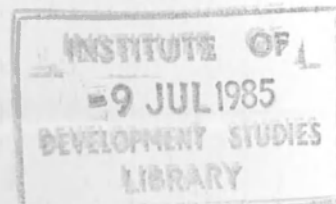




UNIVERSITY OF NATAL DURBAN

(86)

**DECENTRALIZED INDUSTRY,
POVERTY & DEVELOPMENT
IN RURAL KWA ZULU**



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DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT
Centre for Applied Social Sciences
WORKING PAPER NO. 10

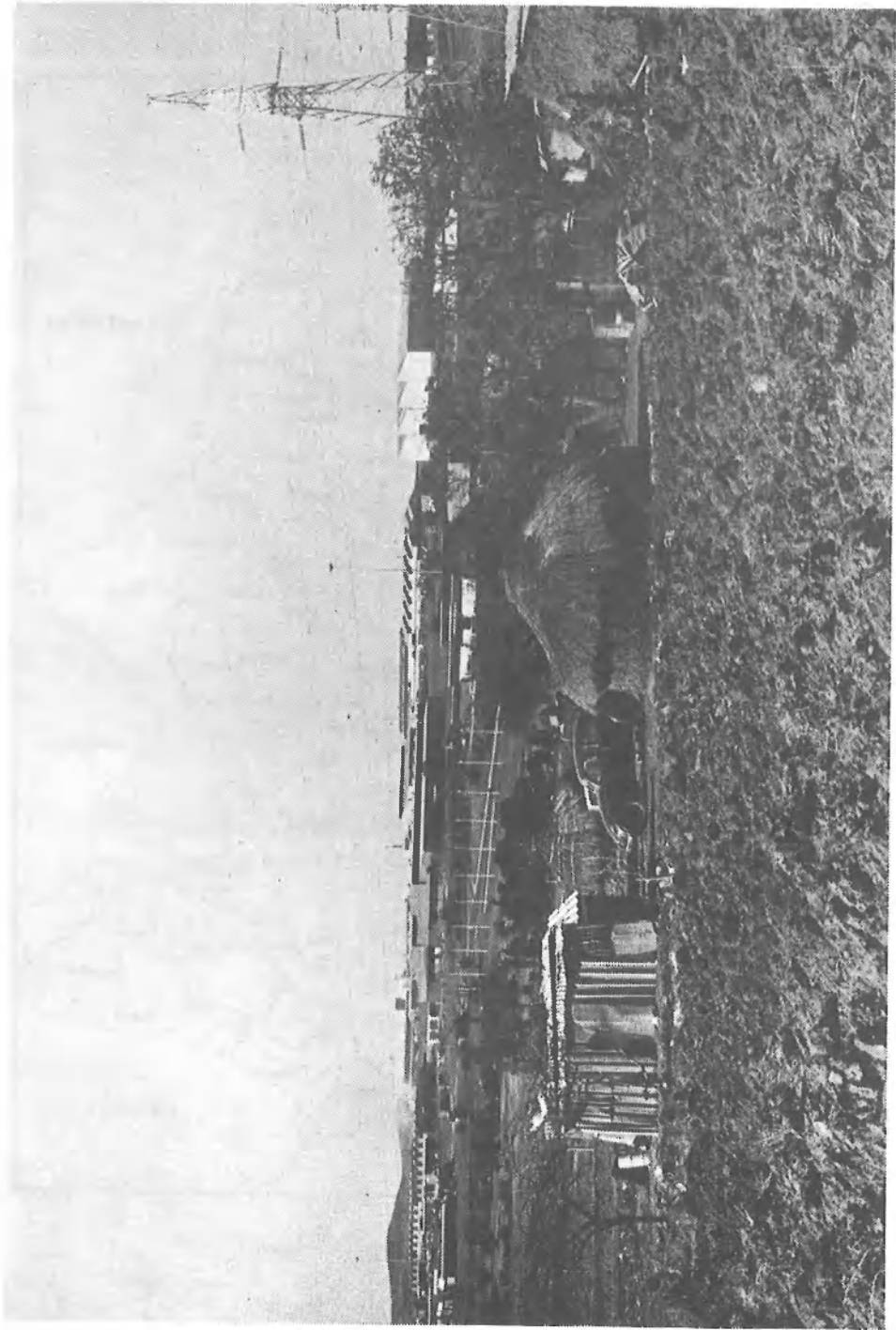
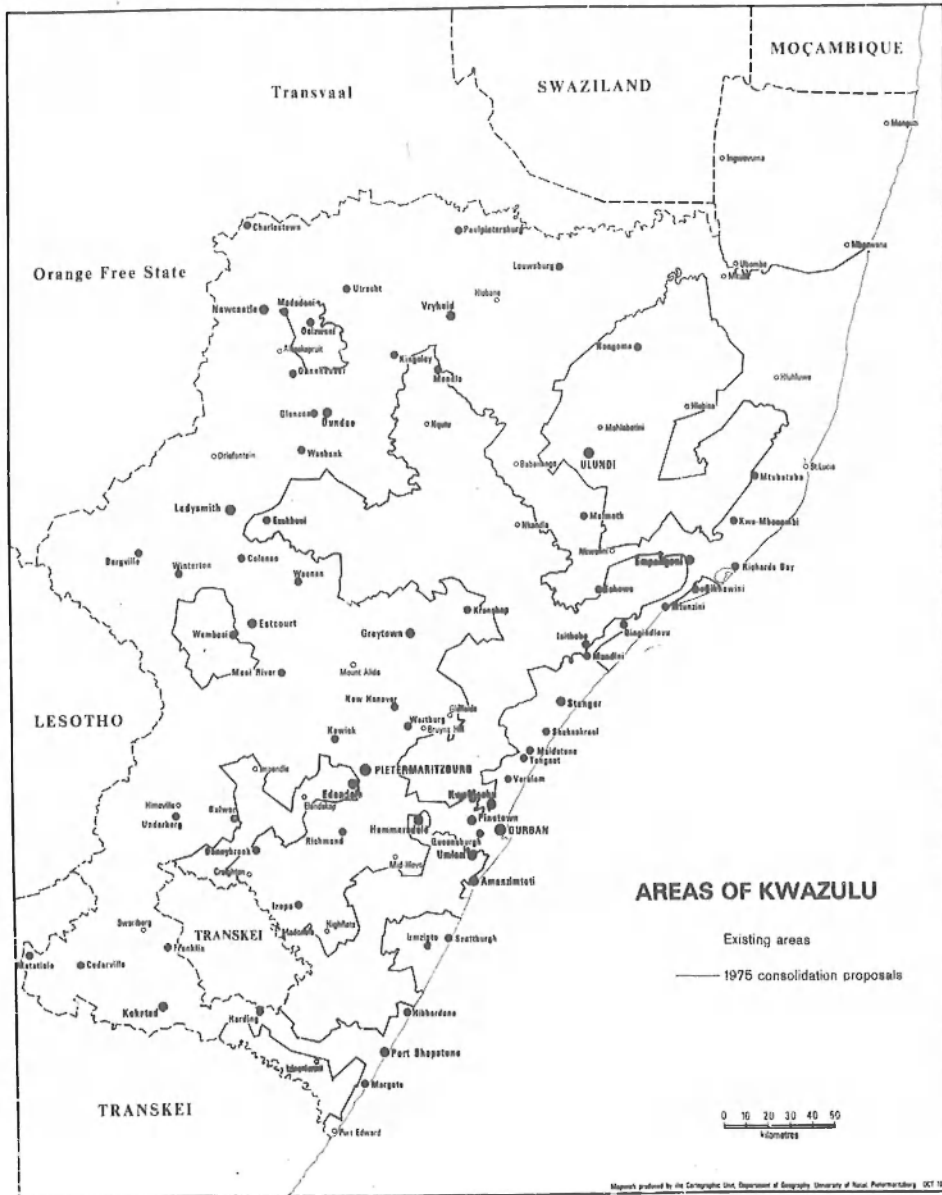
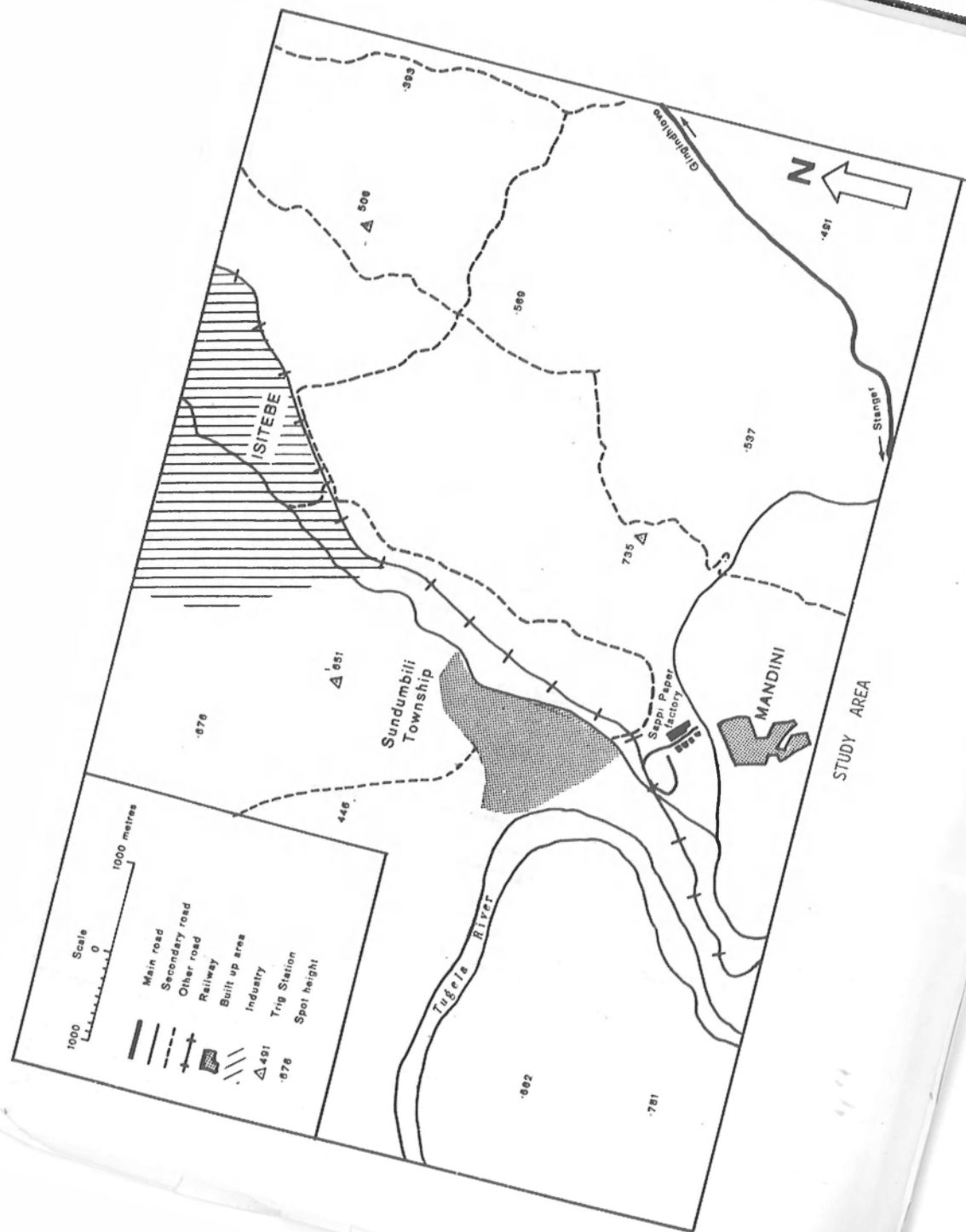


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NATAL AND KWAZULU





DECENTRALISED INDUSTRY, POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL KWAZULU

By

Elisabeth Ardington

Working Paper No. 10

Development Studies Unit
University of Natal
Durban 1984

The study of a traditional rural area in the district of Nkandla which is referred to in this paper was published simultaneously by the University of Natal as Development Studies Unit Working Paper No. 9 under the title "Poverty and Development in a Rural Community in KwaZulu"

The Development Studies Unit is a multi-disciplinary unit within the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal in Durban. The Development Studies Unit was established at the beginning of 1982 with the purpose of providing a focus for research into the problems of developing areas, with a view to assisting the University to play a meaningful role in the upgrading of the quality of life in the poorer areas surrounding it.

As well as undertaking research in many areas of South Africa, the Unit offers a post-graduate masters programme in Development Studies.

ISBN 0 86980 382 4

Published simultaneously by the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa as Carnegie Conference Paper No. 246.

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DECENTRALISED INDUSTRY, POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL KWAZULU

Through describing the community's access to basic needs and its incomes per capita this paper attempts to analyse the effect upon a rural community of the development of local employment opportunities where none previously existed.

The fact that the industrial development in question was undertaken by the Corporation for Economic Development (as agent of the Pretoria government) at a speed that could not be matched by the agencies (most of which were responsible to Ulundi) responsible for developing the infrastructure and social amenities is noted, and the inevitable tensions which resulted from the fact that the spectacular¹ advances in industrial development were not accompanied by equal advances in the provision of amenities (such as roads, water, sewerage, housing, education and electricity) are observed.

Investigation of the community reveals that those for whom the agencies of Ulundi were unable to supply amenities were left, under the aegis of the traditional chief, to supply their own with the result that there are today co-existing in the area three groups - the traditional inhabitants of the area, the formally housed industrial workers and their families and the informally housed industrial workers and their families. Significant differences in levels of education, access to water, health facilities etc. between the three groups are revealed and related to the different systems by which these facilities are supplied to each group.

A comparison of living standards in households where there are those who have been unable to take advantage of local developments and who still resort to migration to find employment, with households whose members are locally employed, provides interesting evidence of the costs/benefits of the migratory labour system.

1. Spectacular in terms of homeland industrial development.

CHAPTER 1

DECENTRALISED INDUSTRY, POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL KWAZULU

This paper deals with the findings of one of a group of three studies of rural areas in Natal/KwaZulu. Each paper investigates a very different environment and it is intended that if read together they would describe the situation of a large percentage of blacks in rural Natal/KwaZulu. The first area was chosen to represent a traditional rural area, the second a rural area in which industrial development has taken place and the third commercial farms.

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

The area of the second study is the township of Sundumbili and the informal housing area that has developed between it and the Isithebe industrial area. The area covered by the survey is approximately 10 square kilometres in extent. Although it included the whole of the formal housing area it did not include all the informal housing - in fact it covered only the informal houses to the south of the industrial area, between it and the township. As most facilities are situated to the south of the industrial area, housing development tends to be more concentrated there, but there are numerous houses to the north and west of the industrial area. White farms form the eastern boundary of the industrial area. A significant number of persons employed at Isithebe live to the east of the white farms on the coastal strip of KwaZulu known as Reserve 8.

Sundumbili is situated 110 km north of Durban. It is 14 km from the coast, is on the Durban-Richards Bay railway line, and is only 10km from the main northcoast highway. It is 75m above sea level and is

the last relatively flat piece of ground before the land rises to the Indulinde hills, which are deeply dissected by the valleys and gorges and the many rivers and streams of the area which are tributaries of the Tugela and Amatikulu rivers. The rainfall in the area is 1 000mm per annum. To the south east of Sundumbili lies the white town of Mandini and to the east across the railway line is a narrow strip of white farm land, but both on the seaside and inland side of this strip of white farmland, all other land forms part of KwaZulu. It is occupied in the traditional manner.

Historically, residents of the survey area were generally subsistence farmers. few if any producing cash crops. Isolated farmers produced sugar cane but transport difficulties prevented more from considering cane planting. However, in the last fifteen years there has been a significant increase in the acreage under cane as a result of assistance from and infrastructure provided by the Small Growers Financial Aid fund.

Until relatively recently, this area was like many other rural areas in Kwazulu. There were no local employment opportunities other than those on adjoining white farms. There were no townships and no systems of land or house holding other than the traditional one. The chief and his indunas were still the only officials operating at the lower levels. There were probably a small number of persons who commuted daily to employment on neighbouring white farms but the majority of those in employment would have been migrants out of the area living either in an urban area or on the mine or farm where they were employed.

However, in 1955, the SAPPi Pulp and Paper Plant was erected at Mandini and in 1968 the development of the Isithebe industrial area was begun. These two developments have profoundly affected the surrounding areas and the Sundumbili/Isithebe area was chosen for the second survey so that the effects of industrial development on the surrounding rural population and area might be observed. Such developments would be expected both to attract settlers to the area and to enable those who had previously been forced to migrate in order to obtain employment to remain at home with their families and still find employment. The effect of this on family incomes, community development, leadership etc. should emerge from a study of the community concerned and interesting comparisons with other rural communities where these changes have not occurred (such as the first area of study) should be able to be made.

2.0 HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE AREA

The SAPPi mill, started in 1955, was built on what was previously white farmland in Natal. The company itself originally built "bachelor" quarters for its employees on its own property. Soon after the establishment of the factory, the government began developing a township on adjoining land in KwaZulu. Over a number of years approximately 900 houses were built to accommodate workers from SAPPi and others supplying services in the area. In addition schools, a clinic, a number of shops and churches were erected. No further significant developments followed in the wake of SAPPi until in response to the proposals of the Tomlinson Commission, the government decided to establish a Homeland Industrial Area at Isithebe.

The development of the infrastructure was begun in 1968 and the first factory opened in 1971. In 1983, there were 80 industries in the area employing 8 350 people amongst whom were 4 239 black males and 3 207 black females. The development of the area continues and on average one new factory opens each month. All the development of the industrial area to date has been undertaken by the Corporation for Economic Development¹ (C.E.D.).

