively scarce. The bay is infilling with sandy silt well seen on the reclaimed sugar lands and it would appear that these deposits do not favour the

spread of mangroves. Avicennia marina is the tall species growing further inland at Spinach Point and on the north-east side of the bay mouth but, as it does not reproduce in shade, Bruguera gymnorrhiza occupies the fringe areas and colonises the islands. As this was only seen from the air this may not be completely correct.

5. WET BUSH or FOREST. The sluggish channels linking the lagoons and the old river channels which cross the swamp are occupied by forest actually growing in water. The dominant tree here appears to be Barringtonia racemosa, a species related to the mangrove, with Syzigium cordatum, Protorhus longifolia intermingled. This zone was difficult of access and not closely studied. These belts of forest are often fringed with Papyrus on either side.

The extent of natural vegetation and in particular the swamp succession is considerably diminished as the sugar estates reclaim the land and thus lower the water table. It would be interesting to make a study of this vegetation in detail both before and during the changes attendant on the alteration in land use. Some part of this natural vegetation should be preserved; perhaps behind the dunes to retain the sand and some area of the swamp and forest since it is the haunt of waterfowl in considerable numbers.

Vegetation of Richard's Bay,
Zululand.

(identified Moss Herbarium, June 1968). N.B. Dominants only collected.

DUNE SCRUB

Primary Scaevola Thunbergii
Gazania ? Ringens

Passerina Ericoides

Cassine Sphaerophylla var Sphaerophylla
Brachylaena Discolor

DRY FOREST

Albizia Adian Thifolia
Strelitzia
Mimusops Caffra
Rhus ? Crispa
Rhoicissus sp.
Cassine sphaerophylla var sphaerophylla
Acacia sp.

GRASSLAND

Hyphaene co-dominant in parts - ? fine sub-climax
Heathy bush dominant on plateau. Helichrysum kraussi

WET BUSH

Syzigium Cordatum
Protorhus longifolia
Barringtonia Racemosa (related to mangrove)
Eugenia Capensis

plus Phragmites/Papyrus/Juncus

4.3 THE FRAMEWORK OF SETTLEMENT

Archaeological explorations in the Sub-region have shown that human occupation of the area can be dated back in time to as early as the Late Stone Age. Exposures of Pleistocene gravels north of Felixton (near Ninians Station) for example, contain implements of that age (Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1978). Settlement patterns that form the basis of analysis in the present study, however, have their origins in more recent times and relate to the settlement of the Nguni peoples, on the one hand, and of White Colonists on the other.

Pre-colonial, Nguni settlement in Zululand was underpinned by traditional systems of social and economic organization, and land tenure. It had its origins in the migrations of three major streams of Nguni peoples (the eMbo-Nguni, Ntungwa-Nguni and the Thonga-Nguni) into the territory that was to become Zululand and Natal possibly from the 16th Century (Krige, 1936). A branch of the eMbo-Nguni, migrating from an area south of Delagoa Bay (the Ndwandwe) moved inland to settle much of northern Zululand. A branch of the Ntungwa-Nguni (of which the Zulu clan formed a part), migrating south-eastwards from the South African highveld plateau, settled parts of the interior basins of the White Umfolozi and Mhlatuze rivers. The Thonga-Nguni (who included the Mthethwa, Lala and Debe strains), originally located in an area north of Delagoa Bay, on the other hand, moved southwards in the coastal margins of Zululand, Natal and the E. Cape. The Mthethwa strain settled lands located broadly between the Umfolozi and Mhlatuze rivers. At the time a small strain of the Lala people, the Mnqanu, also inhabited part of the coastal plain north of Richards Bay.

Though later defeated in battle by the powerful Ndwandwe and subsequently subjugated to the rising power of the Zulu, under their warrior chief Shaka, the Mthethwa "by prudent submission continued in undisturbed possession of their land" (Krige, 1936, p.11). It is thus mainly to the descendants of the Mthethwa peoples that traditional Nguni settlement patterns characteristic of the Sub-region in Pre-colonial, Colonial and Modern times, owe their origins. Smaller tribal groups within the Sub-region and on its margins were the Mbonambi, Ndhlazini, Cebekulu, Khoza, Thenjini, Zungu, Mpukunyoni and Dube.

On the eve of Colonial penetration, Zululand, subjugated to Zulu hegemony, was a territory wholly given over to traditional Pre-colonial settlement forms. Only where mission stations had been established within the territory was evidence of White settlement evident.

Relations between the Nguni peoples, the British colonists and the Afrikaner Boer trekkers of Natal during the Nineteenth Century were often complex and convoluted. They resulted ultimately in the destructive 1879 Zulu-British war and subsequently in an unsuccessful attempt to destroy Zulu unity through the dismemberment of Zululand into thirteen Kinglets or chiefdoms. In ensuing years internal conflict and conflict over territorial claims made by the Boers in the establishment of the New Republic led the British Government to impose a protectorate over the remaining territory of Zululand in 1887. For ten years between 1887 and 1897 the territory was directly governed under the Governor of Natal and a Resident Commissioner stationed at Eshowe. In 1897, and after repeated representations had been made on the advantages to be gained from annexation, Zululand was joined to the Colony of Natal. Under the protectorate, administrative control over Zululand was imposed through the establishment of magistracies. The Lower Umfolozi and Mtunzini (Umlalazi) Districts were established in 1887 with boundaries that in effect remained unaltered to the time of the base-line study. (Fig. 2.2)

The first magisterial seat of Lower Umfolozi was established at Embabe, some 22 Km north of present day Empangeni. Following several moves of the seat from that site, it was finally shifted from Potane (in the northern margin of the District near the Umfolozi River) to Empangeni in 1894. The commanding elevated and well ventilated site of the magistracy remained fixed from that date.

At the time the only White settlement in the study area was a Norwegian mission station (Matchana) established by Bishop Hans Schreuder in 1851 on a site near the source of the Mpangeni river immediately to the west of Bantu Reserve No 7 B (now part of Kwa Zulu) Fig. 2.1.

The name of the magistracy is variously ascribed to the corruption of the Zulu verb "phanga" (to rob or plunder), its noun "impanga" (the plunderer) or its locative form "empangweni". The allusion, it is thought, refers to the destruction of stock through flooding in a tributary of the Mhlatuze River subsequently named the "Phanga" or Mpangeni river.

Although administered by White Colonial officials, no permanent White colonial settlement took place within the defined boundaries of Zululand between 1897 and 1905. Pressure for the alienation of fertile cultivable lands in the Zululand coastal margins grew, however, during the 1890s. The Colonial authorities, no doubt perceptive of the political and economic advantages that settlement would bring in ensuring the effective control and occupation of Zulu territory, succumbed to the pressure. In that act, processes characteristic of capitalist colonial economies were to be set in motion. Annexation led not only to the imposition of colonial political authority but was to result in large scale land alienation to permit the expansion of production in the colonial economy, the progressive destruction of the Pre-colonial indigenous economy and the development of a Black labour force employed in White owned economic activity.

In 1904 the Zululand Land Delimitation Commission was appointed to demarcate lands for the future division of the territory for Zulu and White occupation (Reports of the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission, 1905). The Commission, charged with the task of providing for the land needs of the Zulu peoples reported in 1904 that all land previously occupied by the Zulus, then occupied by them and land which might in future be required for Zulu settlement, had been demarcated for Zulu occupation. Land for the future occupation by White colonists was demarcated as Crown Land. In its report the Commission recommended also that no land be provided for persons of Asiatic descent. That recommendation explains the presence in Zululand of only a sprinkling of Indian population and the absence of Indian land ownership. A striking contrast in ethnic composition and cultural imprint between the northern and southern components of the Development Sector is immediately evident.

The process of land alienation characteristically gave rise to the creation of a system of unconsolidated Native (Bantu) Reserves separated by corridors of White owned land. It is that pattern of land division that created the essential elements of the framework of settlement within the region. Table 4.3 sets out the Native (Bantu) Reserves created within the Sub-region in 1905. Their boundaries are illustrated in Fig. 2.1. Apart from three smaller reserves created on the Coastal Plain north and south of Richards Bay (Reserves Nos. 4,6 and 10), the land set aside for Black settlement occupied the less desirable and more hilly-broken terrain of the inland physiographic regions (Figs. 4.1).

While the members of the Lands Commission were careful to disrupt Zulu life and settlement as little as possible, they were nevertheless strongly guided by the route of the existing railway line to the north (at Tugela River in 1896), and by the suitability of the coastlands for sugar canecultivation, in providing as much cultivable land as they could conscientiously justify for European occupation. In the process, however, the potentially most productive agricultural land was alienated from Nguni ownership and occupation. The fact that the Nguni were not agriculturalists was used as a justification for limiting areas set aside for their ownership to those more suited to cattle grazing. The possibility of developing commercial agriculture as a future component of the Nguni economy was clearly discounted. In the present day, population pressure, land shortages and an inability to provide sufficient food to sustain the population of Kwa Zulu have become characteristic features of the territory.

Through their history the Native (Bantu) Reserves fell within a complex administrative system separate from that of the so-called White areas of South Africa. Under the provisions of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act of 1959, a new administrative system was introduced to the Zululand and Natal Reserves in common with Bantu-held land elsewhere in the Republic. Administration was headed by a Commissioner General to the Zulu with his seat at Nongoma. Apart from justice, which was administered through Bantu Commissioners

TABLE 4.3. AFRICAN (BANTU) RESERVES CREATED IN THE EMPANGENI-RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION, 1905

RESERVE	LOCATION	AREA (acres)	TRIBE	CHIEF
4	Coastal Plain	58 000	Mnqanu	Mbonambi
			Sokulu	Manndo
6	Coastal Plain	12 000	Mandhlazini	Noedi
10	Coastal Plain	27 000	Late Dunns	Ntungelezana
5	Western Margins	117 000	Mthethwa	Sokwetshata
			Batembu	Nsitana
			Cebekulu	
7B	Western Margins	17 000	Zungu	Zanya and Ndabayake
9	Western Margins	93 000	Aulu	Zimena
				Ngokwani

Source: Map of Zululand compiled from surveys by L.N. Altern under the supervision of C.R. Saunders, Natal Commissioner for the Zululand Land Delimitation Commission, 1905.

(locally with seats at Empangeni and Mtunzini) affairs were, under the new system, conducted through Tribal, Regional and Territorial Authorities. At the time of the Survey, Bantu Reserves Nos. 4,6, 5 and 7B had become Tribal Authorities. Reserves Nos. 9 and 10 on the other hand, had become part of the Inkanyezi (Eshowe) and Mehlwesizi (Mtunizini) Regional Authorities. No Territorial Authority had as yet been established in Zululand at the time of the survey (1968).[1]

The boundaries of Native (Bantu) Reserves defined several White Corridors of land that occupied the most desirable cultivable land within the general area of the Sub-region. The first extended from Mtunzini in the south to Mtubatuba in the north widening northwards and reaching the coast at St. Lucia(Figs. 2.1 and 2.2). From Empangeni a narrow corridor gave access westwards to an extensive tract of White lands in the interior of the Lower Umfolozi District. The northern portions of that land had earlier been set aside (1897) for the Umfolozi Game Reserve. Significantly also, a White corridor to the east was created to incorporate Richards Bay within the White areas (Fig. 2.1). The delimitation exercise there reflected continuing interest in the Bay as a possible harbour, first concretely expressed in an attempt to set up a naval coaling station in 1879.

4.4 THE PATTERN OF RURAL SETTLEMENT

Following acceptance of the final recommendations of the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission the first farms for White occupation within the Sub-region were surveyed and released in 1905. The first 135 farms occupying over 85,000 acres (34 413 ha) were released between the Tugela and Mhlatuze rivers in the Mtunzini (Umlalazi) District. Three categories of farms (first, second and third class) were recognized on the basis of observed potential. On first class farms (300 - 400 acres)

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1) Kwa Zulu reluctant to accept the concept of Bantu authorities only became Territorial Authority in June, 1970.

part of the land was by regulation to be devoted to cultivation for sugar cane. Third class farms (over 500 acres), on the other hand, were set aside for mixed farming and cattle grazing.

In the same year the first 14 farms (occupying some 7 500 acres (3 036 ha) were released between the Mhlatuze and Umfolozi rivers. That release was followed in 1909 by a further 13 farms (2 000 acres (810 ha) on the Mhlatuze River and its flood plain and by more than 50 farms (25 000 acres) (10 122 ha) on land to the north of Empangeni between the Okula River and Lake Insese (Fig. 4.1). To the south a further 9 000 acres (3 644 ha) were released at Port Durnford for mixed farming in 1909.

Lands in the north of the Umfolozi District were released later. The Kwambonambi lands (over 80 000 acres (32 389 ha) were released between 1909 and 1927 mainly for mixed farming and grazing while parts of the flood plain of the Umfolozi were released after 1927 and in 1947 (12 000 acres (4 858 ha) and 4 000 acres (1 619 ha) respectively. (Greyling, 1963).

4.4.1 Sugar Cane Farming Settlement Patterns

Greyling (1963) reports that by 1908 some 4 217 acres (1 707 ha) of land in the Mtunzini, Lower Umfolozi and Eshowe districts had been planted to sugar cane. In 1968 the district of Lower Umfolozi alone had over 85 000 acres (34 413 ha) devoted to the crop and the sugar mills at Empangeni and Felixton were producing nearly 40 per cent of the total tonnage of sugar produced in Zululand.[1] Until nearly the middle of the 20th Century farming in the area, though clearly productive, was made difficult by the occurance of diseases and pests that affected both man and beast and included in particular East Coast Fever, Nagana and Malaria. These diseases have since the mid-1950s been effectively controlled.

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1) Note: The supply areas of the sugar mills at Empangeni and Felixton extend beyond the boundaries of the Sub-region.

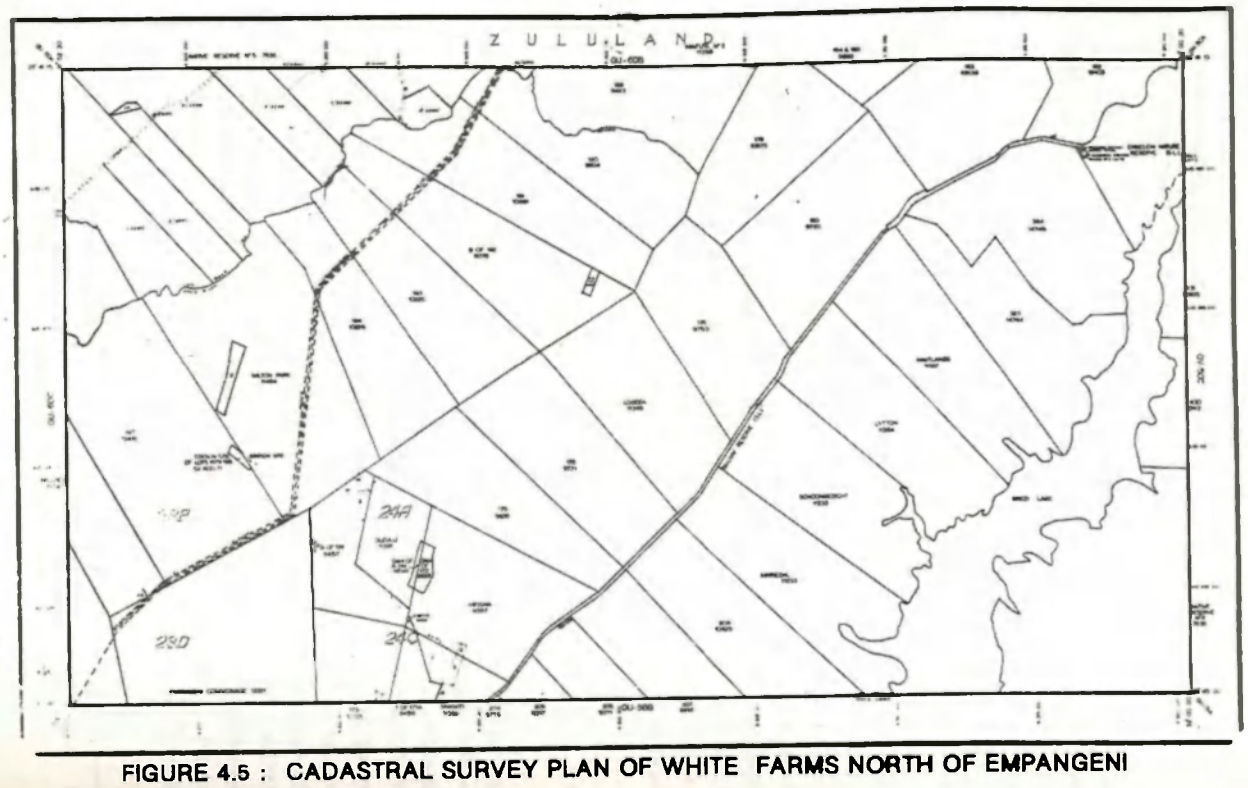

FIGURE 4.5 : CADASTRAL SURVEY PLAN OF WHITE FARMS NORTH OF EMPANGENI

The mean size of farms released for White ownership in the districts of Mtunzini and Lower Umfolozi between 1905 and 1909 was of the order of 622 acres (252 ha) (Greyling, 1963). In 1968 the average size of White, privately owned, farm holdings in the two districts was 603 acres (244 ha) and 960 acres (389 ha) respectively (Table 4.4). The larger mean size of farms in the Lower Umfolozi District is accounted for by larger farms located in its drier interior parts. The evidence suggests that, within the Sub-region, White, privately owned farms (mainly producing sugar cane) had remained little altered in average size over time. High intensities of agricultural production made possible by a warm-moist climatic regime, coupled with farms of modest size, meant that White rural settlement densities were moderately high (Fig. 4.4). Few farmsteads were more than 1,5 Km apart and in many instances considerably less distant.

Sugar cane land surveyed in 1968 within the Sub-region occupied the flood plain of the Mhlatuze, the Benchland below Empangeni, the Undulating lands from Felixton in the south to the northern limits of the Sub-region and the basaltic Hilly physiographic region to the west. The sandy, less productive soils of the Coastal Plain were generally avoided (Fig. 4.4).

Cadastral survey plans (Fig 4.5) show that the layout pattern of farms provided for rectangular farm units with long axes broadly aligned from E-W at right angles to the general slope of the land. The linear arrangement of farmsteads (Fig 4.4) has its origin in the rectangular layout plan.

4.4.2 The Sugar Mills and Railways

The development of sugar cane cultivation from its earliest years depended upon the establishment of sugar mills for cane processing and upon a transport infrastructure to move the product. The North Coast railway in Natal had reached the Tugela River by 1896. It was not until 1903, however, that the line was extended into Zululand and then to serve a coalmine at Somkele north of Empangeni. The release

TABLE 4.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF AGRICULTURAL AND FORESTRY HOLDINGS. LOWER UMFOLOSI AND MTUNZINI DISTRICTS. 1968

DISTRICT	SIZE OF HOLDINGS						AREA OF CULTIVATED LAND						
	PRIVATE		COS.		STATE		CROPS		TIMBER		IRRIGATION		TOTAL
	No	x̄ Size	No.	x̄ Size	No.	X Size	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area
L. Umfolozi	141	960	88	1 524	2	17 880	15 409	46.4	86 074	46.8	12 440	6.8	183 914
Mtunzini	84	603	40	323	2	3 496	58 571	78.3	10 360	13.8	5 875	7.9	74 806

Source: Agricultural Census 1968/69

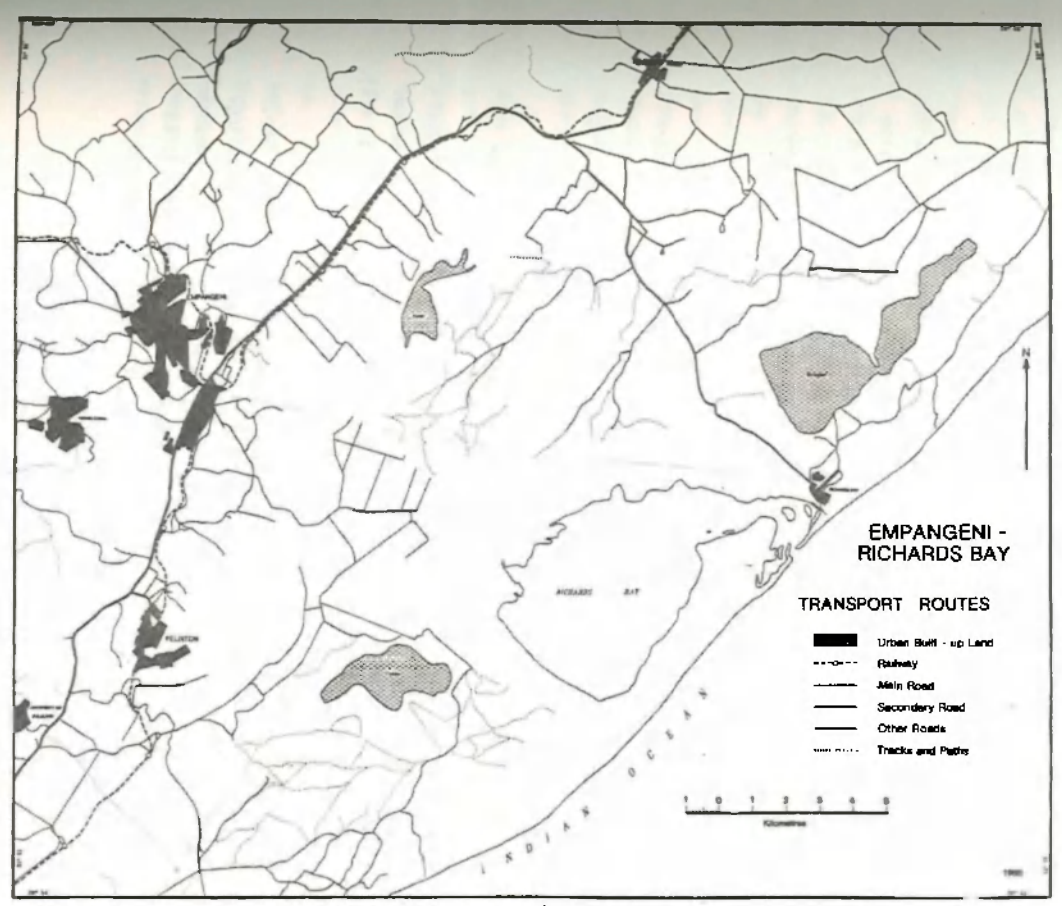

FIGURE 4.6 : EMPANGENI - RICHARDS BAY TRANSPORT ROUTES

of land in Zululand for White farming from 1905 lent particular importance to the railway extension. In 1917 the line was extended to Eshowe and in 1927 to Mtubatuba and Golel. The Nkwaleni Valley in 1930 was joined by rail to the junction at Empangeni. The extensions of the railway in each case served White farming areas and left neighbouring Bantu Reserves without an important infrastructural component that might have caused the development of commercial farming within those areas. The alignment of main roads in the area (Fig. 4.6) largely paralleled the location of the rail routes.

The alignment of the main-line railway (Fig. 4.6) followed the gentle slopes and flat land at the foot of the Undulating physiographic region (Fig. 4.1). From the Mhlatuze River it followed the alignment of the Benchland below Empangeni and necessitated the establishment of a detached railway station and settlement some 3 Km from the magistracy in 1903.

Access to the railway, to adequate sugar cane supplies within the immediate sphere of influence and to water supplies were major factors in the location of sugar mills. The first mill to be established in Zululand (and beyond the boundary of the Sub-region) was at Amatikulu, in 1908. The Sir J.L. Hullett and Sons mill on the Mhlatuze River at Felixton opened in 1911 and in 1913 the Zululand Sugar Milling Co. (subsequently the Zululand Sugar Milling and Planting Co.) mill was established at Empangeni. That mill and its associated residential community added a second, detached component to the evolving settlement about the magistracy. The sugar mills at Empangeni and Felixton became the foci of specialized industrial communities and settlements (Fig. 4.4).

Unlike the sugar mills of Natal, those in Zululand were obliged by regulation to contract to mill sugar for a defined set of farmers who, in turn, were required to despatch cane to designated mills (Greyling, 1963). The market or supply areas of the mills at Felixton and Empangeni respectively extended southwards to beyond Mtunzini and northwards to the Umfolozi River, on the one hand, and westwards to the Nkwaleni valley, on the other.

4.4.3 Forestry Settlement

The Sub-region forms part of an important forestry plantation region (eucalypt and pinus sp.) located in the coastal margins of the districts of Mtunzini, Lower Umfolozi and S. Hlabisa. The three districts contained 96 per cent of all forestry land in the Natal North Coast - Zululand Development Sector and forestry production, (mainly for industrial timber) made a significant contribution to the generation of their G.G.P. In 1968 the value of timber products sold from the three districts was R3.69 million of which 88 per cent was sold from Lower Umfolozi (Agricultural Census, 1968/69).

The first timber plantations within the Sub-region were created in 1921 when state aforestation of the Port Durnford area between Mtunzini and Felixton was commenced. Kwambonambi, in the north of the Sub-region became an important forestry area after 1925 when by state and private initiative the extensive plantations of the area were commenced. By 1968 the area occupied by forest plantations in Mtunzini and Lower Umfolozi was approximately 96 000 acres (38 833 ha) (Table 4.4). In Lower Umfolozi, plantations were of particular importance and accounted for 47 per cent of all cultivated land in the district.

Timber plantations, compared to sugar cane farms were large holdings and more particularly so in the case of the State forests. Two State forests in Lower Umfolozi, for example, in 1968 had mean sizes of nearly 18 000 acres (7 287 ha) and occupied nearly 42 per cent of the total area devoted to timber plantations in the district (Table 4.4). Timber plantations within the Sub-region were principally located on the sandy, less fertile soils of the moist Coastal Plain in Lower Umfolozi, on extensive lands surrounding Kwambonambi, and in the Port Durnford area of Mtunzini (Fig. 4.4). The location of plantations on the Coastal Plain, on land less suited to sugar cane production, was a logical land use solution that maximised the use of available environmental resources.

The large land holdings of the state and privately owned plantations geometrically gridded and served by a system of forest roads and accessways contributed a distinctive component to the settlement pattern and landscape of the Sub-region. Rural settlement within the forestry areas, (Fig 4.4) was considerably less dense than was the case in areas of sugar cane cultivation and reflected differences in size of production units, layout patterns and production processes. Significant nucleations of rural settlements were clustered about saw mills distributed through the forestry areas.

4.4.4 The Boundary Reserve Lands

The African Reserves that bound the corridors of White owned land in the Sub-region (Reserves Nos. 4,6 and 10 on the Coastal Plain and Reserve Nos. 5, 7B and 9 on the western inland margins), in 1968 occupied some 147 000 ha. of land (Fig. 2.1). They comprised approximately 88 per cent of all African held land in the magisterial Districts of Lower Umfolozi and Mtunzini.[1]

Land within the Reserves was held in traditional tenure under the South African Bantu Trust. In that system the indunas or headman under the local Chief, have powers to allot land in their wards to individuals. The traditional and basic unit of settlement was the kraal with its associated cultivable land and with access to communal grazing lands. Kraals in the traditional settlement pattern were dispersed in distribution but may form distinctive groupings identified by lineage relationships that may affect the patterns of land allocation.

By 1967, 23 per cent and 36 per cent respectively of the African held land in the Districts of Lower Umfolozi and Mtunzini had been subject to planned resettlement propagated since 1961 as part of the 5 year plan

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1) Statistical data used in this section of the analysis have been drawn from the Annual Agricultural Report for Natal and Zululand of the Department of Bantu Administration, 1967.

of the Department of Bantu Administration. Resettlement planning involved the definition and concentration of residential areas in clustered settlements, the consolidation and layout of cropland on the most desirable land and the demarcation and camping of grazing lands. Planning of this type was designed to enhance and coordinate the agricultural and pastoral potential of the land and to encourage higher productivity.

In reality planning standards adopted by the Department were frequently not achieved and the impact of a rationalized settlement design was variably reduced.[1]

Parts of Reserves Nos. 5, 7B and 9, on the western margins of the Sub-region had been subject to resettlement planning but the coastal Reserves (Nos. 4,6 and 10 north and south of Richards Bay,) had not been affected. These lands were clearly to become incorporated in planning then being undertaken for the design of the structural elements of the new city of Richards Bay.[2]

Resettlement planning was progressively and fundamentally altering traditional settlement and social patterns. Significant modification, however, had been induced by other forces making for social change. These included the influence of rural churches, schools and trading

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1) The planning process involved the collaboration of officials and technical officers of the Department, the Chiefs of individual tribal groups and ward headmen in the conduct of technical surveys, including census enumerations and land potential studies and in the framing of a final plan design. Each ward of a Chiefdom was individually planned on a neighbourhood unit principle.
A general guideline standard adopted in the design of resettlement schemes was to allocate .2 ha of land per household in clustered residential areas (located on the least productive land) and 3,2 ha of arable land and 15 ha of grazing land for each homeland. Arable land was located on soils of highest production potential, beaconed, numbered and allocated in plots by the ward headman. Individual fields were registered in the name of the plot holder. Considerable formality was thus introduced into tenure system.

2) Reserve No 6 was to be entirely removed to make way for the site of the Richards Bay C.B.D., White residential areas and industrial sites. Part of Reserve No. 1D was to become the site of a new African township, Ezikhawini, to serve Richards Bay.

stores and the influence of roads and tracks along which ideas and materials had diffused into the Reserves from outside. The alignments of roads and tracks tended to shape concentrations of settlement and were most associated with changes in architectural styles and the employment of non-traditional building materials.

Rural population densities within the Reserves were high and averaged between 40 and 60 persons per square kilometre in the Districts of Lower Umfolozi and Mtunzini respectively. Densities varied, however, and in the coastal Reserves and in zones close to the boundaries of those on the western margins of the Sub-region were substantially higher, exceeding 100 persons per sq. km. In some locations high density clustered settlements, some without access to cultivated lands, had assumed the form of informal rural residential areas.(Fig. 4.5). Much of the economically active population in the boundary zones of the Reserves was clearly dependent upon employment in neighbouring White areas for cash wages.

Population pressure, a distorted demographic structure, the land tenure system, small units of production, poor agricultural techniques, soil and bio-climatic limitations and limited access to transport and marketing infrastructure among other factors, meant that agricultural and pastoral production within the Reserves was low. Only 20 per cent of the land area was estimated to be arable. Apart from the small coastal Reserves (in which land shortages were in any event acute) the Reserves of the western interior, for the most part located within Bioclimatic Zones 9c and 10b (Phillips, 1973), were classified as low in agricultural and pastoral potential.

The essential characteristics of agricultural and pastoral production in the African Reserves neighbouring the Sub-region may be summarized in the following listing:

TABLE 4.5

ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL PRODUCTION OF AFRICAN RESERVES NEIGHBOURING THE SUB-REGION

Characteristic	Reserves of the District of Lower Umfolozi	Mtunzini
1. Area of Lands (ha)	104 340	62 918
2. Area under S.A.D.T. (%)	100.0	100.0
3. Total Population	42 930	38 904
4. Population Density (P/sq.Km.)	41	61
5. Arable Land (%)	20.0	20.0
6. Maize Lands (ha)	12 353	6 039
7. Maize Yield (100 Kg bags / ha)	4.6	3.5
8. Sorghum Lands (ha)	2 504	504
9. Sorghum Yield (100 Kg bags / ha)	4.7	4.7
10. Legumes Lands (ha)	1 827	?
11. Legume Yield (100 Kg bags / ha)	4.6	
12. Sugar Cane Lands (ha)	794	4 644
13. Sugar Cane Yield (tons / ha)	21.5	21.7
14. Cattle Numbers	45 766	34 071
15. Goat Numbers	9 230	5 003
16. Existing X ha/ C.U.	2.95	2.40
17. Est. Carrying Capacity (ha / C.U.)	2.94	2.35
18. Total Value of Products Sold (R)	193 322	447 465
19. Area Planned (ha)	24 223	22 9.2
20. Grazing Area (ha)	73 621	42 796
21. Land Under Controlled Grazing (%)	11.6	

(Source: Annual Report (Agriculture) Department of Bantu Administration, 1967).

Agricultural production was centred on staple food crops - maize, sorghum and legumes. Yields were low and the produce for the most part was consumed in subsistence. Commercial cropping had become significant, however, in the eastern, moister margins of Reserves Nos. 5 and 9 where small sugar cane production had been introduced. In the drier interior of Reserve No 5 also, small scale production of cotton was being undertaken. These developments, though very minor by comparison to neighbouring White farming areas,

nevertheless pointed to a higher productivity than had hitherto been achieved by African agriculture.

The social role of cattle in Nguni society continued to be highly significant and, although encouragement had been given on stock improvement, grazing methods and the commercialization of pastoral activities, production remained severely limited. Although stocking rates in 1967 were satisfactory, a history of over stocking and poor grazing techniques had reduced the potential of the natural veld and urgent measures appeared necessary to upgrade pastoral activities.

Of the agricultural and pastoral products produced for gain, sugar cane, cotton, hides and skins and animals sold to abbatoirs accounted for 86 per cent of the total value of sales totalling only approximately R640 000. Of that total sugar cane alone contributed 78 per cent mainly from Reserve No 9 in the Mtunzini District.

From this analysis it is clear that the bounding Reserves of the Sub-region were of minor economic significance and existed in a relationship of dependency upon neighbouring White farming and urban areas. The significance of the proposed development of Richards Bay in that context was of the greatest significance.

4.5 THE URBAN SETTLEMENTS

4.5.1 Characteristics of the Urban Settlement System

The five urban places of the Sub-region (Empangeni, Felixton, Mtunzini, Kwambonambi and Richards Bay) by virtue of their relative location within the space economy of the North Coast-Zululand Development Sector, could in the period of the base-line survey be described as a local urban system. Definition of the system arose from factors such as spatial proximity, functional interdependence and relative spatial enclosure provided by bounding Bantu Reserve territory. The configuration of the local transportation network, furthermore, encouraged interaction between the urban places and determined the functional dominance of Empangeni as the focal, service and organizational centre of the system and of the Sub-region.

In size range the urban system was modest. Empangeni with a total population of 12 757 people (including the African township of Ngwelezana) was the largest place in the Sub-system and clearly occupied the status of a local primate centre. It was larger than the second centre in the set (Felixton, with a population of 2 359 persons) by a factor of more than five. (Table 4.6). Richards Bay at the time (1970), by comparison, possessed a population of only 598 persons and was a place of the same size order as Kwambonambi (556 persons).

The growth of population in the five urban centres of the Sub-region has been discussed in an earlier Chapter. Empangeni, consistent with its dominant economic and social role within the Sub-region showed relatively consistent and above average growth rated in both its White and Black population groups. Mtunzini, Kwambonambi and Richards Bay on the other hand, displayed erratic growth trends and the two coastal resorts indeed showed a decrease in White population in the period 1950-1960. The specialized industrial centre of Felixton displayed a consistent upward trend in both its White and Black populations.

Table 4.6: POPULATION OF URBAN PLACES IN THE EMPANGENI-RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION 1911-1970

WHITES PLACE	1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1970
Empangeni	116	153	703	1 037	1 336	2 570	4 512
Felixton	?	93	145	208	183	373	475
Mtunzini	32	61	115	160	159	221	415
Kwambonambi	-	25	31	38	99	151	269
Richards Bay	?	-	-	128	153	99	411
AFRICANS							
Empangeni	258	137	957	1 558	2 219	3 333	2 767
Felixton	?	179	410	925	621	1 090	1 112
Mtunzini	110	80	248	245	499	328	559
Kwambonambi	-	129	674	305	166	324	246
Richards Bay	?	-	-	95	43	113	174
ASIAN							
Empangeni	19	40	439	560	574	645	157
Felixton	?	304	254	302	377	639	756
Mtunzini	28	13	-	1	20	8	9
Kwambonambi	-	127	15	3	1	20	24
Richards Bay	?	-	-	17	13	18	7
COLOUREDS							
Empangeni	-	7	18	24	15	57	96
Felixton	-		9	17	6	6	16
Mtunzini	-		1	1	3	1	-
Kwambonambi	-				1	7	17
Richards Bay					1	7	6
ALL RACES							
Empangeni	393	339	2 117	3 179	4 144	6 614	7 532
Felixton	?				1 187	2 108	2 359
Mtunzini	170	156	364	407	681	558	983
Kwambonambi				346	267	502	556
Richards Bay	?	-	-	240	210	237	598

SOURCE: Republic of South Africa (1976a). In some cases early figures are from Republic of South Africa (1963).

In the period 1960-1970 the population growth rate of Richards Bay was to show the first significant response to the proposed developments of a new harbour. Thus the White population growth rate rose from -4.56 per cent between 1951 and 1960 to a high 15,98 per cent between 1960 and 1970. A response in population growth in the other centres of the Sub-region and particularly in Empangeni was to come later. Variations in growth rate and size of place in the urban set reflected the functional roles played by the individual urban centres in the evolution of the space economy of the Sub-region. Tables 4.7 and 4.8 illustrate the activity profiles and distribution of employment by race groups in the urban centres. In Table 4.7 economic and social activities of the urban set are ranked by ubiquity of occurrence.

The activity profile of Empangeni (Table 4.7) identifies the greater functional complexity of the town as the dominant urban focus in the Sub-region in the late 1960s. Its multifunctional urban economy was based upon service, transport and manufacturing activity.

In 1960, commercial, financial and general services (including government and professional services) accounted for 40 percent of the economically active White population. Transport and manufacturing, on the other hand, respectively contributed 26 per cent and 24 per cent of White employment. Black employment was heavily concentrated in service activity (for Africans, in Domestic service in particular) and in manufacturing. Collectively, Service activities (commerce, finance and general services) employed an increasing share of the White and Black economically active population between 1960 and 1970 (Table 4.8).

Manufacturing activity, on the other hand had by 1970 experienced a relative downward shift in White employment and a relative and absolute downward shift in African employment. The shift in White employment is largely explained by the growth of commercial and financial activity in support of the rise in population associated with preparatory work undertaken on the construction of the new harbour at Richards Bay.

TABLE 4.7 FUNCTIONAL PROFILES OF THE URBAN CENTRES OF THE EMPANGENI-RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION. 1968

ACTIVITIES	EMPANGENI				Mtunzini	Kwambonambi	Felixton	Richards Bay
	Village	Rail	Mill	Total				
1. Secondary Industry								
Cannery		1		1				
Frozen Foods		1		1				
Furniture		1		1				
Mineral Waters		1		1				
Paper Mill							1	
Sugar Mill			1	1			1	
Timber Mill						1		
2. Service Industry								
Abbattoir		1		1				
Bakery	1			1				
Boating Services	1			1				
Building/Joinery	1			1				
Dry Cleaning	1			1				
Fitting/Turning	1			1				
Painter/Decor.	1			1				
Panel Beating		1		1				
Printing	1			1				
Scale Services		1		1				
Typewriter Services	1			1				
Dairy	2			2				
Plumbing	3			3				
Oil Depot		5		5				
Cartage Contractor	1	1		2	1			
Electrical Services	2	1		3		1		
Engineering Services	1	3		4		1		
Building Contracting	5	2		7	1			
Service Stations	4	4		8	1			
Road Maintenance	1			1	1	1		
3. Agricultural Services								
Water Drilling	2			2				
Tractor Services	1	3		4				
Equipment	3	2		5		2		
Fertilizer Services	2	1		3	1	1		
4. Tertiary Services								
4.1 Retail/Wholesale								
Caravan Sales		1		1				
Cycles	1			1				
Florist	1			1				
Fuels		1		1				
Green Produce	1			1				

TABLE 4.7 (contd.)

ACTIVITIES	EMPANGENI				Mt.	Kb.	F	R.B.
	V	R	M	Total				
4. Tert. Serv. (contd.)								
Jeweller	1			1				
Jun. Department Store	1			1				
Second Hand Dealer	1			1				
Sewing Machines	1			1				
Shoes	1			1				
Co-operatives	1			1				
Timber Supplies	1			1				
Chemist	2			2				
Clothing	3			3				
Furniture	3			3				
Wholesaler	1	2		3				
Hardware	5	1		6				
Butcher/Fishmonger	3	2	1	6	1		1	
Tea Room	3	2		5	2	1		
Bottle Store	3			3	1	1		1
General Dealer	6	3	1	10	2	5	2	
4.2 Finance								
Real Estate	5			5				
Building Soc. Agency/off.	5			5				
Insurance Agency/ off.	12			12				
Bank	3			3	1			
4.3 Professional Service								
Consulting Engineers	1			1				
Land Surveyor	1			1				
Optician	1			1				
Veterinarian	1			1				
Architect	2			2				
Dentist	2			2				
Attorney	4			4				
Accountant	5			5				
Doctor	14*			14*				
4.4 Administration Service								
Labour Bureau	1			1				
Traffic Bureau	1			1				
Bantu Administration	1			1	1			
Forestry	1			1		1		
Goal	1			1	1			
Health	1			1	1			
Magistrate	1			1	1			
N.P.B.					1			1
Local Authority	1			1	1	1		1
Police	1			1	1	1		
Post Office	1	1		2	1	1	1	
Railway Station		1		1	1	1	1	

TABLE 4.7 (contd.)

ACTIVITIES	EMPANGENI				Mt.	Kb.	F	R.B.
	V	R	M	Total				
4.5 Accommodation Service								
Hotel/Motel	2			2	2			1
Rest Camp								4
4.6 Personal Service								
Photographer	1			1				
Travel Agent	1			1				
Taxis	1			1				
Funeral Undertaker	2			2				
Hairdresser	4			4				
4.7 Social Service								
Blood Transfusion Service	1			1				
Convent School	1			1				
High School	1			1				
Hospital	1			1				
Library (Public)	1			1				
Masonic Lodge	2			2				
Primary School	2			2	1	1	1	
Church	5			5	1	1		
4.8 Recreation Service								
Cinema	1			1				
Swimming Bath	1			1				
Tattersalls	1			1				
Recreation Club	3	1		3	1	1	1	

Note: 1 V = Empangeni Village
R = Empangeni Rail
M = Empangeni Mill

* Doctor so listed in the telephone directory

Sources: A.C. Braby (Pty.) Ltd.: Braby's 1968 Natal North Coast Directory, and field observation

TABLE 4.8 EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY CATEGORIES: EMRANGENI-RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION, 1960 AND 1970

URBAN PLACE		Agric	Min	Manf	Elect	Const	Com	Fin	Transp	Serv	NEA	EA	Total Pop	Census Yr
Empangeni	W	1.1	0.0	24.2	0.9	8.5	14.8	2.6	25.7	22.3	63.4	36.6	2 564	1960
	A	7.7	-	31.0	-	8.6	4.9	0.6	5.9	41.3	19.8	80.2	3 326	
	I	1.7	-	64.4	-	-	6.2	-	0.6	27.1	73.0	27.0	654	
	C	6.9	3.4	24.1	-	20.7	3.4	-	3.4	37.9	50.0	50.0	57	
Empangeni &	W	0.6	0.7	16.0	1.1	7.8	20.8	9.9	24.9	18.0	61.8	38.2	4 512	1970
Ngwelezana	A	12.3	-	12.9	0.4	15.2	10.3	0.6	6.0	42.4	36.6	63.4	7 992	
Felixton	W	0.7	-	81.9	-	2.0	6.0	-	6.0	3.3	59.8	40.2	373	1960
	A	4.9	-	76.2	-	1.7	1.4	-	0.4	15.3	4.5	95.5	1 090	
	I	1.5	-	-	-	0.7	-	-	-	5.2	75.6	24.4	639	
Felixton	W	1.1	-	60.3	-	3.2	15.9	5.8	9.0	4.8	60.2	39.8	475	1970
	A	4.5	-	69.5	-	4.1	1.0	0.5	0.8	19.3	3.2	96.8	1 112	
Mtunzini	W	3.7	1.2	7.9	-	5.5	27.4	7.9	4.9	41.5	61.6	38.4	415	1970
	A	21.1	-	2.8	-	9.9	14.4	2.8	-	48.9	23.4	76.6	559	
Kwambonambi	W	5.2	-	17.7	-	8.3	31.3	4.2	14.6	18.8	64.3	35.7	269	1970
	A	3.0	-	4.5	-	12.5	11.0	-	4.0	65.0	18.7	81.3	246	
Richards Bay	W	0.6	1.3	12.8	-	41.7	17.9	7.1	5.8	12.8	62.0	38.0	411	1970
	A	-	-	-	-	17.3	28.6	3.5	-	49.4	6.7	93.3	174	
Indian Urban		2.0	1.2	57.1	-	7.1	12.2	-	2.6	73.4	73.4	26.6	953	1970
Coloured Urban		-	-	16.4	-	45.2	14.5	-	-	19.3	54.1	45.9	135	

NOTE: 1. Data for 1960 available only for Empangeni and Felixton.

2. Sources: 1960 : Special Tabulations extracted by Department of Statistics

A = African; C = Coloured; I - Indian; W = White

NEA = Not Economically Active EA = Economically Active

The shift in the pattern of African employment is more difficult to explain. It was in part associated with the growth of commercial and construction activity but agricultural employment inexplicably rose significantly in the period. Inadequacies in census enumeration appear to have distorted the distribution and the African data should thus be regarded with caution.

In both 1960 and 1970 a quarter of the White population and a significant proportion of the Blacks were employed in Transport activities emphasising the important role that Empangeni played as a railway centre and junction in the northern areas of the Natal North Coast - Zululand Development Sector.

The growing significance of Empangeni as the centre upon which the growth of service activity was to concentrate, at least in the earlier phases of development at Richards Bay, is strongly evident from these data. They also suggest the formation of circumstances which could in the future create economic conflict between Empangeni and Richards Bay as competing service centres in the Sub-region. Planned guidance on the development and location of service activity within the Sub-region is clearly called for.

Significant variations in Activity Ratios between the population groups is evident from the data presented in Table 4.8. The contrast between the White and Indian populations, on the one hand, and the African and Coloured populations, on the other, was particularly sharp. It was underpinned by high levels of single, migrant African and Coloured workers in the labour force in 1960 and 1970. The establishment of an African residential township at Ngwelezana in Bantu Reserve No. 7B, some 2Km from Empangeni after 1960, permitted urban African family residential development to take place. The decline in the African Activity Ratios from 80.2 in 1960 to 63.4 in 1970 was accounted for by the development of the township.

As a service centre Empangeni provided a range of retail, wholesale, financial, professional, administrative, accommodation, recreation and social services to its own population and to that of the Sub-region as a whole (Table 4.7). Services provided by the Town, however, were of a middle to low order level and designed to meet the less specialized needs of the population. Thus the range and depth of choice in specialized services was limited and, in retailing, the emphasis rested upon the more ubiquitous lower order services. For more sophisticated and specialized services the Sub-region was dependent upon the Durban Metropolitan Area.

Secondary industry at Empangeni was based principally upon food processing industries (sugar milling, canning, mineral waters and frozen food) and upon a range of service industries. Of these industries the Zululand Sugar Millers and Planters mill undoubtedly remained the most important and basic industry of the town. Industrial activity was dominantly, though not exclusively, related to agricultural production and the servicing of agricultural and forestry activity within the Sub-region.

Mtunzini, the second magisterial seat in the Sub-region, was the only urban centre, other than Empangeni, to contain a wider range of economic and social activity (Table 4.7). Its activity profile, however, could not be compared to that of Empangeni and indeed emphasized the functional dominance of the main focus in the economy of the Sub-region. Apart from its administrative functions, Mtunzini possessed low order accommodation and tertiary services and a limited range of low order service industries. Employment of its population was heavily concentrated in those activities (Table 4.8). In the period under review Mtunzini had experienced a significant input of residential population employed at the University of Zululand situated some 17km away. That additional population served to encourage the growth of service and employment. Kwambonambi, although providing a significant source of employment (18 per cent) in manufacturing (Timber) for its White population, was essentially a minor service centre servicing the population employed in forestry activities in its surroundings.

In contrast to all other urban places in the Sub-region, the functional composition and employment structure of Felixton identified the centre as a specialized, industrial and company town (Table 4.7 and 4.8). No less than 82 per cent of the White and 76 per cent of the African economically active population were employed in either the Sugar Mill or the Paper Mill located at the town. Only basic tertiary services were provided for its population who were largely dependent for such activity upon Empangeni.

The economic and social functions of Richards Bay in 1968 were of minor importance and focussed essentially upon low order accommodation services which supported the minor resort function of the centre (Table 4.7). The employment structure of the White population by 1970, however, was indicative of the rapid economic shifts that were to take place as development of the infra-structure preparatory to the construction of the new harbour occurred. Thus by 1970 nearly 42 per cent of the White population was employed in Construction activity and a further 18 per cent in Commerce. The small African population was essentially employed in Service activity.

At the conclusion of the period under review, and prior to the phase of rapid and dramatic infra-structural and economic change that was to characterise the development of the Sub-region after 1970, a well developed structure of economic and social dominance and sub-dominance in the local urban system had emerged. Empangeni, within its Sub-region, was clearly a dominant place and Richards Bay, in particular, a place of little significance serving purely as a local recreation centre. The decision to develop a new harbour and major city at Richards Bay, where future large scale industrial and service activity of the Sub-region would be located, carried with it important implications for the future status, development and role of existing urban places in the sub-system. The future status and role of Empangeni in particular was a matter of substantial concern and merits careful monitoring and integrative development planning.

4.5.2 The Urban Geography of Empangeni

4.5.2.1 Origins, Site and Functional Development

The origins and naming of the Empangeni magistracy in 1894 have been discussed in an earlier section of this chapter. The site selected for the magistracy, its supporting police camp, and horse grazing enclosure, characteristic elements of early colonial settlement in Zululand, was located on well-ventilated, elevated land above the uncomfortable, humid environment of the bounding Coastal Plain which it overlooked. (Fig. 4.7). There too it was possible to overcome the worst depredations of malaria. In later years, the site was well located to command the corridors of land demarcated in the Sub-region for White farm land by the Zululand Land Delimitation Commission in 1905. The White corridors, with the magistracy at their centre, radiated outwards to the interior, and northwards and southwards on the coastal margins. The site, furthermore, overlooked the potentially strategically important Richards Bay some 13 km to the east, and was well placed to administer the bounding Native Reserves established in the Lower Umfolozi District in 1905.

The elevated, sloping site of Empangeni formed part of a northward projecting spur of the Hilly-Broken Physiographic Division of the Sub-Region (Fig. 4.1). and reached a maximum elevation of 142 m above sea-level. The site assumed the form of an irregularly indented hill, radially drained by several small tributaries of the Mhlatuze and Ukula rivers and by local streams drawing eastwards across the lower-lying Benchland below Empangeni to the swamp-girt environment of Lake Nsese and the Coastal Plain. Gently sloping spurs of more elevated land radiated outwards from the highest points of the site on which the police camp and magisterial residency had been located in 1894. (Figs. 4.7 and 4.9).

It is apparent that the selection of the site was influenced more by its elevation above the more humid and malarial Coastal Plain and by

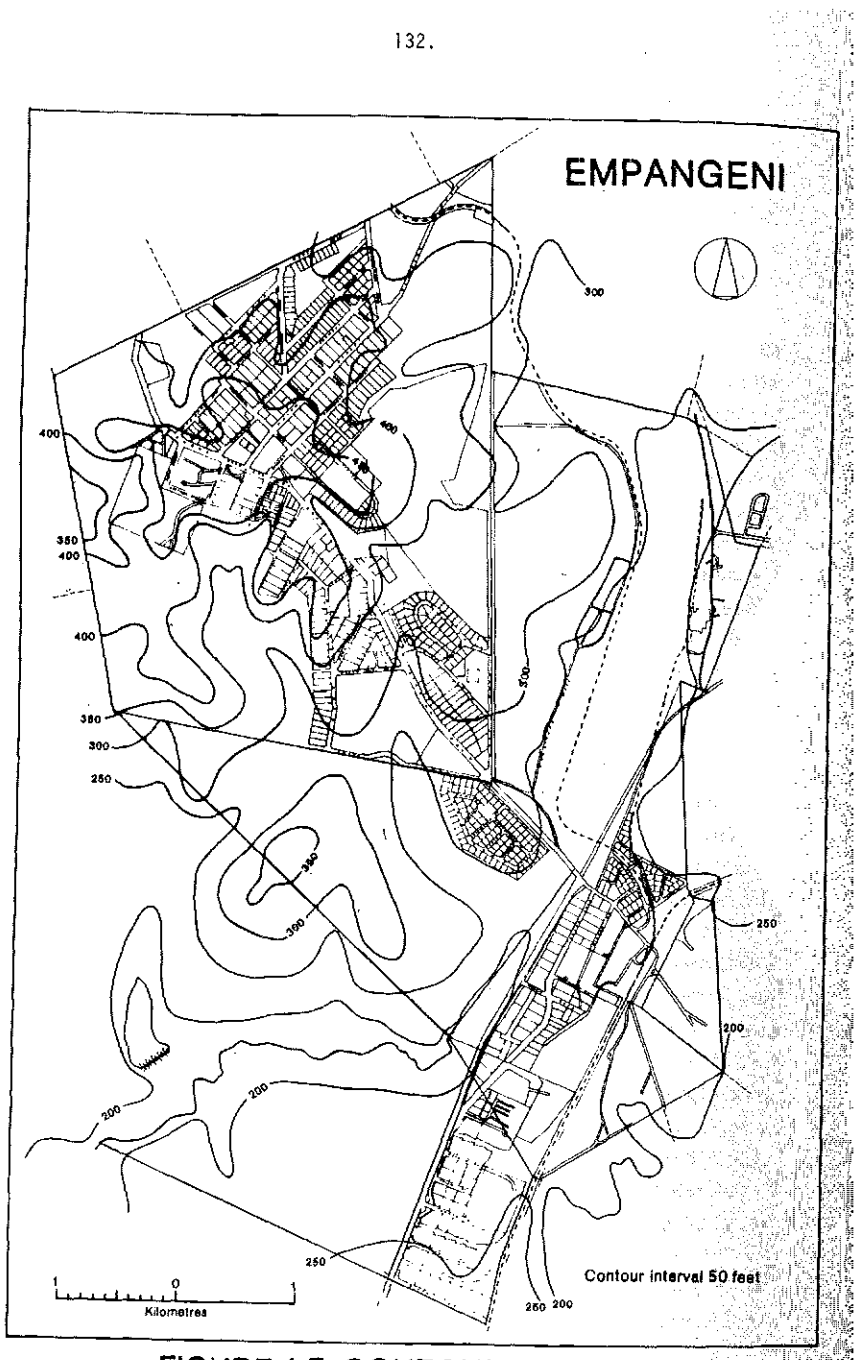

FIGURE 4.7: CONTOUR SITE PLAN

its strategic location than by its access to good surface water supplies. Indeed water supply was for long a serious difficulty on the hill-top town site where reliance on underground water and storage tanks was characteristic until as late as 1953 when the first reticulated water scheme in the Town was inaugurated.

The extension of the Natal North Coast railway into Zululand in 1903 to a terminal at the proposed site of a coal mine at Somhkele, north of Empangeni, was aligned to follow the gentle gradients of the Benchland below the magistracy. A railway station was established at Empangeni Rail and was to encourage settlement not only about the station but on the more healthy and comfortable hill site of the magistracy some 3Km away. In this way the elements of a bi-polar settlement growth pattern were established.

The first group of houses to serve railway employees was erected at the Rail in 1902-03. At that time the design for permanent White settlement in Zululand had not yet been approved and the magistracy at Empangeni consisted only of the inputs necessary for that function - the magistrate's office, police camp, gaol and two substantial houses built of brick and mortar. In addition a trading store (Loftheims), one of several such stores established by Norwegian pioneer colonists in the territory, had been built near the magistrate's office, no doubt taking advantage of the cross-roads location of the site.[1]

Following acceptance of the recommendations of the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission in 1905, a decision to establish a permanent village at Empangeni was taken. Its townlands were demarcated within an irregular polygon that enclosed the elevated hill-top site. (Fig. 4.9). Growth of the two small settlements at the Village and at the Rail was slow, however, and by 1911 the population totalled only 393 persons (Table 4.6) of whom 116 were White.

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1) The historical record interpreted here has been drawn from a variety of sources that include the Magisterial District Book and limited archival material kept by the Municipality, but chiefly from oral evidence provided by prominent local residents. The chief among these was Mr. A. Bozas, Mayor of Empangeni.

The decision of the Zululand Milling Co. (later the Zululand Milling and Planting Co. (Z.M.P.C.) to establish a major mill at Empangeni was to add the most important basic activity to the functional base of the settlement. The sugar mill was opened in 1913 and located on the flat lands of the Benchland below Empangeni Village and approximately 2 km. north of the railway station. Flat land, proximity to the railway loading facilities and access to water supplies drawn from local streams and underground sources were primary factors in the decision to locate the mill on the site it occupies at present. The mill with its attendant residential development, separated from the two extant growth poles of the Village and Rail, created the framework for a Tri-polar settlement growth pattern that was to be a determining influence on the future structure of urban development.

Though spatially separated and initially administratively divided, the division and specialisation of economic activity between the three growth poles encouraged functional interaction between them. That interaction was later to become the basis upon which administrative unification was to take place.

Notwithstanding the addition of an industrial function the growth of the three settlements continued to be slow. The White population grew at an annual rate of 2,8 per cent between 1911 and 1921 and totalled only 153 persons in 1921, while the African population, in the same period, actually showed a decline that is difficult to explain. (Table 4.6). By 1919 it is recorded that the Village, apart from its administrative and police functions, possessed an hotel, 3 stores, 1 chemist shop, a bank (Barclays, housed in a single room at Loftheims store), a post office, primary school and approximately 12 houses. Many of the structures in the village had been constructed of wood and corrugated iron, characteristic building materials common in South African development in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. The growth of the settlement had, by 1917, necessitated the introduction of health and sanitation regulations.

In the period 1921 - 1936 Empangeni experienced an accelerated growth rate. The White population increased at an annual rate of 10.70 per cent. Growth in the period appears to have been encouraged by the greater maturity of the surrounding agricultural economy, a rise in sugar production and its prices and more particularly by the expansion of settlement into the northern periphery of the North Coast - Zululand Development Sector. The railway had been extended northwards to Mtubatuba and Golel by 1927 and, by 1930, Empangeni had become the junction for the railway extension to the irrigation farming area established in the Nkwaleni Valley in the near interior. The establishment of major forestry activity from 1925 on the Coastal Plain around Kwambonambi also added substantially to the demand for services from Empangeni.

Growth, though small in absolute terms, had by 1936 induced the development of new functions and infrastructure in the town. A Town Hall was built, in 1921 the Memorial Hospital and a new Post Office were opened and in 1923 the Primary School was housed in new substantial buildings. Secondary education in the same school, was added from 1936. In 1929 a small private company was formed to generate electricity and for the first time brought power to the settlement. A small number of new houses were added to the existing stock more particularly at Empangeni Rail to house additional workers employed in the expansion of rail services from the mid-1920s.

The event most closely associated with the maturation of urban settlement, however, was the proclamation of Empangeni as a Town Board Area in January, 1931. Through that proclamation the three elements of the settlement, the Village, Rail and Mill were unified in a single administrative unit.

For all that, Empangeni, on the eve of the Second World War, remained a small place of local significance with a total population of only 2 000 - 3 000 people of whom fewer than 1 000 were White. It was to retain a trend of modest growth until the period of national economic expansion that followed World War II. In the decade between 1950 and

1960, population growth rates accelerated. The White population grew at an annual rate of 7,20 per cent and more than doubled from 1 336 persons to 2 570 persons. The total population of the town increased from 4 144 persons to 6 614 persons in the same period and grew at a rate of 5,0 per cent per year.

Between 1960 and 1970, though growth was maintained, it appeared to falter at least until 1966. Thus, and, notwithstanding an acceleration in population growth following the 1965 announcement of harbour development plans at Richards Bay, the annual growth rate of Whites for the decade dropped back to 6 per cent. The total population, however, showed an increase in growth rate to 6.65 per cent per year, but was accounted for by the inclusion in the calculation of the population of the African township of Ngwelezana.[1]

Trend data on electricity consumption (Table 4.9), Property Valuations and Building Plans (Table 4.10) confirm a faltering growth trend in the first half of the decade 1960-1970. Electricity consumption increased rapidly in the 1950s, doubling between 1953 and 1958; decelerated in the period 1959-1967 and then assumed an increased growth rate as Empangeni responded to growth demands arising from increased residential and commercial development imposed upon it in the early phase of development of the harbour infrastructure for Richards Bay. Land and Building valuations, increased very slowly between 1961 and 1965 and then rose steeply during the later years of the 1960s. Although less consistent in distribution, similar trends may be observed in the value and number of building plans passed by the Municipality.

The higher growth trend of the 1950s, on the one hand, reflects the impact of a national upwelling of economic expansion in the period in which Empangeni shared, all-be-it to a limited degree in absolute terms. On the other hand, the 1950s were years of growing expectation of

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1) In the 1960 Census the families of African migrant workers in Empangeni would have been resident in rural reserve areas and would thus not have been taken up in the enumeration of urban population at Empangeni. To a degree, therefore, the growth rate of the total population between 1960 and 1970 is overstated. If Ngwelezana is excluded the rate is only 1,35 per cent.

TABLE 4.9

ELECTRICITY CONSUMPTION, EMPANGENI, 1953 - 1970 (UNITS SENT OUT).

YEAR	10^6 UNITS
1953/4	1.20
1954/5	1.45
1955/6	1.65
1956/7	2.05
1957/8	2.40
1958/9	2.85
1959/0	2.88
1960/1	3.10
1961/2	3.68
1962/3	3.93
1963/4	4.20
1964/5	4.84
1965/6	5.00
1966/7	5.73
1967/8	7.08
1968/9	8.40
1969/0	11.48
1970/1	13.22

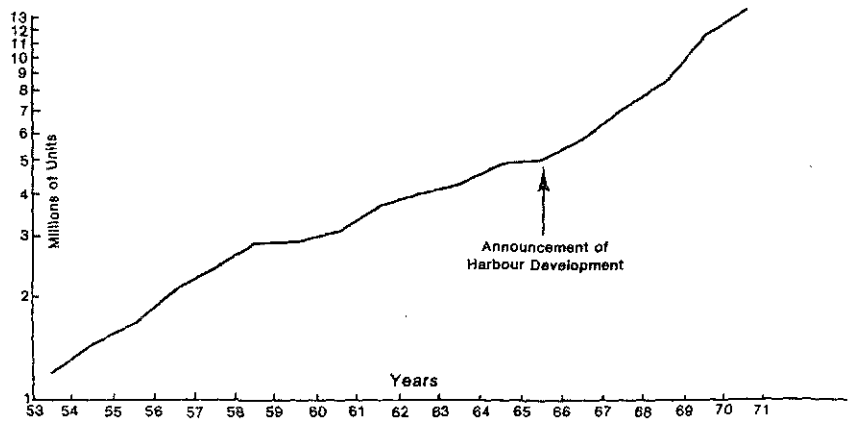

TABLE 4.10 VALUATIONS OF PROPERTY AND BUILDING PLANS APPROVED IN EMPANGENI

YEAR	VALUATIONS		BUILDING PLANS APPROVED							
	LAND RANDS	BUILDINGS RANDS	S.R. Rands	No.	G.R. Rands	No.	Rands	No.	IND. Rands	No.
1960	1 764 900	4 889 650								
1961	1 881 550	5 152 720								
1962	1 884 250	5 522 570								
1963	1 884 150	5 585 590								
1964	1 893 515	5 742 790	196 118	27	65 000	1	80 925	4	140 292	8
1965	1 908 345	6 085 290	938 731	101	-	-	123 844	5	48 700	5
1966	1 950 905	6 834 684	195 200	21	38 000	2	245 331	12	96 030	10
1967	6 987 130	9 467 600	528 350	52	120 000	1	363 852	5	243 864	21
1968	7 230 850	10 270 620	1 388 727	136	70 000	1	209 440	10	254 082	12
1969	23 068 350	12 005 010	1 889 401	114	75 000	1	233 554	10	61 800	3
1970	23 230 870	18 226 140	1 119 136	73	311 614	7	815 919	24	378 504	9

Source: Mayor's Minutes. (No detailed data were available for the years 1960-1963)
S.R. = Special Residential; G.R. = General; Ind. = Industrial

industrial growth and of infrastructural development conditioned by anticipation of emerging Government policy on industrial decentralization and the development of the Reserves.

In 1951 a new tarred National road from Durban was completed to Empangeni significantly improving the means of interaction with the metropolitan focus. The first reticulated water scheme, drawing supplies of raw water from Lake Nsese was inaugurated during 1953. In the same year the Town Board assumed responsibility for the generation and reticulation of electricity and embarked upon an extension and improvement programme of the electricity network. Empangeni's first town planning scheme was framed in 1953 in anticipation of future growth.

The Chief Town and Regional Planner of Natal, in 1954, provided early signals of the Government's evolving industrial decentralization policy that would involve the establishment of industries on the borders of Bantu Reserves. He noted in a report to the Town Board that it was understood to be part of Government policy to encourage the establishment of industries near the Reserves and that Empangeni, with a sizeable labour force in its immediate hinterland, was one of the places where such industry could well be established. It seemed to him advisable that consideration be given to the selection of an industrial area which might in the future accommodate industries drawing upon African labour from the neighbouring Reserves.

It is apparent that that report played a significant role in stimulating anticipation of industrial growth and expansion of infrastructure in the town although official Government policy on Border Area industrial concessions was only announced in 1960. Under that policy Empangeni gained Border Area concessions and expectation of future growth were confirmed. As will be noted below, however, they were not to be realized for some years and then indirectly through the establishment of the new harbour at Richards Bay.

The Town Board in 1954 acquired 70 acres (28 ha) of farmland adjacent to Empangeni Rail as the future site of an industrial township.[1] On that site the Kuleka township with 44 sites, 26 of which were to be served by rail sidings, was laid out in 1956-57, and offered for sale in 1960. Land in the township was taken up by five oil companies, a builders supplier, saw mill and timber yard, a national frozen food distributor (Irvin and Johnson), an agricultural implement distributor and a fertilizer distributor. These activities it should be noted, however, were essentially service oriented, small employers of labour and lacked a capacity to generate further industrial growth. The only significant new secondary industry to be established was the Z.F.P. Fruit and Vegetable Cannery (established in 1956).

Improvements to railway services were undertaken by the S.A.R. and H and between 1956 and 1960 the railway yards at Empangeni Rail were remodeled. Sixty-five new railway houses were built in the same period to provide for additional personnel. In 1957 the Town Board replaced the outmoded diesel plant , used till that time to generate electricity, with a steam generating plant located at Empangeni Rail. Service and social infrastructural improvements to the town were also implemented in the period. A new, White, High School and the Dominican Convent Junior school were opened in 1955; a public swimming bath was completed in 1957 and a new abbattoir (at Empangeni Rail) was brought into commission in 1958. Extensions to Empangeni Hospital were undertaken in 1960-61 and fire prevention services were improved.

In response to the growth of population, increasing complexity in local government and in anticipation of future growth Empangeni was raised to Borough status in 1960. In keeping with its new status new civic offices were completed in 1961 and the Government commenced the planning of new magisterial and administrative buildings. Tenders were called in 1963 and the buildings completed in 1965.

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1) Rem. Lot 220 Mhlatuze.

The growth of service and service industrial activity at Empangeni had by 1960 given rise to a significant increase in Black employment. Black workers to that time had been housed in quarters and small barracks attached to the premises of employers and the municpality had hitherto resisted the creation of a Black residential township within the Town. The growth of Black employment, however, necessitated the development of new residential accommodation. In accord with Government policy on the housing of Africans, a decision was taken by the then Department of Bantu Administration to develop a Black township within the borders of the Bantu Reserve No 7B, some 2 Km from Empangeni to serve as the principal labour reservoir for the town. The first phase of Ngwelezana township was completed in 1962. No official provision was made for the housing of Coloured and Indian workers.

Although growth indicators in Empangeni appeared promising during the 1960s they were overestimated as economic development from 1960 showed. As has been noted in an earlier chapter, Empangeni when compared to other areas with Border Area industrial concessions such as Hammersdale between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, was initially poorly located to take advantage of its position on the borders of Reserves. Its local market was small, it lacked easy access to national markets, available labour was unskilled, its electrical power source was limited, the capacity of its agricultural surroundings to generate further large scale growth was limited and the costs of material inputs for industrial development were high in comparison to other sites and regions. The national economy in the early 1960s in addition suffered a steep downturn arising from external and internal factors.

Thus in 1963 the Mayor noted that growth had been particularly slow during the past two years. In that and ensuing years note was taken also of continuing financial constraints and the lack of development of growth generating industries. Much surveyed industrial land remained vacant and as late as 1967 the Borough Valuation Roll indicated that 34 of the 44 sites provided in the Kuleka industrial township remained vacant (although sold to prospective developers). No real benefit had been drawn from Border Area industrial concessions and the locational

disadvantages of the town in relation to major national markets became strongly apparent.

The announcement of the decision to develop a new harbour at Richard Bay in 1965 was to initiate an entirely new growth and development pattern. Growth was to take place, however, not in response to the intrinsic development potential of Empangeni itself but in response to external demands that arose from the earlier phases of development at Richards Bay. Thus growth in the town after 1965 was to be associated more with the development of residential accommodation to house large numbers of new workers in the Sub-region and with the expansion of contingent service activity, than with industrial development. Tables 4.10 and 4.11 illustrate the dramatic rise in land and building valuations and in property transfers in Empangeni from 1965, associated in particular with the expansion of residential and commercial activity. Industrial growth, on the other hand, continued to be of limited importance and was associated mainly with the establishment of smaller service industries. Major industrial activity envisaged by the municipal authorities was frustrated by delays incurred in the provision of suitable land and rail services for heavy industry and by uncertainties over the future location and development of large scale industry within the Controlled Area that contained Richards Bay.

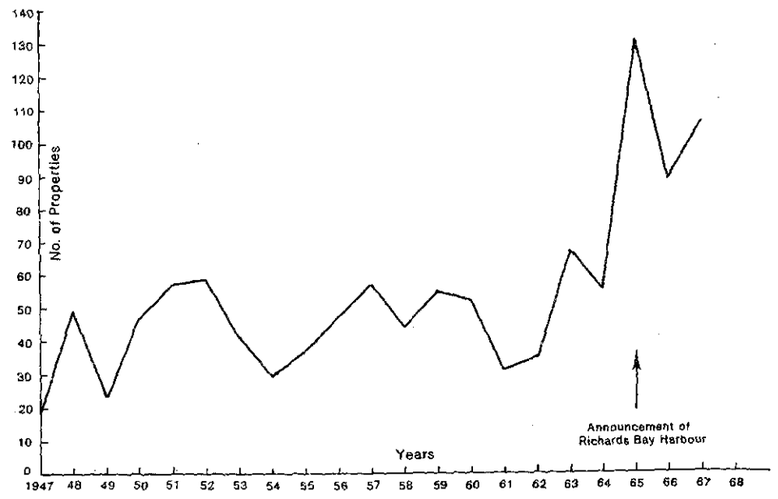
In the early phases of development of the harbour at Richards Bay it became clear that Empangeni was to be the initial receiver of major service and residential growth. Its business district in particular was expected to serve as the initial C.B.D. for the evolving urban complex that was expected to arise in association with harbour and industrial development at Richards Bay. The exclusion of the town from planning within the Controlled Area, however, clearly indicated that it was not to become the principal focus of growth of the new urban complex. It pointed rather to a future status for the town as a residential satellite on the fringes of Greater Richards Bay. Fundamental functional and structural changes in the internal economics and social organization of the town and in its functional and economic relations to its region were thus set in train. It is important that these changes he monitored in future research.

TABLE 4.11

NUMBER OF PROPERTIES TRANSFERRED, EMPANGENI, 1947-1967

YEAR	NO
1947	19
1948	49
1949	24
1950	47
1951	57
1952	59
1953	42
1954	30
1955	37
1956	47
1957	57
1958	44
1959	55
1960	52
1961	31
1962	35
1963	67
1964	56
1965	131
1966	89
1967	106

Source: Returns of Landed Property, Deeds Registry, Pietermaritzburg



4.5.2.2. The Spatial Formation of Empangeni

4.5.2.2.1 Boundary

Empangeni in 1968 was underbound (Fig. 4.7). The Borough boundary enclosed an irregularly shaped municipal area of some 3 200 acres (1 295 ha) of which only approximately 32 per cent had been developed in built-up land. Estimates of the potential of the municipal area to accommodate future growth suggested that an adequate supply of land existed for residential and commercial expansion to at least the turn of the century. By 1961, however, municipal authorities were indicating that additional flat land for industrial development would be required in the near future.

