PONDO MIGRANT WORKERS IN NATAL -

RURAL AND URBAN STRAINS

by

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that the whole of
this thesis, unless specifically
indicated to the contrary in the
text, is my own original work and
that it has not been submitted for
any degree in any other University.

Finn Piers Christensen
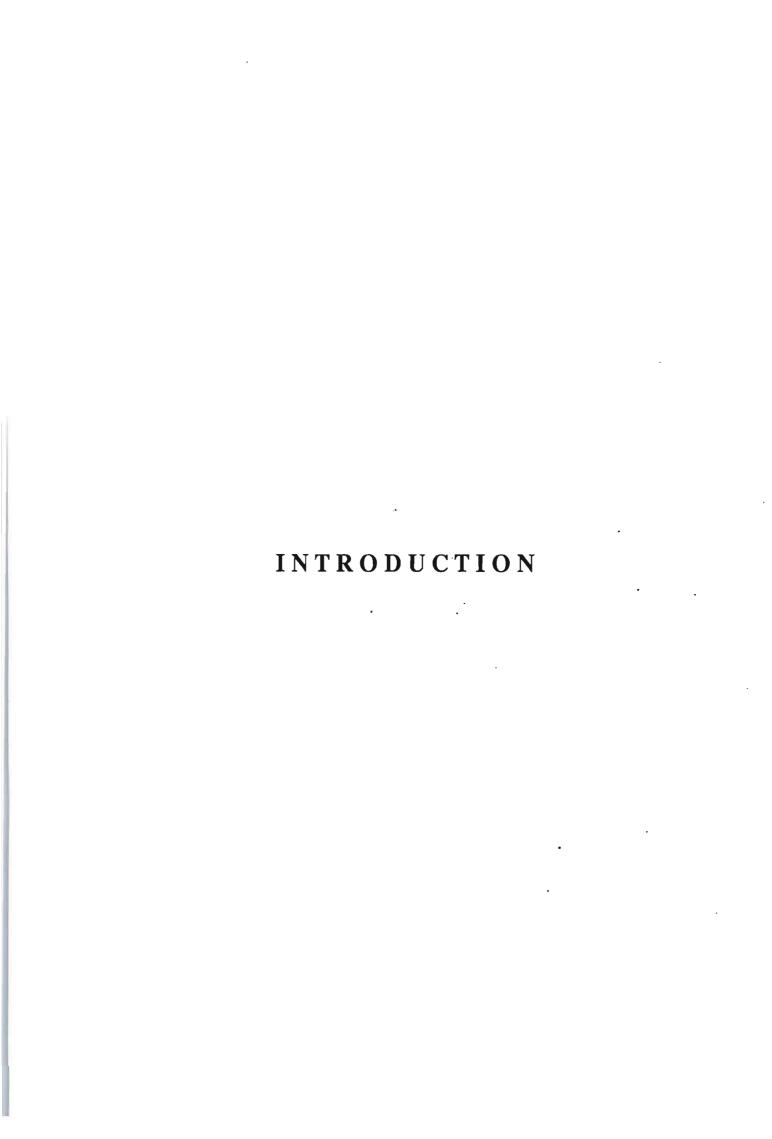University of Natal, Durban.
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INTRODUCTION

"The Pondos moved into the area and stole the jobs, water and the land of the Zulus. The Zulu should have had first option on these things, since they were here long before the Pondos. The Zulu said the Pondos were killing them, as the Pondo were stealing their jobs, and the Zulu were getting thin and sick, because they had no work and no money ... that is why the Zulu chased them away".
(Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The above account by Zulu Chief Makhanya concerns the Pondo and Zulu inhabitants of the southern Durban region, an area over which the chief traditionally presided, and into which many Pondo people have migrated. The region has witnessed much conflict between the Pondo and Zulu inhabitants, with over 100 people killed and 15 - 20 000 Pondo occupied dwellings destroyed during 1985/1986 (Diakonia pamphlet, 1986:1). This thesis investigates the rural and urban strains experienced by these migrants, who migrate from the Pondoland area within the Transkei, and secure accommodation and employment in the south of Durban.

Research on Pondo migrants was undertaken as a response to the violent conflict which had occurred between Pondo and Zulu people, especially in the south of the city, in recent years. Reports in Natal newspapers during the 1980s, and particularly in November/December 1985 and January 1986, reported incidents of fighting between these two groups of African people. Reports gave the number of people killed, homes burnt and people fleeing for their lives, yet did not discuss why the Pondo people migrated in such large numbers, the reason for many residing in shack settlements to the south of Durban, the work they did, the cause of the fighting, their prior relationship with the local African community and the repercussions this conflict had upon the Pondo migrants in the area. These unanswered questions prompted the researching of the rural strains (excessive land appropriation, overpopulation, high taxes, natural disasters etc.), and urban strains (lack of

accommodation and employment, relations with the local African community etc.), in order to understand the position of the Pondo migrants and their responses to the situation.

The south of Durban region, incorporating Umbumbulu, Malukazi, Kwa Makhuta, Umbogintwini and neighbouring industrial areas was focussed on for a number of reasons. Firstly, thousands of Pondo people have migrated to, and resided in the area for a considerable time, attracted by the early establishment of industries offering employment. In addition, the "faction fighting" between Pondo and Zulu people was concentrated within this region. This region not only houses Pondo people in private and municipal hostels, designed for "single" men, but also in considerable shack settlements on the fringes of both industry and formal African housing schemes. These shack settlements house many migrant workers unable to secure alternate accommodation, either because of its scarcity or their having migrated together with their families, and/or as a result of being prevented from acquiring formal township housing.

There are two broad and competing traditions of scholarship - the liberal and revisionist - which provide different ways to interpret the material on Pondo migration. The liberal tradition, and the earlier of the two traditions, stresses the racial and ethnic differences amongst groups, and their relationship in a changing and developing economy. Many liberal followers, particularly those since the early 1970s, have tended to stress the view that capitalism and racial domination in South Africa are "unrelated and dysfunctional" for each other (Marks, 1986). The revisionist tradition, on the other hand, which originally took the form of a critique of the liberal position, emphasises a sense of the importance of struggle in history, stressing class factors above those of race. Revisionists have attempted to secure an explanation for South Africa's rapid economic growth and the continuing - even intensifying - social inequality manifesting itself in a racially defined hierarchical

system. To explain this, revisionists have looked for functional linkages between capitalism and racial domination (Johnstone, 1982). These two traditions, and the contributions made by certain followers of each, are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1.

The liberal tradition which focuses on the relationship between the different ethnic groups in South Africa is followed within this thesis. This approach assists in the interpretation of the material obtained on Pondo people (particularly Pondo migrants), and especially the rural and urban strains encountered by these people. The shortage of urban accommodation for these Pondo people, together with their relationship with the Zulu people in the south of Durban, form a large/central part of the material discussed.

Whilst following the liberal tradition, it is accepted that the revisionist argument, claiming that functional linkages exist between capitalism and racial domination, is convincing only for the initial period of South Africa's development - when a cheap and abundant African labour force was created through extra-economic coercion. Many African people were, according to the revisionist position, forced to migrate due to government imposed laws and taxes, as well as a result of the effects of rural underdevelopment. While the revisionist argument is convincing for the initial period of South Africa's development, the material contained within this thesis reveals that the relationship between capitalism and racial domination has become dysfunctional in the decades following the mineral discoveries. This became particularly evident with the development of the manufacturing industry, when a permanent and more skilled African labour force was required.

This thesis, like much of the work undertaken by many followers of the liberal tradition, is an empirical piece of work. It is a small scale case study of both Pondo hostel and shack dwellers in the south of Durban, and of the rural and urban strains encountered by these

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people. The research findings, due to the specific characteristics/circumstances within the research area, cannot be generalised to the rest of South Africa. The thesis initially looks at labour migration in general, the underdevelopment of the Transkei/Pondoland region, the forced migration of much of its adult male population due to material circumstances and the initial benefit of this vast labour reservoir for South Africa's developing economy and labour requirements. The urban end of migration is also dealt with, investigating issues such as accommodation, the workplace and the relationship with the local urban African population.

CONTENT OF THESIS

The thesis consists of six main chapters. Within the first, an overview of South Africa's migrant labour system, and particularly that pertaining to Natal, is given. To facilitate this, pertinent literature on the South African migrant labour system is discussed, together with the liberal and revisionist traditions of scholarship, and certain significant contributions by adherents to each. Using the contributions of liberal and revisionist followers, a periodisation and relationship is constructed between the growth in migrant labour numbers from South Africa's underdeveloped rural areas and the corresponding economic development and labour requirements of the country. Relevant categories of African workers and difficulties in obtaining accommodation, which contribute to the understanding of material in following chapters, are discussed. Special attention is given to Natal, looking at the province's employment opportunities, labour force origins and types of available accommodation for migrants. The chapter endeavours to provide a clear understanding of the migrant labour system, the tradition of scholarship adopted and the starting point for the focus on Pondo migrants.

As the thesis concentrates on Pondo migrants, their area of origin - the Pondoland region of the Transkei - forms the subject matter of the second chapter. This chapter traces the underdevelopment of the Transkei - since colonial penetration - the causes thereof and its effects upon the African inhabitants of the region. The shift of the majority of the African inhabitants from self-subsistent rural dwellers to migrant labourers, and the benefit of this labour for South Africa's economic development, are given. Also shown, are the grievances held by the majority of the Pondo people towards certain changes, which they viewed as detrimental to their rural existence, their resistance to these changes and the outcome of such resistance and change. The chapter shows the gradual immiseration of the Transkei area, the effects upon, and the rural strains experienced by, the African inhabitants.

Many Africans, including those from the Transkei, have migrated to urban regions of Natal and to those around Durban in particular, in search of employment. The third chapter deals with the problems encountered by these African people in finding accommodation. This chapter portrays an historical overview of the development of Durban's African accommodation, the inadequate provision of formal accommodation and the subsequent growth of shack settlements. The development, features and reasons for the mushrooming of shack settlements in the south of Durban, especially in Malukazi and Umbumbulu, are discussed. The chapter shows the inadequacies of the urban African housing provisions in Durban, so highlighting one source of urban strain experienced by many African people, including Pondo migrants.

The fourth chapter deals specifically with Pondo hostel dwellers, the "typical" migrants, who spend the majority of their working lives as "single" people in the urban area. Within this

chapter, the migrants' family background, education, marital status, reasons for migrating and progress in the labour market are looked at. Information is also provided on the migrants' life experiences and their accounts of the positive and negative features of the Transkei and Natal. This chapter reveals the strains at both the rural and urban ends of migration.

The fifth chapter, unlike the previous, deals with those Pondo migrants who reside in shack settlements to the south of Durban. These people often migrate together with their families, and rent accommodation from the local Zulu people. The reasons for inhabiting such accommodation and their relationship with the local Zulu population are addressed. To determine the latter, attention is given to the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting" of 1985/1986, the causes, events and resulting strains experienced by Pondo migrants. The term "faction fighting", whilst being problematic, is used not only for convenience, but because Pondo and Zulu people split into two groups at the onset of the conflict, with the Pondo people viewed as "outsiders" and the Zulu people as "insiders". Aiding this division was Government legislation which termed one grouping Transkeian citizens and the other Kwa Zulu citizens, as well as a number of ethnic, tribal and group affiliation differences. These ethnic and tribal divisions are discussed within the chapter.

The sixth chapter concentrates upon the workplace and the position of the Pondo migrants employed therein. Managements' viewpoints and responses, together with those of shop stewards, address some of the issues discussed in previous chapters. Besides these, the extent to which Pondo people are employed in the industries, their relationship with the Zulu workers, the effects of this on the workplaces' unity and smooth running, and managements' opinions on Pondo people are given. With this information we can hopefully determine the extent of the conflict between Pondo and Zulu workers in

industries to the south of Durban, and the resulting strains and responses of Pondo workers to this conflict.

METHODOLOGY

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that the research methodology is multi-faceted. In addition to the use of contemporary and earlier secondary literature, interviews were undertaken with 30 Pondo migrants who resided in hostels. The migrants interviewed were all trade union members and were contacted through the assistance of the Ecumenical Centre in Durban. After informing the migrants of the purpose of this study, interviews following an informal, semi-structured form (see Appendix), and each having a duration of 45 - 60 minutes, were conducted after work hours during workdays and on Saturday mornings. Interviewing occurred in two places, a portion at a Merewent hostel, where they all resided, and the remainder at the trade union hall on Saturdays. The information obtained from these interviews was utilised in Chapter 4.

It is necessary to point out that interviews with Pondo migrants had previously proved difficult to obtain, their experiences of late having resulted in many preferring to maintain a low profile. Besides this, there are further difficulties in attempting to interview Pondo migrants. Amongst these, is the problem of contacting them, as they generally work in the industrial areas and reside in places which are often inaccessible to the average white person. Management of these industries are also hesitant to allow "outsiders" to interview their employees, and even if this was sanctioned, the limited lunch breaks granted to workers provide insufficient time to speak to them. It was thus after many attempts to secure interviews with Pondo people, that information was obtained from the 30 Pondo hostel dwellers. The 30 migrants were interviewed, not because they were a representative

number, but rather as these were the total number of regular, united Pondo union members, who attended most of the union meetings. Whilst this number does not represent an adequate sample of Pondo people employed in Natal, nor provide a complete insight into the experiences of Pondo people, other than hostel dwellers, the information obtained forms an experiential matrix of their rural and urban relationship.

An unfortunate outcome of the difficulty/impossibility of obtaining interviews with many Pondo people, especially those in shack settlements, was the inability to secure Pondo migrants' personal accounts of the Pondo/Zulu conflict of 1985/1986, their reasons for the conflict and the effects this conflict had upon them. The impossibility of obtaining information from Pondo shack dwellers, due to many having fled the area and maintaining low profiles, is one of the difficulties encountered when doing contemporary research of this nature. Although a certain amount of material on this conflict was obtained from the Pondo hostel dwellers, it served only to inform the thesis, being of insufficient substance to be used as evidence. Despite this, some of the strains experienced by Pondo people, as a result of the conflict, are captured in the shop steward interviews in Chapter 6.

The material discussed in Chapter 5, on the relationship between Pondo and Zulu people in the south of Durban, including that on "faction fighting", was obtained through a combination of primary and secondary sources and interviews. The main primary source was newspaper reports, with additional information obtained from research units in Pietermaritzburg. It is necessary that some reservation be expressed as to the "accuracy and focus" of newspaper reports as a source of information, due to "possible selectivity and bias" in reporting (Bailey, 1978). Newspaper reports, despite these possible problems, were utilised as material on Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting", with the exception of the Diakonia pamphlet (1986), was severely limited. To overcome some of the inadequacies of the

available material, interviews were conducted with two local Zulu chiefs, namely chiefs' Makhanya and Mkhize. They preside over the area where considerable conflict between Zulu people, as well as between Pondo and Zulu inhabitants, was witnessed. Interviews of the informal semi-structured type were undertaken and each had a duration of about five hours. The chiefs provided much information, and related both historic and contemporary incidents connected to Pondo and Zulu people. Further information was gathered through an informal unstructured interview with the rector of the Amanzimtoti Anglican Church, who showed considerable knowledge of events in the area, and who had been involved in relief schemes for those left homeless due to the "faction fighting".

In Chapter 6, a survey of 22 factories in the southern Durban area, namely Isipingo, Prospecton and Umbogintwini, is presented. Lists of registered factories in the area were obtained from the Isipingo and Amanzimtoti municipalities. Factories were selected which employed over 50 people, so ensuring that an impression of scale was obtained, and to determine how people relate in large groups. Interviews were conducted with either the personnel or factory managers, and again followed an informal semi-structured form (see Appendix). Each interview had a duration of 50 - 60 minutes, and aimed at securing managements' attitudes towards Pondo workers, as well as an understanding of the relationship and any incidents which might have occurred between Pondo and Zulu workers in the workplace. Once again certain reservation should be remembered, as the insights and information were recalled through the viewpoint of management, in whose interest it was to present an image of good labour policies and of an untroubled labour force, resulting in the possible dilution of the actual intensity of grievances and trouble which took place (Bailey, 1978; Worsley, 1981). To counteract any possibility of this occurring, and to add to the information already obtained, the results of an additional survey with 36 shop stewards was used. The survey was conducted in conjunction with and

with the assistance of the Shop Steward Leadership in Natal project, headed by Shamim Marie. The shop stewards interviewed were coloured, Indian and African. Each interview lasted 1-1½ hours and was informal and semi-structured (see Appendix). These interviews were beneficial as they contributed to the information already obtained, as shop stewards have a wider knowledge and greater consciousness of the workplace due to their organizational duties. It is the material gained from interviews that forms a large portion of the thesis.

The research undertaken aims to portray the struggle that Pondo migrants experience in the rural and urban areas, conveying the severe strains they encounter and their responses to these pressures. It is hoped that as a result, a greater understanding of the precarious position of both hostel and shack dwelling Pondo migrants in Natal can be achieved.

CHAPTER 1

THE SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM

WITH SPECIFIC FOCUS ON NATAL

1.1   INTRODUCTION

In South Africa, the oscillation of African people between rural and urban areas has occurred for well over a century. The motivating factors behind this movement have been the topic of much debate, with both the liberal and revisionist traditions offering possible, although different, explanations as to the cause of labour migration. From looking at the definitions and causes of migrant labour, attention will shift to the relevant classifications of African workers, available accommodation, sectors of employment and areas of origin. The aim of this chapter is to provide a general overview of the South African migrant labour system, with specific focus on migrant labour in Natal.

The term migrant or migrant labourer applies to many Africans employed in South Africa. The migration of these people was a well-established phenomenon by the time Schapera (1947:1) observed:

> "One of the outstanding features today in the life of the native peoples inhabiting Southern Africa is the continuous flow of men and women to and from European centres of employment, especially in the Witwatersrand and other urban areas of the Union".

This system of oscillation is termed a "geographical displacement of people" by van Binsbergen and Meilink (1981). It is useful to add that "displacement" should be between sectors of the social field that are structurally different from one another. The one sector being rurally situated, is often underdeveloped and overpopulated, while the other is urban and holds employment opportunities. From the definitions, a picture emerges of labour migration involving the movement of African people from rural to urban areas, with the chief intention of securing employment. Migration is not an alternative nor purely a

"material complement" to a rural base, but rather the way in which such a base is preserved (Murray, 1987).

1.2   THE LIBERAL AND REVISIONIST TRADITIONS OF SCHOLARSHIP

Two broad traditions of scholarship have contributed to the understanding of labour migration and the causes thereof in South Africa. The liberal tradition, for many years the only tradition, has since been followed by a second, referred to by such labels as marxist, neo-marxist, radical and revisionist. Whilst the latter has varied labels, the term revisionist shall be used.

The liberal tradition of scholarship which emerged in the early twentieth century and soon dominated South African studies, attempted to obtain an understanding of South Africa's development by focusing primarily on racial and ethnic groups and their relationship to a changing and developing economy. The increasing economic and political power of the whites was viewed as both a "natural" and beneficial development, especially as Africans, towards the end of the nineteenth century, were believed by many of the early liberals to possess "outdated" economies and cultures. White capitalist development would therefore serve to "liberate" the Africans and bring progress to the country. The increasing employment of Africans in mines, farms and urban areas, was seen as such a step (de Kiewiet, 1936; Hobart-Houghton, 1952). Whilst many early liberals attributed the cause of labour migration to the poor and "backward" economies and cultures of the African people, more recent liberal followers, largely in response to the critique from the revisionists, have provided a modified and more acceptable explanation for the causes of African labour migration. These recent liberal followers, such as Wilson (1972), Lipton (1980) and Nattrass (1983), have pointed to the relationship between economic development and

urbanisation. They have argued that capitalism and racial domination in South Africa are dysfunctional for each other, with the policies of segregation and apartheid having created obstacles to the country's rational economic development. It is this more recent liberal tradition which is followed in this thesis.

A significant and early contribution to the liberal tradition is found in the work of de Kiewiet (1936). Here the cause of labour migration was attributed to both the "backwardness" and the weakness of the subsistence economy, due largely to the "unscientific and wasteful" agriculture and the "ignorance and neglect" of African life. The de Kiewiet (1936) argument concerning the cause of labour migration has been supported by many early followers of the liberal tradition. Amongst these is Hobart-Houghton (1952), whose very similar explanation incorporates the dual nature of the South African economy, the parallel existence of "self-subsistence" and "market" sectors of the economy. The inability of the Africans to adapt their economy was seen as their main problem, and arose from a weakness in the dual economy, insufficient technical knowledge, restraining social customs, hostility to progress and lack of response to market incentives (Hobart-Houghton, 1952). In line with the above, the Natal Regional Survey (1957) report argued that the extensive reduction in soil fertility, as a result of "mono-cropping and unscientific use of soil and veld", is one of the main causes of rural malnutrition, dwindling yields and high migrancy rates. The frailty of these rural areas was easily upset by drought and pests, often necessitating Government assistance (1957:43). These explanations assume a basic weakness of the rural African economy, the inability of African inhabitants to adapt their economy and combine cultivation and animal husbandry into a "true system of mixed farming" (Coleman, 1983:50).

The above explanations are typical of the views held by many of the early liberal followers. However, the more recent liberal followers have provided a modified and more acceptable

explanation for the causes of labour migration. The contributions of these liberals shall now be discussed.

One of the major - more recent - accounts of migrant labour from within the liberal tradition has been provided by Wilson (1972), who developed a push-pull model to explain the macro-economic forces in South Africa's oscillating migrant labour system. Wilson's (1972, in Griffiths and Jones, 1980) model assumes the existence of two separate economies.

1)   the rural economy characterised by considerable unemployment or under-employed skilled labour; and

2)   the urban economy which secures most of its labour supplies from the former.

The urban demand for labour which "attracts" workers from the rural areas is seen as a result of "natural economic expansion in the modern sector". The pull of the urban area is strengthened by non-economic motives which Wilson (1972) terms the "bright-lights" factor, that is, "the adventure and excitement of urban life". The second force, and probably the more feasible of the two, is the push from the rural areas as a result of overpopulation, poverty and unemployment. In addition, this force may be strengthened by the need for a sum of money to purchase certain commodities, more land or acquire a wife. Connell et. al. (1976:57) argue that the "bright-lights" theory of rural-urban migration, suggesting that urban facilities are an inducement to migrate, has generally fallen into disfavour, except for those migrants possessing high education levels.

In regard to Wilson's (1972) "pull" factors, Gugler (1976:89) writing about Tropical Africa, shows that the more important urban centres do offer better possibilities for education and training. Furthermore, a number of amenities not available in rural areas are found in

urban areas, thus "adding incentive" to migrate. Looking at additional factors which encourage migration, Smith (1950:25) states that the urban area,

> "exerts its greatest attraction on the young men for whom escape to the towns often means liberation from tribal authority, from farm labour obligations and from parental control".

Rheinallt-Jones (1953:36) believes that the migration of men to urban areas has encouraged the entry of women. This movement is made possible by the greater availability of transport and communication which increase the rural dweller's mobility and situates the towns and these opportunities within reach (Smith, 1950:24).

In regard to Wilson's (1972) "push" factors, Schlemmer and Möller (1981) argue that increasing land pressure through population increase has forced migrants to spend more of their wages on feeding their families, replenishing soil and paying for services and basic essentials. In such an economy, a number of studies have shown a close relationship between high man/land ratios and the propensity to migrate (Connell et. al., 1976:7). Nattrass (1983) agrees with this, but adds that people are also attracted to the urban areas by higher living standards.

A possible explanation as to why certain African people are "pushed", and others "pulled", to the urban areas is provided by Lipton (1982). Lipton's (1982) contribution, which possesses similarities to Wilson's (1972) push-pull model, argues that often rural areas which have a high rate of labour migration are characterised by an unequal distribution of land amongst the inhabitants, by a large number of "landless labourers", and by high man/land ratios. Two main groups of migrants come, according to Lipton (1982), from such rural areas. Both these groups have different reasons for their search for urban employment.

1)   The one group comprises the "deficit farmers" and "landless labourers", who are "pushed" out of the rural area. These people migrate to earn money to support themselves and their families, who have remained in the rural areas.

2)   The other group comprises the sons of large landowners, though not the largest, who are "pulled" out of the rural area. These people usually migrate to assist in bearing the costs of urban education and/or to benefit from the higher urban-rural income differentials, which their education has made possible.

Lipton (1982) believes that labour migration is mainly the result of severe inequalities in the rural areas.

Having discussed some of the important insights and studies produced by followers of the liberal tradition, the alternate, more recent tradition shall now be looked at. The tradition emerged in the early 1970s, taking the form of a critique of the liberal, and embodying marxist, neo-marxist, radical and/or revisionist ideas. As mentioned earlier, the revisionist label will be referred to. Variations in scope, methodology, approach and subject matter do occur within this tradition. However, what is shared is a sense of the importance of struggle in history, a general agreement that history,

> "not only enables one to understand the past, but also offers the best critical vantage point from which to view the present".
>
> (Marks, 1986:166)

The revisionist tradition stresses class factors rather than race, and

> "rejects both the empirical notion of an emphasis on facts, and the idealist, pluralist, racial ethnic approach to social relations in South Africa, in favour of the idea that the salient forms of social life reflect underlying social-economic structures".
>
> (Johnstone, 1982:8)

The main explanation sought by revisionists was why South Africa, despite rapid economic growth, continued to possess extreme social inequality within the racial system. In order to

answer this, revisionists have examined the functional linkages between capitalism and racial domination, developing a class analysis of South Africa and of the racial system (Johnstone, 1982:9). In this perspective, underdevelopment in the bantustans (previously termed reserves in the pre-apartheid period) is analysed as a corollary of South Africa's industrial development, with the migrant labour system regarded as a particular outcome of the penetration of capitalist relations of production under certain historical conditions (Murray, 1980:142).

A crucial moment in the development of the revisionist tradition came with the work of such scholars as Legassick. Legassick (1972) examined the process of capital accumulation in South Africa and attempted to portray the coercive and racially discriminatory features of the South African social structure in terms of a definite historical process of change, and through the characteristics of capitalism. Through this work and that of other revisionists such as Bundy, Wolpe, Johnstone and Trapido, the close relationship between the changes in the process of capital accumulation and the subsequent fluctuation in demand and differing types of labour are evident. In addition, these scholars have revealed a different historical picture to that of the liberals, especially that of the early liberals, and have created an awareness of the "resilience and adaptiveness" of some of the African people, and the underdeveloping forces of capitalism, as African agriculturalists were forced into wage labour (Johnstone, 1982:11).

Through the contributions of both liberal and revisionist scholars it is possible to determine three broad phases in the development of the migrant labour system. The first phase, which began with the discovery of minerals in the latter half of the nineteenth century and continued until the early twentieth century , was characterised by the demand for cheap,

unskilled African labour, especially on the mines and farms. The second phase began with the development of manufacturing in the early 1920s and continued until about 1945. Within this phase an additional demand for unskilled African labour on the part of manufacturing occurred, which broadened the range of African employment opportunities. The third phase, which evolved after World War II, saw the restructuring of the African workforce into more semi-skilled and skilled positions. A number of changes occurred both for industry and labour. These phases, related to the transition of capital accumulation, will now be dealt with.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century many African people encountered colonially induced/related changes, amongst these being pressure to enter the migrant labour system. A variety of state proclaimed laws and taxes succeeded in forcing a large portion of the African male population into unskilled labour positions, especially on the mines and into agriculture. However, a small portion of this population, at least initially, escaped the migrant labour system by becoming peasants, with some displaying a certain sensitivity towards the changing market forces in South Africa (Bundy, 1972). Despite this, increased laws and taxes, together with discriminatory state help to white farmers, soon transformed much of this peasantry into migrant labourers.

One of the major factors which influenced the changing lifestyle of the African people was the discovery of diamonds in 1867. This stimulated the demand for cheap, unskilled labour, not only for the mines, but on farms and road and railway construction projects. The Cape Assembly attempted to meet these demands through the introduction of taxes, pass laws, location laws and vagrancy laws which revealed the interests of both the legislators and constituents (Bundy, 1972). The imposition of such legislation in order to induce and accelerate labour supply became common practice in the years ahead.

Gold discoveries in the 1880s and the cost structure of the mines which developed, necessitated an increase in cheap, unskilled labour (Bundy, 1972). This was largely due to the depth at which the gold was situated and the discovery of the cyanide process in gold refining. Additional demand for labour came from farmers who, as during the diamond discoveries, found that as their markets expanded so did their need for labour, with public service demands adding to the pressure (Lacey, 1981:14).