The C.E.D.'s responsibility extends only to the development of the industrial area and any developments in the surrounding areas that take place, or should take place following the industrial development, fall outside of their jurisdiction. The provision in the area of housing, education, health, telecommunications, roads etc. is the responsibility of a number of other government departments and corporations none of which have, in fact, been able to keep up with the pace at which the C.E.D. has developed the area. This has created certain tensions in the community which will become apparent when housing, education etc. are considered.

Not only are a large number of different government departments and parastatals involved in the development of the area, but these bodies form part of, and are responsible to, two separate governments - those of Pretoria and Ulundi.

In March 1983 there were 1 800 houses in Sundumbili township and the township population was estimated by the superintendent to be 12 000.

1. In January 1984, the KwaZulu Development Corporation took over the role of the Corporation for Economic Development.

(The 1980 census figure was 6 417). Surrounding the township a large amount of informal housing has developed in amongst the traditional homesteads of the area. In an aerial photograph taken in 1981 when there were 1 380 houses in the township, we counted 926 informal houses in the area we surveyed¹. These houses have probably grown in number as fast, if not faster than those of the formal townships so that today there are most likely 1 200 informal houses in the survey area. Taking the number of houses - 926 - from the 1981 photograph and multiplying it by the average number of persons we found to be resident in a peri-urban household (8.7), we find that some 8 000 people would have been living in the peri-urban part of the area surveyed in 1981. (It should, however, be noted that the 1980 census gives the entire population of the Mathonsi ward, of which the survey area forms only a small part, as being only 11 819.)

The township today has five schools, a creche, a clinic, a garage, a shopping centre, a small openair market, an industrial school, a block of small factories, a beer hall, three churches and an administrative building. The township is administered by a superintendant, two clerks and three policemen. A labour officer and a social worker also have offices in the town. There is one small hall attached to the Anglican church and an overgrown boxing ring. There is a single soccer field (without stadiums) which is used for all public gatherings.

There are no peri-urban facilities (other than two community schools) in the informal part of the surveyed area.

1. The survey area forms only a small part of the area in which informal housing has sprung up in response to the industrial development.

3.0 METHOD OF SURVEY

The information contained in this paper is based on data obtained from interviews with 102 households in the Sundumbili area. By use of an aerial photograph, all households in the area were numbered. Fieldworkers interviewed the inhabitants of every fifteenth house until they had completed the desired number of interviews. A structured questionnaire was used to obtain the required information.

3.1 Subdivisions and Data

As half the dwelling units surveyed were government built township houses, and the balance either the traditional homesteads of the area or houses built by people who had moved into the area and had been unable to obtain formal accommodation, various subdivisions have been made when analysing the data to reflect the different circumstances of each household.

Of the heads of households in the peri-urban or informal area, 49% were either born in the area or had lived there 30 years or more and may therefore be considered the traditional inhabitants of the area.¹ The balance of household heads in the peri-urban area probably moved into the area in order to take up employment - initially at SAPPI and subsequently at Isithebe.

1. The first industry in the area (SAPPI) was established less than 30 years ago.

We can thus divide those interviewed into formally housed urban dwellers living in Sundumbili township and informally housed peri-urban dwellers and can then subdivide the latter into those born in the area or resident there 30 years or more, and those who have not been there as long - this last group most probably coinciding with people who moved into the area specifically to obtain employment. In all 102 households participated in the survey. 51 were in Sundumbili and 51 in the surrounding area. The heads of 24 of the 51 peri-urban households were either born where they were living or had been there at least 30 years.

Where analysis according to these subdivisions indicates marked and significant differences between the various types of households, these differences are mentioned. Elsewhere the figures and analysis refer to the total sample.

Table 1 below illustrates the significance of the subdivisions in relation to the origins of the heads of the various households.

Interviews were also conducted with individuals resident in the area and certain outsiders who were considered to have information relevant to the survey. Thus interviews were conducted with, among others, the township superintendant, the Mayor, the labour officer, the social worker, the doctor, the sister in charge of the clinic, the C.E.D. official administering the industrial area, the chairman of the Employers Housing Committee, an official of the Port Natal Administration Board who was in charge of building in the township, personnel officers of SAPPI and Chief Mathonsi.

TABLE I

ORIGINS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY LOCATION OF DWELLING

Birthplace of Head	Percentage of Households in Category			
	Township Households	All Peri-Urban Households	Traditional Peri-Urban Households	Total Survey
Born here	0.0	41.2	83.3	20.5
Eshowe or Mtunzini*	49.0	13.7	-	31.5
Kwa Zulu	47.0	25.5	-	36.2
White Areas	2.0	2.0	12.5	9.8
Kwa Mashu	2.0	17.6	4.2	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	51	51	24	102

* The magisterial districts of Eshowe and Mtunzini have been separated from the rest of KwaZulu as they are adjacent to Sundumbili.

CHAPTER II

HUMAN POPULATION

1.0 NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY SURVEYED

There are co-existing in the area of the survey a formal urban township governed by a town council and an administration which is part of the KwaZulu Department of the Interior, and a peri-urban settlement which falls under the authority of the local chief and his indunas. Only 49% of the households in the peri-urban area (those of the people who have been in the area 30 years or more) would have traditionally fallen under the chief's control - the balance being the households of relatively recent immigrants who came to settle not because they wished to subsist in a particular tribal ward, but because they simply wished to reside relatively close to their place of industrial employment. In the township on the other hand there are people who, although they were traditional subjects of the chief, are no longer under the his authority, as their residence in the township¹ places them under the authority of the township administration.

Homesteads in the peri-urban area vary enormously - both as to the type and size of dwelling and the attachment or non-attachment of land and cattle to them. 18% of the homes may be described as "traditional" or unmodernized, 45% as modernised and 37% as mixed (in that there are both huts made of wattle, daub and thatch and huts made

1. Those who lost their homesteads to township development were compensated by being allocated a house on a double sized plot in the township.

of bricks, blocks, corrugated iron, asbestos, stone and cement found in the homestead). The houses of the traditional inhabitants of the area tend to be larger and more substantial than those of the newer arrivals. Fewer of their houses are traditional Zulu huts and greater use has been made of purchased building materials and western design.

Of the entire peri-urban sample 31% of the households said they had land, whereas 54% of the traditional residents had land. Similarly, whereas only 25% of all peri-urban dwellers had cattle, 33% of traditional residents had cattle. None of the township dwellers had land and only one had cattle.

According to Chief Mathonsi anyone wishing to settle in the area would have to ask him for permission. Such a prospective settler would be required to register with the magistrate in Eshowe and thereafter the chief would send him to an induna who would point out the particular site on which he might build his house. He said no payments were necessary. The chief indicated that as a rule people would not settle without asking his permission, but there had been the odd case where certain indunas allowed "tsotsis" to settle who did not have the chief's permission. He also indicated that anyone who wanted land (in addition to a house site) could get it, but said that most of the settlers merely wanted somewhere to live. Similarly, anyone wishing to graze cattle in the area would be allowed to without making any payment.

1.1 Permanence of Population

Some indication of the permanence of the population surveyed can be found in the answers to the question whether the house in which the person was interviewed was his real and only home, or whether he had another house. 65% of the township dwellers claimed to have another house, whereas only 10% of the peri-urban dwellers did. Only one person of those resident in the area 30 years or more said he had another home and he had no dependants there, nor did he ever send money to anyone at his other home. He, like all other long term residents, said he intended remaining in the Isithebe area for ever, whereas 25% of the township dwellers and 20% of the short term peri-urban dwellers indicated they would leave the area when they were no longer employed there. Overall 82% of those surveyed indicated they were permanently in the area, and more than 50% of those claiming another home were included in this category. 36% of the second or other homes are in the adjoining magisterial districts of Eshowe and Mtunzini and 54% in areas of KwaZulu north of the Tugela, with 8% being in Ingwavuma. The balance are scattered throughout Natal/KwaZulu.

In answer to the question who headed the "other home", the following information was obtained :

- 51% - the same head
- 28% - the local head's father
- 8% - the local head's brother
- and the balance - the local head's husband, son, uncle, brother's son or mother.

Thus although 37% claimed a second home, only half of them or 18.5% of those surveyed could be considered "proprietor" of the other home. 75% of the second homes had land (ranging in area from .5 hectare to 4 hectares) attached to them and 46% had cattle - the herd size varying from 1 to 30 and averaging 10. The average size herd of those holding cattle in the area surveyed (as opposed to at their "other home") was only 6.2 head.

Of those with another home, 35% said they returned to their second home monthly, 18% 2 or 3 times per month, 8% weekly, and the balance infrequently - some only when on leave. 54% of the home visits were for a period of 2 days - probably a weekend visit - 13% were for periods of 30 days (i.e. annual leave) and the balance fell somewhere inbetween. Over a year the average number of days spent at the other home was 46. In Appendix C we see that 85% of those claiming a second home sent money there on a regular basis.

1.2 Presence of Nuclear Family Members

92% of the peri-urban dwellers and all the traditional peri-urban dwellers, but only 61% of the township dwellers had their nuclear families living with them. Reasons given for the absence of the family varied but chiefly concerned the care of the other home and its security. Some said they were only in Sundumbili to work and preferred a rural lifestyle for their families or that they found it cheaper to leave their families at the other house. A few stated that there was not sufficient room for the family in township houses.

Reasons given for the presence of the nuclear family where there was a choice, in that the respondent had another home, were firstly a desire to keep the family together and then proximity to schools, improved health, and a reduced cost of living.

1.3 Household Tenure

Of those in township houses, 65% were in rented houses, 33% in houses held under 40 year leases or freehold, and 2% in church houses. According to the township superintendant of the 1800 houses in the township, all but 338 were rented. 281 houses were held on a 40 year lease, 21 by freehold and 36, which were erected by the C.E.D., on leasehold. The non-rented houses together constituted 19% of the housing stock. Thus in the survey those with freehold title or leasehold appear to be over-represented.

Only 2% of the informal houses were rented - the rest were all "owner" or self built and "owner" occupied.

In answer to the question under what circumstances they might lose their houses, the majority of respondents showed a high degree of security of tenure. Of those in the township 29% said under no circumstances would they lose their houses, 67% only if they failed to pay the rent or installments, and 4% if they lost their job or changed jobs. One township respondent stated that if someone worked as a migrant out of the area, he would lose his house even if he paid the rent and his relations occupied it. It would appear that in order to

keep a house, in which the official tenant is not permanently resident, at least the official tenant's wife should be living there. In the early days of the township the right to occupy a house was definitely linked to employment in the area - if a tenant lost his job he lost his house as well. Recently, following a number of such evictions, the KwaZulu Secretary of the Interior visited the township and it was subsequently stated that provided rental was paid a person could not be evicted from his house on loss of his job, even where he had obtained the house through the intervention of his former employer at Isithebe.¹ However a number of respondents still stated that they might lose their house on loss of their job.

Officially, anyone who obtains a house in any other township forfeits his rights to his house in Sundumbili. However it appears that there were householders in Sundumbili who had another house in Kwa Mashu.

In the tribal area 41% stated they might lose their houses as a result of township or industrial development or government eviction. (The percentage of traditional peri-urban residents who felt they might lose their homes under these circumstances was 46%.) 2% claimed they might lose their house as a result of losing their job, leaving 57% who felt totally secure in their homes.

This significant difference in perceived levels of security of tenure between the township residents and those in tribal areas clearly indicates the extent to which local people who have suffered fear further upheavals in the future.

1. Interview with Mr. Gcaleka, the Mayor.

There appears to be some dispute as to whether the owners of houses which are demolished to accommodate township expansion are compensated or not. According to Chief Mathonsi such people would be compensated with an amount varying between R20 and R200.

2.0 Household Structure

2.1 Size

The average household surveyed contained 7.8 people. (See Table 2 on page 21.) Although township households appear to be significantly smaller (6.9 people) than either the peri-urban households (8.7 persons) or the longtime peri-urban households (9.4 persons), it is not necessarily true that township families are smaller. 57% of township dwellers have dependants elsewhere and many stated that the reason all their children, for example, were not living with them was because the township houses were too small.

2.2 Non-nuclear family members

On average, each household contained 2.5 non-nuclear family members although 37% of households (21% of longtime peri-urban dwellers and 41% of urban dwellers) consisted of nuclear family only and 60% of nuclear family plus the offspring of unmarried children only. Significantly more non-nuclear family members were found in peri-urban than in urban households (3.4 and 1.6 per household respectively).

TABLE 2
Household Size

Household Size	Total Sample		Township Households		Peri-Urban Households		Long term Peri-Urban Households	
	N	Cum. %	N	Cum. %	N	Cum. %	N	Cum. %
1	1	1,0			1	2,0		
2	4	4,9	4	7,8				
3	4	8,8	1	9,8	3	7,8	1	4,2
4	10	18,6	4	17,6	6	19,6	4	20,8
5	10	28,4	6	29,4	4	27,5	2	29,2
6	13	41,2	8	45,1	5	37,3	1	33,3
7	10	51,0	7	58,8	3	43,1	1	37,5
8	14	64,7	8	74,6	6	54,9	3	50,0
9	9	73,5	4	82,4	5	64,7	3	62,5
10	6	79,4	4	90,2	2	68,6	1	66,7
11	9	88,2	3	96,1	6	80,4	4	83,3
12	5	93,1	1	98,0	4	88,2	1	87,5
13	1	94,1	1	100,0				
14	2	96,1			2	92,2		
15	1	97,1			1	94,1	1	91,7
16	1	98,0			1	96,1		
24	1	99,0			1	98,0	1	95,8
28	1	100,0			1	100,0	1	100,0
Mean		7,8		6,9		8,6		9,4
N	102		51		51		24	

2.3 Illegitimacy

45% of households contained children who were not living with both parents (even on a temporary basis) and were apparently illegitimate. 75% of the traditional households contained such children. Despite the high numbers of apparently illegitimate children, only three cases of maintenance being paid for such children were recorded and in general people did not seem to expect maintenance under such circumstances.

2.4 Dependency

The average household contained 3.2 people either above the age of 60 or below the age of 15. Such people do not usually contribute to household income, and are normally classified as dependents when calculating dependency ratios. Although in wholly rural areas, such as the one surveyed in Nkandla, one might be justified in including women amongst dependents (in that virtually no opportunities for them to make a financial contribution to the household exist), in this survey of the women in the 15-59 age group 33% were employed in wage labour, 23.7% involved in small business, 31.6% involved in domestic duties and 8.9% unemployed. 62% of households had a woman at home involved in household chores, but one third of these were involved in some small business activity as well. Women are clearly being drawn into the market economy around Sundumbili - only 31.6% were making no financial contribution to household income - and 38% of households had no women resident at home involved in domestic chores, even on a part-time basis. In Nkandla only the house of a single divorced male was without a woman involved in domestic chores.

The majority of dependents were in fact scholars. 17.7% of the population surveyed were preschool children, 31.9% scholars and 2.1% children between the ages of 7 and 16 who were neither at school nor employed.

2.5 Employment

94% of households had at least one member in employment, and the average number per household was 2.1. Only 22.5% of households had a member who had migrated out of the area to obtain employment - here significantly more traditional households (41.7%) than township households (7.8%) did. 4.4% of those surveyed were out-migrants. 17% of households had unemployed members. Here again the figures for traditional households were higher than those for township households (29.2% : 11.7%). Very few people found any casual employment - none in the township, but half the households had members who were self-employed or involved in some small business activity.

2.6 Pensions

11% of households contained persons who considered themselves retired although 12% of households contained persons who were actually of pensionable age. There were 23 people of pensionable age covered by the survey - i.e. 18 women over 59 years of age and 5 men over 64 years of age. They constituted 2.9% of the total population. 15 (65%) of them were in receipt of pensions - 14 government pensions and 1 private pension - so that 1.8% of the population were pensioners.

Table 3 below shows the distribution of pensioners and those of pensionable age among the various types of household.

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF PENSIONERS

Type of Household	N	% Households with pensioner	% Households with person of pensionable age but no pension
Total Survey	102	12%	7%
Township	51	6%	2%
Peri-urban	51	18%	14%
Longtime peri-urban	24	29%	17%

All respondents stated that they expected to receive pensions in their old age. 78% mentioned government pensions, 11% private pensions and another 11% a combination of government and private pensions. This expectation was also reflected in the answers to the question at what age respondents thought they would retire - the vast majority answering at 60 or 65 years of age, indicating a connection between retirement and becoming pensionable. When asked how they would support themselves on retirement, 70% indicated they would rely on some form of pension - in most cases the pension alone, but in some cases they indicated they would rely on support from their children as well. 27% indicated they would rely on their children or families and a small number said they intended starting private businesses. One respondent indicated his intention to go into an old age home.

At the time of the survey the government pension was R40-00 per month and it was paid out bi-monthly. In order to obtain a pension a person has to apply through the KwaZulu magistrate based in Eshowe 50 kms away, unless he has all the necessary documentation at hand and manages to complete all formalities on the pension officer's single annual visit to Sundumbili in February. Once the formalities have been completed and the pension granted, the pensioner can collect his money from one of the pay points in the area. (The same procedure would have to be followed to obtain a disability grant - three such grants were received by people covered by the survey.)

2.7 Migrancy

35 persons who migrated out of the area to obtain employment were enumerated in the survey - 10 females and 25 males. They constituted 4.4% of the individuals surveyed and 16% of those in employment. Only 3 came from urban households. Those from peri-urban households were equally distributed amongst the newer and older peri-urban homes.