4.5.2.2.2 Development Framework

The underlying framework of the geography of Empangeni was to be found in its tri-polar structure that had its origins in the sequence of location decisions taken to meet the site and functional needs of the magistracy (1894), railway station (1903) and sugar mill (1913). The poles each served as spatially separate growth nuclei about which distinctive patterns of urban settlement evolved. These were distinguished by specification in economic functions, patterns of urban design and land use and were underpinned by distinctive patterns of land ownership. A fourth nucleus of urban settlement was added to the structure from 1962 with the establishment of the African residential township of Ngwelezana. In keeping with Government policy on the development of African residence in towns located close to Black Reserve lands, Ngwelezana was located within the borders of Kwa Zulu (in Bantu Reserve No 7B) some 2.7 Km from the W boundary of Empangeni. The township served essentially as a labour reservoir for the economic activities centred in the "White" town.

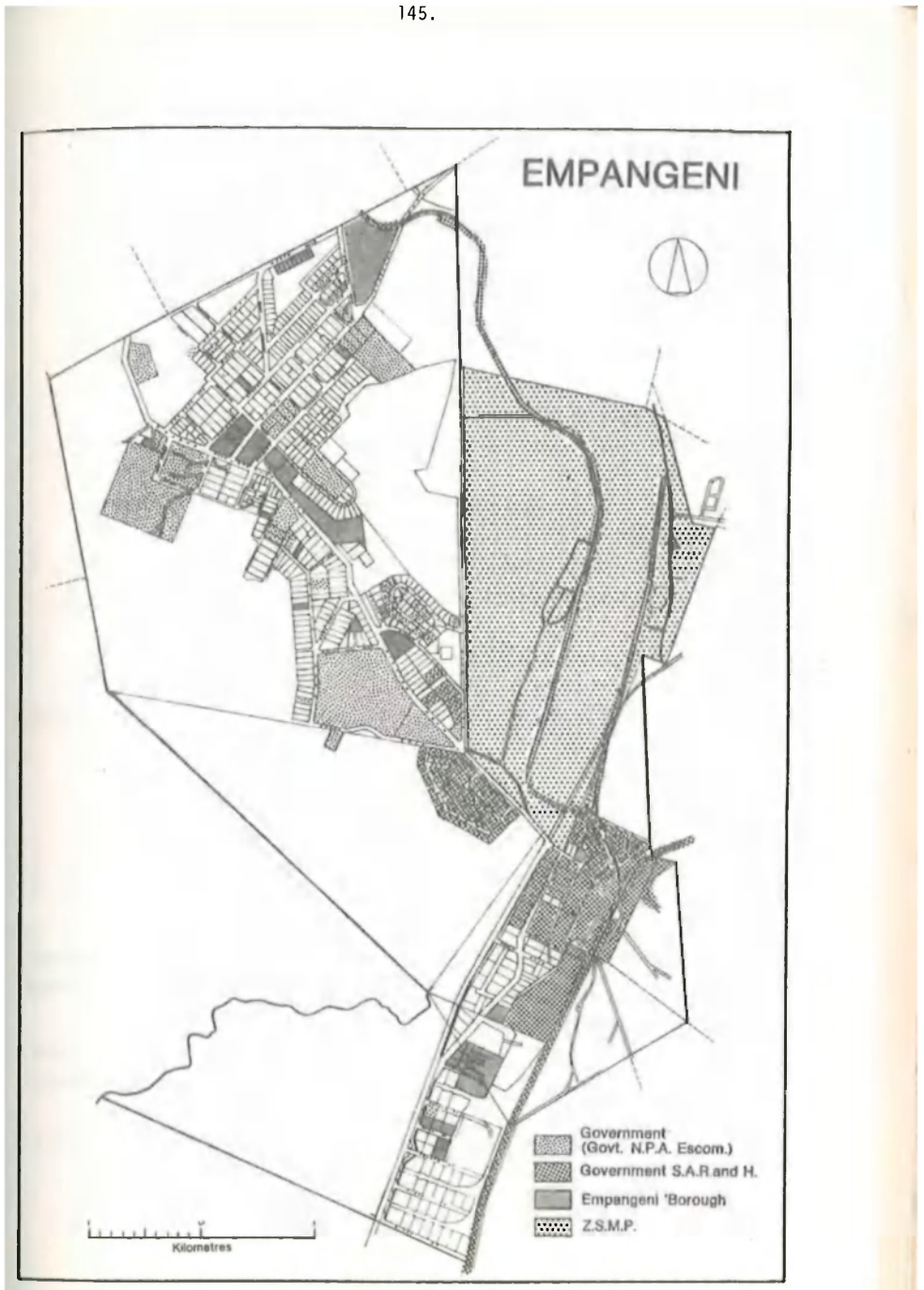


FIGURE 4.8 : LAND OWNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS

The division of functions between the three growth nuclei is demonstrated in Tables 4.7 and 4.12 which respectively display the pattern of functional activities and land use composition of the town in 1968. Empangeni Village was the centre of tertiary services (retailing, financial, professional, administrative, educational, accommodation, personal and social services), consistent with its historical role as the administrative focus of the Lower Umfolozi District. The functions of Empangeni Rail, on the other hand remained focussed on railway transport activity but by 1968, it had also become the location of secondary and service industry, and warehousing. A small nucleus of retailing provided for the service needs of the resident population. The Empangeni Sugar Mill settlement was the most highly specialized and functioned essentially as a company settlement founded by and geared to the needs of the Zululand Sugar Millers and Planters Company (Z.S.M.P.).

The functional division of the town is strikingly underpinned by the pattern of land ownership (Fig. 4.8). Thus subdivided land in Empangeni Village was mainly owned by private individuals, by the Borough (for municipal, recreational and other uses) and by the State and the Province (for administrative, educational, hospital and other uses). Significant tracts of unsubdivided land that had formed part of the original grant of townlands (1906) remained in the ownership of the Borough in 1968 and were mainly devoted to sugar care cultivation (to considerable financial benefit of the municipal treasury).

At Empangeni Rail, land that had originally been reserved for the establishment of a railway station, yards and residential settlement, in 1903 in what was known as the Empangeni Rail Commonage, remained in the ownership of the S.A.R. and H.[1] The expansion of railway activity from 1930, however, had necessitated the expansion of railway owned property for the creation of residential townships to the north and on the Empangeni Rail main road axis to the west.[2] Part of Empangeni Rail was

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1) Lots 2,3,40,41 42 and 43 of Empangeni Rail.

2) Subs. 4 and 6 of Sinkwiti, No. 11388 and Lot 1 of Lot 200 Umhlatuzi, No. 13925 respectively.

set aside for retail services and remained in private ownership in 1968. To the south of Empangeni Rail progressive land purchases had extended the area held in private and municipal ownership. In 1954 the Town Board of Empangeni purchased seventy acres (2.8 ha) of farmland in the area for the layout of industrial sites.[1] The sites, in what became known as the Kuleka township, were sold to private firms and individuals from 1960 and became the focus of industrial growth at that time (Fig. 4.14).

In the NE quadrant of the town a large consolidated tract of land [2] covering nearly 580 acres (235 ha) or 18 per cent of the municipal area was owned by the Z.S.M.P. Company.While the bulk of the land was used as a sugar cane farm, the sugar mill and its attendant yards, residential townships and quarters formed the framework of a specialized and largely self-contained company industrial settlement.

The southern portions and the eastern margins of the municipal area were penetrated by privately owned sugar cane farms (Fig.4.19). These lands provided the major potential area for the future physical expansion of the town.

4.5.2.2.3 Cadastral Layout

The design of components of the layout plan of the town is closely related to its tripolar structure, to the history of municipal control and to the underlying pattern of land ownership. Within the townlands of Empangeni (1906), regulation of urban development arose in the origins of the town. (Fig.4.9). At the Rail and Mill settlements

1) Sub. 6 and 7 of Lot 220 Umhlatuzi No. 13435.

2) Sub. 1 of Lot 171A of Umhlatuzi No. 8458 and Lot 173 of Umhlatuzi No. 10001.

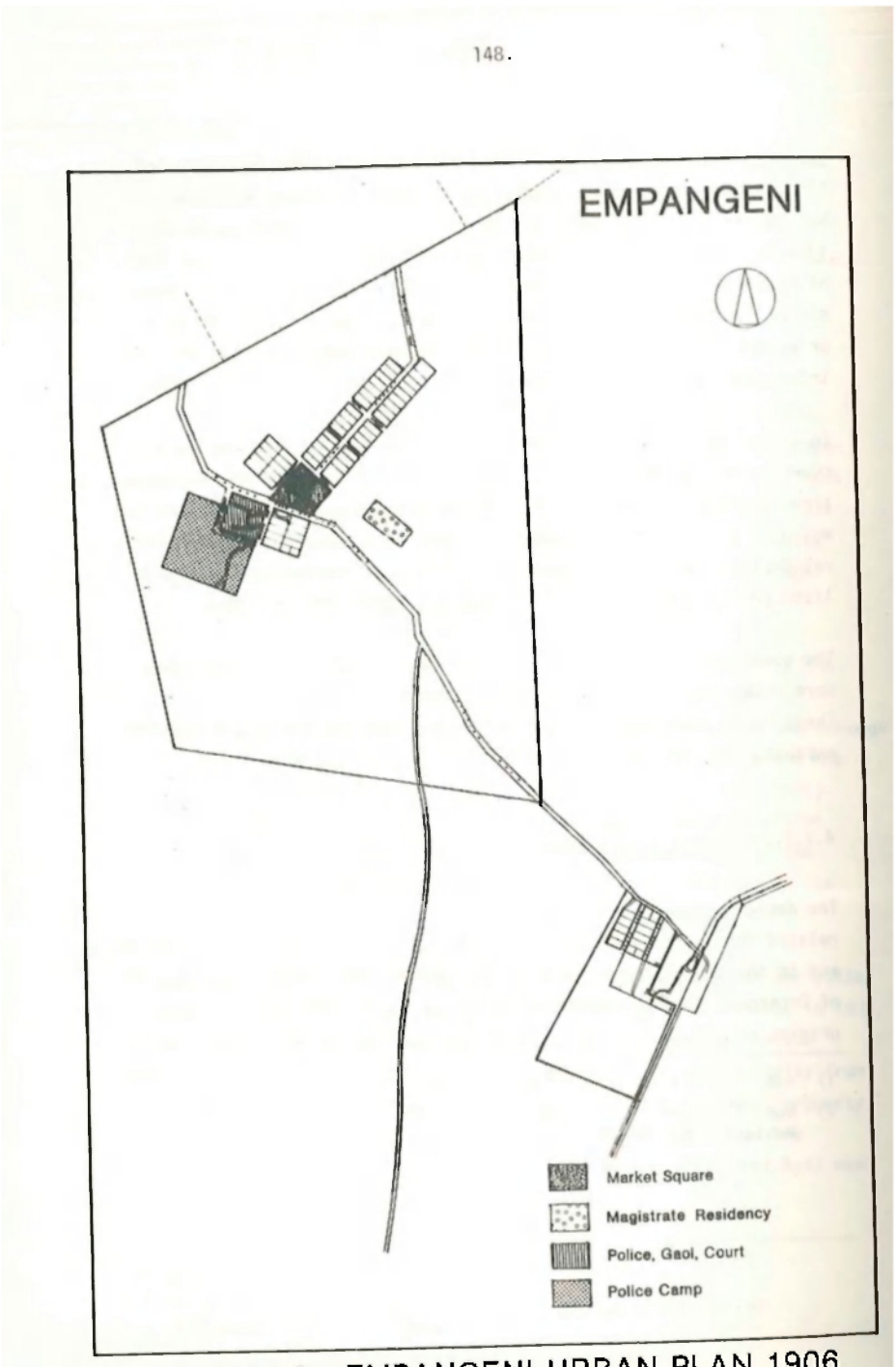

FIGURE 4.9 : EMPANGENI URBAN PLAN 1906

municipal regulations were instituted only after 1931 and unregulated earlier patterns of urban development were thus characteristic of both nuclei. The land held by the S.A.R. and H at the Rail remained without the town planning and zoning regulations of the municipality in 1968.

In Empangeni Town the original magisterial functions (the court, police station, police camp and residency) provided the fixing points about which a town plan was designed in 1906. The magisterial buildings and the residency respectively occupied the most elevated land on the hill-top site (Figs. 4.7 and 4.9). On gently sloping land between the two fixing sites,at the head of a north-eastward sloping spur and at the cross roads of the Empangeni-Eshowe and Empangeni Mtubatuba roads, a market square was laid out. The square was to serve as the commercial focus of the new town. Aligned to the angle formed by the Eshowe road, the market square assumed the shape of an irregular polygon.

Following a layout design that had become firmly established in early South African town building, three long streets (Maxwell, Union and Turnbull streets), originating at the market square were aligned to the gently sloping longitudinal axis of the spur and the main road to the north. Short cross streets (Commercial, Hancock and Smith streets), at right angles to the axial streets, divided the plan into rectangular town blocks. These in turn were subdivided into rectangular lots, one acre in area, that ran through from street to street. The main streets were designed to a width of 100 feet, a dimension used in many South African towns and necessary to permit the turning of waggons hauled by spans of oxen. To the south and north of the market square additional town blocks, in this case square in outline but again subdivided into rectangular 1 acre lots, were subsequently added to the layout plan.

Lot sizes in the early plan of Empangeni were characteristically undifferentiated in relation to the possible uses to which land was to be put. Low density development of both commercial and residential land uses in

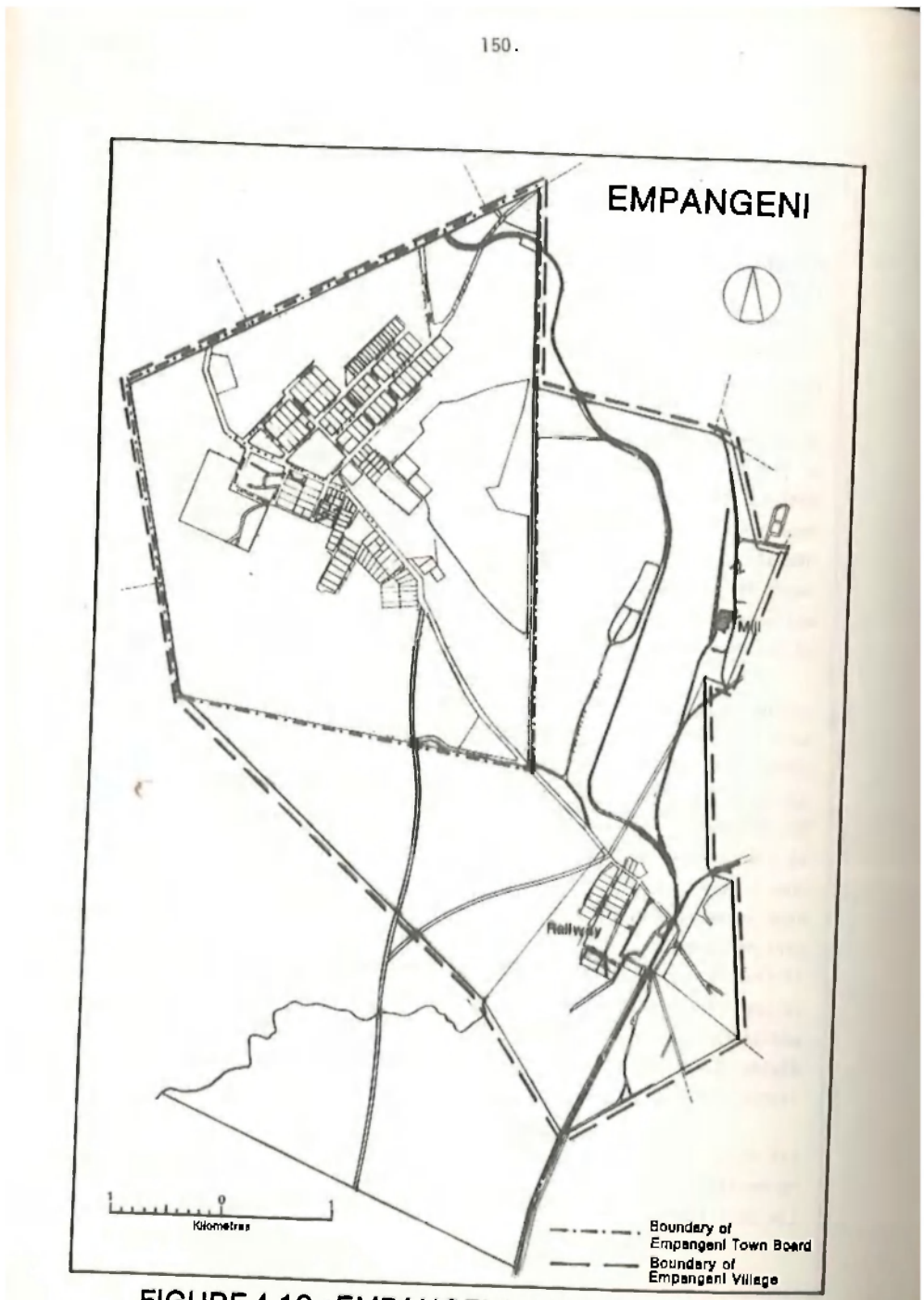

FIGURE 4.10 : EMPANGENI URBAN PLAN C. 1930

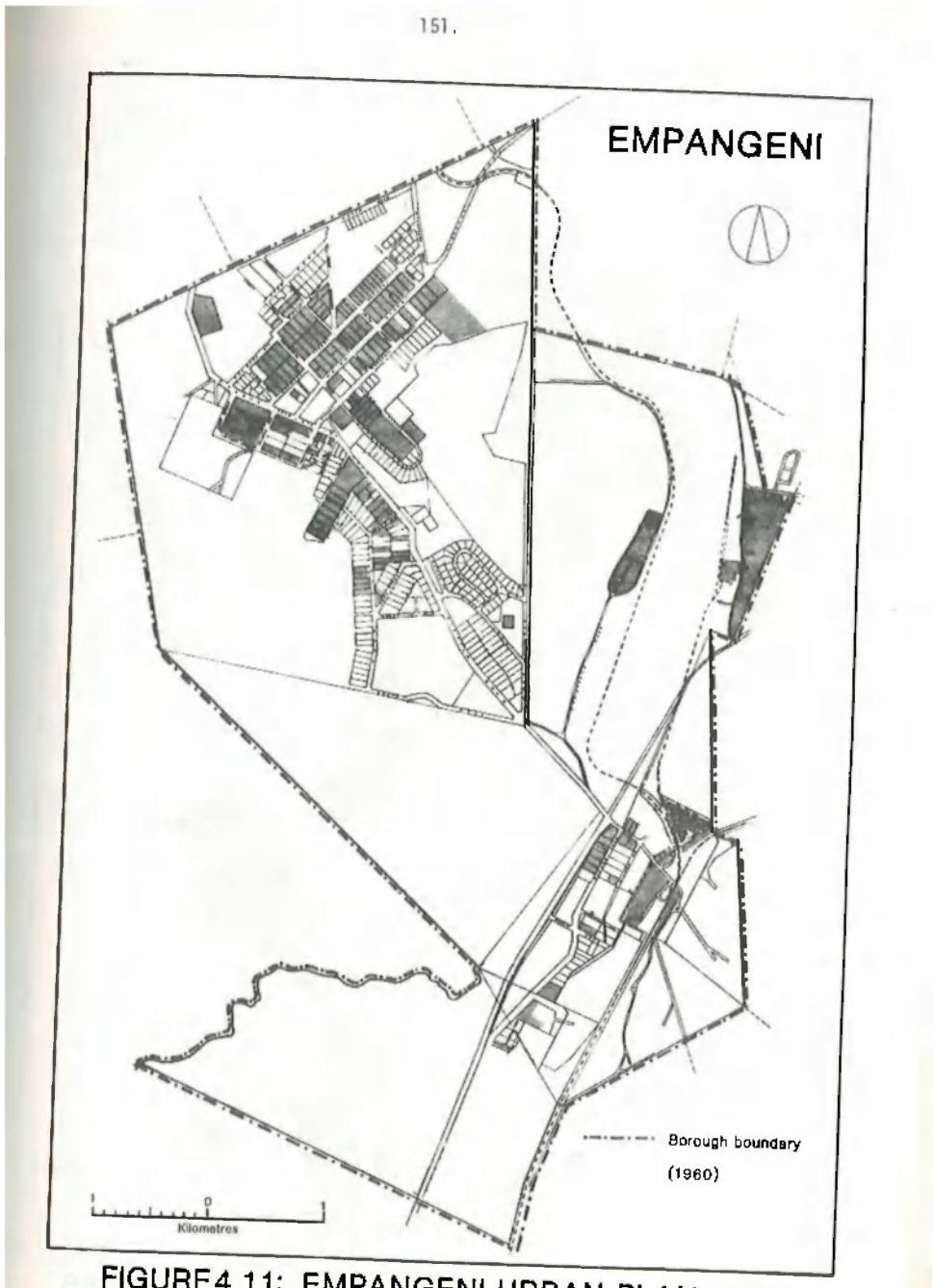

FIGURE4.11: EMPANGENI URBAN PLAN 1953

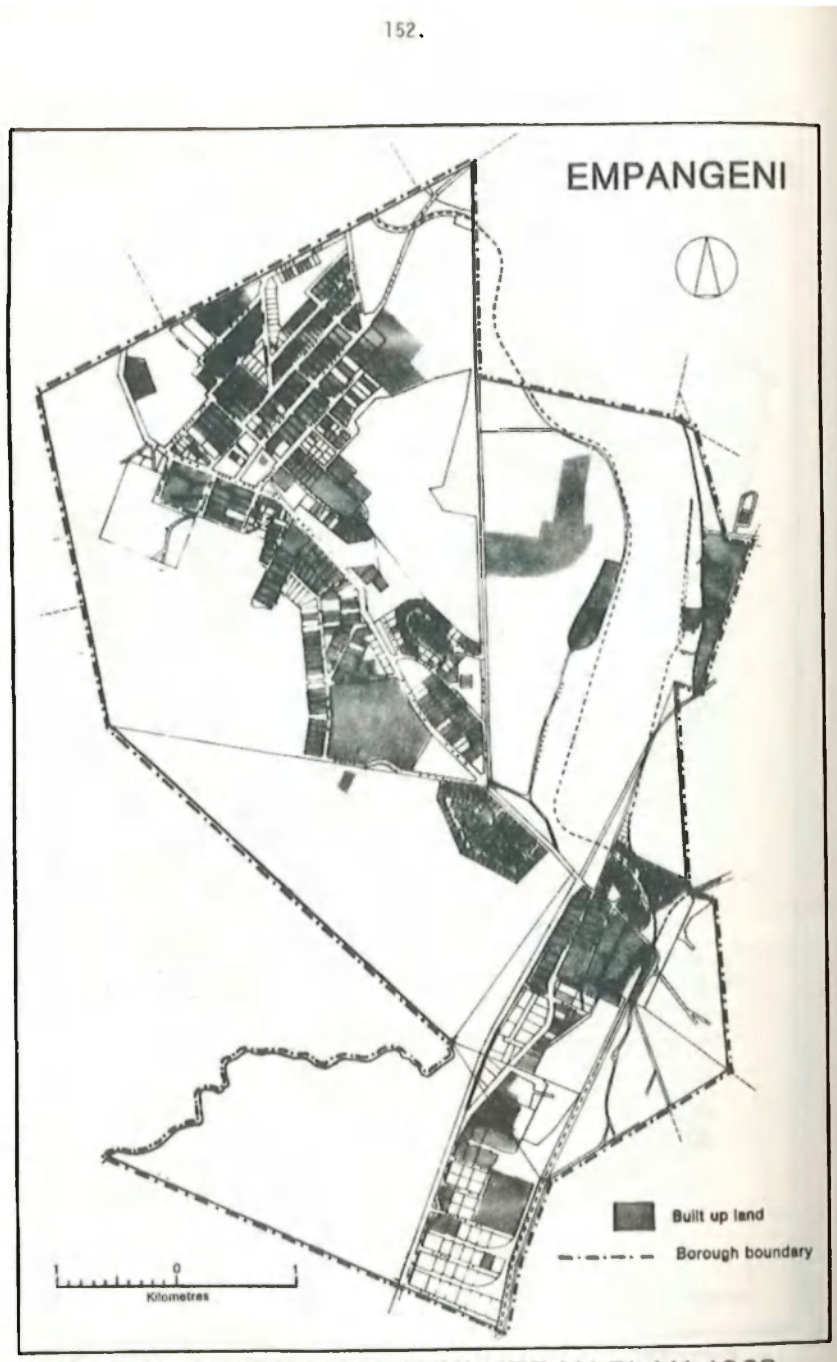

FIGURE 4.12 : EMPANGENI URBAN PLAN 1968

later years thus became inevitable. Only from the late 1950s, and, in consequence of new commercial growth and the redevelopment of older commercial buildings, did continuous facades of shop and office frontages begin to emerge in the main commercial street (Union Street). Even then the rear of the large lots was frequently left vacant.

Although a market square with a flanking site, later occupied by the town hall (1918),[1] formed initial components of the layout design, no specific, prominent site was provided for the erection of a church. (Fig 4.9). As was the case in the majority of towns designed under British colonial rule in Natal, the church in Empangeni was expected to find its own site within the general layout of the plan. The first church (Anglican) was established in 1913 and held services in the Masonic Lodge built on a site in Union Street.[2] It was only in 1930 that the church acquired a lot to the east of the Market Square upon which a stone church building was erected. (Fig. 4.18).[3]

The slow growth tempo of the town in its first three decades and the accelerated rates of growth that followed the Second World War are clearly evident in the patterns of extensions made to the layout plan. Figs. 4.9 , 4.10 , 4.11 and 4.12).

By 1930 limited expansion had taken place but a directional, linear growth trend towards the magnet of the railway station at Empangeni Rail had become evident. That trend was to be maintained and by 1968 the Village and Rail had in effect been joined by a linear belt of extensions about the axis of the main road linking the two foci. Lateral expansion of the central town grid took place mainly from the 1950s.

The spatial expansion of the town remained strongly influenced by characteristics of the site. Extensions for residential development

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1) Lot 56
2) Lot 122, Union Street
3) Lot 66, Maxwell Street

continued to follow the more elevated land of spurs projecting outwards from the central hill-top site. Well ventilated eastward and sea-facing sites were most highly favoured. Intervening valley lands, on the other hand were generally avoided or used for the location of sports fields and recreation facilities. In later years (1955) a valley site was used for the location of the new high school (Figs. 4.7 and 4.18). Prominent diagonals in the street pattern too, not infrequently followed the flanks of spurs and avoided valley bottom lands.

Layout plans of extensions progressively reflected changing concepts and tastes in town design. Thus the rigid regularity of early grid layouts steadily gave way to more complex, free flowing designs with street alignments closely adjusted to the contour of the land. Progressively also, and as costs of land increased, lot sizes in new extensions declined in area. (Fig. 4.16). By 1968 lot sizes in more recent extensions had fallen in size to .5 acres on average.

Within the area originally reserved for Empangeni Rail, the layout of properties lacked the controlled form assumed by the plan of Empangeni Village. Empangeni Rail was not conceived as a town but rather as an elemental residential settlement for personnel employed in the functions of the railway station and its related activity. Three blocks of land of varying size and shape were set aside for railway housing in close association with the railway station and were progressively informally subdivided into .25 acre building lots (Fig. 4.16).[1] A street of formally surveyed acre lots adjacent to the residential area was provided for commercial activity. Early extensions to the south of Empangeni Rail for industrial and residential use show an equal lack of regulated design.

The early layouts of Empangeni Rail stand in marked contrast to extensions undertaken in the post World War II period. Railway residential townships to the north and towards Empangeni Village to the west demonstrate the adoption of formal design principles while maintaining the .25 acre

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1) Empangeni Rail was not subject to municipal regulation until its incorporation in 1931. Land owned by the S.A.R. and H., furthermore, was not subject to town planning control by the municipal authority.

size of building plots. To the south the layout of the Kuleka industrial township was progressively designed for the Borough in 1957. The design of 1-2 acre lots for light industry incorporates an integrated rail and road access plan for each site.

The design of settlement at the Z.S.M.P. mill similarly displayed a pattern of ad hoc and unregulated layout. Residential properties, housing mill personnel, occupied informally subdivided lots arranged in an irregular row to the east of the mill and in a small residential township beyond an ill-drained valley floor to the west. Residential lot sizes were small and averaged .25 acre.

4.5.2.2.4 Functional Areas

1. Land Use Composition

Table 4.12 shows the proportion of developed land occupied by each land use in 1968 in Empangeni and in its three spatial components.[1] Developed land is defined as the area laid out for urban uses and excludes all agricultural land and vacant land not surveyed for urban use at the time of the survey. Vacant land included in the calculations is vacant land that fell within the developed area and was immediately available for urban use.

Four land uses, Residential (23.0 per cent),[2] Recreation and Open Space (14.7 per cent), Vacant land (13.5 per cent) and Streets (19.4 per cent) accounted for 70.6 per cent of the total developed area of Empangeni in 1968. Commercial uses (shops, offices, hotels, and service stations) occupied 2.4 per cent, Central Government, Provincial and Municipal Offices 5.5 per cent, Educational and Other Social Uses (hospital, other social uses) 7.4 per cent and Industry 5.9 per cent. The Railway Reserve occupied 7.6 per cent of the developed area. The The distribution conformed in general terms to expectations for White owned and occupied areas of smaller urban places in South Africa. It emphasizes the generous space allocation for White residential development and for recreational and open space uses within South African towns.

The proportional distribution of land use between the three growth nuclei of Empangeni confirms findings reported in earlier discussions of the functional composition of the town. The greater functional complexity of Empangeni Village as the major service focus of the Sub-region was strongly evident, the mix of railway transport, industrial

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1) The calculations have been confined to the Empangeni Municipal Area and exclude Ngwelezana.

2) Residential land use recorded in Table 4.10 refers to White residential land. Residential land occupied by Black population groups in the "White" town and characterised mainly by quarters and barracks associated with places of work has not been separately calculated.

TABLE 4.12: BOROUGH OF EMPANGENI : LAND USE DISTRIBUTION, 1968

LAND USE	DEVELOPED LAND : AREAS AND PERCENTAGES										
	EMPANGENI TOWN			EMPANGENI RAIL			EMPANGENI MILL			TOTAL ALL AREAS	
	Area	%	%T	Area	%	%T	Area	%	%T	Area	%
1. Shops	580 138	1.8	67.0	284 544	1.8	33.0	-		-	864 682	1.7
2. Offices	116 758	0.4	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	116 758	0.2
3. Hotels	87 120	0.3	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	87 120	0.2
4. Service Stats.	111 749	0.3	70.9	45 780	0.3	29.1	-	-	-	157 529	0.3
5. Government	2 146 620	6.5	98.0	43 560	0.3	2.0	-	-	-	2 190 180	4.2
6. Municipal	605 412	1.9	87.4	87 120	0.6	12.6	-	-	-	692 532	1.3
7. Education	2 210 140	6.7	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 210 140	4.3
8. Hospital	420 000	1.3	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	420 000	0.8
9. Social Uses	1 179 950	3.6	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 179 950	2.3
10. Industry	93 091	0.3	3.0	2 342 105	15.0	76.5	630 000	21.1	20.5	3 065 196	5.9
11. Flats	157 603	0.5	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	157 603	0.3
12. Dwellings	7 043 405	21.4	60.1	2 909 900	18.6	24.9	1 754 500	58.5	15.0	11 707 805	22.7
13. Recreation/OS	7 399 140	22.5	97.4	169 290	1.1	2.2	29 000	1.0	0.4	7 597 430	14.7
14. Other	252 000	0.8	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	252 000	0.5
15. Vacant Land	4 160 719	12.6	59.7	2 813 457	18.0	40.3	-	-	-	6 974 176	13.5
16. Streets	6 393 277	19.4	63.8	3 030 553	19.4	30.3	580 297	19.4	5.8	10 005 129	19.4
17. Railway Res	-	-	-	3 920 400	25.1	100.0	-	-	-	3 920 400	7.6
TOTAL	32 957 122	100.0	63.9	15 644 029	100.0	30.3	2 993 797	100.0	5.6	51 598 630	100.0

Areas in sq. feet

commercial and residential functions of Empangeni Rail is equally apparent as is the specialized industrial-residential composition of Empangeni Mill.

Empangeni Village effectively contained all the office, hotel, educational, hospital and other social uses and very high proportions of Central Government, provincial and municipal office and recreational uses. Shop uses were distributed between Empangeni Village and Empangeni Rail in proportion to their share of the total developed land. By comparison, industrial land use was heavily concentrated at Empangeni Rail and Empangeni Mill. Proportionally, Empangeni Rail possessed a relatively high percentage of vacant land, a feature that was accounted for by a slow rate of industrial development on land subdivided to provide for industrial growth.

2. The Spatial Organization of Land Uses

The spatial distribution of land uses in Empangeni in 1968 is illustrated in the map series Figs. 4.13 to 4.19. The figures depict land use distributions within the "White" Town and exclude the African township of Ngwelezana.[1] located within the boundaries of Bantu Reserve No 7B.[1]

In common with all other "White" urban centres in South Africa the spatial organization of land uses was determined by the operation of a competitive urban property market conditioned by constraints imposed by land use zoning regulations (Fig 4.21) and the availability of sites.

Land value distributions in Empangeni Village (Fig 4.22) displayed patterns that characteristically arise from the operation of the land market. Land values were highest in the central business district rising to two peaks respectively located to the north and south of the "market square". The peak land value intersection, at Union and

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1) Though Empangeni contained significant Coloured and Asian populations, at the time of the survey no specific Group Areas provision for those population groups had been made.

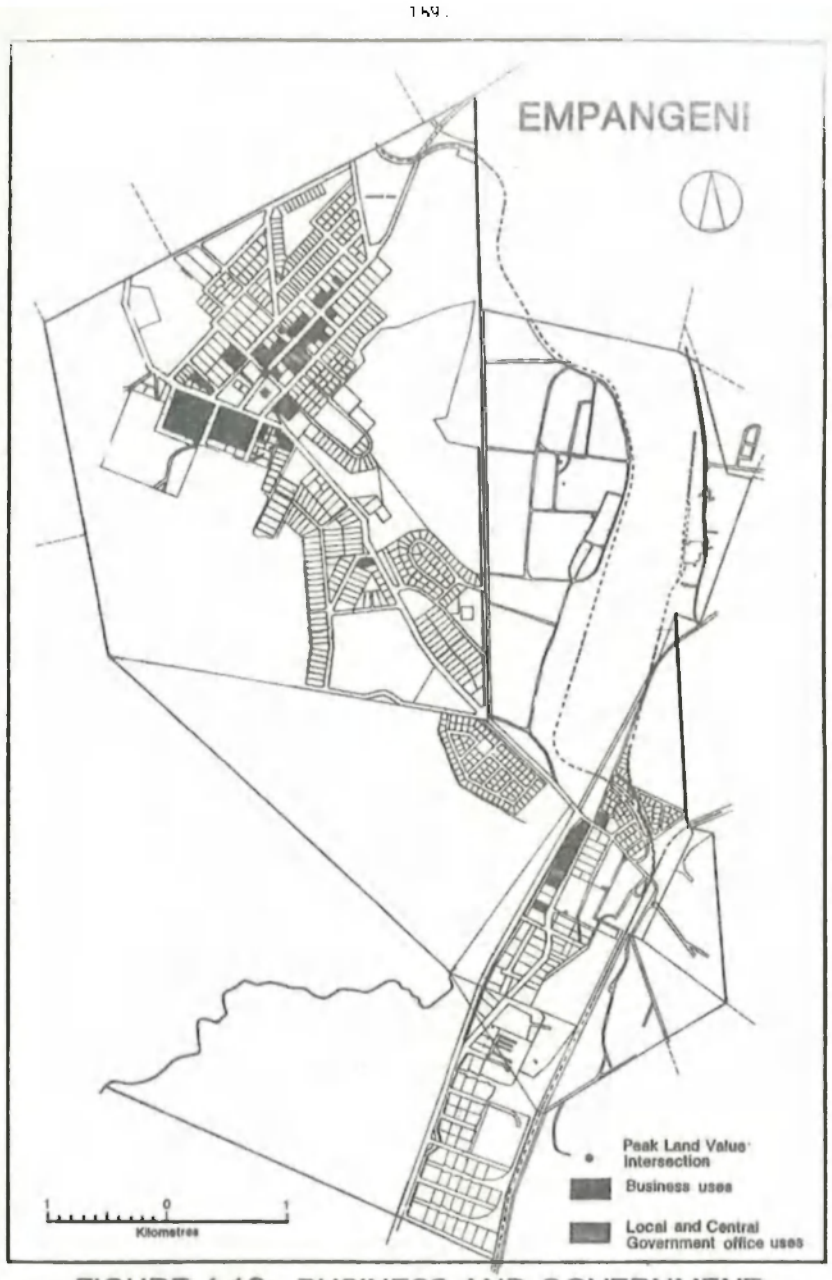

FIGURE 4.13 : BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT LAND USES

Commercial Streets, corresponded approximately with the geographic centre of the business district. From the two peaks, land values declined with distance dropping steeply in a step-like fashion to the peripheral residential areas of the developed land.

Departures from a simple zonal distribution of land value reflected the influence of such factors as containment imposed by the municipal boundary, variations in environmental quality and routeways. The directional extension of the isovals about the Main Road linking Empangeni Village and Empangeni Rail, on desirable east and sea-facing slopes, was the major case in point.

The distribution of land values at Empangeni Rail was related more to land use zoning than to a dynamic relationship to distance from an origin and to a lack of differentiation within the residential areas created on S.A.R. and H. lands. Some indication of the spatially sensitive land market, however, was evident within the small business district at the Rail. At Empangeni Mill the simple differentiation between land used for industry and for residence was evident in the distribution of land values.

3. Commercial, Central Government, Provincial and Municipal Office Land Use and the Empangeni Central Business District

Commercial land (shops, offices, hotels and service stations) was concentrated in three locations - in the central area of Empangeni Village, at Empangeni Rail and in a small incipient "sub-urban" commercial centre zoned for that purpose between the two growth nuclei (Fig. 4.13) Central Government, Provincial and Municipal Office uses were almost wholly located within the central area of Empangeni Village.

The Central Business District of Empangeni Village in 1968 occupied a gross land area of some 36 acres (15 ha). In the definition of the C.B.D. no distinction has been drawn between strictly central and non-central business uses as is common in studies of the C.B.Ds of large cities. In smaller towns such as Empangeni, many so-called non-C.B.D.

uses, including government and municipal office uses, wholesaling and warehousing and certain service industries, form an essential and central role in the servicing of the population of the town and region and are most conveniently located within the C.B.D. The location of the C.B.D. was historically fixed and related to an early association of business activity with the centrally located governmental functions but most particularly with frontages on main through roads that intersected at the market square. Thus frontages on the Empangeni-Eshowe and Empangeni-Mtubatuba roads were of particular significance.

Characteristically the C.B.D. assumed the form of single street facades with little lateral depth and limited vertical development. No commercial or government building in the town in 1968 extended beyond a two-floor elevation. The rear portions of large original town lots were frequently undeveloped and vacant land was a significant feature of the C.B.D. It is estimated that 25 per cent of land nominally used for commercial purposes within the C.B.D. was not effectively utilized at the time.

The functional profile of the Empangeni Village C.B.D. is demonstrated in Table 4.13.

As has been previously noted the range and depth of services contained by the C.B.D. was limited and largely confined to low and middle orders of activity. The limited scale of the C.B.D. also meant that land uses within it were in general spatially undifferentiated. Only government and municipal administrative office uses (including the new magistrates offices, civic centre, town hall and post-office) formed a distinct cluster of like activities focussed upon the peak land value intersection. Retail and general office activities, however, displayed a sensitivity to land value and graded outwards in quality from the land value peaks.

Apart from the new government buildings completed in 1965 in a dignified, adapted classical style on Union Street,[1] the architectural

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1) Lots 68, 89 and 90.

TABLE 4.13 FUNCTIONAL PROFILE OF THE EMPANGENI VILLAGE C.B.D. 1968

ACTIVITIES	NO. OF UNITS	ACTIVITES	NO. OF UNITS
1. Office Uses		3. Services/Service Industries	
Professional	16	Bakery	1
Administrative	11	Decorators	1
Financial	24	Dry Cleaning	1
Commercial	8	Household Service	1
2. Retail/Wholesale		Photographer	1
Junior Dept. Store	1	Printing	1
Wholesaler	1	Typewriter Service	1
Electrical Appliances	2	Funeral Director	2
Furniture	2	Hairdresser	4
Hardware	4	Service Station	4
Clothing	5	4. Accommodation	
General Dealer	5	Hotels	2
Other Speciality Shops	7	5. Entertainment	
Food Shops	11	Cinema	1
		Tattersalls	1

TABLE 4.14: EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING, CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSPORT ACTIVITY, EMPANGENI, 1960

INDUSTRY	WHITES	AFRICANS	INDIANS	COLOURED	TOTAL
Food	107	774	102	1	983
Beverages	3	3	1		7
Footwear		3		1	4
Paper and Paper Products	4				4
Rubber and Chemicals	10		1		11
Agric. Machinery	10		1		11
Electrical Equipment	3		1		3
Transport Equipment	33	3		1	37
General Garages	55	44	8	4	111
Other Industry	2	1	1		4
Total	227	828	115	7	1 177
Construction	80	229		6	315
Railway, Road Transport	217	157	1	1	376

form of the C.B.D. was undistinguished. Stop frontages, office buildings and other structures within the C.B.D. were in general functional in style.

Zoning regulations contained in the Empangeni Town Planning Scheme (Revised, 1963) provided for a central Commercial Zone (Fig. 4.21)[1]. The space zones for commercial use entrenched the existing C.B.D. and covered an area of 17,4 ha. It anticipated lateral expansion of the C.B.D. and appeared to provide ample space for future growth. Density zoning provisions, however, provided for a floor area ratio of 1,750, a coverage of 80 per cent and a height restriction of 4 storeys. These constraints clearly envisaged a town centre of modest scale and potential.

4. Industrial and Railway Transport Land

Industrial land in Empangeni in 1968 occupied 5.9 per cent of the developed area of the town and was located principally at Empangeni Rail (77 per cent) and Empangeni Mill (21 per cent). Only minor industrial sites were located in Empangeni Village mainly within the fringes of the central business district (Fig. 4.14 and Table 4.11).

The composition of industrial activity in the town as previously noted, was associated with secondary food process industries (sugar milling, fruit canning, frozen food packing, mineral waters), service industries (abbatoir, baking, tyre retreading, dry cleaning, printing, agricultural and general engineering services, construction and automotive services among others) supply depots and agricultural service activities (including oil, fertilizer, animal feeds, cement, agricultural and irrigation equipment and glass). A small furniture factory had also been established at the town (Table 4.7). Apart from the sugar mill and fruit cannery, each of which employed over 400 workers by 1968, the size of secondary industrial and service industrial establishments was modest. Manufacturing industry as a whole employed 1 177 workers in 1960 and the data contained in Table 4.13 demonstrates the limited scale of development and suggests the small size of individual undertakings other than the two major food processing industries (the sugar mill and the fruit cannery).

1) Land uses permitted included shops, offices, public offices, service workshops and places of public amusement. General industrial, special industrial, light industrial and service industrial land uses were excluded.

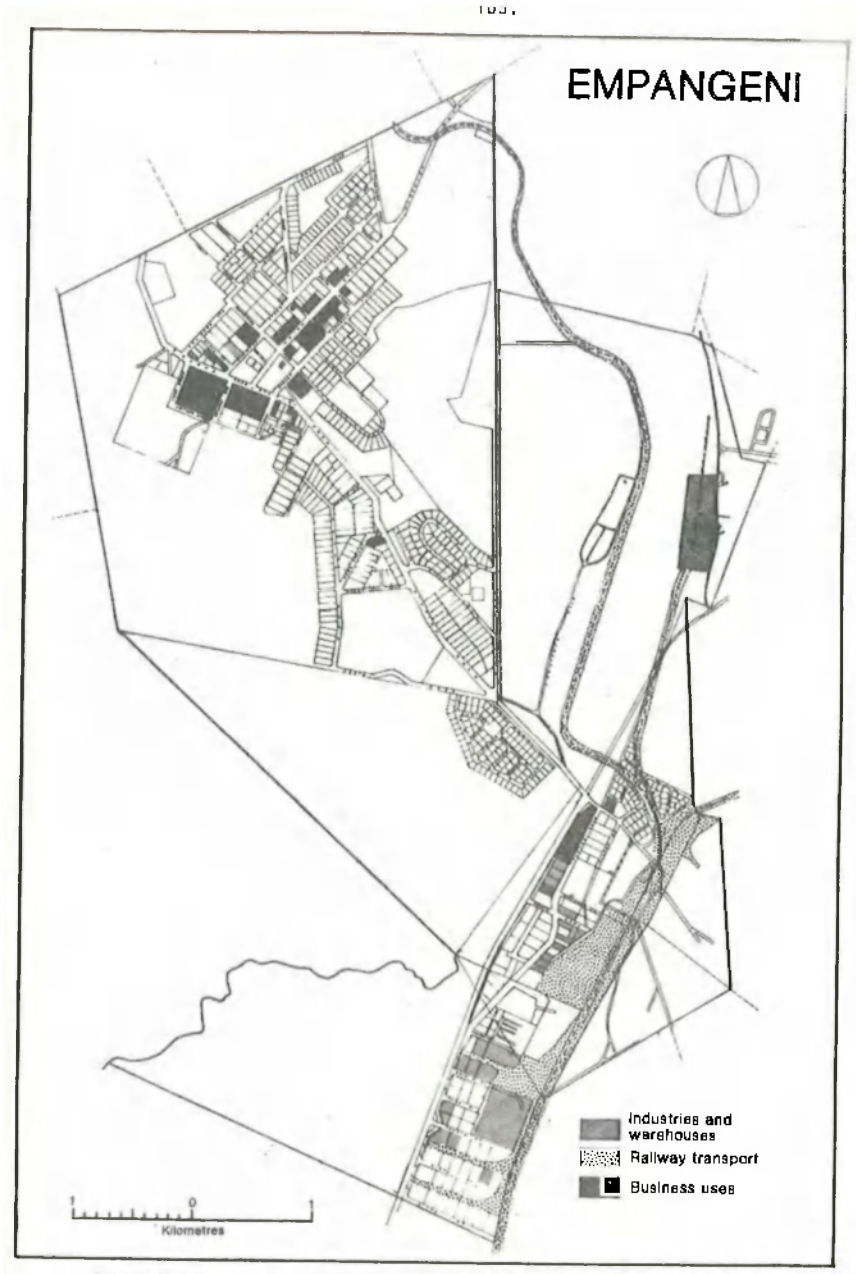

FIGURE 4.14 : INDUSTRIAL AND RAILWAY TRANSPORT USES

Small service and agricultural service activities directed at the local urban and Sub-region markets were relatively insensitive to factors of intra-urban industrial location. Firms in these categories of activity were located both in Empangeni Village and at Empangeni Rail (Table 4.7). The Sugar Mill and Cannery and those secondary and service industries handling bulky materials, on the other hand, were strongly transport oriented and sought locations at Empangeni Rail and the mill site. There too, larger industrial sites on flat land, some served by rail sidings, had been provided in industrial township layouts. The limited scale of industrial development, however, is indicated by the modest mean size of industrial sites provided at Empangeni Rail averaging only .56ha.

The location of industrial activity was underpinned by the land use zoning provisions of the town planning scheme (1963 Revised). Thus the commercial centre of Empangeni Village provided only for service workshop types of activity.[1] Land zoned for general, special, light

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1) Service workshops: means a light industrial building in which not more than 5 persons were employed and included a building in which less than 3 persons were employed, whether or not mechanical power was used, engaged in the manufacture of articles as defined in Section 3 (1)(a) of the Factories Act, 1941 and providing service direct to the retail customer.

General Industrial Building: means a factory as defined in Section 3 of the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act, 1941.

Special Industrial Building: means a building intended for use for any purposes set out in Schedule A of the Offensive Trade Regulations of Natal made under Section 138 of the Public Health Act of 1919 and published in Government Notice 1047 of 25th June, 1924.

Light Industrial Building: means an industrial building (not being a special industrial building) in which the processes carried on or the machinery installed are such as could be carried on or installed in any residential area without detriment to the amenity of that area by reasons of noise, vibration, smell, fumes, smoke, soot, ash, dust, or grit.

Service Industrial Building: means an Industrial building catering specifically for the local customer.

and service industrial activity, on the other hand, was confined to the Empangeni Rail and Mill sites (Fig. 4.21).

Land zoned for industrial use at Empangeni Rail occupied 52,4 ha which approximately 60 ha of land was zoned for the sugar mill and its related activities. Of the land zoned for industrial use at Empangeni Rail, only 52,5 per cent had been developed by 1968 and at Empangeni Mill no industries other than the sugar mill had been established. The data demonstrates the limited potential for industrial growth experienced by Empangeni in the years prior to the commencement of harbour development at Richards Bay. Although large tracts of land suitable for industrial development lay adjoined to the boundary of Empangeni, the provincial authorities had consistently resisted their zoning for industrial use and incorporation into the town. The limited area of land zoned for industrial use within the town, furthermore, suggested that it was unlikely to be the major beneficiary of industrial growth envisaged for the Sub-region consequent to the development of the new harbour and the reorientation and development of new inter-regional transport infrastructure.

The Railway Reserve at Empangeni Rail occupied a significant 7.6 per cent of the area of developed land in the town as a whole. The Reserve occupied a narrow rectangular area that in effect created part of the eastern boundary of the town. It contained the railway station, good station, marshalling yards, work shops and other functions associated with those activities and also a residential compound for African workers.

5. Residential Land

Residential development at Empangeni, like that of all South African Towns and cities must in the first instance be viewed in the context of racial segregation and the manipulation of the residential space of the town to accommodate its population within the framework of apartheid policy. (Table 4.5).

Private land ownership within the town in 1968 was restricted to Whites. Recommendations of the Zululand Lands Commission had from 1905 prevented Indians from acquiring land in Zululand. Initially inhibited for economic reasons from acquiring land, Africans from 1937 were legally constrained in their access to land under provisions of the General Laws

Amendment Act, of 1937. They were expected to satisfy land needs within neighbouring Bantu Reserves. The position of Coloureds was less clear but small numbers and low economic status would have inhibited land acquisition by that group.

Circumstances that can only be described as exceptional appear to have applied in Zululand in terms of the application of the provisions of the Group Areas Act of 1950. Minutes of the Empangeni Town Council indicate that repeated representations were made to the Group Areas Board for the designation of Group Areas within the town. The Council wished to obtain finality on areas of settlement for the Indian and Coloured populations of the town as a first step towards overcoming severe housing problems then being experienced by members of the two groups. The Empangeni Town Planning Scheme (1963, Revised) had proposed that a large and segregated tract of farmland in the south of the Borough, and incorporated into its area of jurisdiction in 1957, be set aside for Indian and Coloured residence (Fig. 4.21).[1] No positive response was obtained to these representations.

In 1967, however, an Interdepartmental Committee was appointed to investigate the permanent settlement of Indian and Coloureds in Zululand. The Committee held hearings at Empangeni in June, 1967 but its findings and recommendations were not to be made public (Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1978). At the time of the survey, therefore, no firm provision had been made for the future residential accommodation of the Indian and Coloured population groups.[2]

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1) Rem. of Lot 220, Umhlatuzi, incorporated into the municipal area under Proclamation 39 of 1957.

2) In 1969 provisions of the Group Areas Act were invoked prohibiting the employment of Indians and Coloured in Zululand, and, policy dictated that no Group Areas for the two population groups would be created north of the Tugela River. (Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1978, p.76). Uncertainties induced by the enquiry and reaction to the imposition of employment restrictions led to a dramatic fall in Indian population from 654 persons in 1960 to 157 persons in 1970. (Table 4.5).
The restrictions were withdrawn in December 1977 but the question of defining Group Areas for Indians and Coloured within the Empangeni-Richards Bay Sub-region remained uncertain and unresolved.

The provision of housing for an expanding African population had for many years presented a growing problem to the Town Council. It had, however, resisted the pressures for the establishment of an African township within the municipal area maintaining that it was desirable for Africans to have the opportunity of freehold title within their own area. Examination of the configuration of the development trends of White residential areas, however, shows that it would have been impossible to find a suitable segregated site within the town that did not in some way inhibit the future expansion of White residence over desirable sea facing slopes.

The evolution of Government "homeland" and separate development policy provided the basis for negotiations with the then Department of Bantu Affairs for the establishment of an African township within a neighbouring Bantu Reserve area to serve the labour needs of the town. The negotiations conducted in the mid 1950s led to the selection of the site of what was to become the township of Ngwelezana located some 2.7 km from the N.W boundary of Empangeni.

The spatial organization of residential space in Empangeni displayed the characteristic structural underpinnings that arise from the system of social relations in South African society. The town was in effect regarded as a White preserve. Within it the socially marginal population groups, the Coloureds and Indians, were, in the peculiar circumstances that applied in the territory of Zululand, by preference to be excluded from permanent settlement. Their position within the town was unresolved and uncertain at the time of the survey. The structural relationship of the White town and its spatially removed and segregated African township located within the borders of an African "homeland" area was (and is) also characteristic of the design of apartheid cities situated in proximity to "homeland "territory. Thus far no Black population group conventional family oriented residential areas were provided within the boundaries of the town.

6. Characteristics of Residential Development

White residential space occupied the largest single fraction (23 per cent) of the developed area of Empangeni in 1968. It had expanded zonally

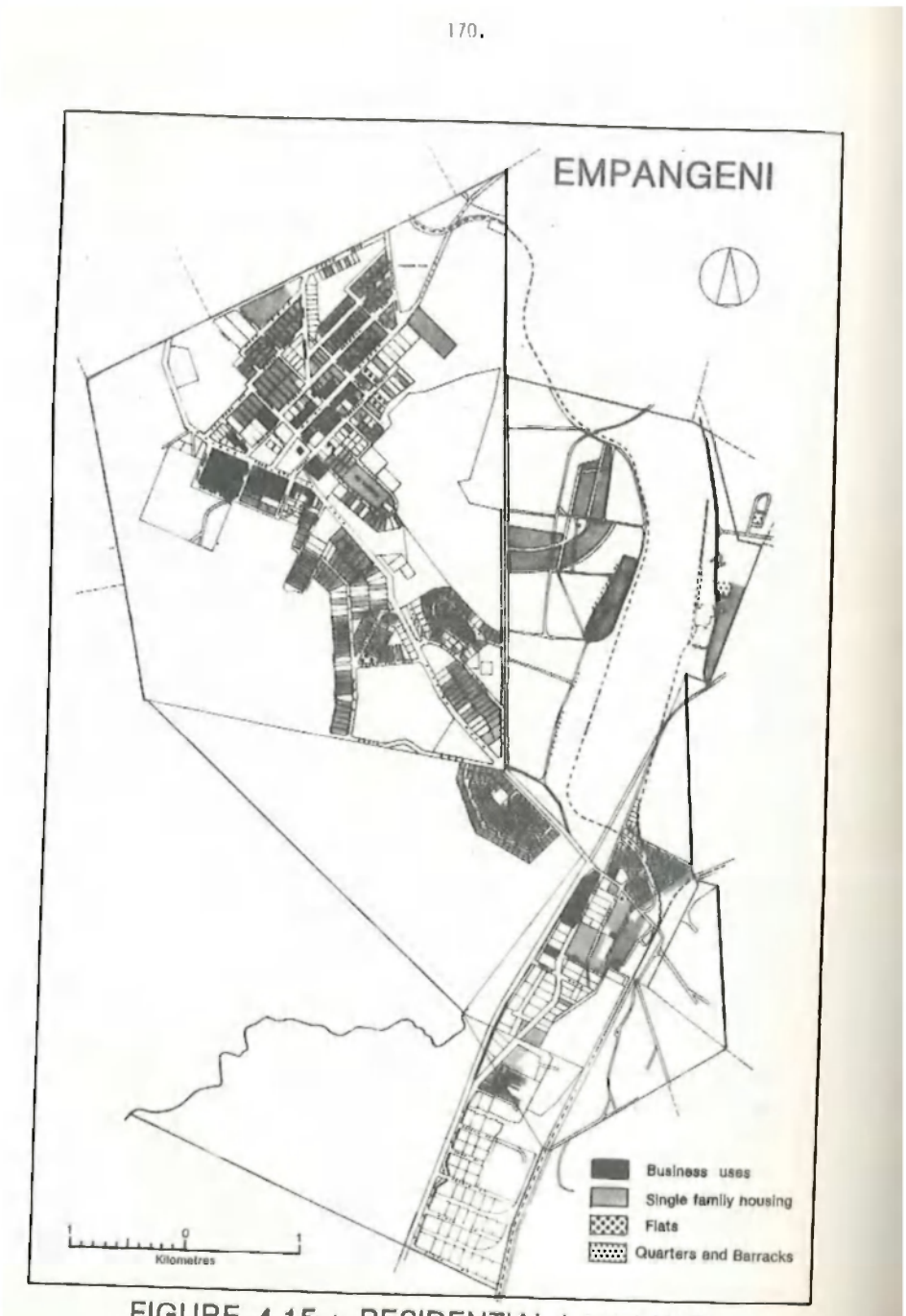

FIGURE 4.15 : RESIDENTIAL LAND USE

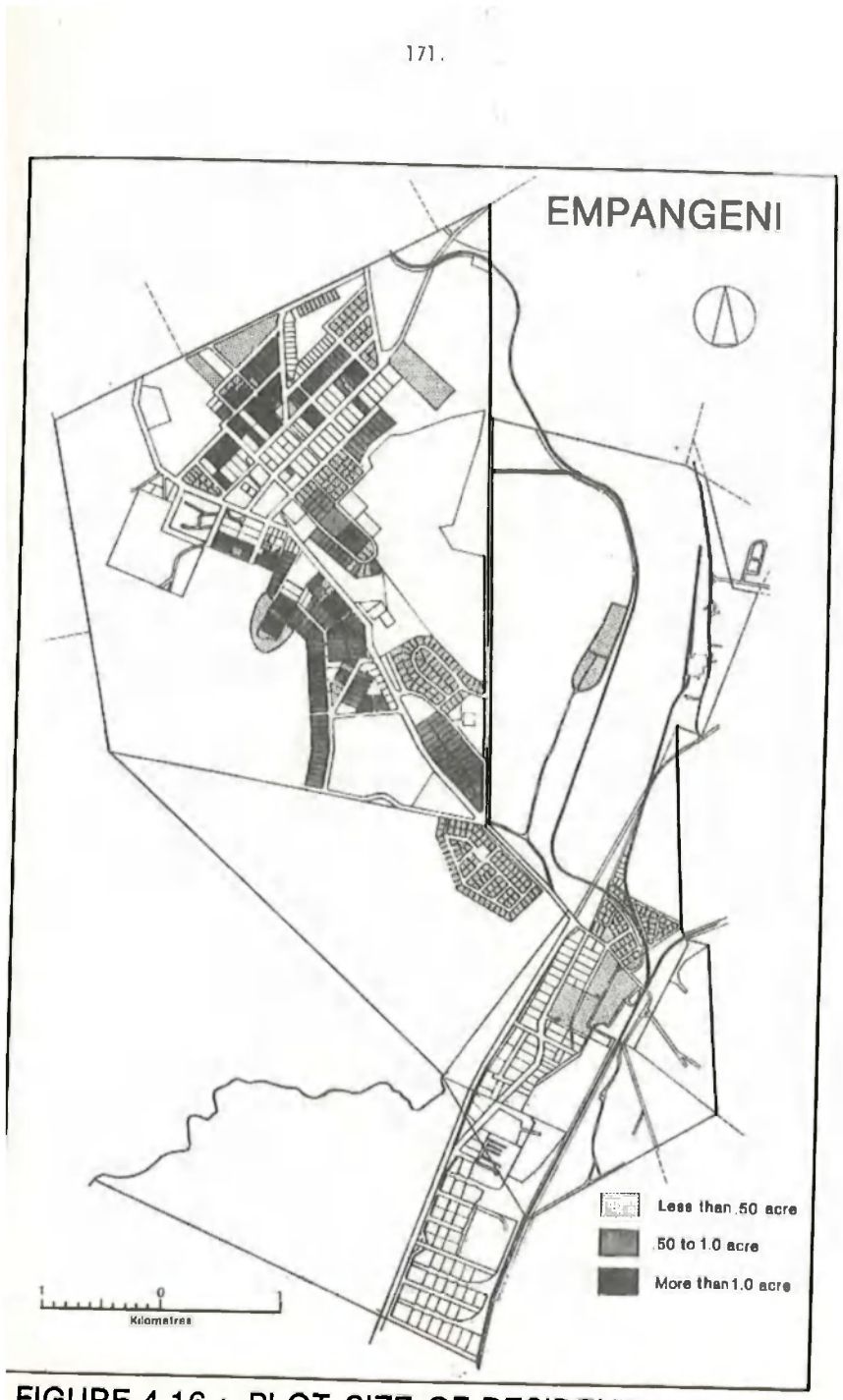

FIGURE 4.16 : PLOT SIZE OF RESIDENTIAL LAND

outwards from the early cluster of housing within the central grid of the Village and the initial railway housing scheme established at Empangeni Rail. A strong directional sector of housing had developed to link Empangeni Village and Empangeni Rail, and, at the sugar mill an isolated township served the needs of White employees.

Clear distinctions may be drawn between the composition of housing in Empangeni Village, Empangeni Rail and Empangeni Mill (Table 4.15). Housing in Empangeni Village formed part of the private housing market with relatively minor participation by Government, the municipality and the South African Railways. At Empangeni Rail on the other hand, the housing formed part of official railway housing schemes and, at Empangeni mill, of a Z.S.M.P. Company housing scheme. The distinction is reflected in variations in variety and styles of domestic architecture, housing quality and residential environment. Thus housing in Empangeni Village displayed a relatively wide range and variety of architectural styles and qualities in contrast to uniform township housing provided by the S.A.R.and H. at Empangeni Rail and the Z.S.M.P. at Empangeni Mill.

White housing within the town was overwhelmingly dominated by single family residences. Flats either in free standing blocks or above or adjacent to commercial buildings within the C.B.D were of minor significance. The size of population and scale of development at the time clearly did not warrant extensive development of multi-family housing. The Town Planning Scheme (1963, Revised), however, envisaged flat development in a zone of general residential land use about the fringes of the C.B.D. on higher value land in future years (Fig 4.21).

The majority of White housing was recent in origin and had been progressively developed from the post Second World War period. Residential densities were low. In Empangeni Village they displayed a distinct gradient outwards from older residential sites of 1 acre (,4 ha) in size on the fringes of the C.B.D., to half acre (.8 ha) sites in the more recent residential extensions (Fig. 4.16). Housing at Empangeni Rail and Empangeni Mill, on the other hand, uniformly occupied sites of .25 acre (,1 ha) in size and reflected a residential environment of a generally lower amenity and quality.

TABLE 4.15: NUMBER AND OWNERSHIP OF WHITE RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES. EMPANGENI, 1968

	E.V.				E.R				E.M.				TOTAL					
	P	M	G	SR	P	M	G	SR	C	M	G	SR	P	C	M	G	SR	Total
Dwellings	445	9	48	8	9	3	1	202	112	-	-	-	454	112	12	49	210	837
Blocks Flats	3	-	-	-	-	-		1[H]	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	4
Flats and Other Uses	11	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	14

EV = Empangeni Village
ER = Empangeni Rail
EM = Empangeni Mill

P = Private Ownership
M = Municipal Ownership
G = Government Ownership
SR = S.A.R. and H. Ownership
C = Company Ownership
H = Hostel

Source: Empangeni Municipal Valuation Roll, 1967-1968

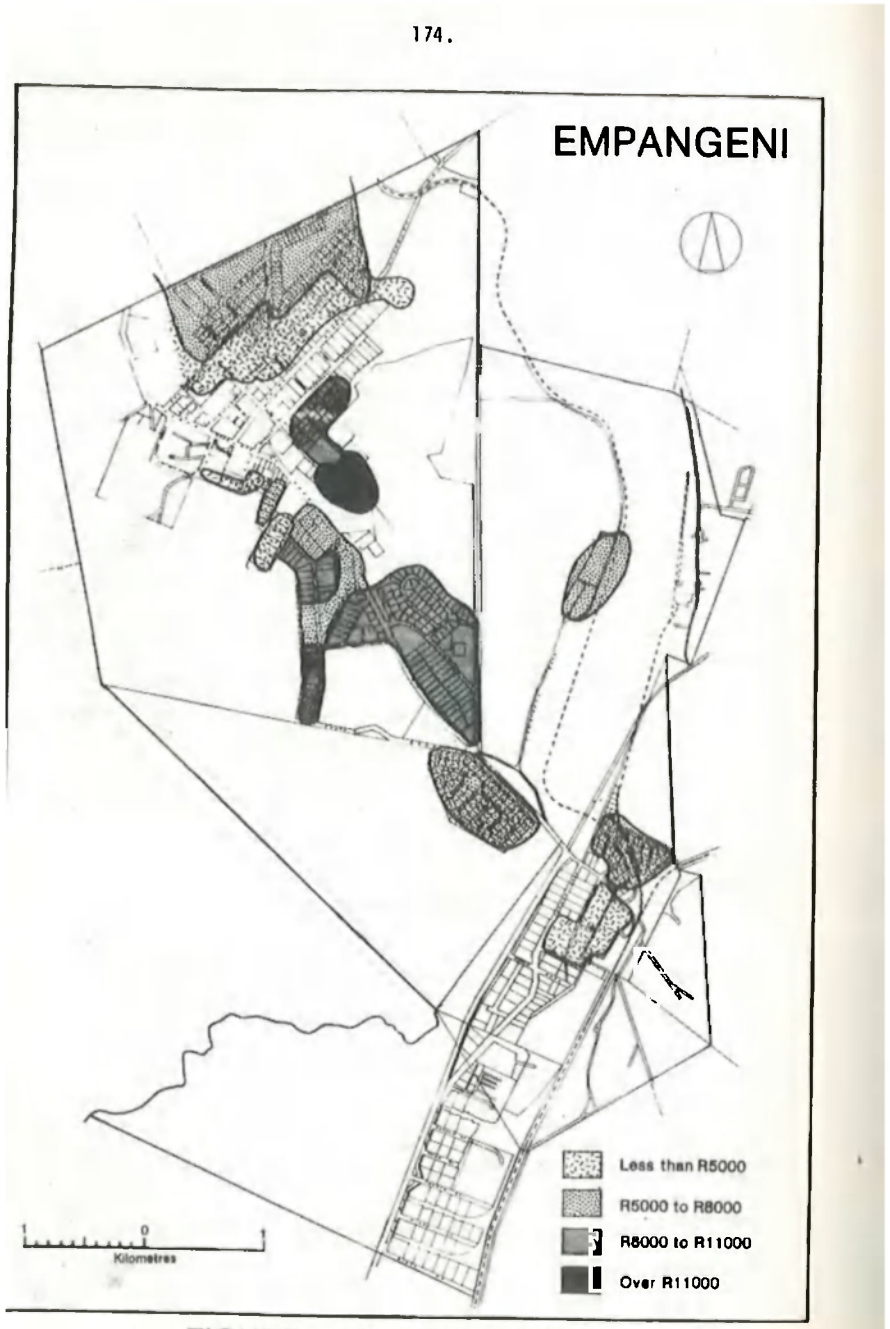

FIGURE 4.17 : DWELLINGS :
RATEABLE VALUES OF BUILDINGS
1968

The Empangeni Town Planning Scheme (1963, Revised) envisaged future residential growth at somewhat higher densities and provided for a minimum lot size of ,25 acre, a maximum floor area ratio of ,35, a lot coverage of 25 per cent and a maximum height constraint of 2 storeys for dwellings. Density constraints for general residential land use (flats, maisonettes etc.) provided for a floor area ratio of ,35 acre, a lot coverage of 25 per cent and a maximum elevation of 4 storeys. These relatiyely severe constraints reflected the lack of a reticulated water-course sewerage system at the time.

The distribution of housing quality, measured in terms of the rateable value of dwellings, varied systematically and, on the one hand, reflected variations in the environmental quality of different parts of the town and of property ownership patterns and on the other, suggested variations in socio-economic status within the White population (Fig. 4.17). Dwellings about the N and S margins of the Village C.B.D. displayed the lowest values and conformed to areas in which older housing was characteristic. Properties located on the well ventilated, east and seaward facing slopes mainly to the east of the C.B.D., displayed values in the upper middle range. Peak residential values on the other hand, were achieved in a small band of residences that occupied the most elevated land, overlooking the golf course, with excellent views towards the coast and in close association with the magisterial residency. Reflecting less desirable residential environments, residential property values at Empangeni Rail and Empangeni Mill were low.

The White residential areas of Empangeni, though in their range of physical quality are value reflecting variations in income, showed little evidence of physical blight and urban poverty. Privately developed areas reflected a range of choice and variety and high levels of amenity (made streets, drainage, plantings, maintenance, access to public open space and recreation facilities, reticulated water and electricity supplies) that are characteristic of all South African towns. With few exceptions, Whites were located within easy and convenient access to places of work.

7. Educational, Hospital and other Service Uses

Educational, hospital and other social land uses (including churches and community halls) occupied a small but significant proportion of the developed area. Educational uses, centred in Empangeni Village, comprised land devoted mainly to primary and high schools and occupied 4.3 per cent of all developed land in the town (Table 4.12 and Fig. 4.18). The Provincial Hospital occupied 0.8 per cent of all developed land, while other Social Uses contributed a further 2.3 per cent.

The Empangeni Primary School established in 1923 and, between 1936 and 1957 used also for secondary education, occupied a site on the eastern periphery of the village, where it could conveniently serve the needs of the Village, Mill and Rail communities. The new Empangeni High School, established in 1957, on an expansive 45 acre (18ha) site, occupied the approximate geographic centre of the town and equally conveniently served the needs of the three White communities. The schools, operated on a dual medium of instruction, respectively, accommodated over 800 and approximately 500 White pupils.

The two government schools in the town were focal sub-regional institutions and, through their boarding establishments, served the needs also of a widely distributed rural population.

A small Convent school for junior White pupils had been established in 1955 in association with the Roman Catholic Church while in Ngwelezana a school for African children had been opened.

Expansion of the schools had taken place as demand arose but at the time of the survey severe pressure on school accommodation was being experienced.

The War Memorial (Provincial) Hospital at Empangeni Village was established after the First World War and erected on an extensive site on the northern periphery of the town. At the time of the

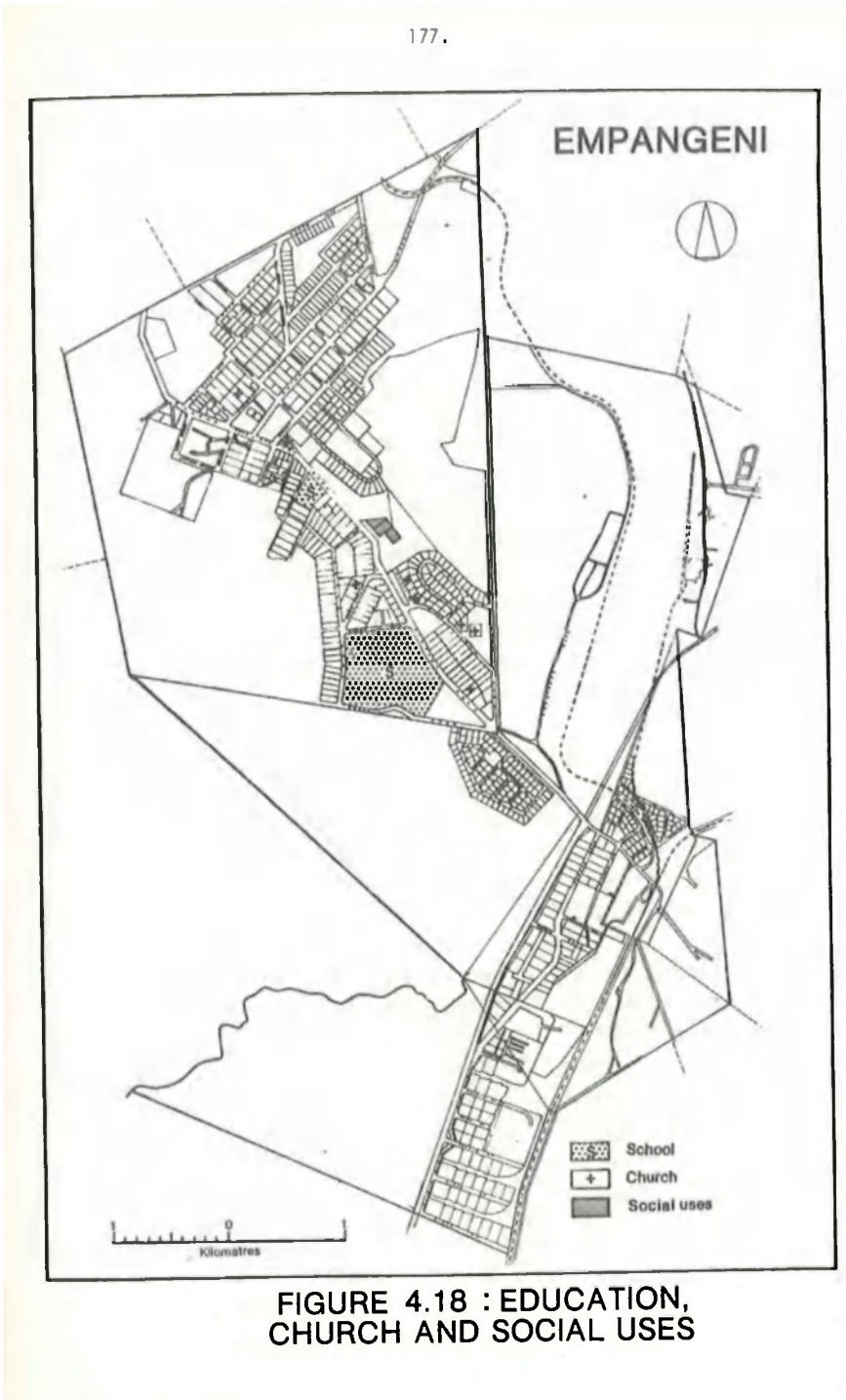

FIGURE 4.18 : EDUCATION, CHURCH AND SOCIAL USES

survey it provided for White (30 beds) African and Asian (174 beds) patients. Serious congestion in the use of the hospital was being experienced and for Black patients in particular, was expected to persist until the completion of a new hospital for Africans at Ngwelezana. Construction of the new Ngwelezana hospital, initially to provide for 300 beds, was commenced in 1967. Strong pressures for the erection of a substantially larger institution was being exerted at the time.