Despite the African people's initial resistance towards entering the migrant labour system, the discriminatory and coercive forces utilised by the holders of power eroded the African people's strength and left many with little alternative but to become wage labourers. Such "forces" were particularly implemented between 1894-1910, and were intended to increase and regulate the labour supply while keeping wages low. Revised squatter laws and Master and Servants laws were passed, together with new labour and hut taxes to push Africans into employment (Lacey, 1981:15). Adding to these "man-made" difficulties was the 1896-1897 rinderpest epidemic, which killed vast numbers of African owned cattle (Bundy, 1987:376).

Amongst the most efficient methods devised to maintain the migrant labour system was the Glen Grey system. The 1894 Glen Grey Act divided the land of a region into four morgen holdings, so reducing the carrying capacity and inevitably forcing the surplus into wage labour (Lacey, 1981:15). The effects of this were compounded by the 1913 Land Act, which restricted African land leasing and purchasing rights to the existing reserves. Lacey (1981:21) believes the motive of the 1913 Land Act was to allay fears by white farmers of African competition and, secondly, to perpetuate the flow of African people to the mines.

The subsequent underdevelopment of most of the reserves caused rural subsistence levels to decrease, and dependence on urban wage earnings to increase. This forced many of the inhabitants not only to pledge their future crops and cattle to traders, but also to enter urban employment, so providing mines and agriculture with the cheap, unskilled labour which was much needed during this period (Lacey, 1981:41; Stahl and Bohning, 1981:33).

This first phase in the development of the migrant labour system has revealed that functional linkages existed, as argued by the revisionists, between capitalism and racial domination. However, the policies of segregation and apartheid in the following two phases, whilst still providing an abundant African labour supply, began to create obstacles/problems for rational economic development.

The fluctuations in African labour supply according to changes in the pattern of capital accumulation continued in the decades following the mineral discoveries. During the 1920s and 1930s, South Africa witnessed the entry of mining capital into industry and the general development of the manufacturing sector. Such development was stimulated by forces both within and outside the country, amongst these being the effects of World War I, mining needs and state initiatives. This created a new and additional demand for unskilled African labour, with the labour force continuing to be racially divided between skilled (white) and unskilled (African) workers. Whilst most of the one million Africans in the urban areas during the 1930s continued to be employed mainly in mining and domestic services, a definite move towards manufacturing sector employment was evident. Manufacturing development was increasing with its contribution to gross output overtaking agriculture in 1930, and mining during World War II (Legassick, 1974).

The continued decline of the reserves during the 1930s and 1940s, largely the outcome of underdevelopment attempts of previous decades, resulted in African urbanisation

exceeding industrial demands (Legassick, 1974). An increase in the number of unemployed African people in the urban areas occurred (Nattrass, 1983). The consequent weakening of African influx controls and the growth of African shack settlements, created new problems for South African capitalism in terms of African labour control and exploitation (Legassick, 1974). These problems, identified by the liberals, have persisted over the decades.

In the period following World War II, significant changes took place in both the structuring and development of the manufacturing industry, and within the composition of the African labour force. Distinguishing the manufacturing industry in the post-war period from that of previous decades, was its rapid development resulting from the utilisation of modern technology and methods of production (Wilson, 1972; Nattrass, 1983). The move towards "cost reducing rationalisation methods" not only facilitated increased local production, but also created greater demand for more permanent, semi-skilled African workers. A weakening of the skilled white workers' position, and the replacement of considerable manual unskilled (African) positions with "operative worked machinery" positions took place, together with the rise to predominance of the African worker, within this sector (Legassick, 1974:29).

Two strategies were devised in response to these developments, with the latter of the two being adopted with the coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948. The first strategy proposed that as a result of the reserves' inability to subsidise labour reproduction, and the need by secondary industry for more skilled and settled African workers, greater numbers were to be granted permanent urban residential rights and urban labour reproduction costs would be state financed. For secondary industry and commerce, the dependence on the migrant labour system would be reduced. The second strategy proposed that secondary industry would continue to, and increasingly utilise the migrant labour system. The

"mechanisms of extra-economic coercion" were to be increased, not only regulating the urban entry of migrants according to industry's needs, but also through a labour bureau system in the reserves. Thus with a certain time to secure employment, together with the possible exclusion from urban employment should the African worker become unemployed, the cheapness of African workers would be maintained. This system posed the problem of how labour reproduction costs were to be met in a situation where reserve agriculture was declining (Legassick, 1974). The decreasing viability of reserve agriculture is evidenced in migrants of broader age cohorts, and more females than previously, being found in the urban areas (Nattrass, 1977:46).

The developments resulting from the latter strategy were supplemented by industrial decentralisation, either to "border areas" nearby African reserves, or through the investment of white capital into the reserves. This helped satisfy industry's needs for a more permanent workforce, as migrants could be encouraged to reduce their returns home and remain in the same place of employ. In addition, it was believed that industrial decentralisation might reduce the large inflow of African people to urban centres. Many of these Africans in urban areas were surplus/unemployed people, often living in shack settlements, and had become a problem to the white power-holders (Nattrass, 1983:19).

During the 1950s, the Government began its programme of migrant contract labour and industrial decentralisation. The number of Africans in industry grew, together with those in possession of urban legal residence rights. The 1960s witnessed "inroads into the vested urban status of Africans", and the removal of unemployable Africans to the bantustans (Legassick, 1974:26). At the same time, the last stages of proletarianisation and rationalisation in agriculture resulted in the removal of many Africans from white farms to the bantustans. The apartheid policies continued to supply cheap African labour, and

aimed at ensuring that possible unemployment problems would be alleviated by returning Africans to the bantustans (Legassick, 1974:26-27). The apartheid policies, however, could do little to prevent the "illegal" entry of Africans into urban areas, many of which resided in the ever-increasing shack settlements (Nattrass, 1983).

The combination of unemployment problems in the 1970s and 1980s, the Administration Boards' local labour preference policies and changing labour skill requirements created an insecure situation for migrants entering urban areas. Hindson (1987:80) states that the increased growth and capital intensification of manufacturing production since the late 1960s, changed the work structure and type of African labour required. More African workers began to enter semi-skilled positions. Industrial development and increased bureaucratic controls in the 1960s exacerbated skill shortages and gave rise to a surplus of unskilled workers. This placed increased strains on labour bureau operations and undermined the aim of influx control and territorial segregation.

To overcome the growth of surplus unskilled Africans and rural proletarianisation, both pass and influx controls were altered in the 1970s. The state had become increasingly pressurised during this period to reform the pass system, and in 1979 began an urban reform programme which gave greater mobility to urban Africans, whilst restricting that of rural Africans. The 1979 Riekert Report on Manpower Utilisation suggested that the employment and residential places of urban Africans be protected from rural Africans. This created segmentation between the rural and urban Africans in both the employment sector and residential place. Hence the concept of "insider" and "outsider" which arose from the Riekert Report. Although the Riekert Commission attempted to solve the urban problems by establishing the division between urban and rural Africans, it gave little or no advice on how to reduce rural unemployment (Hindson, 1987:82-86).

The inability of many bantustans to obtain economic independence, led the state to reconsider the "geographical basis of economic planning" (Hindson, 1987:89). Future planning was to be based on economic units which superseded the division between white South Africa and the bantustans. In 1985, the state adopted the regional planning framework as the basis of a new strategy of urbanisation and local Government. These measures have resulted in the introduction of a new system of control and movement in the country. The intention is to prevent low paid, unskilled Africans from residing in the urban areas by making it difficult for them to pay for urban accommodation and amenities. The measures distinguished between Africans from independent bantustans, such as the Transkei, and those who are entitled to reside in South Africa. The former have passports and incur movement and residential control similar to those in the past. For the latter, there is greater freedom over movement and residence (Hindson, 1987:90).

In summary, it can be argued that the various measures/methods introduced during the apartheid period, such as the ethnic fragmentation/division of the African people through the creation of bantustans, as well as restricting the number of permanent urban Africans through the continuation of the migrant labour system, have created problems for both the South African power-holders and for the country's rational economic development. The apartheid policies, through restricting the "natural" urbanisation process, have given rise to the distorted urbanisation of shack settlements (Nattrass, 1983). Nattrass (1983:10) stated that many of these shack settlements' inhabitants are people who "bypass the law and ignore it", having been "pushed" out of the rural areas by the inability of the land to support them. Shack settlements are often overcrowded and have inadequate amenities. These conditions can under certain circumstances, as shown in Chapter 5, result in conflict amongst the inhabitants. Much of this conflict, such as that discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, is between shack dwellers of different ethnic/tribal origins. This conflict often destabilises

the African workforces, and can severely disrupt the production process. From the above discussion it becomes evident that the policies of apartheid, introduced to facilitate South Africa's economic growth/profitability, have had certain dysfunctional outcomes.

Having discussed the movement of African people into urban employment, and the problems this has created for South African capitalism, discussion will now focus on certain categories of African workers found in such employment.

1.3   CATEGORIES OF AFRICAN WORKERS

In line with the liberal tradition, three categories of African workers, relevant to the understanding of material in later chapters (especially Chapters 4 and 5), shall now be discussed.

The first category consists of migrants who seek urban employment with the intention of earning sufficient to support both themselves and provide a surplus to send home to their families. These migrants aim eventually to return to the rural areas and are referred to by Hobart-Houghton and Walton (1952:116) as immigrant-breadwinners. They generally possess strong rural links, return to these areas at varying intervals and send remittances. Their oscillation between rural and urban areas is an endeavour to reduce some of the strains incurred by residing in the often underdeveloped bantustans. Members of this category usually reside in "single" people's accommodation, such as hostels and compounds.

The second category consists of those African people who migrate either alone or together with their families, in order to escape the rural economic strains. The latter are termed emigrant families (Hobart-Houghton and Walton, 1952:116). This group does not conform

to the typical picture of migrant labourers, as depicted earlier in this chapter. These members often occupy the numerous shack settlements in and around urban areas, especially in regions where employment is obtainable, and have weaker links with the rural areas.

The final category of African worker to be discussed, and one which has become particularly important to many industries, especially since the 1960s, is the commuter. These people reside in locations and bantustans within close proximity to urban areas, and commute daily by bus or train to and from their homes to work. A factor which has given impetus to the development of this group is the decentralisation process and the subsequent establishment of border industries, making employment more accessible to the African people.

1.4   ACCOMMODATION DIFFICULTIES FOR MIGRANT LABOURERS

Although laws, taxes, land appropriation and considerable underdevelopment of the bantustans have forced numerous Africans into employment in South Africa's urban areas, there has been very little provision, either by industries themselves or by those in power, to accommodate these migrants. Further, a number of state implemented laws and Acts have compounded the difficulties many Africans experience in securing urban accommodation. In the early period of capitalist development, African workers and their families resided in close proximity to urban employment. Legal constraints on this urban process were ineffective, with the influx of Africans largely uncontrolled, creating housing and amenities shortages (Legassick and de Clerq, 1978). This not only gave rise to the development of shack settlements, but temporarily reduced and prevented any control over the African population by the power-holders.

Since 1923, successive Acts have made it difficult for Africans to qualify for urban residence. In terms of the Native Urban Areas Act (1923), Africans had to report to the registering officer within 48 hours of arrival in the urban area (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975:6). From 1923 until very recently, all Africans in South Africa had little choice but to be migrants - temporary sojourners in the urban and white areas. They could settle in the latter areas through exemptions, such as Section 10. This system was further tightened during the Apartheid period. After World War II, in terms of Section 10 of the Native Consolidations Act of 1945, and its subsequent amendments, additional procedures for restricting the African urbanisation process were enforced (Legassick and de Clerq, 1978:2). The Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act (1952) prevented Africans from staying in the urban areas for longer than 72 hours unless they had been born there and were permanently resident there, or had worked continuously for one employer for 10 years or had been in the area for at least 15 years (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975:6). The Apartheid period ensured the continuance of migration to the developing economy, as well as confining many Africans to underdeveloped bantustans, through limiting urban African housing supply, in developing "independent" bantustans and in "retribalising" many people. A more detailed discussion on types of accommodation available for migrants will be dealt with later in the chapter.

1.5 NATAL - INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND LABOUR REQUIREMENTS

Focussing on migrant labour in Natal, with attention given to the migrant workforce in and around Durban, it is necessary to outline the development of various sectors of the region where migrants have been and are employed.

With the increasing urbanisation of Natal, there has been an "accompaniment and a measure of industrialization, with industrial development determining the amount and nature of the labour required" (Smith, 1950). Initially, Africans were employed in domestic services in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, with many found as togt labourers and ricksha pullers. Africans were also drawn into agriculture (especially on the sugar plantations), in industry, coal mines and the Railway and Harbour works (Dhupelia, 1982:37). The sugar industry and coal mines were for many years the major employers of African labour in the province. As Natal's industries developed, so too did the demand for labour. This labour was readily available due to the close geographical location of the bantustans to Durban, resulting in a high percentage of migrants within the workforce. This had certain consequences for the local African population, especially in influencing policies of local and central state and patterns of class formation (Maylam, 1983). Further, unlike the rest of South Africa, Natal possesses a large Indian population which has supplied much of the province's labour needs.

Natal's early manufacturing activity was confined to a small range of commodities, with stimulus for expansion coming from outside its borders. The characteristics which Natal's manufacturing sector came to display were determined by the availability of raw materials and markets, transport costs, "agglomeration economies", abundant labour supply and social and political factors which influenced the location of production (Stanwix, 1988:6-7).

Prior to and during the depression (1929/30 - 1933/34) there was little significant demand for African labour within manufacturing. It was only towards the end of the depression and with South Africa's abandonment of the gold standard that an increase in manufacturing employment occurred. The demand for African labour grew throughout the war years, stimulated by increased war production and by major construction projects (Burrows,

1959:176). Between 1936 - 1946, the number of Africans in Natal's urban area rose from 128 000 to 210 000, with less significant increases occurring amongst the whites and Indians (Smith, 1950:18). The increased rate of African urbanisation in Natal during the war years corresponded with the manufacturing industry's demand for African labour. On a more local level, Durban's manufacturing industry grew rapidly during this period, except for a short pause immediately after the war, accompanied by a corresponding decrease in African employment. The 1950s brought increased employment in manufacturing, although these years had a slower average increase rate than the previous· decade (Burrows, 1959).

The movement of Africans towards Natal's urban areas during the 1930s and 1950s (Table 1), had certain consequences for farmers (Burrows, 1959). The gradual flow of labour out of agriculture and into manufacturing and other urban related employment, reduced the volume of agricultural labourers and in some instances made it difficult to continue farming operations with the remaining workforces (Ballinger, 1950:37; Ballinger, 1962; Wilson, 1972a:83-85).

Table 1

Distribution of Africans in Natal, 1936-1957

Area	1936	1946	1957	Increase 1936-1957
African Areas	904 130	957 385	954 838	50 208
White farms	405 526	367 846	366 001	-40 525
Other farms	30 765	86 224	121 502	90 737
Other rural areas	61 330	72 578	79 163	17 833
Urban areas	150 878	224 510	288 598	137 720
Total Natal	1 553 629	1 708 483	1 810 102	256 473

(Source: Burrows, 1959:80)

Despite rapid industrial growth, African employment in the early 1950s remained relatively unskilled with only manual and service workers, apart from farmers and farm labourers, being of any relative importance. Although African employment in services had decreased since the 1940s, it still accounted for almost half of the non-agricultural labour in the following decade. The remaining industries employing Africans were in order of importance: manufacturing, construction, mining, transport and commerce. The highest African to non-African ratio during the early 1950s was found in agriculture, with mining not far behind. Although mining was a relatively important source of employment in Natal, the coal mines are not the "traditional" source of employment for Africans in Natal in the same way as the gold mines (Burrows, 1959:142). Both the coal mining and sugar industries preferred to recruit "malaria resistant" labour from outside of Natal, especially from Basutoland and Pondoland (Transkei), even though large local supplies of African labourers existed (Smith, 1950). The third highest African to non-African ratio was found in services (Burrows, 1959).

The 1950s and 1960s revealed continued industrial development in Natal, facilitated by the available labour supply which had come to display two main characteristics:

1)   strongly segmented and racially divided, especially between African and Indian workers, as well as a marked sexual division of labour;

2)   high proportion of the workforce continued to be migrants.

Both these factors had contributed to the maintenance of a cheap labour force in Natal. It is cited in Stanwix (1988) that some firms found this advantageous and encouraged the racial divisions in the labour force as a way of maintaining low wages and preventing labour unrest. Natal's labour force structure enabled employers to replace workers of one race group (such as Indians) by another (such as Africans), when worker resistance arose (Stanwix, 1988:11).

The 1960s experienced a shift in the location of the manufacturing sector in South Africa, as firms began to decentralise. Similar trends could be seen in the changing pattern of manufacturing output and employment in Natal. The regions became more specialised in "labour-intensive sectors of production" and as a result economic profitability was linked to the availability of a cheap and submissive workforce (Stanwix, 1988:12). The move towards decentralization continued through the 1970s and 1980s, due to both the state's decentralization policies and capital's response to changes in conditions of capital accumulation. Decreasing manufacturing employment occurred in Durban, although both Pinetown and New Germany correspondingly increased their manufacturing employment figures. This indicates the "process of 'deconcentration' from Durban to the surrounding areas" (Stanwix, 1988:17-18).

To summarise, Natal's industries grew rapidly in the post-war period, accompanied by an increase in the size of the urban African population. African labour was initially and abundantly employed in agriculture. However, as other industries developed, this labour began to filter into the new sectors. The growth of Natal's manufacturing industry resulted in a corresponding change in racial composition, especially in the rise of African workers to the predominant industrial worker (Burrows, 1959). Manufacturing in Natal came to provide employment for 19.2 percent of Natal's working population in 1980. Despite Natal's continued growth in the country's manufacturing output and employment during the post-war period, the Durban metropolitan region has experienced a decrease in both as a result of decentralization (Stanwix, 1988:17).

1.6 NATAL'S, AND IN PARTICULAR DURBAN'S, AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLY

Durban's labour supply comes from within and beyond Natal's boundaries. This is revealed by a sample of "Native Service Contracts" entered into in Durban between 1917 - 1942, in

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which about 15 percent of the Africans employed in the city during that period came from Ndwedwe and Mapumulo, 12 percent from outside Natal, 8 percent from Pinetown, and 7 percent each from the southern inlying regions of Alfred, Ixopo, Richmond and the southern central areas of Camperdown, New Hanover, Lions River and Pietermaritzburg (Smith, 1950:52). Burrows (1959:170) believed that Durban drew its labour "more evenly throughout the province" than the other labour centres of Natal. At the time that Burrows (1959) wrote, Government policy allowed Durban to obtain labour from 7 "open" areas, namely Stanger, Ndwedwe, Mapumulo, Umbumbulu, Pinetown, Umzinto, Verulam and the Durban magisterial district. Although Durban employed many Africans from surrounding areas, the importance of more distant sources of supply had increased (Smith, 1950:53).

The importance of more distant sources of African labour supply for Durban's industries, as identified by Smith (1950), have continued to exist in the 1980s. This was revealed by the research findings of Schlemmer and Möller (1981). From their sample of 676 African workers employed in Durban, 242 or 36 percent came from the Transkei. The remaining workers came from within Natal, the Ciskei and "other" areas (Schlemmer and Möller 1981). A later study undertaken by Maasdorp and Pillay (1983:73) found a similarly high rate of Transkeian citizens in Natal, to that found by Schlemmer and Möller (1981), with the majority of migrants in the former study coming from Natal (43.7%) and Transkei (39%). A small proportion came from the rest of South Africa, while the most important foreign supplying countries were Lesotho and Swaziland.

The material on Durban's African labour supply suggests/indicates that the city's African labour force was comprised - and still is - of both migrants (Africans who migrate, either alone or together with their families, from more distant sources of supply e.g. Transkei) and of commuters (Africans from nearby areas e.g. Pinetown and Umbumbulu). These categories of African workers were discussed earlier in the chapter.

1.7   AFRICAN ACCOMMODATION IN NATAL

The flow of migrants into Natal's urban regions brought about the need for African accommodation. Hostels and compounds were built in an attempt to house the growing number of Africans entering urban areas, with most of the earlier compounds built by private employers. These complexes, the number of which is difficult to establish, each provided accommodation for 50 or more men, and included those constructed by Government bodies such as the South African Railway and Harbours, Police, Provincial hospitals and schools (Wilson, 1972).

By 1972, the municipal compounds housed 600 male municipality workers, and there were about 57 privately owned compounds which housed 10 250 men. In addition there was another 13 750 people housed in a number of single people's hostels which each held under 50 beds. These figures excluded the 30 000 domestic workers residing in employers' premises, and those in temporary accommodation on construction sites (Wilson, 1972).

Durban's African accommodation patterns have undergone dramatic change since the Nationalists came to power. In 1949, nearly half of Durban's African population of 150 000 lived in the old borough (the original municipal area of Durban, before the extension of the city's boundaries in 1932), in 12 506 private houses, 25 percent of which were owner occupied. Only 13 percent lived in municipal housing occupying 2 130 dwellings. By the early 1970s, about 20 percent of the province's African population of over a million people (excluding those in Kwa Zulu) lived in the Durban metropolitan area (Davenport, 1971). The 1970 census revealed that the Natal province's African population (including those in

Kwa Zulu) was 3 275 000 (Haarhoff, 1984:140). In the early 1970s there were no Africans residing in the old borough, 40 percent lived in the Government established family housing in 6 townships, 20 percent lived "illegally" in the city, and 30 percent who resided in private housing did so usually in shacks. About 4 percent lived in single persons' hostels and compounds, Government and private, and another 5 percent as domestics on employers' premises (Davenport, 1971). The majority of this accommodation was situated in Kwa Zulu.

Wilson (1972), summarising the situation in Durban in the early 1970s, revealed some 100 000 Africans residing in Durban on a "bachelor" basis. If domestic workers are excluded, a 68 000 strong migrant labour force remains. However, it was believed that Durban during this time required an additional 30 000 hostel beds, so adding a further 30 000 migrants to the 68 000 migrant workers already accounted for. These figures excluded those Africans who worked "illegally" in Durban, and the many shack dwellers, not all migrants, living on Durban's boundaries (Wilson, 1972:35). Shack settlements have continued to mushroom in and around Durban, largely as a result of the shortage of both family and single housing for Africans.

The 1970 and 1980 period witnessed continued growth in Natal's African population, with African urbanisation being 22.5 percent for 1970 and 22.7 percent for 1980. The 1980 census revealed that the Natal province's African population had grown to 4.4 million, although Haarhoff (1984) believes a more accurate figure would be 4 722 320. This represents a population growth rate of between 3 percent and 3.3 percent per annum during the years 1970 - 1980, and exceeds the national African growth rate of 2.84 percent for the same time. In 1980 the "formal" African population in townships was 598 000, to which a further 60 000 people living in hostels outside the townships, and as domestic servants on employer's premises, must be added (Haarhoff, 1984:142).

To conclude, the synthesis of information on the migrant labour system has resulted in many views being discussed and certain conclusions reached. The positions of the liberal and revisionist followers on the causes of labour migration were shown. It was stated that the revisionist approach, which argues that functional linkages do exist between capitalism and racial domination, was applicable to the initial phase of South Africa's migrant labour system, when a cheap and abundant African labour supply was required on the mines and in agriculture. However, with the advancement of South African capitalism, especially with the development of the manufacturing industry, the policies of segregation and apartheid began to create obstacles/problems for South Africa's rational economic development. These policies not only perpetuated the migrant labour system, through severely restricting the number of Africans entitled to reside permanently in urban areas, but also increased the number of African people who moved "illegally" into South Africa's urban areas. The resulting shortage of a permanent semi-skilled and skilled African labour force, together with the growth of the distorted form of urbanisation - shack settlements - created problems for both South African capitalism and the power-holders. The emergence of these problems has substantiated/supported the liberal followers' argument that racial domination and capitalism are "dysfunctional" for each other.

In addition to the discussion on the arguments and contributions of the liberal and revisionist followers, as well as the historical overview of the South African migrant labour system, the development of industry and changes in the structure of the labour force within Natal and the Durban region were dealt with. Certain characteristics of the province's labour force were revealed, such as its large African migrant labour force, and equally important Indian labour force. This created a cheap, racially segmented workforce, which was encouraged by and beneficial to capital in Natal. A categorisation of the African

workers found in Natal's industries, and important to the understanding of material in the following chapters, was also discussed. Shifts in employment of labour were traced, showing the initial employers of African labour - the sugar and coal industries - and the subsequent move from agriculture into manufacturing and related industries. The sources of this African labour coming from both within the province and from outside, the main latter source being the Transkei. The severe shortage of available African accommodation was highlighted, showing that the majority of migrants had to either migrate alone and reside as "single" people in hostels/compounds or move into the fast expanding shack settlements. Despite the permeation of migrant labourers into most sectors of Natal's economy, they continue to be viewed as "temporary sojourners", and so remain excluded from many of the rights of the local urban African population.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF THE TRANSKEI

2.1   INTRODUCTION

The Transkei in which Pondoland is situated has been, and is, an area from where much migration occurs. Pondo migrants have contributed significantly to the labour supply of South Africa, as evident from some 500 294 being registered as "foreign black workers" within the country at the end of June 1978 (Streek and Wicksteed, 1981:157). To understand why these people migrate, an historical overview will be given of the huge rural area making up the Transkei, and its gradual immiseration since colonisation.[1] The factors resulting in this immiseration, both colonially induced and natural, will be shown, together with their effects on creating and perpetuating a rural to urban push for many of the Pondo inhabitants, and the benefits/problems of this for South Africa's economic development. Although this overview of the Transkei is essentially a liberal interpretation, it is enriched by the contributions of such revisionists as Bundy (1972; 1979) and Beinart (1979; 1982).

2.2   COLONISATION AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN THE 1880s TO 1930s PERIOD

Prior to colonial intrusion the Transkei region was inhabited by a number of African chiefdoms, the largest being the Xhosa, Thembu and Pondo. These pastoral, agricultural, hunting and gathering based chiefdoms were incorporated into the formal rule of the Cape Colony in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and in 1894 the annexation of Pondoland occurred. Such development had been resisted by the inhabitants, stimulating uprisings against colonial rule (Beinart and Bundy, 1980:273). With colonialism came

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1. When the Transkei came under white rule (in the latter half of the nineteenth century) it comprised an area totalling 16 554 square miles, which was bordered by the Kei River in the southwest and the Natal province in the northeast. About 13 000 square miles of this land were allocated for African occupation in terms of the 1936 Native Land Act. The remaining land, mostly in the Kokstad district, was occupied by whites (Carter, Karis and Stultz, 1967:77).

white traders, and an increasing amount of produce was exported to colonial markets, whilst manufactured goods, especially blankets and agricultural implements, were imported (Beinart, 1982:27). The response of the African inhabitants to such intrusion resulted in some instances in the emergence of a peasantry, which was sensitive to the changing market forces. An initial period of prosperity was experienced by the African peasantry in the Transkei, although this was soon followed by a process of underdevelopment.

Colonisation brought many changes which affected the African inhabitants. The Transkei became increasingly incorporated into the South Africa economy, and an extension of political and social control took place, with a system of "indirect rule" operating in the region. The Transkei was demarcated by 1913 into 26 districts under magistrates directly accountable to the chief magistrate. During this time a gradual shift occurred from an agrarian to a labour reserve economy, with an important political development being the growing penetration of chiefs, headmen and "christian educated progressive farmers" into the administration system. Although the African inhabitants resisted these changes which they perceived as detrimental to their existence, many were amenable to certain changes. Examples of which were the engagement with colonial markets, utilisation of new technology and changes in production methods. Colonial penetration was only resisted when it began to threaten their security, access to land and resources (Beinart, 1982:4). The Transkei, however, was gradually transformed into a reserve of cheap African labour.

Two factors which not only encountered resistance, but stimulated the change from an agrarian to a labour reserve economy, were colonial land appropriations and the imposition of taxes. These "forces" were extensively utilised in most parts of South Africa, especially between 1894 - 1910, to obtain the much needed cheap, unskilled African labour for the mines and agriculture. In the Transkei, the massive land loss due to colonial

appropriations brought hardship to the African inhabitants. In an attempt to relieve the pressure, some of these inhabitants endeavoured to purchase additional land from whites. This solution was curtailed by the 1913 Land Act and its amendments (Southall, 1982:73). As a result, overgrazing, diminished fertility and dwindling yields on smaller plots took place (Beinart and Bundy, 1980:293).