The average age of out-migrants was 32 and ranged from 19 to 65. 50% were under 28 years of age and 80% under 40.

On average they had spent 7 years at school. Only 14% had had no education at all as compared with 29% of all those surveyed aged 20 or older. There appeared to be some connection between the salary earned by migrants and the number of years of education they had had. At the extremes the incomes of a migrant with 5 years schooling averaged R600

per annum and that of a migrant with 12 years schooling R5 552 per annum.

69% of the out-migrants were unmarried and 34% of them were heads of households. 60% were employed in Durban, 26% on the north coast or in Zululand, 8.6% in Pietermaritzburg and 5.7% in the Transvaal.

2.8 Dependent Members

30% of households had dependents elsewhere, and 27.5% members of their nuclear family elsewhere. Basically, these people were dependant on township households, 57% of which had such absentee dependents. No traditional residents had dependents elsewhere. The number of absentee dependents per household ranged from 2 to 19.

2.9 Lodgers

10% of households had lodgers - the number per household ranging from 1 to 9. No traditional households had lodgers. 2.9% of those surveyed were lodgers.

2.10 Migrants into the Area

In the township 13.7% of households consisted of groups of independent persons - one of whom leased the house. There was no question of these people forming a household. In other households lodgers might or might not have formed part of the household. With the exception of the SAPPI Single Quarters, where 150 batchelors are accomodated, there is

no non-family accommodation in the area. As there is a serious shortage of family accommodation, it is not clear whether those who have left their families behind have done so by choice or because there is no accommodation for them. It is therefore not clear whether, if family accommodation were available, single accommodation would be required - few of these people, in fact, being bachelors.

2.11 Household Heads

Table 4 below which groups household heads according to sex, marital status and workplace reflects the social changes taking place in the area surveyed and the economic forces at work. The marked differences between township and traditional households show clearly how these forces do not affect all equally.

TABLE 4
HOUSEHOLD HEADS

	Total Sample	Township	Traditional
Married Men	61.0	72.5	45.8
Migrants (out of area)	10.8	2.0	20.8
Migrants (into area)	7.0	13.7	0.0
Single, absent or divorced males	4.5	2.0	8.3
Widowed females	9.8	5.8	16.7
Divorced or separated females	2.0	2.0	4.2
Single females	4.9	2.0	4.2
N	102	51	24

2.12 Marriage

27% of the people surveyed were married, widowed or divorced and the balance single.

There were 96 married men whose ages ranged from 24 to 96. They represent 67% of the males over 25. Of the married men, 7 had more than one wife which means that 3% of males were polygamous and 7% of marriages were polygamous.

2.13 Sex and age ratios

The total population surveyed (792 people) consisted of 48% men and 52% women. (See Table 5.) Women constitute 71% of the population over 60 years of age. 14.4% of the population is under 5 years of age, 30% of the population is under 11 years of age, and half of the population is under 19 years of age. Three quarters of the population is under 32 years of age, and 90% under 46. Only 3.3% of the population is over 60 and of the township dwellers only 1.4% is over 60. The presence or absence of migrant workers does not have a significant effect upon the age and sex structure of the community - migrants constituting only 4.4% of the population.

Table 6 below compares the population surveyed with the total Zulu population of South Africa as reflected in the 1980 Census. It shows that the structure of the surveyed population is remarkably similar to that of the total Zulu population, despite the fact that the community surveyed was not a stable one in that most of its members were recent settlers and not born in the area.

TABLE 5
AGE AND SEX

Age Group	Number in Category	Male % Category	Female % Category	Percentage in category and below
0 - 4	114	54,4	45,6	14,4
5 - 9	106	50,0	50,0	27,8
10 - 14	100	43,0	57,0	40,4
15 - 19	102	46,1	53,9	53,3
20 - 24	84	38,1	61,9	63,9
25 - 29	70	57,1	42,9	72,7
30 - 34	52	42,3	57,7	79,3
35 - 39	26	46,2	53,8	82,6
40 - 44	48	58,3	41,7	88,7
45 - 49	28	60,7	39,3	92,2
50 - 54	17	64,7	35,3	94,3
55 - 59	19	26,3	73,7	96,7
60 - 64	12	25,0	75,0	98,2
65+	14	35,7	64,3	100,0
Total	792	48,0	52,0	100,0

TABLE 6
SELECTED STATISTICAL COMPARISONS
BETWEEN SURVEYED POPULATION AND ZULU POPULATION¹

	Survey	Zulu Population
Male/female ratio	48% : 52%	48.51% : 51.49%
Female percentage of pop. over 65 years	64.0%	62.88%
Population under 5 years	14.4%	16.16%
Population under 10 years	27.8%	31.53%
Population under 20 years	53.3%	54.00%

1. Figures taken from 1980 Census.

3.0 ADULTS' OCCUPATIONS

3.1 Introduction

Throughout this section which deals with the occupations of all the adults surveyed, we refer only to those persons between the ages of 16 and 60. 13,0% of this group are in fact scholars, but as some are employed as young as 15 and some scholars are as old as 27, a degree overlap between scholars and others is therefore unavoidable.

Table 7 below gives a breakdown of occupations for the 17 - 59 age group by sex.

TABLE 7
OCCUPATIONS OF 17 - 59 AGE GROUP

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Scholar	12.0	13.9	13.0
Employed (Full time)	74.5	33.0	52.5
Small Business	1.0	9.4	5.4
Domestic and agricultural duties	.5	20.4	11.1
Domestic duties plus small business	.0	11.6	6.2
Retired	.5	.9	.7
Unemployed	11.5	10.8	11.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0

The occupations referred to above are full time occupations. In addition 1% of the group obtained casual employment from time to time and 3% were involved in small business on a part-time basis - half of the latter were employed and half unemployed.

3.2 Occupations of the Elderly

Of the persons surveyed who were over 59 years of age, (26 people in all) 4 were in wage employment, 2 involved in small business enterprises, 8 in domestic or agricultural duties, 1 in domestic duties and small business activity and eleven retired.

3.3 Small Business Activity

Of those 69 individuals involved in small business, most were engaged in the sale of foodstuffs (38%). The next largest group (25%) sold clothes which they had bought wholesale as opposed to the 15% who sold clothes they had sewn, knitted or crocheted themselves. 10% were cane farmers, 7% sold beer, 6% were faith healers and one had a taxi business¹. Only three persons involved in indigenous craftwork (in this case mat making) were encountered in the survey.

3.3.1 Licencing regulations

Persons wishing to operate businesses in the township are required to have a licence. The procedure for obtaining a licence appeared from discussions with the Town Superintendant and Mayor to be as follows. Applications for licences are made to the magistrate. The KwaZulu

1. The total sums to more than 100% as a number of respondents conducted more than one type of business.

Development Corporation then investigates the need and desirability for the particular business and the availability of suitable premises. Thereafter, the KwaZulu Development Corporation refers its recommendations to the Town Council which invariably accepts them. Finally, if the recommendation is favourable, the licence is granted by the Minister of the Interior in Ulundi.¹

There is a fresh produce market in the centre of Sundumbili. Persons operating from the market are required to have a licence. Street hawkers should also have licences, but at present the administration turns a blind eye to their activities.

Recently the KwaZulu Development Corporation erected some flatlets for light industry adjoining the shopping centre. These small premises should prove to be invaluable to those whose businesses are sufficiently established to meet rental costs etc. and who need access to electricity and greater space. It would, however, be unfortunate if the growth of other businesses was restricted through the insistence on formal licencing and operation from approved premises from the start.

Although the above licencing laws do not apply outside the township, according to Chief Mathonsi the activities of peri-urban dwellers have been severely restricted by a KwaZulu Development Corporation ruling that no small business activity may be conducted within 3,5 km of the

1. Since 1984 the KwaZulu Development Corporation has not been involved in licence applications apart from doing viability studies for liquor outlets.

township. Chief Mathonsi stated this ruling had prevented his erecting a market close to a local supermarket where his people could sell fruit, vegetables, clothes and handwork. He said they greatly resented the restrictions placed upon their activities upon land which was subject to the control of the tribal authority, not the township. He felt it was unfair that the local population who have had to relinquish claims to land for township and industrial development were prevented from taking advantage of the resultant population influx.

The KwaZulu Development Corporation has not in fact made such a ruling but there is clearly uncertainty as to who controls the land surrounding the township - land which was of course previously part of Mathonsi ward. Although the administration of the area is the responsibility of Ulundi, all important decisions as to planning and development require the approval of Pretoria. All applications to initiate development in this "no mans land" have indeed been rejected but the grounds for their rejection are not clear and none of the officials involved in the administration of the area who we consulted was entirely clear as to which authority ultimately controls the land.

3.4 Wage Employment

214 people, 52.5% of the adults surveyed (74.5% of the men and 33% of the women) were in wage employment. 16% of those in such employment were migrants out of the area - the balance were all employed locally. Table 16 which illustrates sources of cash contributions to household

income shows that 74.5% of such income consists of locally earned salaries and only 4.2% of migrants remittances. Wage employment occupies just over half the adults in the community and provides over three-quarters of their income. It thus has great economic and social significance to the community surveyed. In the following sections we discuss work type, current wage employment, job availability, job seeking and the labour bureau, and unemployment.

3.4.1 Work type

Of those currently employed 72% are in the manufacturing sector and 18% in service industries. Only one person was employed in agriculture. The vast majority of wage employees were labourers - 62.5%. 3% were professionals, 8% skilled and 21% semi-skilled.

3.4.2 Current wage employment

The survey covered 218 people in wage employment. Of these, 74 were females and 144 males. This 2 to 1 sexual breakdown is probably a fair reflection of employment patterns in the area as a whole, although in the factories at Isithebe 43% of black employees at the time of the survey were female. A number of the industrialists interviewed (including the social worker) remarked on the tendency of Isithebe factories to employ more women than are usually found in industrial employment. Some ascribed this practice to the fact that women would work for lower wages and were more likely to accept temporary employment (which they said would make them ineligible for trade union membership) It should however, be pointed out that there are a number

of clothing and textile factories at Isithebe and such factories traditionally tend to employ women.

The ages of those employed ranged from 15 -65, but 50% were 30 years or younger and 90% 45 years or younger. Salaries tended to peak for the 45 - 49 year age group. There were marked differences between the salaries paid to men and women. The average salary for men was R3 284.33 per annum and the median salary R3 000 per annum, whereas the comparative figures for women were R1 224-42 and R1 091-36 per annum.

The number of years spent at school by those in wage employment ranged from 0 - 12 years and averaged 6.5 years. There was no consistent relationship between salaries and education. A number of employers pointed out that as long as education was not available to all and standards of education were so unequal, it was unlikely that salaries would reflect educational levels. They stated that their salaries related to ability and performance neither of which could be judged from educational levels in a community where only 38% of those above the age of 19 have gone beyond Standard 5 and 17.8% have had no schooling at all.

The average salary earned by those employed in the area differed little from the salaries earned by migrants out of the area as Table 8 below indicates. The sexes and ages of migrants as a group were very similar to those of all in wage employment.

TABLE 3
LEVELS OF REMUNERATION OF THOSE EMPLOYED

Group	Average Salary (rands) p.a.	Median Salary (rands) p.a.	Number
All employed	2 587,45	2 079,40	218
Males employed	3 284,33	3 000,00	144
Females employed	1 224,42	1 091,36	74
Migrants	2 872,00	1 820,00	35
Male migrants	3 677,77	3 068,60	25
Female migrants	1 059,00	1 020,00	10

Despite the fact that the salaries of out-migrants were similar to those of persons employed locally, we will see later that incomes per capita in households where there are out-migrants are significantly lower than the average income per capita of those surveyed. Part of the reason for this is of course that the average migrant remits only a small proportion of his salary to the household he has left. Thus in terms of salary earned migrancy (as opposed to local employment) does not appear to be to the advantage of the individual and in terms of incomes per capita it certainly does not appear to be to the advantage of the migrants household. The migrant himself does of course achieve a significantly higher level of income by living apart from his family and remitting only a small part of his income. It was not possible to establish whether migrants were only working out of the area because they had been unable to obtain employment locally, or whether they were traditionally migrants or migrants by choice.

Despite the fact that migrants salaries are not significantly higher than those earned locally, a number of respondents stated that salaries at Isithebe were very low and that they would prefer

employment elsewhere, and for this reason hoped their children would obtain employment elsewhere.

Respondents were asked where possible to give their salary 3 and 10 years ago and similarly, to describe their terms of employment 3 and 10 years ago. This information enabled us to compare conditions and salaries today with those of three and 10 years ago. Table 9 below gives the median and average monthly salaries so obtained.

TABLE 9
MONTHLY SALARIES - TODAY, 3 YEARS AGO AND 10 YEARS AGO

	Today	3 years ago	10 years ago
Median Salary	R 234,00	R 160,01	R 60,00
Average Salary	R 262,22	R 179,01	R 96,04

We subsequently calculated the salaries in real terms by using the consumer price index with 1975 the base year. The following table results.

TABLE 10
REAL MONTHLY SALARIES - TODAY, 3 YEARS AGO AND 10 YEARS AGO

	Today	3 years ago	10 years ago
Median Salary	95,04	103,42	83,21
Average Salary	106,50	115,26	113,20

Despite the fact that real salaries have risen little if at all over the last 10 years, and that certain respondents expressed the view that salaries were lower in Isithebe than elsewhere, no one mentioned a low salary or inadequate income when asked what caused him greatest dissatisfaction. The fact that some respondents mentioned local employment opportunities as the chief benefit of living in the area may indicate that at this stage people are still grateful for the creation of local employment opportunities where there were previously none and are more concerned with establishing themselves in the area by obtaining a home etc. than with the level of salaries.¹

3.4.3 Job availability.

27% of respondents considered that employment was easily found in the area - 8% mentioning that the reason why they personally would find employment easily was that they had a qualification (whether a university degree or a licence) or experience.

The balance (73%) considered it difficult to obtain employment. 30% stated simply that there were far more job seekers than jobs available. 6% attributed the difficulty to the job seekers' lack of training. Others stated that jobs were restricted to locals or people known to the indunas at the factories. The legal difficulties of obtaining employment and the problems of old age were also mentioned.

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1. The social worker, however, saw the "very low wages" in the area as a cause of many social ills. She felt there was a definite need for minimum wage legislation, particularly as industrialists were attracted to the area by the knowledge that wages were low and were in fact encouraged by the government subsidization system to pay low salaries. (Industrialists are offered a 95% wage rebate on salaries of up to R105 per month.) She cited cases where a married man was paid R15 per week and said that in no circumstances would this be considered an adequate wage.

Respondents and individuals interviewed were divided as to whether jobs at Isithebe were restricted to locals or not. It would seem that the confusion arises from the procedure to be followed by persons from "other areas", who wish to find employment at Isithebe.

The Labour Officer confirmed that only people from KwaZulu were allowed to seek work in Isithebe. A work seeker from any other magisterial district in Kwa Zulu must first register at the Labour Bureau in his home area before he is able to accept employment in Isithebe. However, once someone has registered with the township superintendant as a township resident, or has a letter of authority from Chief Mathonsi, he would be considered a "local" and would not need to register in his area of origin.

In the township superintendant's view, there were no restrictions on whom might be employed at Isithebe. He did feel, however, that locals might get preference. The Mayor considered that the requirement that people should register at the Labour Office in their "own area" placed great difficulties in the way of outsiders wishing to find employment. In a situation of labour surplus such a person might well find that "his job" had been given to a local, while he was returning to register at "his labour bureau".

Various industrialists felt this procedure had been adopted so that "pressure" could be applied to prevent an undue influx of people into the area. It seems ironic that legislation which was designed to control the influx of workers into urban areas should be applied to

control the influx of persons into a decentralized area which was specifically created to reduce the influx into urban areas.

3.4.4 Job Seeking and the Labour Bureau

78% of respondents stated that jobs were found by going from factory to factory, some adding that one needed to be known at the factory or that bribes were necessary. 6% said they made use of written applications and 18% said jobs were found through registration at the Labour Bureau.

When specifically asked, 24% of respondents stated that there was no labour bureau in the area or that it was unknown to them. 58% stated that the labour bureau "wasted time" and wasn't used by employers. 17% stated that the labour bureau did usually help an applicant find employment.

3.5 Unemployment

17% of the households surveyed had members who were unemployed. There were significantly more traditional households (29.2%) than urban (12%) or peri-urban (22%) with such members.

Overall 11.1% of the population in the 17 - 59 age group were unemployed - 11.5% of the males and 10.8% of the females. No doubt the figure for women should be higher as some of the 32% of women who described themselves as engaged in domestic duties, 11.6% of whom were also involved in some part-time small business activity, are certain

to have in fact been unemployed just as many of those who described themselves as involved in small business were underemployed.

All the individuals interviewed saw unemployment in a serious light, but differed in opinion as to which section of the community was most affected and as to whether the situation was improving or deteriorating.

Of those actually surveyed over 70% of the unemployed were 26 or younger, where as only 42% of the 17 - 59 age group were 26 or younger. This tends to confirm that the newer younger worker is more likely to be unemployed than the older more experienced worker.