At the time of the survey five religious denominations had erected church buildings in Empangeni.[1] The earliest church (Anglican) occupied a site adjoining the market square (Fig. 4.18). Later churches were erected on sites zoned for that function within the residential areas of Empangeni Village. The new Nederduitse Gereformeerde Church at the town had been erected on a prominent site flanking the market square at the entrance to the C.B.D. of the Village. It was anticipated that new churches to accommodate the needs of other denominations would become necessary as residential growth took place at the town.

8. Recreational and Open Space Uses

Empangeni in 1968 provided a range of recreation and sporting amenities for its population. These were organised mainly on an individual recreational club basis and included golf, bowls, tennis, rugby, cricket, soccer, hockey and swimming.

Land used for recreation and open space uses occupied a significant 15 per cent of the developed area of the town and was mainly concentrated in Empangeni Village. (Table 4.12). The Empangeni Golf Course alone occupied some 132 acres (53ha) of prime, gently sloping east and sea-facing land on the eastern periphery of the Village (Fig. 4.19). Land used for recreation occupied lots, mainly on the urban periphery and was rented from the Town Council on long leases. Private

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1) Anglican, Methodist, Nederduitse Gereformeerde, Roman Catholic and Pentecostal Churches.

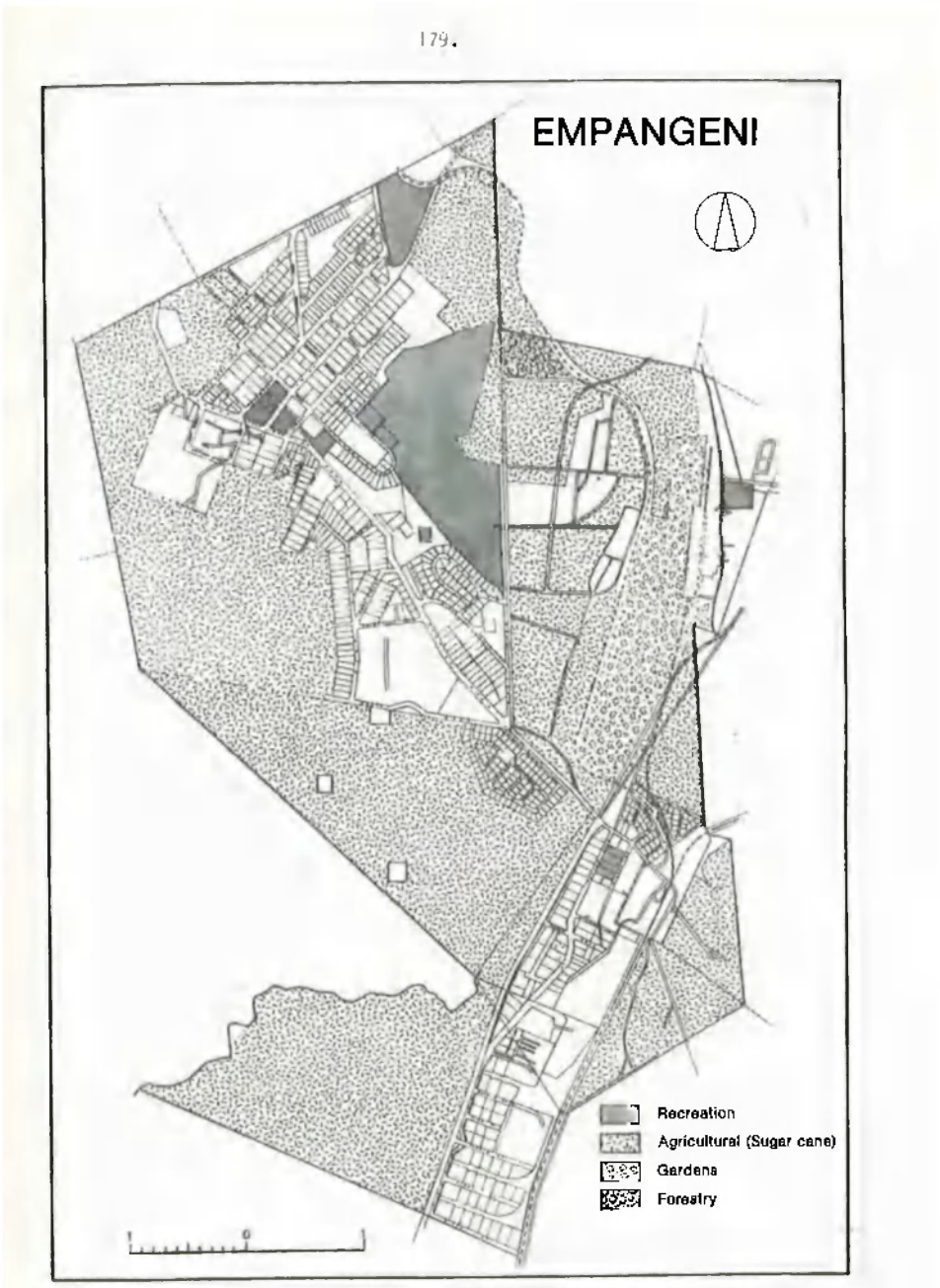

FIGURE 4.19 : RECREATIONAL AND AGRICULTURAL LAND USES

recreation facilities for employees were provided at Empangeni Mill and Empangeni Rail by the Z.S.M.P. Co. and the S.A.R. and H. (Fig. 4.19).

Developed public open space in Empangeni was limited in extent and mainly comprised the public Gardens developed on the old market square and the surrounds of the town hall and civic buildings. These gardens also contained the town's bowling and tennis clubs.

9. Housing of Indians, Coloureds and Africans

At the time of the survey, the majority of the Indian and Coloured population and the fraction of African population resident within the White town, were housed in quarters and compounds provided by employers and attached to places of work. Domestic servant employees were resident in quarters located on White residential properties.

A major fraction of African and Indian employment was centred on the sugar mill at Empangeni Mill and in industries and railway transport activity at Empangeni Rail (Table 4.13). A barracks to house single African male workers and a residential township comprising 72 dwellings (but located beyond the municipal boundary) for Indian employees had been developed by the Z.S.M.P. Company (Fig. 4.15). A compound for single male Africans was located within the Railway Reserve at Empangeni Rail.

Coloured housing needs were inadequately catered for and the problem of housing shortages was strongly evident in reports of the Town Council. While nine residential sites had been temporarily made available for Coloured occupation on the northern fringes of the town (on North Street) repeated efforts to obtain authority to create housing for Coloureds, even on a temporary basis, drew negative responses from the authorities. The negative attitude towards Coloured settlement in Zululand no doubt would have strongly influenced decision making. The decision to develop the new harbour and urban area of Richards Bay introduced further uncertainty and delay into the matter, which had not been resolved by 1968.

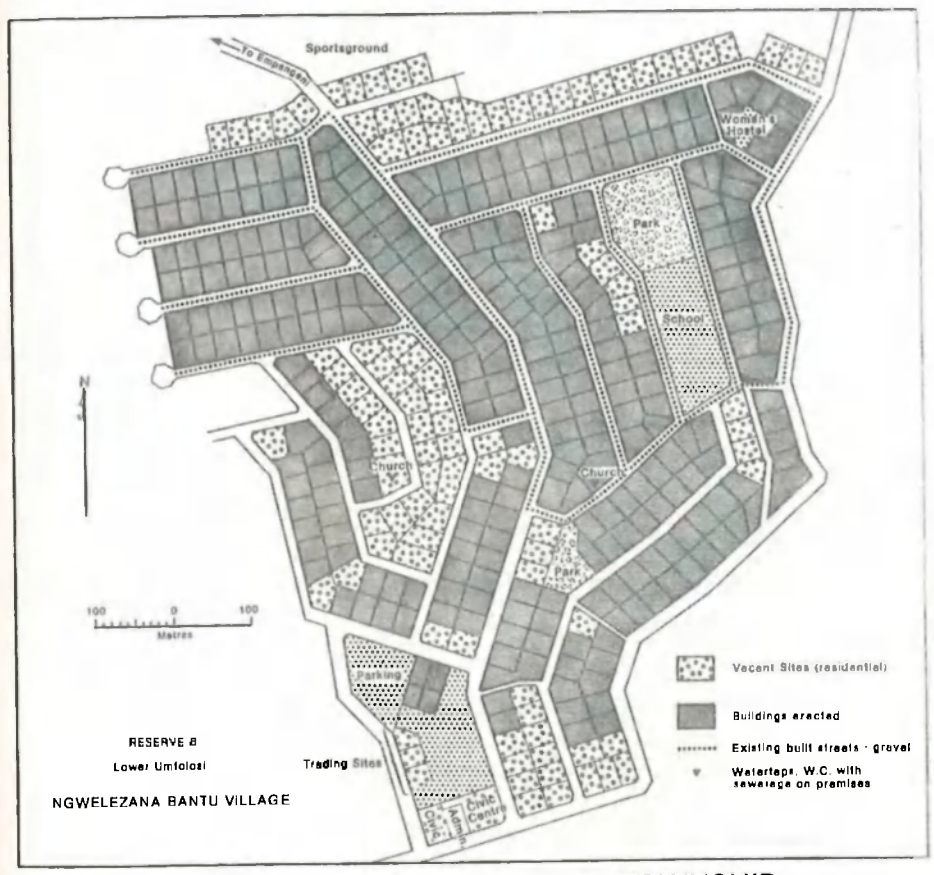

FIGURE 4.20 : NGWELEZANA TOWNSHIP

The circumstances in which the Ngwelezana African township was established to give expression to government policy on separate development and the location of African residential areas in homeland territory, where that is possible, have been noted earlier. The site of Ngwelezana, some 2.7 km west of Empangeni in Bantu Reserve No 7B, was surveyed in 1957/58 (Fig. 4.20).

The first section of the layout was completed in 1960 and the first 200, four roomed dwellings, designed to uniform Departmental standards, were ready for occupation in July, 1962. Dwellings were occupied on a rental basis but could be purchased for cash or under hire-purchase agreements. Lots were also available for sale to those who wished to build their own houses.[1] Lots averaging 1 200 m^2 in area were fenced and linked to a reticulated water system supplied from Empangeni. Sewerage was based on an aqua privy system and the township was serviced by a reticulated drainage network and a refuse removal service. A network of gravel roads gave access to the residential sites and an electricity network was planned. Access to the township was by a frequently rough gravel road that linked to the Empangeni-Eshowe main road, and, a private company provided a commuter service to major places of work.

The design of the township, Fig. 4.20, provided for administrative buildings for the Department of Bantu affairs, under which the administration of the township fell, a hospital (of 660 beds and commenced in 1965), schools, trading and church sites and recreation areas.

By 1967 an additional 200 dwellings and a single women's hostel had been erected and by 1970 the township housed 5 252 persons or 66 per cent of the African population of Empangeni-Ngwelezana. Growing demand for African labour after 1965 indicated that considerable expansion of the township would be required. Physiographic constraints of the site, however, suggested that its ultimate size would be limited.[2]

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1) Magistrate and Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Empangeni. Personal communication.

2) By 1971, 943 dwellings had been completed at Ngwelezana. Estimates by the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission (1978) subsequently suggested that the maximum population of the township would be 22 500 persons.

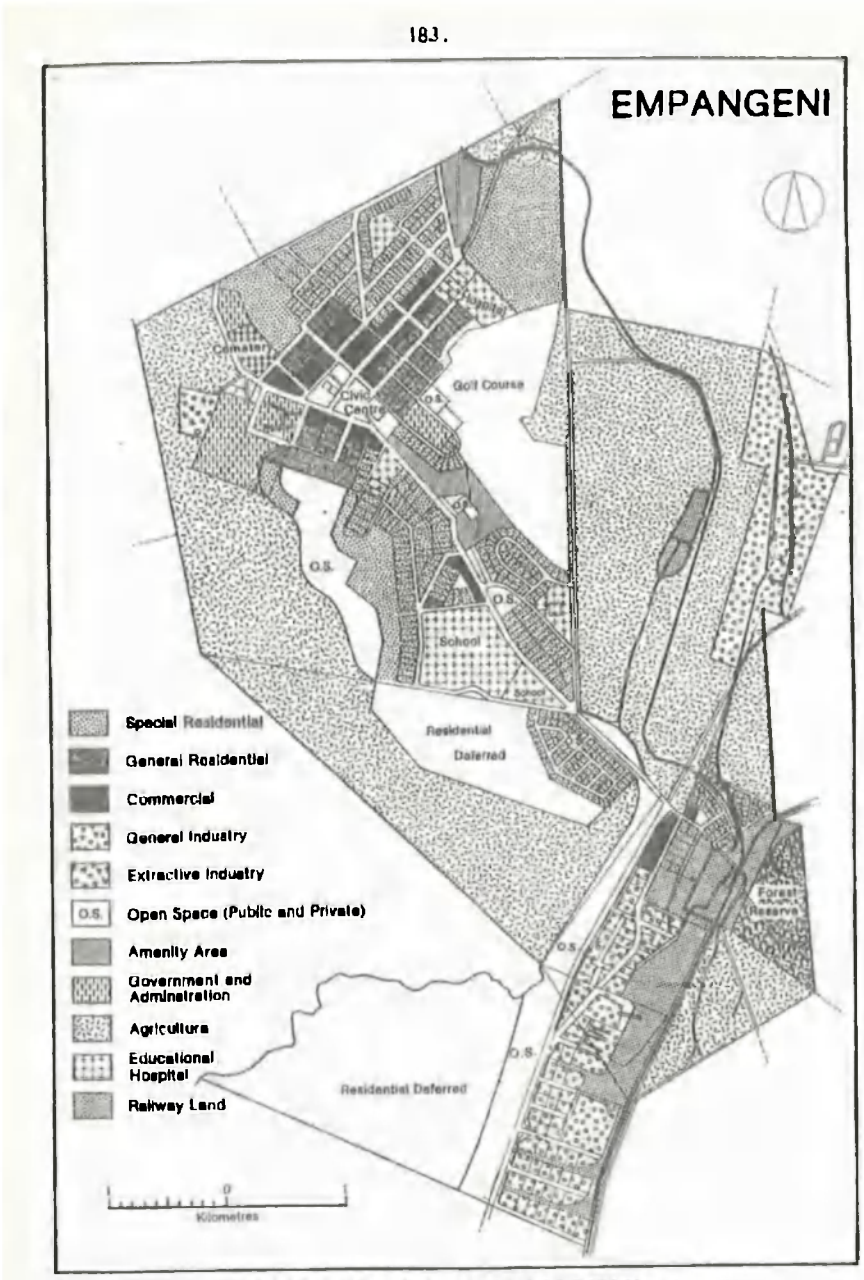

FIGURE 4.21 : EMPANGENI :
OUTLINE DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1963

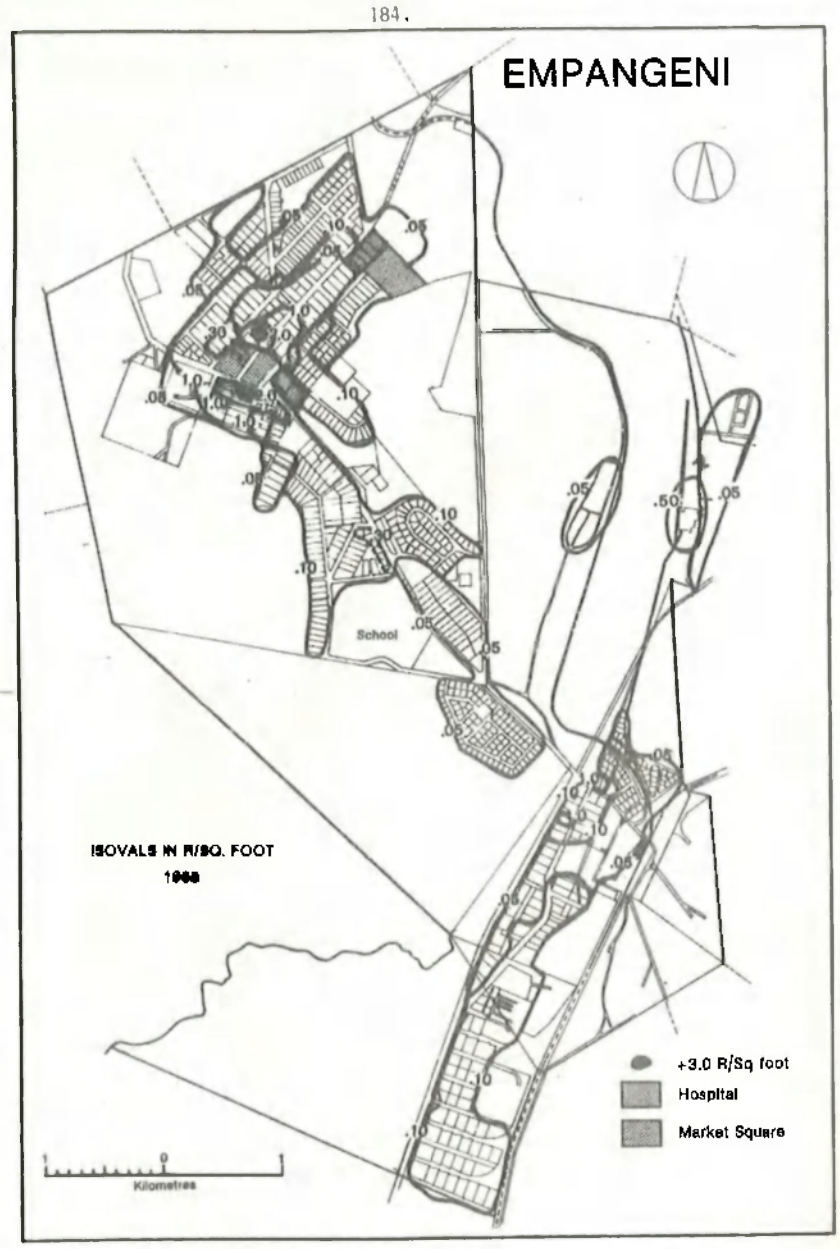

FIGURE 4.22 : EMPANGENI : LAND VALUE DISTRIBUTION, 1968

4.5.2.2.5 Conclusion

Quantitively the distribution of land use in Empangeni in 1968 conformed broadly to expectations for smaller towns in South Africa. Though readily explicable through reference to its historical evolution, the tri-polar structure of the town, however, had produced a pattern of spatial organisation that was probably unique in the country.

Internally the distribution of land uses within each of the nuclei displayed patterns of growth and organisation that reflected the operation of customary economic, social and physical forces in an urban land market and the imposition of planned land use controls. The tri-polar structure of the town, through the distribution of powerful public and private vested interests arising from the distribution of land ownership, however, carried with it a potential for conflict and difficulty in integrating the three White communities and in controlling their development patterns. The pressure for growth already strongly evident in 1968 clearly called for sympathetic negotiation in the general public interest.

The spatial structure of the town furthermore reflected the system of social relations inherent in South African society and that had given rise to the evolution of segregated White and Black components of urban development. These were characteristically distinguished by growth processes, form and strong differences in quality of life. By 1968, conventional Group Areas planning had not been imposed upon the town.

Vacant land within the development area of the town occupied a relatively small proportion of its total developed space (13.5 per cent) Table 4.12. At the time of the survey, however, growth processes imposed upon the town for 1965 were clearly exerting severe pressure upon available vacant lots fromWhite residential development. Urgent planning for new residential extensions was in progress at the time and clearly anticipated a quantum increase in the scale of urban development. An increase in residential development in turn implied that significant expansion in the level of tertiary services provided by the town could be anticipated. The C.B.D. of Empangeni Village was expected to grow substantially and to consolidate within the area zoned for commercial activity. (Fig.4.21),

Substantial amounts of undeveloped vacant land in public and private ownership and primarily used for agricultural purposes (Fig.4.19) was available for residential expansion. It was anticipated that sufficient land was available to accommodate the anticipated growth of population to the year 2000.

Though repeatedly demanded by the local authority, little progress appears to have been made in the provision of additional industrial land. That activity was clearly earmarked for growth at Richards Bay within the sphere of Controlled Area No. 9. Frustration was also strongly evident in the unsuccessful attempts of the Town Council to provide for the more adequate accommodation of its Indian and Coloured populations , many of whom, at the time of the survey, were living under very unsatisfactory conditions. More satisfactory circumstances were anticipated for the housing of Africans at the town in planned extensions of the Ngwelezana township.

The exclusion of Empangeni from the planning process undertaken for Controlled Area No. 9 was unfortunate. The town at the time was being called upon to take the strain of accommodating personnel involved in the early stages of development at Richards Bay and to provide the necessary tertiary and social services required by the rapidly expanding population of the sub-region. Its excision from the Controlled Area clearly pointed to a future subordinate position for Empangeni within the greater Richards Bay - Empangeni urban complex. Potential conflict was clearly inherent in the situation and had introduced an undesirable element of uncertainty in the development process of the town.

4.5.3 Characteristics of Minor Urban Settlements

4.5.3.1 Felixton

Felixton (Fig. 4.4), named after an early sugar planter Felix Piccione, was established in 1911 as the site of the Sir J.H. Hulett Sugar Company mill and over the next sixty years developed as a company town. In 1952 it was selected also as the location for the Ngoye Paper Milling Company paper mill. By 1970 Felixton ranked second in size after Empangeni within the Sub-region, with a population of 2 539 persons of whom 20 per cent was White (Table 4.5).

Activity profiles (Tables 4.7 and 4.8) clearly demonstrate the essentially unifunctional, industrial economic base of the centre, focussed on sugar and paper milling. It was, at the time of the survey, able to provide only low order tertiary services to its population who were mainly dependent upon Empangeni for such services.

Like the sugar mill settlement at Empangeni, the urban structure of Felixton was elementary and focussed upon its industrial functions. The sugar mill had been located in terms of access to an extensive sugar growing area, in close association with the main line of railway and with immediate access to water supplies drawn from the Mhlatuze River. The Ngoye paper mill, drawing upon supplies of bagasse, produced as a waste product by the sugar mill, as a raw material, was founded in close proximity in 1952.

On somewhat more elevated land to the north of the industrial complex, company-owned single family residential townships for White employees had been developed. Characteristic of company town development, the residential townships were compact in form with few if any vacant sites. Layout designs, though regulated, were informal and escaped the rigidities of grid-iron planning. Architectural styles, however, tended towards uniformity but the older sugar mill housing was distinguished from newer housing created for paper mill employees by age, size of residential lots and variety of dwellings. Centrally-located recreation facilities focussed on the recreation club-house formed the social focus of the White residential settlement.

Segregated housing, quarters and recreation facilities for Indian and African workers were provided in close proximity to the sugar and paper mills.

At the time of the survey, Felixton as a company settlement appeared unlikely to be markedly affected by the future growth of Empangeni and Richards Bay. The development of the new harbour at Richards Bay, however, could in future influence the development of export-oriented sugar and paper production at the town.

4.5.3.2. Kwambonambi

Kwambonambi was established as a minor service centre for a surrounding mixed farming area in 1914. It was named after the Mbonambi Nguni tribe that inhabited the lands north of Richards Bay. It became the site of an important saw-mill after the establishment of the forestry industry from 1925.

In 1970 Kwambonambi had 556 people of whom 48 per cent were White. It continued at that time to serve as a low order service centre and social focus for a surrounding rural population and as a significant saw milling centre. The settlement was governmed by a local Health Committee established in 1950.

The village, though small, in spatial form more clearly assumed the formal characteristics of a conventional South African urban place of its age. The layout design of the White town was that of a rectangular grid-iron with three long north-south axial streets aligned to the flanking line of the railway. Shorter cross streets at right angles to the main axes created 11 rectangular town blocks which were, in turn, sub-divided into rectangular lots running through from street to street. Residential lots were generous in size (approximately 1 acre in area) and provided for spacious low density development.

The low-order tertiary services provided by the town (Table 4.7), were located in a cluster aligned to the earliest of the main streets at a crossroads location where the early feeder road from the old Zululand main road entered the town. Social functions including the White

primary school, a community hall and church occupied a rank of large lots on the western flank of the town. Extending westwards and occupying a substantial portion of the townlands was the golf course which provided a major social and recreation facility for the population of the town and its surrounding rural population.

To the north of the town the Acme Timber Mill occupied an extensive tract of land accommodating the saw mill and yards, White single-family residential quarters, African compound housing and recreation facilities.

At the time of the survey the settlement appeared not to possess a significant growth potential but it could in future and as a consequence of the development of the new harbour at Richards Bay, become the site for export-oriented processing industry based upon the local forestry resource.

4.5.3.3 Richards Bay

Interest in the Mhlatuze lagoon as the site of a possible harbour dates to 1879 when, during the Zulu-British war, Commodore Sir Frederick Richards, Commander of the British naval force, undertook surveys of the Zululand coast in search of a suitable landing place for the handling of stores and troops. In the event a landing site at Port Durnford was used for that purpose but the bay received its name in that year.

Three later surveys of the Bay were undertaken, the first in 1897, when consideration was given to the establishment of a naval coaling station at the site. It was proposed to supply the station from a coal mine at Somkhele some 50 km north of Empangeni. The second survey was undertaken in 1902 by the harbour engineer of Durban, Mr. C. Methven and the third in 1923 when consideration was again being given to the possible development of a new harbour on the Zululand coast.

Though intermittent interest in the potential of the Bay as a harbour continued, no development was undertaken. A small fishery was established at the bay in 1906. It was essentially as a small resort village, however, that Richards Bay evolved with time, as the rural

population of the Sub-region increased and as Empangeni grew as a town demanding a recreational outlet at the sea. In 1907 the first waggon track from Empangeni was opened and in 1928 an hotel and store were built at Richards Bay (Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission 1978).

The village was established on stable, dry land at the edge of the Coastal Plain locally elevated some 50-100 metres above sea-level and bounding the northern swamp-girt shores of Richards Bay. With easy access to the bay shores and the sea front the site enjoyed extensive and splendid views of the Bay and sea. Apart from the land occupied by the coastal sand dunes, generally considered unsuitable for settlement, the site provided the only suitable land on the perimeter of the Bay for the establishment of a coastal village.

The unusual layout design of the village (Fig 4. 23) was influenced by a desire to create lots for holiday cottages with aspects providing uninterrrupted views of the Bay and in close proximity to the bay and sea shores. The hotel site occupied in 1928 was one of the first lots to be created. From it a rank of narrow rectangular residential lots, paralleling the edge of the steeply sloping edge of the Coastal Plain overlooking the bay shore, was created. Later residential extensions took place eastwards towards the sea and northwards following the alignment of the more elevated land. The majority of these lots had been built up by 1968. The Hotel, post office and store occupied a centre l position in the design.

In later years a small craft air strip occupying much of the flat land inland from the village was provided and on the bay shore bathing amenities, boating and yachting facilities were established. In 1935 the water area of Richards Bay came under the control of a Game Reserve and the Natal Parks Board Nature Reserve and Rest Camp located on the coastal dune lands east of Richards Bay became an important holiday and recreation facility.

The village was governed by a local Health Committee, established in 1954, until the formation of a Town Board in 1965 to take control of urban development associated with the creation of the new harbour. At the time of the survey the village enjoyed adequate local water supplies

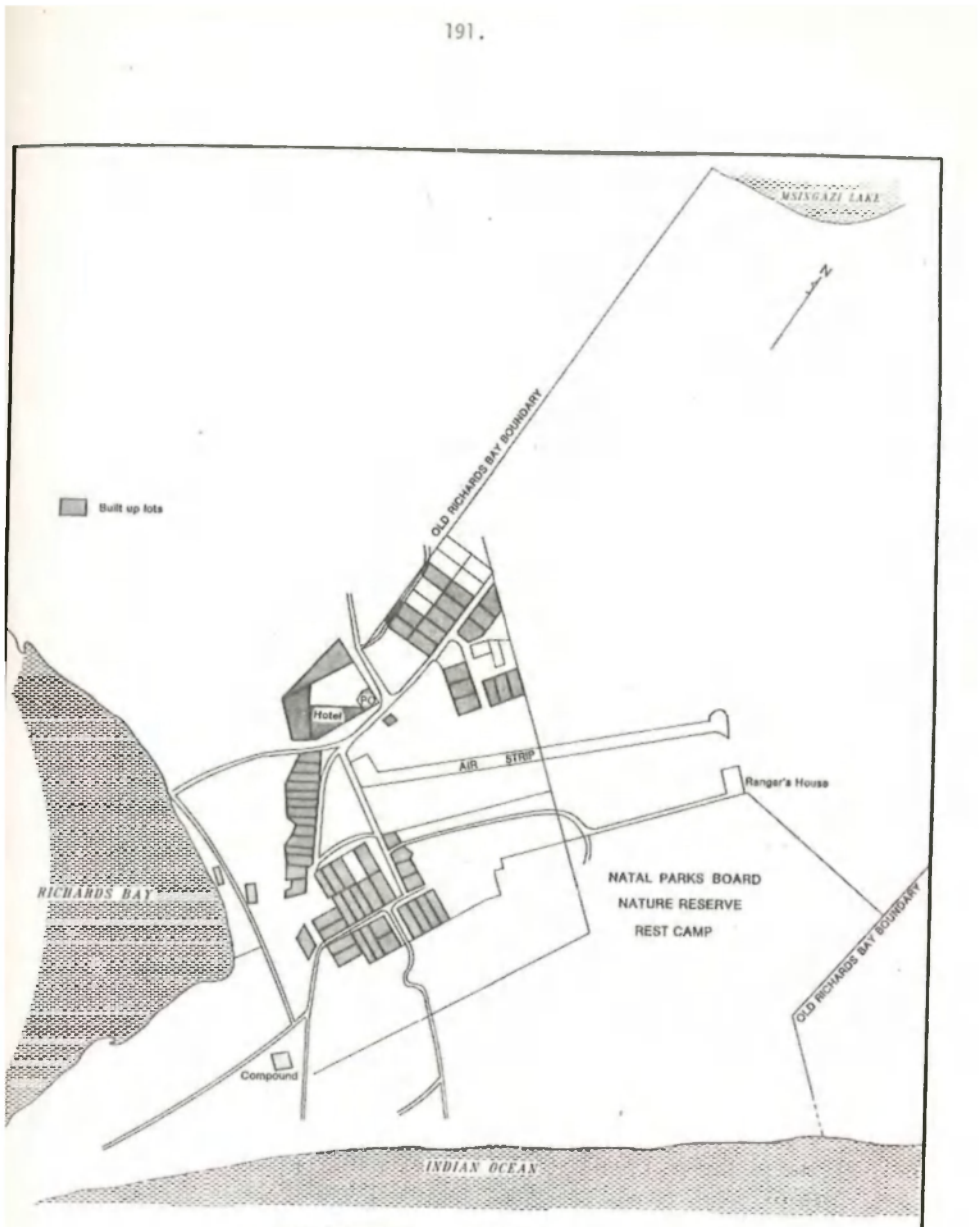

FIGURE 4.23 : RICHARDS BAY

but had not been reticulated for electricity.

It is this village that in the future will experience the most dramatic change as it is incorporated in the design and development of the new port city of Richards Bay.

4.5.3.4. Mtunzini

Mtunzini was established in 1897 as the magisterial seat of the Mtunzini (Mlalazi) District. It was located on an elevated ridge-like site, some 200 feet (66 m) above sea-level overlooking the lagoon and estuary of the Mlalazi River and the sea.

The site had originally been occupied by a small Nguni clan headed by the legendary figure of John Dunn. Its name was derived from the Zulu, meaning "place of shade"- an allusion to the beauty of the coastal indigenous forests that once straddled the site.

Although the seat of a Magistrate and Bantu Commissioner, the village, overshadowed by nearby Empangeni as a service centre, evolved slowly and assumed the role mainly of a small coastal resort. Its activity profile (Table 4.7) attests to its low order service status while its situation some 2.5 Km from the main North-Coast-Zululand road places it at a disadvantage as a service centre. In 1970 the total population of Mtunzini was only 983 persons of whom 42 per cent was White. Mtunzini was declared a Local Health Committee in 1947 but became a Town Board in 1965.

In urban form Mtunzini was informally structured and the village straggled attractively along a single main street aligned to the crestline of the ridge-like site upon which it was established. The attraction of the village as a residential and resort centre is bound to increase with the growth of Empangeni-Richards Bay and careful attention should be paid to its development planning to ensure the conservation of its environmental quality.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The analysis of the Empangeni-Richards Bay Sub-region presented in this Chapter has attempted to describe and where possible, interpret the settlement geography of the Sub-region at a particular juncture in its development history. The object has been to record the structural patterns of settlement in the period prior to the development which was to take place in consequence of the establishment of the new harbour at Richards Bay. The material is intended to serve as a base upon which later research monitoring development change might be undertaken.

The settlement pattern displayed expresses the functional and spatial consequence of a particular conjunction of economic, social, political and physical forces operating within the Sub-region and in the broader regional space economy of Natal and Zululand at the time. These forces had produced a local space economy and pattern of spatial interaction founded upon the exploitation of local agricultural, forestry and resort resources. These were limited in their growth potential by the relative isolation of the Sub-region in the periphery of the Natal North Coast-Zululand development sector and in the broader regional and national space economies.

Within the Sub-region, the economy and its patterns of spatial interaction had become focussed upon Empangeni as the major urban place, service centre and location of secondary industry. Other urban centres within the Sub-region were small, specialized in function and of relatively minor economic significance. Empangeni, though enjoying the potential of border industry development concessions, was, relative to other more favourably located sites, not well placed to attract significant industrial growth . The local space economy appeared thus to be destined for relatively slow growth and the economic and social dominance of Empangeni remained unchallenged within its pattern of spatial interaction.

The announcement and subsequent development of major harbour facilities at Richards Bay, the insertion and reorientation of major national and regional transport infrastructure, inputs of major urban and industrial development at Richards Bay among other factors were designed to introduce a dramatic new functional and spatial dynamic in the organization of the Sub-region and its relationships within the regional and national space

economies. The changes induced by the development of Richards Bay will have wide ranging effects on the economy, demography and social structure of the Sub-region and will fundamentally alter patterns of settlement, spatial interaction and of functional inter-relationships within it. Many of these changes are likely to contain elements of economic, social and political conflict and to have profound influences upon existing communities. It is to the monitoring of these changes under conditions of planned development that future research should be directed.

CHAPTER 5.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE BLACK[1] POPULATION, IN THE REGION, MAINLY WITH REFERENCE TO THE LABOUR FORCE.

H.J. THOMAS[2]

5.1 EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.[3]

The 1970 census figures for the population in the magisterial districts of Lower Umfolosi and Mtunzini combined, were, by race:

TABLE 5.1.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, AS MADE UP OF THE LOWER UMFOLOSI AND MTUNZINI MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS COMBINED, AS AT 1970 POPULATION CENSUS.

RACE	NO.	%	NO. RURAL	%	% OF EACH RACE RURAL
WHITES	10 918	5,52	2 609	1,49	23,90
COLOUREDS	793	0,40	585	0,33	73,77
ASIANS	4 781	2,42	2 831	1,61	59,21
BLACKS	181 148	91,66	169 354	96,56	93,49
TOTAL	197 640	100,00	175 379	99,99	88,74

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics (1976a), Report No. 02-05-12. Both Natal and KwaZulu areas within the region are included.

1) 'Black' is used in the narrower sense of the term, and excludes Coloureds and Indians. It is interchangeable with the term 'African' as used by Langham in Chapter 3.

2) Unless otherwise indicated, this Chapter was written by Mr. H.J. Thomas, who undertook the necessary research and analysis under the direction of Professor W.J. Argyle, Head of the Department of African Studies, at the University of Natal in Durban.

3) This Introduction and Section 5.2 were written by H.L. Watts.

The Coloureds, at under half-a-percent of the population, represent an insignificant fraction. Asians, at about 2½ per cent again seemed too small to warrant special fieldwork. However, the Whites and Blacks are large enough to warrant special attention. The next Chapter examines Whites; this one concerns Blacks. Before proceeding to examine data collected on the Black labour force, it is worth reporting briefly on impressions gained from the initial visits to the region at the end of the 1960's. The only established Black township of any note (viz. Ngwelezana) served Empangeni; Richards Bay was still a tiny hamlet surrounded by a fairly large plain of what appeared to be sparsely bush-covered alluvial flats. The Blacks outside of the small towns lived in kraals both within and outside of Reserves No. 4, 5, 6, 9 and 10, under rural conditions. (Table 5.1 above shows 93% of the Blacks at 1970 being "rural".) Two to three years later it was evident that some Black migrants were moving into the bush around Richards Bay and putting up shacks. These however were very scattered, suggesting that the in-migration was limited in scale. As the planning and development of Richards Bay proceeded, a township serving Richards Bay - Esikhawini - was started, and this was planned to grow into a large complex with perhaps half-a-million people by the turn of the Century. The rural Black population around the hamlet of Richards Bay gradually disappeared as the area was cleared for industrial and residential development, and they were moved by the authorities into Reserve No. 5, or in some cases they settled in Esikhawini, if a household head worked in Richards Bay.

When planning this baseline regional survey it was intended that some fieldwork would be undertaken amongst a typical group of rural Blacks living in homesteads (or kraals) in the region. However, Professor Argyle, who was in charge of this part of the research, was unable to appoint a fieldworker capable of independent rural anthropological research, and so all that we have to fall back on is some census data, which are presented below. Fieldwork in regard to aspects of the Black workforce was undertaken by H.J. Thomas, and forms the bulk of the material presented in this Chapter.

From one point of view, possibly some of the greatest changes resulting from the impact of the rapid development of Richards Bay

will be upon the largely rural Black population. As the port grows into a medium town, and perhaps eventually into the city envisaged by planners, the 93% of the regional population that in 1970 were rural Blacks, will increasingly have their life styles changed. Changing economic levels and material aspirations, are likely to affect in the long run the majority of them, as the result of urban industrialization.

What visits to the region at the end of the 1960's suggested was that the way of life of the rural Blacks appeared to be in no way noticeably different from Zulus elsewhere in rural areas along the coastal belt of Natal and KwaZulu. While sugar cane growing was a source of income for some, it was mainly the women who farmed it, as the able-bodied men were by and large migrant labourers away in Durban and other cities of South Africa. It is expected Richards Bay will increasingly draw Black men into its growing labour force, and this will mean more of the local rural men will become commuters instead of migrant labourers elsewhere. However, future research must explore this aspect at a later date.

5.2 DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK POPULATION OF THE REGION. [1]

Special tabulations for the 1970 census were prepared by the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission for their study of the 'Richards Bay-Empangeni Sub-Region', and some of these were kindly put at our disposal. Table 5.2 below gives the Age-Sex Structure of the Black Population in what may be called White towns in our region at the time of the 1970 census. Table 5.3 gives totals by Age for these towns, regardless of sex. The data in Table 5.2 are shown in percentage form in Table 5.4. Table 5.4 is graphed as age-sex pyramids in Figure 5.1 below:

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1) Written by H.L. Watts, editor.

TABLE 5.2.

AGE-SEX STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN 'WHITE TOWNS' IN RICHARDS BAY REGION, AT THE 1970 CENSUS.

AGE IN YEARS	EMPANGENI M	EMPANGENI F	RICHARDS BAY M	RICHARDS BAY F	FELIXTON M	FELIXTON F	KWAMBONAMBI M	KWAMBONAMBI F	MTUNZINI M	MTUNZINI F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	GRAND TOTAL
0 - 4	101	64	2	1	4	9	9	5	13	13	129	92	221
5 - 9	29	20	5	1	4	7	3	3	3	6	44	37	81
10 - 14	61	20	2	1	22	4	10	4	13	9	108	38	146
15 - 19	321	119	25	5	92	19	29	9	55	33	522	185	707
20 - 24	345	267	32	11	133	25	20	19	58	36	588	358	946
25 - 29	275	191	19	5	135	23	19	20	77	27	525	266	791
30 - 34	239	101	17	3	165	10	17	14	61	12	499	140	639
35 - 39	138	70	14	1	142	7	18	8	39	8	351	94	445
40 - 44	111	60	4	5	148	2	5	3	30	9	298	79	377
45 - 49	94	21	7	1	72	7	7	5	19	5	199	39	238
50 - 54	56	9	6	0	41	1	13	3	10	2	126	15	141
55 - 59	21	2	1	1	27	1	1	1	3	2	53	7	60
60 - 64	12	4	4	0	12	0	0	0	8	2	36	6	42
65 - 69	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	11	3	14
70 - 74	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	5	1	6
75+	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	4
TOTAL	1 815	952	139	35	997	115	152	94	395	164	3 498	1 360	4 858
GRAND TOTAL	2 767		174		1 112		246		559		4 858		
$\bar{x}$	27,6	25,7	28,9	27,1	33,6	24,1	27,9	27,2	30,0	24,2	29,6	25,5	28,5
σ	12,9	11,2	13,3	11,5	11,4	11,9	14,1	11,8	12,9	12,5	12,8	11,5	12,6
C.V.	46,8	43,4	46,0	42,4	34,0	49,3	50,7	43,6	43,2	51,6	43,4	45,0	44,3
Median	25,9	24,7	25,9	24,3	33,3	23,7	26,3	26,8	28,6	22,9	28,4	24,6	27,1
Sex-Ratio	1,91		3,97		8,67		1,62		2,41		2,57		

NOTES: 1. C.V. stands for Co-efficient of Variation = $\left(\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}}\right)$ 100.

2. The source is special tabulations of 1970 census enumerator's sub-districts, made available through the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, Pietermaritzburg.

TABLE 5.3.

BLACKS IN 'WHITE TOWNS' WITHIN THE RICHARDS BAY REGION, BY AGE, AT THE 1970 CENSUS.

AGE IN YEARS	EMPANGENI	RICHARDS BAY	FELIXTON	KWAMONAMBI	MTUNZINI	TOTAL
0 - 4	165	3	13	14	26	221
5 - 9	49	6	11	6	9	81
10 - 14	81	3	26	14	22	146
15 - 19	440	30	111	38	88	707
20 - 24	612	43	158	39	94	946
25 - 29	466	24	158	39	104	791
30 - 34	340	20	175	31	73	639
35 - 39	208	15	149	26	47	445
40 - 44	171	9	150	8	39	377
45 - 49	115	8	79	12	24	238
50 - 54	65	6	42	16	12	141
55 - 59	23	2	28	2	5	60
60 - 64	16	4	12	0	10	42
65 - 69	11	0	0	0	3	14
70 - 74	3	0	0	0	3	6
75+	2	1	0	1	0	4
TOTAL	2 767	174	1 112	246	559	4 858

This Table gives the totals by age, regardless of sex, and is compiled from Table 5.2 above.

TABLE 5.4.

PERCENTAGE AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN 'WHITE TOWNS' IN THE RICHARDS BAY REGION, AT THE 1970 CENSUS.

AGE IN YEARS	EMPANGENI			RICHARDS BAY			FELIXTON			KWAMONAMBI			MNTUNZINI			TOTAL		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0 - 4	3,65	2,31	5,96	1,15	0,58	1,73	0,36	0,81	1,17	3,66	2,03	5,69	2,32	2,32	4,66	2,66	1.89	4.55
5 - 9	1,05	0,72	1,77	2,87	0,58	3,45	0,36	0,63	0,99	1,22	1,22	2,44	0.54	1,07	1,61	0,91	0.76	1,67
10 - 14	2,20	0,73	2,93	1,15	0,58	1,73	1,98	0,38	2.34	4,06	1,63	5,69	2,32	1,61	3,93	2,22	0.78	3,01
15 - 29	11,60	4,30	15,90	14,37	2,87	17,24	8.27	1,71	9,98	11,79	3,66	15,45	9,84	5,90	15,74	10,75	3,81	14 55
20 - 24	12,47	9,65	22.12	18,38	6,32	24,70	11.96	2,25	14,21	8,13	7,72	15,85	10.38	6,44	16,82	12,10	7.37	19,47
25 - 29	9,94	6,90	16,84	10,92	2.87	13,79	12,14	2.07	14,21	7,72	8,13	15,85	13.77	4,83	18,60	10,81	5,48	16,28
30 - 34	8.64	3,65	12.29	9.77	1,72	11,49	14.84	0.90	15,74	6,91	5,69	12,60	10,91	2,15	13,06	10,27	2,88	13,15
35 - 39	4,99	2,53	7,52	8,05	0.58	8,63	12,77	0.63	13,40	7,32	3,25	10,57	6,98	1,43	8,41	7,23	1.93	9.16
40 - 44	4,01	2,17	6,18	2.30	2,87	5,17	13,31	0,18	13,49	2,03	1,22	3,25	5,37	1,61	6,98	6,13	1.63	7,76
45 - 49	3,40	0,76	4,16	4,02	0.58	4,60	6,47	0,63	7,10	2,85	2,03	4,88	3.40	0,89	4,29	4,10	0,80	4.90
50 - 54	2,02	0.33	2,35	3,45	0	3,45	3,69	0.09	3,78	5,28	1,22	6,50	1,79	0,36	2,15	2,59	0,31	2,90
55 - 59	0,76	0,07	0,83	0,57	0.58	1,15	2.43	0,09	2,52	0,41	0,41	0,82	0,54	0.36	0,90	1,09	0.14	1.24
60 - 64	0,43	0,14	0,57	2,30	0	2,30	1,08	0	1,08	0	0	0	1,43	0.36	1.79	0,74	0.12	0.86
65 - 69	0,29	0,11	0,40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,54	0	0,54	0,23	0,06	0,29
70 - 74	0,07	0,04	0,11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,54	0	0,54	0,10	0.02	0,12
75+	0,07	0,00	0,07	0.57	0	0,57	0	0	0	0,41	0	0,41	0	0	0	0,08	0,00	0,08
TOTAL	65.59	34.41	100,00	79,87	20,13	100.00	89.66	10.34	100.00	61,79	38,21	100.00	70,67	29,33	100,00	72,01	27,98	99,99
	2 767			174			1 112			246			559			4 858		
SEX-RATIOS	1,91			3,97			8,67			1,62			2,41			2,57		

NOTES: 1. M = Males; F = Females; T = Total for a town, etc.

2. The source is Table 5.2 above.

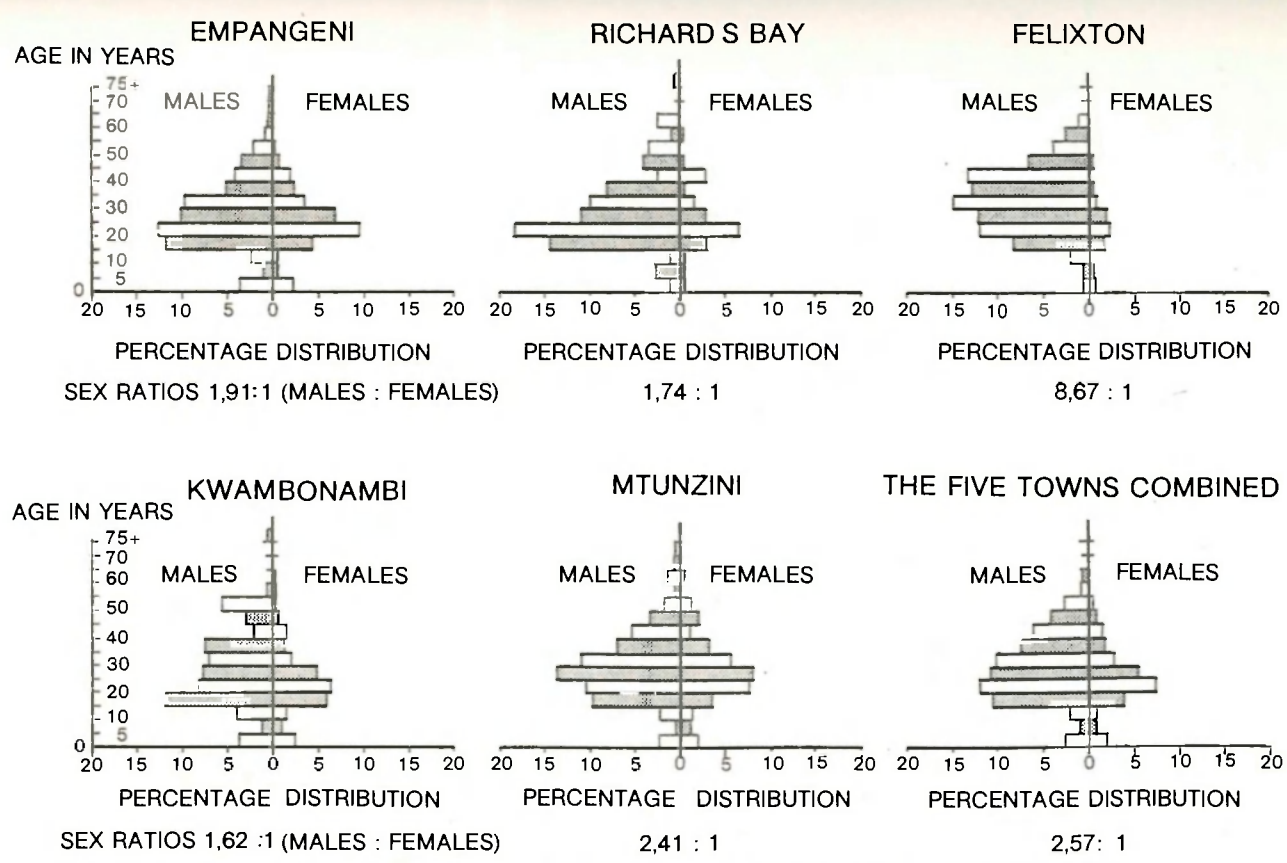

FIGURE 5.1 : AGE - SEX PYRAMIDS FOR BLACKS IN WHITE TOWNS IN THE RICHARD S BAY REGION AT THE 1970 CENSUS

The age-sex pyramids in Figure 5.1 show that we are dealing with very unbalanced Black populations, with a heavy over-representation of the younger working age group of 15 - 44 years old, particularly males. The sex ratios range from 1,62 Black males to every 1,00 female in Kwambonambi, to 3,97 : 1 in Richards Bay, and an extremely high 8,67 : 1 in the company town of Felixton, which exists around a sugar mill and a paper mill. Given the unbalanced demographic structure of the populations, there must have been many workers without their families who were staying in the Black rural areas. As the towns of Richards Bay and Empangeni grow and the Black population becomes more urbanised, we can expect, unless administrative regulations stop this, to see a growth in family life,with workers living with their families in at least these two towns. In this respect, what has happened in Durban during the past 80+ years is likely to be repeated in the Richards Bay region, (whether or not parts of de facto urban entities are labelled 'White' or Black).

Figures for the age-sex structure of the Black population in urban and rural areas classified as falling into KwaZulu within the 'Richards Bay Sub-Region' (as defined by the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission[1]) are given in Table 5.5 following. These figures are given in percentage form in Table 5.6, while Figure 5.2 graphs the data in the form of age-sex pyramids.

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1) See Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission (1978): *Richards Bay - Empangeni Sub-Region Draft Structure and Guide Plans*, Natal Provincial Administration, Pietermaritzburg. (Multicopied : unpublished at time of writing.)

TABLE 5.3.

AGE-SEX STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN KWAZULU AREAS WITHIN THE RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION,(AS DEFINED BY THE NATAL TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION) 1970 CENSUS.

AGE IN YEARS	URBAN AREAS			RURAL AREAS			REGION AS A WHOLE		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
0 - 4	399	417	243	4 926	4 745	9 671	5 325	5 162	10 487
5 - 9	263	268	531	4 447	4 654	9 101	4 710	4 922	9 632
10 - 14	187	273	460	3 900	4 071	7 971	4 087	4 344	8 431
15 - 19	404	508	912	2 298	3 333	5 631	2 702	3 841	6 543
20 - 24	659	446	1 105	1 181	2 430	3 611	1 840	2 876	4 716
25 - 29	473	336	809	959	1 937	2 896	1 432	2 273	3 705
30 - 34	324	180	504	851	1 719	2 570	1 175	1 899	3 074
35 - 39	295	142	437	917	1 524	2 441	1 212	1 666	2 878
40 - 44	153	81	234	775	1 348	2 123	928	1 429	2 357
45 - 49	129	35	164	761	989	1 750	890	1 024	1 914
50 - 54	78	33	111	573	820	1 393	651	853	1 504
55 - 59	51	13	64	491	578	1 069	542	591	1 133
60 - 64	24	24	48	368	632	1 000	392	656	1 048
65 - 69	10	8	18	299	379	678	309	387	696
70 - 74	3	7	10	199	284	483	202	291	493
75+	9	11	20	267	486	753	276	497	773
TOTAL	3 461	2 782	6 243	23 212	29 929	53 141	26 673	32 711	59 384
GRAND TOTAL		6 243			53 141			59 384	
$\bar{x}$	24,4	20,4	22,7	19,6	22,2	21,4	20,3	22,6	21,6
σ	14,4	13,7	14,2	18,6	19,2	18,8	18,7	18,5	18,4
C.V.	58,8	67,1	62,8	94,6	86,2	87,9	89.7	82,0	85,4
Median	23,6	19,3	21,8	12,9	17,2	14,9	14.0	17,5	15,9
Sex Ratio		1,24			0,78			0,82	

NOTES: 1) The source is special 1970 Census Tabulations for enumerator's sub-districts prepared by the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, Pietermaritzburg.

2) The 'sub-region' as defined by the N.T.R.P. Commission covers mainly the Lower Umfolosi magisterial district, and a small part of the Mtunzini district.

TABLE 5.6.

PERCENTAGE AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN KWAZULU AREAS WITHIN THE 'RICHARDS BAY SUB-REGION', (AS DEFINED BY THE NATAL TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION), 1970 CENSUS.

AGE IN YEARS	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION								
	URBAN AREAS			RURAL AREAS			TOTAL		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
0 - 4	6,39	6,68	13,07	9,27	8,93	18,20	8,97	8,69	17,66
5 - 9	4,21	4,29	8,50	8,37	8,76	17,13	7,93	8,29	16,22
10 - 14	3,00	4,37	7,37	7,34	7,66	15,00	6,88	7,32	14,20
15 - 19	6,47	8,14	14,61	4,33	6,27	10,60	4,55	6,47	11,02
20 - 24	10,56	7,14	17,70	2,23	4,57	6,80	3,10	4,84	7,94
25 - 29	7,58	5,38	12,96	1,80	3,65	5,45	2,41	3,83	6,24
30 - 34	5,19	2,88	8,07	1,60	3,23	4,84	1,98	3,20	5,18
35 - 39	4,73	2,27	7,00	1,73	2,87	4,59	2,04	2,81	4,85
40 - 44	2,45	1,30	3,75	1,46	2,54	4,00	1,56	2,41	3,97
45 - 49	2,07	0,56	2,63	1,43	1,86	3,29	1,50	1,72	3,22
50 - 54	1,25	0,53	1,78	1,08	1,54	2,62	1,10	1,43	2,53
55 - 59	0,82	0,21	1,03	0,92	1,09	2,01	0,91	1,00	1,91
60 - 64	0,38	0,38	0,76	0,69	1,19	1,88	0,66	1,10	1,76
65 - 69	0,16	0,13	0,29	0,56	0,71	1,27	0,52	0,65	1,17
70 - 74	0,05	0,11	0,16	0,37	0,53	0,90	0,34	0,49	0,83
75+	0,14	0,18	0,32	0,50	0,92	1,42	0,46	0,84	1,30
TOTAL	55,44	44,56	100,00	43,68	56,32	100,00	44,91	55,09	100,00
NUMBER OF CASES	3 461	2 782	6 243	23 212	29 929	53 141	26 673	32 711	59 384
SEX RATIO	1,24			0,78			0,82		

This Table is based on Table 5.5 above.

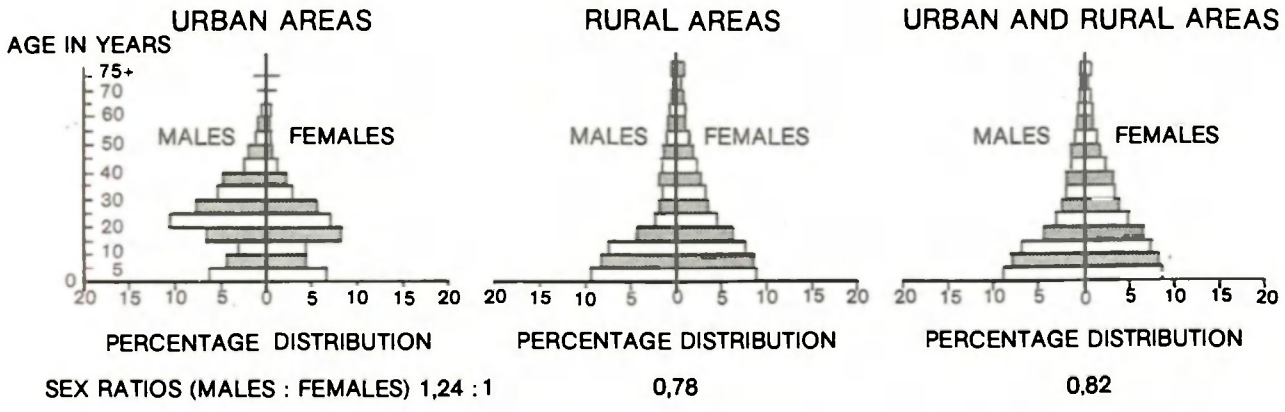

FIGURE 5.2 : AGE - SEX PYRAMIDS FOR BLACKS IN KWAZULU AREAS WITHIN THE RICHARD S BAY SUB-REGION AT THE 1970 CENSUS

By contrast with the 'White' towns in the region, the rural Black population in KwaZulu areas within the region shows a far more normal age-sex pyramid, but as is to be expected in view of the fact that more migrant workers are men than women, there is an excess of women. (The sex ratio is only 0,78 males to every 1,00 female.) The population, in terms of mean and median ages, is younger than in the White towns, for able-bodied workers tend to move to the towns. The urban Black population in KwaZulu areas in the region, like the population in White towns, has an excess of men (1,24 males to 1,00 females), and the 15-39 age group predominates. The age-sex pyramid is more akin to that for White towns. This is because places like Ngwelezana are really dormitory areas, and in sociological rather than administrative terms should be classed as part of urban areas comprising an inner core with dormitory areas around it, in the case of towns like Empangeni and Richards Bay.

5.3 OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY OF BLACKS IN THE REGION.

5.3.1 Census Data for the Year 1970.

The Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission kindly made available 1970 census data on employment in the region as defined by the Commission. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 below provide details.

Table 5.8 shows that except in Felixton, (which is a company town with almost seven-tenths of the Blacks living there working in the manufacture of sugar and paper), the largest single source of employment for Blacks in the towns in the region in 1970 was community, social and personal services. This undoubtedly reflects the major importance of domestic service as a means of livelihood for urban Blacks in the region.

TABLE 5.7.

CLASSIFICATION OF BLACK POPULATION IN URBAN AREAS BY INDUSTRY, RICHARDS BAY REGION, 1970 CENSUS.

INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY	EMPANGENI/NGWELEZANA ALSO COMBINED			RICHARDS BAY	FELIXTON	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	NGOYE	TOTAL URBAN
	EMP.	NGW.	TOTAL	NO.	NO.	NO.	NO.	NO.	NO.
Agriculture, forestry, etc.	264	361	625	0	50	6	92	0	793
Mining and quarrying	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	7	10
Manufacturing	152	508	660	0	748	9	12	1	1 430
Electricity, power, etc.	1	26	27	1	0	0	1	0	29
Construction	342	437	779	29	44	25	43	47	967
Commerce	193	337	530	48	11	22	63	1	675
Transport	29	280	309	1	9	8	12	1	340
Finance	17	11	28	6	5	0	0	2	41
Community, social and personal services, including domestic	1 378	816	2 194	83	208	130	213	40	2 868
TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	2 376	2 778	5 154	168	1 076	200	436	99	7 133
NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	409	2 560	2 969	12	36	46	133	860	4 056
GRAND TOTAL	2 785	5 338	8 123	180	1 112	246	569	959	11 189

NOTES: 1) The source is special Tabulations for the 1970 Census prepared by the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, Pietermaritzburg.

2) Ngwelezana is a dormitory Black township serving Empangeni. Except for informal sector activity and other work generated by the township itself, the industrial categories of employment reflect the employment in Empangeni of workers. Hence the two sets of figures are also combined.

TABLE 5.8.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE ADULTS BY INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY OF EMPLOYMENT, OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN URBAN AREAS, RICHARDS BAY REGION, 1970 CENSUS.

	URBAN AREAS						
INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY	EMPANGENI AND NGWELEZANA	RICHARDS BAY	FELIXTON	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	NGOYE	TOTAL URBAN
Agriculture, forestry, etc	12,13	0	4,65	3,00	21,11	0,00	10,84
Mining and quarrying	0,04	0	0,09	0,00	0,00	7,07	0,14
Manufacturing	12,81	0	69,52	4,50	2,75	1,01	20,05
Electricity, power, etc.	0,52	0,60	0,00	0	0,23	0,00	0,41
Construction	15,11	17,26	4,09	12,50	9,87	47,47	13,56
Commerce	10,28	28,57	1,02	11,00	14,44	1,01	9,46
Transport, etc.	6,00	0,60	0,84	4,00	2,75	1,01	4,77
Finance, etc.	0,54	3,57	0,46	0,00	0,00	2,02	0,57
Community, social and personal services	42,57	49,40	19,33	65,00	48,86	40,40	40,21
TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	99,99	100,00
ACTIVE AS % GRAND TOTAL	63,45	93,33	96,76	81,30	76,63	10,32	63,75
NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AS % GRAND TOTAL	36,55	6,67	3,24	18,70	23,37	89,68	36,25
GRAND TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Apart from Felixton, the main manufacturing town appears to have been Empangeni. Today, no doubt, Richards Bay with its rapidly developing industries has significantly outstripped Empangeni, but in May 1970 had no Blacks working in manufacturing. Richards Bay, in fact, in 1970 provided jobs mainly in service and commerce - although as Table 5.7 shows there were only 168 gainfully employed Blacks enumerated in the community at that time.

Percentage-wise, construction was important in Empangeni, Richards Bay and Ngoye. It is only in Empangeni that the actual numbers involved were relatively large in 1970. Richards Bay had not experienced much construction by 1970.

Mtunzini had one fifth of its Black workers in agriculture - perhaps sugar cane - and in construction and commerce. The town was growing in 1970, in part as a dormitory area for some White staff at the University of Zululand.

Table 5.9 below gives the industrial categories for Black workers in the region, at the 1970 Census.

TABLE 5.9.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF BLACK POPULATION IN RURAL AREAS, LOWER UMFOLOSI AND MTUNZINI MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS, 1970 CENSUS.

	RURAL AREAS					
INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY	NATAL	%	KWAZULU	%	TOTAL	%
Agriculture, forestry, etc.	8 927	78,34	10 462	58,38	19 389	66,13
Mining and quarrying	47	0,41	87	0,49	134	0,46
Manufacturing	1 106	9,70	1 644	9,17	2 750	9,38
Electricity, power, etc.	21	0,18	60	0,33	81	0,28
Construction	359	3,15	2 210	12,33	2 569	8,76
Commerce	114	1,00	801	4,80	975	3,33
Transport, etc.	122	1,07	356	1,99	478	1,63
Finance, etc.	23	0,20	39	0,22	62	0,21
Community, social and personal services	678	5,95	2 202	12,29	2 880	9,82
TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	11 397	100,00	17 921	100,00	29 318	100,00
TOTAL ECONOMICALLY NOT ACTIVE	5 881	34,04	49 787	73,53	55 668	65,50
GRAND TOTAL	17 278		67 708		84 986	

Notes: Persons 'Not Economically Active' are percentaged to the total population in a column. The 'Not Economically Active' category includes children.

This Table shows the heavy preponderance of Agriculture as an industrial category amongst rural Blacks in the region. Manufacturing, Construction and Community, Social and Personal services are also important, but to a lesser degree.

5.4 SURVEY RESULTS ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE BLACK LABOUR FORCE IN THE MAIN PART OF THE REGION.

In our regional study, generally the boundaries were taken as to those of the Lower Umfolosi and Mtunzini magisterial districts. However, at the start of the 1970's the urban labour force of the region was very largely employed within the Lower Umfolosi district - within, in fact, Empangeni and Richards Bay (see Table 5.7 above). Therefore it

was decided to concentrate fieldwork for this part of the study on the Lower Umfolosi district.

5.4.1 The Field Study: Its Aims.

5.4.1.1 Labour Force and Labour Flows.

Initially, the intention had been to collect information on the origins and employment characteristics of the Lower Umfolosi work-force in relation to its composition during 1971. However, due to the particular nature of the available records these details had to be collected instead in relation to the flows of workers into employment during that year.

By "flow" I mean that process of workers entering employment or, alternately, being engaged (as opposed to "composition" which concerns those actually in employment at any one time).

Initially, two flows can be distinguished:

a. an inflow of workers into employment within Lower Umfolosi - this involves both an inflow of workers from elsewhere into the District and workers from the District taking up employment there;
b. an outflow of Lower Umfolosi residents into employment outside the District.

5.4.1.2 Transportation.

The articulation of these various flows of workers depends entirely on the state of prevailing transportation systems into, within and out of Lower Umfolosi.

The transportation of workers from their places of residence to work and back is a universal planning problem. It has to be accomplished as efficiently as possible, both for the sake of production and for the convenience of the workers. Indeed, a transportation

system which inconveniences and frustrates the worker, besides possibly being directly responsible for his late arrival at work, may indirectly affect production by delivering him to the job in a state of dissatisfaction and/or fatigue.

The prevailing system of migrant labour in South Africa complicates any consideration, and planning, of the transportation of Black workers in this country. That is, not only do the commuting needs of workers have to be planned for, but so do their transport needs in relation to home-visiting trips which often extend over long-distances. Inasmuch as an inadequate commuter service may frustrate workers and adversely affect production, inadequate transportation systems for home-visiting may have a similar impact, especially if they afford the worker little time at home on these occasions.

If, despite the many economic and sociological arguments against it, the present system of labour migration is to be maintained and at the same time the goals of worker productivity and satisfaction pursued, commerce and industry in South Africa will require an extremely efficient system of worker transportation which minimizes the frustrations and dissatisfactions at present experienced by many Black commuters and migrants[1)] in this regard.

Thus, Regional and District transportation systems for Blacks were considered a necessary focus for investigation. Consequently, information was collected on the modes of transport used, the distance travelled, cost and time factors, and the shortcomings of these systems, as perceived by the commuters and migrants utilizing them. To this end it was decided to make a case-study of Black workers in one industry, ALUSAF - an aluminium smelter on the outskirts of Richards Bay. The reason for choosing ALUSAF was that as part of the Richards Bay growth-point it would highlight the types of transportation

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1) "Commuters" in this report refers to people who travel daily from some place of abode to work, while "migrants" refers to people who do not travel daily from the place they consider their actual home.

difficulties Black workers in other prospective industries could expect to encounter, and which planners should attempt to eliminate in order, on the one hand, to reduce absenteeism and thus increase productivity and, on the other hand, to reduce the undesirable effects poor commuter and home-visiting transport facilities have on workers and their families.

This section of the Chapter, then, will deal with:

(a) The Volume of the Worker Flows and their Origins;
(b) The deployment of these three flows by centre of employment, industry, and basic wages; and
(c) The nature of commuting and home-visiting travel for Black workers;

all with the Lower Umfolosi District as the frame for the study.

5.4.1.3 The Fieldwork.

Following a few months preliminary orientation work at the University of Natal in Durban, I spent the period May to September 1972 conducting fieldwork in the Lower Umfolosi District. The vast majority of my time was spent in Empangeni and Richards Bay, the two major Black employment centres in the District, where I firstly collected documentary information on the flow of workers and then, through the medium of questionnaires, information on transportation systems from a sample of Black workers employed at ALUSAF.

5.4.1.4. Information from Documentary Sources.

This was collected at the offices of the District Bantu Affairs Commissioner, the Empangeni Municipal Labour Officer and the Richards Bay Town Board Labour Officer.

Information at the District Commissioner's office was extracted from three different types of records:

- Form B.A.537 - yearly returns which indicate the gross distribution of Black workers over a number of industrial classes.
- Form B.A. 86 - monthly returns of service contract registrations.
- Form B.A.116 - the service contracts themselves.

The latter source comprised 2 678 contracts for the year 1971, from which I drew a 9% systematic sample with a random starting point, resulting in a sample comprising 241 contracts.

The Empangeni Municipal Labour Bureau kept copies of successful requisitions for Black workers to enter employment within the Municipality. These copies were filed according to whether the workers requisitioned for were being drawn from inside or outside the District, thus requiring the drawing of two separate samples. A systematic sample of 8% was taken of requisitions for workers from outside giving a sample of 110, with an estimated total of 1 375 workers in this category;[1] while all 102 contracts for those from within the District were taken. The reason for this latter action was the fact that this file had been extremely badly kept and large numbers of the requisitions were missing. (The nature of the resulting errors and distortions in the data are unfortunately unknown.)

Records at the Richards Bay Town Board Labour Office were meticulously kept, but were ordered in a different manner to those at the other two labour Bureaux. Thus in order to gain a statistically significant sample of people who had entered employment within the Town Board's area during 1971 a systematic sample of 5,5% was taken, using a random starting point, yielding a sample total of 309 workers' records. Of this figure, 177 were people who had entered employment in 1971, giving a total estimate of 3 218 workers in this category in Richards Bay.[2]

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1) Estimate was attained by $n \times \frac{1}{\text{sampling fraction}} = 102 \times \frac{100}{8} = 1\ 375.$

2) Estimate was obtained from $n \times \frac{1}{\text{sampling fraction}} = 177 \times \frac{100}{5,5} = 3\ 218.$

5.4.1.5 Structured Interviewing.

In order to collect information on the commuting and home-visiting trips of Black workers, I administered an interview schedule to 205 ALUSAF workers. In order to cover both commuters and migrants I drew two proportionally-related samples. This was done by first establishing the proportion of commuters to migrants within the total workforce of approximately 750. The ratio was 2 commuters to 3 migrants, or 300 to 450 within the total population. The two sub-samples were drawn systematically by taking every third worker within lists of each, with a random starting point.

5.4.1.6 Acknowledgements.

I should like to acknowledge my gratitude to the various officials who allowed me access to their records; to the management of ALUSAF for open access to their plant; to my supervisor, Professor W.J. Argyle for his assistance to a 'novice' researcher; to Stan Kahn for his patience with an anthropologist completely naive about the 'scientific' methods of sampling used by sociologists; and finally to all the workers who so kindly answered my questions with little opportunity to ascertain exactly what kind of new official I might be, and what new series of restrictions or injunctions might consequently be imposed upon them - to them, Ukwanda kwaliwa umthakathi!

5.4.2 Work Force Flows Within, Into and Out of the Lower Umfolosi District

5.4.2.1 Engagements within and without Lower Umfolosi, 1970-1972.

Data were collected for Engagements within and without the Lower Umfolosi District for the years 1970 and 1971, and estimates for 1972 were prepared from figures collected for January to April of 1972. Table 5.10 below provides details.

TABLE 5.10.

ENGAGEMENTS WITHIN AND OUTSIDE LOWER UMFOLOSI, 1970 - 1972.

YEAR	Engagements within District (either from inside, or from other districts).		Outflow of workers to engagements outside district.		TOTAL ENGAGEMENTS RECORDED
	No.	% Change	No.	% Change	
1970	1 172	0	312	0	1 484
1971	1 932	+ 64,8%	290	- 7,1%	2 222
1972	4 869(1)	+152,0%	133(1)	-54,1%	5 002(1)

Note: The 1972 estimates are based on January-April 1972 figures, and projected in terms of the proportion of total engagements in 1970 and 1971 taken together which occurred during the first four months of each year. The actual figures for January to April 1972 were 1 704 engagements within and 56 for an outflow from, the district, totalling 1 760 engagements.