Compounding the pressure on the African inhabitants was the East Coast Fever epidemic of 1912 - 1913, which killed up to 80 percent of the cattle in the Transkei. Increasing the epidemic's severity were the drought conditions and maize shortage of 1912. Although regular dipping would have eradicated the disease, the African inhabitants objected to an increase in taxation at such an inopportune time and to certain features of the cattle dipping regulations. It was believed that the walk to the dipping tanks weakened the cattle, making them useless for ploughing and milking, and that the collecting of cattle at the dips spread the disease still further. East Coast Fever measures represented an intrusion into the African rural economy and the people found themselves unable to influence the way in which the measures were imposed (Beinart and Bundy, 1980:283).

The combined impact of taxation, land appropriation, natural disasters and labour agents, not only weakened African self-sufficiency, but contributed to push a considerable number of Transkei's African population, many of whom had initially resisted such a move, into migrant labour. Previously, only a limited number went to the mines and some to Natal's sugar plantations (Beinart, 1982:55). Thus, whereas in 1893 only 27 511 Africans migrated from the Transkei, by 1912 this figure had risen to 96 667 (Southall, 1982:72). ·The events of 1912 had driven significant numbers into the migrant labour system (Beinart, 1982:75).

Most of these early migrants went through labour agents. This was necessary if an advance on wages was required, with most migrants from the Transkei taking a specific kind of

advance, usually one or more head of cattle. The advance was the means through which the family could remain in control of the migrant's wage while he was away, and so ensure some benefit from his migrating. A feature of this early migration was the sending out of young men to sell their labour in order to supplement rural resources or to restock cattle, if cattle losses had been incurred. The cattle earned by migrants were for many families the means of agricultural recovery (Beinart, 1982:68).

Initially these migrants went to the mines. However, with the closure of the gold mines during the South African War, the rate of migrancy declined for a few years and the majority switched to Natal. From 1903 - 1904, when the coastal colonies experienced an economic depression, and the Cape workers' wages on the Witwatersrand increased, migrants from the Transkei resumed work on the gold mines, with over 80 percent of Pondo migrants working underground (Beinart, 1982:56). According to Beinart (1982:143), by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, most of the migrants from the Transkei worked in the gold mines. A major change in this employment pattern occurred over the next couple of decades, as numerous migrants, especially from the coastal districts of eastern Transkei and Port St. Johns, moved to the sugar plantations of Natal. In addition to witnessing a change in the employment pattern, the early 1930s witnessed the start of the decrease in Transkei's beneficial functions (mainly the subsidisation of the South African economy, by providing subsistence for migrant workers' families) for the South African economy.

2.3 UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THE 1930s, AND THE EFFECTS ON BOTH THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM AND ON SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

There was a significant increase in migrant labour numbers from the Transkei during the late 1920s and early 1930s (Beinart, 1982:151). By the mid 1930s, the number of recorded migrants totalled 152 392 (about 13 percent of the total African population), a figure which represented 23.5 percent and 1.2 percent of the male and female populations respectively. Of the males aged 18 - 54 years, 53 percent were away as migrants, resulting in the shift of agricultural work onto the young, the women and the unemployable (Southall, 1982:77). It is necessary to note that the migrancy figures given for the Transkei by Southall (1982) are much higher than those given by other sources. Moerdijk (1981:94) realised this possibility when stating that statistics on migrant labour tend to vary according to the sources, different calculation methods and presentation. This is shown by comparing figures given by Beinart (1982:95) on migration from the Transkei as 19 000 men in 1921 and 30 000 men in 1936, as compared to 152 392 for 1936 as given by Southall (1982:77).[2]

This increase in migrant labour figures from the Transkei corresponded with the growth of South Africa's economic needs in the late 1920s and particularly after the economic depression in the 1930s. The development of the manufacturing industry not only created

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2.   Southall's (1982) migrant labour figures are considerably larger than those given by Beinart (1982), as they include both the number of migrants who migrated through labour agents, as well as estimates of those who migrated without labour agents' assistance. Beinart's (1982) figures represent only those migrants who went through labour agents. If Southall's (1982) figures are accurate, a much higher number of Africans migrated without the assistance of labour agents - possibly in an attempt to secure better paid employment to that obtained through labour agents.

an increase in migrant labour employment opportunities, but added to the demand for African labour. Despite this, there remained a significant demand for labour from the mines and agricultural sector. Wages on the sugar plantations continued to be lower than those obtained on the mines. However, the advantage of employment in the former was that of accessibility, as most of the workers came from the coastal areas of Lusikisiki, Bizana, Port St. Johns and Flagstaff, which are nearer Natal. Most of the migrants by this time were employed in sectors which possessed highly controlled labour forces and an awareness of the importance of strengthening the workers' rural links. The strengthening of workers' rural links was both an attempt to reduce the number of Pondo people moving permanently into urban areas, and an attempt to maintain low urban wages. The low wages received by most of these migrants prevented them from accruing money and obtaining the means to escape the migrant labour system (Beinart, 1982:150).

The perpetuation and increase in migrancy from the Transkei during the 1930s and 1940s was chiefly due to the region's growing underdevelopment, and the expanding availability of employment in South Africa as a result of rapid economic growth. Although it was beneficial for capital to have a cheap and abundant labour supply, the local government authorities felt that the underdevelopment process had to be checked, as the region had become increasingly unable to maintain its function within the South African capitalist economy, namely:

a)   to house the dependents of migrant workers;

b)   to contribute to their means of subsistence;

c)   to keep urban wages low; and

d)   to prevent the rapid growth of a permanent urban proletariat.

The inability of the Transkei to maintain these functions created problems/obstacles for South Africa's economic development. In an attempt to overcome these problems, the Transkei witnessed the expansion of agricultural extension and betterment schemes, with emphasis on improved methods, crops and livestock strains (Beinart and Bundy, 1980).

These schemes, which were disliked by many of the Pondo people, were unable to rectify or greatly improve the situation in the Transkei, nor did they alleviate the problems for South Africa's economic development (Beinart, 1982; Southall, 1982). These problems for South Africa's economic development were compounded in the following decade (1940s), according to Southall (1982), by the apartheid policies' restrictions on African urbanisation, and by the perpetuation of the migrant labour system. The apartheid policies, whilst maintaining an African labour supply, restricted the natural urbanisation process and resulted in an increasing number of Pondo people, termed "emigrant families" by Hobart-Houghton and Walton (1952:116), moving "illegally" into South Africa's many shack settlements. These people moved into the urban areas in an attempt to escape the severe rural strains encountered in the Transkei (Streek and Wicksteed, 1981).

2.4 RESISTANCE TO BETTERMENT AND REHABILITATION SCHEMES, THE BANTU AUTHORITIES SYSTEM ETC., IN THE YEARS AHEAD

Resistance to betterment and rehabilitation schemes occurred from the late 1930s, through the 1940s and 1950s to the early 1960s. Those who stood to benefit from the schemes welcomed them. However, the majority of the Pondo people viewed them with hostility (Beinart and Bundy, 1980:300). There were three main objections. Firstly, they believed the "cure" to their poverty was not in stock culling or fencing of land, but in the allocation of more land. The second objection was to the creation of residential areas which forced the inhabitants to live closer together. Finally, there were objections to the way in which

the scheme was introduced, arguing that they were not consulted about it. This Copelyn (1973) claims is essentially part of a more general criticism of local government. These schemes represented a direct attack upon the inhabitants' security, especially since a large amount of their wealth was tied up in cattle ownership (Southall, 1982:107).

The first betterment scheme was introduced into Butterworth in 1939, and it was here that resistance was first organised. More extensive schemes followed in 1945 - 1946, with a Government intensified programme of land "rehabilitation" and stabilisation developing since 1948 (Beinart and Bundy, 1980:300). Copelyn (1973) believes that the magnitude of rehabilitating the bantustans is indicated in the Tomlinson Commission proposals which concluded that to stop agricultural decline about 282 000 families or 57 percent of the bantustans' inhabitants and a third of the livestock would have to be removed from the land.

During the 1950s and 1960s, additional developments took place which affected the life of the African inhabitants of the Transkei. Most of these developments reinforced the Pondo people's necessity to migrate, and increased the number of those who moved "illegally" into permanent urban, generally shack settlement, accommodation. Amongst these developments was the implementation of the Bantu Authorities system, which reorganised the chiefs' powers (under white authority) and subordinated the headmen, who had before been independent of their control, to them. Previously there were checks on the chiefs' powers, which prevented a chief from sanctioning policy perceived by his subjects to be against their interests. The Bantu Authorities system had replaced these checks with measures to protect its own interests (Southall, 1982:104-109). The inhabitants of Eastern Pondoland were especially affected, as they were under the particularly repressive chieftaincy of Chief Botha Sigcau (Copelyn, 1973).

The imposition and increase of taxation fuelled resentment and exacerbated the hardships experienced by many of the inhabitants. During the mid 1950s to the early 1960s, taxes not only increased but additional taxation was imposed, such as a General Levy (1955), stock rates (1958), "voluntary" and "compulsory" tribal levies, etc. As a result the average African household contributed about £4 10s per annum to direct taxes by the late 1950s, of which almost half was imposed during the 1955 - 1959 period (Copelyn, 1973).

By mid 1959, resentment to these changes, viewed as detrimental to many Pondo people's existence, culminated in a campaign which took the form of an organised revolt. Despite an initial period of "sporadic and unco-ordinated violence", the Pondo revolt soon became highly organised and possessed a leadership base in Bizana, known as the Hill (Copelyn, 1973). The Hill Committee's primary objective was to secure mass support against the Bantu Authorities system, replace the latter by a system of local administration which would be more responsive to their needs, and through negotiations obtain Government compensation for their grievances (Southall, 1982:109-110). The revolt is focussed on as it reveals both the Pondo people's reaction to increased rural strains, and the distancing which occurred between the majority of the Pondo people and the chiefs.

From March 1960, many meetings were held at various Pondo homesteads in Bizana. A district wide hierarchical leadership developed, with the movement spreading to Lusikisiki and Flagstaff, where local leaders, although possessing considerable autonomy, remained linked to the Central Committee in Bizana. Such developments coincided with the outbreak of violence towards known Bantu Authorities supporters, with many having their homes burnt to the ground. The Government, in an attempt to end the revolt and prevent continued destruction of the Bantu Authorities structure, launched an attack upon a large

meeting of "rebels" in Flagstaff on 6 June 1960. Teargas and smoke bombs were dropped from aeroplanes, whilst armed police converged on the meeting. Despite the Pondo people having surrendered, the South African police opened fire, killing and wounding many. This action antagonised and intensified the Pondo people's struggle, which spread to other areas in the following weeks (Southall, 1982:111).

During this time, a list of grievances was given to the Bantu Commission of Inquiry, with the most urgent demand continuing to be the removal of the Bantu Authorities system, with lesser demands being the abolition of Bantu Education, relaxation of Pass laws and Parliamentary representation. On 11 October 1960, the Commission reported to a crowd of about 15 000 Pondo people that it had found most of their complaints unacceptable, offered minor concessions and so perpetuated Pondo resistance, which continued to take the form of boycotts of traders' stores, refusal to pay taxes, protests, the repudiation of Pondo chiefs, etc. On 30 November 1960, a state of emergency was declared in the Transkei. This activated a number of strict controls. With the assistance of these measures, together with police reinforcements into the area, the revolt was forcefully ended, so restoring the Bantu Authorities system in Pondoland (Copelyn, 1973:65; Southall, 1982:113).

By the end of the Pondo revolt, a significant differentiation amongst the Pondo inhabitants had arisen. The majority of the Pondo people, due largely to the events which sparked the revolt, had become considerably poorer and consequently would become even more reliant on migrant labour earnings in the following decades. The increased impoverishment of these Pondo people also increased the number which moved permanently and "illegally" into South Africa's urban areas. While this sector of the population had increasingly felt hardships, another much smaller sector, consisting mostly of chiefs, Government collaborators and their families, had prospered. A strong differentiation between the two

groups had arisen, with the majority of the Pondo people viewing the chiefs as "Government agents" rather than as "traditional" chiefs.

This differentiation is shown by Beinart (1982:132), who argued that,

> "Although the general trend in Pondoland was towards increased rates of migrancy, there were certain families whose men were able to escape the general experience of leaving Pondoland to work on the mines, farms and industries of South Africa. And the ability to escape migrancy became an increasingly important element in rural differentiation".

For the large sector of the Pondo population which has become poorer and more integrated into the migrant labour system, a distinctive labour pattern and diversification of employment opportunities has taken place. This is apparent from most of the Pondo people interviewed and discussed in Chapter 4, who revealed that their fathers had been migrants, predominantly employed in the mines and sugar plantations, whilst they themselves, having migrated during the 1960s and early 1970s, were increasingly employed in industry.

2.5 THE 1970s AND 1980s - INCREASED PRESSURE ON THE AFRICAN INHABITANTS OF THE TRANSKEI

The 1970s brought added hardships and change to the inhabitants of the immiserated Transkei region. Amongst these were increased taxes, land shortages, natural disasters, as well as political changes, such as Transkei's independence. Most of these served both to perpetuate the flow of migrants to South Africa's industries, and to increase the number of Pondo people which moved permanently and "illegally" into South Africa's urban areas, especially since employment within the Transkei remained scarce (Beinart, 1982; Southall, 1982).

An issue which not only disturbed the African inhabitants of the Transkei, but also had significant repercussions upon their position within South Africa, was the granting of "independence" to the Transkei on 26 October 1976. Despite Government claims to the contrary, it was evident that the majority of the Africans rejected the decision by Kaiser Matanzima (Transkeian Chief Minister) to opt for independence. According to Southall (1982), the core of the argument underlying the rejection of Transkeian independence was the belief by the majority of Transkei's African inhabitants, as well as by certain political organisations (both within and outside South Africa) that it was "fraudulent" and intended to "entrench white rule in the southern tip of the continent at the expense of the African mass" (1982:3-4). On becoming citizens of the "independent" Transkei, people are now expected to exercise their political rights in the bantustan, even if they do not reside there. The creation of the bantustan and its subsequent independence has meant more than depriving people of their citizenship. Through the bantustan, the South African state has encouraged the development of a ruling class within the area, which has assisted in maintaining the oppressed majority. The bantustan has also been used to create divisions between urban Africans and those residing within the bantustan (U.C.T. Nusas publication, October, 1983).

Streek and Wicksteed (1981) believe that the granting of "independence" to the Transkei was both a political and economic manoeuvre. Firstly, the South African Government wanted to reduce urban African hostility caused by Apartheid and to legitimise the Apartheid system overseas. Secondly, the South African economy in the 1960s, as discussed in Chapter 1, underwent structural change, with the move from a labour to capital intensive production system, and greater technological development in both manufacturing and industrial sectors. Such change led to the decrease in demand for cheap

migrant labour and increased demand for settled semi-skilled and skilled labour. There was a resulting growth in the number of unemployed unskilled labourers, with the unemployed having to be returned to the Transkei to prevent any problems which might arise from the situation. However, the returning of the unemployed to the Transkei did little to solve the problem. The limited amount of available employment in the Transkei, resulted in many of the unemployed having little alternative other than to re-enter, usually "illegally", South Africa's urban areas (Streek and Wicksteed, 1981:149-154).

The extent to which the majority of the African inhabitants of the Transkei had become reliant on migrant labour earnings by the 1970s was largely the outcome of continued underdevelopment. An indication of this underdevelopment was evident in the increased number of African families which possessed fewer, or no cattle in the mid 1970s (Beinart, 1978:128). The decrease in many African families' ownership of cattle resulted from a combination of increased cattle prices, decreased grazing lands and increased taxation on livestock. Taxation could be beneficial if it persuaded the people to purchase one good quality cow instead of a number of scrub cattle. However, the price of good cattle was/is far above the reach of most of the smaller farmers. In an attempt to improve the livestock quality and prevent a further decline in the cattle ownership figures, the Department of Agriculture has attempted to develop a herd of inexpensive "Mpondo" cattle, with the aim that these animals will be resistant to local disease and able to cope with poor grazing conditions (Beinart, 1978:133).

Drought added to the hardships created by underdevelopment. During the drought of 1968 - 1970, African farmers lost numerous cattle, preventing many from ploughing their land. The Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC) assisted these people by providing tractors and offering loans to farmers wishing to hire them (Horrell, 1973:84). Drought returned to

the Transkei in 1983, and this time drought relief of R6.7 million was granted by South Africa, and a programme started which included the production of water supplies, livestock feed for key herds, food aid and temporary job creation. The drought killed livestock and destroyed many crops, necessitating the "importation" in 1983/1984 of 90 percent of Transkei's food requirements from South Africa (S.A.I.R.R. Survey, 1984:504).

The necessity of migrating due to the underdevelopment of the Transkei has been exacerbated by the scarcity of employment within the region. Although industrial development has taken place, largely through the injection of outside capital, and as an outcome of the South African Government's decentralization programme, it has been of insufficient magnitude to provide many of the inhabitants with employment (Southall, 1982:231). By June 1983, the Transkei had about 95 established factories, situated mainly in Butterworth and Umtata, the latter being the capital and administrative headquarters of the Transkeian Government. The other main growth point was Butterworth, with slower development occurring in other towns. In Flagstaff there is an X.D.C. wholesale concern, whilst in Mt. Frere there is an X.D.C. bakery, with a tea industry at Lusikisiki (S.A.I.R.R. Survey, 1984:384). These X.D.C. concerns provide much needed, although limited, employment opportunities within the regions in which they are situated. Industrial expansion during 1987 included the establishment of 29 new industries amounting to R45 million investment, with another 14 applications worth R14,4 million having been approved. These would provide additional employment for 4 247 people, according to the Transkei Development Corporation (Natal Mercury, 21/8/87).

To increase industrial development the Transkei has offered a number of inducements to capital, such as preventing the establishment of trade unions (S.A.I.R.R. Survey, 1985:395). Instead of trade unions, a wage board has been established, whose role it is to determine

the correct wages payable to workers. However, such a board operates in the interests of employers rather than those of employees (Southall, 1982:233). Another inducement to developers is the availability of land on long lease, which provides them with security to establish housing. Previously housing was paid for and sold by the Transkeian Government (Natal Mercury, 21/8/87).

Despite the increase in industrial development, there is still insufficient available employment within the Transkei. The 1976 Transkeian Year Book stated that the main problem in the Transkei in the 1970s was the scarcity of employment. This is evident when it is realised that the male population is expected to grow by 15 700 annually, and only about 4 000 jobs are created in the same period, resulting in an annual employment shortfall of 11 000 jobs. This does not take into account those already unemployed and underemployed, nor the growing number of migrants who find it difficult to renew contracts (Streek and Wicksteed, 1981:167). It is understandable then that an important feature of bantustan economics is the rate of migrancy in the workplace, as rural underdevelopment together with high taxes and the inability to secure employment within the area, leave many with few alternatives. Potgieter (1982) argues that an outstanding feature of South Africa's neighbouring countries and bantustans is the dependency on the South African economy.

This dependency is apparent in the growth in migrant labour numbers in recent decades. Wilson (1972) illustrates the increase by comparing recruitment figures from the N.C.R. and Labour Bureau for the years 1961 and 1971. In 1961, 69 237 Transkeian migrants were recruited by the above organizations, as compared to 121 405 in 1971 (Wilson, 1972:97). The dependence on labour migration by many of the Transkeian people is further revealed by Wilson (1972), in the following breakdown of official employment statistics. Of the

Transkeian population of 715 000 enumerated in the 1970 census, 365 000 males were economically active, with the remaining either too young or unemployable. Of the employable 365 000, about 107 000 were on the land, 34 000 in Transkeian employment, 192 000 in migrant labour in South Africa, and 32 000 unaccounted for. It can be said that of the economically active men with strong rural ties, over half (53%) were recruited during the early 1970s for work in South Africa. At least 6 out of 7 of the men in wage employment were oscillating migrants (Wilson, 1972:97-98).

Wilson (1972) attempted to illustrate the type of work done more recently by Transkeian migrants. To do this an analysis of the 80 000 labourers recruited by the Labour Bureau in 1971, together with the 82 000 recruited by licensed Labour Agents was undertaken (Table 2).

From (Table 2) an idea of the importance of the Transkei as a supplier of labour to South Africa can be gleaned. Nearly 44 percent of the men recruited went to the mines, with other sectors also utilising Transkeian migrants. A quarter of the labour force went to agriculture and another quarter to the industrial sector, including commerce and railways. Of the 80 000 men recruited by the labour bureau, 69 percent went to the Western Cape, 18 percent to the Transvaal, 5 percent to Namaqualand and the Orange River region, 4 percent to Natal and 2 percent each to the Orange Free State and Eastern Cape. Of those recruited by licensed labour agents a large proportion went to the Natal sugar plantations, and of those going to the mines, many went to the gold mines, some to the coal mines of Natal and Transvaal, and some to other mines, such as platinum and copper (Wilson, 1972:96).

Table 2
Types of Work Performed by Transkeian Migrants

Employment	Licensed Labour Agents	Labour Bureau	Specially Appointed Representative	Total	%
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing.	22 383	20 572	-	49 955	25.6
Mines, Brickworks, Quarries.	59 025	9 194	5 025	73 244	43.6
Factories & Industries.	796	17 792	-	18 190	10.8
Building Industries.	-	12 212	-	12 610	7.5
Commerce, Catering & Domestic Service	-	6 963	-	6 963	7.2
Municipali- ties	-	5 666	-	5 666	3.4
Railways	-	4 745	-	4 745	2.8
Government Departments.	-	1 955	-	1 955	1.2
Provincial Departments.	-	1 224	-	1 224	0.7
Other	-	-	388	388	0.2
TOTAL	82 204	±80 323	±5 413	167 940	100.00

From the foregoing discussion on the Transkei and the Pondoland area, the African inhabitants are revealed as a people who have experienced many changes since colonisation. Most of these changes were designed to secure and then to maintain a cheap African labour force. In the early stages of colonisation, some of the African inhabitants

responded to the changing market forces in a way which was "highly rational, resulting in the emergence of peasant communities which were commercially orientated to the market" (Southall, 1982:68). However, the labour power of these people was more valuable and beneficial to the colonists and the developing industries, than their remaining a peasantry. To secure this labour power a number of coercive mechanisms were utilised by the holders of white power, assisted by natural disasters. Since then, the resulting underdevelopment of the Transkei has had both positive and negative effects on South Africa's economic development.

Initially the underdevelopment process had benefitted the South African economy by providing a cheap, abundant African labour supply. However, by the early 1930s the underdevelopment process had resulted in the Transkei becoming unable to maintain certain beneficial functions for the South African economy. The inability of the Transkei to contribute to the subsistence of its inhabitants, together with the lack of available employment in the area, increased the rate of labour migration from the Transkei and placed considerable pressure upon many of the inhabitants to urbanise. The urbanisation process, however, was blocked by the apartheid policies. These policies not only perpetuated the migrant labour system, but also resulted in a number of African people moving "illegally" into permanent urban accommodation. The "illegal" entry of these African people increased both the large urban pools of unemployed/surplus people, and the number of urban shack dwellers.

CHAPTER 3

THE PROBLEMS OF

AFRICAN ACCOMMODATION

IN NATAL

3.1 INTRODUCTION

For many years the inflow of Africans to Natal's urban areas, and Durban's in particular, has been accompanied by the re-occurring, if not constant, problem of insufficient accommodation for African workseekers. The main cause of this problem lies in the considerable shortfall between the large urban inflow of Africans, mostly workseekers, and the limited accommodation provided for these people by local authorities and the Apartheid system. The Apartheid system, in particular, has had an impact upon and restricted the development of such accommodation, giving rise to distorted urbanisation which manifests itself in the form of shack settlements. This lack of accommodation and the development of shack settlements has not only created problems/strains for the Africans, but has also created problems for both the white authorities and for rational economic development in the province. In this chapter the housing problem will be discussed, showing the correlation between demand for labour and rural underdevelopment, the subsequent in-migration of Africans and the resulting accommodation shortages. Having portrayed this, the housing shortage to the south of Durban will be considered. Reports and investigations (such as the Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Durban Corporation, 1971; Haarhoff, 1981 and Morris, 1981) have revealed that the area to the south of Durban, namely the areas of Kwa Makhuta, Malukazi, Umbumbulu and Umbogintwini, provide over 250 000 African people with accommodation, mostly in shack settlements. The African population of the region comprises both the long settled Zulu clans of Mkhize (Mbo) and Makhanya, as well as numerous other groupings which have migrated to the area from the surrounding regions and also from further afield, such as the Pondo migrants from the Transkei. Within this southern region many Africans have acquired or attempted to gain employment and

accommodation. It is hoped that this chapter will contribute to an understanding of why shack settlements develop, the social relationships within and the problems experienced in securing accommodation, especially among migrants.

3.2 A HISTORY OF AFRICAN HOUSING IN NATAL

The inflow of Africans to Natal's urban areas began in the latter half of the nineteenth century, largely stimulated by the underdevelopment of the reserves, and by capital's need for a cheap African labour force. The rate of this movement and lack of provision to accommodate these people, gave rise to a number of African occupied shack dwellings (Haarhoff, 1984:66). In addition, the number of African workseekers entering the urban areas created feelings of insecurity amongst the white inhabitants of the towns. In an attempt to overcome these problems, which have persisted in the following decades, regulations of 1874 made it illegal for casual workseekers to reside for longer than five days in either Pietermaritzburg or Durban, without registering as a togt or daily paid labourer. These regulations were superseded by an enabling Act of 1902, which shifted control of togt labour from the Colonial Government to the municipal authorities, with the latter responsible for the administration of the system and to ensure that togt workers resided in compounds (Morris, 1981). Despite the realisation that African residential areas/places were needed as early as 1863, very little accommodation, apart from the togt barracks built for dockworkers in 1878, had been provided in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Wilson, 1971; Maasdorp, 1975). It was only after the turn of the century that attempts were made to rectify the situation (Maasdorp, 1975).

The reason for this delay was a shortage of finance. Whilst white employers benefited from engaging African labourers, they were unwilling to outlay money on the building of African

accommodation. The problem was resolved by the Native Beer Act of 1908, which enabled local authorities to establish municipal beer monopolies with revenues paid into a Municipal Native Administration Fund. The income derived from this facilitated the building of African accommodation (Haarhoff, 1984:69).

In the first two decades of the twentieth century (1900 - 1920), a certain, although limited, amount of accommodation was provided to house the urban inflow of Africans. In 1903, the municipal barracks for dockworkers were built at the Point, and were followed by the Depot Road Location (Somtseu Road Location) in 1913. It was not until 1915 - 1916 that family accommodation was built at Baumannville (Morris, 1981).

The 1920s and 1930s witnessed the continued flow of Africans into urban areas. This urban movement was mainly stimulated by the increasing effects of rural underdevelopment, which forced many Africans to seek urban employment. The growth of port activities, the initiation of municipal water and housing schemes, as well as the expanding manufacturing industry's labour needs, provided a number of Africans with employment (Maasdorp, 1975). To accommodate these people, the 1923 - 1937 period saw an emphasis on hostel and compound construction. Besides "single" accommodation, the Durban Corporation acquired 3 000 acres at Clairwood Estate in 1930, for the development of family housing, and in 1934 the building of houses at Lamontville commenced. The necessity of this accommodation was shown by a Joint Council Report in 1931, which estimated that about 10 000 of the 38 000 Africans employed in Durban were without formal accommodation. Those Africans unable to secure formal accommodation had little alternative but to occupy shacks on land rented from Indians. The extension of Durban's boundaries in 1932, by the incorporation of eight peri-urban areas, added 21 000 Africans, 51 000 Indians and 20 000 whites to the city's population (Maylam, 1983:414). It also exacerbated the city's housing

problem, as a considerable number of shack settlements fell within the extended area (Haarhoff, 1984:71).

As Durban's shack settlements steadily grew in the late 1920s and 1930s, the municipal authorities began to consider possible ways to resolve the problem. Any solution devised by the formulators of the municipal housing policy had to meet the following requirements:

a)   the policy had to coincide with employers' needs, in that African accommodation had to be within close proximity to the workplace;

b)   racial segregation;

c)   the removal of shack settlements; and

d)   the housing of Africans in formal controlled accommodation.