CHAPTER III

INCOME LEVELS, DISTRIBUTION AND SOURCES

1.0 INCOME LEVELS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

Obtaining estimates of income levels is always problematic. Non wage incomes and those of extended families pose particular difficulties. In respect of non wage earnings, one has the problem of identifying and valuing output. With respect to the extended family, the difficulties arise from the fact that the person or people actually interviewed may not be fully informed as to the financial situation of all members of the household. Consequently, one must treat the estimates presented in this section with some caution as they fall into the category of 'soft estimates' rather than 'hard data'.¹

Bearing these difficulties in mind, the estimates of incomes obtained from the sample survey show that in general living levels were low in Sundumbili but nevertheless considerably above those in the rural areas surrounding it. Incomes were unequally distributed with the poorest 10 percent of households receiving 2 percent of the total income and the wealthiest 10 percent, 28 percent of the income.

1.1 Household Income

Household income levels, their range and distribution, are given in Table 11 below. Household incomes ranged from a low of R610 to a high

1. See Appendix A re method of establishing incomes per capita.

of R19 200 which suggests, that unless there is a strong positive relationship between household income and household size, there is a significant degree of both poverty and income inequality in the area. Half of all the households surveyed earned less than R3 986 per annum. The wealthiest 10 percent earned more than R9 725 and the poorest 10 percent less than R1 308 per annum.

More than a quarter of the total income earned (27,5%), accrued to the wealthiest 10 percent of the households, whilst at the other end of the scale the poorest 30% of households received less than 10% of the total income.

TABLE 11

HOUSEHOLD INCOMES

Decile (10%)	Annual Income (Rands)	Percent of Households in Category or below	Percent of Total Income	Cumulative Share of Community Income
1	610 - 1 308	9,8	1,7	1,7
2	1 309 - 2 076	19,6	3,4	5,1
3	2 077 - 2 592	29,4	4,8	9,9
4	2 593 - 3 120	39,2	5,6	15,5
5	3 121 - 3 890	49,0	7,1	22,6
6	3 891 - 4 360	59,8	9,0	31,6
7	4 361 - 5 360	69,6	9,4	41,0
8	5 361 - 7 564	79,4	13,1	54,1
9	7 565 - 9 724	90,2	18,4	72,5
10	9 725 - 19 200	100,0	27,5	100,0
100%=102 households				

In order to obtain some idea of the differences in the living standards enjoyed by members of the household, household incomes have to be adjusted to take account of the size and age distribution of the household itself. Because it was impossible to estimate 'adult equivalents' for the children in the survey, due to a total lack of information relating to household expenditure patterns on the different age groups, we have adjusted household incomes in terms of household size only. Table 12 shows the distribution of households by household per capita incomes that was obtained from this adjustment.

The data in the table confirm the view that not only does poverty persist but also incomes are unequally distributed in Sundumbili and the surrounding survey areas. Household incomes per head ranged from a low of R102 per annum to a high of R5 376 - an income differential between the wealthiest and poorest households of 1 : 53!

Half of the households surveyed had yearly per capita incomes of less than R600 and three quarters incomes of less than R980. Indeed only the wealthiest 4 percent of the households sampled had annual per capita incomes of over R2001.

If one compares the median household income per capita in this survey of R600 with that for the survey undertaken in the rural area of Nkandla,¹ which was R144 per annum, it is clear that even though income levels may not on average be high in Sundumbili, they are considerably above those in the surrounding rural areas.

1. Poverty and Development in a Rural Community in KwaZulu.

TABLE 12
HOUSEHOLD PER CAPITA INCOMES IN SUNDUMBILI

Per Capita Income (Rands)	Number of Households	Percentage in Category	Cumulative Percentage
102 - 250	16	15,7	15,7
251 - 450	17	16,7	32,4
451 - 599	18	17,6	50,0
600 - 697	15	14,7	64,7
698 - 982	11	10,8	75,5
983 - 1 414	12	11,8	87,3
1 415 - 2 001	6	5,9	93,2
2 002 - 2 872	3	2,9	96,1
2 873 - 4 077	1	1,0	97,1
4 078 - 4 862	2	1,9	99,0
5 376	1	1,0	100,0
	n = 102		

Not only was the median per capita household income four times higher than in Nkandla but there also appeared to be less abject poverty. Whereas no one in this area had an annual income of less than R100 and only 16% of less than R250, 30 percent of the households surveyed in Nkandla had per capita incomes of below R100 and 97 percent incomes of below R450.

1.2 Household Structures and Incomes Per Capita

Both the structure of the household and its location were contributors to its ultimate position in the income hierarchy. Table 13 gives average and median incomes per capita for the different household structures and locations that were encountered during the survey. We can draw the following conclusions from the data given in Table 13.

TABLE 13

ANNUAL INCOMES PER CAPITA

	Sample	Average (rand)	Median (rand)	Household size
N = 102	Total survey	874,26	599,50	7.18
	Heads			
N = 65	Resident Males*	755,06	615,00	7.9
N = 11	Migrants Out #	312,63	250,00	7.5
N = 7	Migrants In +	3 528,49	4 077,00	2.2
N = 19	Females **	619,26	576,00	6.7
	Location of Homestead			
N = 51	Township	1 162,31	655,00	6.6
N = 51	Peri-urban	586,21	520,00	7.7
N = 24	Longtime peri-urban	581,33	519,00	8.7
	Household Size			
N =	Houses with more than 10 members	612,96	424,00	12.7
	Migrancy			
N = 79	No migrants	983,00	634,00	
N = 23	With migrants	500,13	331,00	8.7
	Pensions			
N = 9	Including Pension	603,81	528,00	9.0
N = 9	Excluding Pension	512,00	468,00	9.0

* Of these men 62 were married, 2 single and 1 divorced.

Migrant out - heads who have left the area to work.

+ Heads who are temporarily resident in the area in order to work.

** 10 widows, 5 single women, 2 divorced, 1 separated, 2 households where male head is absent.

1. By far the poorest group of households were those headed by a person who was a migrant out of the area. They had incomes which were only 36% of the average. The second poorest group were those households which had one or more members who were such migrants - their incomes were only slightly more than 50% of the average of households without migrants. These households with migrants generally were the larger peri-urban households which had lower than average incomes anyway (see below) and the fact that migrants on average remitted only 22% of their salaries, lowered incomes per capita even further. What was not clear was why these people were migrants - whether by choice or because they were unable to find employment locally. Their salaries were not significantly different from local salaries, nor were their educational levels significantly different from those of the locally employed.

As far as the majority of dependents are concerned, where the household head has a choice, employment out of the area will be least advantageous to them - regardless of the fact that the migrant himself may achieve a high level of income in his place of employment.

2. The next poorest group of households were the peri-urban households closely followed by the households with more than ten members. We have seen that location and household size were closely linked as were location and access to educational and employment opportunities. Almost all out-migrants came from peri-urban households.

3. Characteristics of the household head, apart from whether he was a migrant or not, did not appear to affect incomes per capita. Female headed households did not have incomes per capita significantly below average.
4. Although the incomes of households containing pensioners were below the average, this was not significant. 66% of pensioners were from the peri-urban area where incomes were in general lower and the relative lack of importance of pensions as a source of income is indicated by the fact that incomes only fall 13% when pension payments are not included in household income for the purpose of calculating incomes per capita.
5. Far out on top of the distribution, were households headed by migrants into the area. Their incomes were ten times those of households headed by migrants out of the area. Many of the migrants to the area had none or only a few members of their nuclear family living with them in the survey area. As they remitted on average only 22% of their salary to their 'other home', they (or they plus part only of the nuclear family) managed to achieve what were, relatively speaking, very high levels of income. There is of course the possibility that the migrants apparent income included savings and delayed remittances although fieldworkers when questioning migrants into the area about remittances, specifically mentioned amounts they might take home on leave in addition to sums remitted regularly throughout the year.

1.3 Household Size and Incomes per Capita

There was no clear relationship between household size and household per capita incomes. The relevant data is given in Table 14. Notwithstanding the absence of a one to one relationship between household size and income levels, the chance of enjoying one of the higher levels of income per head in the area was significantly greater if one was a member of a household of less than 10 members. Conversely, the chance of being amongst the poorest people was considerably greater if one was a member of a household that had 10 or more members. The two highest median incomes per capita were in the groups of smallest households (1 or 2 members) and the lowest was in the group with 12 members.

TABLE 14
INCOMES PER CAPITA BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE (EXCLUDING MIGRANTS)

Household Size	Median Incomes per capita	Number of Households
1	3 818	4
2	2 300	3
3	900	5
4	594	12
5	659	10
6	607	15
7	556	11
8	528	13
9	567	8
10	213	6
11	550	6
12	112	2
13	631	3
14	772	1
16	816	1
23	321	1
25	235	1

1.4 Number of Workers per Household and Incomes Per Capita

Table 15 below relates income per capita to the number of persons in a household in wage employment.

TABLE 15

INCOMES AND WAGE EMPLOYMENT

Number employed in household	Median income per capita	N
0	R 237	6
1	R 528	35
2	R 612	26
3	R 644	24
4	R 798	6
5	R 1 492	2
7	R 278	2
9	R 1 358	1
		102

Incomes per capita appeared to increase in response to the number employed in a household with the exception of the two households with 7 persons employed. These households had 23 and 25 members respectively - over 300% more than the average household and this most probably accounted for the low incomes per capita.

2.0 CASH CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Table 16 below indicates the overwhelming importance of local wage employment as a source of income. Small business income was however also significant and appeared to have potential for considerable growth. Migrants remittances were an insignificant source of income in this area, as were pensions.

TABLE 16
SOURCES OF CASH CONTRIBUTIONS TO TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOMES

Source	Amount (Rands)	Percentage of Total Amount
Migrants' remittances	22 188	4.2
Pensions, disability and maintenance grants	14 488	2.7
Casual Earnings	2 060	.4
Rental	1 872	.3
Small Business	95 288	17.9
Locally earned Salaries	397 659	74.5

2.1 Contributors

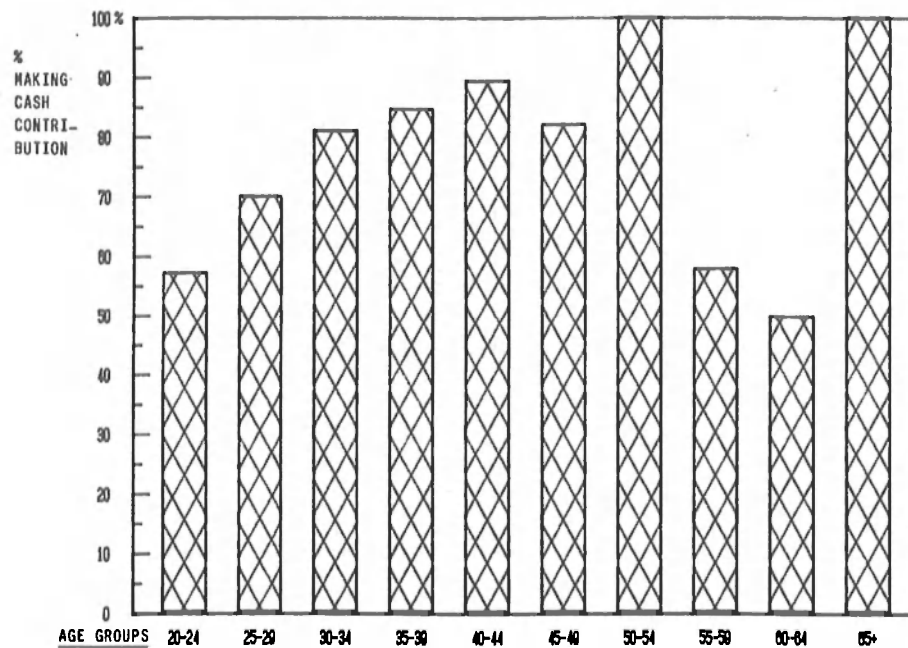
303 persons or 38.3% of the population surveyed made some cash contribution to their household.

2.1.1 Age of contributors

As can be seen from the figure below the percentage of persons contributing rose sharply from the age of 20 onwards with 100% of those in

the 50 - 54 age group contributing. Thereafter the percentage of those contributing fell away dramatically before returning equally dramatically to 100% for the 65 plus age group - when, of course, all could be in receipt of pensions. 81% of those contributing nothing were under the age of 20.

FIGURE 1. AGE OF CONTRIBUTORS TO HOUSEHOLD INCOME



2.1.2 Sex of contributors

Of the 303 contributors, 159 were males and 144 females.

2.1.3 Occupation of contributors

The majority of contributors were those in wage employment. Of 218 persons, 74 were females and 144 males. 34% of the 218 were migrants out of the area. 9 of the 57 unemployed persons made a contribution - mostly in the form of earnings from some small business operation, but one was rent and another a contribution from casual earnings.

15 contributors were pensioners - 14 receiving government pensions and one a private pension.

3 contributors were in receipt of disability grants (one a government disability pension and the other two pensions from private employers) and another 3 of maintenance grants.

Outside of the employed, pensioners, the disabled and maintained children, 82% of contributors were female and the majority of them made their contribution in the form of earnings from small business activity.

2.2 Levels of Contribution

2.2.1 Average levels

The average cash contribution to household income of all surveyed was R667,22 per annum and of those actually contributing, R1 744,04. 50% contributed R1 051 or less and 90% R4 020 or less.

2.2.2 Levels and Sex

The average male contributor contributed R2 454-16 per annum and the average female R959-95 per annum.

2.2.3 Levels and Migrancy

Migrants constituted 4,4% of the community surveyed and contributed 4,2% of total cash income. Table 17 below gives the percentage and amount of salary contributed by various categories of migrant.

The average contribution of all migrants was R636-80 per annum and of those actually contributing R718-96 per annum - well below the average (R1 744-04 per annum) of all contributors surveyed. It is to be expected that a migrant's contribution would be lower than that of a wage earner living at home, but the significance of the difference is increased by the fact that the average local contribution refers also to those of pensioners, casual employees, scholars with vacation employment and housewives who sell the odd items they make.

TABLE 17
MIGRANTS SALARIES AND REMITTANCES

Category	Percentage of Salary remitted	Average Annual Remittance	Median Annual Remittance
All migrants	22%	R636,80	R599,00
Male migrants*	22%	R814,66	R720,00
Female migrants	33%	R422,22	R480,00

* Whereas all female migrants remitted, only 84% of male migrants did. All the males who did not remit were unmarried. Those male migrants who did remit, remitted 24% of their salaries. It is interesting to note that migrants into the area remitted 21,8% of their salaries to their family at their 'other home'. (See Appendix C.)

2.2.4 Levels and age

From the 15 - 19 age group when individuals start contributing in large numbers, the amount contributed rose steadily to the 50 - 54 age group where it began to fall off. Female contribution levels showed another sharp increase at pension age (despite the fact that only 61% of those of pensionable age were receiving pensions), but male incomes continue to decline.

Only two persons of pensionable age made any contribution to household income from sources other than their pension - one was a woman who did not in fact receive a pension, but contributed R60-00 per annum and one a man who contributed R288 per annum apart from his pension.

The average contribution of those of pensionable age (whether or not they were pensioners) was R502,95 per annum and of those actually contributing, R723 per annum. Both these figures are well below those for the survey as a whole (R667,22 per annum and R1 744,04 per annum respectively).

The receipt of a pension did not (except when women were considered separately) result in the pensionable age group making a higher average contribution than the pre-pensionable age group as is frequently the case, particularly in rural areas where wage employment tends to be unobtainable locally. The average contribution of the 55 - 59 group among those surveyed was R1105,79 per annum and that of the

65 plus age group R753,43 per annum.

Pensioners who constituted 1,8% of the community surveyed contributed 2,3% of the cash income. Thus per capita they made a larger contribution to household income than did migrants.

2.2.5 Levels of contribution of heads of households

The contributions of household heads were similar to those of all contributors except in the 25 - 29 age group, where they were significantly higher than those of the balance of the age group. Most lodgers fell within this age group and as only their rental, not their full salary, was added to household income this would have had the effect of reducing the contribution of the 25 - 29 age group as a whole. The majority of non-contributing migrants, all of whom were unmarried, also fell into this age group, further lowering the average contribution.

2.2.6 Levels of contribution from small businessmen

Table 18 below lists the various type of small business activity encountered in the survey, the percentage of households involved in a particular activity, the number of individuals involved, the average annual income per individual from the business and the range of incomes earned from a particular activity. Finally, it gives the percentage of total income from small business contributed by each activity.

TABLE 18

SMALL BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

Type of Activity	Percentage Households with Member in Activity	Number Involved in Activity	Average Individual Earnings Per Annum (Rands)	Range of Individual Earnings Per Annum (Rands)	% of Total Small Business Income
Food, Vege. & Fruit Sales	29	31	1 336	5 - 19 200	42,5
Clothes Sales	16	15	1 375	60 - 4 160	21,0
Sugar Cane	7	7	2 728	800 - 8005	19,6
Knitting, Sewing, etc.	10	10	594	280 - 3900	6,0
Traditional Healing	4	4	673	200 - 1560	3,0
Traditional Craft	3	3	65	36 - 120	,2
Taxi	1	1	3 640	3 640	3,7
Miscellaneous	3	3	1 364	132 - 2500	4,0
		n=69			100,0

The table indicates that two thirds of small business income has derived from informal retailing as all of the food, vegetables and clothing mentioned under the first two categories above were specifically purchased for resale and not produced by the seller. Half of the income from food, vegetable and fruit sales was generated by one individual who travelled daily on the train selling foodstuffs.

The only significant income from locally produced produce was from sugar cane sales. In this way 7 individuals produced 21% of the total income from small business sources.