The overall trend was for the number of engagements within the District to be increasing exponentially during the early 1970's while the number of Lower Umfolosi residents taking up work outside the District was diminishing rapidly. These trends, no doubt, reflect increasing job opportunities within Lower Umfolosi, even over as short a time span as three years during the start of the 1970's.

The flow of workers into employment within Lower Umfolosi can be sub-divided into that of workers whose actual homes are within that District, and those whose actual homes are outside the District. Thus, three distinct flows can be identified:

a. Registered Lower Umfolosi residents being engaged within their home district. The residence-work relationship involves no migration but perhaps commuting.
b. Registered residents of Districts other than Lower Umfolosi being engaged within Lower Umfolosi. The residence-work relationship involves inter-district migration, sometimes of significant distances.
c. Registered residents of Lower Umfolosi being engaged

outside their home District. The residence-work relationship involves out-migration from the District.

5.4.2.2 Labour Flows During 1971.

The extent of each of these three flows was established from the sample of service contracts (B.A.116) taken at the District Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Office, and is presented in Table 5.11.

TABLE 5.11.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOWER UMFOLOSI LABOUR FLOWS, BY SEX FOR 241 ENGAGEMENTS, 1971.

RESIDENCE-WORK RELATIONSHIP	% MEN	% WOMEN	% TOTAL
Stayed in District to work there	37,8	2,9	40,7
Moved into District to work	43,2	1,2	44,4
Moved out of District to work elsewhere	14,1	,8	14,9
TOTAL	95,1	4,9	100,0

Percentages of Lower Umfolosi and non-Lower Umfolosi residents employed within the District are rather similar, and both are distinctly larger than that of Lower Umfolosi residents employed outside the District.

The proportion of women (4,9%) within the sample is very small, and is probably indicative of conservative Zulu attitudes towards women entering formal wage employment. It may also in part reflect limited job opportunities for them. As they form such a small part of all three samples I took I shall for the purposes of this report include them in the figures for men, *except where a significant trend is noted for them.*

5.4.2.3 Total Workforce Employed within the District.

The District yearly return (B.A.537) from the District Bantu Commissioner's Office provides an estimate of the total number of workers in employment within the district as at 30th June each year. The figures for 1970 and 1971 respectively were 8 545 and 9 723. increase over the intervening year of 1 178 workers or 13,8%. Composition of this workforce by country of origin at these two intervals is presented in Table 5.12.

TABLE 5.12.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOWER UMFOLOSI WORKFORCE, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1970 AND 1971.

	1970		1971		% INCREASE OR DECREASE	
COUNTRY	NO.	%	NO.	%	% DIFFERENCE	CHANGE I NOS. AS
R.S.A.	7 650	89,53	9 142	94,02	+ 4,49	+ 19,5
Swaziland	1	,01	1	,01	+ 0,00	
Mozambique	566	6,62	458	4,71	- 1,91	- 19,0
Malawi	125	1,46	111	1,14	- ,32	- 11,20
No Information	203	2,38	11	0,12	x	x
Percentage Change in Actual Numbers	N = 8 545		N = 9 723			13,78

The understandably predominant position of workers from South Africa i quite obvious.

Of the 1970 figure, 11,23% (960) were women. In 1971 women comprised 19,4% (1 886) of the District workforce, almost doubling the numbers. The corresponding percentage of men dropped during this peri from 88,77% to 80,6% although the total number of men increased by 3,32%. The total number of women during this period increased by 96,46%.

5.4.2.4 Origins of Lower Umfolosi Residents employed either inside or outside the district.

Of the sample of 241 engagements registered during 1971, 55,6% were for Lower Umfolosi residents of which one-quarter were employed outside the District and three-quarters within.

The distribution of these workers by Reserve and Chiefdom of residence is presented in Table 5.13.

TABLE 5.13.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 134 LOWER UMFOLOSI RESIDENTS BY RESERVE AND CHIEFDOM, 1971.

Reserve	Chief	Working within District	Working outside of District	Total	Percentage of Total District Black Population living in a Reserve
No. 4 23,500 ha. population 16 349	M. Mbuyazi M. Mthiyane	10,5% 5,2	1,5% -	12,0% 5,2	
Sub-Total		15,7	1,5	17,2	21,9%
No. 5 47,500 ha. population 42 113	N. Mthethwa S. Hlabisa G. Mtembu T. Cebekhulu	24,6 3,0 6,7 3,0	15,7 - 2,2 ,8	40,3 3,0 8,9 3,8	
Sub-Total		37,3	18,7	56,0	56,5%
No. 6 4 900 ha. population 4 022	Mphangwa Mthiyane	4,5	1,5	6,0	5,4%
No. 7B 8,300 ha. population 12 118	K. Zungu	15,7	5,2	20,9	16,3%
TOTAL		73,2%	26,9%	100,1%	100,1%

NOTES: This table covers workers engaged from the District, employed in the District or outside of it.

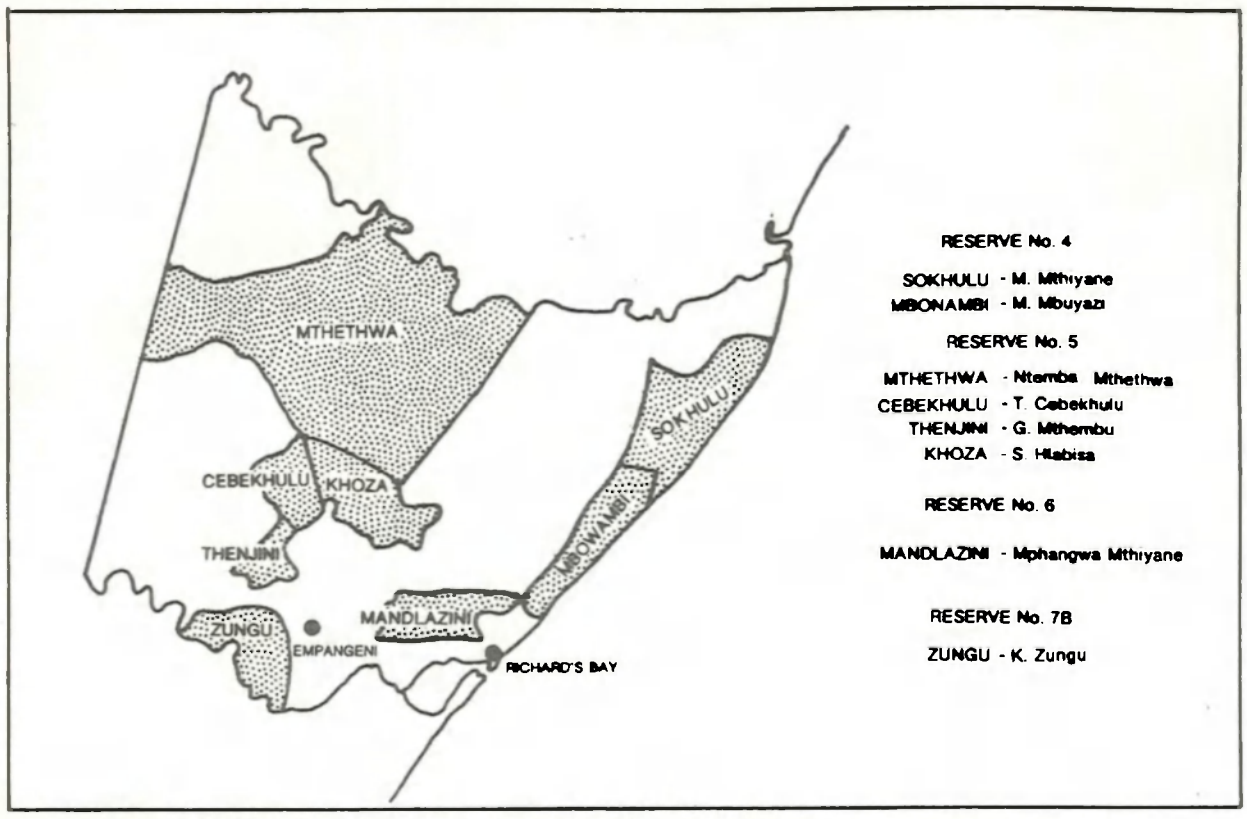

FIGURE 5.3 : LOWER UMFOLOSI DISTRICT - CHIEFDOMS

Figure No. 5.3 shows Reserve and Chiefdom boundaries within Lower Umfolosi.

The largest proportion (56%) of Lower Umfolosi residents engaged for employment during 1971 was drawn from Reserve 5, especially the Mthethwa Chiefdom. The proportion of workers engaged from this Reserve is equal to the proportion of Lower Umfolosi people resident in this Reserve. The second highest proportion of people engaged was drawn from Reserve 7B which at a density of 1,5 people per hectare is the most densely populated Reserve in Lower Umfolosi. The next closest is Reserve 5 with a density of 0,9 people per hectare. The fact that Ngwelezana township with a population of 5 252 lies within 7B has a lot to do with the high density of this Reserve.

The discrepancies, although small, between the percentage of District population and percentage of workers for Reserves 4 and 7B warrants some comment. I have no explanation to offer for Reserve 4, but the discrepancy for Reserve 7B probably relates to the presence of Ngwelezana. The fact that people live in a township is an indicator of the fact that they are almost totally, if not totally, dependent on wage employment. One would therefore find a much higher incidence of persons in paid employment than in a purely rural area. It is this higher incidence which led to Reserve 7B accounting for a disproportionately large percentage of registered engagements.

5.4.2.5 Origins of non-Lower Umfolosi Residents working within the district.

The District.

Table 5.14 indicated that 44,4% (107) of the workers engaged in 1971 were from outside Lower Umfolosi. These non-Lower Umfolosi residents constituted 52,2% of all workers who were engaged for employment within the District that year. Table 5.14 presents the Magisterial Districts of origin, grouped according to the distance from the administrative centre of the respective District, to

Empangeni, the administrative centre of Lower Umfolosi.

TABLE 5.14.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DISTRICT OF ORIGIN OF 107 NON-LOWER UMFOLOSI RESIDENTS, ENGAGED FOR WORK WITHIN THE DISTRICT, 1971.

Distance of District of Origin	Districts	%	Cumulated %
Less than 50 kms.	Mtunzini	9,3	9,3
51 - 100 kms.	Emthonjaneni, Eshowe	14,9	24,2
101 - 150 kms.	Hlabisa, Mahlabathini, Nkandla	17,7	41,9
151 - 200 kms.	Nongoma, Ndwedwe, Kranskop, Ubombo	20,5	62,4
200 - 300 kms.	Ingwavuma, Ngotshe	31,7	94,1
Outside Natal and KwaZulu - Transvaal, O.F.S. and Cape		5,8	99,9
TOTAL		99,9	99,9

All other things being equal one would expect to find that more people would be drawn from Magisterial Districts contiguous to Lower Umfolosi. This is not quite the case, for significantly more are drawn from between 151 and 300 kms. distance than from within the first 150 kms., the percentages being 52,2% and 41,9% respectively for KwaZulu-Natal districts. The two Districts within the second 150 km. range which account for this bias are Nongoma and Ingwavuma which accounted for 15% and 28% of the engagements respectively.

The extremely high percentage of workers coming from Ingwavuma is probably related to a tradition of workers from this District finding employment along the Northern Natal sugarbelt. In a study of Zulu Ingoma dance troupes conducted in 1973, I found that almost all the sugarmills from Darnall (just north of Stanger) to Riverview (Mtubatuba) had large complements of Thongas - the people of Ingwavuma. Possibly there is some similar tradition for migrants from Nongoma.

5.4.2.6 Origins of Empangeni and Richards Bay Workforces.

Of the sample of 205 service contracts registered in 1971, 72% (148) were for workers to enter employment in Empangeni and Richards Bay. Whereas 46% of these workers were drawn from within Lower Umfolosi, 54% were drawn from outside the District. Table 5.15 presents the Reserves of origin of the workers drawn from within Lower Umfolosi while Table 5.16 shows the Districts of origin for those engaged from outside.

TABLE 5.15.

RESERVE OF ORIGIN OF A SAMPLE OF 68 LOWER UMFOLOSI RESIDENTS ENGAGED IN EMPANGENI AND RICHARDS BAY, 1971.

Reserve	Workers in Empangeni	%	Workers in Richards Bay	%	Total	%
No. 4	5	12,8	9	31,0	14	20,6
No. 5	22	56,4	12	41,4	34	50,0
No. 6	1	2,6	5	17,3	6	8,8
No. 7B	11	28,2	3	10,3	14	20,6
TOTAL	39	100,0	29	100,0	68	100,0

χ^2 = 10,07 d.f. = 3 p = ,02 V = 0,38

As Table 5.15 shows, there was a significant and important tendency for workers being engaged from Reserves 5 and 7B to enter employment in Empangeni, while those from Reserves 4 and 6 entered employment in Richards Bay. This tendency is clearly a function of Empangeni being more accessible to the first pair and Richards Bay to the latter pair.

As Table 5.16 was not susceptible to chi-square test, due to the many small expected frequencies, any tendencies observed here have to be considered purely tentative. The differential representation of each District within the two workforces closely resembles that for the District sample as a whole, with the important roles of Nongoma and Ingwavuma again being indicated. It seems possible that Ingwavuma could

be a more important source of workers for Empangeni than Richards Bay, at the time of the study.

TABLE 5.16.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN OF 80 NON-LOWER UMFOLOSI RESIDENTS ENGAGED IN EMPANGENI AND RICHARDS BAY, 1971.

Distance of Home District in kms.	Districts	Workers at Empangeni	Workers at Richards Bay	Total
Less than 50	Mtunzini, Eshowe	7,7	11,1	10,0
51 - 100	Emthonjaneni, Eshowe	19,2	16,7	17,5
101 - 150	Hlabisa, Mahlabathini, Nkandla	15,4	16,7	16,3
151-- 200	Nongoma, Ndwedwe, Kranskop, Ubombo	15,4	22,2	20,0
200 - 300	Ingwavuma, Ngotshe	34,6	25,9	28,8
Outside Natal	Transvaal, O.F.S, Cape	7,7	7,4	7,5
TOTAL		100,0	100,0	100,1
		N = 26	N = 154	N = 80

5.4.3 Deployment of Black Workforce.

Having examined the flows and origins of the labour force in the Lower Umfolosi District in 1971, I now turn to an examination of where they were employed, whether permanently or temporarily. In the following sections I shall consider the centres (and for those leaving the District, the regions) where the workers were engaged in employment; their industry of employment and their basic wages. Firstly, these details will be presented simultaneously for both local and outside workers who were engaged, or entered employment within Lower Umfolosi, working from the District as a whole to the Empangeni and Richards Bay workforces in relation to each characteristic. Therafter these details will be presented for Lower Umfolosi residents who were engaged outside their home District.

5.4.3.1 Workers Engaged for Employment within Lower Umfolosi.

As already noted, 47,8% (98) of the workers engaged in Lower Umfolosi in 1971 were Lower Umfolosi residents, while the remaining 52,2% (107) were residents of other Districts.

5.4.3.2 Centre of Employment.

In all categories except the first in Table 5.17, the centre is a town or village (see Figure 1.1).[1] What "Lower Umfolosi" in the records actually meant was a bit of a mystery. It indicates either that the employer was operating throughout the District or that whoever completed the service contracts was not conscientious.

TABLE 5.17.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CENTRE OF EMPLOYMENT BY RESIDENCE-WORK RELATIONSHIP FOR 205 WORKERS ENGAGED IN LOWER UMFOLOSI, 1971.

Centre	Workers from within District	Workers coming from other Districts	Total
Lower Umfolosi	9,8	4,4	14,2
Empangeni	19,0	12,7	31,7
Richards Bay	14,1	26,3	40,4
Kwambonambi and Mposa	4,9	8,8	13,7
	47,8	52,2	100,0

χ^2 = 16,3 d.f. = 3, p. < ,001 V = 0,28 .

There was a significant, but only moderately important trend for Lower Umfolosi residents to be engaged in Lower Umfolosi generally and Empangeni, while non-Lower Umfolosi residents gravitated to employment in Richards Bay and the neighbouring Kwambonambi-Mposa area. This trend can be explained in terms of two related factors, one historical and the other transportational.

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1) Figure 1.1 is in Chapter 1.

Obviously, before the development of the Richards Bay growth-point, the major centre of employment was Empangeni, a rather small scale industrial and commercial centre. As it offered only a limited amount of employment to Blacks it probably tended to draw mainly local inhabitants. However, with the rapid emergence of Richards Bay expanding the job market many more people than previously must have been drawn to this alternative centre, especially people from neighbouring Districts who had not previously considered employment in Lower Umfolosi.

When one considers the possible routes whereby people from neighbouring Districts can get to Richards Bay, one finds that for people coming from Mtunzini, Eshowe, Emthonjaneni, Mahlabatini, Nkandla and Natal the route passes through Empangeni. People from these Districts comprised only 30,8% of workers from outside Lower Umfolosi engaged during 1971. On the other hand, people coming from Hlabisa, Nongoma, Ubombo, Ingwavuma and Ngotshe pass through Kwambonambi-Mposa to neighbouring Richards Bay. People from these districts comprised an enormous 63,6% of workers from outside Lower Umfolosi engaged that year.

The other significant point arising from Table 5.17 is the primacy of Empangeni and Richards Bay as employment centres within Lower Umfolosi, together accounting for 72,2% of all service contracts registered in 1971.

5.4.3.3 Industry of Employment.

Before examining this characteristic in relation to flow, or engagement, I present such limited details on the Lower Umfolosi workforce as a whole as could be gleaned from the yearly returns (B.A. 537). Table 5.18 presents these figures giving the distribution of workers, by sex, across various Industrial Classes.[1)]

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1) The Industrial Classification used here is adapted from classes used on the yearly returns in conjunction with the classification used by L.P.McCrystal and C.M. Moore in *An Economic Survey of Zululand* (1967).

TABLE 5.18.

TOTAL LOWER UMFOLOSI WORKFORCE BY INDUSTRIAL CLASS, 1970 AND 1971.

Industrial Class	1970 Men	Women	Total	%	1971 Men	Women	Total	%	% Chang 70-71[3]
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	4 607	203	4 810	56,3	4 405	492	4 897	50,4	-5,9
Manufacture	-	-	-	-	101	-	101	1,0	+1,0
Construction	790	-	790	9,3	1 047	-	1 047	10,8	+1,5
Commerce	870	17	887	10,4	713	78	791	8,1	-2,3
Transport	147	-	147	1,7	261	-	261	2,7	+1,0
Government and semi-Government[1]	678	50	728	8,5	810	87	897	9,2	+0,7
Local Authorities	110	-	110	1,3	211	394	605	6,2	+4,9
Services[2]	12	86	98	1,2	17	106	123	1,3	+0,1
Domestic service	371	604	975	11,4	272	729	1 001	10,3	-1,1
TOTALS	7 585	960	8 545	100	7 837	1 886	9 723	100	-

This Table differs a bit from Table 5.7, in part because of different boundaries. The difference, however, is not serious when different boundaries are taken into account. The fact that more than 50% of the workforce during these two years was employed in "Agriculture, etc." is indicative of the dependence of the District's formal sector on agricultural and related industries. "Construction" and "Domestic Service" are the next two most significant classes but far less so than "Agriculture, etc." The low significance of "Manufacturing" is largely due to the fact that by mid-1971, when the latter set of figures were compiled, ALUSAF was only beginning to recruit its 700-odd workers, and Richards Bay was still largely undeveloped open spaces.

1) This Class includes amongst others such organizations as Escom.

2) This Class includes hotels and restaurants.

3) This is percentage change in the proportion of the total Black workforce for which the particular Industrial Class accounted.

As already noted above, whereas the increase between June 1970 and June 1971 for the number of men in employment in Lower Umfolosi was relatively small (3,3%), that for women was a massive 96,5%. This dramatic increase is largely attributable to the increase in the number of women engaged by "Local Authorities", whose proportion rose from nothing in 1970 to 20,9% of all women in employment by June 1971. I am unable to explain what gave rise to this dramatic increase except to note that the rapidly growing Richards Bay Town Board was obviously becoming a more significant employer generally.

Whereas the most significant Industrial Class for the employment of women over this two year period was "Domestic Service", "Agriculture, etc." was by far and away the most significant for men. "Agriculture, etc." was clearly the second most significant for women while for men it was "Construction", closely followed by "Commerce" and "Government and Semi-Government".

Between 1970 and 1971 there was an appreciable decline in the proportions for the Industrial Classes of "Agriculture" (-5,9%), "Commerce" (-2,3%), and "Domestic Service" (-1,1%) of the total District workforce. On the other hand, there was a marked increase in the proportions for the Classes of "Local Authorities" (+4,9%), "Construction" (+1,5%), "Manufacture" (+1%) and "Transport" (+1%) accounted for. The increasing importance of these particular Classes is consistent with the types of development taking place in the District at the time.

5.4.3.4 Industry of Employment for District by Internal Movements, and Inflows from Outside, of Workers.

Here I am concerned with the industry wherein the flows within and into the District in 1971 were accommodated. Table 5.19 presents details of this.

TABLE 5.19.

INDUSTRIAL CLASS BY RESIDENCE-WORK RELATIONSHIP FOR 205 ENGAGEMENTS IN LOWER UMFOLOSI, 1971. (PERCENTAGES.)

Industrial Class	Movements internally within District	Flows into District from elsewhere	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	1,0	3,7	4,7
Manufacture	18,0	29,4	47,4
Construction	17,2	10,7	27,9
Commerce	5,4	2,4	7,8
Transport	-	-	-
Government and semi-Government	-	-	-
Local Authorities	-	-	-
Services	2,9	2,0	4,9
Domestic Service	3,4	3,9	7,3
TOTAL	47,9	52,1	100,0

χ^2 - 14,36 d.f. = 5 p = < ,02 V = 0,26

(χ^2 is based on raw data, not these percentages.)

There is a significant but only moderately important trend for Lower Umfolosi residents to have been engaged within certain Classes while non-Lower Umfolosi were engaged in others. This trend is most noticeable in relation to "Manufacture" and "Construction", which were the major engagers of workers during 1971. While more non-Lower Umfolosi residents than residents were engaged in "Manufacture", more residents than non-residents were engaged in "Construction". There was also a tendency for more non-residents than residents to become engaged in "Agriculture, etc."

The predominance of "Manufacture" and "Construction" as the major engagers of workers during 1971 is consistent with the expansion of these two "industries" during that period of development and expansion in the region.

5.4.3.5 Industry of Employment for Workers Engaged at Empangeni and Richards Bay.1)

Table 5.20 presents details of Industrial Classes for the two samples.

TABLE 5.20.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPANGENI AND RICHARDS BAY SAMPLES ACCORDING TO INDUSTRIAL CLASS, 1971.

Industrial Class	Empangeni	Richards Bay
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	-	-
Manufacture.	2,8	27,2
Construction	35,8	51,5
Commerce	17,0	1,1
Transport	-	-
Government and semi-Government	0,5	1,1
Local Authorities	0,5	7,3
Services	12,3	2,8
Domestic Service	30,6	9,0
No Information	0,5	-
TOTAL	100,0	100,0
N	212 workers	177 workers

The Richards Bay sample is characterised by a distinct bias towards "Construction", which, given the prolific development in this area during 1971, is quite understandable. The fact that "Manufacture" accounted for the highest incidence of engagements in this area is obviously related to the emergence of ALUSAF as an employer that year.

1) These figures are compiled from information produced by the Empangeni and Richards Bay samples.

"Construction" also accounts for a significant proportion of engagements within Empangeni Municipality, although this figure is almost matched by engagements within "Domestic Service". The first point is consistent with the development in Richards Bay which had a spill-over effect on Empangeni. I can offer no reason for the high rate of engagement of Domestic Workers, other than that as in most smaller towns in South Africa it is a major source of gainful employment for Blacks.

TABLE 5.21.

INDUSTRIAL CLASS BY RESIDENCE-WORK RELATIONSHIP FOR 212 ENGAGEMENTS IN EMPANGENI AND 177 IN RICHARDS BAY, 1971. (PERCENTAGES.)

Industrial Class	Empangeni		Richards Bay	
	Movements within the District	Inflow from outside District	Movements within the District	Inflow from outside District
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	-	-	-	-
Manufacture	2,9	2,7	38,8	20,8
Construction	48,0	24,6	21,0	67,8
Commerce	10,8	22,7	1,6	,9
Transport	-	-	-	-
Government and semi-Government	1,0	-	1,6	,9
Local Authorities	-	,9	14,5	3,5
Services	9,8	14,6	4,8	1,7
Domestic Service	27,5	33,6	17,7	4,4
No Information	-	,9	-	-
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Details of Industrial Class by residence-work relationship for these two samples were not susceptible to chi-square test, and it is therefore impossible to say whether or not apparent visual trends are significant.

There was an apparent tendency for Lower Umfolosi residents engaged in Empangeni to enter "Construction" and to a somewhat lesser but still noticeable degree, Domestic Service. On the other hand, non-residents engaged in Empangeni seem to have been employed mainly as Domestics, with slightly smaller proportions in Construction and Commerce. The only "industries" in which there is a noticeable degree of variation in participation by residence-work relationship are "Construction" and "Commerce". There is a tendency for proportionately more Lower Umfolosi residents than non-residents to have become engaged in "Construction" and vice-versa for "Commerce".

For the Richards Bay sample there was an apparent tendency for Lower Umfolosi residents to become engaged in "Manufacture" and to a somewhat lesser degree in "Construction" and "Domestic Service". On the other hand, non-residents appear to have been engaged extensively in "Construction". Categories wherein there is a noticeable degree of variation by residence-work relationship are "Manufacture", "Construction", "Local Authorities" and "Domestic Service". "Construction" appears to have been drawn far more from non-residents than residents, while "Manufacture", "Local Authorities" and "Domestic Service" engaged somewhat larger percentages of residents than non-residents.

5.4.4 Basic Wages.

Service contracts and other records provided no details of overtime rates, bonuses, etc., only basic wages. As there was no consistency in the time period against which the basic rate was paid, I used the following multiplicands to raise hourly, daily and weekly rates to monthly ones:

a. given hourly rate - multiply by 189,2
b. given daily rate - multiply by 23,65
c. given weekly rate - multiply by 4,3.

The first two multiplicands are based on the assumption that all workers worked a 5½-day week and an 8-hour day as no details of this

nature were indicated. This is a reasonable assumption given that more time than this would probably constitute overtime and therefore not fall within the ambit of "basic wages."

5.4.4.1 Basic Wages for District Internal Flows and Migration in from Outside the District.

The modal wage for workers engaged for employment in Lower Umfolosi in 1971 was between R20 and R40 per month, with 51,7% earning within this bracket. A further 25,9% earned less than R20 per month giving a total of 77,6% earning below R40. A further 15,6% earned between R40 and R60 while only 6,8% earned more than R60 per month. This pattern of basic wage distribution for the Internal Flows and Inflow combined was reproduced almost exactly at the level of the separate flows.

With more than 75% of the sample earning a basic wage of below R40 per month, and more than 90% below R60 it is obvious that wages for Blacks generally in Lower Umfolosi in 1971 were poor. Nevertheless, these wages appear to compare favourably with the monthly basic wages earned by Lower Umfolosi residents employed outside the District. Of this latter category, more than 70% were earning less than R40 and more than 95% less than R60 per month. However, when Lower Umfolosi wages are compared with prevailing national average Black wages at the time they are shown up as extremely poor indeed.

The mean basic monthly wage for the sample of workers engaged for employment in Lower Umfolosi during 1971 was R31,04, while the national average monthly Black wage was R56, 70%,[1] 82% greater. The mean wage for Lower Umfolosi was also considerably below the poverty datum line for the region at the time which was approximately R65 per month.[2]

1) This figure was computed from the 1973 figures presented in *A Survey of Race Relations*, 1973, S.A.I.R.R. having reduced it to compensate for the 19,2% increase in Black wages between 1972 and 1973.

2) This figure was computed from the 1973 figure of R70,12 having reduced it to compensate for 8,2% rise in consumer price index that year.

TABLE 5.22.

MEAN BASIC MONTHLY WAGES FOR INDUSTRIAL CLASSES BY RESIDENCE-WORK RELATIONSHIP FOR 205 WORKERS ENGAGED IN LOWER UMFOLOSI, 1971.

Industrial Class	Internal Moves within District	Migrants into District from Outside	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	R11,50	R12,75	R12,50
Manufacture	R36,35	R34,73	R35,35
Construction	R32,14	R34,09	R32,89
Commerce	R24,09	R33,00	R26,87
Transport	-	-	-
Government and semi-Government	-	-	-
Local Authorities	-	-	-
Services	R31,67	R37,50	R34,00
Domestic Service	R13,57	R8,75	R11,01
TOTALS	R31,05	R31,03	R31,04

"Domestic Service" and "Agriculture, etc." were by far the lowest paid Industrial Classes, although, for some inexplicable reason workers in the former drawn from within the District appear to have earned substantially more than those drawn from outside. Other Classes in which there was a noticeable distinction between the mean wages earned by residents and non-residents, were "Commerce" and "Services". In both cases non-residents were earning substantially more than residents.

Highest mean wages for the combined Internal Flows and Inflows were paid by "Manufacture", "Services" and "Construction" in that order and within less than three Rand of one another.

5.4.4.2 Basic Wages of Workers engaged at Empangeni and Richards Bay.

Basic wages for workers engaged at these two centres exhibit distinctive trends in relation to those engaged within the District as a whole. As with the latter, the modal wage bracket is R20 - R40, however, whereas a total of 77,6% of the District sample earned less than R40, the figures for Empangeni and Richards Bay respectively, were 90% and 70%. In other words, wages in Richards Bay were generally better than average for the District, and in Empangeni, generally worse. This point can be made more clearly by examining the mean wages for each Industrial Class at the two centres. This is done in Table 5.23.

The generally lower basic wages in Empangeni are evidenced by a mean wage for the sample of R23,33 (approximately) R8 less than the District average), while the comparatively higher wages earned by those engaged at Richards Bay is evidenced by a mean wage for that sample of R34,21 (approximately R3 higher than the District average).

TABLE 5.23.

MEAN BASIC WAGES FOR INDUSTRIAL CLASSES BY RESIDENCE-WORK RELATIONSHIP FOR 212 WORKERS ENGAGED IN EMPANGENI AND 177 WORKERS ENGAGED IN RICHARDS BAY, 1971.

Industrial Class	Empangeni			Richards Bay		
	Internal Flows	Inward Flows	Total	Internal Flows	Inward Flows	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manufacture	R25,00	R31,67	R28,34	R40,83	R46,25	R43,54
Construction	R28,47	R36,11	R31,18	R33,33	R36,07	R35,69
Commerce	R19,50	R29,00	R27,57	R15,00	R35,00	R25,00
Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government and Semi-Government	R35,00	-	R35,00	R35,00	R15,00	R25,00
Local Authorities	-	R15,00	R15,00	R21,66	R32,50	R25,00
Services	R30,00	R27,50	R28,46	R28,33	R15,00	R23,00
Domestic Service	R7,86	R10,14	R9,15	R10,90	R12,00	R11,25
ALL CATEGORIES	R22,21	R24,36	R23,33	R30,05	R36,46	R34,21

As with the District sample, the Empangeni sample shows little distinction between the mean basic wages earned by residents and non-residents of Lower Umfolosi. On the other hand, non-residents engaged in Richards Bay earned an average of 20% more than their resident counterparts.

Within the Empangeni sample, leaving aside Industrial Classes which had very low frequencies (viz. "Government and Semi-Government" and "Local Authorities"), there is a tendency for workers engaged from outside Lower Umfolosi to earn more than Lower Umfolosi residents in all Classes except "Services". This tendency is most marked for "Commerce", with those from outside the District earning nearly 50% more than those from within. Non-residents engaged in "Domestic Service" earned 30% more than District residents.

Within the Richards Bay sample, again leaving aside those Classes which had very low frequencies, (in this case, "Government and Semi-Government" and "Commerce"), the pattern of non-residents earning more than District residents is repeated. In all Classes except "Services" workers engaged from outside Lower Umfolosi earn more than those from within. In the Richards Bay case the tendency is again most marked for "Local Authorities" with non-residents earning 50% more than residents. In the one case where residents earned more than non-residents, in the "Service" industry, they earned approximately 85% more.

The Industrial Class where there is the most marked difference between mean wages for Empangeni and Richards Bay is "Manufacture". This difference is entirely due to the comparatively high wages (in comparison to prevailing wages in local industries in Empangeni at the time) offered by ALUSAF and later in the year by ALKOR.

5.4.5 Workers from Lower Umfolosi engaged for Employment outside the District.

As demonstrated in Table 5.11 workers from Lower Umfolosi who were employed outside the district comprised 14,9% of the sample of engagements registered in 1971.

5.4.5.1 Centre of Employment.

These workers were engaged in two of the country's major centres of employment, namely Greater Durban and the Witwatersrand. Of this flow, 75% had been engaged in the former area and 25% in the latter.

5.4.5.2 Industry of Employment.

Table 5.24 below shows the distribution of industrial category of employment for 36 workers from Lower Umfolosi working outside the District, compared with workers from the Lower Umfolosi district working within the District. If the 2% of workers internal to the district who were working within the district who were engaged in "Agriculture, etc." are disregarded, and chi-square test applied to the remaining figures in their raw form (from which Table 5.24 was calculated) the following results are obtained: X^2 = 38,27 d.f. = 5 p. 0,001; Cramer's V = 0,54

These figures indicate that there is a significant and quite important association between Industrial Class and Residence-Work relationship. Whereas the Lower Umfolosi workers within the District, were engaged more in "Manufacture", "Construction" and "Commerce", the Lower Umfolosi workers employed outside the District were engaged more in "Services", "Domestic Service" and "Transport".

There is a practice for the Authorities in urban employment centres to exclude migrants from especially manufacturing jobs to the advantage of urban residents - those who qualify for Section 10 rights - and this would account for the predominance of Lower Umfolosi residents engaged outside their home District in "Services" and "Domestic Service".

TABLE 5.24.

INDUSTRIAL CLASS OF 36 LOWER UMFOLOSI RESIDENTS ENGAGED OUTSIDE LOWER UMFOLOSI, 1971.

Industrial Class	Percentages	
	Lower Umfolosi workers outside the district	Lower Umfolosi workers engaged within the district
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	-	2,0
Manufacture	8,3	37,8
Construction	19,4	35,7
Commerce	8,3	11,2
Transport	11,1	-
Government and Semi-Government	-	-
Local Authorities	-	-
Services	30,6	6,1
Domestic Service	22,2	7,1
TOTAL	99,9	99,9

5.4.5.3 Basic Wages.

The modal mean wage bracket for the Lower Umfolosi workers employed outside the district, as with the other flows and samples, was R20 to R40, with similar proportions earning below R40 and below R60. Although the distribution by wage bracket for internal and external flows were so similar, there was an apparent tendency for twice as many Lower Umfolosi workers engaged outside the District as against those working inside the district to be earning in excess of R60 - 6% in contrast to 3% respectively.

The mean basic wage for this sub-sample was marginally more than that for the Lower Umfolosi residents working in the district. For all Industrial Classes those residents who were engaged outside Lower Umfolosi earned a mean basic wage that varied between 5,5% to 86,8% more than that earned by those employed within the District.

These figures illustrate the marginally better nature of basic wages in the major urban employment centres, but any trend based on these figures has to be considered tentative as the sample comprises such a small number of workers.

TABLE 5.25.

MEAN BASIC WAGES FOR 36 LOWER UMFOLOSI RESIDENTS ENGAGED OUTSIDE LOWER UMFOLOSI, 1971.

Industrial Class	MEAN INCOMES	
	Lower Umfolosi workers engaged for work outside the District	Lower Umfolosi workers employed within the District
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	-	R11,50
Manufacture	R38,33	R36,35
Construction	R40,71	R32,14
Commerce	R45,00	R24,09
Transport	R37,50	-
Government and Semi-Government	-	-
Local Authorities	-	-
Services	R34,09	R31,67
Domestic Service	R16,25	R13,57
TOTAL	R33,05	R31,05

5.4.6 Worker Transportation

5.4.6.1 Alusaf

ALUSAF is situated on reclaimed marshland approximately seven kilometres due West of the Mhlatuze Lagoon which has now been developed as a deep-water harbour. At the time of the study, the smelter was receiving bauxite, its raw material, from overseas, through Durban harbour, although it was planned for the necessary off-loading centre to be constructed at Richards Bay once the harbour had been completed.

The factory comprises a potroom, where the bauxite is reduced (by electrolysis) to alumina in upwards of 150 "pots"; a castroom, where the liquid alumina is either cast as ingots or extruded in rods of varying thickness; a number of workshops; storerooms; an internal transportation system; laboratory and administration.

In 1972, Black workers formed approximately 75% of the total ALUSAF workforce, with their actual numbers varying between 720 and 780 men.

5.4.6.2 Origins and Residence of Black Workers.

The Black workforce at ALUSAF comprised workers drawn from both within and outside the Lower Umfolosi District. Table 5.26 presents District of origin according to the worker's type of residence while employed at the smelter. While some workers resided at their actual homes, i.e. where they lived with their families, others lived in the factory compound adjoining the smelter, and still others either rented accommodation or lodged free of charge within daily commuting distance. Those who rented or lodged free are subsumed by the category "Temporary Accommodation".

By far the largest proportion of the ALUSAF Black workforce was drawn from within Lower Umfolosi District, with generally diminishing proportions as one moves further afield. This picture differs in two places from that of the origins of the Richards Bay part of the District sample for 1971. These differences are:

a. ALUSAF drew 50% of workers from within Lower Umfolosi while Richards Bay as a whole drew only 35%; and
b. Ingwavuma is far less significant for ALUSAF than it was for Richards Bay as a whole, the respective proportions being 7,4% and 16,9%.

TABLE 5.26.

DISTRICT OF ORIGIN ACCORDING TO TYPE OF RESIDENCE WHILE EMPLOYED AT ALUSAF FOR 204 WORKERS, 1972. (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION.)

Distance of home from Lower Umfolosi District	Districts	TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION			
		Actual Home	"Temporary Accommodation"	Compound	Total
-	Lower Umfolosi	26,5	9,3	14,2	50,0
Less than 50 kms.	Mtunzini	-	2,9	8,3	11,2
51 - 100 kms.	Emthonjaneni, Eshowe	-	2,5	3,4	5,9
101 - 150 kms.	Hlabisa, Mahlabathini, Nkandla	-	3,9	7,4	11,3
151 - 200 kms.	Nongoma, Nqutu, Natal, Ubombo	-	3,9	8,3	12,2
200 - 300 kms.	Ingwavuma	-	2,5	4,9	7,4
Outside Natal	Transvaal, O.F.S., Cape	-	-	2,0	2,0
TOTALS		26,5	25,0	48,5	100,0

These two points of difference probably reflect ALUSAF management's very conscious policy of drawing as much as possible from the immediately adjacent Reserves and Districts.

Nearly half the Black workers lived in the company compound composed of a series of barrack-like structures sub-divided into rooms of varying size housing from 2 to 12 men. The other half was as good as equally divided between their actual homes and "temporary accommodation". Understandably, those who resided at their actual homes were all residents of Lower Umfolosi. There was also a definite tendency for those who were not residing at their actual homes while employed at ALUSAF to be housed in the compound rather than in "temporary accommodation".

5.4.6.3 Jobs and Wages.

The distribution of Black workers at ALUSAF according to job grade[1] and wage level[2] is presented in Table 5.27.

TABLE 5.27.

JOB GRADES AND WAGES OF 204 BLACK ALUSAF WORKERS, 1972. (PERCENTAGES.)

Wages / Wages	NATURE OF JOB: Unskilled Unskilled	Lower Semi-skilled	Higher Semi-skilled	Skilled	Clerical	Total
R20 or less	1,0	-	-	-	-	1,0
R20,01 - R40	14,2	13,7	1,5	-	-	29,4
R40,01 - R60	5,9	21,1	17,6	1,5	-	46,1
R60,01 - R80	1,5	2,5	6,4	2,9	3,4	16,7
More than R80	-	-	1,5	3,4	2,0	6,9
TOTAL	22,6	37,3	27,0	7,8	5,4	100,1

The distribution of workers by job category highlights the importance of semi-skilled workers, who comprised 64,2% of the Black workforce, at the smelter. Comparative figures for lower and higher semi-skilled Black workers in a sample of 88 industrial and commercial establishments in Durban during 1972[3] were 14,3% and 5,8% respectively. Together this gives a figure of 20,1% of Durban Black workforce employed in semi-skilled positions, which when compared with the ALUSAF figure of 64,2% clearly demonstrates the impact of this factory's policy of Black job advancement. This impact is further indicated by

1) The scale of job categories used here is derived from that used by M.H.B. Boulanger in his unpublished Master's Thesis (1974). For definitions and typical positions see Appendix A.

2) Figures used here are for the "take-home" amount after deductions as stated by the worker.

3) Boulanger (1974), p. 77.

the fact that the proportions of ALUSAF workers in the "Clerical" and "Skilled" categories are both five times the proportions for the Durban sample. At the other end of the continuum "Unskilled" workers at ALUSAF formed only approximately one-quarter of the proportion in the category for Durban.

As Table 5.27 presents total wages less deductions, it may not be directly comparable with figures for the Lower Umfolosi District. However, it was the stated policy of the ALUSAF management to keep overtime to a minimum and their records show they were extremely successful in this. Thus, it is probable that the information for ALUSAF wages is more comparable with that for the District as a whole than at first imagined.

Whereas the modal wage category for the District was R20,01 to R40 per month for ALUSAF it was R40,01 - R60, indicating an overall higher rate of pay, which is verified by the overall mean wage for the ALUSAF workforce of R50,29. This was R14,94 more than the basic wage for "Manufacture" in the District as a whole and R6,75 more than the mean wage for this Industrial Class in Richards Bay during 1971. It is, however, R12,05 less than the national average monthly Black wage for the Manufacturing industry at that time. Mean monthly wages at ALUSAF during 1972 ranged from R36,95 for "Unskilled" workers to R86,25 for "Skilled" workers.

5.4.6.4. Shifts.

As detailed in Table 5.28 below, the range of times, or combinations of times (shifts), worked by ALUSAF Black staff was relatively wide. The apparent almost equal distribution of workers between shifts and "normal" working-day times would possibly be changed if information on the 14,7% 'No Information' group had been available, especially as this percentage represents compound dwellers. Taking the totals of workers employed on a shift system and those on a "normal" working day basis there was a significant trend for workers residing in the compound to be working shifts, which could have markedly changed the distribution in favour of 'shifts'.

TABLE 5.24.

RESERVE[1] OF RESIDENCE FOR 105 ALUSAF COMMUTERS BY TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION, 1971. (PERCENTAGES.)

Reserve	Actual Home	Temporary Accommodation	Total
No. 6	35,2	21,9	57,1
No. 4	1,9	-	1,9
No. 5[2]	6,7	-	6,7
Enseleni	-	12,4	12,4
Total No. 5	6,7	12,4	19,1
No. 7B[3]	3,8	-	3,8
Ngwelezane	3,8	14,3	18,1
Total No. 7B	7,6	14,3	21,9
GRAND TOTALS	51,4	48,6	100,0

(Using the four Reserve Totals only) χ^2 = 11,28 d.f. = 3 p = < 0,02
Cramer's V = 0,328.

The largest proportion of commuters - about one-third - were travelling from Reserve No. 6, the one in which the ALUSAF plant is located. The proportion of workers who commuted from Reserve No. 4, the second closest, is surprisingly small, although the proportions for Reserve Nos. 5 and 7B were artificially inflated by the presence of the townships of Enseleni and Ngwelezana respectively. The importance of these townships as "dormitory" areas for workers who were not residing at their actual homes is quite clear from the Table.

The commuters resident in townships accounted for 30,5%, comprising 7,4% of those commuting from their actual homes and 55% of those commuting from "temporary accommodation". The other 45% of the

1) Reserves in this Table are arranged in order of increasing distance from ALUSAF.
2) Excluding Enseleni Township.
3) Excluding Ngwelezane Township.

latter category were all commuting from within Reserve No. 6.

Due to the deproclamation of Reserve No. 6 as a "Bantu" area, which accounted for 68,5% of all those commuting from their actual home in 1972, this figure was destined to drop rapidly over subsequent years and eventually disappear altogether. Conversely, as these people were to be moved to Reserves Nos. 4 and 5, parts of which were within or could be brought into commuting distance of ALUSAF, the proportions commuting from those areas could be expected to grow. Some people, however, were being resettled deep within these Reserves and would not be able to commute, thus increasing the proportion of migrants.

TABLE 5.30.

RESERVE OR TOWNSHIP[1] OF RESIDENCE, BY TIME WORK COMMENCED, FOR 105 ALUSAF COMMUTERS, 1972. (PERCENTAGES.)

Reserve/ Township	6a.m.	7a.m.	7.30 a.m.	8a.m.	2p.m.	6p.m.	10p.m.	Total
No. 6	17,0	17,0	2,9	2,8	8,5	1,0	7,5	56,7
No. 4	1,0	1,0	-	-	-	-	-	2,0
No. 5[2]	-	3,8	-	1,9	1,0	-	-	6,7
Enseleni	3,8	4,8	-	-	1,9	-	1,9	12,4
Total No. 5	3,8	8,6	-	1,9	2,9	-	1,9	19,1
No. 7B[3]	1,0	1,0	-	-	1,0	-	1,0	4,0
Ngwelezana	4,8	5,7	-	2,9	1,9	-	2,9	18,2
Total No. 7B	5,8	6,7	-	2,9	2,9	-	3,9	22,2
TOTALS	27,6	33,3	2,9	7,6	14,3	1,0	13,3	100,0
Depart for Home	2p.m.	4.30 p.m.		5p.m.	10p.m.	6a.m.		

1) Reserves are arranged in order of increasing distance from ALUSAF.

2) Excluding Enseleni Township.

3) Excluding Ngwelezana Township.

Table 5.30 illustrates the distribution of commuters by reserve or township of residence while employed at ALUSAF, and the time at which they commenced work. The major flows of commuters are clearly those starting work at 6 and 7 a.m., together accounting for 61% of all commuters. The other most important starting hours are 2 p.m. and 10 p.m., which linked with 6 a.m. were the clocking-in hours for the 55,2% who worked on a three-shift basis. There was no significant tendency for workers resident in one particular area to be starting work more at one time than at any other.

The times listed in the 'Depart for Home' row allow the table to be converted to establish the extent of the various flows of workers back to their places of residence. Table 5.31, on the other hand, draws together the total flows to and from ALUSAF at particular times of the day. It will be noted that the figures for departure do not tally exactly with those in the 'Depart for Home' row of table 5.30. This is because they have been corrected slightly to include the peculiarities of the 6 a.m. - 6.p.m., 6 p.m. - 5 a.m. shift.

TABLE 5.31.

DISTRIBUTION OF TIME OF ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF ALUSAF COMMUTERS, 1972 (PERCENTAGES.)

Time	Arrivals	Departures
6 a.m.	27,6	14,3
7 a.m.	33,3	-
7,30 a.m.	2,9	-
8 a.m.	7,6	-
2 p.m.	14,3	26,6
4,30 p.m.	-	36,2
5 p.m.	-	7,6
6 p.m.	1,0	1,0
10 p.m.	13,3	14,3
TOTALS	100,0	100,0

For all except four of the nine times there was no overlapping of arrival and departure flows, and except at 6 p.m. and 10 p.m. the overlapping flows were markedly unequal. A situation such as this could easily place burdens on a public transport system which is trying to grow rapidly to meet the burgeoning needs of a newly-established growth-point such as Richards Bay, especially where transportation of workers previously only occurred at 7 or 8 a.m. and 5 p.m.

5.4.7.1.2 Distance Travelled.

Table 5.29 presented the distribution of commuters by Reserve, the Reserves being ranked in order of increasing distance from ALUSAF. Table 5.32 elaborates on this by presenting information on the actual number of kilometres travelled daily by the commuter between his place of residence while working at ALUSAF and the smelter. To arrive at the total distance travelled daily the distance categories used in the table would have to be doubled. Distance travelled is presented in relation to the various "clocking-in" hours.

The largest proportion (34,4%) of workers is commuting to work at ALUSAF from within an eight kilometre radius of the smelter, while almost equal proportions, viz. 19,2%, 22,9% and 22,9% were commuting from within the 16, 32 and 48 kilometre radii.

TABLE 5.32.

DISTANCE IN KILOMETRES[1] COMMUTED TO WORK FOR 105 ALUSAF WORKERS, 1972. (PERCENTAGES.)

Time	1 - 8 kms.	9 - 16 kms.	17 - 32 kms.	33 - 48 kms.	More than 48 kms.	TOTAL
6 a.m.	10,5	5,7	5,7	5,7	-	27,6
7 a.m.	10,5	7,6	8,6	6,7	-	33,4
7,30 a.m.	1,9	1,0	-	-	-	2,9
8 a.m.	1,9	1,0	1,0	3,8	-	7,7
2 p.m.	4,8	1,9	3,8	3,8	-	14,3
6 p.m.	-	1,0	-	-	-	1,0
10 p.m.	4,8	1,0	3,8	2,9	1,0	13,5
TOTALS	34,4	19,2	22,9	22,9	1,0	100,4

1 - 8 kms. = most of Reserve No. 6.

9 - 16 kms. = distant parts of No. 6 and Southern Reserve No. 4.

17 - 32 kms. = Enseleni, Southern Reserve No. 5, parts of Reserve no. 4, and Ngwelezana.

33 - 48 kms. and more = more distant parts of Reserves No. 5 and 7B.

Mean Distance 19,0 kms.

Total per Day 38,0 kms.

5.4.7.1.3 Mode of Transport.

The variety of major modes or combinations of major modes used is listed in Table 5.33. The largest proportion of workers (37,2%) started their trip to work with a substantial walk of greater than 10 minutes before boarding a bus. If this figure is taken together with that for those whose mode of transport was the bus, with very little

1) Distances here were originally computed in miles and for the purposes of this report have been converted directly to kilometres.

walking, those who used bicycle or bus, the proportion using buses is 56,4%. The other relatively important modes of transport were foot (21,1%) and bicycle (17,3%). This pattern of relative importance of different modes is reproduced at the level of the various shifts.

TABLE 5.33.

TRANSPORT TO WORK BY SHIFT FOR 105 ALUSAF COMMUTERS, 1972. (PERCENTAGES.)

Shift	MODE OF TRANSPORT							Total
	Walk	Cycle	Bus	Walk and Bus	Car	Bus and Cycle	Other[1]	
6 a.m. - 2 p.m.	5,7	3,8	4,8	11,4	1,0	-	-	26,7
2 p.m. - 10 p.m.	2,9	1,9	1,9	6,7	1,0	-	-	14,4
10 p.m. - 6 a.m.	2,9	1,0	2,9	6,7	-	-	-	13,5
6 a.m. - 6 p.m.	-	1,0	-	-	-	-	-	1,0
6 p.m. - 6 a.m.	-	1,0	-	-	-	-	-	1,0
7 a.m. - 4,30 p.m.	7,6	6,7	6,7	9,5	1,0	-	1,9	33,4
7,30 a.m. - 4,30 p.m.	1,0	1,9	-	-	-	-	-	2,9
8 a.m. - 5 p.m.	1,0	-	1,9	2,9	-	1,0	1,0	7,8
TOTALS	21,1	17,3	18,2	37,2	3,0	1,0	2,9	100,7

Details of mode of transport used on the return trip were the mirror image of those for the inward trip for 90,5% of commuters. Of the ten workers who significantly changed their mode of transport, nine changed from a non-motorized to a motorized form, and one from one to another type of motorized form.

1) This category includes motorcycles and the hitching of lifts.

Walkers and cyclists, as would be expected, were in all but a few cases resident in Reserve No. 6, while buses were transporting workers from all the areas listed in Table 5.30.

5.4.7.1.4 Cost of Transport.

The 21,1% who travelled on foot and 17,3% on bicycle obviously did not pay for their transport, although the latter category at some stage must have purchased their bicycles and would have had to cover small maintenance costs. Thus, 38,4% had little if any transport costs. All except one of the 56,4% who travelled by bus paid between 10 and 20 cents per day. One paid more - 70 cents per day. Including this one bus commuter, a total of 5,7% of the sample paid more than 20 cents per day for transport. These were people who travelled by car or motorcycle, either their own or on a taxi basis.

The modal daily cost of transport was between 10 and 20 cents, while the mean cost per commuter who paid for his transport was 12½ cents. At this daily cost, a month's transport to work would calculated out at R3,25 or 6,5% of the ALUSAF mean monthly wage for Blacks.

"Empangeni Transport", the largest bus operator in the region, was the only one running a service from the various Reserves and townships to ALUSAF. Indeed, it appeared that in 1972 this company had the monopoly of transport services within Lower Umfolosi District. ALUSAF workers commuting from the townships of Enseleni and Ngwelezana, and their respective surrounding areas, were able to purchase a weekly season ticket for 90 cents - a daily return fare of 15 cents. This was a quite substantial reduction in the usual return fare of 35 cents and 45 cents for Enseleni and Ngwelezana to ALUSAF respectively. Of the commuters interviewed who travelled by bus, 62% lived in these areas and utilized season tickets.

5.4.7.1.5 The Time Factor.

This can be considered on two levels, firstly, the amount of time the commuter spends travelling and, secondly, the length of the commuter's working day. Table 5.34 deals with the former and Table 5.35 with the latter.

TABLE 5.34.

TRAVELLING TIME TO AND FROM WORK FOR 105 ALUSAF COMMUTERS, 1972. (PERCENTAGES.)

Mode of Transport	TRAVELLING TIME			Total	Mean Time
	Less than 1 hour	1 - 3 hours	3 - 5 hours		
Walk	4,8	15,2	1,0	21,0	1 hr. 45 m.
Bicycle	5,7	10,5	1,0	17,2	1 hr. 37 m.
Bus	2,9	11,4	3,8	18,1	2 hr. 11 m.
Walk and Bus	1,0	22,9	13,3	37,2	2 hr. 40 m.
Car	1,0	1,0	1,0	3,0	2 hr. 10 m.
Cycle and Bus	-	1,0	-	1,0	2 hr.
Other	-	1,0	1,9	2,9	3 hr. 18 m.
TOTAL	15,4	63,0	22,0	100,4	2 hr. 12 m.

The modal amount of time spent actually travelling to and from work was 2 hours, while the mean time was 2 hours 12 minutes (or 1 hour 6 minutes in each direction). People travelling on foot or by bicycle, who with the exception of a very small number all resided in Reserve No. 6, spent between 20 and 60 minutes less per day travelling than did those who used predominantly motorized transport. This is indicative of the fact that motorized transport was generally used by those coming from further afield, viz. Reserves No. 5 and 7B.

People doing a large walking stint in addition to travelling by bus were spending significantly longer travelling than those who lived nearer stages. The difference on average is 29 minutes.

Turning to Table 5.35, we find that the modal length of ALUSAF commuters' working day was 10 - 12 hours, and the mean length, 11 hours 48 minutes. A total of 87,8% of commuters were away from home for between 10 and 14 hours per working day - making a long day indeed. For those working an 8 hour day, this means 3 hours 48 minutes were spent travelling and waiting for transport. If we deduct the mean travelling time of 2 hours 12 minutes this indicates that a mean of 1 hour 36 minutes per day was wasted waiting for transport. For a person working a 9 hour day this figure would be 36 minutes - less, but still relatively large.

TABLE 5.35.

LENGTH OF WORKING DAY BY AREA FOR 105 ALUSAF WORKERS, 1972. (PERCENTAGES.)

Reserve/ Township	LENGTH OF WORKING DAY, INCLUDING TRAVEL				
	8 - 10 hours	10 - 12 hours	12 - 14 hours	14 - 16 hours	Mean Length
Reserve No. 6	8,6	33,3	12,4	2,9	11 hrs. 20 mins.
Reserve No. 4	-	-	1,9	-	13 hrs.
Reserve No. 5	-	1,0	4,8	1,0	13 hrs.
Enseleni	-	7,6	4,8	-	11 hrs. 48 mins.
Reserve No.7B	-	1,0	2,9	-	12 hrs. 30 mins.
Ngwelezana	-	3,8	14,3	-	12 hrs. 36 mins.
TOTAL	8,6	46,7	41,1	3,9	11 hrs. 48 mins.

Twelve hours absence per day is the equivalent of leaving home at 6 a.m. and returning at 6 p.m. Although this amount of time may be considered reasonable, given the fairly long distance travelled and the early stage of development of the transport infrastructure, it must nevertheless have had a deleterious effect on personal and family life, and fatigue may have influenced performance at work.

5.4.7.1.6 Transport Problems.

Of the 105 commuters interviewed, 60% (63) reported having arrived late at work during their time at ALUSAF. Frequency of late arrival by "clocking-in" hour is presented in Table 5.36 below.

TABLE 5.36.

FREQUENCY OF LATE ARRIVAL BY "CLOCKING-IN" TIME FOR 105 ALUSAF WORKERS, 1972 (PERCENTAGE.)

	"C L O C K I N G - I N" T I M E							
Frequency	6 a.m.	7 a.m.	7,30 a.m.	8 a.m.	2 p.m.	6 p.m.	10 p.m.	Total
1 - 3/week	4,8	1,0	-	-	4,8	1,0	1,9	13,5
1 - 3/month	2,9	-	-	-	1,9	-	-	4,8
± 1/3 months	12,4	9,5	2,0	1,9	7,6	-	8,6	42,0
Total % Late	20,1	10,5	2,0	1,9	14,3	1,0	10,5	60,3
Not Late	7,6	22,9	0,9	5,8	-	-	2,9	40,1
TOTALS	27,7	33,4	2,9	7,7	14,3	1,0	13,4	100,4

The *frequency* of late arrival for those who arrived late was largely less than 1 per month and this was also the case for workers going on duty at any specific "clocking-in" time.

Turning to the total percentages late at specific "clocking-in" times, there is a clear tendency towards proportionately more workers being late at certain times than at others. All workers who went on duty at 2 p.m. and 6 p.m. had arrived late for work on *at least* one occasion when working a shift starting at one of those times. Substantially large proportions of those who started at 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. had also arrived late on some occasion/s. On the other hand, the majority of workers going on duty at 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. had never arrived late. Thus, it is primarily people working on a shift basis who arrived late.

The mean frequency of late arrival at work for those who indicated that they had arrived late on certain occasions was 2,3 times per month. Numerically, this is rather small but when it is noted that the mean amount of production time lost through late arrival was 52 minutes per occasion it becomes far more serious. ALUSAF thus lost approximately 2 hours of production time per late arriver each month, whereas if the worker was on an hourly paid basis he lost 53 cents (calculated on mean ALUSAF wage of R50,29), or 1% of his wage. If commuters formed 51,6% of the ALUSAF work-force, and 60% of these arrived 52 minutes late on 2,3 occasions per month, the smelter lost 462,5 man-hours of production per month or 0,3% of possible production time. The relative loss to the worker is probably far greater materially than that to ALUSAF.

The major reasons for late arrival at work as stated by the commuters themselves were problems with the buses (stated by 62% of those using the buses), and personal error (stated by 25% of all who arrived late). Only 6% stated weather and the resulting condition of various roads to have been the reason.

Of the 56% of commuters who used the "Empangeni Transport" bus service, 87% had complaints about the nature thereof. Approximately half of this latter figure complained about the late arrival of the buses at the boarding points or late arrival at ALUSAF; a third noted that the regularity and/or routes of buses to their particular places of residence were inadequate; while a quarter said there were too few buses to match the demand.

5.4.7.2 Migrants.

Table 5.26 (p.121) presented the distribution by district of origin for the 73,6% of the ALUSAF sample who lived in "temporary accommodation" and the factory compound, and thus constituted the "migrant" part thereof. Information of the migrants' home-visiting was collected in relation to his last journey. The reason for selecting the respondent's last visit home was that information on

home travel could be collected more easily in relation to an actual trip than in relation to a hypothetical typical trip.

5.4.7.2.1 Frequency and Occasion of Home Visiting.

Table 5.37 presents details of frequency of home visiting by the respondent's last visit home.

TABLE 5.37.

FREQUENCY OF HOME VISITING BY TYPE OF LAST VISIT HOME FOR 150 ALUSAF MIGRANTS, 1972 (PERCENTAGES.)

	NUMBER OF TIMES A YEAR VISITED HOME						
Last occasion	No info.	Nil in period of employment[1]	+ 1 year	+ 2 year	+ 4 year	+ 12 year	Total
No information	2,0	-	-	-	-	-	2,0
Not applicable	-	9,3	-	-	-	-	9,3
Day off	-	-	1,3	1,3	1,3	2,0	5,9
Weekend 2 days[2]	-	-	3,3	3,3	6,0	50,7	63,3
3 days[3]	-	-	-	0,7	10,0	6,7	17,4
Leave	-	-	1,3	0,7	-	-	2,0
TOTALS	2,0	9,3	5,9	6,0	17,3	59,4	99,9

Almost 60% of these workers travelled home approximately once per month (12 times per year). Such a relatively high frequency is obviously a direct function of the actual homes of more than half the ALUSAF migrants being within a 100 km. radius of the smelter.[4] The other 38% of the sub-sample for which there was information on frequency, visited home less than 12 times per year. A quarter (9,3%)

1) This period ranged from three to twelve months.

2) Some had weekends off while shift-workers were allowed two consecutive days at end of X number of shifts.

3) Some workers requested an extra day off.

4) Refer Table 5.38.

of these had not visited home at all during their period of employment at ALUSAF. The mean number of home visiting trips for the sample was 8,2 times per year.

The most common type of last occasion was a weekend or two day break and then the three day break. This information is, again, closely linked with the fact that the actual homes of almost half these migrants were within an 80 km. radius. Interestingly, all those who mentioned leave as their last occasion at home had been home exceptionally infrequently during their employment at ALUSAF.

The negative effects of labour migration on the rural economy and family life of the 60% who visited home approximately 12 times per year is probably somewhat less than in the case of the 38% who had visited home less often than this, if at all.

Frequency of home-visiting is determined by the complex interplay of a range of factors. These factors can be grouped as follows:

a) employment characteristics which determine when workers will have time off, how long it may be and the number who may be off at any one time;
b) individual migrant's attitudes towards the home area and kin resident there; and
c) aspects of the actual home visiting trip such as the distance between place of employment and home, the nature of transport available, cost thereof and the reliability and punctuality thereof.

A limited amount of consideration has already been given to the first group while the rest of the report will deal with the last-mentioned.

5.4.7.2.2 The Distance Factor.

The ranking of districts of origin by distance between Empangeni, the seat of the Lower Umfolosi magistracy and the seat of each district magistracy as presented in Table 5.26 gives a preliminary idea of the distances travelled by various migrants. Table 5.38 presents a far more accurate picture calculated from detailed information collected about each migrant's actual trip.

TABLE 5.38.

DISTANCE BETWEEN ALUSAF OR TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATION, AND ACTUAL HOME, FOR ALUSAF MIGRANTS, 1972 (PERCENTAGES.)

Distance	Percentage
Less than 50 kms.	21,8
51 - 100 kms.	30,3
101 - 150 kms.	17,1
151 - 200 kms.	10,7
201 - 300 kms.	15,0
More than 300 kms.	4,4
No information	0,7
TOTAL	100,0

The vast majority (69,2%) of ALUSAF migrants lived within 150 kms. of the smelter with very few (4,4%) living beyond the 300 km. mark. The mean distance between ALUSAF and migrants' actual homes was 122 km; a round trip of 244 km.

5.4.7.2.3 The Time Factor.

Consideration of the amount of time spent travelling from ALUSAF or "temporary accommodation" to the actual home and back again is, in itself, relatively meaningless unless it can be related

to issues such as the amount of travelling time wasted waiting for transport connections and, ultimately, to the amount of time the migrant is able to enjoy at his destination with his kin and friends - the reason d'etre of his trip. Table 5.39 utilizes mean times for travelling, wastage and length of visit by district of origin (grouped in distance categories) together with the inter-relationships between these aspects to present a comprehensive picture of the time factor.

The mean total length of the home-visiting trip increased by the mean distance between ALUSAF and the homes of migrants within the particular group of districts. As observed in Note b) of Table 5.39 this trend results from the tendency of migrants from further afield to request an extra day over and above the official two-day monthly break. A further factor probably involved in the gradual increase of the mean total length of the home-visiting trip by distance was the tendency for migrants from further afield to start out on their trips immediately they finished work. This holds true for both the two-day trip and three-day trip categories. The mean time for the total trips of some migrants within these two categories clearly went beyond the 48 and 72 hour marks respectively. This was due to the fact that, at least for shift workers, the two or three-day break usually came when they were changing from one shift to another, thus giving them a few hours more than the stipulated period.

As would be expected there was also a tendency for migrants from further afield to be spending more time travelling to and from their homes; obviously a function of increasing distance. The overall mean travelling time was 18 hours 30 minutes. Despite the fact that migrants travelling further afield had often been granted an extra day's leave, they nevertheless spent proportionately more time travelling than those who generally only had the two-day break (see % Travelling column).

TABLE 5.39.

THE TIME FACTOR BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN[1)] FOR 150 ALUSAF MIGRANTS, 1972 (PERCENTAGES.)

Area Distance Districts	Mean time off (hrs)	Mean trav. time (hrs)	% Trav. time	Mean time wasted	% Trav. wasted	Mean time at home	Percentage at home
1. Less than 50 kms. Lower Umfolosi	47,0	8,1	17,2	1,9	23,5	38,9	82,8
2. 51 - 100 km. Mtunzini	51,3	10,6	20,7	4,0	37,7	40,7	79,3
3. 101 - 150 kms. Eshowe, Emthonjaneni, Hlabisa	55,0	19,1	34,7	6,4	33,5	35,9	65,3
4. 151 - 200 km. Nongoma, Mahlabatini, Nqutu, Nkandla, Ubombo, Natal	65,9	27,5	41,7	8,5	30,9	38,4	58,3
5. 201 - 300 km. Ingwavuma	78,9	38,0	48,2	10,7	28,2	40,9	51,8
6. More than 300 kms. Transvaal, OFS, Cape	78,0	42,0	53,8	12,0	28,6	36,0	46,2
TOTAL SAMPLE MEANS	57,0 hrs	18,5 hrs	32,5%	5,6 hrs	30,3%	38,5 hrs	57,5%

Notes:

a) The grouping of Districts of Origin in this and subsequent tables is slightly different from that used in previous similar tables. Districts are now arranged according to mean distance travelled by migrants from each District between ALUSAF/"temporary accommodation" and their homes instead of between Empangeni and District centres.

b) Mean Time Off is computed from time spent travelling and time at home. Where this time approximates 48 hours it indicates a tendency for these migrants to be travelling home during the official 2-day monthly break afforded workers, while cases where it approximates 72 hours indicates workers from these Districts were generally allowed an extra day.

c) Mean Time at Home was calculated on basis of 140 respondents whose last trip had been of 1, 2 or 3 days duration. The remaining 10 were excluded because their last visit had been "Leave".

Moving to the mean amount of time wasted by migrants waiting for transport connections there is again a distinct tendency for this to be larger the further afield the migrants travelled, and consequently, the more connections they had to make. The overall mean time wasted waiting for connections was 5 hours 36 minutes, 9,8% of the average total trip. Turning to the proportion of travelling time wasted, we find no direct correlation between mean time wasted and mean total travelling time for each district grouping. In particular, migrants from Area 2 (Mtunzini) and Area 3 (Eshowe, Emthonjaneni and Hlabisa) spent a disproportionately large amount of time waiting for connections, especially the former. The fact that migrants spent an average of 30% of their travelling time waiting for connections is surely a reflection of a general lack of co-ordination in the planning of transport facilities for Black migrants in the region. This lack of co-ordination was particularly bad for migrants travelling from Richards Bay to the Mtunzini, Eshowe, Emthonjaneni and Hlabisa Districts (Areas 2 and 3).

Despite the variation in Mean Time Off and Mean Travelling Time for the different district groupings it is interesting to find so little variation in the amount of time migrants managed to spend at home. This lack of extensive variation was, obviously, largely due to the ALUSAF policy of allowing those travelling further afield an extra day if they requested it. The Mean Time at Home for the sample as a whole was 38 hours 30 minutes, 67,5% of the Mean Time Off. Consideration of the percentage of the total trip spent at home shows that migrants from further afield spent proportionally less of their trip at their homes than do those from nearer-by.

5.4.7.2.4 The Cost Factor.

For 7,3% of the sample there was no cost (in the form of fares) as they travelled by bicycle, while the vast majority, 88,7% paid less than R10 per trip made, only 4% paying more than this amount. The mean amounts spent by migrants from the various district groupings on their home-visiting trips are presented in Table 5.40.

TABLE 5.40.

MEAN COST OF TRANSPORT BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN FOR 150 ALUSAF MIGRANTS, 1972.

Area Districts	Mean cost[1] per trip	Mean no. of trips (leave included) per year	Total annual cost	Mean cost per month	% Mean monthly wage
1. Lower Umfolosi	R2,50	11,3	R28,25	R2,35	4,7
2. Mtunzini	R2,50	11,2	R28,00	R2,33	4,6
3. Eshowe, Emthonjaneni, Hlabisa	R3,02	11,0	R33,22	R2,77	5,5
4. Nongoma, Mahlabatini, Nqutu, Nkandla, Ubombo, Natal	R4,94	4,8	R23,71	R1,98	3,9
5. Ingwavuma	R8,03	1,9	R15,26	R1,27	2,5
6. Transvaal, OFS, Cape	R20,00	1,2	R24,00	R2,00	4,0
TOTAL	R4,11	8,2	R33,70	R2,80	5,6

The mean cost of transport per trip clearly increases as a function of distance, although the tendency for workers whose homes are more distant to visit home less regularly results in the actual monthly amounts spent being far more similar. Indeed, those whose homes are closer to ALUSAF spent a larger percentage of their monthly wages on home-visiting trips than those from more distant areas. These facts could be interpreted to mean that those from the more distant areas were less interested in, or felt less pressure from, their rural-based family and friends, to visit home. On the other hand it could merely be the result of the fact that an extra day off

1) These mean costs are calculated in relation to only those migrants who paid for their mode of transport.

2) This is a percentage of the mean ALUSAF Black wage of R50,29.

had to be requested as it was not part of the official system of time off. Such a request obviously did not always fit in with the smelter's work schedule and consequently was not granted every time. Without this extra day home-visiting trips for those from further afield were almost impossible. Thus, it is possible that whereas many of these individuals may have desired to visit home they were unable to do so because of inadequate time off.

The mean monthly cost of home-visiting transport is a comparatively small percentage of mean monthly income, ranging from 3,2% of mean wage of R86,25 for "skilled" workers to 7,6% of mean wage of R36,95 for "unskilled" workers. If the mean monthly cost of daily transport to and from ALUSAF, R3,25, is computed together with the mean monthly cost of home-visiting travel, migrants who while employed at the smelter were living in "temporary accommodation" were paying a mean of R6,05 per month on travel. This is 12% of mean monthly income for the whole sample; 7% of mean monthly wage of "skilled" workers; and 16,4% of mean wage of "unskilled" workers. This is a fairly significant proportion of the worker's income when it is remembered that the migrant resident in "temporary accommodation" in a large proportion of cases, had to pay for that accommodation and for food before even starting to think about what proportion of the remaining small sum of money he would remit to his family in the Reserve.

5.4.7.2.5. Mode of Transport.

The main modes of transport used by migrants from the various groupings of districts of origin are presented in Table 5.41.

Clearly, the most important main mode of transport for migrants' home-visiting trips was public, with 82,7% (comprising 62,7% for bus and 20% for train) utilizing this form. In all cases, except that of area 5 (Ingwavuma), buses were more important as public transport than trains. Walking and bicycle were only feasible as main modes of transport for migrants living within relatively close range of ALUSAF.

TABLE 5.41.

MAIN MODE OF TRANSPORT FOR 150 ALUSAF MIGRANTS, 1972 (PERCENTAGES.)

Area Districts	MAIN MODE OF TRANSPORT					
	Walk	Bicycle	Bus	Train	Car	Other
1. Lower Umfolosi	0,7	4,7	24,0	-	2,7	-
2. Mtunzini	-	1,3	12,0	1,3	0,7	-
3. Eshowe, Emthonjaneni, Hlabisa	-	0,7	12,7	4,0	2,0	-
4. Nongoma, Mahlabatini, Nqutu, Nkandla, Ubombo, Natal	-	-	12,7	4,7	2,7	-
5. Ingwavuma	-	-	-	9,3	0,7	-
6. Transvaal, OFS, Cape	-	-	1,3	0,7	-	0,7
TOTALS	0,7	6,7	62,7	20,0	8,8	0,7
% Using mode at some stage	86,6	9,3	86,0	38,0	26,0	0,7

The distances the "temporary accommodation" involved were longer than those travelled by commuters using the same forms of transport. The one migrant who travelled by bicycle to his home in Area 3 was resident on the border of Eshowe and Lower Umfolosi Districts.