When the whole city became a proclaimed area in 1937, the provision of formal housing became vital. The proclamation required that all Africans living in Durban, except certain exempted groups, must live in municipal townships or hostels, or in licensed premises such as compounds and servants quarters. The development of formal housing was not the only method/attempt utilised by the municipal authorities to reduce the number of shacks and increase control over labour. In 1941, a Government proclamation enabled the Durban City Council to require employers to provide employees with accommodation (Maylam, 1983:420). However these proclamations had very little, or no, effect on restricting both the entry of Africans into urban areas, and the growth of shack settlements.

Adding to the necessity for additional African accommodation was the marked increase in African urbanisation after the outbreak of World War II (1939 - 1945). This resulted from the growing demand for labour by the expanding industrial and commercial sectors, which had been stimulated by the War, and by the continued and severe effects of the reserves'

underdevelopment during previous decades. Despite Durban's increased African urbanisation within this period, wartime building restrictions hampered the building of African accommodation, and gave rise to overcrowding in existing accommodation and a growth in shack settlements (Morris, 1981). A further reason for the shortage of accommodation was that of finance. Most of the African housing cost was met by Durban's Native Revenue accounts (Maylam, 1983:418). An indication of the extreme shortage of African accommodation was evident in the building of only 900 houses at Blackhurst Estate (Chesterville) between 1940 - 1945. This fell far short of the housing demand, and was one of the main reasons for the significant growth in shack settlements (Maasdorp, 1975). In 1939 there were about 1 000 African occupied shacks in Durban, of which half were located in the Cato Manor vicinity. By 1946, these shacks had multiplied to about 5 000, the figure exceeding 5 500 by 1949, with about 70 percent located in Cato Manor (Maylam, 1983:416). A 1946 survey revealed that 5 500 African families (or about 30 000 people) occupied shacks in the Durban area, especially in Cato Manor (Morris, 1981). This growth is not surprising as in 1944, 28 000 of Durban's total African population of around 83 000 were without formal accommodation (Maylam, 1983:417). It can be argued that the increase in shack settlements was one of the few solutions available to migrants, when attempting to solve the housing shortage, particularly as barracks were not popular (La Hausse, 1982).

The municipal authorities debated ways to solve the growing shack settlement problem of the 1940s. It had become obvious that the demolition of shacks was ineffective and only resulted in a process of "shack shifting", whereby occupants of demolished shacks relocated to another part of the city, and built another shack. Furthermore, in 1943, legal barriers required the acquisition of a court order before demolition could occur, and to secure such an order, alternative African accommodation had to have existed (Maylam, 1983).

The municipal authorities further argued - in the mid 1940s - that it was impractical to check shack building by the tightening of influx control laws. Influx control could not counteract rural underdevelopment, nor were such measures feasible at a time when both additional labour was required, and when the central Government had moved towards the relaxation of pass laws. Despite this argument, influx control laws were tightened following the decline in Durban's industrial growth, reduced labour demand and increased unemployment in the 1948 - 1953 period. In July 1949, the City Council enforced the provision of a proclamation of 1940, which prevented the entry of African workseekers into urban areas where full employment existed, and required the removal of all unemployed Africans from the same area (Maylam, 1983:421-423).

Certain developments in the latter half of the 1940s had significant implications on urban African accommodation. The coming to power of the Nationalist party in 1948 gave rise to the "Apartheid" era and new legislative measures. Amongst these was the Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act (1952) which replaced the previous influx control system, and required every male of 16 years or older to possess a reference document. To tighten control over the urban entry of African workseekers, the 1952 Act defined those Africans permitted to work in certain areas. Employment without Section 10 rights was regarded as an offence. However, the tightening of influx control regulations was largely ineffective as Africans "bypassed" and "ignored" them, and moved "illegally" into urban areas (Nattrass, 1983:10). Since these people were unable to obtain formal urban accommodation, they had little option other than to move into shack settlements. This development reveals that the Apartheid policies' restrictions on African urbanisation compounded the previous decade's problems concerning African accommodation, and created additional problems for rational economic development within the province (Nattrass, 1983). At about this time, the Government also initiated a public housing programme (Haarhoff, 1984:72). The

programme, unfortunately, had very little effect on reducing the growth of shack settlements.

Although necessary accommodation such as the S.J. Smith hostel for "single" men was built in 1950, it was family accommodation which remained in great demand and in considerable shortage. An attempt to relieve the situation was made by the Durban Corporation's acquisition in 1953 of 2 261 acres (915 ha.) to the north of Durban for the establishment of a housing scheme, named Kwa Mashu. From 1957 - 1960, 5 115 houses were built there, and 1 576 hostel beds provided (Maasdorp, 1975 in Morris, 1981). By 1960, Durban's estimated African population of 210 000 people (figure provided/used by the S.A.I.R.R. Annual Survey, 1959-60, although 1960 census revealed 220 000 African people) were housed as follows:

Municipal "single" accommodation.	17 500
Municipal family accommodation.	56 500
Cato Manor Emergency Camp.	55 000
Municipal Compounds, police barracks etc.	1 000
Railway and Government Compounds.	8 000
Licensed Premises	31 000
Domestic servants and resident premises.	31 500
African owned property.	1 000
Shacks and "illegal" housing.	8 500

(S.A.I.R.R. Ann. Survey, 1959-60).

Additional family accommodation became available with the completion of the first houses in Umlazi in 1962, and by 1970, 18 254 dwellings had been built. Between 1960 - 1970, 10 141 houses were constructed at Kwa Mashu, together with accommodation for 8 100 single people in Kwa Mashu and 12 000 in Umlazi. This accommodation was not only rapidly occupied but also proved to be greatly insufficient, as Durban's African population had increased, according to census reports, from 220 000 in 1960 to 395 000 in 1970 (Morris, 1981). Encouraging the urban movement of Africans was the increased industrial

growth in the Pinetown/ New Germany area from the mid 1960s, and the availability of industrial employment (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1983).

The limited construction of family accommodation in areas like Kwa Mashu and Umlazi, together with the Apartheid period's restrictions on who was eligible for formal township accommodation, resulted in the continued mushrooming of shack settlements on the periphery of the built-up areas, especially in township backyards, and on African land bordering urban industrial areas. The number of shack dwellings increased in the late 1960s. However, the problem was believed to be controllable until around 1970, thereafter getting out of hand (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1983). This growth is evidenced by comparing the estimated 8 500 shack dwellers in 1960 (S.A.I.R.R. Survey, 1959-60) to the estimated 250 000 shack dwellers in the Durban/ Pinetown area in 1971 (Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Durban Corporation, 1971). Between 1966 and 1979, shack settlements in Durban's inner metropolitan area and on the periphery grew from some 10 000 to 26 000 shacks (Haarhoff, 1981). In 1977, there were 20 854 people and 4 642 shacks on Indian, African and white land on the north coast. On the south coast much larger shack settlements existed, such as at Malukazi (13 000 shacks), Amanzimtoti (1 000 shacks), Umkomaas (1 000 people) and Boboyi in Kwa Zulu (30 000 - 36 000 people), and in the Pinetown area there were about 32 000 "illegal" residents in two main areas. The removal of about 5 000 shacks in Clermont, accommodating around 20 000 people, began at the end of 1978 and continued during 1979. Two new townships near Pinetown, Kwa Ndlengezi and Kwa Dabeka, were developed during this period, with the aim of relocating about 40 000 people, mostly shack dwellers (Morris, 1981:123).

Both Maasdorp and Pillay (1983) and Giliomee (in Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1985:316) believe that the increase in shack settlements is fed by two sources:

1)   the underserviced urban areas, and

2)   underdeveloped rural African areas.

Another reason for shack settlement growth is given by Kane-Berman (1981), who wrote that since the 1970s, northern Natal has witnessed private and official action against labour tenants and shack dwellers on white farms. This saw the removal of between 10 000 and 20 000 people from the Weenen district following the abolition of the labour tenant system there in 1969, and the Government order that each farm should not have more than five families residing thereon. In Natal, as in other parts of South Africa, Africans evicted from white farms have sometimes had no alternative but to move onto other white-owned land or to shack settlements on the urban periphery.

Schlemmer and Möller (1985:154) suggest that shack settlements offer a solution to the housing shortage. These settlements, they argue, should be allowed and basic amenities together with a "desirable minimum level of control and supervision" supplied. Schlemmer argues that low level Government intervention is needed to provide basic amenities, like fresh water, sanitation, refuse removals, transport, clinics, schools and small loan assistance for home improvements, together with developing a satisfactory community-based form of administration. Schlemmer believes that the lack of such amenities causes discontent amongst shack dwellers (Schlemmer and Möller, 1985:189).

From the discussion on African housing in Durban, the significance of housing development in the south of the city becomes apparent. It is the oldest in line with the location of industry, the northern areas having developed later. Industrial expansion has generally occurred to the south of Durban's central business district, and since 1945

industry has become concentrated in the Jacobs and Mobeni region, from which residential areas have spread (Davies, 1976). A correlation can be drawn between this industrial development in the south, and the growth of African housing, both having developed at about the same time. In the Umlazi area,

> "the population of the reserves around the highly industrialised areas of Durban and Pinetown has appreciably increased, mainly owing to the influx into these areas of natives (Africans) seeking work".
>
> (Natal Regional Survey, 1957:63)

Davies (1976:27) agrees:

> "the proportionate increase in the African population of the outer-sub centres is accounted for by the growth ... of economic activity".

Although African accommodation was built in the south as early as the 1930s, it was unable to keep pace with the African urbanisation rate, leading to the emergence of shack settlements in the vicinity of the southern industrial areas (Maylam, 1983:415). These settlements are situated on the borders of the more established housing schemes, and are visible in the Malukazi, Umbumbulu, Kwa Makhuta and Umbogintwini region (see Map 1). It is these southern areas of Durban, which have provided accommodation to a number of Africans, that shall now be discussed.

3.3   MALUKAZI

Malukazi is an informal settlement adjacent to the Umlazi township in Kwa Zulu. It is situated on land that was previously part of the tribal reserve, which dates back to the period of British Administration of colonial Natal. Although the land was originally intended for agricultural use, its advantageous position in respect of employment

opportunities in the southern area of Durban, together with the potential profitability, resulted in tribal land holders renting residential rights to third parties (Haarhoff, 1983). Amongst these are the Pondo people from the Transkei. The reason for their residing in Malukazi lies in the fact that non-Kwa Zulu citizens are excluded from most of the formal

MAP 1

The Area to the South of Durban

Source:- Diakonia Publication, 1986

housing provisions around Durban. The Pondo people's exclusion from this accommodation leaves them with the limited choice between informal settlement accommodation and hostel accommodation, which has little or no provision made for family. The hostel accommodation is in great demand, and due to the limited amount and often its unsuitability, other means of accommodation has to be sought, such as shack dwellings in Malukazi, and other areas such as Umbumbulu. Although these shack dwellings are located within Kwa Zulu, Pondo people can obtain land from landlords or chiefs, who are sympathetic to their plight and/or see the profitability of the situation.

Haarhoff (1983) believes that the number of dwellings and households in Malukazi have increased since the 1930s, with significant growth having begun in 1969, and continued in the following years. Malukazi's development can be divided into three phases: The first, represents a slow but constant growth from its formation (before 1936) to 1968 - 1969. Development in this period was controlled by land holders who possessed rights to land through tribal agreements. The second phase, 1968 - 1977, saw large scale internal growth (Haarhoff, 1983). Haarhoff (1983) speculates that this growth was possibly stimulated by the economic boom period of the late 1960s and early 1970s. A third phase began from June 1977, and has been characterised by the settlement's westward expansion, together with an increased density of the original area (Stopforth, 1978; Haarhoff, 1983). Dhlomo (1985:270) believes that the entry of additional people into an area such as this, has a "disruptive effect on the whole area", with violence and crime often manifesting itself. Instability is also increased by the breakdown in traditional forms of authority. Malukazi's more recent development has differed from the previous pattern. Instead of concentrated groups of dwellings within definite boundaries, dwellings are now more widely dispersed over the land (Haarhoff, 1983). The visual appearance of these structures resemble a typical shack settlement, where building is not formally controlled. Most of the dwellings

are constructed from easily obtainable natural materials, scrap packaging material and corrugated iron (Haarhoff, 1981). There is an inadequacy of basic amenities, such as water and sanitation (Stopforth, 1978).

The function of Malukazi is multipurpose. It provides accommodation for rural migrants, such as Pondo migrants, people from overcrowded formal townships, uprooted or "illegal" residents, as well as offering an opportunity for family life and entrepreneurial activity. The accommodation available in the settlement can be classified into three broad types:

a)   owner-occupied dwellings;

b)   .   owner-occupied dwellings with rooms sub-let to tenants; and

c)   fully sub-let dwellings.

A survey revealed an average of two households for each dwelling in Malukazi. Almost two-thirds of the households were tenants, either lodging with owner-occupiers in rented rooms or renting accommodation from absentee landlords. Statistics showed that the 2 074 dwellings accommodated 4 148 households, 1 382 being owner-occupiers and 2 766 tenants (Haarhoff, 1981).

The majority of Malukazi's residents are "spontaneous urban settlers already locked into the urban system and economy" (Haarhoff, 1981). Most of the inhabitants are permanent residents, and there are slightly more males than females in the 25-49 years age group. The presence of women and children suggest that there are a number of family units in the area. Many of the inhabitants have secured employment in the surrounding industrial areas. This is indicated in that the "core city" and southern industrial regions account for 63

percent of female employment amongst Malukazi workers (Town, Jacobs, Merebank, Montclair, Clairwood, Bayhead, Maydon Wharf and Congella), 34 percent work at Isipingo, Umlazi, Prospecton, Reunion, Amanzimtoti and the remaining 3 percent south of Amanzimtoti and elsewhere (Stopforth, 1978).

3.4 UMBUMBULU

The Umbumbulu area to the south of Durban also provides many African people with accommodation. These people comprise the long established population of Mkhize and Makhanya clans, together with more recent residents, such as Pondo people and a number of other Africans from the surrounding areas. In southern Natal, the term "Zulu" includes those Africans who claim descent from the Zulu or Qwabe genealogical lines, or from any Nguni clan which was resident in Zululand or Natal during Shaka's reign. The Makhanya claimed such descent and refer to themselves as Zulu people. The Makhanya were amongst the many African groups which moved southwards from Zululand during the Zulu wars of conquest. The final migration, however, was not during Shaka's but Dingane's time. In about 1840, the Makhanya arrived in an area to the south of Durban occupied by the Mkhize. The Mkhize had left Zululand prior to the Makhanya and had secured the right to this area which spread eastwards towards Imbumbulu hill and south beyond Odidini. It was in the relatively uninhabited region, beyond Imbumbulu, that the Makhanya first settled (Reader, 1966).

The Makhanya location of 1950-1951 covered 75 square miles, and was at the geographical centre of nine other small fragments of Zulu clans, who fell for administrative purposes within the Umlazi district, comprising 165 000 acres. Umbumbulu township, the seat of Umlazi magistracy, is situated near the Itholeni hill in Makhanyaland, a few miles from the

district's north-west boundary, and adjacent to the Mkhize clan (Reader, 1966). The areas of Umbumbulu and Makhanyaland (the area in which the Makhanya first settled) overlap, both being in the south of Durban. Today many Makhanya have moved into the greater Umbumbulu region, resulting in the breaking down of the boundaries between the two areas. It is to this region that many Pondo people have migrated, and found accommodation on land generally owned by either Makhanya or Mkhize. The Pondo people have found this area conveniently situated on the fringe of large industry, which offers much employment to the African population.

Using figures from the 1951 population census, Reader (1966) showed that 78 percent of the male working population (16 - 55 years) from the Umbumbulu area nearest Durban, and 56 percent from the furthest end, worked in Durban or adjoining south coast towns during the week, returning to their homes at weekends. In the late 1950s, Umlazi, the region in which Umbumbulu is situated, contributed 8.3 percent of the African male labour supply to Durban (Burrows, 1959). Despite the general movement of Makhanya males to town, there still remained a certain number who had not entered permanent urban employment. A small market at Umbumbulu served for the disposal of surplus agricultural produce, by this group (Reader, 1966).

The movement of Africans between Umbumbulu and the industrial areas has continued since Burrows (1959) and Reader (1966) argued that Umbumbulu was an area which supplied part of Durban's labour requirements. This continuation is seen in Table 3, which shows the number of "border crosses" between Kwa Zulu and other white industrial areas.

The number of Africans moving from Umlazi, Kwa Mashu, Shongweni, Mpumalanga and Umbumbulu areas to Durban, Pinetown, Prospecton, Hammarsdale, Kingsborough and Amanzimtoti has increased when comparing the years 1976 to 1981. The most popular way of commuting between these areas was by bus.

Table 3

Estimated Total of "Border Crosses" Between Kwa Zulu

and the Bordering White Areas, According to Type of Transport

Kwa Zulu Areas viz: Umlazi, Kwa Mashu, Shongweni Mpumalanga Umbumbulu	Bus	Train	Other	Total	White Areas: Durban Pinetown, Prospecton, Hammarsdale, Kingsborough, Amanzimtoti.
1976	56 800	40 000	14 200	111 000	
1977	58 000	40 000	14 700	113 500	
1978	70 000	45 000	17 000	132 000	
1979	77 500	50 000	19 500	147 000	
1980	84 000	56 000	21 000	161 000	
1981	89 000	60 000	23 000	172 000	

(Estimates of Migrants and Commuters, 1976 - 1981, Urban Rural Workshop Report, 82/18).

The problem of insufficient accommodation for African people entering Natal, and Durban in particular, is acute and by no means a recent development. Whilst the policies of segregation and apartheid have successfully maintained a cheap and abundant African labour supply for South African capitalism, these policies have also created problems for rational economic development. Amongst these problems is the growth of shack settlements, due largely to the local authorities' lack of provision to house the urban inflow of Africans. The growth of shack settlements has further been increased by the Apartheid policies, which have attempted to restrict the number of people eligible for formal

township housing. Amongst the regions where a correlation exists between the urban inflow of African workseekers and the shortage of accommodation, is the south of Durban. It is in this region that a number of shack settlements have developed, especially in the Malukazi and Umbumbulu vicinity. These areas offer shelter to Africans who could not obtain alternative accommodation, because of its scarcity, or they were not eligible for it, or had brought their families, and in some cases for those who were attempting to evade influx control regulations.

Hostels, both private and municipal, can not accommodate all the urban workseekers, especially those accompanied by family, resulting in numerous migrants moving into the mushrooming shack settlements in and around Durban. This was especially apparent to those Africans coming from outside Kwa Zulu and who did not have the benefits of Kwa Zulu citizenship accruing to them. Amongst these are the Pondo migrants, who are seen as "foreign nationals" and therefore not eligible for formal township housing in Natal. Their only solution to the problem is either to migrate alone and live in hostels, or if accompanied by family, to move into a shack settlement. This is one of the problems African workseekers coming to the Durban area have to face, and which increases the strains already placed upon them due to having to migrate. Ellis et. al. (1977) sum this position up by saying,

> "the stress currently observed in the cities is partly a result of stresses in the rural areas, particularly in the black homelands".

CHAPTER 4

PONDO HOSTEL DWELLERS IN NATAL

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Of the two main accommodation alternatives open to Pondo migrants in Natal, it is those who become hostel rather than shack dwellers which form the basis of this chapter. These Pondo hostel dwellers, belonging to the worker category termed "immigrant-breadwinners" by Hobart-Houghton and Walton (1952:116), occupy the type of accommodation ("single" people's accommodation) which has assisted in blocking/restricting the natural urbanisation process of African people. As discussed in the introduction, information on these people was obtained from 30 Pondo migrants residing at a Merewent hostel in the south of Durban. Although the information obtained from the interviews is not representative of all Pondo people in Natal, it does form an experiential matrix of the Pondo hostel dwellers' rural and urban relationship, and serve as a contrast to the Pondo shack dwellers' position, dealt with in a later chapter.

From these interviews the following picture unfolds. The Pondo migrants ranged in age from 29 years to 60 years, with a mean age of 47.2 years. They had an average of 6.4 years schooling, although some had as little as 5 years education and one had as much as 9 years. The migrant which had 9 years education was also the youngest migrant. His education level was made possible by his father possessing well paid employment in Durban, and his family having a larger and more arable plot, which they had secured by renting land from less fortunate neighbours. The other migrants admitted that economic reasons had forced them to leave school and enter the labour market. The migrants were married and had children. The mean number of children was 4, the most 6 and the least 2 (Table 4). Over half (51.7%) of these children were in employment outside the Transkei. More than a quarter (27.5%) were still at school, these still being quite young. The remaining children

(13.8%) were at home, these being adult females who were either married or awaiting marriage.

Table 4

Information on Pondo Migrants' Age, Education and Children
N = 30 Pondo Hostel Dwellers

	Age	Education	Children
Mean	42.7	6.4	4
Most	60	9	6
Least	29	5	2

Many members of the migrants' families, such as wives, mothers, retired fathers and unemployed children, lived at "home" in the Transkei. There appeared to be an extended family structure, where either one or both parents of the migrants lived in close proximity to the migrants' wives and helped with the daily chores. The wives did not have outside employment, as there was very little available work in the region, rather they tended to stay at home and attend to the domestic duties, especially the planting of vegetables. The main vegetables planted were cabbage, pumpkin, squash, potatoes, beans and tomatoes. These were consumed by the families or used in exchanges for neighbours' produce. The small amount of produce grown, due to limited land size, poor soil and inadequate water supplies, removed the possibility of selling any surplus at the market.

The migrants came from the following areas in the Transkei (Table 5).