The median contribution from small businessmen was R576, with only 14% of such contributions being above R3 000 - the equivalent of the median male salary of those surveyed. 32% achieved an income equivalent to the mean female salary of R1 091. With a few exceptions a salaried job was a more reliable and more remunerative proposition. 41% of contributions from small business were less than R100 per annum. It should, however, be pointed out that only 35% of those making a contribution from a small business undertaking were doing so on a full time basis. The great majority of the balance were involved in domestic duties and conducted their small business on a part-time basis. A few were simultaneously employed, or had been, a couple were scholars and one was a pensioner. 83% of those contributing income from small business operations were women.

3.0 CONCLUSION

There is no evidence to suggest that 30 years ago access to basic needs and levels of income in the area surveyed differed significantly from those of any other rural area of Natal/KwaZulu. Today, however, incomes per capita are more comparable with those in urban rather than rural areas and access to basic needs - particularly employment opportunities - although uneven, has vastly improved. Local employment opportunities have wrought enormous changes in the lives of both the

local population and of those who have come into the area to take up employment.

There are, however, certain households who have not benefitted as much as others from the local development, those whose breadwinners, for example, have not, for whatever reason, been able to take advantage of local employment opportunities and whose incomes per capita are well below those of the rest of the community.

Apart from the permanently settled employees in the area, there are both migrants into and out of the area. A comparison of incomes per capita in the various households of the three different types of employee illustrates dramatically the relative advantages to the workers' families of migrant or homebased employment. The socially disruptive effects of migrancy are well documented. Here we have a demonstration of the unequal financial benefits received by the families of migrants and non-migrants, even where salaries are equivalent.

CHAPTER IV

QUALITY OF LIFE

1.0 ACCESS TO BASIC AMENITIES

This chapter is concerned with the access of the surveyed community to basic amenities. Particular attention is given to any changes in the degree of access to a particular amenity which have resulted from the industrial development at Isithebe.

2.0 LAND AND CATTLE

2.1 Land

Access to land among those surveyed was restricted (as might be expected) to peri-urban dwellers and even there was limited. 31% of peri-urban dwellers and 54% of the traditional residents had land.

Far larger numbers (72%) of peri-urban dwellers had vegetable gardens adjoining their homes, and 10% were members of community gardens. Many reported their gardens to be useless as they were unfenced, which resulted in all produce being destroyed by uncontrolled stock.¹ Others said they were useless as there was no water for irrigation. At the time the survey was conducted people might have been expected to have negative attitudes to unirrigated food production as the area had been

1. Uncontrolled stock were mentioned again in response to a question concerning the most serious difficulties experienced by respondents.

drought stricken for three years. Chief Mathonsi stated that, in his view, the only attraction of membership of a community garden was access to water. The community garden near his home was on the banks of the Tugela River.

All urban dwellers had space on their plots for a vegetable garden but few were observed to be growing vegetables. Although the township superintendant stated that all houses were fenced there were numerous complaints that the gardens were useless for vegetable-growing because they were unfenced.

Apart from those who were serious cane farmers, very little beneficial use appeared to be made of the land by those who had access to it. Continuing drought, an ever-increasing population, uncontrolled stock, poor soils and an absence of water for irrigation all militate against such use. Nevertheless, the fact that 5.9% of peri-urban dwellers mentioned the absence of markets as the cause of greatest dissatisfaction in their lives, indicates that there are those who are producing from the land, or at least wish to do so.¹

We mentioned, when considering the permanency of the population, that some peri-urban dwellers considered they might lose their home at any time as a result of industrial or township development. We see a similar insecurity with regard to land holding in the comments of 12% of the traditional residents, who mentioned the insecurity of land tenure as their greatest worry in life.²

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1. See also Chapter III section 3.3.1 on licencing regulations and markets.
 2. Responses to question concerning the greatest difficulties experienced by respondents.

2.2 Cattle and Livestock

Only 14% of the households surveyed had cattle. Among the owners was a solitary township resident. The average herd size was 6.2 head. No one claimed any cash income from cattle holding.

Many more households had poultry, though here again all respondents claimed that they were reared for domestic consumption only and no sales were reported. Overall 54% of households had poultry and 96% of the traditional households did.

There were no significant goat holdings.

3.0 WATER

The area surveyed receives approximately 1000mm rain per annum. It is bounded on one side by the Tugela River and is crossed by a number of small streams. Prior to the industrial development of the area water would have to be obtained from springs or streams and was in plentiful supply in relation to the population and its needs.

Today's population and its needs are significantly different. The increase in population density has led to the pollution of existing water supplies and indeed the survival of traditional supplies is threatened.

All township houses are supplied with running water and waterborne sewerage.

Outside of the township boundaries no one has piped water laid on at their homes, but there are a number of points from which piped water can be drawn. The reservoirs for the township are located in the hills above the town, and a large percentage of the peri-urban dwellers live between the reservoirs and the township. When the pipes were laid to the township four taps were installed at various points from which the peri-urban dwellers can draw water. There is also piped water at Chief Mathonsi's home, which is pumped up from the Tugela. All those in the immediate vicinity of his homestead are entitled to draw water from this source.

In the balance of Chief Mathonsi's ward, where the population is less dense, there are 8 boreholes. Although the traditional inhabitants there may have to walk further to the boreholes than the peri-urban dwellers do to the taps, they have more supply points per capita than the peri-urban population. The four taps and one pump in the area surveyed must be supplying, along with traditional sources, up to 1500 households.¹

All township houses had waterborne sewerage, but none of the dwellings outside the township boundaries are connected to the system. Peri-urban dwellers are left to dig their own pit latrines which most appear to have done. Only 2% admitted to "making use of the bush".

Only 10% of those surveyed in the peri-urban area obtained their water

1. The 1980 Census gave the population of Mathonsi's ward as 11 819.

from springs or streams - the balance all drew water from protected supplies - either the reservoirs, a tap, pump or borehole. This access to clean piped water is seen as a great benefit of living in the area. It was the only benefit mentioned spontaneously by a significant number of respondents (51%). More township dwellers (with their private in-house supply) mentioned it than did peri-urban dwellers, but both considered it the most important benefit of living in the area.

Owing to the nature of the system of water supply over half the respondents (including obviously all township dwellers) spend no time collecting water and only 2 spent longer than an hour on this task. Most of the time was spent queueing rather than walking to the supply point. The median time taken by those fetching water to the supply point and back was 25 minutes.

The beneficial effect of piped water was confirmed by the township doctor who attributed the low incidence of cholera in the area to the fact that almost all local residents made use of piped water even if they had to walk to collect it.

Despite their relatively ready access to water 37.3% of peri-urban dwellers mentioned access to water as the chief difficulty in their lives. They complained of the irregularity or absence of supply or the distance to the supply points. Traditional sources of supply are overstrained and polluted and the new industrial lifestyle does not leave sufficient time for walking to the supply point. The ready availability of water in the homes of those in the township also

serves for invidious comparison.

Respondents did not appear clear as to who had supplied the water currently available or who they thought should supply water for them in the future. Some stated "white firms" supplied the water - no doubt referring to the construction companies who built the reservoirs for the township and installed the odd tap on the supply pipes as they ran through the peri-urban area. Others stated the chief supplied water, but the majority considered the KwaZulu government the supplier. The position with regard to the provision of water in the peri-urban area is similar to that for the provision of education, health services, etc. The chief (or tribal authority) is in fact responsible for the development of all these facilities, but he has neither the funds, the know-how, nor a direct interest in doing so. The people who, on the whole, look to the government to supply these facilities, have neither a direct line of communication with the government, nor representatives who look to them for re-election, whom they could approach to take action.

4.0 FUEL

The majority of respondents used paraffin for cooking and lighting. 7% still relied solely upon wood and 17% used wood in conjunction with some other fuel. Small numbers made use of coal, gas or various waste materials from local industries. 12% had had their houses electrified.

It is only possible to become an electricity subscriber in certain

areas of the township as only small areas of the township have been electrified. According to the township superintendant 120 of the 1800 houses were electrified (6.6%). Subscribers have to pay a contractor plus/minus R800 to wire the house and then pay R57-80 as a connection fee and deposit. Thereafter they are charged for consumption in the normal way. The mayor of the township expressed the view that only 2% of houses had electricity. He felt that the cost of wiring a house - R1000 in his estimate - made electricity too expensive for the local community.

The fact that 25% of peri-urban respondents mentioned the shortage of firewood as a major cause of dissatisfaction indicates that a significantly higher percentage would have liked to make use of wood for fuel. However, as few could rely on wood as a fuel, few reported spending time fuel gathering.

Only 5% reported incurring no costs in connection with their fuel supply. The balance (95%) reported spending between R28 and R696 per annum, the median being R193 or R16 per month, chiefly on paraffin.

5.0 TRANSPORT

Access to transport in the Isithebe area is neither as economically nor as socially significant to the local population as it is to the population of a remote rural community where great distances have to be travelled to reach any facility or to the population of a large urban or industrial area where workers are housed so far from the

workplace that transport becomes essential. Although some industrial workers at Isithebe came from considerably further afield than those surveyed, none of the latter were more than 5 km as the crow flies from the workplace.

The patterns of transport use of the respondents are indicative of their lifestyle, the positions of their homes and the availability of services. The greatest number of transport users were shoppers - 24%¹ used transport to get to local shops and 28% to get to more distant shops in places such as Stanger. Only 21% of respondents used daily transport to get to work - indicative of the relative proximity of the industrial area to the residential area, workers' low income levels and possibly a shortage of buses. Certain complaints were made that there was inadequate transport to work and the township superintendant considered transport to the factories seriously inadequate. As we might expect, more periurban dwellers (16%) than township dwellers (2%) used transport to reach medical facilities and more township dwellers (20%) than peri-urban dwellers (8%) used transport to visit their families and take money "home".

More than 50% of respondents used transport weekly so that although transport is not yet a part of daily life, it plays a significant part in people's lives. Even if people do not use public transport to get to work daily, they do make use of it on a regular basis to shop, visit family etc. (In Nkandla only 6% of respondents used transport weekly.)

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1. All figures on transport use are based on the answers to questions in which the respondent was asked when last he used transport and where he was going. He was also asked how often he made use of transport.

The most popular form of transport was the bus (60%), followed by taxis (38%). Only 8% made use of private cars - not necessarily their own. Almost without exception, taxis were mini-buses and there are large numbers of them as would be expected in a community where only a tiny proportion of the community has private cars, where buses are relatively few in number and where many of the roads are unsuited to buses. Application of the Welgemoed Commission proposals to this area would have serious implications for the local community.

Transport facilities (or the lack thereof) were seldom mentioned - either as a benefit of living in the area, or as one of the chief problems. The closest that transport came to being an issue was in the complaints about untarred roads in the township, and they were mentioned not in connection with any transportation problems they might have given rise to, but in connection with the associated dust and living standards. Clearly, there is room for improving transport in the area, but it is not a matter of great concern to those living as close to the industrial area and the various social facilities as those surveyed were. Had we surveyed further afield, it would no doubt have been given more precedence.

As far as the economic life of the area is concerned, transport is in no way as limiting a factor as it is, for example, in Nkandla. People do not experience the same problems obtaining raw materials or disposing of their produce as they do in a remote rural area and nor is local development potential severely curtailed by the lack of access to the area.

The absence of transport in Nkandla was seen in a particularly harsh light in medical emergencies. However, it appears that the government ambulance services operates more efficiently and is more accessible to members of the general public in Nkandla than it is in Isithebe. Only 8.9% of the Isithebe respondents said they would use an ambulance in a medical emergency. 28.6% stated that in the absence of telephones there was no means of calling an ambulance, 19.6% that calling ambulances caused unnecessary delays, 17.9% that only the doctor, the clinic or a white person could call an ambulance, 8.9% that they were more expensive than private cars and 7.1% that they were based too far away. Chief Mathonsi stated that even if one could telephone for the ambulance, it would not come.

No doubt it is the ready availability of an alternative means of transport to hospital - in this case hired private cars - that has allowed the ambulance service to become almost irrelevant. If it were cheaper than private transport no doubt users would be prepared to wait or take more trouble to use an ambulance, but in general there is little difference between the costs of the two. Here, as in Nkandla, there seems a real need to develop a regular, cheap and efficient hospital transport system.

Transport as an issue can only increase in importance in the years ahead as more and more workers are drawn into the industrial area from further and further afield. They will be unable to walk to work daily, just as their dependants will be unable to walk to the schools, clinics and shops. Moreover, as living standards improve, those who are today prepared to walk will expect to be given the choice of travelling by bus etc. and others will expect the authorities to

develop the infrastructure necessary to enable them to drive their cars to their homes or at least make it possible for a taxi to reach their homes.

6.0 HEALTH FACILITIES

Medical facilities and health related topics were not often spontaneously mentioned by survey respondents. Although, when specifically questioned on this subject, people expressed certain criticisms and dissatisfaction (and occasionally satisfaction), these opinions were not sufficiently strongly held to emerge in general discussion. The nature of the medical facilities and the action generally taken by respondents in case of illness were established from answers to specific questions on the topic, and from interviews with the township doctor, clinic sister and other members of the community.

There is no hospital in the area, nor is there an ambulance based there. There is a clinic in the township and another has recently been established in the industrial area itself. There is one private doctor in Sundumbili and four doctors are based in nearby Mandini. Although Stanger hospital is 40 km away, because it offers a more comprehensive service and is easier to reach by public transport than the Salvation Army hospital at Amatikulu - 20 km away - it is preferred by the people of the area, and far more extensively used.

The clinic at Isithebe was only very recently established. It has two sisters and is intended to provide elementary health care for workers.

It is only open during working hours and as it caters specifically for employees and not their families, the private doctor and clinic sister stated it had hardly affected the number of patients they saw.

Apart from the Isithebe Clinic, certain industrial concerns provide medical cover of varying degrees for their employees through the local private practitioners. Generally only the employee and not his family is covered, and in some cases he is only covered during work hours. The employees of certain concerns are, however, given the option of joining a medical scheme which extends cover to the entire family.

Residents of the area may, of course, consult any of the private practitioners at their own expense. The doctor with rooms in Sundumbili charged approximately R7 per visit. He appeared to be in great demand with long queues in his rooms until 7.30 p.m. every night. All the Mandini doctors, too, have large numbers of patients from the Isithebe area.

The clinic is staffed by seven sisters and the township private practitioner spends 2 hours at the clinic twice a week. An army doctor from the KwaZulu Salvation Army hospital (20 kms away) spends 3 hours there twice a week. Such a practice will, of course, only continue if the army continues to place a doctor at that hospital.

The charge at the Clinic is R1 regardless of whether the patient is seen by the sisters or a doctor. The sisters decide who is to see the doctor.

47 487 patients attended the clinic during 1982. The sister in charge complained that the clinic was overcrowded and that patients waited in queues for long periods. The clinic serves an extremely large area and she considered there was a need for satellite clinics in the outlying areas. Chief Mathonsi said he needed three clinics in his ward.

When necessary, the sister arranges for patients to be transferred to hospital - by ambulance or private car. However, because of the long queues, many seriously ill people bypass the clinic and go straight to the hospital.

There are five maternity beds in the clinic but, on average, only 15 babies are delivered each month. Many of the local community clearly do not choose to make use of the local maternity facilities. It is cheaper (R10 as opposed to R15) to have a baby delivered at the clinic rather than in Stanger hospital, and there is no transport charge involved. However, none of the sisters is on duty at night, and nor do they respond to emergency calls at night, which may explain the reluctance to make use of the clinic. There is undoubtedly a need for a better local emergency service - either in people's homes or at a clinic. People are incurring unnecessary expense and travelling great distances to have their babies delivered elsewhere.

The inadequacy of the local medical facilities is illustrated by the fact that the clinic sister estimated that she needed to transfer at least five patients a day to hospital and the doctor "a couple a day". These figures, coupled with the fact that 63 percent of respondents stated they would take a critically ill person straight to hospital

without first consulting the doctor or clinic, make it clear that there are a significant number of people requiring admission to hospital each day. Neither the clinic nor doctor has the facilities for even minor surgery, nor would they have the time to perform it. They both confirmed that in order to avoid queues, people tended to bypass them when they knew the patient would eventually have to be hospitalised.

The inadequacy of the ambulance service was illustrated by the response of 90% of respondents who said they would rather take the seriously ill to hospital by car - 6% in private cars and 84% in hired cars. There is no ambulance based in the area so that even if there was an immediate response, the caller would have to wait while the ambulance came 40 kms from Stanger. Complaints were voiced about delays experienced when calling the ambulance and the difficulty of calling an ambulance. If one has to queue at the clinic or doctor's surgery in order to enlist their aid in calling the ambulance, an additional delay will be suffered.

It is, however, most possibly the high cost of the ambulance that makes potential users look elsewhere for transport rather than take action to have the availability of the ambulance service improved. Costs quoted for an ambulance varied from R12 to R40 and for hiring a private car from R10 to R45 (averaging R30). The social worker gave the cost of calling the ambulance as R34. Because cars are readily available for hire, and because the use of a private car avoids the

delay of waiting for an ambulance, there is nothing to be gained from calling an ambulance which is going to cost as much as the car.

As the charge for hospitalization, regardless of the length of stay or treatment received, is not based on what it costs, but what is considered the patient can afford to pay, it seems unreasonable to relate ambulance charges to cost. Having a well-staffed clinic in the area, it should be possible to avoid unnecessary calls by having the sisters screen all calls. Delays could be avoided by having an ambulance based in the area.

Certain difficulties no doubt result from the fact that Stanger hospital is in Natal and the ambulance based there, whereas those requiring attention are in KwaZulu and thus fall under a separate health authority.