The last row of Table 5.41 presents percentages of the migrant sub-sample who utilized the particular mode of transport at some stage in their home-visiting trips. An extremely high proportion walked at some stage (86,6%) while buses were by far the most significant form of motorized transport (86,0%). Most migrants who made use of cars were travelling in registered or 'pirate' taxis, only an extremely small proportion actually owning cars.

5.4.7.2.6 Transport Problems.

Information was collected in relation to general complaints about the circumstances of home-visiting and in relation to transport. The latter overwhelmed the former. By far the largest proportion of complaints were about the nature of bus services with 91,4% of migrants using buses registering one or more complaints. Cycling accounted for the next highest proportion of complaints, with 37,5% of cyclists complaining. Only 18,9% of migrants who utilized the trains registered complaints.

Complaints with regard to Walking, Cycling, and Cars/Taxis were generally about relatively long distances and the state of paths and roads for the first two and about bad driving and break-downs for the last-mentioned.

The nature of complaints about the bus services are presented by District of Origin groupings in Table 5.42.

In order to place the frequency of particular complaints in perspective, the first column of Table 5.42 indicates the percentage of migrants from each grouping of districts which travelled by bus at some stage during the home-visiting trip. For the sub-sample of migrants as a whole, this figure was 86%.

The most common complaint was about the poor organization of bus services, registered by 46,9% of dissatisfied bus travellers (column 7). In some cases there were no buses running on the particular day migrants needed them. This was especially a problem for workers travelling back to ALUSAF or "temporary accommodation" on Sundays. In other cases for example, Ingwavuma migrants complained of services to more remote areas where buses ran in opposite directions on alternate days often resulting in there being no bus going in the particular direction they required. Both these factors resulted in migrants having to walk long distances, sometimes when they did not expect it, thus drastically reducing the amount of time they were able to spend at home.

TABLE 5.42.

COMPLAINTS ABOUT BUS SERVICES BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN FOR 96 ALUSAF MIGRANTS WHO USED BUSES, 1972 (PERCENTAGES.)[1)]

Area Districts	COMPLAINTS ABOUT BUS SERVICES						
	% migrants using bus	Inconsistent arrival and departure	High cost	Mechanical problems	Stop far from home	Poor org.	Other
1. Lower Umfolosi	79,2	29,5	9,1	4,5	15,9	29,5	11,4
2. Mtunzini	82,6	28,6	9,5	9,5	28,6	19,0	4,8
3. Eshowe, Emthonjaneni, Hlabisa	88,1	7,7	7,7	3,8	19,2	53,8	7,7
4. Nongoma, Mahlabatini, Nqutu, Nkandla, Ubombo, Natal	93,3	30,8	3,8	11,5	11,5	34,6	7,7
5. Ingwavuma	100,0	15,4	15,4	-	7,7	53,8	7,7
6. Transvaal, OFS, Cape	100,0	50,0	-	-	-	50,0	-
ALL DISTRICTS COMBINED	86,0	31,3	11,5	8,3	20,8	46,9	18,8

Almost one-third of dissatisfied bus travellers complained about the inconsistency of arrival and departure times, in other words, that buses were often not on schedule. In some cases buses arrived and/or departed before the scheduled time, resulting in the migrant missing them, while in other cases the buses arrived and/or departed after the scheduled time resulting in the migrant arriving late at the next change-over point and thus missing his connection, experiencing long periods of waiting and eventually late arrival back for work.

1) These percentages are calculated as a proportion of total number of complaints registered by migrants from the particular grouping of districts.

A fairly substantial proportion (20,8%) of bus-using migrants were also dissatisfied about the distances they often had to walk between the ends of bus-routes and their homes. Many maintained there were quite serviceable roads running beyond these points but that the bus companies, being more interested in profit than in service, were reluctant to extend their routes for the smaller numbers who wanted to go beyond these points. Mechanical failure and, interestingly, the cost of bus fares gave little cause for complaint.

It appears then that the strength of the drive to get home to visit family and friends and to see to some of the needs of the rural homestead, was such that migrants were willing to accept, what, for some, was a significant degree of cost. What they were most unwilling to accept, however, were factors, such as those associated with the quality of bus services, which radically reduced the amount of time they were able to spend at home by unnecessarily extending travelling time.

Transport facilities which do not match the needs of their customers and which thus frustrate the migrant's desire to maximise the already limited amount of time he has at his disposal for home-visiting, will inevitably result in his late return to work. Of the ALUSAF migrant sub-sample, 54% noted that they had returned late for work after their last visit home. Of these, almost 70% mentioned problems with the bus services as the reason, the next highest frequency being only 10% who said that they were personally to blame.

5.5 CONCLUSION.

Census data for 1970 reveal that the Black population in the region was a young one. The mean age for Blacks in 'White towns' in the region was 28,5 years. In these towns the sex ratio for Blacks was disturbed, due in part to the demand for male workers, and because an important number of families were in rural areas. The sex ratio for Blacks in 'White towns' ranged from 1,62 males to one female in

KwaMonambi, to 8,67 males to one female in Felixton (a company town). The unbalanced sex-ratio indicate the high likelihood of problems and difficulties typically associated with men being separated from their families. The age-sex pyramids point to the heavy predominance of the young to middle aged working group in White towns, and a significant under-representation of children in these towns.

By contrast those rural areas of KwaZulu which fell into the region, had a far younger population, due to a concentration of children and younger women in these areas. The mean age for the Black population in KwaZulu rural areas was only 21,4 years old; in urban areas within KwaZulu segments in the region, the mean age was 22,7 years.

Data for the industrial classification of the region's Black population at the 1970 Census were provided. Absolute numbers reveal that in 1970 the industrial capacity of the region was poorly developed. (In 1982 this seems, from visits to the region, to be no longer the case.)

The establishment of the Richards Bay growthpoint had, and has continued to have, a tremendous impact on Black employment within both the Lower Umfolosi District and in the Zululand region as a whole. Analysis revealed that the number of Blacks entering employment within this District had grown rapidly between 1970 and 1972, almost tripling within that period (Table 5.10).

During 1971 the proportions of workers engaged from within Lower Umfolosi and from outside the District were of about equal size (Table 5.11). Lack of information on the comparative sizes of these two components over preceding years made it impossible to establish if either of these was increasing more rapidly than the other. On the other hand, information on Lower Umfolosi residents engaged for employment outside their home District indicated that their numbers diminished markedly between 1970 and 1972 (Table 5.10). This is an obvious indication of the rapidly increasing availability of jobs within Lower Umfolosi during this period.

The majority (96%) of workers employed in 1971 were primarily deployed in "Manufacturing", "Construction", "Transport", "Government and Semi-Government" and "Local Authorities" (Table 5.10), the "industries" obviously most closely associated with the administrative and industrial development that was occurring at Richards Bay at that time.

Despite the stated importance of the Richards Bay growthpoint as a force for increased prosperity for both White and Black within the region as a whole, analysis shows that the wages paid to Black workers engaged during 1971 were by no means competitive with those paid to Black workers in the country as a whole. The comparative figures discussed in 5.4.4.1 (p.) show that the mean wage for Lower Umfolosi was only 54% of that for Blacks in the country as a whole. Indeed, not even ALUSAF, the highest paying employer in the District matched this average- the ALUSAF mean wage for Blacks was fractionally more than 80% of the national mean.

Analysis of the transportation of workers employed at ALUSAF raised a number of issues that will have to be taken into account in any attempts, both short-term and long-term, to improve the quality of transportation systems for the Black workforce of Lower Umfolosi, and especially with regard to Richards Bay.

Deproclamation of Reserve 6, from which 57,2% of ALUSAF's commuting workers were travelling, and the subsequent removal of these people to the more distant Reserves 4 and 5 was destined to markedly increase the already relatively long mean travelling time for ALUSAF commuters, and, consequently, extend the average commuter's working day beyond the 12 hours recorded for 1972. The proposed opening of a new direct road link between Empangeni and Richards Bay,[1] however,

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1) By 1982 this direct road, which avoided the earlier roundabout route from Empangeni to Richards Bay had been in operation for some years. (Ed.)

would, no doubt, partly offset these consequences by reducing travelling time and length of workday for 21,9% of ALUSAF commuters travelling from Reserves 7B and Ngwelezana township.

Table 5.33 demonstrated the important role of public transport, in the form of buses, for commuters employed in Richards Bay; used by 56,4% of ALUSAF commuters. This proportion was destined to increase dramatically with the abovementioned removal of Reserve 6 residents who would no longer be able to get to work on foot or bicycle as they had done during 1972.

With the largest proportion of commuters using buses, it is probably to be expected that reasons for late arrival (which the ALUSAF management considered to be a serious problem during 1972) would relate to the quality of the bus service provided by "Empangeni Transport" who, besides one very small Black operator, provided the District's services for Blacks. If the types of problem mentioned by bus commuters, as recorded under 5.4.7.1.6 were not given serious attention by this or any other bus company that decided to operate in the area, then the increased demand for bus transport conditioned by the resettlement of Reserve 6 residents in Reserves 4 and 5 was certain to give rise to an increase in the number of workers arriving late for work.

The fact that the majority of workers who reported arriving late were working shifts indicates that the service provided by Empangeni Transport was badly adapted to the needs of an industry operated on a shift basis with a large proportion of commuter workers. With the growth of Richards Bay, on the one hand, and governmental restriction on the housing of Black workers in "White" areas on the other, there was a distinct possibility of further similarly-placed industries. Thus Empangeni Transport, or any other prospective operator, would have to carefully plan their operation if they were to successfully cope with future demands.

ALUSAF management were convinced that the quality of the service provided by "Empangeni Transport" was largely to blame for the

high incidence of late arrival. In late 1972 they were sufficiently dissatisfied about the continual late arrival of the 6 a.m. shift of 45 workers who lived in or near Enseleni township that they made representations to the bus company for improvements. The reason for these workers' late arrival was that the bus which transported them was travelling a route from Empangeni via the old dirt road through Reserve 5 to Enseleni and, only then, on to ALUSAF and Richards Bay. As a result of the long trip through Reserve 5, which necessitated the bus leaving the Empangeni depot at approximately 4 a.m., it inevitably arrived late at Enseleni and thus at ALUSAF. The only way in which these workers could get to work by 6 a.m. was by paying exhorbitant amounts to private individuals in Enseleni who owned cars to transport them. Consequently, in June that year the ALUSAF management presented their request to "Empangeni Transport" for a bus to be stationed at Enseleni overnight to transport the workers involved timeously to the smelter each morning. This request was eventually acceded to.

ALUSAF management had been quite willing at the inception of the smelter to provide a bus service for their Black workers as they did for their White workers, but were prohibited from doing so by the Road Transportation Board who, according to ALUSAF, maintained that the service provided by "Empangeni Transport" was quite adequate.

A.B. Malinga, a private bus operator in Ngwelezana township, also complained of difficulties he had experienced with the Road Transportation Board maintaining that the service provided by "Empangeni Transport" was adequate when he applied to expand his operation in response to requests from people in Ngwelezana township.

A negligible proportion of ALUSAF commuters complained about the cost of bus fares. This was due to the fact that, although earning less than the national average wage for Blacks employed in Manufacturing, their average wage was still comparatively good. Furthermore, many of those commuting by bus were travelling relatively short distances which cost very little. On the other hand, other

Lower Umfolosi workers earned markedly less (an average of 20% less) and, as they did not work for an industry of the size of ALUSAF which could guarantee the bus company a substantial number of passengers, they were not eligible for the reduced price season tickets. Thus, the cost of bus fares was far more of an issue for workers who did not work at ALUSAF.

One young man who lived in the Enseleni township was employed as a labourer by a small carpentry contractor in Empangeni, a distance of 26 km. from his home. He earned R25,80 per month, and if he had had to pay for the bus to and from work each day at 90 cents per day it would have cost him R19,80, leaving him the sum of R6,00. In order to keep his travelling costs low he attempted to hitch lifts as often as possible. If he was not successful in the morning he would take the bus. However, when he was unsuccessful in the evening he would stop wherever he was and sleep the night in the sugarcane fields which border the Empangeni-Enseleni road. In the morning he would make his way back to work.

Table 5.39 indicated the large amount of time ALUSAF migrants, even from relatively proximate areas, spent travelling home and back, and the large proportion of this time that was wasted waiting for connections. Indeed, with the amount of time wasted and the slow pace of transport, the average speed travelled by migrants on the trip home and back was only 14 km. per hour. This is ridiculously slow.

Obviously, where home-visiting requires a total of almost a day or more's travelling (mean travelling time for migrants was 18,5 hours), the usual weekend break of one-and-a-half or two days allows for extremely little time at home. It is clear why 70% of those ALUSAF migrants who lived more than 150 kms. from the smelter requested an extra day in addition to the standard two day break. Where migrants were not earning as much as they were at ALUSAF, and where employers were not as progressive and sympathetic, the frequency of home-visiting was obviously far below the ALUSAF mean of 8,2 times per year - in itself fairly irregular and inadequate to counter the negative effects of labour migration on family life.

Buses and trains were the major modes of transport used by ALUSAF migrants, with 62,7% using buses and 20% trains as their main mode; 86% used buses and 38% trains at some stage in their journey (Table 5.41). Migrants had very little complaint about the train service, but, as might be expected from the large proportion who used them at some stage, 91,4% of those who used buses had some complaint (see 5.4.7.2.6). As with commuters' complaints about the bus service, migrants' complaints were mainly in relation to the organization of these services. The inability of buses to run according to schedule was again an issue, but this time complemented by such problems as buses not operating in relation to migrants' particular travel needs, not transporting them near enough to their destinations, etc. Although not actually mentioned by migrants but implicit in much of their criticism was the lack of co-ordination between various bus services and between bus and train services. For example, a migrant might arrive at Candover Station (North of Mkuze) and wait for up to 6 hours for a bus going through to Maputa.

Clearly then, public transportation systems, especially bus services in Lower Umfolosi, and to a large extent the whole Zululand region, were incapable of satisfying the demands being made upon them by Black commuters and migrants employed in Richards Bay during 1972. The blame for this cannot be laid solely at the feet of the various transport services but was also the result of increasing and changing demands being made upon them due to the rapid development of Richards Bay and its impact on Lower Umfolosi as a whole. It is presumed that it was the intention of the particular bus service involved and the South African Railways and Harbours to reassess and overhaul their operations in relation to these demands at some stage.

Improvements to the daily transportation of commuters to and from work would probably be the first to receive attention, both because the problems associated therewith, with possibly only one bus company involved, were more tractable, and because industry would be willing to exert pressure where there is obviously some direct benefit for productivity. On the other hand, improvements to transport

services for migrants were less likely to receive attention both because they are more complex, involving a wider area, a range of bus companies and the South African Railways and Harbours, and problems of co-ordination between these various services, and because there is no obvious immediate benefit for productivity. Also, the people involved - the migrants and their families - are in no position to pressurise for change because they do not have the economic muscle of the industrialists.

However, *people* must be remembered as well as productivity, and, if despite the many cogent arguments against it, labour migration is to be retained as a way of life for South African industry, then the authorities and the industrialists are morally obliged to ensure that its corrosive psychological and social effects are kept to an absolute minimum. In part, this can be done by planning and implementing an efficient transportation system which is inexpensive to the consumer and which will allow migrant workers to visit home as often as possible for the maximum possible time.

CHAPTER 6.

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE URBAN WHITE POPULATION IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION.

H.L. WATTS.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

At the time of the 1970 Census, the White population amounted to 7285 Whites in the Lower Umfolosi Magisterial district, and to 3 633 in the Mtunzini district. Together these figures totalled 10 918 Whites, or eight percent of the total of 128 662 persons of all races living in the two districts, (Republic of South Africa, 1976). Taking the main White towns in the region, in 1970 Richards Bay had only 411 Whites, Empangeni had 4 512, KwaMbonambi had 269 and Mtunzini had 415 Whites, of all ages, (Republic of South Africa, 1976). In 1978, Richards Bay had an estimated total of 7 069 Whites (Town Clerk's estimate); the corresponding figure for Empangeni was 12 000 (also their Town Clerk's estimate). These figures represent a phenomenal growth rate during 1970-1978 of 42,71% per annum for Richards Bay, and a remarkable growth rate for Empangeni of 13,01% a year. These figures represent on average a doubling of the White population in Richards Bay every 1,95 years between 1970 and 1978, and doubling every 5,67 years in Empangeni. The figures emphasize the extremely rapid rate of growth in the White population of Empangeni and Richards Bay during the 1970's, due to an influx of Whites in response to planned development of Richards Bay as a new deepwater port for South Africa.

The 1970 Census data have little on the sociological characteristics of the population of Whites in the region, and nothing on their migratory history or attitudes, hopes and fears. So it is that a sample survey of the White adults in towns in the region was planned in 1971. After two pilot studies, fieldwork was launched in 1972 in Empangeni, Richards Bay, Mtunzini and KwaMbonambi (Felixton as a company town of a special kind, focussed on a sugar mill and a paper mill, was deliberately excluded). A non-proportionately

stratified two stage random sample was selected, and 275 structured interviews based on schedules for Whites aged 18+ years were completed by a fieldwork team. Details of the sample and the fieldwork, including the interview schedule are provided in Appendix C. As the interviews were very lengthy, sub-sampling was resorted to for some sections of the interview schedule, so that not all sections were administered to all informants. The fieldwork team consisted of undergraduates and graduates from the University of Natal in Durban under the supervision of an older Social Science graduate. The data provide a baseline *prior* to rapid growth in the middle and later 1970's when the major construction in Richards Bay was undertaken.

6.2 THE 1972 SURVEY ESTIMATES OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WHITES

It is worth comparing the survey estimates for Whites in the four towns in 1972 with the 1970 Census figures, (Republic of South Africa (1976), and with the 1975 estimates by the Town Clerks of Richards Bay and Empangeni. From these latter estimates, and assuming a steady rate of growth during 1970-1975, (an unlikely position, as the rate was probably accelerating, but we do not know how rapidly), we can get independent estimates for the White population of Richards Bay and Empangeni at the time of the survey in 1972. Table 6.1 gives these comparisons.

This Table shows that whereas the 1972 sample survey estimates for Richards Bay and KwaMbonambi appear reasonable, the point estimates based on weighted sample results for both Empangeni and Mtunzini appear to be underestimates, (unless the 1970 Census results for these two towns were over-enumerations - however, no evidence to that effect was uncovered). The figure for Empangeni in 1972 was possibly more or less 5 950 with 550 in Mtunzini. This means the survey point estimates are perhaps one-third under for Empangeni, and almost half of possibly the correct figure for Mtunzini in 1972. Even the upper-limits at the 95% confidence level shown in Table 6.1 are below the possible figures for the actual

population in these two towns in 1972. No definite explanation for these low figures could be established, but following experience in other surveys of towns, it could be that in Empangeni the valuation roll was inaccurate in the sense of listing as non-residential properties some plots which also included dwellings. In Mtunzini the map used may not have been as up-to-date as supposed and could have omitted newer residential plots. Unfortunately these shortfalls were discovered too late after the fieldwork to check these hunches (as it took several years to process the survey data). The permanent population in hotels in Empangeni and Mtunzini in 1972 appeared very small, so that the exclusion of hotels from the samples would not have accounted for the lower population estimates yielded by the survey. The apparent shortfalls will not necessarily bias the distribution of the results, but affect only estimates of total numbers, which will not be used much (if at all) in this chapter.

TABLE 6.1.

VARIOUS FIGURES FOR THE WHITE POPULATION IN THE FOUR TOWNS IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION.

Date and Source	Empangeni	KwaMbonambi	Mtunzini	Richards Bay	Four towns combined
1970 Census	4 512	269	415	411	5 607
1975 Estimates	9 000	?	?	3 424	?
Growth Rate p.a. 1970-1975	14,8%	?	?	52,8%	?
1972 (Estimated from Growth Rate)	5 946[1]	355[2]	547[2]	956[2]	?
1972 Survey Estimate	3 992	355	289	1 037	5 673
95% Confidence Limits for 1972	3 775-4 200	305-405	240-340	935-1 135	4 855-6 080
Growth Rate p.a. 1970-1972 Survey Figure	-0,94%	14,9%	-0,83%	58,8%	0,006%

1) These figures assume the 1975 estimates are more or less correct.

2) Assuming a 15% p.a. growth rate (parallel to Empangeni's 15% 1970-1975).

6.3 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE OF WHITES IN THE FOUR TOWNS

The first part of the interviews obtained data on the demographic characteristics of the Whites living on the sample of plots in the four towns.

6.3.1 Age-Sex Distributions for the Four Towns.

The estimated age-sex distributions[1], based on weighted sample results, are given in Tables 6.2 and 6.3 below.

6.3.2 Age-Sex Pyramids.

Table 6.3 gives the percentage distribution of the figures in Table 6.2. These percentages are graphed in the form of age-sex pyramids in Figures 6.1 and 6.2.

Figure 6.1 shows the age-sex distribution on a percentage basis, for the sample of Whites from the four towns taken together. The pyramid reveals a fairly typical distribution, but with a relative over-representation of the younger working age group - 25-44 years of age in the case of men, and 25-39 years in regard to the women. The pyramids in Figure 6.2 show how this total pattern is made up. Empangeni has a fairly normal age-sex distribution, whereas Richards Bay in 1972 already had a marked over-representation of the young working age group of 25 to 39 years old, and relatively fewer middle aged Whites. As what was virtually a new town - in all but in name - it was attracting people of younger working age. KwaMbonambi as a small town, in part linked to forestry, had an over-representation of the 30-44 age group, and did not seem to have anything to offer young men in their twenties.

1) Note that *all* sample results, from whatever kind of sample, are never more than *estimates* of the position prevailing in the total population from which the sample was drawn.

TABLE 6.2.

AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF A SAMPLE OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR TOWNS IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, 1972.
(KNOWN CASES ONLY.)

AGE IN YEARS	ESTIMATED NUMBERS FOR TOTAL POPULATION														
	EMPANGENI			KWAMBONAMBI			MTUNZINI			RICHARDS BAY			TOTAL		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
0 - 4	258	268	526	29	8	37	16	22	38	100	112	212	403	409	812
5 - 9	245	206	451	34	33	67	11	22	33	53	76	129	342	338	680
10 -14	228	269	497	25	20	45	0	11	11	48	68	116	301	368	669
15 -19	238	162	400	15	4	19	6	0	6	22	31	53	280	196	476
20 -24	148	182	330	4	21	25	0	10	10	41	31	72	193	244	437
25 -29	198	193	391	4	17	21	16	16	32	46	81	127	263	307	570
30 -34	194	180	374	21	25	46	43	21	64	84	50	134	342	276	618
35 -39	146	115	261	20	16	36	6	6	12	37	26	63	209	163	372
40 -44	109	76	185	16	8	24	0	6	6	13	13	26	139	103	242
45 -49	92	72	164	7	4	11	0	6	6	19	9	28	118	91	209
50 -54	77	79	156	8	0	8	6	6	12	8	13	21	99	98	197
55 -59	64	35	99	0	0	0	0	16	16	15	10	25	79	62	141
60 -64	23	38	61	4	4	8	16	0	16	4	9	13	47	50	97
65 -69	26	10	36	0	4	4	6	16	22	4	10	14	36	41	77
70 -74	7	14	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	14	21
75+	6	18	24	0	4	4	0	5	5	4	0	4	10	27	37
TOTAL	2 059	1 917	3 976	187	168	355	126	163	289	498	539	1 037	2 868	2 787	5 655
Number unknown cases			16			0			0			0			16
Total number cases			3 992			355			289			1 037			5 673
Sex Ratios			1,07			1,11			0,77			0,92			1,03

NOTES:

1) The Total Column is not the direct addition of the figures for individual towns, but rounded off weighted figures from the sample as a whole. The figures for each town were rounded off independently, from weighted figures.

2) The number of cases for which ages were not established were 16 in Empangeni only. Thus the estimated total population for White persons living in houses and flats in Empangeni was 3 992 in 1972.

TABLE 6.3.

AGE-SEX PERCENTAGES FOR WHITES IN THE FOUR TOWNS IN THE REGION, 1972. (BASED ON A SAMPLE.) (KNOWN CASES ONLY.)

AGE IN YEARS	PERCENTAGES FOR EACH TOWN									
	EMPANGENI		KWAMBONAMBI		MTUNZINI		RICHARDS BAY		TOTAL	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0 - 4	6,5	6,7	8,2	2,3	5,5	7,6	9,6	10,8	7,1	7,2
5 - 9	6,2	5,2	9,6	9,3	3,8	7,6	5,1	7,3	6,0	6,0
10 -14	5,7	6,8	7,0	5,6	0,0	3,8	4,6	6,6	5,3	6,5
15 -19	6,0	4,1	4,2	1,1	2,1	0,0	2,1	3,0	5,0	3,5
20 -24	3,7	4,6	1,1	5,9	0,0	3,5	4,0	3,0	3,4	4,3
25 -29	5,0	4,9	1,1	4,8	5,5	5,5	4,4	7,8	4,7	5,4
30 -34	4,9	4,5	5,9	7,0	14,8	7,3	8,1	4,8	6,0	4,9
35 -39	3,7	2,9	5,6	4,5	2,1	2,1	3,6	2,5	3,7	2,9
40 -44	2,7	1,9	4,8	2,3	0,0	2,1	1,3	1,3	2,5	1,8
45 -49	2,3	1,8	2,0	1,1	0,0	2,1	1,8	0,9	2,1	1,6
50 -54	1,9	2,0	2,3	0,0	2,1	2,1	0,8	1,3	1,8	1,7
55 -59	1,6	0,9	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,5	1,5	1,0	1,4	1,1
60 -64	0,6	1,0	1,1	1,1	5,5	0,0	0,4	0,9	0,8	0,9
65 -69	0,7	0,3	0,0	1,1	2,1	5,5	0,4	1,0	0,6	0,7
70 -74	0,2	0,4	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,2
75+	0,2	0,5	0,0	1,1	0,0	1,7	0,4	0,0	0,2	0,5
TOTAL	51,9	48,5	52,9	47,2	43,5	56,4	48,1	52,2	50,7	49,2
GRAND TOTALS	100,4%		100,1%		99,9%		100,3%		99,9%	

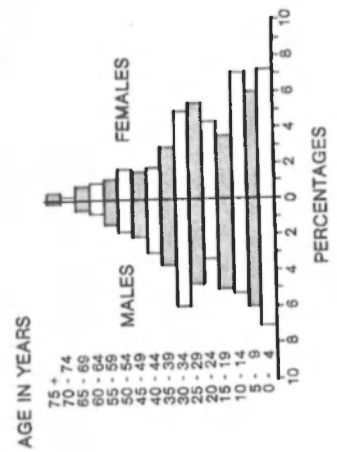

FIGURE 6.1 : AGE - SEX PYRAMID FOR A SAMPLE OF WHITES IN HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR TOWNS TAKEN TOGETHER, RICHARDS BAY - EMPANGENI REGION, 1972

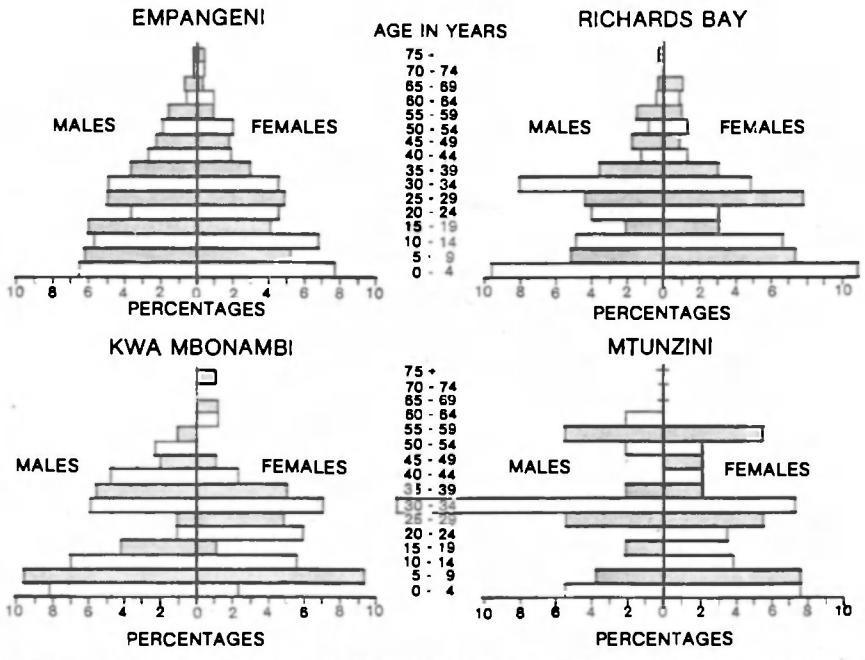

FIGURE 6.2 : AGE - SEX PYRAMID FOR A SAMPLE OF WHITES IN HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR TOWNS IN THE RICHARDS BAY - EMPANGENI REGION, 1972

Mtunzini, a small dormitory suburb for Whites working at the University of Zululand nearby, and a holiday resort for Whites with "seaside cottages" around the estuary, had - in the sample at any rate - the most unbalanced age-sex distribution of the four towns surveyed. The 25-34 age group is over-represented especially on the male side; and the 55-59 age group is also surprisingly large. The gaps in certain ages (as in KwaMbonambi) are almost certainly a function of a small sample. The over-represented age groups could mean that the University of Zululand is attracting in the main young academics, and then older ones nearing retirement, but without further information we cannot place much emphasis on this possibility.

Table 6.2 gives sex-ratios for the samples from the four towns. Empangeni had a fairly normal sex ratio of 1,07 males to every 1 female. This shows it was a small town, as larger urban areas typically have an over-representation of women and so have sex-ratios of about 0,8 to 0,9 odd. Richards Bay, surprisingly, had an excess of women in the sample - a ratio of 0,92. Later in the 1970's there was, according to local reports, a large excess of men resulting from the various construction teams in the town. Mtunzini had a noticeably low sex-ratio of 0,77 males to 1 female. If this is a reflection of the total population in the small town at that time, and not just the result of sampling error, it must mean single women (unmarried, widowed, divorced) were living in the pleasant seaside hamlet. This is probably true of the very many small seaside villages. The men go to work in the cities. Finally, KwaMbonambi, which as has already been mentioned is a village with a link with forestry, had an excess of men - a sex ratio of 1,11. This is understandable given the nature of forestry work.

6.3.3 Household Composition and Size.

The White households sampled from the four towns in the region were almost entirely composed of the head (25% of the sample of Whites), spouse (23%), and children (48%). Relatives ranging from parent(s) of the head or spouse, to siblings, and other kinsfolk, amounted to a total of only 2,6%, while 0,9% of the household

members were boarders. The households consisted, therefore, almost entirely of families of a man and/or woman, and his/her/their children (87% of the sample). Only 5% of the households were single person households. Differences between the four towns were unimportant.

The mean household sizes were 4,7 for Empangeni; 4,0 for KwaMbonambi; 3,1 for Mtunzini; and 4,3 for Richards Bay.

6.3.4 Marital Status.

It is noticeable that the sample we drew had very few divorced or widows/widowers in it. Just under one percent of the individuals were in these categories, with only 0,1 percent being divorced and not remarried. Forty-eight percent were married, and 51% were never married. There were no important differences between the four towns. This pattern has one surprise - the remarkably small number of widows/widowers (0,7%) in the towns. This contrasts markedly with small towns in the Eastern Cape/Border regions of South Africa such as Grahamstown (Watts, 1957b, 212) and Kingwilliamstown (Watts, 1965, 156). It probably also contrasts with many other small towns, and represents proportionately far less widows and widowers than in the White South African population, where in 1970 there were 4,58% widowed/widowered persons (widows by themselves amounted to 3,86%), and 1,50% divorced (Republic of South Africa, 1976b, 142). Why this difference was found in our sample is not certain but it appears widowed persons must move away.[1)]

6.3.5 Home Language.

Table 6.4 gives the distribution of home language for Whites at all ages in the sample, by town, in 1972.

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1) Professor R.J. Davies has suggested the area tended to be one where people often did not want to settle long term, and still had a somewhat 'frontier image'. He commented in a personal communication to the author.

TABLE 6.4.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOME LANGUAGE, FOR WHITES AT ALL AGES, BY TOWN, RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION. BASED ON A SAMPLE, 1972. (KNOWN CASES ONLY.)

HOME LANGUAGE	PERCENTAGES BY TOWN				TOTAL FOR REGION
	EMPANGENI	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	RICHARDS BAY	
Afrikaans	49,7	21,5	26,4	72,0	50,9
English	42,8	73,8	60,1	20,4	41,5
Both	6,0	2,4	13,4	4,7	5,9
Other	1,5	2,4	0,0	2,9	1,7
TOTAL	100,0	100,1	99,9	100,0	100,0
Number of cases for which information was not available	20	-	3	-	23

Inspecting first of all the region as a whole, the sample gives an estimate of half of the Whites at all ages in the four towns in the region speaking Afrikaans at home and two-fifths speaking English. Those speaking both English and Afrikaans in the home accounted for just over 1 in 20 (6%) of the sample case, while only 2% spoke one or more foreign languages. Thus the sample results suggest that Afrikaners are, by a modest margin, in the majority, taking the four towns as a whole. However, there appear to be some noteworthy differences between the towns. Empangeni approximates closely to the pattern for the region as a whole, whereas Richards Bay was in 1972 predominantly an Afrikaans speaking community. Almost three-quarters of the individuals sampled from the town spoke Afrikaans at home. Foreign languages, at 3%, were the highest for the four towns. Indeed, if the survey of the town had been taken a few years later, the percentage of those speaking languages other than English or Afrikaans would have been higher, with foreign construction experts and technologists on contract. Be that as it may, Richards Bay as a new town was drawing mainly Afrikaans-speakers - a statistic which supported our im ressions of the communit at that

By contrast, KwaMbonambi was largely an English speaking village, with three-quarters of the sample falling into this group. Mtunzini also had more English than Afrikaans speakers - a ratio in the sample of 1,0 Afrikaners to 2,3 English speakers. Later in this chapter, an examination will be made of the extent to which newcomers to these and the other two towns were mainly Afrikaners, or not. Mtunzini had the highest proportion in the sample speaking both English and Afrikaans in the home - over 1 in 7 cases. This may be linked to the White staff from the University of Zululand - this is not certain, however.

6.3.5.1 Home Language by Age.

In terms of mean ages, the Afrikaans-speaking Whites were the youngest ($\bar{X}$ = 21,8 years), followed by those speaking both English and Afrikaans in the home ($\bar{X}$ = 23,6 years). The English speakers and those speaking a foreign language at home were older, at means of 27,5 years and 27,6 years respectively.

It had been anticipated that the Afrikaners would be the youngest group, as a majority of cases from Richards Bay spoke Afrikaans, and the town attracted people of younger working age (Section 6.3.2 above).

It has been found in East London and King Williams Town that those speaking both English and Afrikaans tend to follow more the characteristics of Afrikaners than the English, and so it was expected they would be, in this instance, younger on average than the English speakers (Watts, 1965; 1970).

6.3.6 Occupations of the Sample.

Table 6.5 gives the percentage occupational distribution for known cases from the samples from the four towns. Scrutinizing the Table, Mtunzini stands out as having relatively more Upper White Collar workers than the other towns. This is probably a reflection of its characteristic of being a dormitary suburb for well-to-do Whites, and for senior professional and academic staff from the University of Zululand. Its very attractive setting makes it a desirable residential area for those with the means to choose.

In terms of Upper Blue Collar workers, Empangeni and Richards Bay understandably emerge as the two towns with higher percentages of workers in this category. They were the two main centres of industry and construction in the region. They were also the only two towns in the 1972 sample to have Lower Blue Collar workers.

The sample from KwaMbonambi suggested that it was mainly a White Collar village - only about 1 in 8 of the employed individuals were Blue collar (and all of them were skilled workers).

The total percentage of gainfully occupied persons in the towns is fairly typical and so at a level to be expected.

Turning to the Non Gainfully Occupied category, Mtunzini had the highest percentage of housewives in the four towns. It was a town which in 1972 had virtually no employment to offer within its confines, except a very few service-type jobs. It also had the fewest scholars/students. At the time of the survey it appeared not to have a school, and so probably was less attractive to many families with school-going children. The town-(or village might be a better term)- also had the highest proportion of retired/pensioned individuals pointing to its function as a pleasant, seaside and estuarine residential site.

In regard to preschool children, Empangeni, KwaMbonambi and Mtunzini had much the same percentage in this category - 14% to 17%.

TABLE 6.5.

PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE OF WHITES AT ALL AGES FROM FOUR TOWNS IN RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI, 1972. (KNOWN CASES ONLY)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	PERCENTAGES				
	EMPANGENI	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	RICHARDS BAY	SAMPLE AS A WHOLE
UPPER WHITE COLLAR.					
Independent Commercial and Managerial	5,4	15,1	10,0	3,1	5,9
Professional Higher Administration and Technological	5,7	3,4	14,8	8,3	6,5
TOTAL UPPER WHITE COLLAR	11,1	18,5	24,8	11,4	12,4
LOWER WHITE COLLAR.					
Subordinate Commercial, Clerical, Minor Administrative and other Lower White Collar Jobs	14,3	15,2	10,0	10,0	13,3
UPPER BLUE COLLAR.					
Skilled Manual	8,2	4,5	3,9	4,4	7,1
Supervisory or Responsible Manual	1,2	-	2,0	4,0	1,7
TOTAL UPPER BLUE COLLAR	9,4	4,5	5,9	8,4	8,8
LOWER BLUE COLLAR.					
Semi-skilled Manual	3,6	-	-	2,1	2,9
Unskilled Manual	0,4	-	-	0,0	0,3
TOTAL LOWER BLUE COLLAR	4,0	-	-	2,1	3,2
TOTAL GAINFULLY OCCUPIED	38,8	38,2	40,7	31,9	37,7
NOT GAINFULLY OCCUPIED.					
Housewife	14,6	10,4	22,7	18,1	15,4
Student/Scholar	27,2	31,3	13,7	23,0	26,0
Unemployed, seeking work	0,1	2,2	-	-	0,2
Retired/Pensioned/Disabled	1,3	2,4	5,7	1,3	1,6
Preschool Children	13,7	15,4	17,3	25,7	16,2
TOTAL NOT GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	56,9	61,7	59,4	68,1	59,4
INADEQUATELY SPECIFIED	4,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	3,0
GRAND TOTAL	100,0	99,9	100,1	100,0	100,1
No information as Percent of all cases	2,5%	1,4%	3,1%	0,68%	2,1%

Richards Bay however with 26% of the sample being preschool children was notably higher. It appears that as a new, rapidly growing town it was, amongst others, attracting young families to work and they of course would by the nature of things have more of their children in the preschool age-range.

6.3.6.1 Occupations by Home Language and Town.

An analysis of home language of gainfully occupied Whites in the sample in the two main urban areas in the region - viz. Empangeni and Richards Bay - revealed that in Empangeni English speakers dominated the independent commercial and managerial group. A ratio of 4,3 English speakers in this category to one Afrikaner was found. On the other hand, there were 1,34 Afrikaans-speaking professional, higher administrative and technological workers to every one English speaker (or 0,75 English to one Afrikaner). Lower White collar workers were again more English-speakers (1,86 to one Afrikaner), as were Upper and Lower Blue collar workers (ratios of 1,43 and 2,86 to one respectively). In fact in the sample overall there were 1,86 English-speaking gainfully occupied Whites to every one Afrikaner, in Empangeni, so that it is only in the professional, higher administrative, etc., group that Afrikaners predominated. In part this was no doubt a reflection of the language structure of top civil servants in the town.

Richards Bay had Afrikaans-speaking gainfully occupied workers predominating over English speakers in every occupational category. The highest ratio of English speakers to Afrikaners was amongst the independent commercial and managerial workers, with 0,83 English speakers to one Afrikaner. The ratio dropped down to only 0,21 English to one Afrikaner with professional, higher administrative, and related workers, and 0,24 for lower blue collar workers. The lower blue collar workers in the Richards Bay sample in 1972 were all Afrikaners.

Thus, whilst Empangeni was predominantly an English-speaking town in 1972, according to the sample, the (new) growing town of

Richards Bay was very largely an Afrikaans town. It is interesting how two towns so close together can be so different. The answer is, of course, probably that the established residents in the region were English, reflecting the composition of the old British Colony of Natal and Zululand after conquest at the end of the Nineteenth Century, whereas newcomers are largely Afrikaans-speaking.

6.3.7 Industrial Classification of Workers.

The Industrial Classification by town of gainfully occupied workers for whom there were sufficient details to allow classification, is given in Table 6.6.

TABLE 6.6.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WHITES IN A SAMPLE FROM FOUR TOWNS, RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, 1972. (KNOWN CASES.)

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TOWN				
	EMPANGENI	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	RICHARDS BAY	TOTAL
Manufacturing:					
Primary	22,6	20,2	9,3	59,8	27,9
Secondary	2,7	3,1	-	4,5	2,9
Commerce and Finance	34,0	51,9	30,6	7,7	30,6
Professional	3,1	6,2	5,6	7,1	4,1
Public Service	10,5	15,6	35,2	20,8	13,8
University[1)]	2,0	-	19,4	-	2,5
Transport	14,9	3,1	-	-	10,9
Other	10,0	-	-	-	7,3
TOTAL	99,8	100,1	100,1	99,9	100,0

1) University of Zululand staff only.

Inspecting this Table, Empangeni emerges as a commercial, manufacturing and transport centre in 1972. In fact, observation showed that at that date it served these functions for a fairly wide region,

with the only other main centre in Zululand being Eshowe. KwaMbonambi was a small retailing village with some industry and public service functions, while Mtunzini was largely a centre of residence for university staff, commercial workers and public service. The Richards Bay sample had no transport workers - in 1972 the harbour had not been constructed yet, but the manufacturing sector at two-thirds of the workers in the sample, was developing. The public service function of the developing town was also relevant. Today it is likely that manufacturing and the harbour, are the two main sources of employment in the town.

6.3.8 Dependency Ratios for Households.

Dependency ratios were calculated for each household, relating the number at all ages without an income of any kind to those in receipt of an income - whether in the form of a salary, or profits, or pension or grants. Table 6.7 gives dependency ratios, by town, for the sample.

TABLE 6.7.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENCY RATIOS FOR A SAMPLE OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS, BY TOWN, IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, 1972.

HOUSEHOLD DEPENDENCY RATIO	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TOWN				
	EMPANGENI	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	RICHARDS BAY	TOTAL
Under 0,5	19,3	14,8	20,4	16,4	18,6
0,50 - 0,99	3,8	9,2	11,0	1,8	4,3
1,00 - 1,99	25,4	37,3	48,2	21,6	27,1
2,00 - 2,99	21,5	9,9	15,3	10,8	18,4
3,00 - 3,99	14,5	9,9	5,1	22,3	14,9
4,00 - 4,99	9,3	14,1	0,0	16,2	10,1
5,00 - 5,99	5,1	4,9	0,0	7,2	5,1
6,00 - 6,99	1,2	0,0	0,0	3,6	1,5
TOTAL	100,1	100,1	100,0	99,9	100,0
Means	2,28	2,16	1,42	2,79	2,30
Co-efficients of Variation	69,0	71,6	60,3	63,23	69,5

Note: A dependency ratio of 1,00 for a household means that for every one person in the household without a source of income of their own, there is one person with an income.

The overall mean dependency ratio, grouping the towns together, is 2,30 dependents to every one income receiver in a household, which in all likelihood is fairly typical in South Africa. Empangeni and KwaMbonambi have much the same average (mean) figure and much the same degree of variation. By contrast, the Mtunzini sample had on average less dependents, and Richards Bay more, but both had about the same lower degree of variation in dependency ratios than the other two towns. In all the towns, large dependency ratios are found in a minority of households.

Dependency ratios by Home Language, regardless of town, were a mean of 2,72 for Afrikaners, with a co-efficient of variation of 59,5; English-speakers $\bar{x}$ = 1,95 and C.V. = 77,4; for those speaking both Afrikaans and English at home $\bar{x}$ = 2,02 and C.V. 64,25; and finally for those speaking a foreign language $\bar{x}$ = 0,96 and C.V. = 100,0. These figures indicate that the English-speakers had a lower mean dependency ratio than either those speaking both English and Afrikaans at home, or Afrikaans-speaking households. The small group of "foreigners" largely coming into the region to work on, and supervise, the development at Richards Bay, had the fewest dependents on average. Probably an important proportion of them were on contract, and workers with few dependents would be more mobile.

6.3.9 Household Incomes.

Monthly Household Incomes for Known Cases are given in terms of percentage distributions in Table 6.8 below. These data are for 1972, and the size of the incomes reveals how much lower incomes were then prior to the rising inflation of the later 1970's and early eighties.

TABLE 6.8.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOMES FOR A SAMPLE OF WHITES, BY TOWN, IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, 1972. (KNOWN CASES ONLY.)

MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN RANDS	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION				
	EMPANGENI	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	RICHARDS BAY	TOTAL
50 - 99	1,2	-	-	-	0,8
100 - 149	1,4	-	-	-	1,0
150 - 199	2,7	-	-	-	1,9
200 - 249	2,9	-	12,0	10,1	4,7
250 - 299	6,7	5,3	12,5	14,2	8,3
300 - 349	10,5	12,3	6,5	6,1	9,5
350 - 399	14,4	11,4	13,0	14,2	14,1
400 - 499	19,2	17,5	13,0	14,2	17,8
500 - 599	15,6	17,5	13,0	14,2	15,2
600 - 799	18,6	17,5	12,0	16,9	17,8
800 - 999	4,1	-	6,0	2,0	3,7
1 000 - 1 249	0,8	6,1	6,0	4,1	2,1
1 250 - 1 499	-	-	6,0	-	0,4
1 500+	1,9	12,3	-	4,1	2,7
TOTAL	100,0	99,9	100,0	100,1	100,0
Means	R503	R688	R549	R529	R520
Co-efficient of Variation	50,9	64,4	58,1	62,1	56,2
Medians	R453	R520	R446	R438	R454

The mean and median incomes for the samples as well as the co-efficients of variation, are also given in Table 6.8. Comparing first of all the co-efficients of variation, it will be seen that the relative variation in incomes is much the same in the various towns. Empangeni, interestingly enough, had the least relative variation in income. Medians are a better average for incomes than means, which are affected by extreme values. Except for the KwaMbonambi sample which

had a higher median income, the other three towns have half the households in the sample with incomes of under more or less R440 to R450 per month. The higher average income in KwaMbonambi is a reflection of few blue collar workers in the sample from the village.

6.3.9.1 Incomes by Home Language.

A comparison of median incomes by home language does not show wide differences. The Afrikaners in the sample, with a median income of R439 per annum had an income a bit lower than the English-speakers at R471 per annum. This kind of difference is fairly typical. The group speaking both English and Afrikaans at home had an income lower than either, at a median of R411. The 'foreigners' had a group with very low incomes indeed - possibly newcomers to the region still establishing themselves, so their median income was the lowest at only R333 a year. They were a small group of households.

6.4 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIVIDUAL WHITE ADULTS SAMPLED FROM THE FOUR TOWNS

It has already been reported that 275 White households were interviewed from the four towns investigated. From each household chosen, one White adult aged over 18 years was selected, using Kish's (1967) tables, for detailed interviewing. This section reports on the demographic characteristics of the adults selected, basing the results on a weighted sample to estimate for all White adults in the towns involved.

6.4.1 Age, Sex, Home Language and Marital Status of the White Adults sampled from the Four Towns.

Allowing for low estimates in the sample from Empangeni and Mtunzini and therefore raising the estimates by a suitable weight, there were an estimated 3 400 White adults aged over 18 years in 1972 in Empangeni. Corresponding figures for the other towns were Richards Bay 540, Mtunzini 400, and KwaMbonambi190. This produces a total of approximately 4 500 White adults. Almost equal proportions were males and females. Mtunzini was the only town with noticeably

more females than males (57% female to 43% male - a sex ratio of 0,75).

The overall mean age of the adults in the sample is about 38 years. For individual towns, the means varied little. In Empangeni the calculated figure was 38 years, with 40 years for KwaMbonambi, 41 years for Mtunzini and 36 years for Richards Bay. While the differences are unimportant they do suggest that as a "new town" Richards Bay may have perhaps been drawing more younger adults than the established community.

It is estimated that 48% of the White adults were Afrikaans-speaking, 44% were English-speaking, 6% spoke both at home, and 2% spoke a foreign language. Richards Bay had about seven-tenths of its White adults speaking Afrikaans against half in Empangeni, and about two-fifths only in KwaMbonambi and Mtunzini. This again emphasizes the point made previously that Richards Bay seems to be attracting mainly Afrikaans workers.

The Afrikaners, and those speaking both English and Afrikaans at home, were on average about five years younger than the English-speakers and the foreign language speakers, as far as the adults were concerned.

Few - only one in ten - of the adult sample were never married. A total of 86% were married, with 0,1% divorced, and 2,8% being widowed.

There is no need to give information on the occupational distribution of the White adults sampled, as figures for this characteristic have already been given for the sample of all adults living in households in the dwellings sampled. The same is true for information on industrial category of employment.

6.4.2 Town in which the Adults worked.

As was to be expected in a region of small towns, the bulk of the working adults were employed in the town in which they lived. A total of 86% of the gainfully occupied adults sampled worked in the town in which they were living. Virtually one in ten who worked in town

other than where they were living worked in Richards Bay, whilst 3% worked in areas other than the four towns sampled. The remainder lived in either Richards Bay, KwaMbonambi or Mtunzini, and worked in Empangeni. It was expected that,as we had found,the majority of those who worked in a town other than which they lived were involved in work at Richards Bay.

6.4.3 Highest Educational Level Attained by the Adults.

The adults interviewed were asked about the highest educational level which they had attained. The mean level achieved for the sample was Standard 9 (an actual mean number of years of schooling of eleven-and-a-half years). The means for the four towns did not differ much, except that Mtunzini with a not insubstantial number of university academic staff living there had a slightly higher mean at 10,5 as a standard, or just over matric. This represents 12½ years of education.

Taking the lower end of the educational scale, in Empangeni two-fifths of the White adult sample had an educational level of between Std. 5 and Std. 8. For Richards Bay the figure was fractionally higher, while in KwaMbonambi between Stds. 6 and 8 we found three-tenths of the adults. The corresponding figure, again between Stds. 6 and 8 in Mtunzini was one in four.

Looking at the other end of the scale for highest educational level obtained, in the four towns as a whole our sample showed 14% of the White adults had attained three or more years post-matric qualifications. This means that they had attained a Bachelors Degree, or a advanced technical certificate III, or the equivalent or higher. There was variation between towns. As an important residential area for the University of Zululand staff, 37% of the adults sampled in Mtunzini had attained this high level of education, whereas it was only 4% in KwaMbonambi. Twelve percent had achieved this level in Empangeni as against 18% in Richards Bay. Therefore, in the towns other than Mtunzini the proportion with this level of post-school education was small, except that Richards Bay had not far short of one in five of the adults reaching this level. This was a reflection of the demand by the new and growing industries in Richards Bay for well-trained staff,

probably particularly on the engineering and scientific sides. For example the aluminium smelting plant which was being constructed and extended at the time of the survey needed high calibre staff on the planning and managerial levels.

TABLE 6.9.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED BY A SAMPLE OF WHITE ADULTS, BY TOWN, 1972. (KNOWN CASES ONLY.)

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION				
	EMPANGENI	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	RICHARDS BAY	TOTAL
Standard 3 or equiv.	-	-	-	-	-
" 4 "	-	-	-	-	-
" 5 "	1,2	-	-	1,6	1,1
" 6 "	8,2	10,4	14,1	4,1	8,0
" 7 "	7,5	-	-	-	5,3
" 8 "	26,6	19,2	19,1	28,2	25,9
" 9 "	7,4	4,4	5,2	7,4	7,1
" 10 "	31,8	38,9	16,9	33,1	31,5
1 year post-matric	2,8	8,8	5,6	4,9	3,8
2 years post-matric	2,7	13,9	2,6	2,2	3,3
3 years "	6,6	-	10,4	8,8	6,8
4+ years "	5,0	4,4	26,1	9,6	7,2
TOTAL	99,8	100,0	100,0	99,9	100,0

Table 6.9 gives further details for educational level attained, showing the percentage distribution by town.

It is notable that there was only a slight difference between the mean educational level of males and females. The females were slightly lower - less than one standard - in education than the males.

As is to be expected, there were definite differences in mean age educational levels according to occupational category. The highest overall mean educational level was amongst upper white collar

workers, with a mean of one-and-a-half years post-matriculation education. Lower white collar workers had a mean of almost Standard 9, with very much the same kind of level attained by upper blue collar workers. Lower blue collar workers had the lowest educational level of just under an average of Standard 8, or just below Junior Certificate level.

As far as home language was concerned the English-speakers were slightly more educated than the Afrikaners, with those speaking both English and Afrikaans having about the same mean level of education as the Afrikaans-speakers. The means were Standard 9,9 or almost matric level for the English; 9,1 as a standard for the Afrikaners; 9,2 for those speaking both. Adults in the sample speaking a foreign language had the highest mean education at Standard 10,6 or above matric level.

6.4.4. Migratory History of Adults in Natal.

6.4.4.1 Numbers of Years of Residence in a Town in which the Adult was Living at the time of the Survey.

If we look at the length of residence of the sample of adults in the town studied, we get some idea of the proportion of newcomers. We need to bear in mind that the study was limited to adults over the age of eighteen years.

As a new town to all intents and purposes, Richards Bay had a very low mean of 2,3 years residence of White adults studied in that town. Corresponding figures were 7,0 years for Empangeni, 7,3 years for KwaMbonambi, and 4,1 years for Mtunzini. The overall mean was 6,0 years. While the low averages for Richards Bay and Mtunzini were expected, in one case because of the development of a town virtually de novo, and in the other case because of the influx of residents who were working in the University of Zululand, the low figure for Empangeni underlines the fact that although this town was the established service centre for the region, it nonetheless had an important proportion of adults who were newcomers to the town. If, for argument's sake, we define as newcomers those who had lived in a town for less than three years, then we find that in Empangeni a total of 45% of the adults sampled fell into this category – this is indeed a surprisingly

high figure. In the case of Richards Bay, the percentage was 91%. Newcomers in KwaMbonambi and Mtunzini amounted to 41% and 51% respectively. If we take as very recent newcomers those who had been in the town concerned for less than six months at the time of being interviewed, then we find that 15% of the sample in Empangeni, 13% of those in Richards Bay, 11% of those in KwaMbonambi and 5% of those in Mtunzini fell into this category.

Taking long term residents in a town as those who had lived for more than ten years in a community (this is not a definition that one would apply in an area not experiencing rapid in-migration!), we find that 23% or about one-quarter of the adults in Empangeni whom we studied were "long term residents". Similar figures for Richards Bay were only 5%, 25% for KwaMbonambi, and only 3% for Mtunzini.

Taken together all these figures emphasize the recent rapid growth of the towns in the region, and underline the marked in-migration into the region. This is a baseline study before the major part of the development during the 1970's and early 1980's had taken place, and shows how even before much construction had taken place in Richards Bay population was moving in on a significant scale. The tempo of course increased during the remaining part of the 1970's, but by 1979 when a follow- up study was undertaken the major part of the construction teams that had been in the area had completed their work and left, and the pace of development had slackened. Given the recession beginning to bite at the time of writing (mid 1982) the continued rate of development of the region will probably be slower for the immediate future.

Table 6.10 provides fuller details for the percentage distribution of length of residence in the various towns.

Scrutinizing this table, the most noticeable feature about it is the fact that in the sample there were only 5% of the adults who had been in the Richards Bay town for ten or more years. These of course would have been inhabitants of the town before it started de novo as a new town. There were no cases in the sample who had lived in the town for four or more years but under ten years.

TABLE 6.10.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN A TOWN FOR A SAMPLE OF ADULTS, 1972. (KNOWN CASES ONLY.)

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE TOWN	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION				
	EMPANGENI	KWAMBONAMBI	MTUNZINI	RICHARDS BAY	TOTAL
Under 6 months	15,4	11,0	5,2	13,1	14,1
Over 6 months, less than 1 year	9,5	8,2	16,5	28,2	13,0
Over 1 year, less than 1½ years	10,3	8,8	18,9	21,3	12,6
Over 1½ years, less than 3 years	9,7	12,6	10,8	28,2	13,0
Over 3 years, less than 4 years	6,9	4,4	-	3,9	5,9
Over 4 years, less than 5 years	4,2	14,8	15,7	-	4,8
Over 5 years, less than 6 years	8,4	4,4	8,2	-	6,8
Over 6 years, less than 7 years	1,1	6,5	-	-	1,1
Over 7 years, less than 8 years	5,5	-	10,8	-	4,6
Over 8 years, less than 9 years	3,3	4,4	5,6	-	3,0
Over 9 years, less than 10 years	3,1	-	5,6	-	2,5
10+ years	22,7	24,9	2,6	5,3	18,7
TOTAL	100,1	100,0	99,9	100,0	100,1

In other words, the recent comers to the town had all been there for less than four years, which meant that they started coming into the little hamlet of Richards Bay in later 1968 or 1969 onwards. This pinpoints fairly clearly the point in time at which the influx of Whites into the little hamlet started occurring.

Examining the distribution of length of residence in the town by home language for Richards Bay, as was expected the only

longer term residents in the town who had been there ten or more years were English-speaking. The mean number of years lived in the town for Afrikaans-speakers was 1¼ years, as against 6,2 years for English speakers. The figure for those speaking both English and Afrikaans in the home was a mean of 1,1 year, while for those speaking a foreign language it was 1,25 years. In regard to Empangeni those speaking either Afrikaans or both English and Afrikaans in the home had shorter mean lengths of stay in the town than either English-speakers or those speaking a foreign language. This latter point incidentally rather nullifies the suggestion previously that newcomers to the town would have had an important proportion of those speaking a foreign language. The mean length of stay in the town for Afrikaners was 6,1 years, as against 4,2 years for those speaking both English and Afrikaans in their homes. English speakers had a mean of 8,0 years, as against 11,0 for those speaking a foreign language in the home. Looking at the group who had been in the town for ten or more years, it was one-fifth of the Afrikaners, one-quarter of the English-speakers, less than one-tenth of those speaking both English and Afrikaans, but a surprisingly high one-third of those speaking a foreign language. This suggests that it was possibly workers such as for example Greeks who had moved into the town to run general dealers and cafes and the like which contributed foreign langauge speakers to the population. The implication of the percentages for those who had been in the town for ten or more years is that while the Afrikaans did have a group of residents who were not newcomers, the Afrikaans-speaking population had more newcomers coming into the town than did the English group. The pattern for KwaMbonambi was fairly similar to that for Empangeni. However, the mean lengths of residence by home language in Mtunzini showed less difference between English and Afrikaners. The means were 4,3 years for Afrikaners, 3,6 years for English, and 2,5 years for those speaking both English and Afrikaans. In other words the sample from the town was skewed heavily toward newcomers. In fact it was only amongst the English-speakers that there were 4% who had been in the town for ten or more years. This is despite the fact that the means show on average English had stayed slightly less length of time than the Afrikaners. Mtunzini therefore follows after Richards Bay as a town being built up largely by newcomers.

Looking at the four towns taken together, there is no doubt that more of the recent comers to the region were Afrikaners than English speakers. In relative terms, almost three-fifths of the Afrikaners were newcomers of less than three years length of stay in the town, in contrast to only one-third of the English-speakers.

There was not much difference between men and women in terms of their length of stay in the town. Women had a slightly higher mean at 6,3 years against 5,8 years for men. An investigation of the accumulated percentage distributions for men and women showed almost identical results.

6.4.4.2 The Birthplace of Adults Living in the Region.

A breakdown of details for the birthplace in the sample of adults in the four towns of the region showed that very few indeed had actually been born in the town in which they were living. In Empangeni 0,3% of the sample of adults had been born there, as against none of those in Richards Bay and Mtunzini, and 4,4% of those from KwaMbonambi. By and large then the White adults in the sample were recruited from elsewhere in South Africa.

Examining first of all the Empangeni sample, it is clear that the largest proportion came from further afield than the immediate areas around the town. Only 1½% were from elsewhere in Zululand, 8,7% from the Durban region, and 8½% from the rest of Natal. In contrast to this one-fifth were from the Witwatersrand, with a further more than one in six from elsewhere in the Transvaal, and one-tenth from the Eastern Cape. About one in twelve were born overseas. In the case of Richards Bay, about one-fifth were from the rest of Natal with none from elsewhere in Zululand, over a quarter from the Witwatersrand, with more than one in six from elsewhere in the Transvaal, and just under one in ten each from the Free State, the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. Only 2% were in fact born overseas. It is interesting to note that the small sample of KwaMbonambi had almost two-fifths born on the Witwatersrand, and almost one-quarter in the Eastern Cape. Mtunzini had a quarter born in the Durban region, with about one-fifth on the Witwatersrand and a tenth elsewhere in the Transvaal, and it is intriguing

to note that one in six were born overseas - the highest proportion for any town. This suggests that overseas-born in part were academics working in the University of Zululand.

Looking at the origin in terms of birthplace of each language group in each town, the foreign-speaking people in the region are all immigrants, having been born overseas. However the majority of those born overseas (two-thirds) were English-speaking, indicating that the majority of those from overseas in the region were from English-speaking countries. In all four towns, a high percentage of the Afrikaners originate from the Transvaal (half in the case of Empangeni, three-quarters in Mtunzini, almost three-fifths in Richards Bay and virtually half in KwaMbonambi). In the two smaller towns of KwaMbonambi and Mtunzini a relatively high percentage are Afrikaans-speaking adults originating from the Eastern Cape - a third in KwaMbonambi and a quarter in Mtunzini. With the English-speaking speaking group, in Empangeni the highest percentage (one-fifth) of the English-speaking originated from the Witwatersrand with about one-sixth from the Durban region. English-speakers were drawn from all regions recorded, ranging from Zululand through to various parts of the rest of South Africa, the rest of Africa, and of course overseas. However, in the case of Richards Bay the English-speaking group came mainly from the Durban region (three-fifths), the rest of Natal (two-fifths), and from the Witwatersrand region (one-sixth). These figures suggest that Afrikaners are migrating into Richards Bay itself from further afield in South Africa than the English-speakers. The Mtunzini population of English-speakers came mainly from the Durban region (two-fifths), overseas (one-quarter) and the Witwatersrand (one in eight of the adults). These figures suggest that perhaps some of the academics living in Mtunzini and working at the University of Zululand are from overseas. Finally, in regard to KwaMbonambi the English-speaking group are very largely from the Witwatersrand (just over half the cases) and from the Eastern Cape (one-fifth of the cases). The numbers speaking both English and Afrikaans in the home are only of important size in Empangeni and Richards Bay. In Empangeni they come mainly from the Witwatersrand, rest of the Transvaal, and the Free State (the relative proportions are almost three-tenths over one-sixth and a quarter) whilst in Richards Bay it is intriguing to note that two-thirds were born in the Western Cape and a further third in the Witwatersrand. Overall

therefore the recruitment from different birthplaces according to language groups varies with the different towns.

Comparing the sexes, there was very little difference in the origin of males and females sampled from the adult population in the four towns.

6.4.4.3 Distance of Birthplace from the Town Lived in at the Time of Study.

The distance of the birthplace of an individual adult, measured in a straight line on a map from the town in which they were living at the time of the investigation, was obtained. The overall mean distance was 1 019 miles, showing of course the significant influx of the overseas group who were taken as having been born 6 000 miles away from the region. In Empangeni, one-sixth of the adults were born within 200 miles of the town. Corresponding figures were one-fifth for Richards Bay, over two-fifths for Mtunzini, and one-fifth for KwaMbonambi. The position becomes clearer if we take those born within 300 miles of the town concerned. The figures were one quarter for Empangeni, half for Mtunzini, one-fifth again for KwaMbonambi and only one quarter for Richards Bay. In terms of this criterion Richards Bay and Empangeni had three-quarters of the sample of adults each coming from 300 or more miles away. As the two larger towns they were drawing from further afield than the villages of Mtunzini and KwaMbonambi. This comment is valid though only if we look at the proportions drawn from nearer to the towns. If we take overall means, which include the proportion of those coming in from overseas, then the position alters somewhat. The mean distance of birthplace from the town was 1 019 miles for Empangeni, 1 350 miles for Mtunzini, 870 miles for KwaMbonambi and - the lowest of all - 670 for Richards Bay. This pattern was not expected, and shows the influence of people coming from very much further afield to the various towns, and depicts particularly the influence of those born overseas.

The cumulated frequency distributions given in the table referred to make it easier for the reader to compare the distribution of distance of birthplace for adults from the various towns.

TABLE 6.11.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DISTANCE OF BIRTHPLACE AWAY FROM TOWN LIVED IN AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY, FOR A SAMPLE OF WHITE ADULTS, 1972, MEASURED AS A STRAIGHT LINE ON A MAP. (KNOWN CASES ONLY.)

DISTANCE IN MILES OF BIRTHPLACE	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION									
	EMPANGENI		KWAMBONAMBI		MTUNZINI		RICHARDS BAY		TOTAL	
	%	Cumulated	%	Cumulated	%	Cumulated	%	Cumulated	%	Cumulated
Born in the Town	0,3	0,3	4,6	4,6	-	-	-	-	0,5	0,5
0 - 49	1,1	1,4	-	4,6	-	-	-	-	0,8	1,3
50 - 99	1,4	2,8	-	4,6	8,4	8,4	-	-	1,5	2,8
100 - 199	14,5	17,3	10,9	15,5	37,8	46,2	19,2	19,2	16,6	19,4
200 - 299	8,0	25,3	-	15,5	5,6	51,8	4,9	24,1	6,9	26,3
300 - 399	12,3	37,6	4,6	20,1	10,8	62,6	18,0	42,1	12,7	39,0
400 - 499	27,3	64,9	36,1	56,2	7,8	70,4	30,1	77,2	27,1	66,1
500 - 999	18,6	83,5	34,6	90,8	7,8	78,2	21,3	93,5	19,3	85,4
1000+	8,3	91,8	4,6	95,4	5,2	83,4	4,1	97,6	7,2	92,6
Overseas	8,2	100,0	4,6	100,0	16,5	99,9	2,2	99,8	7,5	100,1
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	99,9	99,9	99,8	99,8	100,1	100,1

Notes:

1. The distances were measured in miles, as in 1972 kilometres had not become the official measure of distance.
2. 'Overseas' was taken for calculations as being a round 6 000 miles away.

An analysis was made of the distance of birthplace by occupation of the adults sampled. Broadly the picture is that the higher the job category, the more widespread are the origins of individuals. Even when discounting those coming from overseas, the mean distance between the birthplace and the town concerned is generally higher for those in white collar than blue collar work, although in fact many lower blue collar individuals appeared to have come from long distances within South Africa. Excluding those born overseas upper white collar workers had a mean of approximately 540 miles for the distance between birthplace and town lived in. For lower white collar workers the mean was 515 miles; for upper blue collar workers 380 miles, and for lower blue collar workers about 660 miles. If we include those born overseas, then the means are: upper white collar workers 1 285 miles; lower white collar workers 900 miles; upper blue collar workers 380 miles, and lower blue collar workers 650 miles.

An analysis was also made of the rural-urban classification of birthplaces, in terms of the status at the 1970 Census of towns, villages and rural areas within South Africa. Taking the four towns sampled together, the greatest single proportion, amounting to over one-third of the sampled adults had been born in a city. One-fifth had been born in small towns and one-sixth in towns. A further one in six had been born in rural areas. The remainder had been born outside South Africa. There is no doubt from common experience that birthplaces of individuals resident in an area naturally vary, and this is true also of the Richards Bay-Empangeni region. The highest proportion of individuals born in a city was found in Mtunzini, where half fell into this category. In Richards Bay, on the other hand, about three-tenths of the adults were born in the rural area and one-third in the cities. Perhaps the high percentage of Afrikaans-speakers in Richards Bay accounts for this particular pattern. A tiny fraction of individuals were born in the town in which they were staying at present and this was true even of the older established towns. Empangeni and KwaMbonambi had much the same proportion - more or less a third - of their population of adults as Richards Bay had having been born in the cities. If we look at home language, then in all the four towns on the whole the majority

of English-speakers had been born in cities, with the majority of Afrikaans-speakers being born in small towns. The only exception to this pattern was Richards Bay where the majority of English-speakers were born in a rural area, and the majority of Afrikaners born in the cities. This is surprising and no explanation comes readily to mind.

A scrutiny of the distribution according to sex of rural-urban type of birthplace shows that a greater proportion of women had been born in the city than men - 41% of the women as against 28% of the men in the sample had been born in a city. The other major difference, which is somewhat smaller, was that whereas a quarter of the men had been born in a small town the figure for women was about one in six. The women therefore are rather more urbanised in terms of their birth-place than were the men. This again was not expected, and the reason for it is not obvious.

6.4.4.4 Reasons for Coming to the Study Area.

The sample of adults were asked what their reasons were for having moved to the town in which they were contacted, provided that they had not been born there and spent their whole life in the town. The two most important reasons for coming to the area were in order to get better job prospects for oneself, or because one's spouse or parents moved for this reason (mentioned by one-quarter of the cases), and because either one's self or one's spouse or parents were transferred to the town by an employer (mentioned by one-fifth of the cases). Only about a quarter percent said that they had been born in the town. Moving to the town in order to obtain a share of the fruits of development was mentioned by 3% of the cases, and being offered a job in the town was mentioned by just under one-fifth. Being close to the sea was mentioned in about 5% of the cases. More or less the same percentage mentioned migrating to the region to be with a future husband. Domestic reasons - of a fairly wide variety - were mentioned by one-tenth of the cases. It is interesting that in the overall sample only one percent said they specifically moved to the area to retire. A variety of other reasons mentioned by a few cases accounted for the rest of the reasons.

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The reasons quoted by individuals for coming to the town concerned varied to an extent from town to town. For example, about one-third moved to Richards Bay because they felt there were better prospects there, whereas transfers were mentioned more often by adults living in Empangeni and Mtunzini.

Overall there is no doubt that the major reason directly or indirectly for people moving into the region was economic - either for better job prospects, or because of transfers, or because a close relative moved for that reason and the person concerned (usually a woman or a child) moved also. This is a common pattern of motivation for migration in industrial societies.

6.4.4.5 Town or Area Lived Immediately Prior to Moving into the Region.

The sample of adults were questioned about the previous towns or areas in which they had lived prior to coming to the town in which they were interviewed. If we look at the information on the last place lived in immediately prior to moving to the town where they lived at the time of the survey, we find that only 2% of the sample of adults had been living in the existing town or the surrounding district prior to the survey. About one in six had been living elsewhere in Zululand, with a similar proportion in the Durban or South Coast region. Elsewhere in Natal amounted to about one in eight of the cases. This means that a little over two-fifths of the sample had been living in Natal or Zululand as their last place of residence before moving into the town where they were studied, and correspondingly almost three-fifths had come from further afield. The majority of those who had come from further afield came from the Witwatersrand-Pretoria complex, or elsewhere in the Transvaal. Roughly one in six had come from the Witwatersrand-Pretoria area, and a similar fraction from the rest of the Transvaal. Together therefore the Transvaal supplied about one-third of the sample we investigated. The Free State contributed only 6% with 4% from the Eastern Cape, 3% from the Western Cape, a similar percentage from the rest of Africa, and 1½% from overseas. This means that in terms of last place of residence an insignificant proportion of cases had come directly from overseas to the region, with the greatest

single proportion having been drawn from Natal and KwaZulu, and the other major but smaller proportion coming from the Transvaal. It is indeed intriguing to find how narrow in fact in the final analysis was the spread of areas from which migrants were drawn as far as their last place of residence was concerned. If we had done the study some years later the position no doubt would have been significantly different, inter alia with far more being drawn directly from overseas for the development of Richards Bay as a harbour and industrial area.

The English and Afrikaners in the region showed differences in the distribution geographically of their last place of residence. The majority of the English speakers were drawn from Durban and its surroundings, and Zululand, with only one in eight from the Witwatersrand-Pretoria area. The Afrikaans-speakers came mainly from the Transvaal. Half of the Afrikaners came from the Transvaal (with about equal proportions from the Witwatersrand-Pretoria area and from elsewhere in the Province, whereas three-fifths of the English-speakers came from Natal and Zululand). Two-fifths of the adults speaking both English and Afrikaans in their home came from the latter regions.