Table 5

```
9 of the migrants came from Lusikisiki
4 of the migrants came from Mt. Fletcher
9 of the migrants came from Bizana
4 of the migrants came from Mt. Frere
4 of the migrants came from Mt. Ayliff
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4.2   RURAL AND URBAN EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Similar migration and employment patterns, pertaining to their families and themselves, were revealed by the migrants. Most of the migrants said their families had become considerably poorer over the years, which resulted in certain family members having been pushed into the migrant labour system. It was believed that most of the migrants' grandfathers had been reluctant to enter the migrant labour system, and when they did it had been for a relatively short period, stimulated by the need for money to purchase essential items and pay taxes. The majority of the grandfathers possessed "farms" and cattle, and had strong rural ties. However, with the continued underdevelopment of the area and increased rural strains, the migrants' fathers had little alternative other than to migrate. These fathers, who first migrated around the late 1930s and 1940s, obtained employment in places like Johannesburg, Natal and the Cape. The majority of these fathers had been employed in the mines and in agriculture, especially on the sugar plantations of Natal. Most of the migrants' mothers, on the other hand, had remained at home. Only 4 migrants knew of occasions when their mothers had found seasonal work as farm labourers in the Transkei. Migrating from the Transkei in search of employment has

become imperative to many families' existence, as without remittances it would be difficult/impossible to exist, especially with "an eroding economic base, overflowing population and pervasive unemployment" (Southall, 1982:218).

Faced with such conditions, the migrants interviewed had no choice but to seek employment outside the Transkei, especially since there was very little permanent employment available for the migrants in their hometowns, and certainly not sufficient to enable them to remain in the Transkei. The work which was available was poorly paid, generally of a temporary nature and could occasionally be found in:

a)   the tea plantations in Lusikisiki (one of the largest being an X.D.C. concern);
b)   occasional road building in the Transkei; and
c)   in some of the factories that had been established.

The migrants claimed that most of these factories in the Transkei were small, and employ people who do not mind working for half the money they could earn in Durban. Lower wages in the area were also accompanied by poorer working conditions, such as long hours, no Christmas bonuses or trade union protection.

Despite these conditions, 13 of the migrants had found temporary work in the Transkei before migrating, such as helping with road construction work and tending cattle on farms. The majority (17), however, did not work in the Transkei prior to migrating. The migrants agreed that they had migrated from their rural homes as there was a scarcity of permanent, secure employment in the Transkei, and not through any desire to see the "bright lights" of urban areas. The primary reason for migrating was to earn money. Twenty one needed money for marriage and related expenses, like home building. The remaining 9 needed money to assist their families.

Reasons for choosing the Durban area were varied. Over half (17) came to Durban for two reasons, these being the closeness to the Transkei and the availability of work. Four came to Durban because they had heard that plentiful employment opportunities existed, and 9 came because they had been encouraged by family members already in Durban. From this, the main reason for coming to Durban was the availability of employment. The proximity to the Transkei and the fact that family members were already in the city enhanced the favourability of migrating to the area.

These migrants entered the urban area for the first time during the 1960s, and all knew of somebody already in the city. Most knew a family member, mainly a father, brother or uncle, whilst 9 knew a non-relative, usually a neighbour's son or school friend. On arrival, the migrants managed to secure work quickly, with 13 securing work within the first week and 17 within the second week. Thirteen obtained work through the advice of the magistrates in the Transkei, who had informed them where to go and, in many cases, had given them letters of introduction to the suggested employers. It was these 13 which found work within one week of arrival, and their views relating to the magistrates' capabilities are summed up as follows,

> "the magistrate is like a sangoma, he is very 'slim', and is never wrong. He is our friend and has ears to listen to our problems".

> (Series 1, Interview No. 23,
> 27 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The remaining 17 migrants found work through either their father or brother/s informing them of vacancies, which these relatives had made prior enquiries about to the factory manager, concerning the possibility of their son/brother obtaining this work. The employment secured by these migrants, unlike that initially obtained by their fathers, was in

industry. At the time of the interviews, the migrants were all employed in the construction industry (the result of the way the interviews were obtained), one of the larger employers of such labour in Natal. They were trade union members, possessed secure employment positions, and many had lengthy employment contracts. Most (21) enjoyed their work, whilst the remaining 9 said it was mediocre. None of the migrants admitted to disliking their employment. Conversation moved to aspects of their work that they enjoyed, and the majority (18) liked only the money. Four said the "bosses" were good, whilst a further 4 enjoyed the money and the accessibility of employment. The remaining 4 enjoyed the money and the workmates. Throughout most of the replies the importance of money earned featured prominently.

Looking at the oscillation of these migrants between the Transkei and Durban, it is of interest to establish how often and for what duration they return to the Transkei. Seventeen returned home at the end of every month (that is, every 4 weeks), and 13 made the journey once every two months (that is, every 8 weeks). These returns, which generally occurred on a weekend, enabled the migrants to spend two nights, usually Friday and Saturday nights, at home with their families. They all returned home during the December holiday period, and tended to average three weeks at home. The migrants looked forward to this return, even though an active time, including repairing things, paying taxes and visiting family and friends, awaited them. The Christmas holidays represented a "catching-up" time, on such things as news, events and chores for the migrants.

There are two basic methods of commuting between the Transkei and Durban, available to migrants. All the migrants caught the train from Durban to Port Shepstone, where the railway line ends, and from there 21 took a taxi and 9 a bus for the remainder of their journey. Those who preferred a taxi said it was quicker and they did not have plenty of

time to waste, especially on weekend sojourns. The counter argument by the 9 who did not take the taxi, was that the taxi was very expensive, the drivers drove too fast, and going by bus enabled them to have a rest. The regularity of such returns to the Transkei enabled migrants to take remittances home personally, rather than sending them through the post or relying on others.

These remittances were used to purchase a number of things, namely:

- 13 of the families bought clothes and essentials for cooking and eating;

- 4 of the migrants said their families bought animals and chickens, as well as clothes and essentials for cooking and eating;

- 4 said their money was used to buy seeds and essentials for cooking and eating; and

- 9 bought only essentials for cooking and eating.

Despite certain variations, a common use of the migrants' remittances was to purchase essentials for cooking and eating. It can be postulated that the spending of remittances on basic essentials, mostly food, is indicative of a decrease in the level of the subsistence economy, which decreases anew (due to land inheritance divisions, increased population, etc.) through every generation (Southall, 1982:74 and 218). From this, it is possible to understand the degree of pressure placed upon these migrants to obtain and maintain employment outside the Transkei.

Migrants were asked whether they thought work opportunities had decreased in Durban during the mid 1980s. The migrants agreed that work had become scarcer, although they had not been affected. A migrant's reply portrayed the employment situation,

"Yes, work in Durban has got scarcer. On my way to work people stop me

and ask me for tips where to get work. There are lots of people who have no work and still more coming from the farms to try and find work".

(Series 1, Interview No. 7,
9 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The migrants believed that a factor which aggravated the scarcity of work was the increased movement of people from the rural Transkei regions to the urban areas of South Africa, such as Durban. This movement is shown by the following migrants' statement,

"more and more people are leaving Pondoland and moving to urban areas. Lots of men are coming to work in Durban, and some are coming with their families. This causes problems as the accommodation is for one person, and not for a big family".

(Series 1, Interview No. 10,
12 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The prime and related causes for this urban movement were the need for money and the scarcity of jobs in the Transkei. The necessity of employment more than likely being stimulated by land shortages and high taxes. The urban movement of these Pondo people, largely in an attempt to escape/reduce the rural strains, and often irrespective of the availability of urban employment and accommodation, is by no means a recent development. This urban movement, as shown in Chapters 2 and 3, does not only place a new set of strains upon the Pondo people, but also creates problems, such as increased shack settlements and large pools of unemployed/surplus people, for South African capitalism.

Compounding the Pondo people's difficulties in securing employment was the change in the role of the magistrates in the Transkei. Previously the magistrates had helped the Pondo people by recommending certain places of employ. However, during more recent

times, and especially since independence in 1976, this has fallen away. A migrant's recollection reveals this,

> "When I was young, the magistrates were in the Transkei. Now they are not the same. Before they were good, and they gave you tips where to get work".

<div align="right">

(Series 1, Interview No. 4,
3 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

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4.3   POSSIBLE REASONS FOR URBAN MIGRATION

The migrants realised that the main cause of their migrating to urban areas was the need for money, resulting from their inability to exist in, and the strains emanating from, the immiserated Transkei. The migrants agreed that the Transkei had experienced an increase in rural strains (particularly the intensification of already existing strains) since they were children, and these had detrimental effects upon their rural existence. The effects of these strains are captured by this migrant,

> "The only thing which is the same in the Transkei is the places name. Everything is different, the land, the taxes, the chiefs, everything. The country has become hard".

<div align="right">

(Series 1, Interview No. 5,
3 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

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The main rural strains reported by the migrants were as follows:

- 13 said the taxes had climbed and land size decreased, mainly due to Government land expropriation, land inheritance divisions and population growth;

- 9 stated that taxes had climbed, land size decreased, work was unavailable, and they missed the guidance of the magistrates; and

- 8 said that taxes had climbed, land size decreased, work was unavailable and the role of the chiefs had changed.

One of the main rural strains identified by the migrants, and one which has contributed to the perpetuation of Transkei's migrant labour system, is the excessive taxation that the majority of the Pondo people have to pay. An insight into the situation and the feelings of the migrants on this issue, is given by one migrant,

"The Government of the Transkei is corrupt and they are greedy. They want our money but give us nothing in return. Since 1976 we have been hard hit, as the taxes on animals have gone up. No longer can we have lots of cows as the tax is R1.50 on each cow, and if we do not pay, the Government officials come and take our cows to auction. The tax on other livestock has also increased, with the tax on donkeys being very high. The chiefs in the Transkei are also bad, they work for the Government and get paid by the Government. They tell us to pay the taxes, to do this and that, they are the friends of Matanzima and the bosses of the people. The independence is not a help to us, before we were part of South Africa, where the South African Government dictated, now the Transkeian Government comes in, and they do just the same. Life is not easier, it is harder. The chiefs have got rich, they get nice land, free of rocks and stones, they get nice cars and fat cows. We give them this, because the Government makes us pay high taxes".

(Series 1, Interview No. 23, 27 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Besides high taxes, the majority (26) of the migrants complained of severe land shortages, and 13 of the lack of employment opportunities in the Transkei. The extent of the land shortage is shown in this migrant's reply,

"Before the independence and when I was young, you could see lots of houses on the land, sometimes there were clumps of 14 - 16 houses on one piece of land, and all these 14 - 16 houses belonged to one family. Now you see 3 - 4 houses or more often 1 or 2, and this is now what a family lives in. Before people had more land to grow more vegetables and keep more cattle. I do not think that Matanzima likes Pondos to have cows because he puts the tax up all the time. Also, he takes the land away, and says the Government needs it".

(Series 1, Interview No. 27, 4 April 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

From the interviews with the Pondo migrants it is apparent that many view the strains they experience in the Transkei to be largely the result of the Transkeian Government. Aiding

the Government are the chiefs, who see that the Government orders are carried out. It is due to this reason that both the Government and the chiefs are viewed in such an unfavourable light by most of the migrants interviewed. The sentiments of many of these people concerning the Transkeian Government are captured by this migrant,

"Before 1976, Pondoland was part of South Africa, now it is not. I do not like this independence, as I was born in South Africa, which makes me a South African person, yet I am now Transkeian. I do not want to be a Transkeian, as the benefits from this are less than that of a South African. The new Government is not good, they take people's land, and leave us only a small piece. Later they (Government) offer you your own land back at a very high price, when they gave you only a few rands for it. Also the taxes are high. If you want animals you must pay firstly to buy the animals, and then to pay the taxes. This makes it expensive if you have lots of animals .... With this new Government, the chiefs in our home area have also changed. My father told us that the chiefs have been changing sides for some time, but have got worse recently. These chiefs are not afraid of the people, but are afraid of the Government, therefore, they listen to the Government and give us orders, and make us do things just because the Government wants it. Lots of people can see that these chiefs are paid by the Government".

(Series 1, Interview No. 8,
10 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

These increased strains have resulted in the majority of the Pondo people becoming poorer and more dependent upon migrant wages over the years. Despite their decline in prosperity, there exists another group of Transkeian inhabitants, namely the chiefs, which have prospered and grown rich. Today, in the Transkei, there exists a significant polarisation between the general impoverished population and the chiefs. For one thing, the Pondo people do not trust nor like many of the chiefs, and view them as "puppets" and opportunists, working for and in the interests of themselves and the Transkeian Government. This position differs from that found before the Pondoland Rebellion of 1959/60, when chiefs were seen as "friends and brothers" rather than as Government conspirators. In addition, the chiefs, in direct contrast to the majority of the population, have become increasingly wealthy and reside on land which is not only fertile, but also

considerably larger, flatter and better irrigated. This position is substantiated in one migrant's account,

> "A chief's home can easily be seen, even by a stranger. There are usually 8 huts, which are quite big, with a neat garden in the front. There is also a smooth, good piece of land, which has a stream nearby, and lots of fat cows. Also, you can see a chief's house because he has a big black shiny car parked in the front. It is very smart".

<div style="text-align: right">

(Series 1, Interview No. 9,
11 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

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Having described the strains in the Transkei, the migrants were asked what they thought the good features of the area were. The majority (21) of the migrants said there was nothing good, and that the area,

> "was like an old tin, empty and full of rust".

<div style="text-align: right">

(Series 1, Interview No. 16,
17 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

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The remaining 9 migrants said the only good thing in the Transkei was their family ties. The bad features mirrored the migrants' opinions of strains in the area, and included,

a)   lack of land;

b)   dissatisfaction with the Transkeian Government;

c)   changing role of chiefs; and

d)   high taxes.

From establishing the present feelings and relationship between the Pondo people and the Transkeian Government, the migrants were asked if they recalled any previous antagonisms or friction between the Pondo people and the Transkeian Administrators

during the 1950s and early 1960s. The migrants all knew of trouble within this period, with 26 of the migrants having been in the Transkei when conflict occurred, and 4 having heard of the trouble:

- 4 were uncertain as to the cause of the conflict;
- 4 believed it was due to cattle dipping measures and high taxes;
- 18 said it was due to cattle dipping measures, high taxes, resentment of chiefs and the Government administrators and land expropriation; and
- 4 believed conflict was due to resentment of Government.

Despite variations, it was agreed amongst most of the migrants that cattle dipping measures, chiefs' and Government administrators' attitudes, together with land expropriation were the factors which gave rise to the conflict. Conflict of this nature shows that the Pondo people have not passively accepted change which they perceive as detrimental to their existence in the Transkei.

Today, there is considerable animosity felt by the Pondo migrants towards the Transkeian Government, over similar issues such as land expropriation, high taxation, lack of work opportunities and the chiefs' involvement with the Government. It can be postulated that these feelings are the possible grounds for future uprising, similar to that which occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, and discussed in Chapter 2. However, there are two main reasons why such a political manoeuvre has not occurred. Firstly, a vast number of the inhabitants are involved in the migrant labour system, and their rural-urban oscillation prevents many from being in the area long enough to unite and organise. Secondly, the Transkeian Government prohibits the meetings of large numbers of Africans, and any such meeting is quickly dispersed by the Transkeian police or army. This makes it difficult for people to meet and plot an uprising. Evidence of this difficulty is given in this extract:

"Even on Christmas the police watch us when we are having a party. When too many family or friends come, they break our party, steal our food and drink, and tell us to go home. This makes it difficult for us to talk and share our feelings and to do anything about the nonsense which Matanzima brings to the Transkei".

(Series 1, Interview No. 10,
12 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Migrants, despite their dislike for the intensified rural strains, and their dissatisfaction with the Transkeian Government, still endeavoured to secure more land in the Transkei. The reason for this contradiction is due to the Pondo people having little alternative but to acquire land in the Transkei, as the granting of Transkei's independence made them unable to obtain family accommodation in South Africa, except if they lived "illegally" in overcrowded shack settlements on the perimeters of urban areas. Further, the migrants wished to have some security, especially when they are no longer able to work. This predicament of being "marooned" in the Transkei is evident from this migrant,

"The Transkei is like a jail, you cannot leave because there is no place in South Africa for Pondo families, only for lonely men. Also there is very little food in the Transkei, just like a jail".

(Series 1, Interview No. 15,
16 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The migrants were asked how they intended to obtain land. The largest number (13) envisaged obtaining land from their fathers, through inheritance, while

- 4 said they would buy land with the money they had saved and also get land from their fathers;

- 4 said they would rent land from others; and

- 9 claimed they would obtain land from both their fathers and by renting land from others.

All the migrants aimed at securing land, with the majority believing that some land would be obtained through inheritance. These migrants were dubious as to whether the land could support them, but felt they would be able to manage whilst they worked, and thereafter would be dependent on any pension money they might receive and from assistance by their children.

4.4 URBAN ACCOMMODATION AND RELATED FACTORS

The issue of migrants' accommodation was discussed, and it was inquired as to where the migrants stayed when they first came to Durban. All of the migrants resided in hostels, and have continued to do so, as

> "these are the only places where Pondos can live, there is nowhere else, and no place for family, except at Malukazi".

> (Series 1, Interview No. 7,
> 9 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Initially, 17 of the migrants resided in Municipal hostel accommodation, 4 stayed in accommodation provided by the sugar cane industries, and 9 resided in private hostels belonging to the factories for which they worked. This accommodation was secured through 9 applying to the Bantu Administration for accommodation, and thus receiving a bed in a hostel. A further 17 obtained accommodation through the factory in which they worked. In this case, the accommodation was either provided for the workers, or management informed workers where suitable hostel accommodation, in close proximity to the factory, could be found. The remaining 4 obtained accommodation through the help of friends and/or relatives. At the time of conducting the interviews, the migrants resided at a large Merewent hostel, and had been residents for an average of 7 years. The migrants stated that there was a severe lack of accommodation for Africans in Durban, especially

family accommodation. Even in hostels there were reported shortages of accommodation, and many more recent migrants were forced to rent beds or rooms in townships from local urban Africans.

Discussion moved to certain events which had taken place in the urban area, one of which was the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting" in 1985/86. The causes of this trouble were given by the migrants:

- 13 said the Zulu people believed that the Pondo people were "stealing" their jobs;

- 9 said that Zulu people complained there were too many Pondo people in Durban;

- 4 said that Zulu people blamed Pondo people for things that went wrong in the community, and for "stealing" Zulu people's jobs; and

- 4 claimed the Zulu people believed there were too many Pondo people in Durban, and that the Zulu inhabitants were afraid Pondo men might marry Zulu women.

The migrants were aware of this conflict, with the majority (17) believing that the trouble stemmed from Zulu people's allegations that Pondo people were "stealing" their jobs. The remaining 13 migrants claimed the Zulu inhabitants were disturbed by the great number of Pondo people in the urban area, which created competition for resources. This position was explained by a Pondo migrant,

"In Durban there were lots of fights between Pondos and Zulus. The Zulu are frightened that the Pondo will steal his job. Also, in Section 5, there are too many people living together, when more come people say, here come more Pondos. When things go wrong, and pipes and taps break, the people say it is because of the Pondos using them. This causes the fighting. Also, lots of Pondos are becoming Zulus, so they can obtain houses. They join the Zulu tribe, change their papers and get land to build their home ... they even join Inkatha, and sing to Buthelezi. This shows how desperate they are to obtain land and live nicely".

(Series 1, Interview No. 9,
11 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The "faction fighting" placed additional strain on the Pondo migrants, as shown in the following,

> "It is bad when the Zulu get cross, and you have to sometimes keep quiet and pretend you are not a Pondo. You feel weak and angry. The place is tough as you have to look after your job, your bed at the hostel and also remember your family in Mt. Ayliff".

> (Series 1, Interview No. 16, 17 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Numerous strains are placed upon Pondo migrants whilst living and working in the urban area. There is a scarcity of resources, especially accommodation and employment, as well as problems encountered with the local African population. To overcome the hostility shown towards Pondo migrants, a number of migrants have played down their Transkeian origins, and in some instances pretended to be Zulu people. The deceit and denial of their origins, creating additional strain for the migrants.

On entering the urban areas the migrants were also faced with the decision whether to support Inkatha or the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.). The joining/supporting of one of these political organisations was often encouraged, according to the migrants, by the officials of the trade union to which they belonged. The migrants all supported the U.D.F., not only because their union favoured its policies, but also due to their belief that Inkatha was an organisation for Zulu, and not Pondo, people. These migrants, however, were aware that some Pondo people had joined Inkatha. The joining of Inkatha was often used as a means to secure formal urban accommodation, and so escape/avoid both hostel and shack accommodation. The migrants were also aware that Pondo people were generally presumed, even in instances when they remained politically neutral, to be U.D.F. supporters by the local Zulu population and by other Pondo people. To understand the

views held by Pondo and Zulu people on this issue, a brief overview of these organisations is necessary.

The formation of Inkatha in 1975 united the position of Chief Buthelezi and his followers in the Kwa Zulu Legislative Assembly. Inkatha's formation created African (Zulu) unity, through refusing independence, but taking part in the bantustan Government system. The people within the Inkatha organisation's jurisdiction are the Zulu people. The organisation is not only limited by ethnic category and the "appeal of Zulu history", but also by the Kwa Zulu Legislative Assembly's structure (Sitas, 1986:94). An alternative organisation preferred by the Pondo people is the U.D.F. The U.D.F. combined organisations, associations and groups which opposed the state's reform policy on a democratic platform. According to Sitas (1986), the U.D.F., led by educated members of the black middle class, and a number of politicians, with South African Allied Workers Union and National Federation of Workers participating, developed an "efficient political machine" which organised many campaigns and drew interest from the youth. In addition, the U.D.F. received considerable support from the working class leaders and members. However, Sitas (1986) argued that the weakness of the organisation lay in the fact that most of the power exerted was absorbed at the national level, preventing the development of a "coherent grass-roots approach" to consolidate its base. The U.D.F., over the years, became more involved in conflict with Inkatha (1986:102).

The information obtained from the Pondo hostel dwellers shows that they possess similar life chances. They all entered the migrant labour system with the intention of earning money, and their rural-urban oscillation has been perpetuated by rural immiseration and strain, which have increased over the years. This movement has transferred agricultural work, as Southall (1982:77) argued, onto the young, women, the elderly and infirm. The

migrants, however, make frequent returns and take remittances to their families in the Transkei. The need for these remittances and the use to which they are put, indicates the decrease in the rural subsistence economy. Although there is extreme pressure to migrate from the Transkei, and many factors present which cause resentment and disagreement, the migrants all hoped to secure land therein. This endeavour reflects the predicament of the Pondo people who are excluded from formal urban family accommodation in South Africa, due to the apartheid policies and their Transkeian citizenship, and have little alternative but to remain in the Transkei. The only other alternative is to migrate "illegally" into South Africa's over-crowded shack settlements. The predicament of these Pondo people, who encounter numerous blocks when attempting to urbanise, is captured by the insight, already mentioned in the chapter, of this Pondo hostel dwelling migrant,

> "The Transkei is like a jail, you cannot leave because there is no place in South Africa for Pondo families, only for lonely men..."

> (Series 1, Interview No. 15, 16 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

From this, the points raised by Murray (1987:237) and which are applicable to the information obtained from the Pondo hostel dwellers must be emphasised:

1)   rural households' investment in agriculture was largely facilitated by migrant labour earnings, and it would be incorrect to describe migrant earnings as "supplementary" to an income from agriculture; and

2)   migrants usually obtained land through, and not alternatively to, entering the migrant labour system.

On migrating to urban areas additional strains were experienced, which include maintaining their employment and accommodation places, as well as encountering the local urban African population. The Pondo migrants relationship with these people has not always been amiable, especially during the 1985 - 1986 Pondo/Zulu "faction fights", an

incident which the migrants were aware of. The migrants' urban existence is settled, and most possess lengthy employment contracts, have resided in their present accommodation for a number of years, belong to the U.D.F. and are members of the Construction and Allied Workers trade union.

The life experiences of these migrants portray the link between the Transkei and Natal, and bear a close similarity with Potgieter's (1982) viewpoint that South Africa's neighbouring countries and "independent" bantustans are heavily dependent upon the South African economy. A major link between these two areas is the supply of migrant labour to urban areas, and the dependence upon Natal's industry to provide employment for many Pondo people. This link is strengthened by the shortage of available employment in the Transkei. The Pondo migrants are dependent upon the rural and urban areas, even though both exert considerable strain on them. The rural area houses their families and eventually themselves, whilst the urban area provides the migrants with employment and wages which sustain and maintain their rural base.

CHAPTER 5

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

BY PONDO SHACK DWELLERS

IN NATAL

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The alternative form of accommodation available to Pondo migrants in Natal is in shack settlements, generally situated on the urban periphery. The Pondo shack dwellers, unlike the "single" hostel dwellers, are often accompanied by their families. These people, representative of the worker category termed emigrant-families by Hobart-Houghton and Walton (1952:116), have taken the initiative and moved to the urban Natal region in an attempt to escape the rural strains experienced by residing in the Transkei. The shack dwellers discussed in this chapter reside in the well-known and extensive region to the south of Durban, which includes Malukazi, Umbumbulu, Kwa Makhuta and vicinity. The shacks in these areas have been inexpensively built, and are constructed from,

> "freely available natural materials (such as mud), scrap packing material (such as plywood) and second-hand corrugated iron".
>
> (Haarhoff, 1981:263)

The area in which they are situated lacks many basic facilities, uppermost being a limited supply of fresh water, with only one piped-water supply serving 25 000 people in Malukazi, and a severely inadequate sanitation system (Haarhoff, 1981:284). Despite this, numerous African people have entered the area and settled, mainly as a result of the acute African housing shortage and the limited accommodation available to Transkeian citizens. This has given rise to overcrowding, a scarcity of resources, such as land, water, employment etc., and finally competition for, and conflict over, the latter. Insight will be given into the problems experienced by Pondo migrant-families in such settlements, their relationship with the local Zulu population and factors which affect this relationship. Further, the "faction fights" between the two groups, with particular attention to the large Pondo/Zulu

"faction fight" of 1985/86, will be dealt with. One of the significant features of the fighting was the strong mobilisation around the ethnicity of the Pondo and Zulu people. The ethnic/tribal divisions which exist between these people are largely the result of the apartheid policy of dividing the African population along ethnic lines. The ethnic/tribal issue, together with its significance for African unity/disunity and the subsequent effects upon the two groups in question, will be addressed to facilitate greater understanding of the material. It must, however, be borne in mind that some of the problems experienced by Pondo shack dwellers also relate to those in hostel accommodation.

5.2   ETHNICITY AND TRIBALISM

Saul (1979) states that Southall, Crawford, Young and others, identify "ethnicity" as relating to people which share common characteristics, such as language, birthplace, political affiliation and cultural values. However, Saul argues that the importance of these characteristics is "much more contingent than discussion structured around the concept of tribe has indicated" (1979:392). Of significance, is the "situational" nature of ethnicity, since ethnicity is able to be politically activated and de-activated depending on the situation (Barrows, in Saul, 1979). Similarly, Marxists have argued that tribalism, an overt political expression of ethnicity, and often found in new institutions and organisations which adopted characteristics from the old, can be situationally mobilised and defined, with the "traditional reality" maintaining it being the "class structured society of African peripheral capitalism" (Saul, 1979:393).

Tribalism is regarded as a central factor in preventing Africa's national unity (Sklar, in Saul, 1979:394). The disunity stemming from tribal divisions is often created and activated

by, and for the benefit of, the power-holders, usually in an attempt to further their own "constitutive" interests as developing social classes. Tribalism is therefore utilised as a mechanism to obtain class privilege. Saul (1979:411) states that the petty-bourgeoisie can utilise both nationalism and ethnicity, and mould the latter to maintain its power. Whilst ethnicity and tribalism can, and do, benefit both capitalism and the power-holders, they can also have adverse effects on capitalism. This is evident in Chapter 6, where information reveals that the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting" severely disrupted the workforces and the production processes in the factories to the south of Durban.

The role played by ethnicity and tribalism is apparent in South Africa. Wright (1986) argues that in South Africa after World War I, capital domination was threatened by the growth of an urbanising and often militant African working class, potentially united with radicalised members of the African petty-bourgeoisie. As a result, the system of African labour control established in South Africa around the turn of the century was weakening. When the Pact Government came to power in 1924, it responded to these developments by restructuring the African administration system through the policy of "retribalisation". The incorporation of Africans into an industrialising society had to be slowed down, "surplus" Africans in urban areas removed to reserves, and a system of control in the reserves through the revival of "traditional" African authorities instituted, with emphasis on ethnic and cultural separatism (Wright, 1986:102). The emphasis on ethnic and cultural separatism has been perpetuated and intensified during the post-1948 apartheid period.

In Natal, the use of such ethnic mobilisation has been extensively utilised. Beall et. al. (1986) show that since unionisation, Natal has been increasingly incorporated into national politics. Although the national framework finally determined the regional boundaries concerning the administration of Africans, the administration patterns which developed in

Natal have also had an effect on the national level, such as the Native Administration Act of 1927. The 1927 Act, which represented a rejection of the Cape's "assimilationist" tradition, favoured Natal's tradition of indirect rule. It also represented the initial step to the "refurbishing of African traditionalism with the emphasis on ethnic and cultural separatism" (Lacey in Beall et. al., 1986:20).

Although steps towards the retribalisation of Africans were taken as early as the 1920s, it was not until 1959 that the policy of "ethnic fragmentation" instead of racial segregation was seriously pursued. The policy of "ethnic fragmentation," which was accompanied by the abolition of indirect representation of Africans in the central state authority in 1959, resulted in the creation of eight "national units" (bantustans) for Africans. Each of the bantustans was granted limited power of self-administration, with the central authority's power over these decentralised bodies being maintained (Beall et. al., 1986:23-24). The development of homeland policy and bantustan creation in the post-1948 apartheid period, largely intended to reduce/restrict the flow of Africans to urban areas, assisted in giving "physical coherence", according to Sitas (1988), to "Zulu imaginings and horizons" in Natal. Although these policies, such as the creation of the Kwa Zulu bantustan, significantly contributed to the revival of "Zulu-ness" within the province, they were unable to reduce/restrict the "illegal" entry of Africans into Natal's urban areas. Many of these African migrants resided, as shown in Chapter 3, in the ever-increasing shack settlements on Durban's periphery. With the continued urban inflow of Africans, together with the perpetuation of ethnicity and tribalism in Natal, it is not surprising that Dhlomo (1985:267) claims that many Africans in the province, particularly the local Zulu people, are resentful of other Africans moving into the area, as they compete for scarce resources, there being strong feelings of "insiders" and "outsiders". Such competition, exacerbated by the continued urban inflow of ethnically different African groupings, has resulted in the

transferal of many "faction fights" from rural to peri-urban areas. This conflict has often manifested itself in the form of ethnic hostility. An ethnically characterised urban "faction fight" which was particularly significant, due largely to its duration and the number of people involved, was the Pondo/ Zulu "faction fight" to the south of Durban during 1985/1986. This "faction fight", in which the Pondo people became the scapegoat for the Zulu people's frustration/anger, will be discussed later in the chapter.

5.3 FACTION FIGHTS IN NATAL DURING THE 1980s