The deficiencies and difficulties encountered in the local health service have similar origins to those found in other areas such as education and housing. They have arisen as a result of an influx into the area of people who have responded to a Pretoria government initiative - that of creating employment. However, the Pretoria government¹ was responsible only for providing the industrial infrastructure and attracting the industrialists. Pretoria was not involved in the provision of those social facilities the people

1. In January 1984 the KwaZulu Development Corporation took over the role of the C.E.D. at Isithebe.

responding to the initiative need. Ulundi, whose responsibility it inevitably became, had its own priorities and very stringent budget limitations.

The community would undoubtedly benefit from a mini or day hospital with a resident medical officer, or, if this was not possible, at least a resident ambulance, but budget limitations and the divided control over medical facilities in the area mean neither is likely to be provided in the near future.

The presence of private doctors in the area and the ready availability of hired transport to take the ill to Stanger hospital means that medical attention is available even if it is expensive. The relatively high levels of employment mean that the money can generally be found to pay these costs. Although this may explain why the absence of more extensive health facilities does not give rise to more dissatisfaction, it is not an acceptable excuse for their absence.

The relatively high levels of employment were also mentioned by the doctor as the reason for the low levels of malnutrition in the community. Both the doctor and the sister in charge of the clinic stated that they saw very few cases of malnutrition. The doctor said most households contained members who earned reasonable incomes and a large part of their incomes was spent on food.¹

1. There was also a severe shortage of formal housing (see section 8 below). The fact that formal housing is unavailable to so many no doubt releases money that would otherwise be spent on housing for the purchase of food.

With half the population having no piped water or sewerage in their house, a high incidence of cholera, gastro-enteritis and other related diseases might have been expected in the area. In reality, the incidence was very low. The doctor ascribed this to the fact that almost all the peri-urban dwellers, drew water exclusively from one of the five taps in the area. This was confirmed by respondents in answer to the question on source of water.

7.0 EDUCATION

7.1 Educational Facilities

In the township there are five schools. Table 19 gives the numbers of pupils and teachers at these schools in 1983.

TABLE 19

SCHOOL STATISTICS FOR SUNDUMBILI IN 1983

Name of School	No. of pupils	No. of teachers	Pupil/Teacher ratio
Thukela High School	546	18	30 : 1
Odomo Junior Secondary School	159	5	32 : 1
KhayaIemfundo Lower Primary	800	16	50 : 1
Nonyeke Lower Primary School	800	16	50 : 1
Sundumbili Lower Primary	630	13	49 : 1
	2 935	68	44 : 1

Outside the township in Chief Mathonsi's ward, are 7 schools. (The area surveyed forms only a very small part of the ward.) 3 of these schools are lower primary, 3 higher primary and one a junior secondary school. The circuit inspector has expressed the view that 4 more schools are required in the ward to service the educational needs of the community.

In the township there is an industrial training school which can accommodate between 40 and 43 persons at a time. Three thirteen week courses are conducted each year.

7.2 Educational Responsibility

It is necessary to differentiate between the schools in Sundumbili and those in Chief Mathonsi's ward because the development and financing of schools in the two areas is approached entirely differently.

The KwaZulu Government is responsible for the erection and staffing of schools in the township.¹ The building of schools is the responsibility of the township administration just as the provision of housing, housing sites, roads, water and sewerage is. The KwaZulu government has sub-contracted this task to the Port Natal Administration Board. The number and type of schools they erect depends upon a certain formula and the extent of the government finance available, and is not dependant upon either the wishes or the support of the local community.

1. Recently Pretoria through the S.A.D.T. has accepted some responsibility for the erection, but not the administration, of schools.

Outside of the township boundary all schools are community schools, which are erected solely upon the initiative of the community. The local inhabitants identify the need, collect the funds, and supervise the erection of the school. Once completed, they can claim a partial refund from the KwaZulu government and when the school is registered, the government will pay the salaries of the approved teachers. However, it seems inevitable that these schools have a number of privately paid teachers to fill the gaps left by the education department.

The people themselves appear to have a reasonably clear appreciation of the difference between the two methods of supplying education to the community. Table 20 tabulates the answers received to the question who was responsible for the provision of education in the area. The different systems applying in each area are reflected in the answers. The varying effectiveness of the two systems is equally clearly reflected in the numbers of children of school going age not at school. Overall 15% of the households interviewed has such children. However, when the various types of household are separated one finds that only 6% of township houses as compared with 37.5% of traditional houses have children of schoolgoing age (7-16 years) not at school.

The answers to the question asking respondents what caused them greatest unhappiness further reflect the differences between the two systems. Whereas no township dwellers mentioned education, 16.9% of peri-urban dwellers mentioned inadequate educational and training facilities as their greatest cause of dissatisfaction.

TABLE 20

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROVISION OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Body or Person Responsible	Total Survey	Urban Households	Peri-Urban Households
KwaZulu Government	32.7	39.2	26.0
KwaZulu Government and Community	24.7	33.3	16.0
Community alone	22.7	15.7	30.0
Chief, Community, Mayor, and KwaZulu Government	12.9	9.8	16.0
Chief Alone	5.0	0.0	10.0
Don't know	2.0	2.0	2.0
Number	102	51	51

7.3 Distance from Schools

Relatively speaking, all respondents lived reasonably close to schools. 60% were less than 20 minutes away from both primary and secondary schools. The peri-urban dwellers were obviously further away but only 2% were as far as 1 hour from a school. Almost all pupils walked to school, 2% taking the bus to primary school and 4% to high school.

7.4 Degree of Satisfaction with Schools

Overwhelmingly, respondents seemed satisfied with the quality and

quantity of schools. Certain complaints were voiced, but three-quarters of respondents claimed they were happy with the educational facilities. Some indeed specifically mentioned superior schooling facilities as being the reason for bringing their families to live with them at Sundumbili in preference to leaving them at their "other house".

Complaints concerned poor results, understaffing, teacher discipline, quantity (particularly of high schools) and quality of schools and the education received there. The complaint was made that migrant scholars in the high school took up places that should have been reserved for local children.

The presence of "outsiders" in the school was confirmed by a survey which found that 32% of the pupils surveyed at the High and Junior Secondary School came from magisterial districts other than Eshowe/Inkanyezi (the district in which the survey took place).¹ Whether the local community considers all children from the Eshowe/Inkanyezi district as locals is not clear however. Some of them live 50 kms from the schools, despite being resident in the same magisterial district. They have no family in either Sundumbili itself or in Chief Mathonsi's ward. The fact that there are no boarding facilities at the schools creates great difficulties for these pupils and the 32% from other magisterial districts.

1. Unpublished survey on job aspirations of Sundumbili scholars.

TABLE 21

ORIGINS OF PUPILS

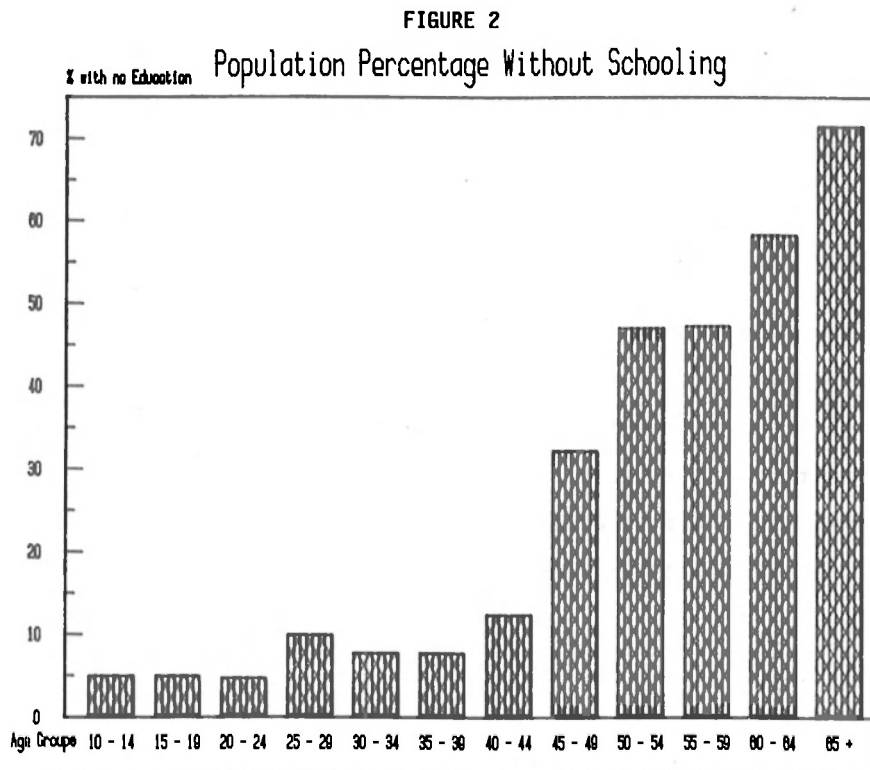
Home Magisterial District	Percentage of Pupils
Inkanyezf	68.3
Mtunzini	8.7
Empangeni	5.0
N. Zululand	12.5
Stanger Area	2.5
Other (Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Madadeni, Ixopo and Swaziland)	3.0
N = 483	100%

7.5 School Costs

The costs incurred in respect of school fees, uniforms, text books, sports funds etc. do not appear to differ significantly from schools in other areas. However, greater difficulty is experienced in obtaining text books and travelling costs are incurred as text books are not stocked by any local shops. (Some idea of stationery costs is gained from the information that the largest (but by no means only) supermarket in the area sold R48,000 worth of exercise books and school stationery in the month of January alone in 1983. They stock no text books.)

7.6 Levels of Education

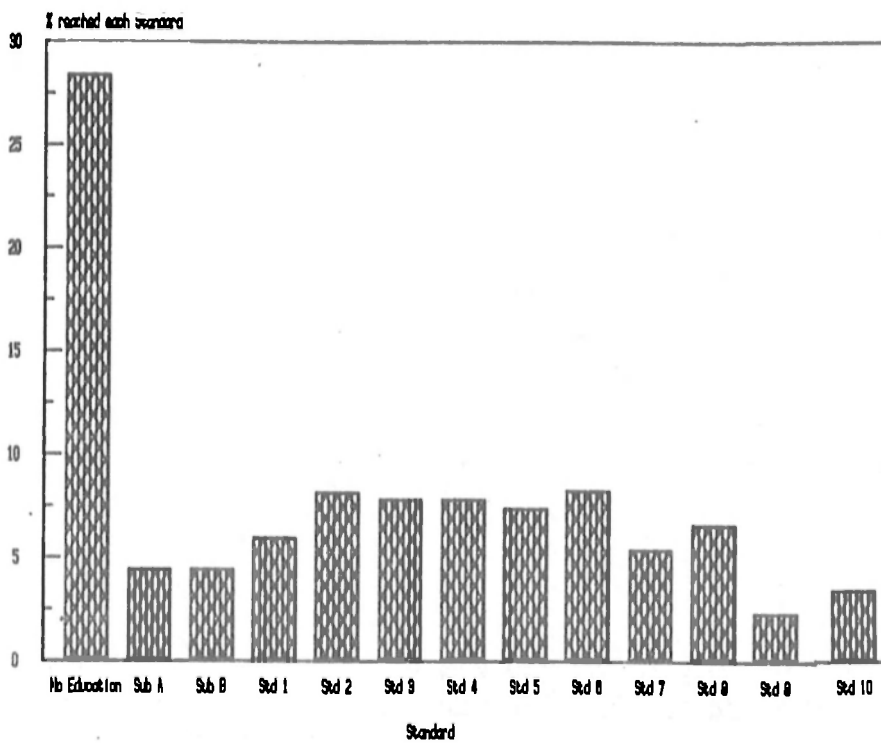
Data obtained from those surveyed indicates that the percentage of people with no education at all decreases consistently from the oldest down to those of school going age as the figure below relating age to education shows. Not only does the figure show consistent improvement in educational levels over the years, but further when compared with equivalent data from the rural district surveyed in Nkandla¹, it shows how much more effective the provision of education in this partially industrialized rural area is than in an undeveloped rural area.



1. Poverty and Development in a Rural Community in KwaZulu.

It is clear that the vast majority of school going age persons in the Isithebe area are receiving some education. It remains however, to assess the effectiveness of this education. From figures giving a population breakdown in terms of the number of years spent at school it can be seen that at this stage something less than 30% of the population have had any education beyond Standard 5 - the level considered essential by certain educationalists if one is to maintain practical levels of literacy.

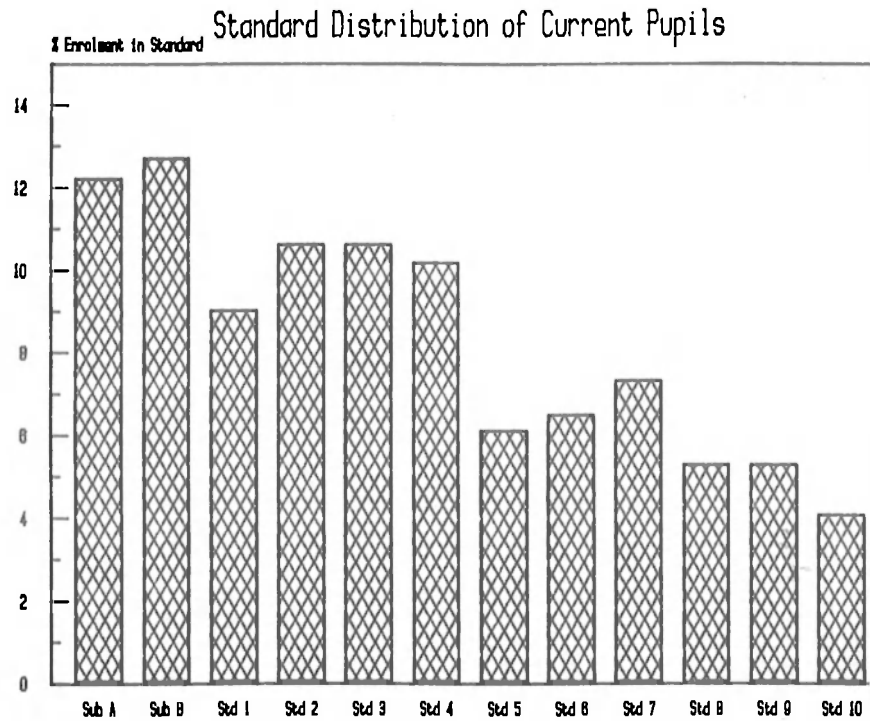
FIGURE 3
% Population reached particular Standard



3.4% of the population have matriculated (4.8% of township residents), 12.3% have gone beyond Standard 7, 26% have completed their junior school education, and 28.3% have had no education at all. With regard to tertiary education only four individuals had received any professional education and 2 a university education.

The distribution of the school going population actually surveyed by educational levels will give some idea of current and future trends. The majority of pupils are in the lower standards, but the balance between the levels is clearly improving, and moreover, the figures for

FIGURE 4



those surveyed show a higher percentage in the higher classes than is true of blacks in South Africa as a whole.¹

7.7 Age of Scholars

As long as education is not compulsory parents will be left to decide if and when their children should start school and likewise when they should leave school. Seven years of age appears to be the most common choice for starting school, but Figure 5 below shows the considerable variation.

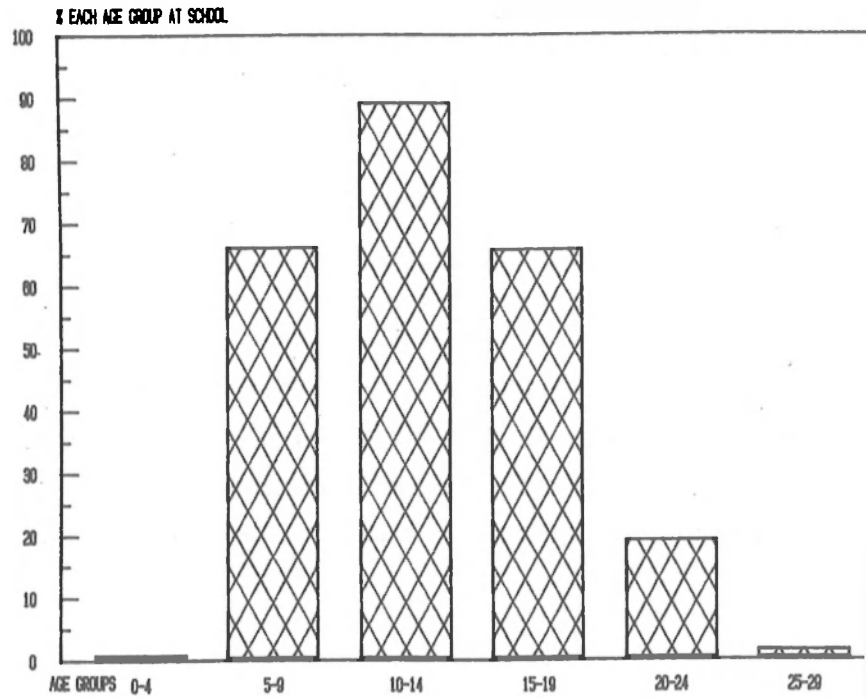
The age at which pupils leave school also varies enormously and is determined by a number of factors - firstly the desired level to be attained, secondly the number of years failed and thirdly the number of interruptions and periods spent away from school either in order to raise sufficient money to continue schooling or as a result of there being insufficient places in a particular standard.

The age range of school goers in the population surveyed was 4 - 26 years. The fact that 14% of the persons of 26 years of age were still at school, and that on average 16% of those over 18 were still at school, indicates how serious the implication of placing age restrictions on the intake into certain classes would be. Until there is free and compulsory education, at least for a minimum number of years, it would seem unjust to penalize would-be scholars on account of their age. Of those surveyed, the following percentage of each age group were at school :

1. Education and Manpower Production (Blacks) No.3, 1982. Research Institute for Education Planning, University of O.F.S.