An analysis of the regional classification of the last place lived in prior to moving to the present town gives us some idea of from where the town of Richards Bay with its rapidly growing population was being built up. The largest single proportion amounting to not all that far short of half came from the Transvaal (14% from the Witwatersrand-Pretoria area, and 34% from the rest of the Transvaal). One in eight of the adults had come from the Free State, and none in the town had been drawn from the Cape Province. This means that two-fifths of those living in Richards Bay had come from Natal and KwaZulu. The area of Zululand (that is the wider region immediately around Richards Bay) accounted for 20%, with only 9% from Durban and South Coast, and 6% from elsewhere in Natal. Four percent of those adults we spoke to in Richards Bay had come from the town or its immediate district. This means that Richards Bay was drawing people either mainly from the Transvaal and to a lesser extent the Free State, or from the districts around the town. In 1972 its pulling power from other parts of South Africa was clearly limited. Empangeni as the main town in the region at the start of the seventies and with the

infrastructure for urban living, had drawn its population from a wider spread of areas within South Africa. Only one-tenth of the cases were from elsewhere in Zululand, as against one-fifth from Durban and South Coast, and a further one in eight of the cases from elsewhere in Natal. The Witwatersrand-Pretoria region had supplied one-fifth of the adults in the sample from Empangeni, and a further one in six had come from the rest of Transvaal. The Free State, the Eastern Cape, and the rest of the Cape Province all supplied round about 5% or a little less of the cases, and 4% had been drawn from the rest of Africa. One percent came from overseas. By contrast, KwaMbonambi had two-fifths of its adults whom we spoke to drawn from around the town or elsewhere in Zululand. Durban and the rest of Natal contributed very few of the cases, while one quarter were drawn from the Transvaal, one in eight from the Eastern Cape, and one in twelve from elsewhere in Africa. Finally, in regard to Mtunzini three-fifths of the cases from the town were drawn from Natal and KwaZulu, with the largest single number of these amounting to over a third coming from Zululand. The Witwatersrand-Pretoria area and the Eastern Cape provided more or less one-eighth of the cases each, and a tenth were drawn from overseas. This pattern probably reflects the presence of a farming or ex-farming stock and the university community within the town.

The rural-urban classification of the last place of residence prior to moving to the town concerned shows that the large majority of the adults had moved from urban areas. Only about one-fifth had come from farm or other rural areas immediately prior to moving into the Richards Bay-Empangeni region, just over one-sixth had come from small towns in the under 6 000 population of Whites at the 1960 Census, one-fifth had come from towns with 6 000 or more Whites in 1960, and over a third had come from one of the cities in South Africa (metropolitan areas as defined by the 1960 Census). The different language groups differed to some extent in the rural-urban nature of the towns or areas from which they had come. One in five Afrikaners had come from rural areas in contrast to one-sixth of the English-speakers. By contrast two-fifths of English-speakers had come from cities as against three-tenths of the Afrikaners. Only three-tenths of the English had come from small or larger towns, as against half of the Afrikaners.

The towns in the region differed in terms of the type of rural-urban areas from which they had drawn their population. In regard to Empangeni the largest single number had come from cities, and if we include cities and larger towns together, three-fifths had been drawn from these types of areas. KwaMbonambi, by contrast, had two-fifths of the sample of adults coming from a rural area, with a quarter of those living in Mtunzini likewise coming from rural areas. Richards Bay had almost two-fifths coming from large towns, but only one-fifth coming from cities. A quarter had been drawn from small towns. Therefore, Empangeni had the largest proportion of individuals who had come from a city background. This is probably because most industries in the region in 1972 were located in Empangeni, and as the most developed of the areas in the region it would be the one town more than the others which attracted the urbanites. KwaMbonambi and Mtunzini seemed to be attractive as two small villages, to more rurally-oriented adults.

An investigation of the distance, measured as a straight line on a map of the last place lived in immediately prior to moving to the town concerned, shows that the average number of miles involved was 424 miles. The English had a slightly higher average than the Afrikaners - a mean of 452 as against 405 miles. Those speaking both English and Afrikaans in the home had a mean of 414 miles, while it is interesting to note that the group speaking a foreign language had the lowest mean of all, at 288 miles. These means are very much lower than the figures quoted in a previous section for distance of birthplace from the town concerned, and this therefore means that individuals tended to possibly move in stages so that their last journey to the Richards Bay-Empangeni region was not necessarily a very long one. The mean distance of people who had travelled to Richards Bay from their last place of residence is 371 miles, as against 408 miles from Empangeni, 342 for KwaMbonambi and - the highest figure - 826 miles as a mean for Mtunzini. Mtunzini, catering in part as a dormitory suburb for workers at the University of Zululand, had pulled people on average from further afield than the other three towns.

If we look at distance of last place of residence for those in Richards Bay, a very interesting pattern emerges. The English

speakers in Richards Bay had a surprising low mean of 114 miles, in comparison with 448 miles for the Afrikaans-speaking, and 450 for those speaking both English and Afrikaans. However, in Empangeni the English and Afrikaans-speakers had very much the same kind of mean figure. The reason for these differences is not clear, and it will be interesting to see whether they persist over time when subsequent follow-up studies to this present baseline investigation are undertaken.

Going through the mean distances travelled by adults from their last place of residence to the town in which they were interviewed, according to the occupational category of the informants, we find that the highest mean distance travelled was in regard to upper white collar workers. Their mean was 514 miles, followed by the lower white collar workers with 504 miles. Upper blue collar workers had a mean of 292 miles as against 390 miles for lower blue collar workers. The greater mobility of white collar workers, particularly upper white collar workers, is well known and these figures underline this. Individuals in white collar jobs, especially the upper echelons, tend to come from further afield than do blue collar workers. The figures suggest that most blue collar workers in the town were at the time of survey recruited regionally. Some of the white collar workers were recruited from overseas.

6.4.4.6 Regional Patterns of Moves.

If we investigate the regional pattern of moves made during the lifetime of an individual from the moment of going to school onwards, we find that in the four towns taken together half of the adults investigated had spent three-quarters or more of their life from school onwards outside Zululand and Natal. A further one-fifth had spent half of their time for the period concerned outside of Natal or KwaZulu, meaning that an overall total of two-thirds had spent half or more of their school and adult life outside of Natal and KwaZulu. This emphasizes very clearly the extent to which the adult population of the four towns had been drawn from regions further afield. In this respect Richards Bay had the highest proportion spending half or more of their time in areas other than Zululand and Natal before

coming to the town. Three-quarters fell into this category, with two-thirds in fact spending three-quarters or more of the time outside of Zululand and Natal. In Empangeni just under half spent three-quarters or more of their time away from the regions concerned, and a further fifth had spent half or more of their time away from Natal and Zululand, meaning a total of two-thirds in all had spent half or three-quarters or more of their time outside these areas. Mtunzini had a pattern very similar to Richards Bay, whereas KwaMbonambi in this regard was very similar to Empangeni. The Afrikaners, understandably, had far fewer who had spent all their life history from schooldays onwards in Natal and Zululand than in the case of English-speakers. If we look at sex, then it is only some women we spoke to who had spent all of their lifetime covered by the question in the area of the town concerned. Occupational categories did not differ all that much in regard to regional pattern of moves.

6.4.4.7 Mean Lengths of Stay per Place.

The mean length of stay per place was calculated by dividing the number of years a person had lived from the date of their first job up until the time of interview, divided by the number of different towns and/or rural areas or farms they had lived in. The overall mean length of stay per place for the 275 adults interviewed was short at 6,4 years. There was not all that much difference in the means for various towns, with Richards Bay however, having the lowest average at 5,0 years in contrast to 6,8 years for Empangeni, 6,2 for KwaMbonambi and 6,4 years for Mtunzini. These figures suggest that perhaps Richards Bay as a rapidly growing new town was attracting somewhat more of the "nomadic" type than Empangeni which may have had more stable types. This can be established by examining Table 6.12 below, giving the percentage distribution of the average length of stay per a place for the different towns.

TABLE 6.12.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN LENGTH OF STAY PER PLACE FOR A SAMPLE OF ADULTS, BY TOWN IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION, 1972. (KNOWN CASES/ADEQUATELY SPECIFIED ONLY.)

MEAN LENGTH OF STAY PER PLACE	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION									
	EMPANGENI		KWAMBONAMBI		MTUNZINI		RICHARDS BAY		TOTAL	
	%	CUMULATED	%	CUMULATED	%	CUMULATED	%	CUMULATED	%	CUMULATED %
0 - 1,99 yrs	7,2	7,2	4,9	4,9	5,2	5,2	21,1	21,1	9,4	9,4
2 - 3,99 yrs	27,0	34,2	19,0	23,9	41,4	46,6	34,2	55,3	28,8	38,2
4 - 5,99 yrs	24,0	58,2	26,0	49,9	26,1	69,7	23,6	78,9	24,2	62,4
6 - 7,99 yrs	15,3	73,5	23,2	73,1	5,6	78,3	4,1	83,0	13,1	75,5
8 - 9,99 yrs	9,4	82,9	19,6	92,7	5,6	83,9	2,5	85,5	8,5	84,0
10 - 14,99yrs	12,4	95,3	7,4	100,1	5,6	89,5	11,8	97,3	11,6	95,6
15 - 19,99yrs	1,5	96,8	-		7,8	97,3	1,6	98,9	1,8	97,4
20+ yrs	3,2	100,0	-		2,6	99,9	1,1	100,0	2,6	100,0
TOTAL	100,0		100,1		99,9		100,0		100,0	

The average (mean) length of stay per place =

$$\frac{\text{Current Age - Age of First Job}}{\text{Number Towns/Rural Areas lived in}}$$

A total of 2,6% of the 'adults' aged 18+ years who were sampled were still at school at the time of the survey - they were all in Empangeni.

If we define a "nomad" as someone who has a mean length of stay per place of under four years, then taking the four towns together 38% or almost two-fifths of the adults in the sample could be classified as nomads. The town with the greatest percentage of nomads was Richards Bay, with 55% of the adults sampled falling into this category. This is what had been anticipated, as it was postulated that a rapidly growing new town would be more likely to attract individuals who were highly mobile spatially than an established town. Empangeni, the main town in the region had a third whom we have termed nomads, while the small village of KwaMbonambi had about one-quarter. Mtunzini, growing in part in response to the growth of the University of Zululand had 46% of the sample of adults with less than four years average length of stay in a place. It is known from general experience that academics

tend to be fairly mobile, and this may be the reason for this. If we look at the other end of the scale, and take as fairly stable in terms of migratory history, those individuals with a mean length of stay of ten or more years per place, then less than 3% of the Richards Bay sample fell into this category. in contrast to about one-tenth of those at Mtunzini, none of those in KwaMbonambi, and about 5% of those in Empangeni. These figures differ very dramatically from the pattern found in the small border town of King Williams Town, studied during the 1960's, where about half had a mean length of stay in a place of ten or more years, (Watts, 1966, 165). Judging by observation, King Williams Town at the time it was studied by Watts had very much the same kind of general functions, apart from an important educational one, which Empangeni had in 1972. Yet Empangeni did not have a large proportion of individuals who had a mean length of stay of ten or more years per place. Whether previously this had been the case is unknown, but there is no doubt that by 1972 the towns in the Richards Bay-Empangeni region were notable for the low proportion of adults in the samples drawn from them who had "stable" migratory histories. This may well be a characteristic of rapidly developing regions. By contrast King Williams Town was a static service centre within the ambit of a port city (East London).

The general pattern was for the average length of stay to tend to decrease amongst the younger age groups. The reason for this is evident from everyday experience, and younger people often tend to move around quite a bit during the start of their careers while they are trying one thing perhaps after another, and are also moving around as part of the process of obtaining promotion. Once they get older they not only have greater responsibilities which tend to tie one to a particular place, but also have found their niche, and so are not as spatially mobile.

An examination of average length of stay per place by occupation and education shows that the better-educated and those with higher-level jobs tend to be more spatially mobile. This is again something that is not unique to this region, but is probably found fairly widely in an industrial capitalist world. (It may also be characteristic of socialist

industrial countries but we are unaware of publications on this point.)

6.4.4.8 Percentage of Life since Schooldays, or Training was Completed, Lived in the Present Town.

The percentage of life lived in the present town, taking as a base the number of years the individual has lived since the completion of schooling or training, was calculated. For the sample as a whole, the overall mean percentage of life spent in the town up until the time the interview was 29%. For the Empangeni sample it was 33%, 32% for KwaMbonambi, only 21% for Mtunzini, and 14% for Richards Bay. As the new town in the region, developing virtually from scratch, it is obvious why Richards Bay had the lowest mean figure Likewise, it is clear why Empangeni, as the old-established main town in the region had the highest mean. KwaMbonambi was also a fairly old established town and so also had a high mean. Mtunzini, which as has been said was to some extent linked with the University of Zululand, was growing in more recent times (apart from anything else judging from the number of new houses in the village).

If we look at the four towns as a whole, almost half of the adults sampled had lived in the town involved for less than 30% of their post-school,post-training life. The role of migration in building up the population in the region is clearly demonstrated by the fact that one-fifth of the sample had lived in the town concerned for 70% or more of their working life. In other words, 4/5 had not reached this level. Afrikaners had a lower mean percentage of their life lived in the town in the region than the English-speakers - 27% as against 34%. It is noteworthy that those speaking both English and Afrikaans at home had a much lower mean at 17% of their adult life after education and training had been completed, spent in the town concerned. Those speaking a foreign language had a mean virtually identical to that of the English-speakers. Interestingly enough, the mean percentages of working life spent in a town did not differ by more than one or two percent or so between the different occupational groups.

6.4.4.9 Rural-Urban Pattern of Migration Prior to Moving to the Study Region.

The migratory history of the 275 adults interviewed was obtained, in terms of 1960 Census classification of the areas in South Africa. This history in each case was classified in terms of the rural-urban nature of their pattern of migration prior to moving into the study region. There was a wide scatter of the cases amongst different migratory patterns, looking at the towns taken together. The greatest single proportion, amounting to one in five had a history of mixed moves from towns to cities and vice versa before moving to the study area. However essentially their migratory history was an urban one. A further one in eight had moved from a city or cities to the study area. If we take those who had a fully urban migratory history in the sense of having moved between towns and/or cities before coming to the region, then we have a total of one-third of the informants. Those with a fully rural background before coming to the town in which they were interviewed were a very small proportion - 1%. Most of those - in fact nearly all - of those with a rural element in their migratory history moved to small towns and then to towns or cities before coming to the study region. One in eight fell into this group. Interestingly enough, one in seven had the reverse pattern - they had moved from a city or cities to a town or towns, then to small town or towns, to a rural area and then to the study area. The only other pattern having more than 5% of the sample cases was that of moving from a small town, to a town, and then to the study area. Seven percent of the cases was of this kind.

If we look at the home language differences in rural-urban patterns of migratory moves then the English-speakers emerged as essentially urban dwellers, whereas the Afrikaners tended to have rural areas and small towns, or a mixed pattern of rural-urban moves in their background. Richards Bay as the "new town" of the region was a town where there was no one type of migrant dominating the pattern of moves. Generally those attracted to the town had a mixed rural-urban and small town to city pattern of moves.

6.4.4.10 Number of Places Lived in.

The mean number of places lived in by the total sample of adults interviewed worked out at 5,3 places. There were slight variations between towns. Both Empangeni and KwaMbonambi had a mean of 4,8, with a mean of 6,1 for Mtunzini and 5,7 for Richards Bay. The Mtunzini figure may in part be a reflection of the highly mobile life spatially of academics, and also of other upper white collar workers living in the town. Previous studies (Watts, 1966; 1970) have shown that upper white collar workers tend to be highly mobile. The fact that the Richards Bay average was almost one place more than that for Empangeni and KwaMbonambi suggests that by 1972 the town was attracting more mobile individuals to it. This is of course understandable, as it had been known for many years that boom towns tend to attract nomads, and one of the symptoms of nomadism is being mobile spatially. Nevertheless, the differences between the means for various towns are not large. If we look at the median values, which are less affected by extreme values, then for Richards Bay the figure is an average of 5,4 places lived in, as against 4,6 for Empangeni, and also Mtunzini, with a figure of 4,4 for KwaMbonambi. This again emphasizes the point made about Richards Bay. If we bear in mind that the Richards Bay population is not an old one, and that all else being equal the number of places a person stayed in tends to increase with his/her age, then the Richards Bay population at the time of survey appeared on average to be fairly mobile. No doubt during the middle and later 1970's this characteristic would have been accentuated further by the presence of construction teams and international experts in Richards Bay with the burst of construction activities on the harbour and large industries.

The number of moves which the individual makes from one place to another can be classified either as voluntary, (the individual moves at his or her own choice), or involuntary (where the person is transferred and has no option unless he or she is prepared to resign.) Whereas Richards Bay had the highest average for the mean number of voluntary moves made by individuals, Empangeni had the highest mean for the number of involuntary moves. Whilst the difference is not large it suggests that the service centre aspect of Empangeni as the

major town in the region, and therefore with its civil service function, meant that it had more individuals transferred there, in contrast to the new town of Richards Bay where apparently more people moved voluntarily. Again the differences in means were not large.

6.4.4.11 Type of Migrant Living in the Various Towns.

An involuntary migrant is defined as someone in whose life history more than half of the moves from one town or district to another had been involuntary rather than purely by choice. On the other hand, a voluntary migrant is defined as someone who had made more than half the moves in his life on a voluntary basis. Those who had more or less half of their moves voluntary and half involuntary were classified as "half-and-half voluntary and involuntary migrants." We need to bear in mind that a woman moving with her family, or husband to a new area, has been classified as involuntary on the basis that the decision to move was made by someone else, in the same way as someone who is being transferred had the decision to move made by the employer. It is true that just as an individual can resign rather than be transferred, a woman can be separated from her husband or leave her family if she does not wish to move to a new area. But within the narrow sense of the term involuntary if she does decide to move then the choice has been labelled as involuntary. On this basis then it is more revealing to look at the type of migratory history - whether being a voluntary migrant or involuntary, or a "half-and-half migrant"- of men on the grounds that at present in our society they tend to be the main breadwinners, and therefore decision makers in regard to migration. Taking the sample as a whole, just over a third were involuntary migrants, a half were voluntary migrants, and one-tenth were "half-and-half", as far as the men were concerned. Looking at the different towns we find differences emerge. For example, in Empangeni 40% of the men were involuntary migrants, as against 47% voluntary and 13% "half and half". In Richards Bay 28% were involuntary migrants as against 66% voluntary and 7% "half-and-half". KwaMbonambi had 33% involuntary, 39% voluntary and 28% "half-and-half". Finally for Mtunzini, the percentage of voluntary migrants was the highest of the male population in the sample from any town, being 87% as against only 13% involuntary migrants. These figures suggest, when we compare

one town with another, that the male population at Mtunzini consisted very largely of White adults who were voluntary migrants, whereas in Empangeni and KwaMbonambi there was not all that much difference between the percentage of voluntary and involuntary migrants. Richards Bay had a larger proportion of voluntary than involuntary migrants than either of the two towns just mentioned and this seems to point to the fact that this new town was attracting far more voluntary migrants as a proportion of the population than the established towns of Empangeni and KwaMbonambi. Mtunzini's position is probably a reflection of the role of both academics and other white collar workers choosing to settle there. We need to remind ourselves that it was an attractive area for middle class settlement.

In contrast to the men, three-quarters of the women in the sample were involuntary migrants. Of the four towns the women in Richards Bay had the highest proportion of voluntary migrants - one-third, as against one-sixth for the sample of women as a whole. This is again a reflection of the drawing power of Richards Bay for spatially mobile individuals

If we look at home langauge, the English-speakers had one-third of their number being voluntary migrants as against only a quarter of the Afrikaners. This is probably a reflection in part of the greater number of Afrikaners in public service and other institutions where transfers by the employer are not infrequent.

6.4.5 Job History.

A detailed analysis was undertaken of the various features of the job histories of the adults investigated by the survey. Most of the information is not in fact particularly revealing. The total number of different occupations (not jobs) did not differ very much. The samples showed that 61% of the Empangeni adults seemed to have had only one occupation up until the time of the interview, in contrast to 81% of those in Mtunzini. KwaMbonambi had 56%, and Richards Bay 55% of the cases with only one job. Therefore Richards Bay and KwaMbonambi had the highest proportion of cases from the sample with

two or more different occupations during the individual's career. Richards Bay appeared to have been attracting not only spatially mobile individuals but a notable proportion of those who had had more than one different occupation during their career. This is probably all part and parcel of type of population attracted by a new town. Why KwaMbonambi should have the same pattern is not certain.

Other aspects of job history did not differ to any notable extent between the different towns or the different types of individuals in the towns, so we need not concern ourselves further with this aspect of the lives of the individuals studied.

6.4.6 Future Plans.

The respondents we interviewed were asked whether they planned to stay on in the town in which they were living at the time of the survey. Overall about three-quarters answered in the affirmative. There were no main differences in response between samples from the different towns or between different language groups. Those who said that they would definitely stay on had a mean length of stay per place of 6,6 years as against 5,3 years for those who said they would not stay on. All those in Richards Bay who said that they intend to stay in the town envisaged staying under two years. So obviously from that point of view many were temporary migrants to the town, linked to immediate developments.

We also asked individuals if they did not intend to stay indefinitely in the area where they envisaged going to after leaving. Except for a few cases from Mtunzini, it was those from Richards Bay and Empangeni who commented that they would not stay in the town because they were planning to go back to where they had originally come from once they were finished what they were engaged in. This confirms our personal observations that those most concerned with the development of the Richards Bay-Empangeni region at the time of the survey were living in one or other of the two towns. We must remember however that only about 5% in total of the adults we spoke to said that they would return to where they had originally

come from before moving to the region. For the rest it is a fairly scattered distribution of places of where people said they would go once they left the region. Four percent said they would go to another Natal coastal town, and then the other replies were less than this small percentage. Of course, three-quarters of the population indicated that they were not planning to go to a specific area.

6.5 DOMESTIC SERVANTS EMPLOYED BY WHITES

The employment of Black domestic servants was almost universal - only about 1 in 12 of the White adults did not employ a servant. Almost half of the sample employed one, a third employed two, and one-eighth employed three. One percent employed four servants. More of the English-speakers than the Afrikaners employed several servants. They were drawn from a very wide region in Zululand, from afar afield as Nongoma in the North, although the more immediate region produced more - as was to be expected. The bus, or bus and train was the most usual form of their transport when servants paid a visit home.

The questions to employers about what the servants did in their free time showed that the most frequent activities were "going home", or seeing friends. However, only about one-in-six reported their servants went home. One is left with the impression of a serious lack of recreational opportunities for Black servants in the region in 1972.

The most frequent monthly income paid to the only, or most senior, Black domestic servant in a household was R10 - R15 in 1972. About half the adults paid this. Very few paid R25 a month or more. Second and subsequent servants in a household tended to be paid less than these figures

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This chapter has provided baseline information for a sample of White adults from the towns Empangeni, KwaMbonambi, Mtunzini and Richards Bay in 1972. These data provide a picture of White adults in the town prior to the main impact of rapid planned development

on the region, and give a benchmark against which later studies can chart the changes that have occurred in the characteristics of White adults living in the region. The next chapter gives information on attitudes towards certain aspects of living in the region, on the part of adults studied in this chapter

CHAPTER 7.

SOME ATTITUDES OF WHITE ADULTS IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION

H.L. WATTS

7.1. INTRODUCTION.

The interviews with the sample of White adults drawn from the four towns in the region included questions on certain attitudes towards living in the towns concerned. Appendix C provides a copy of the interview schedule and also details of the sample (which has already been referred to in Chapter 6.) Here we now present information on those attitudes which were worth commenting on.

7.2. GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS LIVING IN THE REGION.

We asked people what they *least* liked about the town they were living in. Responses varied. The climate was mentioned. In Richards Bay, the greatest single proportion of complaints - voiced by over a quarter of the sample - were about the climate. Being on the coast, low-lying, in a sub-tropical zone, and with malaria as endemic, the climate was somewhat worse than in Durban, and the humidity was very trying to newcomers use to a milder climate. In fact, we were surprised to see quite a number of new houses in 1972 fitted with air-conditioning units.[1)] About one-quarter of the adults sampled in Empangeni, and also Kwambonambi, and about one in six at Mtunzini, complained about the climate.

Other complaints in Richards Bay were largely those one would expect in a new, rapidly developing area. After the climate, the next most frequently mentioned complaint was about the lack of shops - one in five mentioned this. Seven percent complained about mosquitoes and other insects (there was a good deal of coastal bush and swampy ground around the developing nucleus of the town), while six percent complained about the high cost of living. This latter point is frequently a feature of new areas where facilities are being stretched to the limit by rapid development. Only five percent complained about not liking the people in the towns. Features

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1) In 1972 airconditioning was very rare in Empangeni and the other small villages around it.

of the town disliked by less than five percent of the sample have been omitted. Overall, only twenty percent of the adults spoken to were satisfied with living in Richards Bay. This is an unsatisfactorily low figure.

In Empangeni, fewer adults than in Richards Bay (one in eight) liked everything in the town and had nothing to complain about. Apart from the climate, the bad roads and transport problems were complained about by one in six; and more than in Richards Bay - one in seven - complained about high prices. All these problems had been exacerbated by the pressure put on Empangeni's infrastructure by the rapid development of Richards Bay. Six percent complained about the Africans in the area, disliking them. Five percent (as in Richards Bay) did not like the people in the town, while the same proportion mentioned the lack, or limited nature, of recreation facilities in the town as the aspect they liked least. My impression was that at this time the rapidly growing population was stretching the recreational and sports facilities of Empangeni, and sometimes the issue of the admission of newcomers to sports clubs was a source of tension and resentment on the part of both newcomers and established residents.

In Kwambonambi, apart from the climate, which has already been referred to, one in six of the adults complained about roads, and one in eight about lack of recreational facilities, or the very poor facilities available. A quarter of the people liked everything in the town and had nothing to complain about.

Mtunzini was notable for one in three of the respondents liking everything about the town. Mtunzini has a very attractive site, being built on the banks of a lagoon, and this may account for a larger proportion than in the other three towns being fully satisfied. Also it had no industry. One in seven of the adults interviewed complained about the lack of shops - the community was too small to support a range of shops, so that people had to do a lot of their shopping in Empangeni. (This, of course, also applied to the inhabitants of Richards Bay and Kwambonambi.) Six percent complained about the water supply, while the same percentage respectively complained

about either the lack of services; or the lack of, or poor, recreational facilities; or the Africans in the towns.

Another way of getting the reactions of adults to the area was to ask them what *one* single feature of their town they would most like to change, if they had the chance. Taking the region as a whole, the highest single number, amounting to a quarter, wished to improve the road system. Seventeen percent wanted to improve recreational facilities, and one in eight referred to the need to improve municipal services. In Empangeni and Kwambonambi the housing shortage was referred to as something which people would like to alleviate, while in Richards Bay and Mtunzini shops were mentioned as a feature which people would like to change. A third of those in Richards Bay wanted to improve the shops, against one in twelve of those in Mtunzini. These suggestions are what one would expect to hear about in small towns or villages faced by rapid influx of newcomers.

Newcomers to the towns (i.e. those who lived in the area for less than three years) were asked about the problems and difficulties they experienced in settling in. Fifty-six percent of the newcomers said they had experienced problems when first settling in. Richards Bay, as virtually a new community, was a town where people often complained of their house having no electricity or water when the first moved in. Lack of proper roads and street lighting was also complained about, (as new houses were springing up in the veld). Shopping facilities were often seen as very poor, and entertainment facilities were limited. Some newcomers complained that Richards Bay was "boring" or "dead", and also that "people drank too much". The overwhelming reaction however was that people already there had welcomed them with great friendliness, but some complained of snobbishness, ("Natalians were snobs"), status conciousness, and standoffishness. In fact, it seemed that unfriendliness and cliquishness towards newcomers was encountered more by newcomers to the established community of Empangeni, than in Richards Bay (where nearly everyone was a newcomer, and they all faced the same task of building up a community.) Most in Empangeni however felt their neighbours were very friendly and helpful, and

that even though newcomers they were accepted. Some complained about the limited entertainment facilities, and heavy drinking was occasionally complained about.

Established residents, who had lived in the town from 1965 and earlier, were asked about changes that newcomers had made to their town. In Empangeni, many older residents felt the newcomers had given the town a boost, and done it a lot of good economically. Some said they had helped to break down snobbishness and make the town more friendly. However, others felt problems had been created by the newcomers - traffic had become congested; the amusement places were overcrowded; price of goods, land and housing had been pushed up; housing scarce; and village intimacy had been destroyed. Complaints were voiced about heavy drinking, (we noted that newcomers had complained about older residents in this regard!), loitering, occasional drunken brawls, language problems, bumptiousness, and people coming into the area only to make money as quickly as possible and not having the true interests of the town at heart. Similar reactions were expressed by residents in Mtunzini and Kwambonambi. Richards Bay had very few established residents, as it was being developed *de novo*.

Planning decisions are crucial, and affect the lives of many in an area growing rapidly as a result of Governmental decisions. Ninety percent of the people we spoke to agreed that members of the community should be able to influence the direction that it took. By contrast, only two-fifths believed that they themselves were able to influence the decision-makers in the town in which they lived. Afrikaans-speakers were rather more optimistic in this regard than English-speakers, with half saying they could influence decision-making in the town, as against only one-quarter of the English-speakers. This difference may reflect the feelings of English-speakers that Government in the country is firmly in the hand of Afrikaners. All of the adults in the sample who spoke a foreign language in their home felt that they were unable to influence local affairs. This is understandable. The proportions who felt they definitely could have an influence did not vary very much from one town to another.

The point about influencing local affairs was pursued further by asking respondents whether adequate channels through which they could make their wishes felt in local-decision making existed in their town. In Empangeni half the adults spoken to felt that there were adequate channels, whereas three-fifths of those in Mtunzini and over four-fifths in Kwambonambi felt this. By contrast only a third of those in Richards Bay felt that there were adequate channels for them to make known their wishes in regard to local-decision making. It must be remembered that in 1972 Richards Bay was a small but growing community, administered by a Town Board made up of nominees of the then Department of Planning and Environment, (which had accepted responsibility for the development of the town in its early stages). Many of these nominees were absent experts living in Transvaal, who only came down for board meetings.

Another way of trying to guage the issue of participation in local affairs was to ask the informants whether they wished to play a greater part in decision-making than they had done up to now. Only one in five definitely rejected any idea of being involved in the planning process. Two-fifths wanted to be involved in decision-making in regard to planning, while a third were interested in being involved in decisions in regard to municipal services.

These results concerning local affairs suggest that the traditional means of taking part in local-decision making by voting at municipal elections does not give people the feeling that they are really involved in planning decisions, and that the whole issue of how to involve townspeople in this regard needs to be worked out in future.

Two-thirds of the sample felt that with national interest in the region being as high as it was at the time of the survey, local control by people over the affairs of their own communities would be affected. As was to be expected, the percentage was much higher than this in the case of residents of Richards Bay, which you must remember, had a town board with central government nominated representatives at the time of our interviews There was some tendency, although not a great one, for Afrikaners to be somewhat less pessimistic in this regard than the other home language groups.

Also, although not uniformly, there was a tendency for the percentage of people feeling local affairs control would be affected by the higher level of interest nationally, to increase with age of the informants. Upper white collar workers had the highest proportion of informants of any occupation category feeling that local control would be affected, with lower white collar workers in second place, followed by blue collar workers. Therefore there does seem to be some kind of class factor with the upper middle and upper classes being more of the opinion that local control would be effected by national interest in the region. One quarter of the sample saw local control being affected by general progress in the region, although they did not specify just how this progress would in fact affect local control. One-fifth saw outsiders coming into the region and taking control of local political affairs, with locals losing out. About one in six saw greater government control being involved but were positive about the implications of this control. Only one in twelve saw national interest in the area leading to locals eventually getting greater control over their own political destiny, for example, with the growing town of Richards Bay eventually holding Town Board elections for an elected rather than a nominated council. For the rest there were a lot of varied and scattered opinions as to the nature of the affect on local control of national interest in the region. As was expected, the proportion of informants seeing outsiders taking control of local affairs was greatest amongst the Richards Bay sample - one quarter of that sample saw this happening. Nonetheless, equally well a third of the Richards Bay sample saw the national interest leading to control being affected by general progress. Amongst those gainfully occupied it was very largely the upper white collared workers who expressed concern about outsiders taking over control in local affairs. After all, it would be to quite an extent these upper white collar individuals who would in the normal course of events exercise control within the local communities, so that they would be the most sensitive to possible inroads from outsiders.

The question on local control over community affairs being affected by national interest was followed up by questions on whether such loss of control would be a good or bad thing. Two-thirds of our sample replied that this loss of control was in fact a good thing. The Afrikaners were the most

optimistic in this regard with about three-quarters seeing the effect on local control being good. The proportion by towns seeing the effect on local control as being good was the highest of all in Richards Bay - four-fifths of the sample expressed this viewpoint. Women and younger individuals tend to be more optimistic in regard to the effect of local control of national interest than did men or older folk. Again as it was anticipated the upper white collar workers had the lowest proportion responding positively in regard to this issue.

It is interesting to note that in regard to the effect on local control of national interest, the group who were born on the Witwatersrand tended to stand out as having rather less sanguine views on the effect of national interest on local control than other groups. This may mean that those with a large city background are rather more critical of anything that affects the local control of affairs.

7.3. LOCAL AND NATIONAL POLITICS.

We asked members of our sample whether they belonged to the local Ratepayers Association. The question in part of course is a reflection of the extent of their knowledge about the existence or otherwise of a local Ratepayers Association. In Empangeni only three percent said there was no local Association, as against a third of those in Kwambonambi and same number in Richards Bay. Those who stated that they did belong to a Ratepayers Association amounted to about one in five in Empangeni, the same proportion in Kwambonambi, about one quarter in Mtunzini and only three percent in Richards Bay. Empangeni of course as the biggest town with an elected town council and a mayor would have had the greatest opportunity for activity in Ratepayers Associations. The reported membership of Ratepayers Associations was relatively highest amongst lower white collar and upper blue collar workers. Only eight percent of the upper white collar workers said they belonged, none of the lower blue collar workers indicated membership.

Membership of the Ratepayers Associations is one thing, but attendance at meetings is another. Only five percent of the total sample

stated that they attended Ratepayers Association meetings, - a slightly higher percentage than those who overall said they belonged, which suggested that some people who were not members attended meetings on occasions. However the difference is very small. The frequency of reported attendance at Ratepayers Association meetings was so low that it suggests that if these reports are correct the Association must have been virtually moribund at the time of the survey. This contrasts with the high level of interest already reported in having a greater say in local decision-making! Whether it is that people do not see Ratepayers Association as a vehicle for pushing for greater say in local decisions, or whether on the other hand people are prepared to express the desire for a greater say in local decision-making but are not prepared to go to meetings which they don't see as having a direct input into decision making and are not prepared to work to have these meetings become a vehicle effecting decision making, is not known.

In response to the question as to what were the main concerns of existing Ratepayers Associations, the main reply was that they were involved in attempts to influence administration regarding the area, whether this administration was at the local municipal or town board level, or at the level of provincial or central government decisions. One-fifth of the respondents saw the Ratepayers Associations as functioning in this way. About one in twelve saw them being involved in attempting to secure better services for residents. The other replies were so scattered and far between as not to be worth mentioning.

We made enquiries as to whether individual adults thought that national party politics had an influence on local decision-making. Three-fifths of the adults were quite emphatic that this was in fact the case. The upper white collar workers had the highest proportion (three-quarters) who thought this, as against the other end of the occupational scale only one in six of the lower blue collar workers. Of those who saw party politics affecting decisions at the local level, a third felt that planning decisions were affected; one in twelve felt that there was some nepotism in local or central government relations relating to parties; and a quarter felt that the control of blacks in the region was very definitely affected by

party politics. Other areas of community decision making mentioned as being affected by party politics were fairly varied. There were some differences in attitude in regard to homelands.
Whereas two-fifths of the English-speakers saw planning decisions at a local level being affected by party politics a little over one-quarter of the Afrikaners saw this as occurring; about fifteen percent of the English-speakers saw some nepotism being involved in local or central government relations; and whereas one-quarter of the Afrikaners saw the control of blacks being affected by party politics, half of this proportion - one in eight - of the English speakers were of this opinion.

The related question put to the sample was whether national party politics should operate on a local authority level. A large minority - two-fifths of the adults spoken to - felt that this should be the case. The proportion amongst Afrikaners feeling this was over half of all Afrikaans-speakers, against only one-quarter of the English-speakers. This difference of opinion reflects differences on a cultural group basis as to what the role of national politics should be in local affairs. It was more particularly upper white collar workers, out of all the occupational categories, that had the least number - only one in sixteen - agreeing with the viewpoint that national party politics should affect local decision-making. This again suggests that the group that is most usually involved in running a town would like to have greater autonomy in decision-making than other sections of that community. The main reasons mentioned in support of the view that local decision-making should be affected by national politics was that if this were the case local and national policies would mesh. The percentage mentioning this reason was the highest in the case of respondents from Richards Bay itself.

7.4. ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOME ISSUES RELATED TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION

The first question put to respondents was whether they thought economic development should be centrally planned or allowed to occur "naturally". The phrasing of this question was within the context of a very widespread view encountered in conversations with people to the effect that the development of the Richard Bay region was so important that it was going to be controlled to a considerable extent from Pretoria. Three-quarters of the adults in our sample replied that the economic development should be centrally planned (i.e. in effect from Pretoria.) One in six felt that it should be allowed to occur "naturally", presumably meaning that it would occur in terms of market forces within a free enterprise system. The remainder were either ambivalent, or did not seem to have an opinion on the matter. Whereas only about one-tenth of the Afrikaners felt that development of the region should be allowed to occur naturally, almost one quarter of the English-speakers felt this. It was more particularly in Empangeni, the main commercial centre and in 1972 the main industrial centre for the region that the view was held that economic development should occur naturally.

Not far short of half of the adults considered that there were current problems in their neighbourhood which they would attribute to the rapid development taking place in the region. Relatively more white collar workers than blue collar workers, and English than Afrikaans, (particularly in the latter case in Richards Bay itself) said they were aware of such problems. Two-thirds said they were aware of current problems related to development affecting the town in which they lived. Kwambonambi was the town which had the lowest proportion of adults expressing this view about the town in which they lived. In the sample three-quarters of those from Mtunzini and two-thirds from those from Empangeni were of this opinion, as against three-fifths of those from Richards Bay. Home language did not appear to be a factor involved, and it is interesting to note that the town of Richards Bay itself at the time of survey did not have the highest proportion saying that they saw problems related to economic development in the

town. This is probably because it was a town being developed *de novo*, and perhaps the Richards Bay individuals expected the town to have the problems of a new town, whereas in the more established communities of Empangeni and Richards Bay individuals saw new problems affecting the town concerned as a direct result of development.

In regard to the region as a whole almost three-fifths of the adults interviewed felt that there were regional problems associated with rapid development. Richards Bay had the lowest proportion expressing this viewpoint, amounting to two-fifths.

As far as the neighbourhood problems mentioned as resulting from economic development were concerned, problems relating to roads and traffic were mentioned overall by a third of the cases, one-quarter mentioned housing problems, one in sixteen mentioned water supply, and one in twenty electricity. Other aspects of community life mentioned by less than five percent of the cases were there were too few plots for sale hampering the provision of housing; pollution; rapidly rising costs of living; black labour shortage; problems relating to municipal services; crime on the part of the black population; problems relating to the development of surrounding KwaZulu; and quite simply not enough detailed planning.

Problems related to towns rather than just neighbourhoods which were mentioned as resulting from economic development on a rapid basis were almost a third mentioning once again roads and traffic, a quarter mentioning housing and one in twenty mentioning electricity supply (on a proportional basis the number mentioning this was highest in Richards Bay.) Other reasons given were general problems affecting the municipality (mentioned in one-tenth of the cases), and then less than five percent of the cases each mentioned the same kind of reasons which have already been outlined for neighbourhood areas, except ten percent mentioned general municipal problems resulting from rapid development. The same kinds of reasons in more or less the same proportions were mentioned as applying at the regional level, except that one-twelfth mentioned the shortage of black labour, and additional reasons mentioned were poor transport facilities, and problems relating to the black population.

The related question raised during the interviews was whether development would produce problems which would become apparent in the future in either their neighbourhood, or their town, or the region as a whole. One-quarter saw future problems affecting their neighbourhood, and the types of problems listed were scattered, without very much concentration, taking the sample as a whole. They mentioned the kinds of problems which we have already been outlining. In both Empangeni and Richards Bay more or less one-third saw housing as a problem, while a quarter in Empangeni mentioned problems relating to roads, and one-eighth in Richards Bay held this view. One-sixth of those in Richards Bay saw problems in the future in their neighbourhood relating to "undesirable social elements". As far as problems in the future in their town were concerned, a quarter of those who saw problems in Empangeni saw housing problems; a similar proportion saw problems relating to roads, and one in eight saw problems relating generally to municipal affairs. In regard to Richards Bay two-fifths saw problems relating to "undesirable social elements" in their town in the future, and a quarter mentioned housing.

The selection of problems seen for the region as a whole were widely scattered and there was no major clustering on any one problem or a few problems.

A final question relating to the development which was raised was as to whether in fact development was a good or a bad thing. Nine-tenths of the adults spoken to saw development as a good thing. Only two percent felt it was bad, and the remainder had more or less ambivalent feelings on the issue. It is noteworthy that the lowest proportion seeing development as good were the individuals in Mtunzini - it has already been mentioned that this was a middle to upper middle class residential town, and perhaps people living there were afraid that it would be "spoilt" by development and lose those characteristics which had attracted them to it in the first place. A small village built around a lagoon would probably lose a lot of its small village charm and lack of pollution, and unaffected surrounding natural areas if it developed significantly. The reasons why development was seen as good related to national growth and the positive aspects of development, of economic growth, and "progress" which development would result in.

7.5. OPINIONS OF ADULTS IN REGARD TO THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE TOWNS

The researchers were anxious to obtain a picture of the social structure of the communities in the region, as seen through the eyes of the adults living there. Almost nine-tenths of the sample of adults were of the opinion that there were different social classes within the white population in South Africa, and two-fifths felt that there were three different social classes within the town in which they were living, whilst a third thought there were two classes. Only one in six considered that there was one class alone within the white population in the town they were living in, while at the other end of the scale one-twelfth thought there were four social classes, and one percent managed to distinguish five social classes in the area in which they were living. The most frequently mentioned basis on which these classes were seen as being differentiated was in terms of income. This distinguishing characteristic was mentioned by almost three-fifths of the sample, followed by one-fifth who saw occupation as being the differentiating factor. Together we have about one-half seeing the classes based on either income or occupation. Income is of course today very often very closely related to occupation. Status and prestige as differentiating factors for class were seen by one-seventh of the cases, whilst one-eighth of the cases mentioned class differentiation in terms of occupational, income, and status and prestige differences. A further one-eighth felt that home language was a basis for class differentiation.

The next question relating to this whole question of class structure was whether or not informants thought that there were one or more organisations or associations in the town in which they lived which were dominated by a particular class, or which in fact "belonged" to a class. The question was expanded by asking whether there were some classes which had control over certain clubs and societies and actually tried to restrict their membership in the town. Two-fifths of those spoken to felt that this was the case. They saw this class control as being vested in either certain income groups (mentioned by over a third of the cases) or groups of particular status and prestige (mentioned by almost a quarter of the cases.) One-sixth of the cases saw language as being a factor related to certain organisations

being controlled by particular groups in the town involved. The two most frequently mentioned organisations being involved in this respect were first of all the local Country Club, mentioned by over three-quarters of the cases, then Rotary (mentioned by one-tenth of the cases), and the rugby club mentioned by one-sixth of the cases.

An attempt was made to see what group of people were seen by the sample as a whole as constituting the highest class in the town in which they lived. The most frequently mentioned group of individuals forming the highest class were the independent commercial and managerial group, mentioned by over four-fifths of the cases. Independent agricultural (who would have been mainly sugar farmers) were mentioned in a quarter of the cases, while a similar proportion mentioned the professional and higher administrative groups. In other words, the sugar farmers and the upper white collar workers were seen as constituting the upper class in the towns. From observations made in the towns concerned during the field work this was exactly the impression we obtained. In fact, some informants were of the view that for instance the Empangeni Country Club was dominated by the sugar farmers until the increasing development in that area brought in new upper white collar workers - managers, industrialists, and businessmen, who started making their influence felt. Looking at the other end of the scale, three-fifths of the informants were of the opinion that the semi-skilled manual workers constituted the lowest ranks within the community. Again this is to be expected in terms of the wide range of community studies undertaken in western society.

More than four-fifths of the individuals sampled saw both English and Afrikaans-speakers in their town as belonging to the same groups, clubs and associations. Looking at the individual towns, in Mtunzini and Richards Bay one hundred percent of the informants felt this, whereas three-quarters in Kwambonambi and four-fifths in Empangeni. This may reflect the greater degree of language mixing in clubs and associations in the new town of Richards Bay, and the village of Mtunzini.

Only a minority of cases -one in six - were of the view that the class structure in their particular town hampered the smooth running of that

town. It was more particularly, on a relative basis, the upper white collar workers who thought that the smooth running of the town was hampered. The main reasons for such difficulties mentioned by those who thought the problem existed were because people tended to protect their own interests first and put the town second so that it suffered; that people of different classes don't mix; and inter-class tension. This issue of tension was mentioned relatively more frequently by Afrikaners than English-speakers in the sample. It was also more Afrikaners than English-speakers who thought that people tended to protect their own class interests first. There was some tendency for those who saw people running a town to protect their own class interests first, to increase with decreasing level of occupation.

Despite the perception of class structure within the various towns, three-quarters of our subjects felt that the whites within their particular town formed one unified group. The highest proportion feeling this were in Richards Bay, where possibly as a new town extensive social stratification had not yet had much time to develop.

7.6. ATTITUDES TOWARDS CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE IN THE TOWN

A major part of the attempts to obtain attitudes of the white adults interviewed in the various towns was through responses to Likert-type polar scales, which involved the use of pencil and paper by each informant. After pilot survey work, eighteen items were selected. Following Osgood's et al (1957) semantic differential, there were seven positions printed between the two poles of an item, and the sequence of items was varied from one topic to another, with a positive side of each scale occurring at random on either the left or right-hand side of the page. Sheets were drawn up, and subjects were asked to fill in a cross on a sheet opposite each item for a particular category of a person they were rating, in order to indicate their *immediate* reaction to each scale. A facsimile of one of the sheets is shown in Appendix C as part of the interview schedules, together with instructions to the informant. After some preliminary investigation work in the region it was decided that the main categories of the people living in the Richards

Bay - Empangeni region were:

Sugar farmers (also called "planters")
The old established White residents
White newcomers
Commercial leaders
Newly arrived industrialists
Urban Africans
Rural Africans.

Only Empangeni had a distinct category of "railway workers", so that type of workers was not included amongst the categories of people whom our interviewees were asked to rate. We were interested in getting the attitudes of our sample towards these different types of people living in the towns in the region. These seven categories of persons were therefore taken as topics to which one by one each set of scales applied. All the informant had to do was fill in a cross for each scale indicating his or her rating. After the field work the responses were scored, giving a score of one to the most positive feature on an item, and seven to the most negative position. A score of four represented a fairly neutral position. Thus for example a score of one would indicate the most powerful score possible, and score seven would indicate the least powerful (or most powerless) score, on the power-powerless scale. Mean scores were calculated for each scale related to a particular stimulus (i.e. category of person being rated.) Means together with their coefficients of variation are shown in Table 7.1 and 7.2 below. The coefficients of variation allow comparison of the degree of variability around the mean of the different responses from our subjects. The lower the coefficient the greater the degree of agreement in rating a particular category of person by the sample of adults.

TABLE 7.1.

MEAN SCORES ON SEVEN POINT BI-POLAR ATTITUDE SCALES, FOR THE SEVEN MAIN CATEGORIES OF PERSONS IN THE RICHARDS BAY - EMPANGENI REGION : AS PERCEIVED BY A SAMPLE OF WHITE ADULTS, 1972

ITEM (Positive Pole only shown)	MEAN SCORES BY CATEGORY OF WHITES						
	Sugar Farmers	Old Established White Residents	Commercial Leaders	Newly Arrived Industrialists	White Newcomers	Urban Africans	Rural Africans
FRIENDLY	2,1	2,3	2,2	2,3	2,4	3,3	3,1
CLEVER	2,6	2,6	2,0	2,2	2,8	4,4	4,6
POWERFUL	2,6	2,8	2,3	2,6	3,3	4,5	4,4
PLEASANT	2,2	2,1	2,2	2,2	2,3	3,5	3,3
HARMLESS	2,4	2,5	2,8	2,9	2,3	3,7	3,5
AGREEABLE	3,2	2,9	2,8	2,8	2,8	3,9	3,6
RUGGED	3,0	2,9	3,0	3,0	3,2	2,5	2,6
IMPORTANT	1,9	2,1	2,0	1,9	2,7	3,3	3,7
INFORMAL	3,9	4,4	4,8	4,4	3,9	3,1	3,0
AMBITIOUS	3,1	4,3	2,4	2,3	3,0	4,6	4,7
HONEST	2,4	2,2	2,6	2,6	2,6	4,2	3,7
UNASSUMING	3,8	3,4	4,0	3,6	3,3	3,6	3,3
RICH	1,8	2,7	1,9	2,7	3,7	5,8	5,7
GO-AHEAD	3,0	3,4	2,6	2,1	3,0	4,6	4,6
ACTIVE	2,5	2,7	2,1	2,0	2,7	4,4	4,6
EDUCATED	2,1	2,4	2,0	2,1	2,6	4,8	5,1
GOOD	2,2	2,2	2,3	2,1	2,5	3,8	3,5
INDUSTRIOUS	2,6	2,5	2,0	1,8	2,3	4,8	4,8
GRAND MEAN	2,6	2,8	2,6	2,5	2,9	4,0	4,0

NOTE: A score of 1 represents the positive pole; 7 the negative pole (which is the antonym of the pole listed above); and 4 represents a fairly neutral score. Therefore, the lower the mean the more positive the score.

TABLE 7.2.

CO-EFFICIENTS OF VARIATION FOR SCORES ON SEVEN POINT BI-POLAR ATTITUDE SCALES, FOR THE SEVEN MAIN CATEGORIES OF PERSONS IN THE RICHARDS BAY - EMPANGENI REGION : AS PERCEIVED BY A SAMPLE OF WHITE ADULTS, 1972

ITEM (Positive Pole only shown)	COEFFICIENTS BY CATEGORY OF WHITES						
	Sugar Farmers	Old Established White Residents	Commercial Leaders	Newly Arrived Industrialists	White Newcomers	Urban Africans	Rural Africans
FRIENDLY	61	67	61	57	63	52	56
CLEVER	49	42	55	50	42	34	31
POWERFUL	54	50	52	52	41	39	36
PLEASANT	59	60	56	57	57	53	49
HARMLESS	65	56	56	55	67	51	46
AGREEABLE	56	56	55	54	58	52	48
RUGGED	54	63	48	47	44	61	58
IMPORTANT	65	59	65	61	61	58	50
INFORMAL	55	48	43	43	49	64	59
AMBITIOUS	70	53	75	82	65	42	39
HONEST	60	61	55	53	53	44	48
UNASSUMING	50	54	45	49	50	50	53
RICH	64	44	54	51	31	24	23
GO-AHEAD	63	56	70	66	51	41	38
ACTIVE	65	58	62	57	57	45	40
EDUCATED	61	63	65	60	53	36	35
GOOD	57	59	58	58	53	45	46
INDUSTRIOUS	66	54	57	53	52	39	40
MEAN COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION	60	56	57	56	53	46	44
C.V of all CVs	10	12	14	15	17	22	22

NOTE: The lower the co-efficient, the less the variation in attitudes. A co-efficient of about 60+ can be taken as moderately high variation : that of under 40 unusually low variation.

Several grand means revealed the pecking order of the different types of persons in the region, as seen by the White adults. Figures 7.1 and 7.2 graphically portray the means from Table 7.1.
(See the following two pages for these figures mentioned.)

Points above the midpoint of score four which is a fairly neutral score, indicate positive scoring. (Above refers to position on the page and in fact means smaller scores.) Points below the midline reveal more negative characteristics as far as the mean scores are concerned. In other words, the larger the mean the more negative the scoring of the characteristic concerned.

Looking first of all at Figure 7.1 which portrays the average attitudes of our sample of Whites towards newly arrived industrialists, White newcomers, and old established White residents in the area, we find that broadly they have very much the same kind of profile except that White newcomers are seen as having less power than either the newly arrived industrialists or to a lesser extent old established White residents; new arrived industrialists are seen as somewhat less "harmless", and are seen together with old established White residents as fairly important; these newly arrived industrialists and old established White residents are seen as moderately formal; the industrialists are seen as ambitious and this however is not the case with the established residents; and in particular the newly arrived industrialists are seen as go-ahead, active, educated, "good" and - the highest mean score of all on the graph - important.
Figure 7.2 graphs the mean scores for commercial leaders and sugar farmers in the region, and then the other two main categories of the seven broad groups of people in the area which we identified, namely urban Africans and rural Africans. The commercial leaders and sugar farmers tend to have on the whole very much the same kind of profile, except that the commercial leaders are seen as formal - this was their most negative characteristic - and rather more clever and powerful than the sugar farmers. The leaders were seen in particular as being clever, powerful, important, rich, active, educated, and industrious. By contrast - and it is a fairly marked contrast - the urban Africans and the rural Africans have a different profile from any of the White groups portrayed in this or the previous graph. They definitely

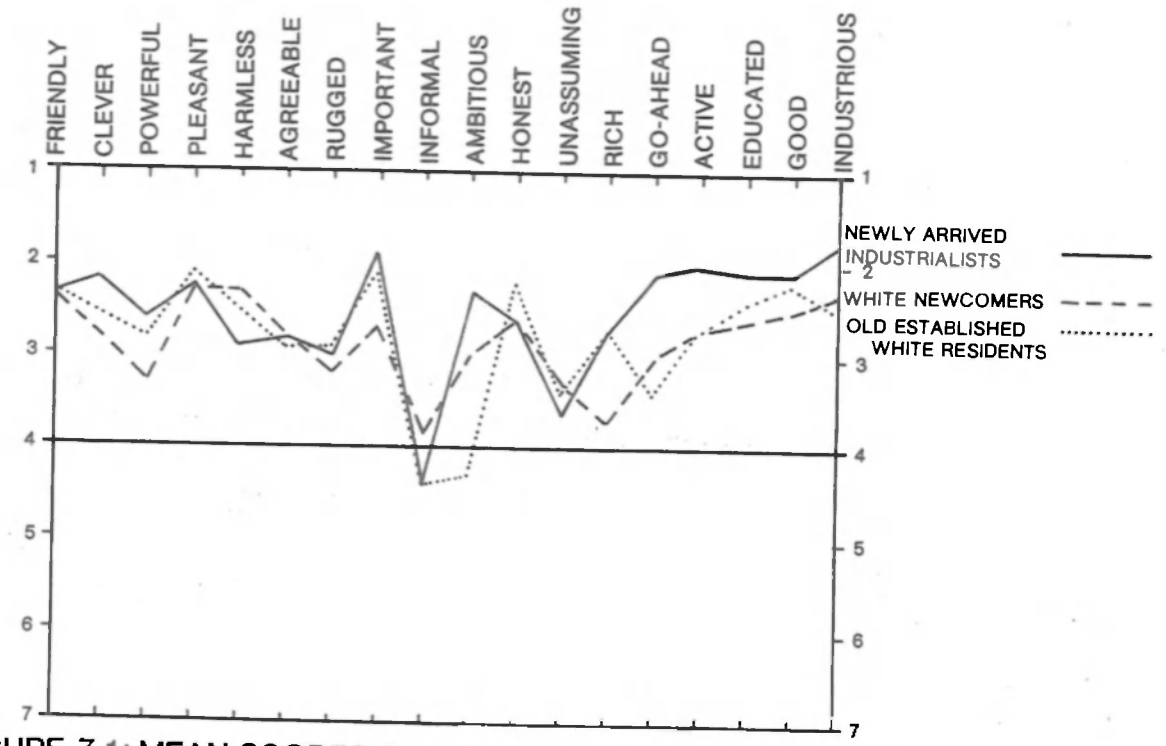

FIGURE 7.1: MEAN SCORES FOR BI-POLAR ITEMS, FOR THREE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE IN THE REGION, AS PERCEIVED BY A SAMPLE OF WHITE ADULTS, RICHARDS BAY - EMPANGENI REGION, 1972

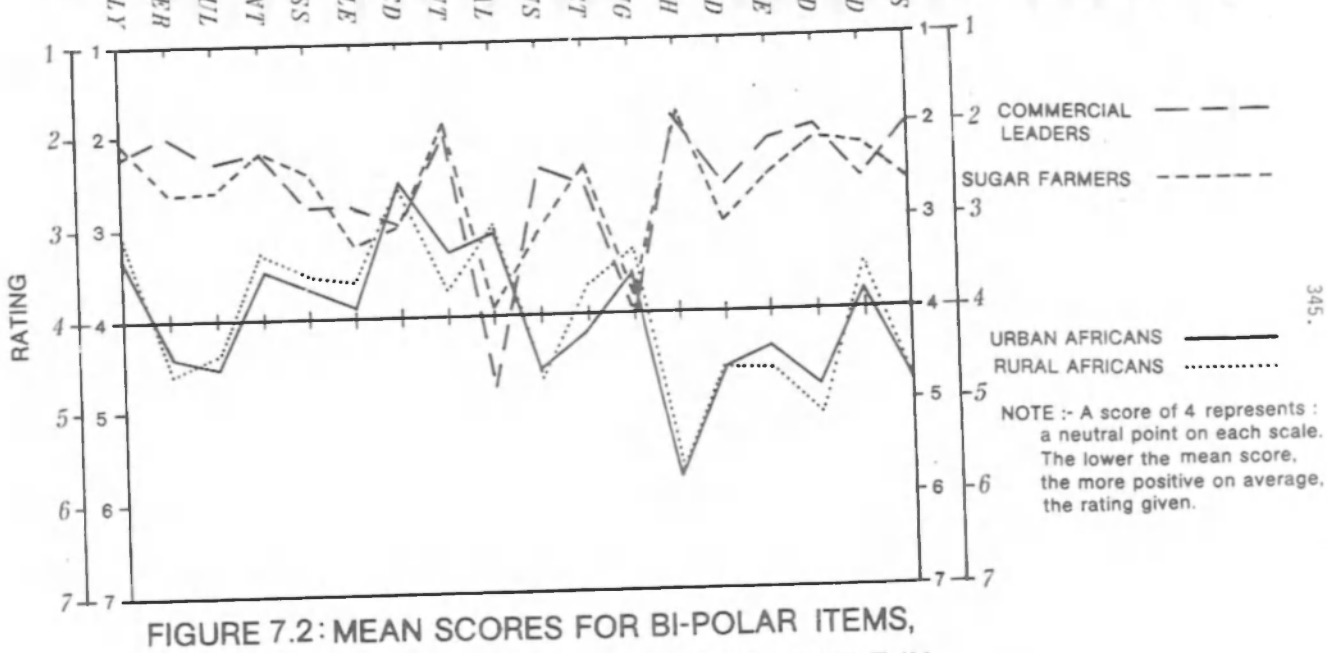

FIGURE 7.2: MEAN SCORES FOR BI-POLAR ITEMS, FOR FOUR DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE IN THE AREA, AS PERCEIVED BY A SAMPLE OF WHITE ADULTS, RICHARD S BAY - EMPANGENI REGION, 1972

are seen in very different terms from the White groups in the region. In particular, looking at their negative characteristics, they are seen as not clever, not powerful, not ambitious, poor, not go-ahead or active, poorly educated, and not industrious. Their most positive characteristics were seen as being friendly, rugged, informal, and to a lesser extent pleasant, unassuming, and "good". Whereas rural Africans were seen as not particularly honest but at least not dishonest, the mean score on this item for the urban Africans is slightly on the side of dishonesty.

If we look at the overall grand means shown at the bottom of Table 7.1, we have the pecking order in terms of scoring for the different groups in the town, as perceived by our sample of White adults. First and foremost are the newly arrived industrialists, followed closely by sugar farmers and commercial leaders in second place, with the old established White residents next, -and White newcomers very close behind. A good deal lower with equal grand means were the urban Africans and the rural ones.

Table 7.2, showing the coefficients of variation, indicates that in terms of the mean coefficients of variation, the attitudes towards urban Africans and rural Africans had the lowest degree of variability - that is to say there is a greatest degree of agreement amongst our sample in regard to scoring them. Particularly in regard to seeing them as fairly stupid, lacking power, lacking ambition, being poor and uneducated, and lazy, there was surprising little variability in the scoring by different adults in our samples. The highest mean coefficient of variation, at a figure of 60, was for sugar farmers, showing some degree of variation in people's attitudes towards them. The mean coefficient of variation for commercial leaders and newly arrived industrialists were about the same, together with the figure for old established White residents. A moderate degree of variability on average is shown in these attitude scores. The White newcomers had the lowest variation in the attitudes towards them, as far as the White

groups who were used as a stimulus-response group for attitude measurement were concerned.

If we look at the very bottom row of Table 7.2 we will see the coefficient of variation for the coefficients of variation in each column, column by column. These show that there is in fact very little variability between the different coefficients of variation, so that between the different scales there is not all that much variation in the scoring of our sample. The highest degree of variability in variation of scoring was towards urban Africans and rural Africans - but with a coefficient of 22 eac it is in fact very small. The smallest overall was in regard to sugar farmers, with old established White residents and then commercial leaders following in terms of variability in the varying coefficients, with last of all newly arrived industrialists and White newcomers. The general impression is though that the attitudes tend to fairly consistent within our sample between one scale and the next, as far as variation in attitude is concerned. More specific cases of variability on particular scales can be picked out by the reader if desired.

It was decided to compare the mean scores on the eighteen scales for the seven categories of the people in the region, comparing the means for those of our samples who were newcomers (who had been in the area for less than three years), with those of established residents (who had been in the region for ten or more years). If we look first of all at the grand means in the final row of the Table, we will see that without exception the means scores given by established residents were slightly lower than those for newcomers. That is to say, generally the newcomers tend to be somewhat more critical of the different categories of people in the region. Why this should be so is not clear, but it may be newcomers are more critical of a social setting than those who have become accustomed to it.

TABLE 7.3

MEAN SCORES FOR ATTITUDES OF NEWCOMERS AND ESTABLISHED RESIDENTS, ON SEVEN POINT BI-POLAR ATTITUDE SCALES, OR THE SEVEN MAIN CATEGORIES OF PERSONS IN THE RICHARDS BAY - EMPANGENI REGION : BASED ON A SAMPLE OF WHITE ADULTS, 1972.

ITEM (Positive Pole only shown)	MEAN SCORES BY CATEGORY OF WHITES													
	Sugar Farmers		Old Established White Residents		Commercial Leaders		Newly Arrived Industrialists		White Newcomers		Urban Africans		Rural Africans	
	NC	ER	NC	ER	NC	ER	NC	ER	NC	ER	NC	ER	NC	ER
FRIENDLY	2,2	2,1	2,5	1,8	2,3	2,3	2,2	1,9	2,4	2,2	3,4	2,9	3,2	2,4
CLEVER	2,6	2,3	2,6	2,5	2,1	1,6	2,2	1,6	2,8	2,5	4,4	4,1	4,5	4,3
POWERFUL	2,6	2,3	2,7	2,6	2,2	2,0	2,6	1,9	3,3	3,2	4,2	4,5	4,7	4,4
PLEASANT	2,3	2,0	2,2	1,9	2,2	2,1	2,2	2,2	2,3	2,2	3,8	2,8	3,5	2,8
HARMLESS	2,4	1,8	2,7	1,9	3,1	2,2	3,2	2,3	2,4	1,9	4,0	3,0	3,8	2,8
AGREEABLE	3,3	2,9	3,2	2,5	3,0	2,6	3,0	2,6	2,9	2,7	4,2	3,3	3,8	3,0
RUGGED	2,6	3,2	2,9	2,6	3,0	3,0	2,9	3,4	3,1	3,5	2,5	2,9	2,6	2,5
IMPORTANT	1,9	1,7	2,2	1,5	2,0	1,7	1,9	1,4	3,4	2,6	3,4	2,5	3,6	3,6
INFORMAL	4,0	4,0	4,3	4,2	4,9	4,4	4,5	4,4	3,8	3,9	3,1	3,1	3,2	3,1
AMBITIOUS	2,0	2,3	4,1	4,9	2,4	2,1	2,1	2,0	2,7	3,2	4,5	3,2	4,7	5,1
HONEST	2,5	1,9	2,3	1,6	2,8	1,9	2,6	2,2	2,5	2,3	4,4	3,6	3,6	1,6
UNASSUMING	4,0	3,9	3,5	3,1	4,1	3,8	3,9	3,2	3,2	3,4	3,8	3,4	3,5	2,9
RICH	1,8	1,6	2,7	2,6	1,8	2,1	2,6	2,8	3,6	3,8	5,6	5,6	5,6	6,1
GO-AHEAD	3,1	2,8	3,3	3,5	2,4	2,4	2,1	1,7	2,9	3,0	4,6	4,3	4,4	4,8
ACTIVE	2,5	2,2	2,5	2,0	2,1	1,7	2,1	1,5	2,6	2,7	4,5	4,3	4,4	4,8
EDUCATED	2,1	2,0	2,4	2,4	2,1	1,5	2,1	1,8	2,4	2,6	4,7	4,3	4,9	5,1
GOOD	2,3	1,8	2,2	2,0	2,3	2,0	2,2	1,9	2,7	2,3	3,9	3,2	3,7	3,0
INDUSTRIOUS	2,5	2,3	2,5	2,3	1,2	1,7	1,8	1,6	2,3	2,4	4,8	4,5	4,6	4,7
GRAND MEAN	2,6	2,4	2,8	2,6	2,6	2,3	2,6	2,2	2,9	2,8	4,1	3,6	4,0	3,7

NOTES: NC = Newcomers (i.e. adults who have been in a town for less than 3 years.
ER = Established Residents of a town (i.e. those adults who have lived there for 10+ years.)

It is only in the minority of instances that the mean scores on particular scales are lower for established residents than newcomers. That is to say, it is only in a minority of cases that established residents are more critical in their assessment of some categories of persons in the region than are the newcomers. If we look at scores on the sugar farmers, it is as far as degree of ruggedness and ambition are concerned that the established residents on average see them somewhat less positively than the newcomers. The difference however is small. As far as the scores relating to old established White residents are concerned, the established residents are rather more critical in regard to the lack of ambition in these type of people than the newcomers - the difference is a mean score 4,9 as against 4,1 respectively. If we now turn to commercial leaders, the established residents were slightly more critical about the degree of industry than were the newcomers, who saw these types of leaders as being very industrious. Also the established residents were slightly more negative in their assessment of the richness or otherwise of commercial leaders than were the newcomers who saw them on average somewhat richer. If we look at "newly arrived industrialists", then they are perceived by established residents as being rather less rugged than the newcomers perceived them, and also the established residents don't see them quite as rich as do the newcomers. It is mainly in regard to the assessment of White newcomers that the established residents are in 9 out of 18 scales more negative on average in their assessment of them than the newcomers themselves. The differences between the two sets of means are on the whole very small, generally being of the order of 0,1 or 0,2. However, just to list the means where the established residents were a little more critical of the White newcomers than were the newcomers themselves, they were more critical in regard to the degree of ruggedness, informality, ambition, unassuming nature, poverty or riches, being go-ahead, active, educated, and industrious. As far as urban Africans were concerned in only two cases - extent of powerlessness and extent of being rugged were the established residents more critical of these Africans than were newcomers. In regard to rural Africans, the established residents were more critical than newcomers in rather more of the scales. These were the scales for ambition, economic wellbeing, being go-ahead or otherwise, being active or not, extent of education, extent of industriousness. It could be that the established residents subscribed to the local subculture which tended in some

TABLE 7.4

EXTREME NEGATIVE REACTIONS ON SEVEN POINT BI-POLAR ATTITUDE SCALES, FOR THE SEVEN MAIN CATEGORIES OF PERSONS IN THE RICHARDS BAY - EMPANGENI REGION : AS PERCEIVED BY A SAMPLE OF WHITE ADULTS, 1972.

ITEM (Negative Pole only shown)	PERCENTAGE SCORES OF 6 OR 7, BY CATEGORY OF WHITES						
	Sugar Farmers	Old Established White Residents	Commercial Leaders	Newly Arrived Industrialists	White Newcomers	Urban Africans	Rural Africans
UNFRIENDLY	1,9	5,3	3,5	1,2	4,0	12,8	11,7
STUPID	3,0	0,4	1,5	0,0	0,9	23,9	27,2
WEAK	3,4	3,1	1,4	3,2	5,8	32,2	29,1
UNPLEASANT	2,0	2,1	1,1	1,9	2,2	18,1	12,6
DANGEROUS	2,3	1,8	5,5	6,3	5,4	20,1	10,0
ARGUMENTATIVE	11,4	8,7	5,3	5,4	7,1	24,6	13,4
DELICATE	8,1	12,4	5,4	4,9	5,7	5,3	4,3
UNIMPORTANT	2,3	2,5	3,4	1,2	7,2	15,6	18,3
FORMAL	31,7	36,5	38,0	32,4	23,7	14,7	10,0
NOT AMBITIOUS	20,5	39,3	11,7	12,7	14,3	37,6	40,4
CORRUPT	3,0	1,5	2,9	3,1	1,6	27,0	15,3
ARROGANT	19,9	15,1	18,8	18,6	11,6	18,0	11,6
POOR	2,1	1,4	0,0	3,3	5,9	64,5	67,1
CONSERVATIVE	14,8	17,6	10,5	4,4	7,9	34,2	34,6
PASSIVE	7,5	7,8	3,4	1,8	6,3	35,1	37,4
UNEDUCATED	2,0	4,5	4,0	1,7	3,1	42,3	53,3
BAD	1,2	1,8	1,9	1,2	1,7	18,6	11,6
LAZY	8,9	3,2	1,3	0,0	0,7	45,6	41,2
MEAN % - EXTREME NEGATIVE REACTIONS	9,1	9,2	8,7	5,7	6,4	27,2	25,0
CO-EFFICIENT of VARIATION	97	126	128	142	88	53	70

NOTE: An extreme negative reaction represents a score of 6 or 7 on the seven-point bi-polar scale.

respects to be rather more critical of rural Africans than were those who moved into the region from elsewhere.

Table 7.4 gives the percentages of distribution of extreme negative reactions (i.e. scores of 6 or 7) on our seven point BI - polar attitude scales, for each of the seven main categories of persons in the Richards Bay - Empangeni region, which our sample were asked to grade. Only the percentages that amount to ten percent or more of the sample would be picked out in this analysis. From this point of view, we look first of all at the attitudes towards sugar farmers in the region. The highest percentage of negative reactions were in regard to the extent that they were formal, and therefore presumably socially distant from the general population in the town. Our impressions gained during the field work were that the sugar farmers or "planters" had been seen as originally dominating a good deal of the life in the towns, and being amongst the key leadership group, so that probably they would have had a fairly significant degree of social distance between themselves and the rank and file . The next item with the highest percentage of extreme negative reactions was the extent to which they were not ambitious, followed closely by perception of their arrogance, then their conservative nature, and finally their argumentativeness. It must be emphasised that in all the cases which have been picked out extreme negative reactions amounted to less than a third of the sample, so that it was a minority group that saw them in these terms, but nonetheless our analysis does pick out the items on which some of the sample saw them in very negative terms. If we examine the column for the distribution of the percentage of extreme negative reactions relating to the scoring of the old established White residents, the highest percentage (amounting to almost two-fifths of the sample informants) saw them as not being ambitious, followed fairly closely by over a third who saw them as being very formal. Much lower proportions saw them as very conservative, arrogant, and even lower still, being delicate. Commercial leaders were seen first and foremost as being very formal by almost two-fifths of our sample. This was in fact the highest percentage of extreme negative reactions on the formal-informal scale. The next highest percentage of negative reactions towards this group of people in the town was much lower - at nineteen percent, who saw them as arrogant. About a tenth saw them as not being ambitious and as being

conservative. The next category of people we analysed are the newly arrived industrialists. Clearly the characteristic which was scored negatively by the largest single proportion - a third - of our sample, was their formality. This was followed by perception of their arrogance. All the other percentages of extreme negative reactions were well under ten percent of our sample cases. White newcomers were seen by a quarter of our cases as being very formal - probably rather distant and unfriendly perhaps although being unfriendly itself had a very low percentage seeing them in extreme terms; and also seen by over one in eight of our cases as not being ambitious. Just over one-tenth saw them as being arrogant. In contrast to all this, urban Africans had a far higher proportion of the sample scoring very negatively on quite a number of our eighteen scales. The same is true for the rural Africans. Again we come across the fact that the African population in the region is perceived in different terms from the other categories of Whites in the region. It seems to be case of "us" and "them". The largest percentages of negative reactions towards urban Africans were: sixty five percent seeing them as very poor; not much under a half seeing them as lazy; a third seeing them as passive and conservative, but short of two-fifths seeing them as not ambitious, a third seeing them as weak in the sense of not being powerful; a quarter seeing them as stupid, a fifth seeing them as dangerous; almost a fifth seeing them as unpleasant; a quarter seeing them as argumentative, and one-sixth seeing them as unimportant. In actuality, it was only in regard to the extent to which they were delicate or rugged, that we had less than ten percent negative responses - only five percent saw them as delicate. Much the same kind of pattern emerges in regard to the analysis of the extreme negative reactions towards rural Africans, so that it will not be repeated here. The only noteworthy points were that even more of our White informants saw them as being very poor than saw urban Africans in this state, and more saw them as being uneducated than saw urban Africans in this condition. Overall, taking the urban and the rural Africans, there is no doubt that in terms of the way they are perceived by our White sample they are at the bottom of the "pecking order" in the region. In other words, socially they are at the bottom of the pile. This of course accords with every day observations in South African society. It is very important though to note just how much larger the percentages of extreme negative reactions

were towards the Africans than towards the Whites in the region, as far as White perceptions are concerned. This is borne out by an inspection of the mean percentage of extreme reactions, in the second last row of Table 7.4. Whereas the average percentage of scores of 6 or 7 on the scales were 27% and 25% for urban Africans and rural Africans respectively, in regard to the other categories of individuals in the region the means ranged from about 6 to 9% - very much smaller. The coefficients of variation in the last row also show differences. There was least variation on a relative basis in the percentage of extreme reaction towards urban Africans (where a moderate degree of variability is shown by a coefficient of 53) followed by a coefficient of 70 for rural Africans. Extreme negative reactions on the various scales varied far more in the extent to which the percentage of the people in the sample held these views as far as first of all newly arrived industrialists were concerned (with a coefficient of 142) and then commercial leaders and old established White residents which had similar coefficients of 128 and 126 respectively; (all these are high, extensive variability); and then fairly high variability in regard to the extreme negative reactions towards sugar farmers, and lastly White newcomers. Once again therefore the perception of Africans in the region is different in important ways from the perception, by our sample, of various categories of Whites. To put it another way, the profile of attitudes towards Africans in the region is in many respects different to quite a considerable extent from the profiles for the five categories of Whites that were scored.