Information on "faction fights" in Natal during the 1980s was obtained from an analysis of reports on "faction fights" in the main Natal newspapers, for the above period. Some reservation must be expressed about this source of information, especially with regard to the comprehensiveness and focus of the reports. Despite these reservations, they do provide an understanding of the reason, place and between whom fighting generally occurs.

The Daily News (4/6/82) reported that "faction fights" were on the increase, with 23 reported cases of fighting in 1981. According to Jeffrey Mtetwa, Minister of Justice, the Kwa Zulu Government's efforts have had little success in reducing the number of "faction fights" and killings in some areas. From the analysis of newspaper reports, these "faction fights" can be divided into two main groups. Firstly, those over scarcity of resources, which were exacerbated by the poor economic climate prevailing in the early 1980s. Secondly, those resulting from longstanding feuds, theft and tribal disputes: There were two main regions where these fights occurred, the one being to the south of Durban and slightly inland, the other, the Msinga region. Both areas were overpopulated and resources in short supply. Although similar strains were evident in many other areas of Natal, most of these areas had remained relatively peaceful. A reasons for the outbreak and

concentration of fighting in the southern Durban region can probably be attributed to the region having experienced a rapid inflow of African people, many of whom possessed different ethnic/tribal characteristics to the local African population, during the early 1980s. This inflow of African people might have, or appeared to have, exacerbated the strains already present in the region.

The following are incidents of this fighting. In January 1982, fighting broke out in Izingolweni, near Harding, due to a long standing feud between the Makhanya and Mkhize. The Umbumbulu region saw fighting in April 1982 amongst Toyana tribesmen. Chief Hlengwa said the trouble stemmed from Africans being evicted from white farms in the Camperdown area, and moving into the area and wanting land. These newcomers tended to dominate the old residents, which caused resentment (Natal Mercury, 2/4/82). Toward the end of 1982, in November and December, the southern part of Durban again saw fighting, this time in the Malukazi shack settlements, not far from Umbumbulu. In this incident, about 500 Zulu residents protested to the local Inkatha chairman that they were being taxed by the Pondo inhabitants in a number of ways, which resulted in the Zulu inhabitants attacking the Pondo people (Natal Mercury, 1/12/82). The Pondo people were reputed to be "strong disciplinarians", and were asked by the inhabitants to reduce the crime rate, resulting in a vigilante group, mainly of Pondo people being formed. Residents in the area wanted to know who had appointed the group, with many Zulu residents objecting to the group. This was the very first time fighting had occurred so near Durban (Sunday Tribune, 5/12/82).

The Msinga region of Natal witnessed the majority of "faction fights" in 1983, especially between the Mabomvini and Majosi clans (Natal Witness, 24/1/83). This area was

overpopulated, and had become a "dumping ground" for people (Natal Witness, 9/7/83). In September 1983, the Msinga/Weenen Commission of Inquiry was announced to become a permanent problem solving body. Since July 1983, the preliminary investigations committee had worked on identifying the major problems and suggesting possible solutions, in an attempt to prevent fighting from spreading to the urban areas. The main problems identified in the Msinga area were:

a)   starvation caused by drought;

b)   lack of employment in the area; and

c)   overpopulation and general scarcity of resources (City Press, 11/9/83).

Fighting for 1984 was concentrated in the Msinga and Umbumbulu regions. Early in March 1984, the Mabomvu and Majosi clashed due to a long standing feud (Natal Mercury, 13/3/84). Later in March 1984, there were reports of renewed fighting between these two "tribes", stemming from a cattle dispute, which the Mabomvu's claimed the Majosi's had stolen (Natal Witness, 27/3/84). The southern part of Durban also saw fighting, with the Umbumbulu area experiencing fighting in June 1984 between the Mkhizes and Makhanyas. The Mkhize believed that the Makhanya had a "powerful man" living among them, who wanted to gain control of the whole of Umbumbulu (Natal Mercury, 9/6/84). It was also reported by the Natal Mercury (25/7/84) that about 100 people had been killed in "faction fights" in Natal during the first 7 months of 1984, with killings for the period concentrated in the Msinga, Upper Tugela, Richmond and Ezakheni areas.

In March 1985, at Umzumbe on the South Coast, two factions of Madlalas were involved in a long standing dispute concerning the appointment of a tribal chief. Later during 1985, in August, many Hammarsdale (Emophela area) residents were involved in fighting. The

reason for the fighting arose from the refusal of one group to help the other, in a fight against a third party (Echo, 1/8/85).

During 1985, the south coast region was again the scene of numerous "faction fights". These can be divided into two groupings, those between old rivals, namely Makhanya and Mkhize, and a second grouping between Pondo and Zulu people. Over the years, the Umbumbulu region has experienced many "faction fights" between the Makhanya and Mkhize. This feuding was rekindled in 1982, when a woman married to a Mkhize man was allegedly abducted by some of the Makhanya clan, and forced to marry a Makhanya man. This incident increased the tension between the clans.

5.4   THE PONDO/ZULU "FACTION FIGHT" OF 1985/1986

A "faction fight" of much greater magnitude and with many far-reaching repercussions occurred between Pondo and Zulu inhabitants of the shack settlements to the south of Durban in November and December 1985, and continued into January 1986. This fighting possessed two main characteristics:

1)   it was mobilised around the ethnicity of the Pondo and Zulu inhabitants; and

2)   it occurred mainly in the shack settlements on the fringe of the urban area, which are in relatively close proximity to the urban centre.

It is to this fighting that special attention has been paid, as it gives an understanding of the problems Pondo shack dwellers encounter with the local urban Africans when migrating to Natal, and an insight into the conditions which have to be endured within these areas.

The intense fighting which stretched from November 1985 to late January 1986 was precipitated by smaller skirmishes that can be traced back as far as November and

December 1982, and particularly in 1985. This indicates that the tension between the two groups had been developing for some time. On 3 September 1985, a "Pondo/Zulu clash" was reported (Natal Mercury, 4/9/85). This took place due to allegations that the Pondo inhabitants had launched an unprovoked attack on the Zulu people living on the boundary of the Pondo settlement. Within these settlements there were usually definite areas in which concentrations of either Pondo or Zulu people resided. The Pondo people tended to reside in areas which the Zulu inhabitants did not require, or wished to rent to the Pondo people. In retaliation for the Pondo attack, the Zulu residents temporarily cut off the Pondo people's water supply. The Zulu residents did this by placing guards at the taps, who forcefully prevented the Pondo people from drawing water. It was over the issue of water, which was in short supply, that many of the following skirmishes occurred.

In an interview with Chief Makhanya, it was recalled that early in 1985 "grumbles" began to be heard about the Pondo people who were growing in numbers and occupying more of the area. The local Zulu inhabitants believed, according to Chief Makhanya, that they should have first preference to the resources of the area, such as water, land and employment, as their ancestors had been in the area for almost a century longer than the Pondo people. To assist the inhabitants of the area, and reduce some of the hardships, the A.E.C.I. factory in Umbogintwini, which had many Pondo and Zulu employees residing in the area, installed water-taps outside the factory boundary. These taps, whilst severely needed by the inhabitants, were not only close together but also a distance from many of the homes, resulting in a very long walk for a number of the residents. Competition arose between the Pondo and Zulu people as to who would draw water first. The Pondo people had the advantage since they lived in closer proximity to the taps, having been designated land on the boundaries of the Zulu owned land and in the nearby Kwa Makhuta region. The Zulu people resented this, and fighting occurred between the two groups.

Increasing animosity developed between Pondo and Zulu inhabitants in the area, and Zulu people began to resent the Pondo residents. An indication of this, together with an insight into the perception that gave rise to these feelings, is given by Chief Makhanya,

> "Zulus decided there were too many Pondos in the area. Before the trouble the Zulus liked the Pondos, as they brought in money in the form of rents. However, the Pondos became greedy and wanted to all come and live in the area. This was due to Matanzima having no work for his people.... The Zulu people said there were more Pondos in the area than Zulus. The fighting would not have happened if the Pondos had not been greedy, and if they had not moved into the area.... The Zulus wanted first option on the jobs in the area, and on the water and land. The Pondos did not want this and kept on coming to look for things. The Zulus said that the Pondos were killing the Zulus, as the Pondos were stealing Zulu's jobs, and the Zulu people were getting thin and sick because they had no work and no money. Some of the Zulus called a meeting to see what could be done about the Pondos. It was decided at this meeting that Pondos should be told to leave the area and move somewhere else, less crowded.... The Pondos got very cross, and said they were not going.... The Zulu group decided that the Pondos must leave the area in two weeks. After two weeks about 10 families had left, however, there were hundreds of Pondos still in the area. The Pondos began to get frightened and would not talk to the Zulus. When these Pondos refused to leave, the Zulu people got cross and decided to show the Pondos how strong the Zulu people are".

> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987,
> conducted by F. Christensen.

It is from these feelings and events that the Pondo/Zulu "faction fight" developed. The Zulu inhabitants entered the conflict realising that they had a legitimate claim in the area and through this, and their "Zulu strength", could dictate to the Pondo people. The Pondo inhabitants, however, were in a precarious position. They had no "legal" rights in the area, and were dependent upon this accommodation and the permission of the Zulu power-holders of the area. Many of the Zulu inhabitants had apparently overlooked the fact that the majority of the Pondo people had been granted permission to reside in the area by the chiefs and shacklords, and were paying rent which was readily accepted. Although the chiefs and shacklords remained aware that most of the Pondo people had been granted residence rights, they appeared to be unwilling/hesitant to remind the Zulu inhabitants of

this fact. Their hesitance probably resulted from both their fear of being blamed for allowing so many Pondo people into the area, and that the profitability of their exploitation of the housing and amenities shortages which apartheid had generated be revealed.

The almost continuous three month "faction fight" began in November 1985. A Diakonia pamphlet (1986) "Fighting for a place to live...." reported that on 21 November 1985, Chief Chelisa, a Pondo tribal leader, had been killed and his death had given rise to renewed fighting between Pondo and Zulu people, resulting in about 8 deaths. This event is substantiated by Chief Makhanya, who said that in November 1985 an "unknown African" killed one of the Pondo leaders, which enraged the Pondo people as they believed the Zulu people were planning to attack them. A large fight ensued between these two groups in the veld near Kwa Makhuta, and about 7 Pondo people and 1 Zulu person were killed. The fight in November 1985 did little to disperse the Pondo residents, as according to Chief Makhanya, they are,

> "like a donkey, they don't move, if they don't want to".

> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987,
> conducted by F. Christensen).

It was believed that the Pondo people became enraged when family members were hurt and killed in the November 1985 fight. The Zulu inhabitants realised this, and expected the Pondo people to retaliate.

On Christmas Day 1985, a large fight, following many smaller fights which had taken place at weekends and at night for a long time, occurred. On 25 December 1985, there were numerous Zulu people in the area, as they had come to spend Christmas with relatives. The Zulu people in part of Kwa Makhuta formed a small group and began to fight with a

similar grouping of Pondo residents. This quickly grew into a massive confrontation, lasting two days and nights, during which Zulu and Pondo women and children sought safety in the bush, by the Umbogintwini river and in the hills. Fifty-three men were killed during the fight, with Chief Makhanya estimating that about 20 of the dead were Zulu residents, the rest were Pondo people. The Zulu inhabitants had also burnt a number of Pondo people's homes. The Diakonia pamphlet (1986) stated that the fighting had involved about 5 000 people and resulted in many deaths.

On the 28 December 1985, a meeting was held between representatives of the two groups. These talks collapsed, and Chief Makhanya ordered all "illegal" Pondo residents to leave his area of jurisdiction. Most of the Pondo people ignored his demand as they were employed in the surrounding industrial area and had nowhere else to go. Chief Makhanya said that the talks were followed by more trouble, with both Zulu and Pondo workers walking in separate groups, armed with sticks. Sometimes one group would shout something unpleasant to the other group, and fighting would break out. A factor which infuriated the Pondo people was the name "Ameeuw", given to them by the Zulu inhabitants. The latter believed the Pondo people resembled cats, as their language sounded like a cat's cry, and further they were said to smell like cats and also to eat cats. Fights took place all over the area, at the station, on the bus, train and in the shops. The Zulu inhabitants felt that all the Pondo people had to leave, if they were to rest at night, knowing there would be sufficient resources for them and their families.

Between Christmas 1985 and the 3 January 1986, it was calculated that 63 people had died in fighting (Diakonia pamphlet, 1986). On 21 January 1986, 20 houses belonging to Pondo people were burned to the ground and the occupants driven away at the small settlement of Msahweni near Adams Mission, about 15 kilometres from Malukazi, by a group of Zulu

people (Natal Mercury, 21/1/86). This took place due to Zulu people being angry about Pondo people's attacks on unarmed Zulu inhabitants at the Umbogintwini station. The following day (22 January 1986), 5 people were killed in renewed outbreaks of violence, with one person being killed at the Isipingo Railway Station.

On the 23 January 1986, major conflict again erupted between the two groups. A Natal Witness (24/1/86) report stated that at least 30 people were killed and many injured in the clash involving thousands of Zulu and Pondo people. The fight started when over 500 Pondo people moved into the Kwa Makhuta region, close to Malukazi. An impi of about 1 000 Zulu inhabitants confronted them, and after the battle the Pondo people retreated. However, on these Pondo people's return to their shack settlement, they attacked the home and raided shops and a bottle-store belonging to the Kwa Zulu M.P. for Umbumbulu. As a result, the police arrested 553 Pondo men, confiscated their weapons and charged them with public violence (Diakonia pamphlet, 1986). Chief Makhanya said that whilst these people were away, the Zulu inhabitants burnt the Pondo residents' homes by dousing the roofs with paraffin, and torching these with burning sticks and pieces of bush. The Pondo people had in Chief Makhanya's view made,

"funny houses of bits of plank, cardboard and scraps,which burnt quickly like paper".

(Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987,
conducted by F. Christensen).

The Pondo area near Kwa Makhuta was burnt down, frightening most of the Pondo people from the area and the surroundings. It is necessary to point out at this stage in the discussion of the "faction fight" that allegations have arisen, subsequent to the above information provided by Chief Makhanya (1987), which claim that the police played a central role in the burning of shacks in Kwa Makhuta on 23 January 1986. A court case is

in progress (1989), in an attempt to establish the truth of such claims. However, during the interviews with the Pondo hostel dwellers; the Zulu Chiefs; management and shop stewards, no such police involvement was revealed.

Following the fight on 23 January 1986, there were about 6 small fights at Amahlangwa and Magabheni, both situated to the south of Kwa Makhuta, where more homes were burnt. On the 25 January 1986, 5 men died in fighting at Amahlangwa. The area experienced further violence on 28 January 1986, when several homes were burnt and a nursing sister stabbed (Diakonia pamphlet, 1986). The Natal Mercury (28/1/86) reported that since December 1985, 113 people had been reported killed in the Pondo/Zulu fights. An estimated 15 - 20 000 people had had their homes destroyed and many had returned to the Transkei (Diakonia pamphlet, 1986). Chief Makhanya said that,

> "At the end of January 1986, the fighting stopped between the Zulus and the Pondos. The reason why the fighting stopped was that lots of Pondos had left the area and gone back to the Transkei.... The area has got a few Pondos and this is alright. It was bad that some of the good Pondos had to leave, as they had lived here for 20 years or longer. This was like their home.... It is alright to have a few like it was in the 1960s and 1970s, but we do not want another Pondoland at Malukazi".

> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

5.5   CAUSES OF THE PONDO/ZULU "FACTION FIGHTING"

In order to understand why violence of this intensity occurred, it is necessary to identify the cause/s of the fighting. The fighting which was mainly concentrated in the shack settlements to the south of Durban was, as shown, between residents mobilised around "ethnicity", and due to this it could be easy to dismiss the conflict as part of traditional life. However, this could not be done as Pondo and Zulu people have resided in the area for

many years. It is therefore necessary to determine what gave impetus to this antagonism between the groups, which previously had resided in apparent compatibility. On attempting to unravel the cause/s of the fighting, the stage through which the economy was passing must be borne in mind, and the effects this had upon the African population. It was seen that apart from a short upswing in the early 1980s, economic life deteriorated thereafter. This had, according to Sitas (1985:98), "tremendous implication on employment levels for urban Africans". This is substantiated by Greenberg and Gilliomee (1985:70) who stated that,

> "across Kwa Zulu, even in the immediate vicinity of industrial areas, there are widespread reports of an ever closing labour market. In recent years there has been virtually no recruiting in Umbumbulu".

Adopting the structure utilised by the Diakonia pamphlet (1986), the causes of the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting", as given by the Diakonia pamphlet (1986), newspaper reports (1985-1986) and Chief Makhanya (1987), will be broken into three parts, namely, immediate, wider and long term causes. Thereafter, my own opinions on the cause/s of the conflict will be given. The immediate causes tend to be connected with the influx of people into the region, leading to competition over scarce resources, such as employment, land and water. Newcomers, both Pondo and Zulu speakers, had increased in the area, with Pondo people entering at a rate which caused their population to rise by more than 16 percent per year (Natal Mercury, 27/12/85). This inflow is indicated in Chief Makhanya's response that, ·

> "It is not good to have too much of the same thing. If you eat too many cakes your stomach gets sick, so did the Zulu get sick of too many Pondos".

<div style="text-align: right">(Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).</div>

Schlemmer believed that the considerable inflow of Pondo people resulted in their becoming identified as a group, whereas previously they were treated as individuals (Natal Mercury, 27/12/85). It also caused the local population to feel threatened, especially since the deteriorating economic climate at the time had created a scarcity of employment, as shown by Chief Makhanya,

> "In 1983, jobs began to get scarce in the factories here. Lots of people came from the Transkei, and settled here, but work was not easy to get. Also, lots of companies started to reduce staff, and more people became unemployed".
>
> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Schlemmer believed that with the economy in the state it was, it was impossible for no conflict to develop (Natal Mercury, 27/12/85). One of the most precious resources competed for, in Schlemmer's view, was the ability to settle near main transport routes, which allowed access to urban employment, making the Umbogintwini and Malukazi area prime sites in this respect (Natal Mercury, 27/12/85). This reflects the economic climate of the time, which gave rise to competition for available employment. Similar views were expressed by the Financial Mail (31/1/86) in which it was argued that the animosity between the groups was mainly socio-economic competition, over accommodation, employment and water, their scarcity having increased with the added influx of people into the area. Haarhoff (Daily News, 24/1/86) stated that the Zulu people, who had settled in the area first, believed that they had the right to these resources ahead of the Pondo people.

Looking at the wider causes of the fighting, it can be seen that poverty in the rural areas had forced many people to migrate to the urban areas in an attempt to obtain employment. Many of these newcomers, both Pondo and Zulu people, had fled starvation in the rural

areas, as the effects of the recession were felt with increasing acuteness. Sutcliffe, of the interdisciplinary "Built Environment Support Group", argued that a main factor in the fighting was the economic situation, and that the urban movement had intensified with the recession. This resulted in numerous people moving into shack settlements around Durban, and in intense competition over resources (Natal Mercury, 14/2/86). The longer term causes stem from the Apartheid system and its effects, where too many Africans have to compete for too little land. Often many of these Africans who are pushed into Natal's urban areas, due mainly to their inability to exist in the rural areas, encounter an inadequate supply of formal urban accommodation, as well as restrictions on the type of accommodation they are allowed to occupy. This leaves many with little choice but to move into the overpopulated shack settlements.

The explanations provided by the Diakonia pamphlet (1986), newspaper reports (1985-1986) and Chief Makhanya (1987) on the cause/s of the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting" have been given. My opinions on the cause/s of the Pondo/Zulu conflict coincide, to an extent, with those of the above, although greater emphasis is given to the role played by the apartheid policies. These policies which emphasise and create ethnic divisions between the African people, together with their blocks on African urbanisation, are believed to have contributed significantly to the conflict. As a result of the blocks on African urbanisation, and the rural to urban push factors, many Pondo people have been forced to reside "illegally" in the overcrowded shack settlements on Durban's periphery. Although the local Zulu population appeared to tolerate this inflow of Pondo people during times when there was sufficient employment and resources in the area, internalised, mainly ethnic, divisions existed between the Pondo and Zulu people. The possible causes of these divisions are shown later in the chapter. However, when a scarcity of vital resources arose, exacerbated by the intensified inflow of Africans (from both the Transkei and other parts of Natal)

during the recession, the internalised divisions between the Pondo and Zulu people openly manifested themselves, and conflict erupted. The Pondo people, largely due to these already present, yet submerged, divisions and the increased number which had entered the area during the early 1980s, received the blame from the local Zulu inhabitants for the scarcity of resources. Whilst these Pondo people probably exacerbated, or appeared to exacerbate, the scarcity of resources in the area, the real culprits of this socio-economic competition were the apartheid policies and the poor economic climate which prevailed at the time. The Pondo people, however, unlike the other African migrants which had entered the area from various parts of Natal and which possessed similar ethnic traits to the local Zulu inhabitants, became the scapegoat, and the people onto which the Zulu inhabitants' displaced anger/frustration was focussed. Further evidence of the Pondo people having become the scapegoat is revealed in Chapter 6. This conflict thus took the form of ethnic hostility.

5.6 STAGES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PONDO AND ZULU SHACK DWELLERS

The following stages are obtained from information supplied by Chief Makhanya. Prior to the economic downswing and the increased movement of people into the shack settlements, the various African groupings had, according to Chief Makhanya, resided amicably together. Chief Makhanya recalled that,

> "In the early 1950s ... when the factories moved in ... lots of people went to work in them, these people did not come from our area. These came from further away, like Kokstad, Ixopo, Port Shepstone and Transkei. These new people wanted to build houses in the area. This they were allowed to do ... we gave them land and were happy for them".

(Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

By the early 1960s, Pondo residents were employed in the surrounding factories and were greatly appreciative of this, as there was a scarcity of employment in the Transkei. These Pondo people continued to build homes in Malukazi, Umbumbulu, Kwa Makhuta and Umbogintwini, and soon more people from the Transkei arrived. The inflow of Pondo people into this region was, as has already been discussed, largely due to the apartheid policies which prevented them from acquiring formal urban (township) accommodation. Some of the Zulu inhabitants who possessed large plots and did not use all their land, rented the excess to the Pondo people. The Pondo people were reputed to be quiet and punctually pay their rent to the landowners for the land which they occupied. Chief Makhanya said that the 1960s were "good times" as there was abundant employment for people, as well as space for the building of houses. Towards the end of the 1960s, as a result of the large inflow of people into the area throughout the decade,

> "the bush in some parts of Kwa Makhuta, Umbogintwini, and Umbumbulu . had all gone. Instead there were lots of houses".
>
> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

By 1970, the area was showing signs of overpopulation, and in some places water and land had become limited. Significant changes were seen, as it was,

> "no longer quiet and peaceful. There were lots of people, buses, trains, cars, houses etc. .... By 1978 ... the area had become too full.... People get greedy, and do not think they must stop, as what will their children do and where will the children live".
>
> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Most of these people were either employed in the nearby factories at Prospecton and Isipingo, or commuted by bus to factories nearer Durban. This post facto account by Chief

Makhanya reveals a contradiction to his position adopted before the Pondo/Zulu "faction fight" of 1985/86. Prior to the conflict, Chief Makhanya had sanctioned the inflow of Pondo people into the area, and had financially benefitted from these actions. However, after the "faction fighting", Chief Makhanya gives the impression of having been against, and having foreseen the complications in, the rapid inflow of Pondo people into the area - many of whom he had granted residence rights to.

The overcrowding of the area intensified in the 1980s, as more Pondo families moved into the area. This gave rise to an increased shortage of resources, especially land and water. Compounding this was the shortage of employment from around 1983. Although work was difficult to secure and companies had started to reduce staff, Pondo people continued to migrate from the Transkei, and so enlarged the climbing unemployment figures. Two groups of unemployed became identifiable: those who had never worked in the area and wanted work, and a second group, who had worked and had recently been retrenched. The latter group were mainly Zulu people. The inhabitants began to search for employment and Pondo people's presence began to annoy the Zulu people, as they believed they stood a better chance of obtaining employment if there were no Pondo people to compete with (Haarhoff in Daily News, 24/1/86; Chief Makhanya, 1987). These Zulu people apparently overlooked the fact that the employment shortage within the area was of such severity that many of them would have remained unemployed, irrespective of whether there had been competition from Pondo work seekers. This employment shortage was exacerbated by the continued land and water shortages. Chief Makhanya recalled that the summer of 1985 was particularly hot and dry, and no rain fell for a long time. The three springs in the area became low, and with the large concentration of people, soon became polluted with soap and other impurities. Complaints started to be heard about the Pondo people, with both Pondo and Zulu people jockeying for the limited resources. Through this fighting broke

out, culminating in the Pondo/Zulu "faction fight" of 1985/1986. Towards the end of 1986 and during 1987, Pondo people began to re-enter the shack settlements they had fled from during the fighting, and were again granted land. The re-granting of land to Pondo people was/is financially beneficial to the chiefs and shacklords, who must have lost considerable revenue during the Pondo people's absence from the area.

Despite Chief Makhanya portraying a situation in which both Pondo and Zulu inhabitants resided relatively amicably together in the decades prior to the "faction fighting" of 1985/1986, there were definite indications that divisions and resentment existed in these decades, although they were generally submerged. There are five main factors which created and maintained such a situation.

Firstly, there was, according to Chief Makhanya, a "definite preference" on the part of factories for employing Pondo rather than Zulu workers. The reason for this was the realisation by the factories that Pondo migrants were greatly dependent on such employment, and would therefore be conscientious hard workers. They would also be less inclined to leave the employment, as many had relatives in the Transkei who were dependent upon remittances. In the 1960s, when there was abundant employment, this "preference" did not, according to Chief Makhanya, unduly disturb the Zulu people. However, he did say,

> "It just made us cross that the factories were on Zulu land - Makhanya land - yet they liked Pondo people more than Zulus".
>
> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Despite denials of any resentment towards the "preference" given to Pondo over Zulu workers, this "preference" probably did create a differentiation between the two groups, and possibly a well controlled resentment of Pondo workers.

A second factor which maintained a division between Pondo and Zulu inhabitants was the difference in residence rights. The Pondo people, due to their Transkeian citizenship, did not possess legal access to the land in the same way as the local Zulu people (the Makhanya and Mkhize clans), and were dependent upon the permission of the Zulu landowners to settle in the area. This reinforced the division between "insiders" and "outsiders" in the community.

A third factor was the demarcation of Pondo and Zulu residential areas in the shack settlements. There existed quite separate concentrations of Pondo and Zulu people. The Pondo people usually resided, according to Chief Makhanya, in clumps on the boundaries of Zulu occupied land, with only a limited integration of Pondo and Zulu inhabitants. These residential divisions within the community reinforced the divisions between the two groups.

The fourth factor was the difference in allegiance to the Inkatha and U.D.F. organizations. There was a definite division, in that Zulu inhabitants belonged to Inkatha, whilst Pondo people preferred the U.D.F. This division was revealed by the Pondo hostel dwellers discussed in Chapter 4, and by Chief Makhanya in the following,

> "We are part of Kwa Zulu, and are Zulu. Inkatha is a good organization, which sees to the Zulus' welfare, and gives us things like land, housing, water and enables us to get jobs.... The Pondos who come here, said Inkatha was for the Zulu. They (Pondo) jointed the U.D.F., which is against Inkatha. How can you welcome the Pondos when they join a grouping which is against your people? This is not right.... The Pondo are funny, because some join Inkatha as well. They throw their Transkeian passports away and say they want to be Zulus. They become members of the Kwa Zulu and get houses and land, just like the Zulus. This is wrong because they throw away their country's passport, and act like a Zulu, but inside they are pure Pondo. This is cheating".

> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Although some of the Pondo residents became Inkatha members, they are not, according to the post facto account given by Chief Makhanya, fully accepted by the Zulu community. There remained a division between Pondo and Zulu members of Inkatha, due to dialect, birthplace and reason for joining the organisation, which became overtly obvious with the onset of "faction fighting".

A fifth factor which not so much created division between the groups, but rather resentment against Pondo people, particularly by the chiefs, was the erosion of chiefs' power. The new entrants did not recognise the Zulu chiefs as their own, and the large inflow of Pondo people prevented the chiefs from maintaining control over all the inhabitants. Some of these Pondo entrants had become Zulu people, however, they were in the minority, and so contributed very little additional support to the chiefs. The chiefs' resentment to Pondo people is apparent in the following,

> "Before the chief was special like a King.... Chiefs, today are not as strong as they used to be. Maybe in other areas, which only have Zulu people, the chief may be stronger".

> (Interview with Chief Makhanya, 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

A factor which further antagonised the chiefs was the growing importance given by Pondo people to the shacklords. These were Zulu people who had big pieces of land, and rented it out. They became important and respected, and were viewed as "small chiefs/indunas" in the area which they owned. The influx of Pondo people and other Africans into the area, had eroded the power of the chiefs.

From the portrayal of material on the entry of Pondo people into the southern Durban shack settlements, it is possible to come to an understanding of the strains experienced by these inhabitants. The Pondo people are in an unfortunate position, largely the result of

the effects of rural underdevelopment and insufficient employment opportunities in the Transkei, which forces them to migrate to urban areas. On migrating, these people have to find accommodation and employment, which are often in short supply, as well as having limited benefits in Natal due to their exclusion from Kwa Zulu citizenship. Besides this, the migrants are in contact with the local African population, and it is this relationship which largely determines the favourability of the migrants' urban existence.

Prior to the economic recession and its effects on the population, differences of "ethnicity" and "tribalism" between Pondo and Zulu residents were submerged, and the local African population appeared to tolerate "outsiders". It was only when a scarcity of vital resources arose that the differences between the groupings openly manifested themselves. The Pondo/Zulu "faction fight" of 1985/1986, which arose as a result of this, is substantiated by Dhlomo's (1985:267) argument that people in Kwa Zulu are resentful towards those moving in as they compete for employment, land, water etc. This fighting created considerable disruption within the shack settlement community, revealing the relationship between the two groups and the problems many Pondo residents experienced in the southern Durban region.

CHAPTER 6

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

BY PONDO MIGRANTS

IN THE WORKPLACE

6.1   INTRODUCTION

Besides determining the strains experienced by Pondo migrants in securing and maintaining accommodation in Natal, it is necessary to examine the strains, if any, which emanate from the workplace. This chapter deals with Pondo hostel and shack dwellers' relationship with both employers and local Zulu-speaking people in the work arena. To facilitate this, data was collected through two surveys. The first, surveyed industries in the southern industrial region, looking at managements' views on Pondo migrants in general, their favourability as employees, managements' responses towards Pondo workers during the "faction fighting" of 1985/1986, and the repercussions of this upon the Pondo people. The second, a shop steward survey, attempted to discover Pondo and Zulu workers' relationship during the 1985/1986 period, the factors which affected and shaped this, and the role shop stewards and other people and organizations played during this period. This second survey was conducted in conjunction with, and with the assistance of, a Shop Steward Leadership in Natal project, operating in the Sociology Department, headed by Shamim Marie.

6.2   MANAGEMENT SURVEY

In order to obtain information from management, 22 factories in the Prospecton, Isipingo and Umbogintwini area were selected, and interviews with either the personnel or factory managers conducted. The criterion used to select the factories were that they employed a minimum of 50 factory workers, so to ensure that an impression of scale be obtained, and to determine how people relate in large groups. The factories where information was obtained were producers of goods which ranged from metal products to ink. From these

semi-structured interviews, which had a duration of approximately 55 minutes, the following picture emerged.

The workforces were quite large, ranging from a low of 133 workers to a high of 537, with the mean workforce numbering 315.5. A breakdown of the workforces into racial groups (Table 6), reveals that the mean number of Africans per factory was 219.11, making them the largest racial grouping employed, followed by whites with a mean of 58.38, Indians at 47.12 and lastly Coloureds with a mean of 8.66 workers per factory. All 22 factories utilised African labour, whilst 20 also employed Indians and whites, and 15 employed Coloureds.

Table 6

Breakdown of Workforce into Racial Groups

Africans	Mean Number of Workers = 219.11
Whites	Mean Number of Workers = 58.38
Indians	Mean Number of Workers = 47.12
Coloureds	Mean Number of Workers = 8.66

The large African workforce in the factories tended to come from two main areas. The first, and the place from where the majority of Africans were drawn, was the surrounding area near Prospecton and Isipingo (Table 7). These Africans mainly came from Umbumbulu, Umgababa, Kwa Makhuta, Adams Mission, Malukazi, Lamontville, Ixopo and Umbogintwini, with a few coming from Kwa Mashu. The majority of these Africans came from the southern area of Durban and most were Zulu speaking. Although this first labour source included many Africans from the southern Durban area, there was a noticeable absence of workers from the large and nearby southern township of Umlazi. Management was generally unable to provide an explanation for this, although a possible reason provided by one manager could be the following,

"Umlazi is known to be an extremely politically active community ... and perhaps workers were afraid their employment chances would be reduced, if management believed they were trouble-makers".

(Series, 4 Interview No. 3,
May 1989, conducted by F. Christensen).

From this it can be presumed that Africans from Umlazi might have given an address in a much quieter neighbouring area, in order not to jeopardise their employment chances. The second source of labour was a more distant one, and these workers came from the Transkei. Although the latter did not constitute the majority in volume of the African workforce, they were found in many factories. Management stated that the Pondo workers generally came from Lusikisiki, Bizana, Mount Ayliff, Mount Frere and Flagstaff. These Pondo workers, whilst employed in the factories, usually resided in hostel accommodation within close proximity to the workplace.

Table 7

Area From Which Workers Employed In Factories Came