FIGURE 5

PERCENTAGE OF AGE GROUPS AT SCHOOL



The age range in each class indicates the variation in personal choice and circumstances.

TABLE 22

VARIATIONS IN AGES OF PUPILS IN STANDARDS

Sub A	4 - 11 years	Std 5	9 - 18 years
Sub B	6 - 12 years	Std 6	13 - 20 years
Std 1	8 - 22 years	Std 7	13 - 24 years
Std 2	8 - 15 years	Std 8	16 - 26 years
Std 3	9 - 16 years	Std 9	15 - 23 years
Std 4	11 - 21 years	Std 10	18 - 26 years

7.8 Post - School Education

The only adult or post - school education available in the area is that given by the Isithebe Industrial School. This school which falls under the control of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, offers 4 courses - welding, carpentry, plumbing, metalwork and bricklaying. Each course lasts 13 weeks and can accommodate approximately 10 pupils. The courses are entirely practical. There is no bookwork. There are no entrance requirements, although the Principal said he preferred those who had worked for a while to those straight from school. He estimated the average age of pupils to be 24. Dexterity tests are given before admission and the pupil is required to be reasonably familiar with English - "the language of welding". The courses are popular and frequently 100% oversubscribed. Although pupils who pass the final test are given a certificate they are not artisans. Provided that the pupils themselves and future employers understand this, there are no problems. However, both types of misunderstanding were reported - employers were dissatisfied with the amount an ex-pupil knew of a particular trade, and the ex-pupils themselves were dissatisfied to receive neither the remuneration nor the responsibility of an artisan.

7.9 Conclusion

It appears from the survey that respondents are generally satisfied with the education available in the area and yet this report refers from time to time to the inadequacy of the education available in the

area. It must be pointed out that whereas the respondents are commenting in the light of education available in other rural areas and that which was previously available in this area, employers and others are commenting in terms of a national ideal and the current and future demands of industrialists in the area. They are further comparing industrial development with educational and other forms of development.

8.0 HOUSING

8.1 History

Prior to the arrival of industry in adjacent Natal, land tenure and housing in the area surveyed was purely traditional. The first formal township houses were completed in 1965 and were built specifically for employees of SAPPi, the paper mill at Mandini. Prior to that date all employees were either housed by SAPPi on its property or provided their own accommodation in KwaZulu. Over time the number of houses in the township grew to 1 900, the majority of which were occupied by SAPPi employees. Teachers, traders, civil servants and some of the original inhabitants of the area occupied the balance.

Although the development of Isithebe was first announced in 1968, no new houses to provide specifically for the new labour force for Isithebe were built until 10 years later, by which time the demand was considerable and the development of squatter settlements surrounding Sundumbili and Isithebe substantial.

8.2 The Position Today

In 1983 SAPPI employed 1572 blacks and the industries in Isithebe 7500 while there were 1800 houses in Sundumbili. In addition to industrial workers, others requiring housing were those who serviced the community itself - teachers, nurses, storekeepers, maintenance workers, civil servants, service industry employees, priests etc. and all those blacks who worked in the neighbouring white township of Mandini.

There thus were approximately 10 000 black persons in wage employment in the area. The households surveyed contained on average 2.1 persons who were employed and on this basis a minimum of 4762 houses would have been required to house the 10 000 workers and their families. (The average township house surveyed (the typical four-roomed township house) contained 6,9 persons in total.) SAPPI alone of the industrialists had "batchelor quarters" which housed 150 men.

There clearly was a serious shortfall in housing. How the limited housing was allocated, why the shortfall has occurred, what was being and what could be done to alleviate it are all considered in the following sections.

8.3 The Allocation of Housing and the Quantity of Housing Required

As new houses are completed in Sundumbili, 80% of them are allocated to the Isithebe Employers Housing Committee for allocation among industrialists and 20% to the Sundumbili Town Council for allocation to persons on its waiting list. In turn the Employers Housing

Committee allocates houses to industrialists in proportion to the number of employees on the industrialists' short waiting lists.¹ By August 1983 the Committee had only been allocated 35 houses that year. The Chairman of the Housing Committee said they generally got annually 6% of the houses they actually needed at a particular time - that is needed according to their short waiting lists.

8.4 Responsibility for House Building Programmes

The KwaZulu Government was responsible for all development in Sundumbili Township.² It was their responsibility not only to build the houses, but to provide the infrastructure in the form of roads, water, drainage and sewerage and to build the schools. In practice the KwaZulu Government made a budget allocation for these purposes and then sub-contracted the Port Natal Administration Board to do the job. The Port Natal Administration Board had flexibility in carrying out this task only within the limits of the budget allocation for a particular year. (The budget for 1983 was R1,1 million - insufficient to complete 150 houses.)

Within the restraints of the same budget it was also the responsibility of the Port Natal Administration Board to develop the sites on which it or individuals might build houses. It was their task to decide whether the interests of the community would best be served by the development of more sites for private development; or by

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1. At the time of the survey SAPPI employed 1 572 Blacks. 255 employees required housing and 110 were on their short list. In the most recent allocation SAPPI got 4 houses.
 2. See Section 8.7 for the current position.

building more houses for lease or sale. In the absence of a clear commitment by industry to build houses for its employees, in view of the inability of individuals to obtain loans to build their own houses and because the restriction on owning more than one plot precludes private developers from building houses, the Port Natal Administration Board tended to concentrate on building houses rather than developing sites. However, within their budget limitations they could have changed their policy had circumstances changed.

8.5 Systems of Tenure

Houses in the township are rented, held on 40 year leases, held on 30 year leases through the C.E.D., or owned outright.

The majority of houses are leased from the township at R14.40 per month. However, until the end of 1981 it was possible to buy a house and 281 houses thus purchased are held on 40 year leasehold.

There are 36 houses in the township which were built by the C.E.D. and leased to industrialists by the C.E.D. for 30 years, the ultimate intention being that the occupier should buy the house - but not until the industrialist had had control over who occupied the house for a number of years.

Finally, individuals may purchase a site and build their own houses. 21 such houses have been erected. Land is sold for R4.40 per square metre and the average plot is 25 square metres. People are required to build houses of a standard at least equivalent to that of government built houses and to do so within twelve months. Currently there is a waiting list for such plots. A site may only be purchased if it has

been serviced and, as with housing and the development of sites in general, the Port Natal Administration Board has a large backlog and limited funds with which to attempt to reduce all types of backlog.

8.6 Security of Tenure

Those who own their houses or hold them under a 30 or 40 year leasehold have clearly defined rights. Those who rent houses are secure in their tenure provided they pay the rent and do not act in breach of their contracts. In the past unemployed, unmarried and even widowed persons were evicted from their houses in favour of currently employed persons. Extreme dissatisfaction with such evictions and further threatened evictions resulted in a visit to the area by the KwaZulu Secretary for the Interior in 1982. He stated that provided the rent was paid, no one could be evicted from his house, even if he had been allocated that house by a firm in Isithebe for which he no longer worked. However, the fact that a number of respondents stated that they would lose their houses on loss of employment indicates an absence of total confidence in this ruling.

Clearly, there are many who would prefer the security of ownership or longterm leasehold, and yet, despite recent government stress on home ownership and ninety-nine year leasehold, the Mayor of Sundumbili reported that the township had received no instructions either from Pretoria or Ulundi to initiate any such scheme with regard to existing housing stock. (The purchase of houses under 40 year leasehold was stopped in 1981.)

On economic grounds it is hard to understand why anyone who can rent a

house for R14,40 per month (which amount includes a charge for water and refuse removal) should wish to purchase one. Interest and redemption alone on a R6000 house¹ today would be close to R100 per month. Unrealistic rentals, such as those currently charged, cannot encourage home ownership, so that it must be a desire for security of tenure, coupled with the unavailability of houses for lease, that gives rise to a wish to own one's own home. As it is virtually impossible for an individual or contractor to build a house, the excess of demand over supply becomes reflected not in inflated prices, as one would expect in a free market economy, but, in ever lengthening queues such as are found in non-capitalist countries. Dissatisfaction with the size and uniform design of existing housing stock also increases the demand for freehold housing.

8.7 Consequences of Unco-ordinated Development Agencies

The result of a single faceted development program concerned with industrial development alone was a rapidly increasing squatter settlement all around the industrial area, and particularly between the township and the industrial area. The squatter population was larger than the formally housed population and carried with it all the social, economic and health problems connected with squatter communities throughout the world.

The chronic housing shortage was one manifestation of the effects of successful industrial development, occurring independently of and in

1. The amount the Port Natal Administration Board estimated a township house cost to build in 1983.

isolation from all other forms of development - at least in the KwaZulu area.

The C.E.D., which was responsible for the industrial development, operated at a speed which left all other agencies standing - whether for logistical or financial reasons. From the Post Office to the Roads Department, all government agencies were unable to meet the sudden growth in demand for a superior infrastructure.

Almost a decade elapsed before any social infrastructure was supplied for the rapidly increasing workforce and its dependents. The C.E.D. was not responsible for the provision of these services and indeed had no budget for that purpose. There was no co-ordination with the Government of KwaZulu. Expansion at Isithebe was not dependent upon whether Ulundi had made plans for the changes in the area that would result from industrial development or had allocated the resources necessary to fulfil those plans.

In fact, Ulundi had different priorities from those of the C.E.D. - notably health and education were ranked above housing - and yet the development of the area proceeded in the knowledge that there were no plans for the housing of the workforce.

As far as KwaZulu's housing budget went, Sundumbili did have priority rating - but as the entire housing budget was so inadequate, this was relatively meaningless.

Housing became increasingly inadequate and the industrialists increasingly dissatisfied. As a result of pressure from the industrialists, a Control Committee was set up to plan the development

of Sundumbili and the financial responsibility for the development was accepted by the Department of Co-operation and Development.¹

On the Control Committee are two representatives of the Department of Co-operation and Development, two representatives of the Port Natal Administration Board, the KwaZulu Secretary for Works and the Secretary for the Interior. The Chairman of the Board is the Chief Commissioner in the Department of Co-operation and Development in Natal.

The KwaZulu Government continues to be responsible for the administration and maintenance of the township.

Just as the KwaZulu Government subcontracted the actual development work to the Port Natal Administration Board, so has the Department of Co-operation and Development through its agent the South African Development Trust.

The Control Committee decides upon the priorities for development in the area and submits budget proposals to the Department of Co-operation and Development.

The KwaZulu Government has thus been relieved of the responsibility for financing development of the social infrastructure of Sundumbili out of its very limited budget. There has been increased building activity in the last two years but it is doubtful whether the budget

1. This took place some time in 1981/1982.

allocated by the Department of Co-operation and Development is sufficiently large to make an impact on the area.

In 1983 R1.1 million was allocated to housing in Sundumbili - insufficient to complete 150 houses - and yet in the Report of the Decentralization Board¹ it is stated that for the 1982/1983 year applications to create 18 410 new jobs for blacks at Isithebe at a cost of R168 193 000 have been approved.

Housing is the single most important item in the social infrastructure, but what is true of housing is true of other facilities as well.

There are five schools in Sundumbili with a total of 2935 pupils. If there are 2,4 schoolgoing children per household, as there were in the households surveyed, it is clear that many of the Sundumbili children must have already been forced to look for schooling outside the township.² Clearly the existing schools are quite inadequate for the children of the current 7500 employees of Isithebe. They are already heavily oversubscribed and could offer no places should the 18 000 jobs mentioned in the Decentralization Report materialize.

There is one clinic in the township, but no hospital or ambulance based in the area. Social amenities are limited to a beer hall, a

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1. Report of the Board for the Decentralization of Industry. RP 52/1983
 2. Many children in the Sundumbili schools came from outside the township, so that considerably less than 2935 places were in fact available for Sundumbili residents.

church hall, an overgrown boxing ring and a bare soccer field. Facilities in the area are clearly inadequate. The KwaZulu Government, has been unable to supply facilities to meet the needs of the growing population. Private enterprise, which possibly might undertake certain development roles, seems unlikely to be able to do so in the near future. Black individuals face legal and financial restrictions which hinder their activities in this area. The Department of Co-operation and Development which recently accepted responsibility for the area has not as yet made a budget allocation large enough to meet the growing needs of the area - let alone eliminate the back log.

In the face of these difficulties, it seems inevitable that the squatter community will increase in size. This poses a number of problems. There are no regulations protecting for example, the health of these people and no system of government suited to them. They have no particular allegiance to the Chief under whose authority they fall, and on whom they must ultimately rely for the provision of schools etc. He in turn has neither the means, nor probably the desire, to order their lives and provide the water, roads, sewerage etc. that they need.

What differentiates this informal settlement from others is the fact that it did not result from an uncontrollable situation - it was actually planned, encouraged and finally approved by the Decentralization Board. A cursory glance at the census figures confirms that this development did not occur simply to provide employment for the already housed and generally-provided-for traditional inhabitants of the area. It is drawing increasing numbers of people into the area

and in the absence of reasonable roads and a transport system, they have no choice other than to settle in the area.

9.0 CREDIT

In an attempt to establish what support systems operate in the community, respondents were asked what they would do if they ran out of money, and what they would do if they ran out of food and had no money.

Help seemed to come chiefly from neighbours and relatives, with, as one would expect, more than twice as many peri-urban as urban respondents turning to relatives for help, both when in need of money and food.

Only limited numbers appeared to resort to a request for credit when in need. It was interesting to note that credit availability seemed closely linked to the place and length of residence in the area. Almost four times as many traditional as township residents said they would ask for credit when they had no money and similarly four times as many traditional as township residents actually were able to obtain credit at a local store. On the other hand, far more township dwellers (61%) could obtain credit at clothing and furniture shops than peri-urban dwellers (20%).

Interest rates on cash loans appeared to vary enormously, but always to be high. Some reported interest rates of 10% per week.

Table 23 reflects the actions of respondents when in need and their access to credit.

TABLE 23

AVAILABILITY OF CREDIT AND OTHER SUPPORT MECHANISMS

	Total Sample	Township Dwellers	Peri-Urban	Traditional
Action when need money				
Borrow from neighbours	48.0			
Borrow from relatives	26.4	15.7	37.3	41.6
Borrow from employers savings, friends, workmates, money lenders	8.8			
	23.5			
Action when no food and no money				
Turn to neighbours	58.0			
Turn to relatives	15.0	9.8	19.6	20.8
Ask for credit	13.0	5.9	19.6	29.2
Turn to employer, savings, money lender, workmates, friend	12.7			
Credit Availability				
At local store	27.5	14.0	41.0	50.0
At furniture/clothing store	40.2	61.0	20.0	12.5
No credit	32.4	25.5	39.2	37.5

1. Where percentages total more than 100% respondents mentioned more than one course of action.
2. Percentages are only given for township, peri-urban and traditional residents separately where the differences are significant.

10.0 SHOPS

Relatively speaking, the area is well supplied with shops of almost all varieties and shops whose prices are competitive with those of much larger centres. Some respondents mentioned the shops as being a benefit of living in the area, however others complained that they needed shops which were closer and more comprehensive. Clearly a significant number of respondents shop in Stanger (40 kilometres away) and have credit facilities there, no doubt in response to the greater choice of goods and credit facilities available there. On the other hand, we have seen that the advantages of a small stable community are still in evidence in the credit available at local food stores, particularly for the traditional residents of the area.

11.0 ADMINISTRATION AND RESPONSIBILITY

When asked what aspect of their life made them most unhappy and how they would like to change it, respondents, in their answers indicated, among other points, what body or which person they held responsible for the current situation and whom they considered had the necessary authority to change it.

Their responses indicated a very low level of democratic involvement at the grass roots level and a great divergence of views between township and peri-urban dwellers.

68% of township dwellers looked to the township superintendant as the seat of both authority and responsibility for all township matters. Thereafter, they looked to the KwaZulu government and only then the community itself (10.6%), the Town Councillors (5.3%), and finally, the Community Development Association (2.3%).

Of all peri-urban dwellers, 65% saw the KwaZulu Government as generally responsible, and 30% the Chief. When the traditional residents are considered separately, 50% look to the Chief as the source of responsibility and authority.

In general, therefore, it would appear that the people see themselves as having limited powers, influence and responsibility. For the township itself there is a Town Council elected by all registered residents over 21 years of age. The town is divided into 7 wards. There is a ward committee whose responsibility it is to nominate a Councillor for election, but any number of independent nominations can be made as well. Councillors are elected for a period of three years. The mayor is elected by the Councillors from amongst themselves. There are approximately 3500 registered voters - an average of 2 per house. There were up to 7 registered voters in some houses and in others none. The superintendant commented that a "large" percentage of township dwellers were not registered as voters.

The responsibility of the Town Council extends to the maintenance of roads, houses, lighting and the removal of rubbish. The Mayor reported that in general the Council and the Administration co-operated well and did what they were able to within the constraints of a limited

budget.

In practice, probably the most important task of the Council is to allocate the 20% of housing stock as it becomes available¹. No matter how concerned they may be about the shortage of housing, unavailability of building sites, or inadequacy of public facilities in the area, there is little they can do as it is not within their power to provide these facilities and nor do they have the funds to improve them.