To sum up overall the views expressed through these bi-polar scales, we can collate the position as follows:-

Sugar Farmers - are seen as very important, ambitious, very wealthy, not particularly go-ahead, well educated and very active, and moderately industrious. They are also seen as rather formal.

Attitudes towards *old established residents* reveal that they are seen as important, modestly ambitious, honest, moderately unassuming, well-off; there was some variation in the extent to which they were seen as go-ahead; they were seen as very good,

fairly industrious, very friendly and pleasant, and powerful.

Commercial leaders were seen as very rich, highly active, go-ahead and well educated, very industrious, clever, very friendly and pleasant, very powerful and important, honest, and ambitious. It is notable however that the lower blue collar workers stood out as tending to see commercial leaders somewhat more critically and even at times negatively than did the rest of the White population of adults.

Newly arrived industrialists were seen as very important, highly industrious, good, very clever, friendly, powerful, fairly harmless, highly ambitious, honest, go-ahead, fairly well-off, active, and well-educated. The lower blue collar workers tended to be rathe less critical of them than did the others in the sample.

White newcomers to the area were seen as important, very industrious and go-ahead, moderately ambitious, honest, not particularly well-off financially, well educated, pleasant and friendly. There was some ambivalence about the extent to which they wielded power, and significantly only five percent of our sample saw them as a threat. The upper white collar workers tends to be rather more critical of the level of education of newcomers than did others.

In contrast to all this, *African urban dwellers* in the region were seen as neither powerful nor weak, not particularly pleasant, not particularly dangerous or harmful (but about a fifth saw them as dangerous), very rugged, moderately important, and not particularly honest. They were seen as very poor, not well educated, not particularly industrious. There were rather neutral reactions towards the extent to which they were pleasant, and friendly. The lowest socio-economic groups tended to be more critical of urban Africans than the others.

Lastly, attitudes towards *rural Blacks in the area* showed that they were seen as very poor, (there was almost complete general concensus on this point), uneducated and rugged. There was a fair degree of neutrality about their honesty, goodness, and unassuming nature or otherwise. They were seen as fairly go-ahead, but passive (which seemed rather a contradiction), rather lazy, somewhat stupid, moderately friendly, and rather harmless. They were seen as not being powerful and not particularly important. However, they were regarded as moderately contented and rather informal. Again these attitudes,and those towards urban Africans, are in many ways very different from the attitudes towards Whites.

It is particularly interesting to note that few people saw either White newcomers to the area or newly arrived industrialists as being dangerous - that is being a threat (probably a threat in social terms.) Whether this would have changed once the tempo of inflow of migrants accelerated even more during the middle 1970s it is not possible to say. One of the hypotheses was that strains and stresses in the region resulting from rapid development would lead to newcomers being viewed rather more negatively than the other members of the population. In our next chapter where we discuss the attitudes of leaders in the community, this point will be picked up again, particularly in the follow-ups. However, what we can say is that in terms of our baseline in 1972 newcomers were not seen as a threat by most of our informants.

7.7 REACTIONS TOWARDS NEWCOMERS TO THE REGION

We have already given the reactions towards newcomers to the region in terms of the bi-polar scales. During the interview we also pursued further attitudes and reactions of older residents towards newcomers. About half of the older residents felt that the newcomers to the region had social habits, and/or attitudes, and/or customs which were markedly different from those current in the area before they arrived. Two-thirds of the Afrikaners who were established residents, as against one-third of the English-speakers, felt this. In fact all of the older residents in Richards Bay felt this,

in contrast to half of those living in Empangeni, a third of those in Kwambonambi and two-fifths of those in Mtunzini. The proportion feeling that the newcomers had differed in this respect increased with lower occupational status. For example, whereas only two-fifths of the upper white collar workers amongst the established residents considered that the newcomers had differed in certain important aspects from established residents, all of the lower blue collar workers in the sample had felt this. Those amongst the older residents who had been born in South Africa tended to have a higher proportion critical of newcomers than those who had come from elsewhere in Africa or overseas. Ways in which newcomers were seen as being different were in regard to dietary patterns, drinking a lot, getting involved in drunken brawls, being less friendly and full of themselves, playing sport on Sundays, and coming to the town only in order to make money, not having the interests of the town at heart. The attitudes towards newcomers varied fairly widely with no one particular feature being mentioned frequently.

7.8 REACTIONS OF NEWCOMERS

Over and above what has already been reported in this chapter on the reactions of newcomers, we found that those who had lived in the region for less than three years experienced problems when settling into the area on their arrival. Fifty-six percent of the sample of newcomers said they had experienced problems of this kind. This seems a remarkably high figure. Half of the Afrikaners felt this, as against only two-fifths of the English-speakers amongst the newcomers. In contrast, all of those who spoke a foreign language in their homes had experienced problems settling in. The problems, as one would have expected, were most frequently mentioned by those living in Richards Bay rather than in other towns. Two-thirds of the newcomers to Richards Bay as against two-fifths in Empangeni, about a third of those in Kwambonambi, and only one-fifth of newcomers in Mtunzini mentioned problems in settling in. The problems most mentioned related to the housing shortage. Next in order of priority were problems relating to electricity and the water supply, unfriendly people in the neighbourhood who were also "snobbish", as well as problems relating to municipal services, the road system and shops. In Richards Bay itself the problem of electricity

was most frequently mentioned, followed by the housing shortage and roads. In Empangeni, the most frequently mentioned problem experienced by newcomers was obtaining satisfactory housing, and this was followed by people already in the town creating difficulties for the newcomers. Mentioned in third place was the municipal services.

Ten percent of the newcomers stated that they could not fit in with the way of life that they had found in the region. The reasons varied widely. Over half the newcomers living in Empangeni, about half of those in Richards Bay, as well as similar proportions living in Mtunzini and Kwambonambi said that when they first moved to the area, some social habits and/or attitudes and/or customs of the existing inhabitants struck them as being very different from those prevailing in the town from which they had moved. Hard drinking (it is rather amusing that newcomers and old established residents saw this as a characteristic of each other!), an awareness of class distinctions, grasping, being narrow-minded and cliquish, were negative features. On the other hand positive aspects were also mentioned. These were mainly concerned with the idea established residents were more friendly than people in big towns.

Newcomers were asked whether or not people had made them feel welcome when they first moved into the neighbourhood in which they were living. Half of those living in Empangeni, three-fifths in Richards Bay, three-quarters in Mtunzini and four-fifths of the sample from Kwambonambi, stated that they had been made to feel welcome when they moved to the area. They said that they were met with friendliness and hospitality. It seems from these results that the smaller the town the greater the likelihood that newcomers would feel that they had been made welcome. This is possibly a function depending on the size and intimacy of the community.

Complaints about social life in the towns in the region often involved the lack of entertainment opportunities in the town, or region. This was particularly mentioned by newcomers to Richards Bay, which was at that stage being developed as a new town from virtually nothing. Some said that Richards Bay was "boring" or "dead".

The overwhelming reaction amongst newcomers was that people already in the area when they moved in had welcomed them with great friendliness. It seems that unfriendliness and cliquishness towards newcomers was encountered more by newcomers to the established community of Empangeni, than in Richards Bay (where nearly everyone was a newcomer, and they all faced the task of building up the community together.) Some did comment that "Natalians are snobs", but most in Empangeni felt that their neighbours were very friendly and helpful, and that even though those individuals were newcomers they had been accepted.

This chapter has presented some attitudes of White adults in the Richards Bay/Empangeni region towards living in the region, towards the role of local and national politics and the affairs of the region, and has given opinions of adults regarding the social structure of the town, and views towards certain categories of people in the town. Reactions towards newcomers and reactions of newcomers were also presented. The overall picture is one that does suggest some strains and stresses in the community, not necessarily shown first of all at a very overt level, as a result of rapid development. We may hypothesize that during th mid 1970s these strains and stresses increased with the very rapid inflow of construction teams, experts and technologists to help with the rapid development of Richards Bay. By and large though the problems at the time of the 1970 survey do not seem to have been bad, and these attitudes provide an interesting base line with which later studies can draw comparisons. The Blacks (Africans) in the region were seen very differently in many respects from Whites, and this came across very clearly in the attitude profiles. Again it will be interesting to see to what extent these attitudes change in the years after 1972.

CHAPTER 8.

LEADERS IN THE REGION.

H.L. WATTS.

8.1 INTRODUCTION.

During the survey of 275 adults from the four towns in the region in 1972 we had some questions on leadership. As page 13 of the interview schedule in Appendix C shows, we told the respondents that "we are interested in finding out who you think are the leaders of this community. The community has different areas of activity, and we are interested in the leaders of each section". First of all we asked them about civic leaders, requesting that they would name the three people who they thought were the most prominent people in the civic life of their town. We similarly asked them to name the three most prominent people in their town in the commercial sector, in the industrial sector, and in the cultural and social life of the town. Subsequently we got the list of names, and took the most frequently mentioned names for depth interviews by the supervisor of the fieldwork (an older social sciences graduate) in 1973. In all, we took the seven names that stood out in terms of frequency in Empangeni for interviews, and who were co-operative. The first two names were listed as civic leaders, also social and cultural leaders, also commercial leaders, and also having some impact in the area of industry. In other words the first two individuals were clearly dominant in those aspects of the town life which we had singled out for questioning. The person who came third in terms of frequency of mention was primarily a civic leader but also seen to a lesser extent as an industrial leader. The fourth name was somebody who was seen purely as a civic leader, whilst the other persons were seen as both civic, business and social leaders. In Mtunzini two names stood out, both were academics; and in KwaMbonambi only one name stood out - he was seen as a civic and social leader. Finally in Richards Bay, four names stood out as the most frequently mentioned leaders, but only one agreed to an interview - he was another civic and social leader. Another civic and social leader and two industrial leaders refused to assist us.

Overall ten of the individuals who co-operated were men and one was a woman. A very much wider range of names were mentioned during the interviews, but many of the people were mentioned by only one or by the most two people. The names that we have selected were the ones that stood out head and shoulders above others. For example the ones we listed first in terms of most frequent mention in Empangeni got mentioned by 102 people as a civic leader and by 72 people as a leader in commerce. For obvious reasons we cannot give the names of the individuals whom we thus interviewed.

8.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS LEADERSHIP.

We first of all asked our sample of informants whether they felt that leadership in civic affairs found in their community was adequate. In Empangeni two-thirds felt that the leadership was adequate the remaining third were critical. The position is that more of the English-speakers were dissatisfied with the leadership than the Afrikaners - 45 percent as against only 16 percent respectively. The proportion of the informants in the town who were critical of the civic leadership increased with rising socio-economic status, from a low 15 percent being critical amongst lower blue-collar workers to just under half of the upper white-collar workers. In KwaMbonambi 76 percent of our sample felt that the civic leadership in the village was adequate. All of the Afrikaners we spoke to and two-thirds of the English were satisfied. In Mtunzini, four-fifths of our sample were satisfied with the civic leadership. All of the Afrikaners as against two-thirds of the English were satisfied. Finally in the rapidly growing new town of Richards Bay 70 percent of our informants were satisfied with the civic leadership. Four-fifths of the Afrikaners as against two-fifths of the English were not critical of the quality of civic leadership. The percentage of satisfied individuals increased with rising occupational status. This is the exact opposite of the trend that we found in Empangeni. It may be a reflection of the difference between an established and a newly developing town.

As far as commercial, industrial, and cultural and social leaders in the towns were concerned, we merely asked for the provision of names so that we could decide who to interview, but not whether the leadership that they provided was satisfactory or not. The reasons for this were that we felt whereas everybody was affected by the quality of civic leadership in the community, in regard to industry, commerce and cultural and social activities only some people in the community would be in a position to evaluate the leadership because their lives were directly affected.

As part of the attempt to get a picture of leadership in the town we asked whether there were rival groups in the town concerned, in terms of local town politics. (This did not necessarily involve national political parties at all.) Where informants felt that there were such rival groups we asked them to name these groups and then indicate which of the groups they felt came closest to controlling the town concerned. In Empangeni two-thirds felt that there were rival groups within the town jockeying for power; in KwaMbonambi only two-fifths felt this; three-quarters in Mtunzini felt this, and interestingly enough in Richards Bay only 8 percent of the informants felt that there were rival groups. This is probably because in the town the people there were virtually all newcomers, and at that stage they were still building a community and groups probably had not emerged very much. Generally speaking, Afrikaners either were less aware of rival groups in the community or on the other hand were less prepared to admit that there was rivalry, except in Empangeni where slightly more than others said there were rival groups.

The most frequently identified source of rivalry within the community, mentioned by over a quarter of the cases in the sample as a whole was political parties, and the only other identification worth noting, mentioned by six percent of the cases, was rivalry on the basis of language grouping. In Empangeni more emphasised political groups battling it out for power in the community, whereas in Mtunzini, one-fifth of the cases mentioned English versus Afrikaans groups as rivals, and one in six of those in KwaMbonambi mentioned this feature also. In Mtunzini occupational categories were mentioned, as being

involved in rivalry.

Looking first of all at Empangeni, and taking only the replies of those who felt that there were rival groups within the town, the group that was seen by most of our informants as controlling the town - namely two-fifths of the respondents who saw rival groups, 35 percent saw the Nationalists as controlling the town, and 34 percent saw the United Party being involved. More of the English saw the Nationalists in control, and ironically more of the Afrikaans saw the United Party as being in control. Sixteen percent of the ones who had seen rival groups in the town felt the United Party and the Nationalists had a more or less fifty-fifty split in controlling the town.

In the small village of KwaMbonambi 38 percent of those who felt that there were rival groups in the town saw the United Party as being in control; 31 percent felt that the "English" in the town were controlling it; and 15 percent felt that the farmers and shop owners were in control, with the same percentage feeling that the Nationalists were in control. No other groups were mentioned.

In Mtunzini, the single most frequently mentioned groups controlling the town were English and Afrikaans groups, on some kind of fifty-fifty split basis.

In Mtunzini, the variation in perception of the group in control of the town was far greater than in the other towns. Whereas the greatest single proportion - 24 percent - saw the English and Afrikaans groups more or less jointly sharing control of the town, 16 percent saw the United Party in control, and 10 percent each saw the Nationalists and United Parties controlling the town. Ten percent each saw the sugar farmers, and the farming community, as controlling the town. If we look at the distribution of these cases, it would seem that political party control was mentioned by 36 percent of the cases, and language group by 24 percent. Therefore probably while there is disagreement as to which parties control the town the political parties seem to be the most frequently mentioned source of political control.

In Richards Bay itself as we have already indicated very few of our informants felt that there was a controlling group in the town. Of the small number of individuals who did see such a controlling group, 37 percent saw the United Party controlling Richards Bay; a similar proportion saw the Afrikaners as being in control; and 25 percent saw the Nationalists controlling the town. It would seem that at the time of the survey groups had not emerged into sufficient prominence amongst the relatively new population for most people to see rival groups engaged in a struggle for control of the town.

8.3 OPINIONS OF THE LEADERS INTERVIEWED IN 1973.

An older social science graduate conducted interviews in 1973 with 11 individuals from the four towns taken together who received the most "votes" as ringleaders in their community.[1] He tape recorded the interviews, and used a focused interview guide. (This guide is given in Appendix C.)

We cannot give a very detailed description of the opinions of the leaders, as the sheer volume of detail prevents this. It must be remembered that some of the interviews lasted as long as three hours, so that a total of interviewing for 25-30 hours or more can only be reported in broad outline here. In any case, a mass of detail can all too easily mean that we do not see the wood for the trees.

8.3.1 Opinions of Empangeni Leaders

One of the most interesting features revealed by the interviews with Empangeni leaders, which came out quite overtly in some instances, and indirectly in others, was the fear that Empangeni would be overshadowed economically by the development of Richards Bay. The fear was that while in the short-run Empangeni, as the closest established town to Richards Bay with a good shopping area and community infrastructure, would benefit, in the long-run it would suffer badly as a result of Richards Bay's development. One leader from Empangeni went so far as to draw a parallel between Empangeni and Richards Bay on the one hand

1) We must add, and who agreed to co-operate by being interviewed.

and Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape, and King Williams Town and East London in the border region, on the other hand. Both Grahamstown and King Williams Town were important regional centres in their heyday. In each case, their port city (Port Elizabeth in the one case, and East London in the other) developed subsequently, eventually outstripping the inland town, and taking over its function as a dominant city in the region. The inland towns became "sleepy hollows". (Watts,1957a, 41; and 1965, 12-13.) The respondent was very much concerned that Empangeni in relation to Richards Bay would share the same fate and eventually become a "sleepy hollow" with its main functions being taken over by Richards Bay. One person gave Empangeni's central business district only 20 years before it would die. Another foresaw a fierce battle between a "stifling Richards Bay and a stifled Empangeni", unless authorities prevented this. Some felt that Empangeni must do everything possible to stave off such a fate. This sounds so reminiscent of the views expressed on behalf of Grahamstown in relation to Port Elizabeth, in the "Grahamstown Journal" during the middle of the 19 century. (See Watts, 1957.) They felt that Empangeni was at a particular disadvantage in that Richards Bay was getting the expert attention of national and international experts, and favourable conditions of finance, whereas Empangeni lacked a good deal of expertise, and had to borrow money at the ordinary interest rates for a town council. Resentment was expressed that the Richards Bay Council (which in 1972 consisted of government nominees, most of whom were experts from outside because the little village of Richards Bay lacked potential councillors with experience necessary for a rapidly growing town), did not fully keep Empangeni informed of its own plans. Therefore the Empangeni Town Council did not know how best to plan. One informant who had attended meetings held jointly by the Empangeni and Richards Bay town councils, said that no one in Empangeni wanted to antagonise "the Richards Bay bureaucracy" until they were "ready to stick a pin into the balloon". This statement expresses a good deal of resentment, and symbolised the feelings of many leaders in Empangeni that there should be a confrontation with Richards Bay on Empangeni's terms.

According to the leaders, prior to the coming of the newcomers attracted by the plan to develop Richards Bay, the sugar farmers or "planters" had been the elite in Empangeni. They had controlled the town. Leaders told us that with the influx of newcomers, the planters lost control. Socially they tended to withdraw from the country club which they previously had dominated. There was somewhat contradictory comments about the extent to which social stratification in Empangeni had increased or decreased as a result of development. Nonetheless the balance of opinions seemed to lie on the side of increased stratification. This is exactly what one would expect in a rapidly expanding urban area.

What came through clearly from the detailed interviews with the Empangeni leaders was that in Richards Bay, and also in Empangeni, the old village intimacy of the past was being replaced by a more impersonal, larger-scale community. Some of the symptoms described were essentially those portrayed by Tonnies (1955) in his description of the *gesellshaft* type of society replacing the *gemeinshaft (community)* under modern conditions. In particular it seemed that the older residents some of whom were pioneers, found that the way of life they loved and had chosen was disappearing before their eyes.

There was a general agreement that the prices of commodities, housing, land, rates, the price of municipal services had risen in the region especially in Empangeni and Richards Bay. Older folk who had come to retire in the area before this change were seen in many cases as being driven out by the rising costs. Land in particular had increased steeply in price. One estate agent who was amongst the leaders we interviewed indicated that a plot of land which had been sold for R1 000 in Empangeni before the boom started, had been sold 3 years later for R20 000, and at the time of the interviews early in 1973 was worth R60 000. He thought that by 1980 this plot of land would be worth R163 000.

While denied by some of the Afrikaans-speaking leaders, the English ones were convinced that there had been a definite bid by Afrikaners coming into the region to take over the Empangeni Town Council.

Afrikaans academics moved into the town following the founding in 1971 of the University of Zululand several kilometres out of the town. Th academics were thought to have worked vigorously for the Afrikaners in the community, in order to gain positions of importance and influence which had previously been held by English-speakers.

The balance of the opinions of the leaders in Empangeni was that the majority, perhaps 80 percent, of the newcomers to the region were Afrikaans-speaking, mainly Nationalist Party supporters. This wa seen as having led to the introduction of party politics into local authority affairs. There was also the counter argument put forward by others, that the United Party had introduced party politics into local affairs. However, the net result of these views was that there seemed a considerably body of opinion amongst the leaders that party politics was now part of the local scene in civic affairs. There seems to be fairly general agreement that whereas prior to the start of the accelerated development in the area there had been very little if any party politics in the town council of Empangeni, this was no longer th case by 1973.

Questioned on black/white relations in the area, while some leaders felt that these relations had always been good and were still good, others pointed to the increasing economic and political consciousness of the African. (If the interviews had been held after the Soweto disturbances a few years later, no doubt there would have been even greater comment on this aspect.) Some said that this had been accentuated in the area by black consciousness of students at the University of Zululand.

Leaders reported that sugar farmers and the established employers in the region were losing labour to the new industries, particularly in Richards Bay, which were paying better salaries. The industrialists, adhering to minimum wage rates, were accused (particularly by the farmers so the leaders thought) of spoiling the Africans by paying too much money.

Certain of the leaders felt that there was a deliberate attempt at the "Afrikanerisation of Richards Bay", with a lack of consideration for established residents. Two leaders mentioned that pioneer names (which were English) were deliberately omitted (so they thought) from the choice of possible street names in Richards Bay. The area was one originally of English influence, and this had now changed. These comments and the earlier ones about Afrikaners taking a more active role in the civic affairs, as well as reports on changing the power structure in the community point to the strains and stresses, and resentments that arise in the community in a rapidly developing area where newcomers become a prominent feature of the town life. This is exactly what we had expected.

Several informants expressed the view that because of its elevation above sea level, Empangeni's climate was more suitable than Richards Bay. They felt that Empangeni would become an elite residential area for people who worked in Richards Bay. How far this was a realistic hope time will show. Certainly the oil crisis may well affect people's choice of areas to live in, although subsequent to the 1972-73 fieldwork the construction of a direct road from Richards Bay to Empangeni significantly reduced the distance between the two towns (the older road involved a very wide sweep and involved a journey of more than just a few minutes or a few kilometres).

Most of the leaders interviewed at depth in Empangeni felt that there were no problems or tensions involved by the absorption of newcomers into either Empangeni itself or Richards Bay. One informant pointed out that the foreigners, particularly the Swiss, did not know how to handle Africans, and were too familiar with them at first. Eventually these foreigners learnt how South Africans behaved in this matter. The interviews that we had with the general sample of adults do suggest that there were some tensions and resentments towards newcomers on the part of established residents in the town, but there was no evidence that these were serious.

8.3.2 Opinion of the Richards Bay Leader

It proved possible to interview only one leader from Richards Bay who had been there long enough, and had a sufficient grasp of the situation, and was also willing to make time available to be interviewed. He indicated that planners expected by 1976-77 Richards Bay would have about 9 000 whites, by 1980 21 500, and by the year 2000 A.D. 102 000 whites. However he felt that these figures were very arbitrary. Very interesting to note that in comparison with these figures, in 1978 Richards Bay had an estimated total of just over 7 000 whites, suggesting that the rate of growth was less than anticipated. This ties in with comments made during the 1979 reinterviews of informants (reported below) to the effect that after an initial boom, the rate of development of the whole region was slowed down by the recession in the South African economy during the later 1970's. During the early 1980's (1982) there are signs of another and perhaps severer recession hitting the country, so that this will again affect the natural growth rate.

The informant from Richards Bay saw Richards Bay as becoming the model city for the Republic, because of its advantages as being planned right from the start. (We should remember that the tiny fishing village soon disappeared with the onset of development.) He thought that it would develop into a metropolitan centre.

Our informant saw the creation of an infrastructure in the town as a greatest short-term problem, and one which had occupied the Town Board for the 3 years prior to the interview in early 1973. A lot still had to be done in this regard. As far as shopping facilities were concerned, he saw Richards Bay as far too much oriented towards Empangeni, but believed this problem would be solved within one to two years later.

He did not believe that the establishment of a central business district in Richards Bay would harm Empangeni, except during the first year or so. If all went well, Richards Bay hoped to develop and open their own central business district from the first month of 1974 onwards. The planners believed that big developers should be involved in the central business district, as if small businessmen started they would

later be bought out by larger organisations.

Expansion, in his opinion, would involve all the problems which one finds when a small village grows into a big town. People, he thought, must accept that Richards Bay will develop into a harbour, with all its attendant evils. There was little that could be done about the social problems resulting from this, as right across the world it has been impossible to completely avoid these difficulties and problems.

He saw Richards Bay as having the tremendous advantage of being planned de novo, with the opportunity to try to make the town overall more acceptable and livable, and also to try to reduce as far as possible the ill effects of being a harbour town, and later harbour city. Coming directly under the Department of Planning, regional development and provincial planning would not directly affect Richards Bay. He saw the whole development of the region hinging ultimately upon Richards Bay itself. It was only the injection of development into the area because of Richards Bay that was changing the towns - if it had not been for the schemes for Richards Bay, the other small towns would have stayed just as they were.

During the first two years of development in the region, Empangeni would get the main advantages, as the established centre. Eventually a saturation point would be reached, after which Richards Bay's growth would negatively influence Empangeni. Empangeni probably had only a short-term interest in Richards Bay's development. He thought that in the long-run the attraction of living by the sea, and the expansion of a CBD at Richards Bay would outweigh the then existing advantages of Empangeni as being an established town with a higher elevation than Richards Bay itself.

Our informant felt that Empangeni should be "grateful" for the development that had come its way through the development of Richards Bay. Business had benefitted tremendously from the planned growth of Richards Bay.

Once the Department of Planning decided that the town has developed sufficiently for an elected Town Council to be feasible, Municipal elections would be held, and this meant that town politics would come into existence. With this also inevitably would come the introduction of national party politics into local affairs of the Council.

In his opinion there were very few older established residents left in Richards Bay - most had moved away with the changing nature of the town.

He saw changes taking place in the behaviour and degree of sophistication of Africans, who prior to the development of Richards Bay had been living under rural conditions and were interested very largely in farming. They were becoming better dressed, and adapting very well to "city life", and more or less 60% of them were able to adapt to the industrial life. They now had more money than previously. Employers in Richards Bay were paying better wages than the region as they did not want to have the accusation levelled at them that they took advantage of cheap labour. Consequently there was the problem for the region of higher wages being paid in Richards Bay than farm labourers were getting (it was implied that consequently some of the farmers would be having problems in keeping their labourers).

8.3.3 Opinions of the Mtunzini Leaders.

Both of the leaders that we interviewed from Mtunzini were academics from the University of Zululand. Putting together their comments, the picture emerges that Mtunzini was prior to the development of the University of Zululand completely English-speaking. But from the mid-1960's onwards there was an influx of academics, most of whom were Afrikaans-speaking. These academics experienced an anti-university feeling, but probably not specifically anti-Afrikaans, although it was difficult to separate the two issues. Originally it was definitely antipathy. This was contributed to the older residents feeling threatened by the newcomers to the "stagnating village". One of the informants estimated that about a third of Mtunzini in 1973 consisted of Afrikaans academics. At the time of the interview there

was now much more contact between the English and Afrikaans and between academics and non-academics. People were getting to know one another.

Originally the Town Council (Town Board?) consisted entirely of established residents such as retired farmers, etc., with no Afrikaners on it. In 1973 three out of seven members were Afrikaans-speaking. The average age of the Council had decreased with far younger members now and the Council itself was having to face issues associated with development. The issue of the Marina, of water supply, and rates (which had to increase to cover the cost of development) were significant ones in the community (in fact they took a great deal of time of the meeting of the Ratepayers Association which we recorded).

There was a good deal of opposition in the community to industrial development, as a lot of people wanted Mtunzini to remain a residential area for the better-off. However what is planned at Mtunzini will undoubtedly be influenced by development at Richards Bay. Roads in the town were also one of the issues of the moment.

One of the informants saw as an issue, if the Marina was developed, the relation between it and the African township serving Richards Bay on the other side of the river. The Marina would be on one side and the township on the other. He foresaw the danger of the township spreading virtually to the river banks. Mtunzini was trying to develop a botanic garden near the site of the river as a buffer zone, but as the area was part of KwaZulu, the issue was a complex and delicate one.

Attitudes towards development in the community varied. Old residents tended to see development as very detrimental, but one of the informants felt that development could not be stopped. All that could be done was try to plan properly. At the time of the interview planning advice for the village was being provided by the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission.

From the point of view of one of our informants Mtunzini consisted as a community of university people, businessmen, retired

farmers and sugar farmers. The sugar farmers he believed did not mix as easily with the "ordinary English village inhabitants". The antagonism towards university people resulted in part from a lack of understanding - other folk often said that university people do not work like the rest of them.

Recreational facilities in the village were seen as having increased and improved, more planning now being organized by the Council, as the majority of the Council were conscious of the need for development. Mtunzini in fact would not have developed if there had not been a planned harbour at Richards Bay. However there was still friction between opponents and proponents of development.

Turning to the future, there was disagreement between the two community leaders as to the likely pattern of future events. The one believed that Richards Bay would ultimately have to be handed over to KwaZulu. He was of the opinion that if the Government was serious about the policy of Separate Development, the logical conclusion would be the handing over of Richards Bay to KwaZulu. The other one was of the opinion that not for one hundred years would Richards Bay be handed over, and felt that KwaZulu should be supplied with an alternative sea outlet somewhere on the Tongaland coast, close both to Mozambique and Swaziland.

8.3.4 Opinions of the KwaMbonambi Leader.

The leader from KwaMbonambi had quite a lot to do with Empangeni, and so some of his comments related to the wider region beyond the hamlet itself. For example, he was of the opinion that Empangeni was virtually owned by a handful of men, who also owned parts of Richards Bay. Planters who lived near Empangeni felt that they were being pushed out, with their established dominant position in the town being threatened. KwaMbonambi had a very small budget and one of its major problems at the time of the investigation was the future of the water supply. The electrical system was virtually "falling apart" and needed renewing instead of just being kept going. A critical problem was raising the money for development and upgrading of services. One of the problems facing the community

was that they did not quite know where they were going and what was going to happen to them in the future.

This informant was of the opinion that traffic would be a long-term problem. There was also the problem of who paid for the improving of the road system, particularly between the towns.

Farmers were beginning to experience problems with farm labour, due to higher wages being paid in industry and construction. He doubted whether workers were attracted to better or higher salaries as they did not have the kind of fringe benefits which farm labourers were getting.

At the time of the interview, development in KwaMbonambi had been stopped, due to the unavailability of further plots of land. However he did not see this as bad, as this would allow the preservation of the rural atmosphere of the community.

Turning to the broader region, he was of the opinion that Empangeni had already become a bustling community, whereas Eshowe (the capital of old Zululand) had remained a quiet little town. "Everyone is busy here", he said about Empangeni. "It's all going faster and faster, but there they have not come any closer to their goal" (suggesting that perhaps it was a bit of a treadmil effect at the time). He spoke at some length about the rise in costs of a wide range of items and services in Empangeni resulting from development. Traders were making a determined effort to keep large chain stores out of Empangeni.

He saw the port of Richards Bay as a critical factor for the whole country, and felt there was merit in making it a free port which could be shared with the Blacks.

8.3.5 Some General Opinions.

In addition to the views which have been outlined in the preceding sections, there are a few other opinions expressed by the leaders that we interviewed which are worth noting. One of the general

opinions was that with the rapidly growing communities in the region, and the loss of the intimate village way of life, people were becoming less community-oriented and more concerned with the affairs of their own group. Many people had come to the area to make money at the expense of others. Life was becoming a rat-race as in the city. It was becoming increasingly difficult to get people willing to work for service organizations and care for the needs of others in the community.

An informant foresaw problems due to the uneven sex ratio which would result from development. It was pointed out that already in 1973 single men in the area were competing for women, even as young as older schoolgirls. This posed problems for parents, particularly in the case of girls from lower socio-economic groups. The rather hackneyed view was expressed that more sport at school would be needed to use up the surplus energy of the children! The teenage problems in Empangeni and Richards Bay were seen as no longer the problems typical of a village community, but similar to those in Durban. This was partly due to the influence of an influx of sophisticated city children. The view was expressed that the children "are now becoming old before their years".

By 1973 Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was demanding Richards Bay for KwaZulu. None of the leaders saw Richards Bay being handed over to KwaZulu, at least in the immediate future. One informant, when giving his view, said that Richards Bay would not voluntarily be handed over to KwaZulu. This does suggest he may have felt that the hand of the authorities, could, in the future, be forced in this matter. Another informant said that if Richards Bay was given to the Zulus, there would be a large-scale "White-trek" away from it. He said that in particular many Transvalers would not live under Buthelezi, and it would be like "another Zambia with no security for the Whites". However, some leaders saw the need for closer links to be forged between the Port and KwaZulu. We have already mentioned that one of the leaders saw the long-term logical conclusion of Separate Development involving the handing over of Richards Bay to KwaZulu.

To sum up, the development of Richards Bay was seen by the leaders we interviewed as changing the character of the region. Particularly in Richards Bay and Empangeni significant changes were taking place. Threats to the key position of Empangeni as the established service centre in the region were in evidence. The leadership in the towns was changing, with newcomers gaining some of the positions of authority and decision-making. What had previously been a predominantly English-speaking region was becoming more and more Afrikaans-speaking. All these changes were accompanied by some anxiety. tension and resentment on the part of the established groups, who felt their position was being jeopardised.

8.4 OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES OF INCUMBENTS OF KEY OCCUPATIONAL ROLES, INTERVIEWED IN 1979

In January and February 1979, six years after the interviews with leaders in the region, 65 follow-up focussed interviews were conducted. The aim was to learn what impressions people had of change over the past six years. While these interviews are not part of the baseline survey, but are already a first follow-up investigation, it is worth recording them in this chapter. The persons selected were deliberately chosen. First of all, those selected were as far as possible individuals who had been interviewed previously in 1973. In addition, persons whose occupational roles put them in a position to comment intelligently on the changes and problems in their particular town were selected. Thus we interviewed some clergymen, two Town Clerks, professional people, businessmen, managers in business and industry, top civil servants, local authority officers,social workers, educationists in the local schools and also academics from the University of Zululand. The focussed interview schedule used is shown in Appendix C. The interviews were recorded on the schedule, and unlike the 1973 ones were not tape-recorded.

The overwhelming general consensus of respondents was that development of Richards Bay had stimulated the growth of the area around it. In particular not only Richards Bay itself, but Empangeni had benefitted. It was felt that during the last few years up to 1979 the economic recession in the country, together with the slump in

international trade, had significantly slowed down the rate of development in Richards Bay, and hence in the region.

By 1979 the basic harbour work in Richards Bay, and the railway facilities had been completed. Several large-scale heavy industries were operating in the area. However, no new factories were being built at the time of the interviews, and this worried some informants. The opinion was expressed that there definitely seemed a preference on the part of some people working in Richards Bay - perhaps particularly upper middle class people - to live in Empangeni. This was because of the higher elevation of the town which made it a bit cooler (the region is a very humid. sub-tropical area, with endemic malaria), and also because of the more developed community infrastructure of Empangeni in contrast to Richards Bay.

It was pointed out that virtually all Whites in Richards Bay itself were newcomers, from all over South Africa. There were still a few foreigner there,although with the completion of construction work the technologists and construction experts who had come on contract had largely departed. The people of the town were all faced by the common task of beginning a community life virtually from scratch. This was because prior to the decision to build a harbour, Richards Bay had been a tiny fishing village and nothing more. Empangeni was seen as absorbing a good deal of the initial influx into the region, because it had an infrastructure which was almost completely lacking in Richards Bay. A further advantage for Empangeni was its lower rates which it had in contrast to Richards Bay.

It was thought that from 1972 to 1975 there had been a great influx of peopie into Richards Bay, but from 1976 onwards there had been a marked decrease in inflow. No new businesses had been established in Richards Bay, and contractors had completed their tasks, and they and their teams had left.

The interviews revealed that there was a definite uncertainty amongst the population regarding the future of the region in relation to KwaZulu. It was said that big firms were reluctant to

settle in the region, because of the possibility of Richards Bay being incorporated into KwaZulu. In fact, some of the informants said that the Government was not endeavouring to develop the area vigorously, because of the possibility of it being handed over to KwaZulu. Other priorities such as defence and the education of Africans were taking a national priority over Richards Bay, as far as funds were concerned. We were told that despite this, there had been "an immense" expansion of heavy industry, aid in the harbour facilities at Richards Bay, with improved communication lines. Roads had been built, bridges had been constructed to shorten routes, now there were automatic telephone services, more telex lines, and air links with Durban and also Johannesburg.

The general consensus was that the growth potential of the region in the past decade has not been fulfilled. This was because of South Africa's recession and the recession in the West (at the time of writing in 1982, with a severe recession in the West, and the start of the recession in South Africa, presumably this will be repeated). The international political situation and the world energy crisis were additional factors in slowing down development. The expectation of planners about the size of Richard Bay's White population were about fourfold that reached by 1979. In Empangeni, one informant suggested that the decline in the town's growth rate was as follows: in 1973 he thought Empangeni's growth rate was 20%; in 1976 it was 18%; in 1977 8% and from 1978 onwards was running at about 7½% per year (these are his own estimates).

Housing had been a serious problem in the region in the early 1970's. Some families had to live for a while in caravans. By contrast, it was considered that by 1979 there was no longer a housing shortage in Empangeni or in Richards Bay, and some houses and flats were vacant. The population was more stable, following the exodus of the floating population of construction teams. Their exodus had also lowered the crime rate. People who had stayed on, had some commitment to the region. More professional people were settling in the region. There had been improvements in sporting facilities, hotels, and roads and public services. Empangeni now had a library and a fire station. However,

it was felt that the cultural, recreational and shopping facilities in both Richards Bay and Empangeni still lagged behind the population growth of the region. In Richards Bay itself the CBD had expanded, schools had been completed, churches built, sports clubs were more active, and the infrastructure was being steadily developed. However development still lagged behind that of Empangeni. Tarred roads had been constructed, and street lights had been introduced into Richards Bay.

It is interesting to note that the resentment and anxiety in Empangeni about the development of Richards Bay, clearly evident in the 1973 interviews, was still evident in 1979. However, it was not voiced as strongly. Anxiety of businessmen on this score may have been reduced somewhat by the boom in Empangeni - but this could well be temporary. A then current source of resentment in 1979 was that Richard Bay's boundaries ended where Empangeni's started. This meant that vacant land available for expansion belonged to Richards Bay and was denied to Empangeni. The latter town needed additional space urgently for new light industries. Richards Bay did not need the land at the time of the interviews. Therefore the conflict can well be imagined.

The vast majority of the informants were unaware of any marked problem resulting from the influx of newcomers. Nonetheless social workers maintained that they found short-term problems of adaption as well as longer-term difficulties. It was stated that there had been an increase of juvenile delinquency, sexual permissiveness, and alcohol consumption because of the lack of entertainment facilities. (If this is a true causal connection, then it certainly points to a need for planners to bear this in mind when dealing with a rapidly growing community.) One social worker reported that whereas there had been twelve welfare cases in 1975, there were eighty in 1979 - which was a far greater jump in size than had occurred in the total population of the region.

The hope expressed by one of the Empangeni informants in 1973 that there would be an advanced college of technical education in the region had still not been realised. There were by 1979 still

no facilities in the region for technical education outside of the industrial concerns themselves. If the region was going to become a major industrial one, the provision of this education is important.

In 1973 one informant had suggested that part of the problem of the high prices for consumer goods in the region was the lack of effective competition. This was again mentioned in 1979 as a problem.

Some of the Richards Bay informants felt that many of the newcomers, who came from big cities, were dissatisfied and disillusioned with the town's poorly developed infrastructure, and these newcomers discouraged others from settling in the area.

Complaints about Richards Bay were that the Town Board was not attempting to make the town attractive to outsiders. Entertainment was poor, the beach was dangerous without shark nets, there was no cinema, no theatre, and no places to dine out apart from the hotel. While there was agreement that there should be central planning and control of Richards Bay, it was felt that private initiative should be given more scope in future, to provide these amenities. The town was seen as at a disadvantage with higher rates than Empangeni, and this was because it had to provide everything from "scratch" at high cost. It was also saddled with an expensive government loan, which some felt should be made an outright grant to help the town.

It was suggested by informants that half of Empangeni's White population consisted of Afrikaners, and the rest were nearly all English-speakers. In contrast, in Richards Bay about 70% of the population was seen in 1979 as Afrikaans-speaking, with about 28% English-speaking and 2% speaking a foreign language. How accurate these estimates are we cannot say, but they are not all that different from our 1972 sample survey results.

Turning to the incorporation of newcomers into the existing community, it was felt that in Richards Bay this was not a problem. Virtually nearly everyone was new to the region, and there was a pioneering spirit with everybody concerned in building a community. In Empangeni, on the other hand, it was felt that newcomers were now

being more readily accepted by the established population than had previously been the case. The "old established group" were gradually becoming reconciled to the newcomers. (This comment does suggest that there had been tension and friction between newcomers and the existing residents in Empangeni.)

In 1973, Empangeni had been seen as existing of sugar farmers, the village people, the mill people, and the railway workers. It was suggested that today the larger population was now broken down differently. There was first of all the "country club set". This consisted of the farming community (who were the established rich), top and middle management from business and industry, the senior academics and the so-called "jet-set" (who came to work in Richards Bay in order to gain promotion, and then left as soon as they could go further up the ladder in their career by moving elsewhere). Then there were the so-called "mafia", who were referred to several times, but about whom nothing further would be said. This was rather a tantalizing reference. It is possible that the "mafia" could be wealthy, ruthless businessmen. Be low these two groups, that is, the country club sets and mafia, there was a large middle class and beneath that a small working class including the railway workers. It was suggested that in addition to these groupings, there were also residential and occupational cliques within Empangeni. Half of the informants felt that the amount of social stratification in the community had increased. This was our hypothesis - that increasing development and growth in the size of Empangeni would lead to increasing social stratification and differentiation.

In Richards Bay, according to informants, the stratification is also increasing. As the inhabitants became more established in their position, stratification became more clearly demarcated. The division between upper and lower classes was being made clearer by the introduction into Richards Bay of more top management in industry. However, all the respondents in Richards Bay felt that the various groups were not rival groups jockeying for certain positions.

Two of our respondents felt that there was some rivalry

and conflict within Empangeni. It was suggested that there was rivalry between the "wealthy Zululand farmers" on the one hand, and the "upper social class" on the other, and also between "construction workers" and the "middle class". Cross-cutting this there was an Afrikaans-English-speaking antipathy. The comment was made that "the Anglo-Boer war was still being fought here". However, this latter view was not a majority opinion.

In Richards Bay, there had been a change between 1973 and 1979 in the pattern of local decision-making. Originally all the members of the Town Board had been appointed by the Government. In late 1978 three of the seven members were elected by the local population, with the remaining four still being appointees of the Government, coming from other parts of South Africa. These appointees were chosen because of their expertise. It was thought that in the not too distant future there would be a fully-elected Town Board for the community. It was felt that there should be more consultation between the Town Board and the residents of Richards Bay.

As far as the Blacks were concerned, there was consensus that their standard of living had been raised. Blacks were in 1979 being trained for employment at higher levels, and skilled and semi-skilled jobs were available. Housing facilities had been provided in the Black townships. A Black middle class was emerging. There was better education for the African children, and the Blacks were becoming more "westernized and sophisticated". The way of life for the Blacks had been affected dramatically - far more so than that of the Whites in the region. Two townships had been built, and the third one would be completed in the near future. Before that, apart from the township in Empangeni, the Blacks had lived in their kraals, in what were "reserves". (Richards Bay was being built on what in the past had been an area of rural African kraals, apart from the tiny fishing hamlet of Richards Bay itself.) The Africans were increasingly living in urban communities in the region, with electricity, water and sewage provided. In fact, an urban way of life was opened up nearby to the rural areas, and many of the Blacks who had previously had a rural way of life were adopting an urban pattern of living. Unfortunately, a

side-effect to all this had been an increase in drinking amongst African men and a rise in the crime rate.

It was felt by the positional elite we interviewed in 1979 that there was a large amount of dissatisfaction among the Blacks. One respondent felt that there was still a large proportion of the local Whites who did not realize the "true aspirations" (as he put it) of the Black people. He felt though that there was little evidence of petty Apartheid in Richards Bay and Empangeni. The Blacks' attitude was seen by all respondents as having changed over the six years from 1973. The Blacks had originally been sceptical about the benefits which they would derive from the Richards Bay development, but now saw that this had been to their advantage. The Inkatha Movement had taken a strong foothold in the Lower Umfolosi region. (This is the district in which Richards Bay and Empangeni was sited.) The Blacks are more politically aware, and one informant, who has considerable contact with the Africans, is convinced that Black/White co-operation had radically deteriorated during the three years 1976 - 1979. This of course was the post-Soweto period, following on the upheavals by Blac school children in Johannesburg.

Black unemployment was a problem in 1979, not only because of the general economic recession in South Africa at that time, but also because those that had been employed on construction sites were out of work with their contracts completed. Job opportunities had been radically reduced with the completion of construction.

It is interesting to note that in regard to the future of Richards Bay, and also Empangeni, and the region as a whole, there was a wide diversity of responses, ranging from sheer optimism to pessimism. Some Richards Bay informants believed that with the completion of the initial construction work, the town would grow slowly, and that it was highly desirable to settle as soon as possible the whole issue of whether to consolidate the region including the port into KwaZulu, or not. (As an aside, it can be noted that in 1982 at the time of writing the general view seemed to be that because of strategic considerations for the Republic of South Africa, and also to safeguard the economic lifelines from the coast to the Pretoria/

Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area, there was no way that the South African Government would hand over Richards Bay to KwaZulu.) A third of the respondents who replied to one interviewer, who in particular probed about this issue, thought that it was possible that the region would become part of KwaZulu. It was felt that it was very necessary to give Whites assurance about the future. Prevailing uncertainty and doubt on this score was hampering developments in the area. Some felt that many Whites would probably leave the region if it went to KwaZulu.

Again looking to the future of the region, it was generally felt that Empangeni would experience moderate economic activity, with gradual growth and prosperity. Few felt that the region would be a future metropolis and this was in marked contrast to rather heady optimism of the early 1970's. There would be growth complementary to Durban, but not in competition with it, and one heard none of the statements that were made about a decade ago about "Richards Bay being a second Durban by the end of this century."

There was a call put out by some of the positional elite we spoke to about the need for communication and unity between Blacks and Whites. This was seen as being quite important for the future.

Opinions were expressed that the economic development of Richards Bay had been favoured without sufficient attention being paid to the social consequences and needs of the population, so that the social and cultural development to the region had lagged. For example, it was claimed that the development of the "social infrastructure" of Richards Bay should have been one of the major projects initiated at a very early stage. It was stated that this was something which was not normally seen by developers and Town and Regional Planners as one of their priorities, but it should in fact be a high priority.

In general, it was pointed out that the lesson had been learnt that Richards Bay cannot develop in isolation from the rest of South Africa. It was affected by the South African economy and the world economy. Some felt that the Government might at this point in time

seriously consider "forcing" another motor industry into the area to lead to continuation of development. (In a subsequent chapter reference will be made to newspaper reports of further planned developments in Richards Bay on the part of the authorities.) One suggestion was that Richards Bay would be a suitable site for the manufacture for fuel from sugar and timber by-products, for the manufacture of weapons, and also would be a suitable naval base.

The plea was made by at least one prominent informant in Empangeni that no hindrance should be placed upon the natural development of Empangeni. The State departments and Provincial organisations concerned with the region should look upon the region as one developing "metropolis", instead of two towns in competition with one another, where the conflict had to be adjudicated and one of the communities was bound to be the loser. With competing vested interests between Richards Bay and Empangeni businessmen and civic leaders, there are obviously some conflicts of interest between the two towns. This comment of course echoes opinions expressed in 1972.

This chapter has presented the attitudes and opinions of those who in the 1972 sample survey were mentioned by a majority of our informants as leaders. We were not able to interview all of the most frequently mentioned leaders, as some of those whom we approached flatly refused to be interviewed. In addition, in the last section of this chapter we presented a picture of interviews with informants who were deliberately chosen as positional elite, as well as those whom we interviewed in 1972 for a first follow-up study. In this sense the last part of this chapter is not baseline material, but already marks some of the changes in the region. This chapter on the opinions of leaders has been particularly informative, as it deals with the ideas of individuals who are in key roles and positions to observe what is going on in their community. Some of the comments made have a direct relevance for planners.

CHAPTER 9.

THE PATTERN OF ACTIVITIES OF ADULTS IN THE TOWNS IN THE REGION

H.L. WATTS.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the pattern of activities of adults in the region giving an indication of where they shop, so that one can obtain an idea of the main functions of the centres in the region; where their friends live, so that one has at least an elementary idea of the pattern of social networks; and then information on recreational activity and entertainment is also presented. This gives some idea of variation in the pattern of interaction within the town. Clearly if a detailed picture was required then participant observation with several observers would have been necessary. After all, even a small town like Empangeni is large enough to be too big for one participant observer alone to cover. Time and money did not make this kind of research possible, so that instead a purely survey approach was adopted. It must be borne in mind that this type of approach is very cross-sectional in time and relies on the accuracy of people's reporting, in contrast to participant observation which relies on the information produced by a skilled observer.

9.2 PATTERN OF SHOPPING

Information was sought on the places where individual adults "usually" went shopping. We would of course expect a great deal of the shopping to take place in the towns in which individuals were living, so that data are presented here only for those towns where adults other than residents travelled to shop. In other words where did someone in Richards Bay who did not do all his or her shopping there, go to shop? As far as bread and milk were concerned, almost nine-tenths of the purchases were made in the town concerned. Eight-and-a-half percent of the sample went to Empangeni for these items, and one percent to Richards Bay. In regard to fresh fruit and vegetables eight percent travelled to Empangeni to shop, and three percent went to Durban. Two percent travelled to Stanger, and one-and-a-half percent to other Zululand

towns. Empangeni therefore stood out clearly. The purchase of meat, fish and perishables other than fruit and vegetables, and bread and milk, was undertaken by about three-quarters of the adults in the town in which they were living. Twelve percent of the sample travelled to Empangeni, 8% Durban, and 3% to KwaMbonambi (which suggests that the town may have had a good butchery). Toiletries and medicines were purchased in four-fifths of the cases in the town which people were living. (Please remember in each instance that the bulk of our sample lived in the Empangeni area so that they would have bought their requirements there.) Twelve percent travelled to Empangeni to purchase their toiletries and medicines, 3% to Durban, and only 0,6% to Richards Bay. Groceries were purchased in the town in which people were living in 75% of our cases. Twenty percent travelled to Empangeni, and 3% to Durban. Liquor was purchased in almost four-fifths of the cases in the town in which the adults were surveyed. Four percent travelled to Empangeni, and also 4% to Durban. Almost one-tenth said that they did not consume liquor and therefore did not travel anywhere to buy it.

Up to this point we have been dealing with items which people purchase fairly regularly. With clothing, shoes and other apparel we moved to semi-durable goods where purchases were not necessary all that frequently, and people therefore may undertake shopping expeditions to get the best value for money. It is not surprising therefore that almost four-fifths of the cases said they travelled to Durban in order to buy clothing, etc. Under half bought some clothing in the town in which they were living. One-tenth travelled to Empangeni. In regard to furniture, the importance of Durban as a source of purchases is clear. Three-tenths travelled to Durban to buy furniture, and one in seven undertook an expedition to Empangeni for furniture purchases. Again under half bought in the town in which they were living. Much the same kind of pattern was evident in regard to the purchases of appliances. Together with furniture, and motor cars, we are now dealing with durable goods. Almost three-tenths bought their appliances from Durban, one in eight shopped for these items at Empangeni, and just over half bought in the town in which they were living.

It is interesting to note that the purchase of motor

vehicles involved slightly greater distribution of outlets. This is probably because whereas towns may not be necessarily be regarded as having the best value for money in terms of clothing, and appliances, people often liked to buy a car from medium-sized towns rather than a large one, feeling that they get more personal service. About half bought their motor vehicle in the town in which they were living. One in six went to Durban for this kind of purchase, and one in seven bought in Empangeni. Two percent travelled to Eshowe to buy a car, a further 2% bought in other Zululand towns, and 8% bought in other towns which were outside Zululand.

We then asked what other items other than those covered by the categories listed above people specifically wanted to mention as involving shopping expeditions to towns other than where they lived. We got a variety of replies. The towns that emerged were Empangeni, Durban, and Eshowe as being involved. Other towns came up less frequently.

Totalling up all the replies that indicated people travelled on occasions to Durban on a shopping expedition; three-fifths said that on occasions they bought in Durban. It was particularly people from Empangeni, and Richards Bay, who on a percentage basis were prepared to travel to Durban. Some of them no doubt went to Durban on business, perhaps taking their wives with them for shopping at the same time. There did not seem to be much link between shooping in Durban and the occupation of the head of household. Overall for the total sample the mean number of times individuals shopped in Durban was every two months. There was a fairly high degree of variation in the frequency of shopping in Durban, as shown by a co-efficient of variation of 90. For example, almost one-quarter shopped on average in Durban once a month or more frequently. At the other end of the scale about one in eight shopped once or twice a year according to their recollection.

What emerges from this is that quite clearly Durban was, at the time of the survey a major service centre for a region including Empangeni, Richards Bay, and the smaller villages around them. Those who shopped most frequently there tended to be white-collar workers.

9.3 FRIENDS.

Four-fifths of our sample of adults met their two best friends locally, with only 4% saying they had no friends at all, and the rest indicating that they had met their closest friends elsewhere. As was to be expected, Richards Bay was a town where the lowest proportion - only two-thirds - of the adults said that they had met their closest friends locally. We are of course referring to closest friends in the area. This means that an important proportion of friends in the area had as far as Richards Bay people were concerned been met in other towns and areas than Richards Bay itself. In Empangeni, four-fifths had met their closest friends locally. The corresponding proportion for KwaMbonambi is nine-tenths, and for Mtunzini almost nine-tenths.

If we examine where the friends live on a basis that demarcates the towns and villages into different areas, by far the greatest number of closest friends lived within the same area of the town as did our informant. In other words, the friendship patterns tended to be ecologically determined, although there was a good deal of variation and it was not a complete determination by any manner of means.

A quarter of our informants visited their friends on average daily; a third saw them at least twice a week, and a fifth saw them on average at least once a week. This means that on average the frequency of social contact was such that three-quarters of our sample saw their friends at least once a week, or very much more often. The mean frequency of contact was 2,6 times a week, with a co-efficient of variation of 96. This shows that there was quite a considerable degree of variation of frequency of social contact between friends. The Afrikaners had by a narrow margin the highest frequency of contact, weekly, at a figure of 2,8. The co-efficient of variation was 92. For the English the mean was 2,7, with a co-efficient of 101. Those speaking both English and Afrikaans were, at least in the sample, clearly lower with a mean of 1,9 times weekly and a co-efficient of 88. Finally those speaking a foreign language in the home had

the lowest mean of all at 1,5 times weekly and a co-efficient of 33. These figures show that if a lowered frequency of contact with friends means a certain degree of social marginality and isolation, the "foreigners" in the sample were the most marginal, with a mean frequency of contact with friends almost half that of Afrikaners. The co-efficient of variation of 33 was small indicating very little difference in the amount of contact between the members of this group in our sample. Those speaking both English and Afrikaans also had a lower mean than the Afrikaans or the English, suggesting a certain degree of marginality. Also the co-efficient of variation was a little lower than the other two language groups but still showed a fair degree of variation.

There was a tendency for the higher professional group to have somewhat less frequent contact with friends than the other groups in the community. This may merely be a function of the pressure of the work which is often experienced by upper white collar workers, who do not always have so much time for socializing as those in other occupational groups.

9.4 SPARE TIME ACTIVITIES.

We obtained information from our subjects as to some of the things they did during their spare time. While certain kinds of recreational activities and hobbies do not involve claims, others certainly do.

9.4.1 Drives and Picnics.

The respondents were first asked whether they ever went for drives or picnics. This form of activity appeared to be a popular means of relaxation amongst all language groups, with the majority in each case responding positively. Well over nine-tenths of the Afrikaners, three-quarters of the English, all of those speaking both English and Afrikaans, and two-thirds of those speaking a foreign language said that they went for drives and/or picnics. Similarly, outings of this nature were popular amongst the people of all four

towns under investigation. Richards Bay and Empangeni had slightly less people saying they went for drives or picnics than people in small villages of Mtunzini and KwaMbonambi. Empangeni had 84%, and in Richards Bay 83% said that they went for drives and picnics. In Mtunzini and KwaMbonambi over nine-tenths stated they engaged in these types of activities.

Most people who did go for drives and picnics fairly regularly said that they went out on average once a week or once a fortnight. Frequency of outings did not seem to vary much from one town to another. Upper white collar workers tended to go for drives and picnics more often than other occupational groups. Why this should be so is not clear. Overall, the most popular places for outings were driving around Richards Bay to see how the development was progressing (16% of the cases); going to St. Lucia estuary (15%); going to the bay (at Richards Bay) to swim (13%); and going to Mtunzini beach to swim (12%). Other places which were mentioned by more than a handful of people as being popular for outings were the Game Parks (Hluhluwe, Umfolosi, and Mkuze - we need to remember that St. Lucia is also a Game Park) and Eshowe which is the "capital" of the old Zululand. (This was the White capital of the conquered territory of Zululand, as Ulundi is the capital of KwaZulu.)

Those who had been living in a town for a long time (more than 70% of their lives) do not go to as many places as those who have been there for a short time. This is probably in part a function of age, but may also be partly a function of knowing the area very well, and therefore no longer being so interested in going for an outing. Amongst those who had been in a town for a long time, the most popular places to go to were to drive around Richards Bay and to go to the bay for a swim. Amongst those who had been for less than 40% of their lives in a town, (and so were presumably were more recent comers to the community) the most popular places to go to were St.Lucia, and driving around Richards Bay or going to swim at the bay.

The proportion of the population which these figures suggest go fairly regularly for drives and picnics is high enough for the

authorities to take this kind of recreational activity into account from a planning point of view.

9.4.2 *Voluntary Organizations.*

Informants were asked to give the name or names of any voluntary organizations they belonged to. Under this heading we included charitable, religious, social, sporting, cultural or professional organizations. Fifty-five percent of our sample of adults said that they did not belong to any organizations of any kind whatsoever. Seventeen percent said they belonged to church organizations and guilds; 9% said they belonged to a country club; again 9% said they belonged to a rugby club; 7% said they belonged to the Womens Institute; 3% said they belonged to a tennis club; 3% belonged to a business club; 2% belonged to Rotary or Lions; and 1% belonged to a golf club, and a similar percentage belonging to the University (of Zululand) Wives' Association. These percentages are not cumulative, so an individual can belong to several organizations. Seventeen percent said they belonged to other organizations other than those above - these were organizations to which not many people belonged so they were *not* coded separately.

Membership of the country club, and "other" organizations (which includes charitable organizations and voluntary organizations with a welfare function) was highest among the upper white collar workers. The rugby club membership was far heavier amongst blue collar workers, particularly lower blue collar workers. Church membership cut across occupational categories but was relatively high amongst all occupational groups. This pattern was expected, as it is similar to the pattern found in for example King William's Town (Watts, 1965).

Membership of committees of voluntary associations was higher amongst English than Afrikaans-speakers, and was highest amongst high white-collar workers. This is again a pattern that was expected, as it corresponds with that found in King William's Town (Watts, 1965).

9.4.3 Attendance at Cultural, Scientific, Intellectual, Religious or Political Meetings.

Our next question was "Do you ever attend meetings, lectures, film shows, demonstrations, etc., that are of a cultural, scientific, intellectual, religious or political nature?" This was a very broad question but it was aimed at finding out what proportion of people in fact did not go to such activities. More than three-fifths of the individuals said they never attended any meetings or gatherings of this type. This shows that participation in organized social activities in a community involves a minority of the White adult population.

One third of the Afrikaners, two-fifths of the English, a third of those speaking both English and Afrikaans, and half of those speaking a foreign language in their home stated that they did from time to time attend such meetings and gatherings. Except for the small group of foreigners who seemed fairly active in attending these kind of activities, the percentages are not all that different from other language groups. There is an association between occupational category and attendance at public meetings of this kind - the fraction of people attending public meetings of the type indicated decreases as one goes down the occupational categories. Predominantly more of the upper white collar workers attend these kinds of meetings in comparison with other categories. For example, whereas two-thirds of the upper white collar workers attend meetings like this, only three-tenths of the lower white collar workers, a quarter of the upper blue collar workers and one-seventh of the lower blue collar workers attended meetings of this nature. This fits in very clearly with the study of King William's Town where social activity of this kind seems to be largely a function of the upper-middle and upper classes amongst the White adults. (Watts, 1965.) This may be another reason why this group do not appear to go out as frequently for drives and picnics, as they spend some of their time and energies on activities of this nature.

We next asked our respondents which particular types of functions or activities they attended. Amongst the Afrikaans-speaking group, main public functions attended were religious film shows/lectures

(one quarter of the cases), political meetings (one-fifth), cultural lectures and film shows (one in six), cultural meetings (one in six) and religious meetings (just under one in six). Amongst the English-speakers, the main public functions attended were scientific film shows or lectures (one-third of the cases) and cultural meetings (one in six were involved in this kind of this activity). Thus, the type of meetings attended differed in important respects between the English and Afrikaans groups. The group speaking both English and Afrikaans had a pattern that approximated closer to that of the Afrikaners than that of the English. Those speaking a foreign language had a pattern rather closer to the English group.

9.4.4 Going to Coffee Bars, Cafes, or Restaurants.

Our interviewees were asked whether they went to coffee bars or cafes or restaurants after working hours. Just over half said that they did go and there was not much difference between the proportion of the English and Afrikaans-speakers who attended. Excluding those who said that they rarely or never went to coffee bars, cafes, or restaurants, the mean overall attendance was 2,9 times or almost 3 times, a week. The co-efficient variation at 138 showed quite a considerable degree of variation around this mean. This is of course indicated by the perusal of the percentages, where we found the bi-modal distribution, speaking of those who said they went daily, and then those who went, as far as they could remember, on average once a month. Amongst the Afrikaners, the mean attendance of those who went regularly was about 4 times a week, with a co-efficient of variation of 108 - this is a high degree of variation in the pattern of visiting coffee bars, etc. The English had a lower mean rate of 2,1 times a week, which does suggest they tended to spend more time either in clubs (which was quite likely according to the information in the next sub-section) or at home. The co-efficient of variation was very high at 174 indicating an unusually high degree of variability in pattern of frequency of attendance. Those speaking both English and Afrikaans tended to have the mean the same as that of the English, at 2,1. However the variation is somewhat lower than that of the English at the co-efficient of variation of 142. Those speaking a foreign language in their home stood out as different, with the lowest

mean of all. This was less than once a week, at 0,8 times weekly. There was not much variation, with a co-efficient of variation of only 41.

There was some association between age and frequency of going to coffee bars, etc., in that those above the age of 50 do not go as frequently as the younger individual. The frequency of visiting coffee bars etc., was higher in the young adult group, and then again in the early middle age group. Presumably the young adult group tended to frequent coffee bars, with the early middle age group more likely to go to restaurants and steak houses. Lower blue collar workers went to coffee bars most frequently (three-fifths went at least once a week) whereas upper white collar workers went least of all with only one-fifth going at least once a week. This may mean that the upper white collar workers not only may spend more time at home, but probably spend more time in clubs than do the blue collar workers.

9.4.5 Attendance at Social Clubs.

When asked how often they visited social clubs after working hours, over three-fifths of the respondents said that they rarely or never visited a social club. In the sample, there were marked differences according to the language group. Whereas half of the English-speakers said that they did attend social clubs, only one-quarter of the Afrikaners said this. One-fifth of those speaking both English and Afrikaans said they attended, and two-thirds of those speaking a foreign language in their home attended social clubs.

For those who attended other than "rarely or never", the frequency of attendance worked out at 1,7 times a week or once or twice a week. The variability in frequency of attendance was high, given a co-efficient of variation of 151. The Afrikaners had a mean of once a week ($\bar{X}$ - 1,0) then, with a co-efficient of variation of 71 which is moderately high. The English-speakers had a higher mean frequency of attendance, at 2,1 times a week. The variability however in their frequency of attendance was high at a co-efficient of variation of 147. As far as those speaking both English and Afrikaans in the home were

concerned and also those speaking a foreign language, we had a mean of 0,5 and 1,0 times a week respectively. In both cases the variability was very small. Therefore, on average, the English tended to visit their social clubs after work at least twice as frequently as other language groups. The frequency of attendance was highest in Empangeni, probably in part because it would have had the best developed facilities of this kind.

If we look at the occupational groups, those who said they rarely or never visited a social club tended to be linked with occupational group. Whereas only one in six of the upper white collar workers said they rarely or never visited a social club, two-thirds of the lower white collar workers, seven-tenths of the upper blue collar workers, and four-fifths of the lower blue collar workers said this. Quite clearly the main attenders of social clubs are the upper white collar workers, and these clubs therefore appear to be a largely upper middle class and upper class phenomena. This is exactly what was expected.

9.4.6 Visiting Pubs or Lounges for a Drink after Working Hours.

Three-fifths of our sample of adults said that they rarely if ever attended a pub or a lounge after work for a drink. Whereas two-thirds of the Afrikaners said this, just over half of the English responded in this fashion. Two-thirds of those speaking both English and Afrikaans fell into this category, and all of the adults speaking a foreign language in their home. Perhaps because of the problems in communication and self-consciousness in a general social setting, the "foreigners" seldom if ever visited pubs or lounges.

The reported frequency of the average number of times a week a pub or lounge was visited for a drink after work was twice weekly ($\bar{x}$ = 2,0). The co-efficient of variation showed a high degree of variation in behaviour between different adults, in terms of a co-efficient of 165. Afrikaners had a slightly higher mean than the overall average at 2,2 times a week. The variation is even higher amongst them with a co-efficient of variation of 192 - very

high indeed. The mean number of times a week on average reported for visiting a pub and lounge by English-speakers was the same as the overall mean, but with a lower degree of variability in terms of a co-efficient of variation of 135. Those speaking both English and Afrikaans had a below average of 0,7 times a week. There was very little variability at a co-efficient of 34. Why they should have a lower frequency than the two mainlanguage groups is not obvious. In the sub-sample who were asked these questions, none of the adults speaking a foreign language visited a pub or lounge, and again as was suggested in the previous section, this was probably due to language difficulties and feeling out of place in a South African pub or lounge. It should be borne in mind that the means given are for those who did report visiting lounges and pubs.

If we bear in mind the figures already reported on the percentage of individuals who rarely if ever go to a lounge or pub then we must conclude that visiting pubs and lounges is not particularly popular in the region. This is despite the comments made by some people that there was heavy drinking in the region. Either then the heavy drinking is done at home, or on the other hand - and this may be the case anyway - it is mainly amongst a small minority that it takes place, assuming that there is some truth in the statements made.

If we look at occupational groups, there is a greater proportion who report visiting a lounge or pub at the two ends of the occupational scale. It is probable that the upper white collar workers visited lounges, and the lower blue collar workers visited pubs. Unfortunately we did not distinguish between the two types of "watering holes" in the interview so that this is merely a surmise.

9.4.7 Watching Sport.

At the time of our interviews in 1972, television was still promised in South Africa, so that watching sport meant being a actual spectator at a game or match, rather than sitting back in one's own home and watching "telly". Overall, watching sport was a fairly

popular pastime, with over two-thirds reporting that they watched sport sometimes, and over three-fifths saying that they watched sport at least four times a year. Afrikaners tended to have more sports-spectators than did the English. However, as a pastime it was fairly popular amongst all language groups in the region. The overall mean frequency of watching sport was 2,0 times a month, or once a fortnight. There was quite a high degree of variability in behaviour in this respect, with a co-efficient of variation of 101. Afrikaners had a slightly higher mean overall at 2,2 times per month, with a lower degree of variation with a co-efficient of 75. Thus while they tended to watch sport slightly more frequently than the overall average, they also were also a little more consistent between adults as to the frequency of watching. Those speaking both English and Afrikaans in the home had a higher than average mean at 2,7 times a month, but a distinctly lowerdegree of variability with a co-efficient of 55. Surprisingly enough, the foreign language group had the highest mean of all the language groups, at 3,4 times monthly. The degree of variability was lowest with a co-efficient of 42. Sportwatching does not depend on language proficiency and it could be that the "foreigners" in the region compensated for the low frequency of attendance at pubs and lounges, and also social clubs, by watching sport.

Sport watching appeared to be most popular amongst the blue-collar workers. It will be remembered that they had the least outlets in terms of participating in social and cultural organizations and meetings in the region. Particularly the younger age groups seemed to be more likely to watch sport, although there was some fluctuation so that the association with age was not altogether consistent.

9.4.8 Participating in Sport.

Only about 6% of our sample played rugby regularly, whilst far less - 1% - played cricket regularly. Tennis was played more or less regularly by about 10% of our sample from the region, only 4% played squash (it must be remembered that a decade ago squash was not as popular as it has become within recent times), and 1½% played badminton.

Looking for association between various types of sport and other characteristics of the individual adults, as we predicted rugby was played more by the Afrikaners than the English. Whereas 10% of the Afrikaners said that they played rugby more or less frequently, only 3% of the English-speakers fell into this category. Whereas about 0,6% of the Afrikaners played cricket, it was slightly more amongst English at 1,2%. Tennis was again played a little more often by Afrikaners than English. Fifteen percent of the Afrikaners played tennis, as against 7% of the English. Tennis clearly is a more popular sport than rugby or cricket, which requires a degree of physical fitness and has an age-limit to competitive performance which does not apply as drastically as in the case of tennis. None of the Afrikaners in our sample played squash, against 8% of the English-speakers. None of those speaking Afrikaans or English or a foreign langauge in the home played squash so at the time of the survey it seemed very much an English sport. The same was true as far as Afrikaners and those speaking both languages were concerned in the case of badminton - none of them played the game, in contrast with 2% of the English, and very surprisingly two-fifths of our small sample of "foreigners". Whether this is a sub-cultural difference or merely a function of the small number of the latter group in our sample (because after all they were fairly rare in the region) we cannot say.

In the sample as a whole about one-tenth stated that they went fishing.

These figures mean that as far as actual participation in physical activities in the form of sport is concerned, the bulk of adult population of Whites in the region at the time of the survey did not participate in this form of exercise.

9.4.9 Participation in Indoor Activities.

We enquired about participation in indoor activities in the form of attending cinema, or a drive-in (in a sense that watching a film from a car is in a sense "indoor" rather than outdoor), attending concerts, watching plays, or going dancing. One-third of the sample

reported that they regularly attended the cinema. The proportion was higher among Afrikaners, at about two-fifths against only about one-quarter of the English-speakers. Very interestingly, about seven-eighths said that they did go more or less frequently to a drive-in. One-third reported that they attended concerts from time to time, with the same proportion attending a play. As far as concert-going was concerned, for obvious reasons Empangeni had a higher proportion attending - after all that is probably the town where most concerts would be held. Concert-going tended to be an activity undertaken by more of the upper white collar workers than the other occupational groups. Plays were attended by about two-fifths of the English-speakers as against just over a quarter of the Afrikaners. As far as plays were concerned, as a new town Richards Bay had the highest proportion (over nine-tenths) saying that they never attended a play. As with concerts, so with plays, the proportion reporting attendance was highest amongst upper white collar workers.