```
20 factories had some workers from Transkei
15    "      "    "     "       "   Umbumbulu
10    "      "    "     "       "   Umbogintwini
 7    "      "    "     "       "   Malukazi
 7    "      "    "     "       "   Lamontville
 7    "      "    "     "       "   Umgababa
 5    "      "    "     "       "   Kwa Makhuta
 5    "      "    "     "       "   Adams Mission
 5    "      "    "     "       "   Ixopo
 2    "      "    "     "       "   Kwa Mashu
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All the factories possessed some migrants within their workforce. Ten managers said that about half (50%) of their workforce were migrants, whereas 5 believed the majority of their

workforce to be migrants. Seven stated that the number of migrants employed in their factories were minimal. A considerable number of Pondo workers employed in the factories were migrants and many, according to management, appeared to have strong ties with the rural areas and to visit the Transkei on a regular basis. This supports the material in Chapter 4, where it was established that over half of the Pondo migrants interviewed made monthly returns to the Transkei, whilst the remainder made the journey every second month.

Management believed that the Pondo migrants came to Natal due to the following:

- 10 believed migration was chiefly due to the severe lack of employment opportunities in the Transkei;

- 10 saw migration due to a combination of poor employment opportunities, poor farming/soil and little Government aid on the part of the Transkei to African farmers; and

- 2 saw migration due to the lack of employment in the Transkei, and the chance to have a better way of life in the urban areas.

There were a number of variations in the reasons given by management for Pondo migration, although all were in agreement that the lack of work opportunities in the Transkei forced many people to migrate. Managements' opinions on the causes of Pondo peoples' migration coincide, to an extent, with the reasons given by Pondo migrants themselves. Both agreed that the lack of available employment in the Transkei, and the continuing decline of the rural subsistence base, forced many of Transkei's inhabitants into urban employment. It could be argued that even if greater employment opportunities were made available, the lack of benefits and poor wages offered by many of the industries in the Transkei, would do little to reduce the flow of migrants out of the region. The majority of management interviewed showed an awareness of the predicament that many of these

Pondo workers are in, and the dependence of these workers and their families on employment obtained in such places as the south of Durban.

Most (20) of the factories employed workers on a permanent basis, with only 2 employing labour on a casual basis. Similarly, 20 of the factories did not provide workers with accommodation, whilst 2 did offer accommodation. One factory offered a housing policy to assist workers in the purchase of their own homes, with a second factory considering such a scheme. This policy was not applicable to Pondo workers as they are Transkeian citizens and so excluded from formal family accommodation in Natal. Looking at the breakdown of accommodation types for African workers employed in these factories, the following can be seen:

- 2 factories said their workers were mainly hostel dwellers;

- 5 factories said most of their workers lived in rented houses, either in locations or shack settlements;

- 13 factories said their workers comprised both hostel and rented accommodation dwellers; and

- 2 factories provided their workers with accommodation in factory hostels.

Most of this accommodation was situated in the south of Durban, and in relatively close proximity to the workplace. The rented accommodation for African workers was mostly in the Malukazi, Lamontville and Umbumbulu area, and a strong possibility exists that some of this accommodation was located in the shack settlements. One manager thought it very likely that some workers lived in shack settlements, as there was an acute shortage of available accommodation. Those workers in hostel accommodation tended to reside in hostels located in Merewent, Isipingo and Kwa Makhuta. It is within these hostels that much of the Pondo workforce was thought to reside.

The factories were all organised and had established recognition agreements with trade unions. Most of the factories had possessed this for a number of years although, in one case, union recognition with the Natal Footwear trade union had been granted as recently as April 1987. The trade unions found in the factories were: Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), which was found in 10 factories. This was followed by Chemical Workers Industrial Union, found in 6 factories, with Natal Footwear trade union; Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union and the Construction and Allied Workers Union each found in 2 of the factories. The majority (18) of management said the trade unions were active in their factories, 2 factories found the unions "remarkably quiet", and a further 2 claimed their dealings with the unions were still "too new to offer opinions". Management did not display much enthusiasm towards elaborating on the issue of union activity, however, no apparent animosity towards the unions could be noticed. Rather management in a few instances referred to the unions as "professional" in their approach, and accepted that,

"Unions are an ongoing and increasing presence here in the south. Most of the surrounding factories are unionised and have continued to function just as profitably with such developments".

(Series 2, Interview No. 22,
9 June 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Discussing "faction fighting" with management, 17 of the 22 managers were aware of recent fighting, that is, after the 1985/1986 Pondo/Zulu fighting. This fighting was concentrated in the south of Durban area, particularly in Umlazi, Kwa Makhuta, Umbumbulu and St. Faiths. The fighting was usually between U.D.F. and Inkatha supporters, and also between the Makhanya and Mkhize clans. Such incidents of fighting occurred mostly at weekends, stimulated in managements' view by an over indulgence in alcohol. These "faction fights" usually lasted a weekend and were settled by Sunday, resulting in minimal, to no, workplace disturbance.

Management believed that a great deal of "faction fighting" in Natal resulted from the shortage of accommodation and employment. A number of variations on this theme were obtained, and are:

- 8 thought "faction fighting" was due to a combination of accommodation and employment shortages;

- 5 believed the fighting to be due chiefly to unemployment;

- 2 believed fighting resulted from accommodation shortages;

- 5 thought "faction fights" were due to "tribal" differences; and

- 2 said it was due to minor incidents which led to large fights. One manager said there is no word for "sorry" in the Zulu language, which makes revenge so significant in Zulu culture.

Although some of the managers were unaware of recent incidents of "faction fighting", they all possessed knowledge of the Pondo/Zulu "faction fight" of 1985/1986, and gave the causes of the latter as:

- 10 believed the fighting was due to competition between Pondo and Zulu people over employment opportunities; and

- 12 said the fighting was due to general overcrowding in the residential areas.

Management believed that the main cause of this fighting was the severe shortage of accommodation and employment, exacerbated by the economic depression at the time. The Zulu inhabitants, according to management, blamed the Pondo people for this scarcity of resources, and viewed them as the cause of many local Zulu residents being unemployed. As the resources dwindled, resentment on the part of the Zulu people towards Pondo people developed and manifested itself in "faction fighting".

The awareness shown by management towards this fighting, suggests some concern on managements' part as to the problems their workers were experiencing, and the resulting impact this would have on the workplace.

One outcome of this fighting, when comparing employment figures for 1985 and 1987 (Table 8), was the decrease in the number of Pondo workers employed in the factories. The mean number of Pondo migrants employed in each factory prior to the 1985/1986 "faction fights", was 50.5. The largest concentration of Pondo workers employed was 120 and the smallest was 3. One factory had no Pondo workers in its workforce. Following the 1985/1986 "faction fights", the mean number of Pondo people employed had dropped to 45.4 in 1987. The highest number of Pondo workers employed is 110, with the smallest being a single Pondo person. In 1987, three factories had no Pondo workers in their employ.

Table 8

**Pondo Workers Employed in Factories for the Period Prior
to 1985/1986 "Faction Fights" and the 1987 Period**

	Prior to 1985/1986 "Faction Fights"	1987 Period
Mean No. of Pondo Workers	56.5	45.4
Largest No. of Pondo Workers	120.0	110.0
Smallest No. of Pondo Workers	3.0	1.0

A significant contradiction is revealed when comparing the causes of the Pondo/Zulu "faction fight" as given in the management survey and those by Chief Makhanya in Chapter 5, with the actual numbers of Pondo workers employed in the factories. From both management and Chief Makhanya's explanations it would appear that Pondo people were

abundantly employed in the surrounding factories, and so hindered and prevented Zulu people from securing employment. Instead, the average number of Pondo people employed was 50.5, which is significantly below the number of Zulu people employed, since the average African workforce per factory stands at 219.11. From these figures, it is apparent that the Pondo people did not represent a serious threat to the Zulu workers' job security, and were in no obvious way the "preferred" employees and the ones responsible for the high Zulu unemployment figures, as argued by Chief Makhanya.

It is therefore necessary to determine why Zulu people reacted to Pondo people in such a way, and why they did not enter into conflict with Indian workers, for example, who averaged 47.12 per factory, only marginally lower than the number of Pondo workers. A possible explanation for this, and one which coincides with that given in Chapter 5, is that Pondo people became the scapegoat, and a release to the pressures/frustrations felt by the Zulu inhabitants during the poor economic climate. Whilst arguing this, it must be remembered that greater concentrations of Pondo people migrated into the southern Durban area just prior to, and during, the economic downswing, and lived in very close proximity to the Zulu inhabitants. This inflow of Pondo people probably, or appeared to have, exacerbated the shortage of resources, and stimulated resentment to their presence in the community and workplace. In addition, these Pondo people, unlike the other African migrants, possessed different ethnic/tribal traits to the local Zulu inhabitants. Linked with these ethnic/tribal differences was the difference in allegiance to political organisations, with Pondo people, as shown in previous chapters and within this chapter, supporting the policies of the U.D.F. The majority of the local Zulu inhabitants, according to Chief Makhanya in Chapter 5, supported the opposing organisation - Inkatha.

This fighting seriously affected the workforces, according to management. Seventeen managers said their workforces had been extremely disturbed, with Pondo employees

leaving the area. The other 5 managers said their workforces had also been disturbed, but not to the extent of the other factories, as they employed fewer Pondo workers, so their workforces had not been drastically reduced in size. It was stated that the Zulu workforces did not initially increase its absentee figures by any great amount. However, at the height of the fighting, the Zulu workers' attendance in most of the factories decreased significantly, with Zulu workers remaining absent for about 1 to 3 weeks. Management was uncertain as to whether their Zulu workers engaged in the fighting, or if they remained at home in fear of Pondo attacks.

Through management allowing Pondo workers to leave the workplace at the start of the fighting, a considerable amount of trouble between Pondo and Zulu workers was diverted in the factories surveyed. Management reported that Pondo workers, either collectively or through a Pondo spokesman, had approached them and asked if they could take unpaid leave. In some cases Pondo workers wanted to resign. However, management said it would be better for them to take unpaid leave, and return when the fighting was over. Nineteen of the managers believed their Pondo employees had sought temporary refuge in the Transkei, while 2 managers did not know if, or imagine that, their workers had returned to the Transkei. All the Pondo employees had left the workplace because they felt their lives were in danger. Management had not been approached by Zulu workers asking for Pondo workers dismissal, although in some factories, not interviewed, this had occurred. It was felt that this might have taken place if the Pondo workers had not been granted unpaid leave before the fighting became intense.

Unlike the Zulu workers, the Pondo workers remained absent from work for a much longer period, ranging from 3 - 4 weeks in some factories to 3 - 4 months in others. The 3 - 4 months absence included the closing of the factories for the Christmas holidays, thus

adding another 2 - 3 weeks to the total. Twelve managers said Pondo workers were absent for 3 - 4 weeks. Two claimed at least 6 - 8 weeks, with all 14 managers saying these figures excluded the 3 week Christmas break. Seven managers reported that some of their Pondo employees did not return to work. Many of the Pondo migrants who did not return to work, sent word through friends that they were dubious as to the type of reception awaiting them in Durban. Instead of returning to Durban, it is believed that these people sought employment elsewhere, probably in the Cape, Transvaal or other regions of Natal. In one case, a Pondo migrant opened his own cobbler shop in the Transkei, so making good use of his training in the shoe-making company in which he was formerly employed. When comparing the length of absence taken from the workplace by Pondo workers to that of Zulu workers, the greater extent to which Pondo workers were affected by the fighting becomes apparent. Pondo workers' absence from work resulted in considerable loss of potential earnings, which must have affected both Pondo workers and their families, many of whom are heavily dependent upon such remittances. The disruption of many Pondo people's urban existence and the uncertainty of the outcome of such fighting, together with loss of earnings and their responsibility towards family, undoubtedly placed severe strain upon the Pondo migrants.

Two positions were adopted by management towards the workers who had been absent from work at the time of the fighting. The majority (19) of management adopted the stance of "no work, no pay", but also kept employment open for these workers should they have wanted to return. This position is illustrated in the following manager's reply,

> "When they did not come to work, we did not pay them. However, we kept their jobs open for them as we knew what the situation was like. It was like World War II for them. We felt sorry for the Pondos, who are loyal chaps and seldom get into trouble".

(Series 2, Interview No. 6,
4 May 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The other position adopted by the remaining 2 factories was not to re-employ Pondo workers, rather to give them the relevant retrenchment benefits. The reason for this viewpoint is that,

> "At the moment it is not on to employ Pondos, as faction fighting would start up again. Employing Pondos in this area would be like playing with fire, and the trouble is too great to make it worthwhile. Pondos are good conscientious workers, but cannot be hired if you want a hassle free workforce".

<div align="right">(Series 2, Interview No. 18,
26 May 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).</div>

Management which adopted the latter stance believed it was wiser to employ workers other than Pondo people as the situation was too inflammable between Zulu and Pondo workers, and further, they wished to maintain a peaceful, controlled workforce. In the factories where workers were not reinstated, management did not negotiate with Pondo workers inside the factory, in case of trouble, rather,

> "management had to meet them at Lamontville, at the Transkeian office there. Pondos were not happy at being retrenched, and wanted to get their jobs back. However, management was not willing to take any chances. In the end, the Pondos were quite impressed with the retrenchment benefits the company paid out, at least I hope they were".

<div align="right">(Series 2, Interview No. 21,
6 June 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).</div>

Of the two positions adopted by management towards Pondo employees, the former revealed an understanding of, and concern for, the plight of these people, and offered them the choice whether or not to return to work when the conflict had ended. The second response, on the other hand, reflected greater concern with the efficient running of the workplace, than with the actual predicament of the Pondo workers in question. This is

evident in that the Pondo workers who were retrenched included many loyal and long-service employees. In the one factory, 10 of the 14 Pondo workers retrenched had joined the company sometime between 1961 and 1969. These Pondo workers ranged in age from 44 to 55 years, and had up until the 1985/1986 "faction fighting" worked peacefully with the Zulu workers. In the second factory, the 58 Pondo workers retrenched had been employed on an average of 9 years in the factory. Previously, these factories had employed Pondo people and had found them,

"good punctual workers. They were no trouble and quite friendly".

(Series 2, Interview No. 2,
3 May 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Most managers were willing to employ additional Pondo people, but were hesitant to do so as they were uncertain of the Zulu workers' reactions. In one instance, a Pondo person employed shortly after the "faction fighting" was told to tell the other workers that he was a "Zulu", and so avoid any possible trouble. Management believed that Pondo people had recently begun to keep their Transkeian origins to themselves, for fear of victimisation. All 22 factories reported having relatively settled workforces at present, and that there was no apparent animosity between workers.

Despite managements' claims that there was no animosity amongst their Pondo and Zulu workers prior to the "faction fighting", a certain amount of "ethnicity" and "tribalism" was discernible before this conflict, although it was not of sufficient magnitude to cause overt or intentional hostility. The Pondo workers besides being "loyal employees" were also loyal to fellow Pondo workers, and were,

"conscious of ethnic groups and stick together. They do not want to be regarded as Zulus, as they are proud of being Pondos. Pondos are like Jews, proud of their background and very united".

(Series 2, Interview No. 22, 9 June 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The Pondo and Zulu workers, whilst working peacefully together, tended, according to 10 of the 22 managers, to gravitate towards forming groups. Management believed that the tendency of Pondo workers to form groups was not intended to cause a "conscious division" in the workplace, nor result in any workplace disruption or trouble. Such grouping of Pondo workers did not disturb unity amongst the workforce as a whole, and appeared to have been accepted by the workers since,

"Both Pondo and Zulu workers work side by side. They help each other and there has been no trouble. At lunch and tea time, they do tend to form groups though. I have noticed that some workers mix and chat, whilst others stay together and meet in certain places. Some groups are all Pondo. I suppose they meet and talk, as they share common experiences and have more in common with each other, than with Zulus. Also, they can exchange gossip about home, and help each other. I do not think they exclude the Zulu workers because of any dislike for them, it is just a case of, birds of a feather, flock together".

(Series 2, Interview No. 6, 4 May 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

In addition to the Pondo and Zulu workers' tendency to form groups along ethnic/tribal lines, the majority of management, despite their open door employment policy, actively categorised workers along ethnic lines. This is evident in management having attributed different cultural traits to Pondo and Zulu workers, with Pondo workers being seen as particularly punctual, trouble-free, usually friendly and loyal workers.

With the onset of fighting, the workforces overtly and consciously split along these lines, and hostilities were exchanged between Pondo and Zulu people in the south of Durban region.

The "faction fighting" of 1985/1986 not only activated "ethnicity" and "tribalism" in the workplace, it also seriously destabilised and fragmented the united worker feelings which the factory trade unions had created. This division between workers hampered the trade unions' and shop stewards' attempts to strive for unity, and placed them in an awkward position, since they possessed members from both groupings in their ranks. Seven managers reported that representatives directly from the unions had approached them at the time of the fighting, whilst. 14 said their shopfloor shop steward had spoken to management. The shop stewards wanted to know what was happening to the Pondo workers, and if their jobs were being kept open and whether they were receiving pay whilst absent. When the shop stewards heard that the positions were being kept open for Pondo workers, but no wages paid, they agreed that this was fair and appreciated the understanding the majority of management had displayed towards the situation.

6.3   SHOP STEWARD SURVEY

To obtain additional information on the workplace and the problems encountered by Pondo workers, the results of 36 interviews with shop stewards in the Durban area will be referred to. A survey of this nature was undertaken in the belief that shop stewards possessed wider knowledge and greater consciousness of the situation, due to their organizational duties, thus enriching the material obtained from the management survey.

Within the shop steward survey, the cause of the Pondo /Zulu fighting, the unity/disunity in the factory, role of shop stewards, of the unemployed and the youth, as well as of Inkatha and the U.D.F., are examined.

Of the 36 shop stewards interviewed, 1 Coloured and 2 Indian women garment workers, together with 2 Indian men, knew little of the conflict. These people worked in factories which predominantly employed Indian workers, and consequently had not been affected by the Pondo/Zulu conflict. The remaining 31 shop stewards, including 1 Indian boilermaker, knew of the fighting. The range of explanations on how and why conflict had broken out reflected that such conflict had been of significance in workers lives. Of these 31 shop stewards, 10 said their factories had been affected by the fighting, 15 knew of trouble in other factories, and 7 said that conflict had occurred in their residential areas.

From shop-steward information, the Pondo/Zulu fighting can be attributed to 2 main causes. The shop stewards believed one of the main causes of the "faction fighting" was due to the severe shortage of available accommodation, employment and other equally scarce resources, these being aggravated by the poor economic climate at the time and the continued influx of Pondo people into the area. Amongst the resources competed for was the use of water-taps, as shown in this shop stewards' recollections,

"a small fight at a water-tap led to a big faction fight".

(Series 3, Interview No. 4,
20 March 1987, conducted by S. Marie).

There was general consensus amongst the shop stewards that the lack of available resources, and scarcity of water-taps, contributed to the fighting. A second explanation for the conflict was the differences between Pondo and Zulu people, especially since Zulu

people generally belonged to Inkatha and Pondo people to the U.D.F. It became evident from the shop stewards' reports, however, that those people (such as the Pondo people) which claimed allegiance to the U.D.F. had very few, if any, organisational structures to belong to. Rather, these people shared common political and ideological ideas, often promoted by the trade unions to which they belonged, which differed from those of the Inkatha supporters. This second cause of fighting is summed up as,

> "Differences between organizations. Zulus are Inkatha and Pondos have their own organization. Zulus resent Pondos, think they should not be allowed to build houses".

> (Series 3, Interview No. 6,
> 3 April 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

A broader and related explanation was,

> "Apartheid causes this because there is looking down on each other, and intolerance because one is Pondo and one is Zulu".

> (Series 3, Interview No. 8,
> 8 April 1987, conducted by S. Marie).

This third explanation argued that the apartheid policies which created numerous bantustans, and fragmented South Africa's African population along ethnic/tribal lines, gave rise to the hostility and divisions which overtly manifested themselves during the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting". This explanation by the shop stewards, substantiates the arguments put forward in Chapter 5.

Further trouble in this respect was believed to have resulted from an Inkatha councillor bringing Pondo people to work in the area, and the Zulu chief not agreeing to this. According to a shop steward, the Inkatha councillor brought Pondo people into the area and arranged Zulu citizenship for them. In exchange for this favour, these Pondo people

had to work in the Inkatha councillor's shops and on his land, for a certain period of time at reduced wages. The shop steward said that the local Zulu chief became greatly annoyed when informed of this, as high unemployment already existed in the area, and additional Pondo people were not welcomed. A more feasible reason for the Zulu chief's annoyance (and one already discussed in Chapter 5) was his dislike of the way his power was being eroded by the rapid influx of Pondo people into the area, and by the increase in shacklords' power. From shop stewards' explanations, it is evident that the causes of the conflict between Pondo and Zulu people were related to competition over scarcity of resources and the differences in organizational allegiance between Zulu and Pondo people.

This fighting had repercussions on some of the factories in which shop stewards were employed. Ten shop stewards reported that the factories in which they worked were directly affected, these being 8 Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) and 2 South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) organised factories. COSATU, in 1986, consisted of 36 unions with about 400 000 members. Its development marked the emergence of an anti-apartheid movement into,

> "the ranks of the powerfully organised and independent trade union movement, and simultaneously the entry of the trade union movement into the real politic of the national liberation struggle".
>
> (S.A.L.B., Vol. 11, No. 4, 1986:37).

SAAWU was formed in 1978, and had 100 000 members in 1984 (SALDRU, July 1984:39).

According to a shop steward, in one of the above organised factories, Zulu workers agitated that Pondo workers be attacked or dismissed. In 2 other reports, Pondo workers were given leave until the disturbances subsided. Whilst in another, Pondo workers were

forced to resign because they were threatened with death by the Zulu workers. The other shop stewards reported less disturbed workforces, and in two instances where unity was not threatened, the shop stewards claimed workers consciously tried to stop referring to each other as "Zulus" and "Pondos", with shop stewards talking to the workers in an attempt to reinforce this unity.

Of the shop stewards interviewed, 15 were aware of other factories in which Pondo/Zulu conflict had occurred. In one instance, trouble at a large factory in the southern Durban region had resulted in the ex-President of the Chemical union (a Pondo person), who had been employed for over 17 years at the factory, being forced to flee when Pondo and Zulu workers began fighting. Two other reports revealed Zulu workers' refusal to work until Pondo workers were dismissed from their factories. In one of these factories Pondo workers were given leave, but on their return to work, aggression was so intense that they were retrenched. These accounts by shop stewards emphasise the disruption which took place in the workforces during the 1985/1986 "faction fighting". An interesting similarity shared by both management and shop steward surveys, is that they both gave incidents of animosity being directed not only towards the recent Pondo entrants in the labour market, but also toward the older, established Pondo workers, such as the ex-President of the Chemical Union.

Conflict was also witnessed by 7 shop stewards in the residential areas in which they lived. The shop stewards claimed that certain areas were more prone to fighting than others, and believed a determinant of this was the ratio of Pondo to Zulu inhabitants. A Clermont shop steward resident said that Lamontville and Clermont were not so seriously affected by the fighting. One Lamontville shop steward reported that in his area,

"residents ... held a meeting to discuss the issue of Pondos seeking refuge. So they agreed to let Pondos in and not to discriminate. They are also brothers to us".

<div align="right">(Series 3, No. 12,
14 April 1987, conducted by S. Marie).</div>

In Umlazi, however, trouble was witnessed. In one part of Umlazi refugees arrived, with some residents aiding them and others attacking them. In an Umlazi hostel, threats were rife that the local Zulu inhabitants were going to attack and kill Pondo people who sought refuge within the hostel. On hearing this, many of the Pondo hostel dwellers left, even though the threats did not materialise. The shop stewards' accounts of conflict experienced in the workplace and residential areas, give insight into the magnitude of the disturbances during the latter part of 1985 and early 1986.

With the onset of "faction fighting" and the destabilisation of many of the workforces, shop stewards' responses and attempts to regain unity in the workforces took two positions. The first position was to advise workers not to participate in the Pondo/Zulu fighting, as this conflict caused disunity in the African population, as indicated by this reply,

"I called a meeting to announce we are one nation, we need unity. People understood".

<div align="right">(Series 3, No. 3,
26 May 1987, conducted by S. Marie).</div>

Although this approach represented an active attempt to discourage fighting and strengthen unity in the workplace, there remained many issues outside the workplace which caused disruption in the lives of Pondo migrants and created a tense and hostile relationship between Pondo and Zulu inhabitants to the south of Durban. In the second position, shop stewards claimed that arranging meetings and informing workers of the

negative effects of such fighting was extremely difficult, especially since it was almost impossible to get workers together during the fighting. The position of these shop stewards was,

> "couldn't do anything, difficult to hold general meeting in factory because of conflict. People ducked and avoided others after work, could not meet to discuss issue".

<div align="right">

(Series 3, No. 31,
28 May 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

</div>

Irrespective of the approach taken by shop stewards, they all mentioned that the fighting and its repercussions were debated at the Shop Steward Council, and some also said at a COSATU regional meeting. The extent to which unity could be regained depended, they argued, on the composition of the workforce in their factory. If a very "tribally" mixed workforce existed, the attempts to re-establish unity were difficult, if not impossible, as workers were afraid to meet in case Pondo/Zulu conflict erupted. Those workforces comprising predominantly Zulu workers, could be organised more easily. Shop stewards reported that despite these workforces being united over union matters prior to the fighting, most became split and considerably weakened at the onset of "faction fighting".

A further duality of stances emerged when examining the role Inkatha played during the Pondo/Zulu conflict. One position shows Inkatha fulfilling a positive function and urging unity, as evident in,

> "went where fighting was happening to declare peace ... held meetings, tried to stop troubles".

<div align="right">

(Series 3, Interview No. 7,
4 April 1987, conducted by S. Marie).

</div>

The second position showed Inkatha supporting Pondo repatriation and fighting with Pondo people. Two shop stewards reported that Inkatha issued statements of peace, yet attacked Pondo people. The positions adopted by the U.D.F., during this period, reflect similarities to that of Inkatha. One shop steward said there was,

"fighting, but projecting an image of arbitrators, like Inkatha".

(Series 3, Interview No. 31,
28 May 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

The U.D.F.'s other position was,

"tried to educate workers about working class, that in the working class there is no Zulu, Pondo, Indian, but we are all workers of South Africa".

(Series 3, No. 6,
3 April 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

Reports on Inkatha and the U.D.F. reflect that both played positive and negative roles towards maintaining unity between Pondo and Zulu people during the fighting.

In an attempt to establish which Zulu people displayed the greater hostility towards Pondo people, shop stewards were asked what stance both the unemployed and youth adopted. Shop stewards generally agreed that the unemployed Zulu population were overtly aggressive to the Pondo people. Two shop stewards had personally witnessed fighting between the unemployed and the Pondo people, with the unemployed believing that work would be obtained if Pondo residents left the area. These findings support the position argued earlier in this chapter that Pondo people were made the scapegoat by many of the Zulu people, as the former were not employed in such large numbers, nor were they responsible for the depressed economic climate at the time, which was one of the main causes for such hardship and scarcity of resources. The youth, on the other hand, were

generally not involved with the fighting, although there was a single report of youth involvement. The youths' less aggressive stance was perhaps due to the fact that many were not in a situation where employment was desperately needed.