There were other organisations of varying importance which played a role in the area. Of these Inkatha was probably the strongest. Trade Unions, only very recently arrived in the area, looked set to place an ever increasing role. At present their development may be hampered by the large number of temporary female workers at Isithebe. Most of the established churches were represented. Although the independent churches did not appear to have great support in the township, Chief Mathonsi stated Zionists constituted the largest religious grouping in his ward. Inyanda Chamber of Commerce had a branch there. There was also the Community Development Association, Siwasivuka. Although it was not as active as it was some years ago when among its many other activities it built a creche (which it still runs), it still played a role in the community.

In the township the most powerful body in the community was the Umbutho, a vigilante group. This group grew out of a mass meeting of

1. See Page 89.

residents called by the Town Council in 1981 as a result of a phenomenal increase in the number of violent crimes in the area and the complete failure of the South African Police to control it. 10 volunteers were called for in each ward. They elected an "induna" for each ward and one "General Induna" was elected. These volunteers have no supervision and are equipped only with handcuffs and a whistle. They patrol the area 24 hours a day and according to the Mayor, the township is now "clean". Local police records show a remarkable drop in the crime rate. The responsibility of the volunteers is to show no mercy to offenders - arrest them, whip them and hand them over to the police. It may be questioned as to whether this is the correct way to administer justice, and indeed many inhabitants question not only the methods used, but also the Umbutho's view of what constitutes a crime and are, furthermore, unhappy about the lack of control over the vigilante group and the fact that there is no procedure whereby the general public can question their activities. However, it appears that the majority of the local inhabitants prefer this system to the totally inadequate system previously in operation. The only police station in the area is in White South Africa, and the S.A.P. did not accept responsibility for the township. The entire township administration consisted of the superintendant, 2 clerks and 3 constables who were more involved in collecting rents than in controlling violence.

The administration of that part of the community which falls outside the township boundaries (half of those surveyed and probably half of the community) is the responsibility of the local chief. He clearly does not have the personnel to police and administer these people, so

many of whom are not his traditional subjects. The people themselves are unable to play any official role in the administration of the area, nor do they have any elected representatives who are answerable to them.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

It remains to evaluate the role of decentralized industry in the development of rural areas and the alleviation of rural poverty.

In 1980 the average income received by urban blacks, despite improvements in the income gap, was still four times that received by rural blacks. The average income of whites was twenty times that of rural blacks.¹ In view of its persisting commitment to separate development it must be expected that the government will continue attempting to redress these socially, politically and economically unacceptable income differentials by decentralization and deconcentration of the economy.

Such policies have been followed in Isithebe for over a decade and the data provided in this paper make possible some assessment of the policies' ability to reduce poverty and achieve development.

The survey of the area surrounding Isithebe shows that the effects of decentralization are not limited to the original inhabitants of the area. Three-quarters of those surveyed were not born in the area and had presumably settled there in response to decentralization. The effects are not, however, evenly distributed so that despite the considerable influx of persons taking up employment at the factories

1. J. Natrass. The South African Economy: Its Growth and Change.

there were still persons in the area who had not found employment at Isithebe and who migrated out of the area in order to earn an income. Other inequalities stemmed from the location of homesteads. Degrees of access to amenities such as water, sewerage, roads, electricity and education were shown to be closely linked to housing. Incomes were found to have improved dramatically, with the average for the area being closer to those in an urban centre than to rural average incomes, but they too were unevenly distributed. Annual incomes per capita ranged from R102 to R5 376 with a median income of R599.

A comparison of sources of income and adult occupations in the Isithebe area with those of Nkandla ¹ (a traditional rural area where no such decentralization has occurred) illustrates some of the impact of decentralisation.

Table 24 gives selected occupational statistics for persons between the ages of 16 and 60 in the two areas. The availability of local employment opportunities at Isithebe has clearly benefitted the entire community there, but the greatest improvement has been realized by women. There are virtually no local wage employment opportunities for the uneducated in rural areas and social norms and practical considerations often make it impossible for women to become migrants. In Isithebe this is no longer the case and women have not hesitated to become involved in the wage economy.

1. Poverty and Development in Rural KwaZulu.

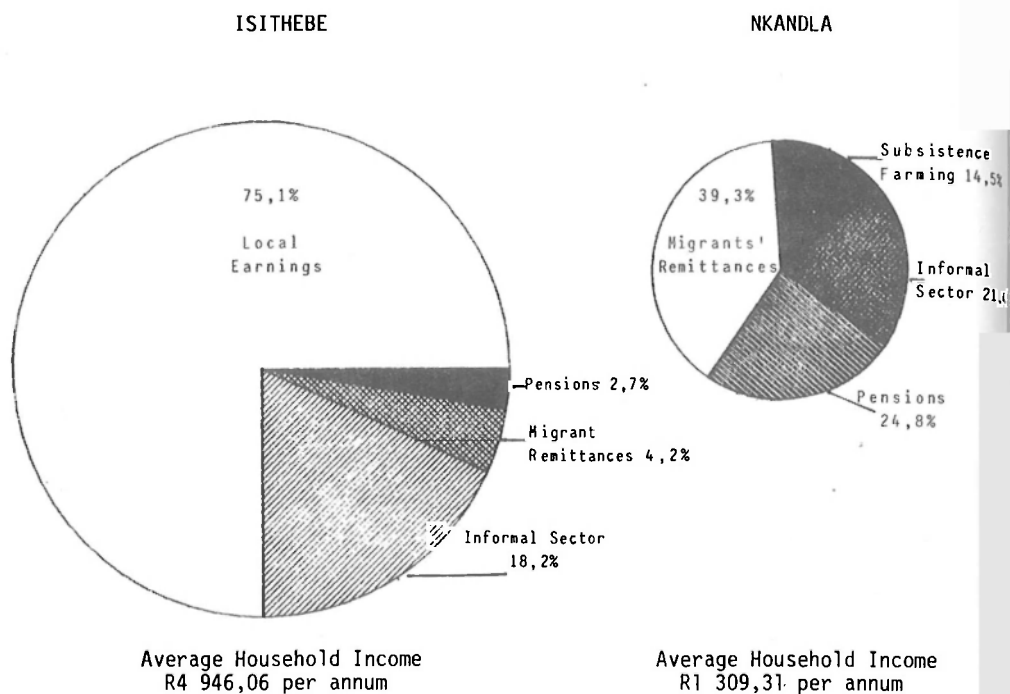
Table 24: Occupations of Persons between the Ages of 16 and 60

	Isithebe		Nkandla	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Employed	74,5	33,0	61,0	10,6
Unemployed	11,5	10,8	22,6	7,7
Small Business	1,0	9,4	2,4	,5
Part-time Small Business	0,0	11,6	2,4	36,7

The increased availability of wage employment for women is also reflected in the far lower numbers engaged in informal sector or small business activities in the Isithebe area - there is less need to resort to such activities to supplement income. However despite the fact that a far smaller percentage of adults is involved in such activities the percentage of income derived from this source is almost as great as that in the rural area as Figure 6 indicates. The continually expanding closer settlement has opened up endless opportunities for informal sector activity which local residents are clearly beginning to exploit.

The only similarity in sources of income is in fact in that of the informal sector. Local wage earnings, which played no part in Nkandla, accounted for 75 percent of household incomes in Isithebe. On the other hand, pensions and migrants' remittances which were so important in Nkandla were of minimal importance in Isithebe.

Figure 6: Sources of Household Income



A comparison of incomes per capita achieved by those surveyed indicated that the major determinants of income were the number of wage earners per household and whether the job allowed the wage earner to live at home. The development of Isithebe has resulted in each household in the area surveyed having on average 2.1 persons in local wage employment and has thus had a dramatic effect upon household incomes.

The value to the household of home-based as opposed to migrant employment can be illustrated by data obtained at Isithebe where there are, in addition to home-based wage employees, both migrants into and

out of the area. The salaries earned by both types of migrant and the locally based employees were similar and both types of migrant remitted approximately 22 percent of their salaries to their dependents at home. The incomes per capita realised by the households of migrants and home-based employees were however startlingly different. Households which contained a migrant out of the area achieved median annual per capita incomes of R331 and those headed by a migrant out of the area R250, as compared with the median income per capita of all surveyed of R599. Households of migrants into the area achieved median per capita incomes of R4 077 per annum reflecting the fact that the average migrant retained 78 percent of his salary for himself and any member of his family who might be living with him at his place of work while his dependents at home shared the balance (22 percent) between themselves.

Apart from improvements in income, greatly increased access to health and educational facilities, transport, shops etc. has resulted from decentralisation. However the development of the area has not been without its costs and access to free and clean water and fuel has virtually become a thing of the past, as has the possibility of supplementing incomes through subsistence agriculture. Gone too is the security of a stable, homogeneous community and in its place are developing all the stresses and problems of an emerging industrial society. Only in the formal township has there been any attempt to provide a new type of representation and authority. Elsewhere the traditional authorities have been left, without any increased budget or staff, to administer a rapidly increasing and much changed

community that owes them no particular allegiance.

Other tensions result from the very inadequacy of the improved amenities and the inequality in their distribution. There are juxtaposed two communities with very different living conditions whose wage earners work in the same factories and earn similar incomes. Those in the township live in brick houses (which they rent or own), have piped water and waterborne sewerage, street lights and the option of household electrification, maintained roads, relatively plentiful schools, a clinic etc. while those outside the township have neither water, sewerage nor electricity laid on, have no roads on which they might drive to their self-built houses, are relatively poorly supplied with schools and have no clinic.

Apart from giving rise to tensions the infrastructural inadequacies are leading to the underutilization of the decentralized area itself. Concerns which might otherwise move into the area are not doing so because they feel unable to recruit staff under the prevailing conditions. By not incurring additional expenditure on the provision of social infrastructure, the lowering of the capital cost of job creation (through maximum use of the industrial infrastructure) is being prevented.

Industrial decentralization will undoubtedly lead to increased incomes in certain rural areas but it will not succeed as a development policy where it creates side by side a modern, first world, well maintained, highly technologically advanced industrial area and a squatter area where householders' tenure is not secure, where there is

no sewerage, water or electricity and where there are few roads and fewer schools.

Decentralization needs to be approached on a regional and not merely an industrial level. The provision of infrastructure should not be limited to the industrial area. It should extend not only to the residential and service area but also to the entire region so that other types of development, particularly agricultural development, can occur concurrently with industrial development. As the increasing population concentration opens new markets so local farmers should be assisted to produce more for that market and the basic infrastructure improved to facilitate the marketing of their produce. To consider industry alone is uneconomic and will not lead to real development.

Just as the provision of infrastructure should be viewed in regional terms so the question of job and income creation should not be tied exclusively to industry. The increasing local population and the industries themselves offer many new sources of jobs and income. At present individuals are often discouraged from taking advantage of these opportunities. For example, restricted budgets and regulations of an unsuitably high standard prevent individuals from building their own houses or getting private contractors to do so. Similarly licencing regulations demand standards of individuals that ensure their small business enterprises will fail if they adhere to the letter of the law. Despite the fact that the modern sector is not providing homes or services for the local community it insists on the fulfilment of unrealistic conditions before the community is allowed

to provide houses or services for itself. The housing industry in particular is highly labour intensive and with the enormous local demand could create much employment and keep locally earned salaries circulating in the community if building regulations were suited to the situation and financial assistance offered to builders, just as it is to industrialists wishing to create jobs and income.

Currently decentralization is essentially a "white" solution to income inequalities and as such tends to concentrate on the "white" or industrial aspects of decentralization. Unless the policy is expanded to become regional and is defined to include all persons and activities in an area it will not result in real development and its affect on poverty alleviation and true social development will be limited.

APPENDIX A

MEANS OF ESTABLISHING INCOME PER CAPITA

Income per capita was established as follows:

All income earned or received by all members of the household resident in the house was included regardless of whether the recipient actually pooled his income with the other family members or not. What they did not pool they presumably spent on themselves and thus reduced their call on communal funds. A number of respondents were adamant that certain individuals contributed nothing or only very small sums to household income and that therefore their salaries were irrelevant to establishing household income. Such amounts were nevertheless included.

The income of migrants and lodgers was not included. However, the amount of money remitted during the year by a migrant member of the household was included as was rental received from lodgers.

All income was counted whether it consisted of salary, pension, income from casual earnings or a small business enterprise run by a household member, interest, rental or a gift.

As insignificant numbers of those surveyed had either land or cattle - 15% and 14% respectively - and as very few reported any income from these sources, no general value was placed on land or cattle holding or on membership of a community garden. Few appeared to be making use

of the little land they had. There must, however, have been some income in the form of vegetables, milk and possibly meat from slaughtered animals and thus certain household incomes will be underestimated by a small amount. Similarly, incomes will be slightly underestimated where households kept poultry for home consumption. Where, however, people were seriously utilizing their land and, for example, farming sugar cane, costs were assessed and deducted from income and the resulting profits added to household income.

38% of respondents claimed to have "another home", 28% that they had land and 18% cattle there. However, 50% of these respondents were not the heads of the "other homes". Although this other land and the cattle no doubt contributed to the income of family members living at the other home, no one claimed to receive any income from them, and so nothing has been added to the income of those households which said they had land and cattle elsewhere. In the Nkandla survey,¹ where significant numbers held cattle and utilized land, careful estimates were made of all income from land, vegetable gardens and cattle whether in the form of meat, milk or sales. When comparing Sundumbili incomes with those of Nkandla this small possible underestimation of Sundumbili incomes should be borne in mind.

Just as remittances from migrant household members have been included, so monies sent to family members resident elsewhere have been deducted from household income before calculating incomes per capita.²

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1. Poverty and Development in a Rural Community in KwaZulu.
 2. Appendix C.

Only the household head was asked how much money he sent away to dependents elsewhere, so that where other individuals in a household sent money to dependents, this would not have been recorded and their entire income would have been included in household income, resulting in the recording of higher incomes per capita for household members than they in fact achieved. It is unlikely that there were a significant number of such cases because where, for example, a man (who had come into the area to work) was lodging with his brother and was probably sending money home to his family, he was classified as a lodger and only the rental he paid, not his salary, would have been added to the household income. In 5% of households there were adults who possibly had dependents elsewhere and who may have been sending them money. The fact that incomes per capita were significantly higher in these households probably indicates that this was the case. Mean and median incomes per capita in such households were R1 362,20 and R1 263 per annum respectively. The average and median incomes per capita per annum for all surveyed fall from R874,26 to R849,11 and R599,20 to R576,00 respectively if these 5% of households are deducted from the sample.

When determining household size all migrants and lodgers were excluded.

Finally to establish income per capita, the total income of each household was divided by the number of permanent residents in that household. This takes no account of whether the individual for whom the income is being estimated was a child or adult and is furthermore based on the supposition that all income is equally distributed among

all members of the household, which is very seldom the case. We estimated incomes per capita thus obtained are intended to give a general indication of living standards in particular households rather than actual incomes achieved by individuals in the household.

APPENDIX 3

INCOME ESTIMATES

Where salaries, migrants' remittances or incomes from small businesses were unknown, estimates were substituted where necessary to establish an income per capita. Thus where a migrant's salary was unknown, but the amount of his monthly remittance was known, there was no need to estimate his salary as it was irrelevant to household income. Where it was necessary to estimate a salary, the average male or female salary was used, and where an estimate of a remittance was required, 30%¹ of the migrant's salary was taken. Thus, although 17 salaries were unknown, it was only necessary to estimate 7 salaries and 2 remittances in order to establish income per capita. The substituting of estimates affected salaries, remittances and incomes by less than 1% in each case. (For example, the average female migrant whose salary was known (N = 8) remitted 33.46% of her salary and the average remittance of all female migrants, including estimates, (N = 10) was 33.17% of their salaries.)

Where a respondent was unable to place a value on his or his wife's income from other activities such as faith healing, their incomes from that second source was assessed at 20% of the husband's salary. Although 303 individuals made some contribution to household income, it was only necessary to make 10 estimates.

1. A higher percentage than that remitted by those migrants for whom figures were available.

APPENDIX D

MONEY SENT TO DEPENDENTS OUTSIDE THE AREA

The heads of household in 85% of those households in which the head said he had "another home" sent money to that other home on a regular basis. 38% of heads had another home, 31% had dependants at that other home, and 33% sent money to that other home on a regular basis. There were 3 heads who sent money to their families at their other home without actually claiming to have any dependents there. All heads who sent money out of the area had claimed to have another home and 90% of them lived in the township. None of those remitting money were born in the area or were long time peri-urban dwellers. There were only 4 peri-urban dwellers who remitted money. All had moved into the area 2 or less years ago, none had wives at their "other house" and two were in fact among the three heads who didn't claim dependents at the other home.

The dependants at the "other home" of 31% of household heads who claimed dependents elsewhere numbered 204 persons. 13 heads had wives at home (3 had 2 wives each), 27 had children, 22 had parents, 6 had descendants and 17 various other relatives.

There were two heads who had dependents elsewhere who didn't claim to send money "home" on a regular basis. As these heads stated that the house in which they were interviewed was their "real and only home", it is possible that, although they sent money to their dependents, they answered in the negative when asked if they sent money "home".

The percentage of income sent to the other home varied from 2% to 62% and averaged 21.8%. In those cases where the head had a wife at the "other home", the average percentage of income sent home rose to 22.8%¹.

Of those sending money home, 10% sent it weekly, 24% twice a month, 58% monthly, 6% bi-monthly and the balance occasionally. The amounts sent ranged from R20 to R200 and the total amounts sent per annum from R90 to R4 800, with an average of R818-60 per annum. The majority of household heads took the money home personally, others sent it with their wives or other family members and the balance made use of the postal service - normally registered post.

1. Migrants out of the area remitted an average 22% of their salaries - see page 54.

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