About half of the adults said that they went dancing from time to time. There did not seem to be much variation according to langauge, except that the "foreign language group" had an apparently high proportion going dancing. The town did not seem to be a variable in going dancing.

Homecrafts were reportedly engaged in by only a tiny minority - just under 1% of the sample. It was mainly the Richards Bay inhabitants who reported this, and it may well be that as a new town there were less established outlets for recreational activity, so that they turned more to homecrafts than people in the other towns.

We have looked at various kinds of activities which adults in the region reported engaging in. They ranged from shopping activities (which clearly showed Empangeni as the main service centre in the region in 1972, and therefore the main shopping centre, with Durban as the metropolitan centre for a wide region being important for durable goods) to spare time activities of the nature which were important for planners,

as well as to various kinds of voluntary associations that do not necessarily require facilities other than the availability of a school hall or auditorium which can be used for non-educational purposes after school hours. While we could not, within the confines of an overall social survey, undertake a detailed recreational survey, there is no doubt that some of the information on recreation will be of interest to planners.

CHAPTER 10.

A HIGHLIGHTING OF SOME OF THE FINDINGS, AND A BRIEF REPORT ON CERTAIN PROPOSED FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.

H.L. WATTS AND R.J. DAVIES.

Figures, figures and more figures! What do they all mean? By now the reader, if he/she has ploughed through this report with few rest pauses, must be sick and tired of facts and figures. At this stage we now turn to picking out only salient conclusions of the report, and discuss very briefly some of the implications.

10.1 A HIGHLIGHTING OF SOME FINDINGS, WITH COMMENTS

It must be emphasized that the main reason for the research was that it was intended as a baseline study of a community and region growing under planned conditions of rapid growth, and offering a rare opportunity for monitoring research, to be sponsored subsequently, to chart changes from the original benchmark. Such monitoring, follow-up research need not always cover all aspects of life in Richards Bay and its region, but may target in on specific issues. The current project was not intended to provide a basis for planning decisions, but can be used by planners, and certain of the findings should be of particular interest to them (especially subsequent follow-ups). Conditions in the middle to late 1960's and early 1970's have been described and analysed.

Economically, the infrastructure of the region was in its formative infancy in the early 1970's. Richards Bay itself has been developed virtually from scratch, as a new town. In the early stages it grew very rapidly, but it has been affected by the recession in the later 1970's, and will probably be significantly affected by the currently worsening recession in 1982. Unlike a new company town, where the company provides the social and economic infrastructure for the community, Richards Bay suffered in the early years from a serious lack of social infrastructure and community facilities. People complained about lack of facilities, including social and recreational

facilities; and welfare problems in the region, including crime, increased. Indeed, the infrastructure of the region as a whole was stretched, and it is suggested that planners and developers should see the provision of an adequate social as well as economic infrastructure for a new town as one of the top priorities along with the provision of jobs and housing. Planners of company towns, of course, have this as part of their brief.

Existing groups in communities may tend to feel threatened by newcomers, and some strains and tensions were evident. Empangeni in particular felt threatened by Richards Bay. One leader saw the real risk of it eventually being overtaken and supplanted by Richards Bay in the same way as Port Elizabeth and East London have overshadowed and largely cut out Grahamstown and King William's Town respectively during the past century. This raises the point of whether and how, planners engaged in planning new towns can genuinely safeguard the interests, and reassure the inhabitants, of already existing communities by co-ordinated planning of towns concerned into a Unified sub-region. In the present instance, planned guidance on the development and location of service activity within the sub-region is clearly called for. Careful monitoring of the position and integrative development planning is merited.

Development in the region is seeing increasing urbanization of Blacks. They are likely to be most affected of any population group by development - their lifestyles, and aspirations will alter dramatically - and planners should bear this in mind. In the early 1970's transport for Blacks was not altogether satisfactory, and this points to another area of community life which must be planned to gear in with community growth.

As we had expected, community leadership in the towns in the region tended to change somewhat with the influx of newcomers into the region, and social stratification increased. A predominantly English-speaking area of old Zululand experienced - and is probably still experiencing - an inflow of Afrikaners, some of whom have become community leaders. The village intimacy of Richards Bay and Empangeni has been lost, and groups jockeying for power seem to be emerging. This must be true of any rapidly growing region.

People expressed a desire to have more say in planning decisions and local decision-making beyond voting at municipal elections

and ratepayers associations. This is a very interesting point and indicates the need for civic leaders and planning authorities to devote thought to ways and means of consulting townsfolk and obtaining informed reactions. Little of this has been done so far in South Africa, where the public has been largely apathetic.

Farm labour seems to be drawn to an extent into the new industries in the area, attracted by better wages. Also, workers who used to work far afield are now more and more working close to their homes. This would be one of the benefits for them of economic development in the region, and will also alter patterns of living.

Social activities and shopping patterns showed clearly at the time of the survey that Empangeni was the Service Centre for the region and Durban the metropolitan centre. In 1982 this is probably still the pattern.

10.2 CERTAIN PRESENT AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

The following are lists, gleaned from the 1981/82 Telephone Directory and newspapers, of present, and some proposed, developments in Richards Bay.

10.2.1 Present Developments since the 1972 Survey.

Manufacturing, Exporting and Freighting, and Shipping Firms listed under Richards Bay in the 1981/82 Telephone Directory, are:

1. African Coaling and Exporting.
2. Alulux (Aluminium Products Manufacturer).
3. Alusaf (Aluminium Smelter).
4. Alustang (Aluminium Rods).
5. Bay Clothing Manufacturers and Wholesalers.
6. Dorbyl Marine.
7. Flamingo Shipping.
8. Freight Marine Shipping.
   Freight Services Forwarding.
9. Grinrod Cotts Stevedoring.

10. Indo Atlantic Shipping.
11. King (General Ships Agents).
12. Mabric Manufacturing.
13. Mitchell Cotts Airfreight.
    Mitchell Cotts Maritime.
    Mitchell Cotts Roadfreight.
    Mitchell Cotts Seafreight.
14. Rennies Shipping.
    Rennies Stevedoring.
15. Richards Bay Iron and Titanium (mainly titanium mining from beach dune sands).
16. Richards Bay Minerals Mine and Smelter.
17. Richards Bay Steamship and Ships Agency.
18. Richards Bay Stevedores.
19. Rosholt Martin (Ships Chandlers).
20. S.A. Stevedoring Services.
21. Swaziland Chemical Industries.
22. Transylvania Clearing and Forwarding.
23. Triomf Fertilizer.
24. Union Liquid Air.
25. Unitor Ship Services.

* Some firms have Empangeni addresses listed under the Richards Bay section of the Telephone Directory.

10.2.2 Certain Proposed Developments at Richards Bay listed in newspapers up until mid-1982.

The following is a list of some of the proposed developments reported for Richards Bay in newspapers during 1981 and the first half of 1982.

Alusaf (Aluminium Smelter) awarding contracts for R120 million for expansion *Sunday Times, Business Times*, 1.3.1981.

R240 million to be spent on new coal exporting berth for Richards Bay Coal Terminal Company. *Natal Mercury*, 2.3.1981.

Mondi Paper Pulp Mill costing R520 million to be built - 1st stage, due on stream in 1984. *Natal Mercury*, 29.7.1981.

R1 700 million to be invested in Richards Bay over next three years, on 14 projects, private and public (including ones above). *Sunday Tribune Supplement*, 28.2.1982.

However the deepening recession in later 1982 is likely to slow down some of these planned developments.

10.3 CONCLUDING REMARK

It remains for future follow-up studies to chart further changes, and to draw inferences of value to planners and social scientists interested in the development of new communities and the impact of new towns on existing areas.

APPENDIX A.

ECONOMIC BASE STUDY.

RICHARDS BAY PROJECT.

ECONOMIC BASE STUDY.

Manufacturing and Service Industries.

1. Name: _____

2. Address: _____

3. Type of Industry: _____

4. Date established in area: _____

5. Reasons for locating in area (indicate order of importance):

   (a) Proximity to raw materials ☐

   (b) Proximity to markets ☐

   (c) Abundant labour ☐

   (d) Suitable land ☐

   (e) Serviced industrial estate ☐

   (f) Proximity to new harbour ☐

   (g) Situation on transport network
   (e.g. siding facilities, new line to Vryheid/E.Tvl./
   Witwatersrand, etc.) _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   (h) Incentives offered by government _____ ☐

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

(i) Personal_____ ☐

_____

_____

_____

(j) Other _____ ☐

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Reasons for preferring this region to any other:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. Data relating to inputs (or supplies):

Description of input	Supply area	Name of supplier	Mode of transport	From	To	Annual Tonnage	% of tpt. costs	Annual value

8. Data relating to output (or sales):

Description of commodity	Market area	Name of buyer	Mode of transport	From	To	Annual Tonnage	Annual value

9. Would the port be of benefit to you? (i) direct | Yes | No |
(ii) indirect | Yes | No |

10. Details of direct benefits: _____

11. Details of indirect benefits: _____

12. Comments on the adequacy or inadequacy of the transportation network:

(a) Roads _____

(b) Railways _____

(c) Restrictions on road transport _____

(d) Air _____

13. Effect of the opening of the Richards Bay/Vryheid railway line and road on the transportation routes of inputs and outputs (i.e. supply and market areas);

14. Anticipated rate of growth of output: _____

15. Seasonal transport peaks: _____

16. What comments have you on the urban services provided:

(a) Water _____

(b) Electricity _____

(c) Passenger transport _____

(d) Other _____

17. Anticipated rates of growth of labour force:

Skilled _____

Unskilled _____

_____

Race _____

_____

18. Effect of possible labour-saving technology on employment:

_____

_____

_____

_____

19. What are the requirements for labour to be classed as "skilled" or "unskilled"? (list in order of importance):

(a) Race
(b) Education
(c) Technical training
(d) Experience
(e) Other (specify)

_____

_____

20. Existing labour force:

	Skilled	Unskilled	Total
Whites			
Africans			
Coloureds			
Indians			

21. Do you experience difficulty in obtaining White labour? (Specify)

_____

_____

_____

_____

22. Does the quality of the White labour force satisfy you? (elaborate)

---

23. In view of your answer to question 22 what requirements do you have of, or what educational standard would you like to see from, your White labour force?

(a) University degree ☐

(b) Vocational and technical qualification ☐

(c) High school ☐

(d) Other (details) ☐

---

24. Does the quality of the black labour force satisfy you? (elaborate)

---

25. Do you foresee an improvement in the status of African labour in view of the demands of economic growth in the region and/or the shortage of skilled manpower? (Elaborate)

---

26. In view of your answer to Q.21, what educational standard would you like to see among your African labour force in the future?

(a) University degree _____ %

(b) Vocational and technical qualification _____

(c) High school _____

(d) Primary school _____

(e) Education unimportant (i.e. unskilled labour)_____

100

27. Salary and wage structure (range):

	Skilled	Unskilled	Average (est.)
Whites			
Africans			
Coloureds			
Indians			

APPENDIX B.

JOB CATEGORIES: DEFINITIONS AND TYPICAL POSITIONS.

(Adapted from M.H.B. Boulanger, 1974, pp. 72-75.)

APPENDIX B.

JOB CATEGORIES: DEFINITIONS AND TYPICAL POSITIONS.
(Adapted from M.H.B. Boulanger, 1974, pp. 72-75.)

Clerical.
Range from people with school and/or commercial qualifications with high degree of responsibility to those doing routine administrative jobs for which qualifications are not necessarily required: senior clerks, costing clerks, storemen (non-manual tasks), invoice clerks, filing clerks, junior clerks, etc.

Skilled.
Range from people with theoretical-technical and/or trade qualifications with substantial skills acquired over a number of years to those without such training performing similar jobs or jobs which require some initiative around basic skills: artisans (bricklayer, welder, boilermaker, etc.), supervisors of lower skilled or semi-skilled workers, apprentices, storemen (manual), heavy-duty drivers, etc.

Higher Semi-skilled.
Positions requiring the acquisition of elementary skills which the worker exercises on his own: drivers, operators, charge-hands, supervisors of unskilled workers, etc.

Lower Semi-skilled.
Positions requiring little or no formal training, but a definite period of on the job training: artisan assistants, greasers, 'indunas' or 'bossboys', etc.

Unskilled.
Jobs requiring only from one to a few days induction: labourers, cleaners, packers, watchmen, etc.

APPENDIX C.

FIELDWORK FOR THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF WHITES IN THE RICHARDS BAY-EMPANGENI REGION.

1. SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLDS AND ADULTS.

It was decided in 1972 to conduct a survey of White adults within the Richards Bay region, which for this purpose was defined as consisting of the local authority areas of Empangeni, Richards Bay, Mtunzini and KwaMbonambi. Felixton was deliberately excluded as a company town. A sample of plots from the White residential areas was selected, and details of the persons residing on each plot were obtained. From the adults on a plot, one person was selected at random for lengthy interviewing.

1.1 INTERVIEW SCHEDULES USED.

The following interview schedule was used, having been tested by two pilot surveys.

The fieldwork was undertaken by a team of workers attached to the Institute for Social Research, under the supervision of an older social science graduate. A total of 275 interviews were obtained. From Empangeni 179 were obtained. Corresponding numbers of interviews were 22 from KwaMbonambi, 19 from Mtunzini, and 55 from Richards Bay. It had originally been hoped to get a sample of 425 interviews, but the fieldwork proved to be far more time consuming that anticipated, and so the sample had to be reduced. To avoid very small samples from the smaller towns of KwaMbonambi, Mtunzini and to a lesser extent Richards Bay, the main cuts in sample size were made to the Empangeni sample.

Details of individual samples of households are given below.

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

RICHARD'S BAY AND AREA INVESTIGATION

SCHEDULE FOR WHITES

1972 SURVEY

Schedule No: ..... Configuration: A B C D E F

Interviewer	Time and Date of Visit	Outcome of Visit

Schedule Checked By ..... Date .....

Schedule Edited By ..... Date .....

Schedule Coded By ..... Date .....

Schedule Punched By ..... Date .....

INTRODUCTION.

The Institute for Social Research of the University of Natal, is, at the request of the Department of Planning, undertaking a Socio-Economic Survey of the Richard's Bay area.

The object of the survey is to investigate some of the things that are happening, or might happen, in this area as a result of the major development that will occur here.

To do this we have put together a list of questions that cover our areas of concern. Now we have to do interviews to find out what the people around here think and feel about these questions. Obviously we cannot ask everybody, so we have selected certain people to answer these questions. This selection is completely random; it's like having your address drawn out of a hat, but because it is random, it means that it is very important that I interview here and nowhere else.

The interview is absolutely confidential, and no one can be identified. We do not even want your name. What we are after is the overall picture. Not the individual views of individual people.

Do you mind answering some questions? It does not take long, and perhaps you will find it of interest.

INLEIDING.

Die Instituut vir Sosiale Navorsing van die Universiteit van Natal, op versoek van die Departement van Beplanning in Pretoria, is besig met 'n Maatskaplike-Economiese opname van die Richard's-Baai gebied.

Die doel van die opname is om ondersoek in te stel ten opsigte van wat in die gebied gebeur, of kan en gaan gebeur as gevolg van die groot ontwikkeling wat hier plaasvind.

Om die volledig te doen het ons 'n vraelys opgestel wat die verskillende gebiede van belang dek. Nou moet ons onderhande onder lede van die bevolking voer. Ons kan, natuurlik, nie met almal gesels nie, en dus het ons 'n klompie adresse uitgekies, per toeval, soos b.v.'n lotery. Dit is amper asof die adres onder baie andere uit 'n hoed uitgekies is, maar op 'n baie meer wetenskaplike wyse. Omdat dit wetenskaplik gekies is, is dit baie belangrik dat ek hier, by hierdie adres, die vraelys toepas. Andersins sal die verspreiding van adresse skeef en on-eweredig wees.

Die gesprek is heeltemal vertroulik, en individue is nie in die uitslae herkenbaar nie, omdat antwoorde saamgevoog word in 'n rekenoutomaat (computer). Ons wil nie eers familiename he nie. Wat ons wil weet is die algemene gevoelens en idee van die hele gemeenskap, en van hele groepe in die gemeenskap.

Sal u omgee om 'n paar vrae te beantwoord? Dit sal nie lank duur nie, en ek is seker u sal dit interessant vind.

AFDELING A.

Eers wil ek 'n bietjie inligting kry oor die mense wat in hierdie huis woon.

Indeks No.	Verwant-skap	Ge-slag	Ouder-dom	Beroep	Nywerheid van werk	Hoogste pyl van opvoeding

SECTION A.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION.

First I would like to get some information about the people who live in this house.

INSTRUCTION: (List all members of the household. First all the males, in descending age order, and then all the females, again with the eldest first, second oldest, second, and so on. The order of listing must depend only on sex and age, and not on relationship or status within the household. Include on list children at boarding school who are dependants of family. Not people away who are not dependants).

Index No.	Relation-ship	Sex	Age	Occupa-tion	Industry of Employment	Highest level of Education

No	Sex	Age	Table
1			1
2			1
3			1
4			1
5			1
6+			1

INSTRUCTION: (Respondent must be chosen in accordance with the way the KISH TABLE is marked, and must be over the age of 18.)

Huistaal?

Q.1. Hoelank woon u hier by .....?

Q.2. Waar is u gebore?

Q.3. Nou wil ek kortliks u woningsgeskiedenis kry. Begin met die plek waar u gewoon het toe u eers skooltoe gegaan het, totdat u hier by .....kom woon het.

Kan u vir my:
(i) Gee asseblief die plek (dorp of stad) waar u toe gewoon het.
(ii) Die aantal jare wat u daar deurgebring het.
(iii) Wat u daar gedoen het, en in watter tak van handel of nywerheid u werksaam was.
(iv) U redes vir verhuising.

Index No. of Respondent chosen .....

Home Language?

Afr.	Eng.	Both	Other- Specify	

Q.1. How long have you been living at .....?

INSTRUCTION: (Mention name of town in which interview is being conducted. What is wanted is duration of stay in same town, NOT same address within the town).

0	under 6 months	1	more than 6 mths but less than 12 mths
2	more than 1 yr but less than 1½	3	" " 1½ yrs " " " 3 yrs
4	" " 3 yrs " " " 4	5	" " 4 " " " " 5
6	" " 5 " " " " 6	7	" " 6 " " " " 7
8	" " 7 " " " " 8	9	" " 8 " " " " 9
10	" " 9 " " " " 10	11	10 yrs or longer

Q.2. Where were you born?

.....

Q.3. Now I would like a brief account of your residential history, starting with the place you lived at, when you first went to school, all the way up until you came here to

.....

Could you (i) Please give me the place (town or city) you lived at then.

(ii) The number of years you spent there.

(iii) What you did there, and in what branch of Commerce/ Industry you were employed.

(iv) Your reason for moving.

	Naam van Plek
	Land, of in S.A. provinsie
	Jaar daar aan-gekom het
	Jaar daarvandaan vertrek het
	Tydperk deurgebring
	Beroep
	Kategorie van Werkgewer
	Redes vir Verhuising

	Name of Place
	Country, or if in S.A. province
	Year arrived there
	Year left
	Period stayed
	Occupation
	Employer Category
	Reasons for shift

Q.4. Hoekom het u hiernatoe gekom?

Q.5. Toe u hiernatoe van jou laaste werkplek verhuis het, het enige ander mense met wie u saamgewerk het terselfdertyd saam met u hiernatoe verhuis?

Q.6. Kan u asseblief vir my die volgende inligting gee:

(i) Hulle huidige adres;

(ii) Hulle beroep, werkgewer en rang by die plek waar julle albei gewerk het voordat julle hiernatoe gekom het;

(iii) Hulle huidige beroep, werkgewer en rang in die Richardsbaai gebied (of toe hulle nog hier was).

Q.7. Is u van plan om hier by .....te bly?

Q.8. Vir hoe lank is u van plan om hier te bly?

Q.9. Na watter soort plek is u van plan om te gaan as u hiervanaf wegtrek?

Q.4. Why did you come here to .....?

_____

_____

_____

Q.5. When you moved here from your last place of residence, did any other people who worked with you move here at the same time?

YES	NO	N/A	D.K./NO INFO.
1	2	3	0

If "YES" to Q.5, ask Q.6. If "NO", "N/A" or "D.K./NO INFO" skip to Q.7.

Q.6. Could you please give me:

(i) Their present address;

(ii) Their occupation, employer and status at the place where you both worked before coming here;

(iii) Their present occupation, employer and status in the Richard's Bay area (or while they were still here).

Present Address	Previous Occupation	Employer	Status	Present Occupation	Employer	Status

Q.7. Do you intend staying here at .....?

YES	NO	UNDECIDED	D.K./NO INFO.
1	2	3	0

If "NO" to Q.7, ask Q's 8 and 9. If "YES", "UNDECIDED" or "D.K./NO INFO" skip to Q.10.

Q.8. For how long do you intend staying here?

YRS	UNTIL TRANSFERRED	UNK	D.K. /NO INFO.

Q.9. To what kind of place do you intend going when you leave here?

_____

_____

_____

UNK
D.K. NO INFO.

Q.10. As u hierdie plek met die laaste stad waar u gewoon het vergelyk, wat is die EEN ding wat u hier verkies bo die laaste plek waar u gewoon het?

Q.11. Wat is die ding wat u die minste van hou, hier by .....?

Q.12. As u die volle mag en gesag gehad het, en die geld was geen probleem nie, watter EEN aspek sou u in hierdie gebied verander? (Wat sou u verander om dit 'n beter plek om te woon, te maak).

LEIERSKAP

Ons stel belang in wie u dink die leiers van hierdie gemeenskap is. Die gemeenskap het verskillende gebiede van aktiwiteit en ons is geinteresseerd in die leiers in elke afdeling.

Q.13. Eers Burgersake. Sal u asseblief vir my die name gee van die drie mees vername mense in die burgerlike sake van die stad - die mees vooraanstaande mense.

Q.14. Dink u dat die leierskap wat hulle verskaf toereikend is?

Q.15. Gee redes vir jou antwoord.

INSTRUCTION: ASK Q.10 ONLY IF RESPONDENT HAS BEEN IN AREA FOR LESS THAN 3 YEARS.

Q.10. Comparing this place with your last town of residence, what is the ONE thing here that you prefer to the last place you stayed in?

Q.11. What is the thing you like least about living here at .....?

Q.12. If you had the power and authority, and the money were freely available, what ONE thing would you change in this area? (What would you change to make it a better place to live in?)

LEADERSHIP

We are interested in finding out who you think are the leaders in this community. The community has different areas of activity, and we are interested in the leaders of each section.

Q.13. First of all Civic Affairs. Would you name the three people who you think are the most prominent people in the civic life of this town?

INSTRUCTION: (Differentiate "Civic" first by explaining its nature, i.e. that it is the local people in local affairs; and also tell respondent what other areas are being investigated; e.g. Commerce, Industry, etc.)

1. ---
2. ---
3. ---

Q.14. Do you think the leadership they provide is adequate?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO.

If "NO" to Q.14 ask Q.15. If "YES", skip to Q.16.

Q.15. Give reasons for your answer.

INSTRUCTION: (Record Response Verbatim)

Q.16. Wie, dink u, is die drie mees vooraanstaande mense in die handelsektor van die dorp?

Q.17. Wie, dink u, is die drie mees vooraanstaande mense in die nywersheidssektor in die dorp?

Q.18. Wie, dink u, is die drie mees vooraanstaande mense in kultuursake en die sosiale lewe van die dorp?

Q.19. In die plaaslike dorpspolitiek, is daar groepe wat teen mekaar wedywer?

Q.20. Kan u asseblief vir my hierdie groepe noem?

Q.20(a) Van die groepe, kan u vir my se watter groep die dorpsake naastenby beheer?

INSTRUCTION: Following two questions only in Empangeni and Richard's Bay.

Q.16. Who, do you think, are the 3 most prominent people in the commercial sector of this town?

1._____
2._____
3._____

Q.17. Who, do you think, are the 3 most prominent people in the industrial sector of this town?

1._____
2._____
3._____

Q.18. Who, do you think, are the 3 most prominent people in the cultural and social life of this town?

1._____
2._____
3._____

Q.19. In the local town politics, are there rival groups?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO.

If "YES" to Q.19, ask Q.20, If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO.", skip to Section B or C.

Q.20. Could you please name these groups?

GROUP NAMES

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Q.20(a) Of the groups you mention above, which group do you think comes closest to controlling the town?

_____

AFDELING B.

Q.21. Waar is die kantoor van u prokureur?

Q.22. Waarnatoe gaan u gewoonlik vir die volgende inkopies:

Brood en melk?	
Vrugte en groente?	
Vleis, vis en ander bederfbare produkte?	
Toilet en Medisyn Behoeftes?	
Kruideniersware?	
Drank?	
Klere en skoene?	
Meubels?	
Elektriesetoestelle?	
Motors?	
Enigiets anders	

Q.23. Is daar enige inkope wat u voel u nie hier naby kan maak nie? (In die gebied).

Q.24. Watter soort inkope?

Q.25. Gaan u ooit Durban toe om inkope te maak?

SECTION B.

Q.21. Where is your lawyer's office?

Q.22. Where do you usually go shopping for your:

	This town 1	Empangeni 2	Durban 3	Other Specify 4
Bread and milk?				
Fruit and vegetables?				
Meat, Fish & Other Perishables?				
Toiletries $ Medicines?				
Groceries?				
Liquor?				
Clothing, shoes & Other Apparel?				
Furniture?				
Appliances?				
Motor Car?				
Other: (Specify)				

Q.23. Are there any purchases which you feel you cannot make close by here? (In this region?)

YES 1	NO 2

If "YES" to Q.23, ask Q.24. If "NO", skip to Q.25.

Q.24. What kinds of things?

Q.25. Do you ever go to Durban to shop?

YES 1	NO 2

If "YES" to Q.25, ask Q.26. If "NO" skip to Q.27.

Q.26. Hoeveel keer verlede jaar was u Durban toe om inkope te doen?

Nou wil ons 'n bietjie inligting hê oor die mense met wie u in geselskap kom?

Q.27. Wie is u twee beste vriende in hierdie gebied?

Q.28. Waar woon hulle?

Q.29. Het u hulle plaaslik of elders ontmoet?

Q.30. Wat is hulle beroepe, en waar werk hulle?

Q.26. How many times, last year, did you go to Durban on shopping expeditions?

Now we would like some information about the people you mix with around here.

Q.27. Who are your two closest friends in this area?

Names 1._____

2._____

Q.28. Where do they live?

INSTRUCTION: (Obtain full addresses, in same order as names in Q.27).

1._____ 2._____

_____ _____

Q.29. Did you meet them locally or elsewhere?

	Locally	Elsewhere
Friend 1.	.....	.....
Friend 2.	.....	.....

If elsewhere, specify:

Friend 1. .....

Friend 2. .....

Q.30. What are their occupations, and where do they work?

INSTRUCTION: (In full including the Industry of Employment, again in same order as Q.27).

	Occupation	Industry of Employment
No. 1.		
No. 2.		

Q.31. By watter geleenthede het u hulle ontmoet?

Q.32. Gemiddeld hoe gereeld kom u sosiaal in aanraking met hulle? (Buite werksure).

Die volgende afdeling van die vraelys handel oor u menings in verband met plaaslike self-bestuur en beheer oor eie sake. Hierdie gebied is al 'n taamlike rukkie in die nuus. As gevolg van hierdie aandag het veranderings alhier plaasgevind. Ons wil uitvind wat u hiervan dink.

Q.33. Watter uitwerking dink u het landswye bekendheit op die Richardsbaai-Empangeni gebied gehad?

Q.34. Dink u dat die lede van 'n gemeenskap 'n invloed behoort te kan uitoefen oor die rigting wat daardie gemeenskap inslaan?

Q.31. In what situation did you meet them?

	Friend 1	Friend 2
Work	1	1
Sports Club	2	2
Church/Relig. Group	3	3
School/Tech.Coll/Varsity	4	4
Social/Cultural Group	5	5
Political Organisation	6	6
Through your children	7	7
Other	8	8
D.K.	9	9
Refusal	0	0

Other, specify: Friend 1._____

Friend 2._____

Q.32. How often, on average, do you have social contact with them? (Outside working hours).

	Daily or more	2 x Wk	1 x Wk	2-3 x Month	1 x Month	Less Frequently
Friend 1	1	2	3	4	5	6
Friend 2	1	2	3	4	5	6

The next section of the questionnaire deals with what you think about local control of its own affairs. This area has been in the headlines for a while now. Because of this spotlight there have been changes in the area. We want to find out what you feel about this.

Q.33. What effect do you think national prominence has had on the Richard's Bay/Empangeni area?

INSTRUCTION: (Record comments verbatim).

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q.34. Do you think members of a community should be able to influence the direction which their community takes?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO.
1	2	0

Q.35. Voel u as 'n plaaslike inwoner dat u plaaslike beslissings na u genoë kan beïnvloed?

Q.36. Dink u dat daar genoegsame geleenthede bestaan vir u om u menings te laat geld in plaaslike besluite?

Q.37. In watter soorte beslissings so u groter deelname verlang?

Q.38. Aangesien die aansienlike mate van landswye belang in hierdie distrik, dink u dat plaaslike beheer deur die gemeenskap oor sy eie sake beïnvloed sal word?

Q.39. Hoe dink u dat plaaslike beheer beinvloed sal word deur die aansienlike openbare belang, en oor die algemeen dink u dat dit 'n goeie of slegte invloed sal wees?

Q.40. Behoort u aan 'n Belastingsbetalersvereniging?

Q.35. Do you feel that as a local resident you are able to influence local decision-making to your satisfaction?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

Q.36. Do you think adequate channels exist through which you can make your wishes felt in local decision-making?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

If "NO" to either Q.35 or Q.36, ask Q.37. If "YES" or "D.K./NO INFO" to them both, skip to Q.38.

Q.37. What kinds of decisions would you like to play a greater part in?

INSTRUCTION: (Record comments verbatim).

Q.38. Do you think, with the national interest in this area so high, local control over its own affairs will in any way be affected?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

If "YES" to Q.38, ask Q.39. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.40.

Q.39. How do you see local control being affected because of a high level of national interest? In general, do you think this is a good or a bad thing?

INSTRUCTION: (Record comment verbatim)

GOOD	BAD

Q.40. Do you belong to a Ratepayers' Association?

YES	NO	NO ASSOC.	RENTING
1	2	3	4

Q.41. Woon u vergaderings van hierdie vereniging by?

Q.42. Hoeveel keer in die afgelope jaar het u vergaderings bygewoon?

Q.43. Oor watter soort aangeleenthede is hierdie vereniging begaan?

Q.44. Dink u dat (landswye) party politieke aangeleenthede enige deel in plaaslike beslissings het?

Q.45. Watter soort beslissings word deur (landswye) party politieke aangeleenthede beinvloed? Geo asseblief voorbeelde.

Q.46. Dink u dat (landswye) party politiek op 'n plaaslike owerheidspeil enige uitwerking behoort te he?

Q.41. Do you attend meetings of this Association?

YES	NO
1	2

If "YES" to Q.41, ask Q's 42 and 43. If "NO" skip to Q.44.

Q.42. How many times did you attend meetings in the last year?

.....	NO MEETINGS

Q.43. With what kinds of things does this Association concern itself?

Q.44. Do you think that (National) Party politics play any part in local decision-making?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO

If "YES" to Q.44, ask Q.45. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.46.

Q.45. What kinds of decisions do (nationwide) party politics affect? Please give examples.

INSTRUCTION: (Record comments verbatim)

Q.46. Do you think (National) Party politics should operate on a Local Authority level?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

If "YES" or "NO" to Q.46, ask Q.47. If "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.48.

Q.47. Why do you think (nationwide) party politics should/should not operate on a Local Authority level?

INSTRUCTION: (Record comments verbatim)

Now we would like to get some of your ideas about development, and this area.

Q.48. Do you think that economic development should be centrally planned, or should be allowed to take its own course, naturally?

NATURAL	PLANNED	D.K.	NO INFO

Q.49. Reasons?

INSTRUCTION: (Record response verbatim)

Q.50. Are you presently aware of current problems in

(a) Your neighbourhood

(b) Your town

(c) This region

which you would attribute to the rapid development taking place in this area?

(a)	YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
(b)	YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
(c)	YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO

If "YES" to Q.50, ask Q's 51 and 52. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.53.

Q.51. What are these problems?

for (a): ---

---

for (b) ---

---

for (c) ---

Q.52. As u die mag en gesag gehad het, hoe sou u die probleme wat u pas gemeld het oplos?

Q.53. Sien u dat die ontwikkeling, soos dit hier plaasvind, enige probleme sal skep wat eers later duidelik sal word, in verband met:

(a) U buurt

(b) Die dorp

(c) Die streek

Q.54. Wat is die probleme?

Q.55. As u die mag sou gehad het, hoe sou u die lang-termyn probleme wat u so pas gemeld het oplos?

Q.56. Dink u dat ontwikkeling 'n goeie of 'n slegte ding is?

Q.57. Kan u asseblief redes vir u antwoord gee?

Q.52. If you had the power, how would you go about solving the problems you have just mentioned?

(a): ----------

(b): ----------

(c): ----------

Q.53. Do you see development, as taking place here, as producing any problems that will only become apparent later on in

(a) Your neighbourhood	YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
(b) This town	YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
(c) This region	YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO

If "YES" to Q.53, ask Q's 54 and 55. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.56.

Q.54. What are these problems?

for (a): ----------
---
for (b): ----------
---
for (c): ----------

Q.55. If you had the power, how would you go about solving the long-term problems you have just mentioned?

(a): ----------

(b): ----------

(c): ----------

Q.56. Do you think that development is a good or a bad thing?

GOOD	BAD	D.K./NO INFO

Q.57. Could you please give reasons for your answer?
INSTRUCTION: (Record answer verbatim)

AFDELING C.

Nou wil ons graag verneem hoe u dink dat die gemeenskap hier by ..... in groepe onderverdeel is. Gemeenskappe is amper altyd in verskillende groepe onderverdeel.

Q.58. Dink u dat die Blanke bevolking in Suid-Afrika in verskillende klasse onderverdeel is?

Q.59. Hoeveel verskillende klasse dink u is daar hier in ....., en wat dink u is die kenmerke van die klasse?

Q.60. Dink u dat daar organisasies of verenigings is wat aan enige bepaalde klas hier in ..... behoort, d.w.s. is daar party klasse wat beheer het oor sekere klubs en verenigings, en wat probeer om hulle lidmaatskap te beperk?

Q.61. Kan u vir my die betrokke klas of groep, en die verenigings/klubs/organisasies asseblief noem?

SECTION C.

How we would like to know how you think the community here at ..... is "grouped". Communities are almost always divided into groups of various kinds.

Q.58. Do you think the White population in South Africa is divided into different classes?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

Q.59. How many different classes do you think exist here in ....., and what do you think are the distinguishing features of these classes?

CLASS	DISTINGUISHING FEATURE

Q.60. Do you think there are organisations or associations which "belong" to any one class here in ..... i.e. Do some classes here have control over certain clubs and societies, and actively try to restrict their membership?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

If "YES" to Q.60, ask Q.61. If "NO", skip to Q.62

Q.61. Could you name the class or group, and the associations/clubs/organisations concerned.

INSTRUCTION: (If the name of the organisation does not make its function clear, ask what its function is, and specify).

CLASS	ORGANISATION & FUNCTION

Q.62. Watter soort werk doen die mense wat volgens u mening in die hoogste klasse hier in ..... is?

Q.63. En die in die laagste klasse?

Q.64. Behoort Engels en Afrikaanssprekende mense hier plaaslik aan dieselfde groepe, klubs en verenigings?

Q.65. Wat is die belangrikste klubs of verenigings wat uitsluitlik of amper uitsluitlik vir of Engels of Afrikaanse lidmaatskap is?

Q.66. Dink u dat verskillende klasse binne die Engels en Afrikaanssprekende groepe onderskeidelik bestaan?

Q.67. Wat dink u is die hoof kenmerke van hierdie klasse?

Q.62. What kinds of jobs do the people who you think are in the highest class here in .....do?

Q.63. And those in the lowest classes?

Q.64. Do Afrikaans and English-speaking people around here belong to the same groups, clubs and associations?

YES	NO
1	2

If "NO" to Q.64, ask Q.65. If "YES", skip to Q.66.

Q.65. What are the major clubs or associations which are exclusively or almost exclusively for English or Afrikaans usage?

ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS

Q.66. Do you think there are classes within the English and Afrikaans groups?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

If "YES" to Q.66, ask Q.67. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.68.

Q.67. What do you think the distinguishing features of these classes are?

Q.68. Dink u dat die bestaan van verskillende klasse hier in .....die doeltreffende organisasie van die stad verhinder?

Q.69. Op watter manier?

Q.70. As ek vir u so vra "Met watter groep mense in ..... voel u 'n sin van gemeenskap - met watter groep het u baie in gemeen", hoe sou u antwoord?

Q.71. Dink u dat die Blankes hier in ..... 'n eenheidsgroep vorm?

Q.72. Waarom meen u so?

Die volgende deel in die vraelys handel oor u vryetydsbesteding?

Q.73. Gaan u ooit op moterritte of pieknieke, vir ontspanning?

Q.68. Dink u dat die bestaan van verskillende klasse hier in .....die doeltreffende organisasie van die stad verhinder?

Q.69. Op watter manier?

Q.70. As ek vir u so vra "Met watter groep mense in ..... voel u 'n sin van gemeenskap - met watter groep het u baie in gemeen", hoe sou u antwoord?

Q.71. Dink u dat die Blankes hier in ..... 'n eenheidsgroep vorm?

Q.72. Waarom meen u so?

Die volgende deel in die vraelys handel oor u vryetydsbesteding?

Q.73. Gaan u ooit op moterritte of pieknieke, vir ontspanning?

Q.68. Do you think that the class structure as found here in .....hampers the smooth running of the town?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

If "YES" to Q.68, ask Q.69. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.70.

Q.69. In what way?

Q.70. If I were to ask you "With what group of people in ..... do you feel a sense of community, with which do you have a lot in common", how would you answer?

Q.71. Do you think the Whites here in .....form one unified group?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

If "YES" or "NO" to Q.71, ask Q.72. If "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.73.

Q.72. What makes you think YES/NO?

This next section concerns how you use your spare time.

Q.73. Do you ever go for drives or picnics, for relaxation?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO

Q.74. Omtrent hoe gereeld?

Q.75. Waarnatoe gaan u gewoonlik?

Q.76. Kan u vir my die naam of name gee van enige vrywillige organisasies waaraan u behoort b.v. liefdadigheids, kerklike, sosiale, sport, kulturele of beroepsorganisasies?

(Onderhouder moet verduidelik dat vrywillige organisasies nie NET 'n diens aan hulle lede lewer nie. Die A.A., Boek en Plateklubs, Kerke en Biblioteke word NIE ingesluit nie. Rotaries, Moths, Vroue Federasie IS vrywillige organisasies; d.w.s. vrywillige organisasies vereis inspanning deur hulle lede.

(a) Vir elke organisasie wat genoem is, vra of persoon 'n komiteelid is of nie.

(b) Indien die naam nie u aanduiding gee nie, verneem wat die aard en aktiwiteite van die organisasie is.

Q.77. Woon u ooit vergaderings, lesings, films of vertonings by wat van 'n kulturele, wetenskaplike, intellektuele, kerklike of politieke aard is?

If "YES" to Q.73, ask Q's 74 and 75. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.76.

Q.74. Approximately how often?

2 x Wk or more	Weekly	Fort-nightly	Monthly	Less Often	Rarely	Never	D.K.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

Q.75. Where do you usually go?

Q.76. Could you give me the name, or names, of any voluntary organisations that you belong to, e.g. charitable, religious, social, sporting, cultural or professional organisation.

INSTRUCTION: (Interviewer must explain the term voluntary as any organisation which aims NOT ONLY at rendering a service to its members. The "AA", Book and Record Clubs, Churches and Libraries are NOT included. Rotary, Moths, Vroue Federasie ARE voluntary, i.e. voluntary organisations demand some effort from their members).

(a) For each organisation mentioned, ask if respondent is a committee member or not.

(b) Ask for nature or activities of the organisation IF not denoted by its name.

Name of Organisation	Nature/Activities	Committee Yes	Committee No

Q.77. Do you ever attend meetings, lectures, film shows, demonstrations, etc. that are of a cultural, scientific, intellectual, religious or political nature?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

Q.78. Watter funksies noem u fy?

Q.79. Hoe dikwels, gemiddeld, besoek u een van die volgende plekke NA werksure?

Plek	
Koffiewinkels/ Kafees/Restou- rante	
Sosiale Klubs	
Hotelle/Klub- kroeë/Kroeë	

If "YES" to Q.77, ask Q.78. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.79.

Q.78. What particular functions do you attend?

INSTRUCTION: (If name of function does not denote the nature of it, enquire and specify).

NAME OF FUNCTION	NATURE OF FUNCTION

Q.79. How often, on average, do you visit any of the following places AFTER working hours?

Place	2 x Day or more	1 x Day	2 x Wk	1 x Wk	2 x Mnth	1 x Mnth	Less Fre-quently	Rarely/ Never	D.K.
Coffee Bars/Cafes/ Restaurants									
Social Clubs									
Pubs or Lounges									

Q.80. Hoe dikwels, gemiddeld, woon u die volgende vermaaklikhede by?

Sport as Toeskouer	
Sport as Deelnemer	
Bioskoop	
Inry-teater	
Konserte	
Skouspele	
Dans	
Enigiets anders	

Q.81. Baie mense voel dat hulle nie altyd in hulle vrye tyd in aktiwiteite kan deelneem waarin hulle werklik wil deelneem nie? Kan u vir my drie aktiwiteite, in volg orde van voorkeur, wat u in u vryetyd sou verkies, indien geen praktiese struikelblokke bestaan het nie?

INSTRUKSIE: (Onderhouder - "Ek kan van 'n aantal aktiwiteite dink wat ek in die aand, oor naweke, vakansies ens. sou doen, maar waarvoor ek of nie tyd het nie, of geen geld het nie, of ek nie naby genoeg aan 'n plek waar ek hulle kan doen woon nie.")

Q.80. How often, on average, do you attend each of the following forms of entertainment?

	2 x Wk or more	1 x Wk	2 x Month	Monthly	Quarterly	Less Frequently	Rarely/ Never	D.K.
Watch Sport								
Participate in Sport (indicate which sport and if seasonal participation)								
Cinema								
Drive-in								
Concert								
Plays								
Dancing								
Other similar types, not mentioned. Specify:								

Q.81. Many people find that they are not always able to do the things that they would really like to do during their leisure time. Could you name me 3 activities, in order of preference, that you would most like to do during your leisure time, assuming that no practical difficulties existed.

INSTRUCTION: (Interviewer must prompt - "I can think of a number of things that I would like to do in the evenings, over weekends, during holidays etc., but for which I just don't have the time, money, or don't stay near enough to where they can be done").

Now, what 3 things would you most like to do, in order of preference?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Q.82. Kan u vir my nou u drie huidige vryetydsaktiwiteite noem wat vir u die meeste beteken, in volgorde van u voorkeur?

Q.83. Omtrent die vryetydsaktiwiteite wat u werklik sou verkies maar onmoontlik vind; kan u vir my die redes gee waarom hierdie aktiwiteite vir u onmoontlik is?

Q.82. Now could you tell me 3 of your present leisure time activities which are most important to you, in order of preference.

1._____

2._____

3._____

If there is a difference between Q.81 and Q.82, ask Q.83. If there is no difference, skip to Section D.

Q.83. As regards the things that you would really like to do, but have not been able to do, what would you say, are the main reasons for your not being able to do them?

ACTIVITY	REASON FOR NOT BEING ABLE TO DO THEM
1.	
2.	
3.	

AFDELING D.

Q.84. Toe u oorspronklik hier aangekom het, was daar enige probleme wat u aanpassing in die dorp verhinder het?

Q.85. Wat was hulle?

Q.86. Voel u dat u met die lewenswyse en lewenspatroon hier kan inpas?

Q.87. Waarom?

Q.88. Toe u oorspronklik hier ingetrek het, het u gevind dat daar sosiale gewoontes en houdings bestaan het wat baie verskil het van die in die plek waar u vantevore gewoon het?

Q.89. Kan u vir my hierdie houdings en gewoontes omskryf?

SECTION D.

TO ASK NEWCOMERS:

INSTRUCTION: (Ask this section of those who have been here less than 3 years).

Q.84. Did you have any problems in settling in this place when you first arrived here?

YES	NO
1	2

If "YES" to Q.84, ask Q.85. If "NO", skip to Q.86.

Q.85. What were they?

Q.86. Do you feel that you can fit in with the way of life here?

YES	NO
1	2

If "NO" to Q.86, ask Q.87. If "YES", skip to Q.88.

Q.87. Why?

Q.88. When you moved here did any social habits, attitudes or customs strike you as being very different from those prevailing in the place from which you came?

INSTRUCTION: (What is required here differences in behaviour in similar areas of activity).

YES	NO
1	2

If "YES" to Q.88, ask Q.89. If "NO", skip to Q.90.

Q.89. Would you name the habits, attitudes or customs?

Q.90. Voel u dat u buurmense u welkom laat voel het toe u eers hier ingetrek het?

Q.91. Hoe?

Q.92. Hoe sou u kortliks die mense wat u aangetref het toe u eers hier ingetrek het, beskryf? - u eerste indrukke van mense wat u raakgeloop of ontmoet het?

Q.90. Did you feel that the people in the neighbourhood that you moved into when you first came here to ..... made you welcome?

YES	NO	NO INFO
1	2	0

Q.91. How?

Q.92. If you were to use a short phrase to describe the people that you found here when you first came, what would it be?

INSTRUCTION: (This Q. refers to the whole area, and should be a "first impression in retrospect".)

AFDELING E.

U woon nou al 'n taamlike rukkie hier. Ons wil graag uitvind wat u oor die algemeen dink van die mense wat hier ingetrek het sedert die aankondiging dat ontwikkeling hier sou plaasvind.

Q.93. Dink u dat die nuwelinge in hierdie omtrek enige invloed op hierdie gebied gehad het?

Q.94. Wat dink u is hulle invloed?

Q.95. Het die nuwelinge wat hier ingetrek het enige gewoontes en houdings vertoon wat baie verskil het van dié wat hier bestaan het voor hulle aankoms?

Q.96. Watter soort houdings en gewoontes, en wat is die verskille?

Q.97. Hou u van hierdie verskille of nie?

SECTION E.

TO ASK OLDER RESIDENTS:

INSTRUCTION: (This section only for people who have lived here since 1965 or before.)

You have lived here for some time now. We would like to find out what you think of the people that have moved into this region since the announcement that development was to take place here.

Q.93. Do you think the newcomers to this area have affected this area in any way?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO
1	2	0

If "YES" to Q.93, ask Q.94. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.95.

Q.94. What do you think their effect has been?

Q.95. Did the newcomers that moved here have any social habits, attitudes or customs that struck you as being very different from those that were current here before their arrival?

YES	NO	D.K./NO INFO

If "YES" to Q.95, ask Q's 96-98. If "NO" or "D.K./NO INFO", skip to Q.99.

Q.96. What kinds of attitudes, habits or customs, and what are the differences?

Q.97. Do you like or dislike these differences?

LIKE	DISLIKE	INDIFFERENT

Q.98. Waarom?

Q.99. Het u ooit gevoel dat u lewenswyse verdring is of verdring sal word deur die lewenswyse van die nuwe mense in die dorp?

Q.100. Op watter manier?

If "LIKE" or "DISLIKE" to Q.97, ask Q.98. If "INDIFFERENT", skip to Q.99.

Q.98. Why?

Q.99. Have you ever felt that your life style would or could be swamped by the newcomers who have been coming into this area?

YES	NO	UNK/NO INFO

If "YES" to Q.99, ask Q.100. If "NO" or "UNK/NO INFO", skip to Q.101.

Q.100 In what way?

AFDELING F.

En nou, om klaar te maak, net 'n bietjie inligting oor uself en u huishouding.

Q.101. Wat is u kerkverband?

Q.102. Hoe gereeld woon u kerkdienste by?

Q.103. Waar woon u kerk by?

Q.104. Hoeveel Bantoe bediendes het u in diens?

Q.105. Weet u waar die bediendes vandaan kom? Waar woon hulle families?

Q.106. Watter soort vervoer gebruik hulle om mee huistoe te gaan?

SECTION F.

Now, finally, just some information about yourself and this household.

Q.101. What is your religious affiliation?

1. DRC/Hervormde/Gerevormeerde
2. Methodist
3. Presbyterian
4. Fundamentalist Churches
5. Anglican/C. of E.
6. Roman Catholic
7 Apostolic Churches
8. Other (specify) .....

Q.102. How often do you attend religious services?

2 x or more Wk	1 x Wk	2 x Mnth	As often as they are held	Monthly	Quarterly
1	2	3	4	5	6

2 x Yr	1 x Yr	Less Frequently	Rarely/ Never	D.K./NO INFO
7	8	9	10	0

Q.103. Where do you attend church (town) .....

Q.104. How many Bantu servants do you employ?

.....

Q.105. Do you know where these servants come from? Where do their families live?

INSTRUCTION: (Probe very deeply. Level of information wanted is the Number of the Reserve from which servants come. If information is unknown, ask permission to enquire from servants.)

Servant: 1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____

Q.106. What mode of travel do they use when they go home?

Servant: 1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____

V.107. Weet u wat hulle in hulle spaar tyd doen?

V.108. Wat betaal u elk van hierdie bediendes in kontant?

En nou, twee laaste vrae.

V.109. Hoeveel lede van hierdie huishouding verdien?

V.110. Kan u vir my sê hoeveel elkeen van hulle per maand verdien?

Q.107. What do they do in their time off?

Servant: 1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____

Q.108. What do you pay these servants in cash?

Servant: 1. R_____ per month
2. R_____ per month
3. R_____ per month
4. R_____ per month

And now, two last questions.

Q.109. How many people in this household earn?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Q.110. Can you tell me how much they each earn per month?

1. R_____
2. R_____
3. R_____
4. R_____
5. R_____
6. R_____
7. R_____

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL.

The purpose of this section of the questionaire is to find out what you think of some of the groups of people around here. It consists of some sets of questions. In answering these questions you should make your judgements according to what these things mean to you.

On the following 9 pages you will find the name of a group of people at the top of each page. This group is to be judged using the words that are printed below.

Here is how to use the scale.

If you feel that the group at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your cross as follows:

FAIR : X : : : : : : : UNFAIR

OR

FAIR : : : : : : : X : UNFAIR

If you feel that the group at the top of the page is quite closely related to one or other end of the scale (but not extremely) you should make your cross as follows:

STRONG : : X : : : : : WEAK

OR

STRONG : : : : : X : : WEAK

The direction toward which you make your cross depends, of course, upon which end of the scale you have chosen.

If you consider the group to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale equally associated with the group, or if you feel that the scale is completely irrelevant to the group, then you should place your cross in the middle space, as follows:

DANGEROUS : : : : X : : : SAFE

IMPORTANT: PLACE YOUR CROSSES IN THE MIDDLE OF A SPACE, NOT ON THE BOUNDARIES.

This Not this

: : X : : : X : :

Please work at a fairly high speed through this section. There are no right and no wrong answers, so do not worry too much over individual items. We want to record your first impressions, so do not look back to see how you may have marked a similar item earlier. Work fast, but at the same time, please, do not be careless, because we do want your true impressions.

SUGAR FARMERS IN THIS AREA.

FRIENDLY :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNFRIENDLY

STUPID :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: CLEVER

POWERFUL :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: WEAK

PLEASANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNPLEASANT

DANGEROUS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: HARMLESS

ARGUMENTATIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: AGREEABLE

RUGGED :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: DELICATE

UNIMPORTANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: IMPORTANT

FORMAL :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: INFORMAL

AMBITIOUS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: CONTENTED

CORRUPT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: HONEST

ARROGANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNASSUMING

RICH :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: POOR

CONSERVATIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: GO AHEAD

PASSIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: ACTIVE

EDUCATED :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNEDUCATED

BAD :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: GOOD

INDUSTRIOUS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: LAZY

BANTU URBAN DWELLERS OF THIS AREA.

WEAK :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: POWERFUL

PLEASANT :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: UNPLEASANT

DANGEROUS :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: HARMLESS

ARGUMENTATIVE :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: AGREEABLE

RUGGED :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: DELICATE

IMPORTANT :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: UNIMPORTANT

INFORMAL :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: FORMAL

CONTENTED :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: AMBITIOUS

HONEST :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: CORRUPT

ARROGANT :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: UNASSUMING

RICH :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: POOR

CONSERVATIVE :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: GO AHEAD

PASSIVE :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: ACTIVE

UNEDUCATED :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: EDUCATED

GOOD :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: BAD

INDUSTRIOUS :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: LAZY

STUPID :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: CLEVER

UNFRIENDLY :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: FRIENDLY

WHITE NEWCOMERS TO THIS AREA.

HARMLESS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: DANGEROUS

ARGUMENTATIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: AGREEABLE

RUGGED :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: DELICATE

IMPORTANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNIMPORTANT

FORMAL :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: INFORMAL

AMBITIOUS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: CONTENTED

HONEST :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: CORRUPT

UNASSUMING :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: ARROGANT

RICH :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: POOR

GO AHEAD :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: CONSERVATIVE

PASSIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: ACTIVE

EDUCATED :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNEDUCATED

BAD :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: GOOD

INDUSTRIOUS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: LAZY

CLEVER :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: STUPID

UNFRIENDLY :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: FRIENDLY

PLEASANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNPLEASANT

POWERFUL :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: WEAK

OLD ESTABLISHED WHITE RESIDENTS OF THIS AREA.

DELICATE	: : : : : : :	RUGGED
IMPORTANT	: : : : : : :	UNIMPORTANT
FORMAL	: : : : : : :	INFORMAL
CONTENTED	: : : : : : :	AMBITIOUS
CORRUPT	: : : : : : :	HONEST
UNASSUMING	: : : : : : :	ARROGANT
RICH	: : : : : : :	POOR
GO AHEAD	: : : : : : :	CONSERVATIVE
ACTIVE	: : : : : : :	PASSIVE
UNEDUCATED	: : : : : : :	EDUCATED
BAD	: : : : : : :	GOOD
INDUSTRIOUS	: : : : : : :	LAZY
CLEVER	: : : : : : :	STUPID
UNFRIENDLY	: : : : : : :	FRIENDLY
PLEASANT	: : : : : : :	UNPLEASANT
WEAK	: : : : : : :	POWERFUL
ARGUMENTATIVE	: : : : : : :	AGREEABLE
HARMLESS	: : : : : : :	DANGEROUS

BANTU WHO LIVE IN THE RESERVES AROUND HERE.

CORRUPT : : : : : : : : HONEST

UNASSUMING : : : : : : : : ARROGANT

RICH : : : : : : : : POOR

CONSERVATIVE : : : : : : : : GO AHEAD

ACTIVE : : : : : : : : PASSIVE

EDUCATED : : : : : : : : UNEDUCATED

BAD : : : : : : : : GOOD

INDUSTRIOUS : : : : : : : : LAZY

CLEVER : : : : : : : : STUPID

UNFRIENDLY : : : : : : : : FRIENDLY

PLEASANT : : : : : : : : UNPLEASANT

POWERFUL : : : : : : : : WEAK

AGREEABLE : : : : : : : : ARGUMENTATIVE

HARMLESS : : : : : : : : DANGEROUS

UNIMPORTANT : : : : : : : : IMPORTANT

RUGGED : : : : : : : : DELICATE

AMBITIOUS : : : : : : : : CONTENTED

FORMAL : : : : : : : : INFORMAL

THE LEADERS OF COMMERCE IN THIS AREA.

RICH :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: POOR

CONSERVATIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: GO AHEAD

ACTIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: PASSIVE

UNEDUCATED :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: EDUCATED

GOOD :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: BAD

INDUSTRIOUS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: LAZY

STUPID :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: CLEVER

FRIENDLY :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNFRIENDLY

PLEASANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNPLEASANT

WEAK :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: POWERFUL

AGREEABLE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: ARGUMENTATIVE

HARMLESS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: DANGEROUS

UNIMPORTANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: IMPORTANT

RUGGED :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: DELICATE

AMBITIOUS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: CONTENTED

FORMAL :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: INFORMAL

ARROGANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNASSUMING

CORRUPT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: HONEST

NEWLY ARRIVED INDUSTRIALISTS OF THIS AREA.

GOOD :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: BAD

LAZY :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: INDUSTRIOUS

CLEVER :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: STUPID

FRIENDLY :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNFRIENDLY

UNPLEASANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: PLEASANT

POWERFUL :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: WEAK

ARGUMENTATIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: AGREEABLE

HARMLESS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: DANGEROUS

IMPORTANT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNIMPORTANT

DELICATE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: RUGGED

AMBITIOUS :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: CONTENTED

FORMAL :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: INFORMAL

UNASSUMING :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: ARROGANT

CORRUPT :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: HONEST

CONSERVATIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: GO AHEAD

POOR :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: RICH

EDUCATED :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: UNEDUCATED

ACTIVE :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: PASSIVE

1.2 SAMPLE OF HOUSEHOLDS.

1.2.1 EMPANGENI.

It had been hoped to get 300 cases, as Empangeni in 1972 was a good deal larger than the other three towns, but the time consumed by the fieldwork forced a reduction in the sample size. A simple random sample of 244 plots out of 909 with houses or flats was drawn from the rateable valuation roll for the town, on the basis of a sampling fraction of about 1 in 4. The actual fraction was 1 in 3,725 plots. An examination of the roll revealed that 236 plots in the sample were for houses, and eight were for blocks of flats. In the case of the blocks of flats selected, a 1 in 4 systematic sub-sample from each block was drawn.

1.2.1.1 HOUSES.

The 236 plots supposedly with houses were inspected from a car, and nine were in fact vacant land as yet unbuilt-on, or with demolished structures. This means 227 plots had houses. Due to the constraints of time, 36 of the plots were not visited by interviewers. An examination of the spatial distribution of these plots, in terms of eight socio-ecological strata in the town, gave no grounds for assuming that their absence from the replies biased the sample results.

Fieldwork revealed that of the 191 houses visited, 10 were standing empty, one was not used for residential purposes, and one contained temporary migrant White workers and so was not relevant. Therefore, there were 179 houses from which a response in theory was possible. However, there was non-response in 23 cases. Reasons were:

12 houses - the occupier refused to co-operate.
1 subject was unable to speak either English or Afrikaans well enough to be interviewed.
7 cases were always out despite 4+ visits each.
1 case was excluded on the grounds the occupier had been studied during the pilot survey.
2 cases were away on holiday.
23 cases

If we exclude the one case done previously, there were 22 non-responses out of (179-1) houses = 22/178 = 12,4% non-response rate. The number of cases interviewed and analysed thus was 156. The actual refusal rate was 12/178 = 6,7% which is not serious, although larger than some of the response levels achieved by social surveys.[1]

In a survey of Whites in King William's Town the refusal rate was only 0,5% and the total non-response 5,5%, (Watts, 1966, 142); while a similar study in East London produced a refusal rate of 3,0%, and an overall non-response of 12,6%, (Watts, 1970, 211). A breakdown of the non-response into eight spatial strata gives no reason for believing that, at least in socio-ecological terms, there is any bias introduced into the results by the pattern of non-response.

The overall sampling fraction for the houses responding was 1 in 4,72, with a raising factor for households of 4,72.

1.2.1.2 FLATS.

In the eight blocks of flats drawn by the sample of plots there were a total of 143 flat units. A 1 in 4 systematic sample from each of the blocks produced 33 flats. In the town as a whole there were 15 blocks of flats with a total of 171 units. This means that by chance mainly the larger blocks of flats were selected. The average number of flat units in the eight blocks chosen was 17,9 units per block, as against only 4,0 units for the seven blocks not in the sample.

---

1) The probable reason for this higher refusal rate is that some of the householders were antagonistic to English-speaking fieldworkers from the University of Natal. We heard one story to the effect that the study was for the National Union of South African students. We have no idea of how such a wild idea developed.

Twenty-three of the 33 flats visited produced completed interviews; in one case the occupier could not be contacted; four had temporary migrant White workers and so were excluded as beyond the scope of the study; and five flats were empty. Therefore nine flats did not represent a non-response. There were no refusals. The non-response rate was thus 1/24 = 4,2%, which is better than with the houses, and the refusal rate 0%.

The raising factors for individual flats were calculated by relating flats sampled back to the total number in a block selected, and the related to the overall total of 171 flats in the 15 blocks in the town in 1972. The overall sampling fraction, on this basis, was 1 in 5,18 for flats. The average raising factor amounted to 5,18.

7.2.2 KWAMBONAMBI.

About 25 cases were aimed at. Using a map showing plots, a 1 in 4 systematic sample, with a random starting point, was chosen out of a total of 101 plots with houses on them. This gave 26 plots, two of which were found to have empty plots, and one house was occupied by Coloureds. There was one non-response - the occupier was always out despite four visits. This was a non-response of 1/23 = 4,3%. The raising factor for households was 4,06.

7.2.3 MTUNZINI.

About 25 cases were aimed at. Using a map showing plots, a 1 in 5 systematic sample with a random starting point, out of a universe of 112 plots with houses was drawn. Twenty-five plots were selected. Two houses turned out to be holiday cottages, one was used for weekends only and one was vacant. This left 21 relevant cases, out of which two refused to co-operate. The non-response rate was 2/21 = 9,5%. Perhaps the refusals were for much the same reasons as has been mentioned as applying to at least some of the Empangeni cases. The number of responding cases was 19, and the raising factor for households was 4,05.

1.2.4 RICHARDS BAY.

About 75 cases were originally aimed at, but when it became clear that the fieldwork was proving more lengthy than intended, the number was reduced to 65. Using a map of plots, a 1 in 4 systematic sample with a random starting point was chosen out of a universe of 259 plots with houses. Sixty-five plots were selected. Two plots had vacant houses, and one was a guest house for visitors. One case had been done in the pilot survey, and two had been done at other addresses during the main fieldwork. Thus there were 60 relevant cases. Three of these refused to be interviewed, and two could never be found at home despite three call-backs. The non-response rate was 5/60 = 8,3%, with the refusal rate at 5%. The number of completed interviews was 55, with a household raising factor of 4,35.

1.3 SELECTION OF ADULTS.

Within each household sampled, one adult was selected for detailed interviewing, using Kish's special tables for this purpose (Kish, 1967, 398-401). The raising factor for adults incorporated the ratio of the number of adults in the household (defined as 18+ year olds) to the one interviewed.

2. DEPTH-INTERVIEWS WITH LEADERS.

2.1 Interviews in 1973.

In 1973 a series of focussed depth-interviews were conducted with 11 men and one woman who had been named most frequently by the adults in the 1972 survey as being White civic/or commercial, and/or social and cultural leaders of their community. The interviews were taped. The focussed interview guide used was as follows.

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Outline for Interview: January - February 1973

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

I. First I would like to talk about changes that you have seen in this region in the last 6 or so years, or since you first arrived here.

(a) Do you consider that there have been changes which have either split, or brought various sections of the white population closer together? In other words do you consider the white population to be more fragmented, or do you consider that they are now more integrated than before 1965, and how would you account for this?

(b) Have you seen any changes in the policy of the local authority (Town Board, Borough Council, etc.) which you think stimulates or retards the growth of this town?

(c) Do you consider that this town now runs with more or less friction between various groups within the white community, than say before 1965, or when you first arrived here? Could you give some examples, and how do you account for this?

(d) Over the last 8 years, or since you arrived here, have you noticed any change in the make-up of the civic leaders of this town? i.e. Do you think the leadership is now in the hands of a group who are very different from those who led this town in, say, 1964/5?

(e) If we look at the party politics of this town, do you think that there have been great changes in the balance of power? How do you account for this, and, what influence, if any, do you think this has had?

(f) I would like now, for you to look into the future. What changes do you see in the economic, social and leadership sectors of this town? Do you see more major changes? What are your aspirations for this town?

II. I would now like to speak about the problems of a rapidly expanding town and region.

(a) What do you see as short-term problems which this town and region is having to face? I would particularly like you to concentrate on the aspects which affect you in either your private, business or public life.

(b) Do you see, on the horizon somewhere, particular problems which you would categorize as long-term problems, and which may have bothered you, but which have not yet had any real effects? I am trying to isolate long-term problems, which because of your specialised knowledge, may have crossed your mind. Again, if you could talk of these first as you see them affecting this town, and then the region.

III. Obviously the growth has been region-wide, and is not confined only to this town. We have noticed, and tried to measure growth in Empangeni, Kwa Mbonambi, Mtunzini, and of course, Richard's Bay.

(a) Living here in ....., how has the regional growth affected this town? Have there been any aspects which have, in your view, been detrimental to this town? Could you give examples?

(b) What is your attitude towards rapid growth as has been experienced in this region? There have been benefits and disadvantages. Do you think, on balance, the benefits have outweighed the disadvantages, and why?

(c) Do you see the growth of other towns in this region, as in any way <u>really</u> damaging to this town?

(d) There has been a large influx of population into this region and town. How, do you feel, the older, more established residents view these newcomers? Have there been any real problems of incorporating the newcomers?

IV. I would now like to talk to you about your own particular business or profession, and the changes that have become apparent to you in this line in the last five, or so, years.

(a) Have you noticed, in your dealings with the white population, any changes in the nature and character of your activities, besides the inevitable growth?

(b) In your dealings with the local Bantu population, have there been any changes which you would like to remark on?

V. We are also interested to hear your views on the relationships between whites of this town/region and the Bantu of the same area.

(a) In this connection, what is the first thing that strikes you about these relationships?

(b) Do you think that the whites and Bantu around here get on, on balance, better or worse than they did, say five years ago, or when you first arrived here? What makes you think so?

(c) There has been considerable speculation regarding the future of Richard's Bay and its relationship to Kwa Zulu. What are your views on the subject? Do you see any chance of the Bay being given to Kwa Zulu, and could you give reasons for your answer?

(d) How do you see the consolidation of Kwa Zulu as affecting this Town/region?

(e) If Richard's Bay were, sometime in the future, put under Kwa Zulu control, what effect do you see that as having on the region as a whole?

VI And now finally, some questions about the planning of this region.

(a) Do you think that the planning of this region has been adequate, and could you illustrate your answer with some examples?

In conclusion, what hopes do you have for the future of this town - and why? Do you have any fears regarding this area? Would you care to expand on them?

There were seven leaders interviewed from Empangeni, one from Richards Bay, two from Mtunzini, and one from KwaMbonambi. For reasons of preserving anonymity of well-known informants, personal details about these 'leaders' cannot be given. However, the leaders included professional and businessmen, civic leaders (mayor, town councillors), and the like.

2.2 Follow-up Interview with some White Elites in 1979.

A picture of changes, and reactions to the very rapid development of Richards Bay, and to the slower but still rapid rate of growth in Empangeni, seen through the eyes of some White elites, was obtained by focussed depth interviews in 1979. Three senior students from the University of Natal interviewed a total of 66 informants - 25 from Richards Bay and 41 from Empangeni, using the interview guide attached.

These interviews were not tape-recorded (the 1972 interviews were taped) - but notes were taken by the interviewers. The informants were deliberately selected from amongst Whites in elite positions in Richards Bay and Empangeni. The elites chosen are tabulated in Table C.1 below.

No refusals were encountered.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL, DURBAN.

RICHARD'S BAY- EMPANGENI REGIONAL SURVEY

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS, 1979.

The Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal has at the request of the Government Department of Planning and Environment, been undertaking a socio-economic regional survey of the Richard's Bay -Empangeni area for some years. In 1972 a sample of Whites within this region was interviewed -(you yourself may perhaps have been interviewed), and now that the report is finally being prepared, we wish to gather some additional up-to-date information concerning the way in which your town and the region is changing. Thus I hope that you will be so kind as to spare me some of your time, since because of your important position in the community, we feel that you can help us with important impressions and information on the subject. No-one will be able to identify in the report what you have said, as strict confidentiality in regard to informants is being observed. I hope you won't mind me taking notes during the interview, as I will not be able to remember all you tell me.

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1. For how long have you lived in this area? .....years.

GROWTH OF THE TOWN AND THE REGION:

2. How do you think the development of Richard's Bay has affected the growth and development of this town?

3. In particular, what have the trends been from 1972 up to the present time?

4. Do you think that the growth potential for the past decade, more or less, has been fulfilled? (Get reasons).

5. What changes do you feel have occurred during the last six years since we conducted our fieldwork in 1972? (Improvements, retrogressions, etc. - get reasons too.)

6. Has the growth of the population in the town, and secondly the region accelerated or slowed down? (Reasons).

TOWN:

REGION:

7. Same question for industry in the town and the region:

TOWN:

REGION:

8. Same question for the economy of the town and the region:

TOWN:

REGION:

ECONOMY OF THE TOWN AND THE REGION:

9. How has the economy of the town/neighbourhood/region been affected by the development of Richard's Bay?

10. To what extent is the economic development of the town and region being allowed to take its own course, and develop "naturally", and to what extent is it being centrally planned and controlled?

11. What do you think of this position?

NEWCOMERS TO THE TOWN AND THE REGION:

12. Has there been much of an influx of newcomers in to the town?

13. To what extent has the influx of newcomers into the town created problmes?

14. What are these problems? (Prompt after a while - housing, social, educational, political, economic, etc.)

15. Are these problems easing or getting worse?

16. Who are the newcomers, in the main? (Get ethnic, national, language backgrounds.)

17. Do you think that more people are leaving the area than moving in? Reasons.

18. Do you think that the Newcomers are now being assimilated more easily into the existing community and its way of life?

19. Is there an increasing stability in the population as a whole? i.e. are more people settling in the town with the intention of remaining there on a short/long-term basis?

PROBLEMS IN THE TOWN AND THE REGION:

20. What problem (if any) do you think have arisen because of the development of Richard"s BAy? (Prompt after a while if necessary - if this is not covering ground which the informant has already spoken about - environmental, social, economic, political, welfare, educational, community problems.)

21. Are these long or short-terms problems? Specify by type of problem:

22. Can you suggest any solutions?

23. Can anything be done? By whom?

24. Is anything being done, or likely to be done?

25. Other comments:

FACILITIES:

26. What do you think has been the effect upon voluntary organisations in the last six years of the development of Richard's Bay? (e.g. charitable, religion, social, sporting, cultural and professional organisations?

27. Have such organisations become more active?

28. Are the recreational facilities, clubs, etc. adequate?

29. Are they being fully used?

SOCIAL INTERACTION:

30. Do you think that there are elite groups and definite social classes in the town, or does everyone mix with everyone else?

31. What different kinds of groups exist in the town?

32. Has the social stratification (if any) in the town increased with development?

33, If rival groups exist in the town, does their presence hamper the smooth running of the town?

34. How much social contact is there between various groups? - e.g. sugar farmers, newcomers, established whites, industrialists, English, Afrikaans, foreigners?

35. Is inter-group social contact increasing or decreasing?

LOCAL DECISION-MAKING:

36. Have there been any changes over the last six to ten years in the way the town is being run? Get details.

37. Do individuals participate enough in decisions that affect them?

38. Are people generally interested in local and regional affairs?

BLACKS:

39. Has development changed the position of the Blacks in Empangeni and/or Richard's Bay? (Details, especially in economic and social spheres are needed)

40. What attitude do people have towards the Blacks?

41. How has influx control affected this town, and what are yourcomments on the position that has resulted?

42. Is Black unemployment a problem at present? If so, why?

43. Do you think that Blac k people's attitudes have changed over the last six or so years? (Think only of Blacks in this town and region).

44. How, if at all, has development in this town and the region affected the Blacks' way of life, and the townships?

THE FUTURE:

45. How do you view of the future of this town?

46. How do you view the future of this region?

47. What do you see as the future relationship of this town, and this region, to Kwa Zulu?

48. GENERAL: What additional comments would you like to make, or is there anything else which you think we ought to know for our study?

Is there anyone in particular you think we should talk to?

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR HELP, etc.

TABLE C.1.

TYPES OF WHITE INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED IN RICHARDS BAY AND EMPANGENI, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1979.

OCCUPATION	RICHARDS BAY	EMPANGENI	TOTAL
Professional man or woman	2	5	7
Businessman or woman	3	9	12
Senior Public Servant in Civil Service or Local Authority	6	7	13
Senior Management in Industry	6	1	7
Other Upper White Collar managerial or Administrative work	2	6	8
Minister of Religion	2	3	5
Social Worker	1	1	2
Nursing Sister	1	-	1
Retired businessman	1	-	1
Educationist	1	5	6
Sugar farmer's widow	-	2	2
Other (not certain)	-	2	2
TOTAL	25	41	66

GRAND TOTAL = 66 people interviewed.

Of these, four in Richards Bay and three in Empangeni were present or past members of a Town Council/Board, or the Provincial Council. Several from Richards Bay worked in senior positions at the University of Zululand.

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