The information obtained from both management and shop steward surveys, portray the extent to which Pondo people's existence in the south of Durban was disrupted by the 1985/1986 "faction fighting". Many Pondo people during this period had to leave their work and living places, and either return to the Transkei or seek refuge in neighbouring areas. It appears that the local Zulu population tolerated the Pondo people, and did not show aggression to them, whilst the economy and resources in the area were good. This relationship underwent a complete metamorphosis, triggered by the onset of the economic recession, with Zulu inhabitants attempting to purge the area of Pondo people. This not only affected the newly arrived Pondo migrants, but also those long established Pondo workers, who had worked together with Zulu people for numerous years. The Pondo workers had in some instances been employed for over twenty years in some factories, and had been united union members. The "faction fighting" destabilised this unity, and fragmented the workforce into Pondo and Zulu groups.

Management reported that despite considerable workplace disturbance, resulting from large numbers of workers being absent, there was no overt hostility between Pondo and Zulu workers in their factories prior to, and during,the fighting. Such trouble was avoided by the early exit of Pondo workers from these factories, who on sensing the brewing trouble and its intensity approached management, either collectively or through a spokesman, and asked if they could take leave. Shop stewards, however, reported instances of hostility between workers, either in their own factories or in others. These shop stewards revealed greater awareness of instances of trouble in factories than did management. Some (7) also

possessed knowledge on the hostility shown towards Pondo people by the unemployed, and on the dual roles of both Inkatha and the U.D.F. in the fighting.

Although the "faction fighting" is now over, the relationship which once existed between the two groups has not re-established itself to the same extent. In some instances, Pondo people are maintaining a low profile in respect of their place of origin, and in one factory a Pondo migrant had to pretend to be a "Zulu". Further, there are fewer Pondo workers employed in the industries than before, and in two factories Pondo workers are no longer employed. From the above, it would appear that the local Zulu population is in a far stronger bargaining seat than the Pondo people, largely due to the former being in the majority. This is indicated by Pondo workers being the first to be absent from work at the time of the fighting, and only as the fighting gathered momentum did Zulu work attendance decrease.

The accounts given in the management and shop steward surveys, offer an understanding of the problems experienced by Pondo people in the workplace. The "faction fighting" of 1985/1986 severely destabilised the workplace, causing considerable loss of earnings and much strain upon the Pondo workers and their families, especially since management adopted a "no work, no pay" policy. Since the fighting, many Pondo people have, according to management, returned and resumed their urban existence in the southern Durban region, although keeping their Transkeian origins much quieter than before. Other Pondo people were not so fortunate, as they were retrenched or hesitant to return to the south of Durban.

Whilst the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting" of 1985/1986, which severely disrupted both the workforces and trade union unity within the factories to the south of Durban, was

undisputedly triggered by the poor economic climate and consequent competition over resources at the time, the main cause of the form of disunity and hostility must ultimately be attributed to the apartheid period and its policies. Amongst these policies is the establishment of bantustans, many established along ethnic/tribal divisions, which result in an "insider/outsider" relationship amongst Africans. A further policy is the block on African urbanisation, and the limited availability of urban family accommodation for Africans, particularly for those from the bantustans. The effects of these policies for the Pondo people, such as limited urban accommodation and being viewed as "outsiders" by the local Zulu population, contributed significantly to the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting". The apartheid policies, whilst intended to benefit capitalism, have sometimes had, as argued by the liberal followers and revealed in this chapter, adverse effects upon capitalism. This is evident in the loss of productivity and potential profits, due to the disruption of the workforces, in the factories to the south of Durban during the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting".

CONCLUSION

Since the latter half of the nineteenth century many African people in South Africa and the surrounding regions have entered the migrant labour system. Their change from self-subsistent rural dwellers to migrant labourers has been widely debated, with both the liberal and revisionist scholars offering different explanations for the cause/s of labour migration and for its effects (either functional or dysfunctional) upon the South African economy. As argued in Chapter 1, the revisionist approach, which states that functional linkages exist between capitalism and racial domination, was applicable to the initial phase of South Africa's economic development, when a cheap and abundant African labour supply was required on the mines and in agriculture. However, with the advancement of South African capitalism, especially with the development of the manufacturing industry, the policies of segregation and apartheid began to create obstacles/problems for the country's rational economic development. These policies have prevented many Africans from obtaining formal and permanent township accommodation. With such blocks on the African urbanisation process, together with the continued rural to urban "push" (the majority of "push" factors being colonially induced), the migrant labour system has been maintained. However, the segregation and apartheid policies, whilst successfully maintaining a migrant labour system, gave rise to a shortage of permanent semi-skilled and skilled African labour, as well as increased the growth of the distorted form of urbanisation - shack settlements. Both the shortage of a permanent, more skilled African labour force and the growth of shack settlements created problems for South African capitalism and the power-holders. The emergence of these problems has provided limited support for the argument that racial domination and capitalism are at times "dysfunctional" for each other.

The blocks on the African urbanisation process and the "forces" (especially the effects of colonially induced underdevelopment) which "push" people, either temporarily or

permanently, to urban areas, have been, and continue to be, experienced by the Pondo people of the Transkei/Pondoland region. The Transkei/Pondoland region's considerable underdevelopment has resulted in the emergence of acute rural strains for many of the Pondo people. These rural strains are by no means recent, with many being traced to the early colonial period when "African land loss through settler appropriations and natural disasters occurred" (Southall, 1982:73). Many of these strains were colonially induced, and have continued increasing in number, intensity and effect in the following decades. Amongst the most severe strains was that of land appropriation, which reduced the size of farming plots and contributed to both the decline in the self-subsistent levels of the majority of rural African people and to the underdevelopment of the region. The decreased land size also gave rise to overpopulation, soil impoverishment and erosion. The effects of this underdevelopment were compounded by sets of laws, acts and taxes, which created additional strain upon the inhabitants. The decreased land size, rural overpopulation and the imposition of a variety of severe taxes, forced many Pondo people to migrate to the urban areas to obtain money to pay the taxes and maintain their families in the immiserated rural area. African labour migration from the Transkei was further increased by frequent natural disasters - such as cattle diseases and drought - which have plagued the area (Beinart, 1982). Whilst many of these Pondo people have continued to oscillate between rural and urban areas, others have migrated permanently into the urban areas and reside in shack settlements.

Although many underdeveloping forces have been incurred in the Transkei since colonialism, the Pondo people have not passively accepted those changes which they have viewed as detrimental to, and operating against, their interests. A number of these changes, including the initial attempt by labour recruiters to recruit Pondo people, have been met with resistance. An early instance of this resistance was toward the East Coast

Fever regulations of 1912/1913, which attempted to enforce cattle dipping regulations. The Pondo people, however, believed that cattle dipping spread the disease and the long walks to the dips weakened the remaining cattle. The regulations represented an unwelcome intervention into the African rural economy, particularly since the Africans were unable to influence the ways in which the measures were imposed. As a consequence, much hostility was directed toward the dipping movement (Beinart and Bundy, 1980:283).

Resistance was also shown toward the expansion of agricultural extension and betterment schemes, initiated in the late 1930s and continuing in the 1940s and 1950s. These schemes, mainly intended to prevent/reduce the further underdevelopment of the Transkei region, emphasised improved methods, crops and livestock strains, the reduction of cattle numbers and fencing of farms. The Pondo people disliked the way in which the schemes were initiated without their prior consultation, as well as the many unfavourable changes which accompanied them.

Additional grievance for the Pondo people was provided by the "Bantu Authorities" system of 1956, which involved the decrease of electoral participation in local government and increased reliance on Government paid chiefs and headmen. Secondly, it involved the transfer of a number of functions of local Government from the magistrate's office to that of the chief (Copelyn 1973). This development changed the role of the chiefs, who previously had been more consensus gatherers and ritual leaders than administrators, with executive decisions made together with a group of counsellors/elders. The chiefs were now prepared to implement state policies independently of general Pondo sentiment. Resistance towards high taxes, unwanted Government appointed chiefs, unpopular land rehabilitation schemes and the pro-Government stance taken by Paramount Chief Sigcau, culminated in the Pondoland Rebellion of 1959/1960 (Moerdijk, 1981:68). The rebellion,

signalling the majority of the Pondo inhabitants' dissatisfaction with the area, was crushed by military forces.

In the 1970s, attempts to increase taxes and Kaiser Matanzima's decision to opt for a separate political future, were met with resistance. Independence had a number of repercussions on the majority of the Pondo people, which have subsequently given rise to additional strains upon these people.

The present situation in the Transkei, with high taxes, Government paid chiefs, insufficient land and high overpopulation, provide adequate grounds for an uprising against those in power, similar to that which occurred in 1959/1960. However, an uprising of this nature has been hampered by two main factors. Firstly, the migrant labour system, with the continual oscillation of Pondo people, reduces the number of people capable of organising and carrying out such action. Secondly, the holding of meetings and large gatherings are not permitted in the Transkei, and are quickly dispersed by the army and police should they occur. This hinders the discussion of strategies and sharing of ideas concerning an uprising.

The many changes and underdeveloping forces which have occurred in the Transkei have also given rise to significant differentiation and polarisation amongst the Pondo inhabitants. Today in the Transkei, there are two definite groups. The first, represents the majority of the Pondo people, who are impoverished and dependent upon migrant labour earnings from South Africa. This group has become poorer over the years, with many of these people contributing to the South African economy's cheap, abundant labour supply. In addition to migrant labourers, this group, as shown in Chapters 2 and 4, contains non-migrant women, elderly/sick people, the unemployed and young children. The Pondo people who migrate permanently to the urban areas and reside in shack settlements also

generally come from this group. The second group, comprising mostly Government employed people, especially chiefs, counsellors etc., has become richer, often at the expense of the majority. Some of the people within this second group have secured the best and most arable plots, and possess a considerable number of livestock. Whilst the non-agricultural beneficiaries of this group have generally invested their wealth in businesses, such as bottlestores, butcheries, trading stores etc., (Copelyn, 1973).

The gradual underdevelopment of the Transkei and the immiseration of the majority of its population has created, and been accompanied by, a corresponding increase in labour migrant out of the region. This migration of Pondo people has been exacerbated by the insufficient employment and poor working conditions within the Transkei. The underdevelopment of the Transkei, and the resulting rural strains, initially benefitted South African capitalism by creating the much needed and cheap African labour supply. However, around the late 1920s and early 1930s the effects of the region's underdevelopment began to create problems, as discussed in Chapter 2 and argued by liberal followers, for South African capitalism. Two of the main problems were:

1)   The Transkei was no longer able to contribute to the migrant workers' families' means of subsistence.

2)   The increasing rural strains continued to force more people to leave the rural Transkei area and reside permanently in the urban areas.

The second problem gave rise to an increase in the number of unemployed, unskilled African people in South Africa's urban areas, as well as to an increase in the number of shack dwellers in the country's urban areas. These problems, despite numerous attempts to alleviate them (such the Betterment and Agricultural Extension schemes during the 1930s to 1950s), have continued to persist today.

Of the many Pondo people who migrate from the Transkei, usually in an attempt to reduce/alleviate the rural strains, those who enter the Durban area encounter an urban set of strains. Although the thesis has only focussed on the strains experienced by Pondo people in the Durban area, a number of similar strains are encountered in other parts of the province and in other parts of South Africa. Amongst these urban strains is the inadequate provision and limited choice of accommodation. Although certain steps were taken to provide accommodation for Durban's local Zulu population and for the numerous migrants entering the city from bantustans (such as hostel accommodation for the Pondo people), the building of this, as shown in Chapter 3, has continually fallen far short of the actual requirements. The Pondo migrants, due to the apartheid policies which prevent/block them from securing any formal township accommodation, have been considerably more affected by the accommodation shortage than have Durban's local Zulu population. The Pondo migrants have the limited choice between "single" hostel accommodation (either private or municipal) and informal shack settlement accommodation. Whilst shack settlement accommodation has provided a solution to the housing problem experienced by many "emigrant-families" (Hobart-Houghton and Walton, 1952:116), the continued growth of such a distorted form of urbanisation has created problems for the power-holders/local authorities. The local authorities have for many decades unsuccessfully debated ways to solve the shack settlement problem on Durban's periphery.

Both the Pondo hostel and shack dwellers have been discussed within the thesis. The interviews which were conducted with a small number of Pondo hostel dwellers, and which were presented in Chapter 4, revealed information which had significant similarities to the primary and secondary material discussed in the first three chapters. These migrants confirmed that there were considerable strains at both rural and urban ends of migration.

The migrants had migrated from the Transkei due to an inability to survive on what the land produced, the inadequate employment opportunities in the region and poor wages offered for that which was available. Wages were also needed to pay spiralling taxes and other living expenses. From the interviews, it is apparent that rural immiseration and the inability to exist on the land is by no means recent, since both the migrants' grandfathers and fathers had been migrant labourers. Although the Transkei was regarded as barren and a source of much strain, the migrants continued to maintain their rural base, not through any sentiment toward the area or to those in power, but because they and their families had little option, other than that of entering the overpopulated urban shack settlements.

On first migrating to the urban area, the hostel dwellers, through the assistance of family and friends, quickly secured accommodation and employment. Most chose Durban because they either knew somebody in the area or/and had heard that employment was available. The accessibility of the region added to Durban's favourability, and allowed these migrants to personally take the much needed remittances home to their families. The need for these remittances, and the use to which they are put,indicates the severity of the effects of underdevelopment in the Transkei. The urban strains revealed by these migrants were the lack of formal family accommodation, the recent shortage of employment opportunities (although this employment shortage had not affected the migrants interviewed) and the relationship with the local Zulu inhabitants.

Through these interviews, an experiential matrix was constructed of the Pondo hostel dwelling migrants. Their ages, family structure, life history and viewpoints, reflected those of a "typical" migrant, locked into the migrant labour system and forced to spend their urban working life oscillating between rural and urban areas, for the chief purpose of

earning money. These Pondo hostel dwellers were established migrants, with many possessing long service contracts, secure accommodation and trade union membership.

By comparison, the Pondo people who reside in shack settlements to the south of Durban, and which were discussed in Chapter 5, often sever all ties with the Transkei, migrate with their families and intend to reside permanently in the urban area. Both these Pondo shack dwellers and those in hostels, experienced urban strains. Amongst these was the relationship with the local Zulu population. It is this relationship with the local Zulu population that largely determines the favourability of the Pondo people's urban existence. Such a relationship is not always amicable, as evident by the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting" to the south of Durban in 1985/1986.

The Pondo/Zulu "faction fight" of 1985/1986 placed severe strain upon the Pondo people. The interviews with Pondo hostel dwellers and Chief Makhanya, together with the newspaper reports, revealed that the Pondo people were tolerated by the local Zulu inhabitants during periods of prosperity and when employment and resources within the area were adequate for both groups. However, ethnic/tribal divisions between the two groups, which previously had been submerged, overtly manifested themselves when the economy and resources in the area became poor. The Pondo people received the blame from the local Zulu inhabitants for the scarcity of resources in the area. Whilst the Pondo people probably exacerbated, or appeared to exacerbate, the scarcity of resources in the area, the real culprits of this socio-economic competition, as argued within the thesis, were the apartheid policies and the poor economic climate which prevailed at the time. The Pondo people, however, unlike the other African migrants which had entered the area from various parts of Natal and which possessed similar ethnic traits to the local Zulu inhabitants, became the scapegoat and the people onto which the Zulu inhabitants'

displaced anger/frustration was focussed. The reasons for the Pondo people having become the scapegoat are probably due to the ethnic/tribal divisions, and the increased number of Pondo people which had entered the area during the early 1980s.

The thesis also established a number of factors which possibly gave rise to the ethnic/tribal divisions between the Pondo/Zulu people to the south of Durban. Amongst these factors are the apartheid policies which have ethnically divided the African population into bantustans, and which have created an "insider/outsider" relationship amongst South Africa's African population. This "insider/outsider" relationship has been further strengthened by the revival of "Zulu-ness" in Natal, largely due to the development of Kwa Zulu. A second factor, and linked with the difference in ethnicity, was the difference in organisational allegiance. Pondo people have generally been viewed as U.D.F. supporters, whilst the Zulu people are generally viewed as Inkatha supporters. A third factor is the demarcation of dwelling space within the shack settlements. Pondo people usually occupy different parts of the shack settlement to those occupied by the local Zulu people.

The Pondo/Zulu "faction fight", in addition to creating strains in the Pondo people's living places, also created strains in the workplace. This was revealed in the management survey of industries to the south of Durban. Management in the factories surveyed, knew of the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting", and believed the conflict resulted from the Zulu people's resentment to large numbers of Pondo people entering the area, and the resulting competition over employment and other scarce resources. These factories were deeply affected by the fighting, and experienced a large Pondo worker absentee rate. However, the Zulu workers, at least initially, still came to work. It was only at the height of the fighting that Zulu workers began to stay away in any large numbers, although for a shorter duration than the Pondo people. The majority of management was sympathetic to the

Pondo workers, having granted them unpaid leave and retained their jobs for them. The position of "no work, no pay", must have created considerable hardship for the Pondo workers and their families. Despite the stance taken by these factories, there was a small decrease in the number of Pondo workers employed after the fighting. There are two possible reasons for this. Firstly, management stated that not all the Pondo workers had returned to the factories in which they were employed prior to the fighting. Instead, management believed that these people had sought employment in "safer places", such as the Cape or Transvaal. Secondly, some of the Pondo workers might have changed from Transkeian to Kwa Zulu citizens, and are now officially recorded as "Zulu" people. Whilst the majority of factories were understanding to their Pondo workers, a couple of factories were not, and retrenched their Pondo workers. Most of the retrenched workers possessed lengthy service contracts and had been loyal workers. Their retrenchment reveals the employers' greater concern with the smooth running of the workplace, than with the welfare of the workers.

The management survey, in addition to having provided information on the disruption of the workplace during the "faction fighting", produced further valuable information. Amongst which, and contradictory to Chief Makhanya's and managements' opinions of the cause/s of the "faction fighting", was the relatively small number of Pondo people employed in the factories prior to the conflict. The small number of Pondo people employed, when compared to the number of Zulu people employed, adds support to the earlier argument that Pondo people became the scapegoat to the Zulu people's frustration/anger, and were not the real cause of the employment shortage experienced at the time.

A second finding of the management survey was that management, despite their open-door employment policy and in addition to the Pondo and Zulu workers tendency to form

groups along ethnic/tribal lines, actively categorised workers along ethnic lines. Although management apparently did not discriminate when employing workers,they did attribute different cultural traits to Pondo and Zulu workers.

The shop steward survey substantiated, and added to, managements' reports of the disruption the Pondo/Zulu conflict caused in the workplace. Shop stewards revealed that Pondo/Zulu relationships in the south of Durban were very tense during the conflict, with fights often erupting over minor incidents. This conflict caused many Pondo people to leave both work and living places and seek refuge in nearby areas, such as Umlazi, or return to the Transkei. Unlike management who claimed that prior to, and during, the fighting there was no hostility between Pondo and Zulu workers in the workplace, shop stewards did report incidents of such hostility in either their own factories or in others.

In the community, the unemployed local Africans displayed greater hostility toward Pondo people than did the youth, which probably was related to the unemployed viewing Pondo people as competitors for employment. The picture obtained from shop stewards shows strong similarities to the Phimister and van Onselen (1979:41) argument that "faction fights" can be interpreted as,

> "intra working class eruptions which occur ... when there is restructuring of the labour market in which employment to different degrees, is 'ethnically' defined by employer and/or by workers. Violence is most likely in recession or depression when intra working class competition for jobs is most intense, and when lumpen and unemployed elements ... initiate conflict and swell the ranks of the combatants".

The Pondo/Zulu conflict not only activated ethnicity and tribalism in the workplace, it also destabilised and fragmented the united worker feelings. This made the shop stewards' attempts at regaining unity very difficult, and resulted in the shop stewards taking one of

two positions. Some of the shop stewards attempted to regain unity and inform workers of the disadvantages of fighting. Whilst the other shop stewards were unable to do this due to the extent of the disruption in their factories. Although the former approach had the effect of discouraging a certain degree of fighting, there were still many issues outside the workplace which disrupted the lives of Pondo migrants and created a tense and hostile relationship between Pondo and Zulu inhabitants to the south of Durban.

What became evident from the management and shop steward surveys was the extent to which the "faction fighting" severely disrupted the workplace. The disruption of the workplace and loss of productivity, reveal one instance of the dysfunctional results that the apartheid policies' ethnic fragmentation of South Africa's African population, and the blocks on the African urbanisation process, have had upon capitalism.

Pondo people's responses to the living and workplace strains, largely exacerbated by the "faction fighting", took a number of directions. One response that Pondo people have adopted since the fighting is to maintain a low profile in respect of their place of origin and in one instance, according to management, a Pondo worker had to pretend to be a Zulu person. This in itself created additional strain for the Pondo people, which is portrayed in the following extract,

"It is bad when the Zulu get cross and you have to keep quiet and pretend you are not a Pondo. You feel weak and angry".

(Series 1, Interview No. 16,
17 March 1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

A second response was to surrender their Transkeian citizenship and become citizens of Kwa Zulu and members of Inkatha, so securing the right to housing in the area. Although this was instrumental in obtaining accommodation, these Pondo people were not, in some

instances, accepted by the Zulu inhabitants,which is apparent from Chief Makhanya's viewpoint,

> "They become members of Kwa Zulu and get houses and land, just like a Zulu. This is wrong because they throw away their country's passport and act like a Zulu, but inside they are pure Pondo. This is cheating".

<div align="right">

(Interview with Chief Makhanya,
1987, conducted by F. Christensen).

</div>

A third response was more negative, and resulted in Pondo people leaving Natal and seeking employment elsewhere, usually in the Cape or Transvaal. The impression obtained from the research is that the relationship between Pondo and Zulu people in the south of Durban has considerably improved since the fighting,although a certain amount of wariness/apprehension still exists between the two groups.

In conclusion this thesis has traced the underdevelopment of the Transkei/Pondoland area, and the resulting rural strains that the effects of this underdevelopment have had upon the majority of the Pondo people. The apartheid policies which have blocked the natural urbanisation process for Pondo people, ethnically fragmented the African population, and perpetuated the oscillation of Pondo migrants between the Transkei and South Africa, have been discussed. These policies have not only created numerous urban strains for the Pondo migrants,but have also created problems for capitalism and the local authorities. Such problems include the shortage of a permanent skilled African labour force, an abundance of unemployed and unskilled African migrants, the growth of the distorted form of urbanisation - shack settlements, and the disruption, due to the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting", of the production process in the factories to the south of Durban. These problems for capitalism and the local authorities, as well as the rural and urban strains experienced by the Pondo people, have assisted in confirming the argument that the

policies of apartheid have had, and continue to have, detrimental effects upon South Africa's rational economic development, and upon the Pondo people.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PONDO MIGRANTS

1.   Age of Migrant

2.   Sex of Migrant

3.   Education Level of Migrant

4.   Marital Status of Migrant

5.   Number of Children of Migrant

6.   What do your children do - are they in employment/at school?

7.   Is any of your family with you in the urban area?

7b.   If yes, who?

8.   Where does your family live in the Transkei?

9.   Which members of your family remain in the Transkei?

10.   What do they do there?

11.   Which area in the Transkei do you come from?

12.   Is there available employment in your hometown?
        If yes - what type of work?
        If no - what is the reason for this?

13.   Does any member of your family work in the Transkei?
        If yes - what type of work?

14.   What type of work did your parents do?

14b.   Did your Mother work, if yes, what did she do?

14c.   Did your Father work, if yes, what did he do?

15.   Did you work in the Transkei before migrating?
        If yes - what work did you do?
        If no - why not?

16.   Why did you leave your home town?

17.   What was the reason that you came to Durban?

18.   Have any of your family members left the Transkei to find employment?

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19. What reasons prompted these family members to migrate?

20. When you first came to the urban area did you know anybody?
If yes - who?

21. Did you manage to find work easily on your arrival in the urban area?
If yes - how quickly after arriving in the urban area?

22. How did you go about finding work when you first arrived?

23. What work do you currently do?

24. Do you enjoy this work?
If yes - what aspects?
If no - what aspects?

25. Do you return to the Transkei often?
If yes - how often?
If no - why not?

26. How long do you remain in the Transkei on these visits?

27. Which visit do you most prefer?

28. What do you do in the Transkei, on these returns?

29. How do you commute between the urban area and the Transkei?

30. What alternative method of transport is available to you?

31. Which life do you prefer most - the urban or rural?

32. Do you send/take remittances home?

33. What does your family do with these remittances?

34. Are you afraid of losing your employment whilst you are away?

35. Do you think work is scarcer in the urban area in recent times?
If yes, why?

36. Do you think more people are migrating to urban areas?
If yes - why?
If no - why?

37. Where did you first reside when coming to the urban area?

38. How did you secure this accommodation?

39. Where do you presently reside?

40.   What do you think of the available accommodation for Africans in Natal?

41.   Has the Transkei changed since you were a child?
If yes - in which ways has the Transkei changed?

42.   What are the good features of the Transkei?

43.   What are the bad features of the Transkei?

44.   Do you recall any friction between the Pondo inhabitants and the Administrators of the Transkei, during the late 1950s and early 1960s?
If yes, what was this conflict over?

45.   Do you have, or hope to have, land in the Transkei?

46.   How do you believe you will obtain this land?

47.   Do you think this land will support your family?

48.   Will you still have to migrate, even once you have acquired land?

49.   How does the available work in the Transkei, compare with that available in Durban?

50.   Do you belong to a trade union?
If yes - which one?
If no - why not?

51.   Have you heard of the 1985/1986 Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting"?

52.   What do you think was the cause of this fighting?

53.   Were you affected by this fighting in any way?
If yes - in which way/s?
If no - why not?

54.   Which organization, namely, Inkatha and the U.D.F. do you prefer?
Why do you prefer this organization?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR MANAGEMENT

1.   Type of Industry

2.   Size of Workforce

3.   Breakdown into Racial Groups of Workforce, namely:
Number of Africans
      Indians
      Coloureds
      Whites

4.   Where does most of your African workforce come from?

5.   Would you say the majority are migrants,which have families in rural areas?

6.   Do you employ many Pondo workers?

7.   How many?

8.   If yes, what reason/s would you give for so many migrating from the Transkei?

9.   Are the workers employed on a casual basis or as permanents?

10.   Is accommodation provided for your workers?

10b. If yes, what type of accommodation and where?

10c. If no, where do most of the workers reside?

11.   Are your workers members of a trade union, and if yes, which one?

12.   Is the trade union active in the industry?

13.   Have you heard of any "faction fights" in the African townships recently, that is, within the last 6 months or after 1985?

13b. If yes, in which area?

13c. If yes, from whom?

14.   What would you say is the main cause of "faction fighting" in Natal?

15.   In November/December 1985 and January 1986, there was a series of "faction fights" between Pondos and Zulus, did you hear about this trouble?

15b. If yes, what would you say was the cause of this trouble?

16. Was your workforce affected in any way by the fighting?

17. Did your workers come to work?

17b. If not, how long did they remain absent from work?

18. Did any workers leave the industry, and go back to their rural homes?

18b. What do you think prompted these people to leave?

19. What reasons were given for workers not having come to work, example, were they afraid etc.?

20. What action did you take with these workers, example, no work, no pay?

21. If workers came to work, was there any animosity between the workers?

22. Did any workers approach management about the "faction fights", example, ask that others be dismissed?

23. What did management do about this?

24. Did the trade union/shop steward approach you about the "faction fights"?

25. If yes, concerning what aspect of the fighting?

26. What was the outcome of this?

27. How long did the disturbances last in your firm?

28. Did all your workers return to work after the "faction fighting"?
If no, why not?

29. Has your firm experienced any other type of friction between the workers?

29b. If yes, what type of trouble?

30. Would you say your workforce is settled at the moment and that there is no animosity between the different African groupings?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE, CONTAINING THE LEADING QUESTIONS, FOR SHOP STEWARDS' INTERVIEWS

1.   Race Group

2.   Sex

3.   Age

4.   Marital Status

5.   Education

6.   Name of Factory

7.   Name of Union

8.   Where do you live?

9.   How long have you been living there?

10.   In November/December 1985 and January 1986 there was conflict in the south of Durban, referred to as Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting". Did this affect unity in the factory? And if so, how?

11.   How did these troubles start?

12.   How did this conflict spill over into the factories?

13.   What did you try and do about it?

14.   What was the cause of all the fighting?

15.   What role did the youth play in the fighting?

16.   What role did the unemployed play in the fighting?

17.   What role did the shop stewards play in the fighting?

18.   What was the role of Inkatha in the fighting?

19.   What was the role of the U.D.F. in the troubles?

20.   Was there any fighting in the area in which you live between Pondos and Zulus?

21.   What did you personally experience during this time in the area in which you live?

22.   What did you personally experience around this time in the factory?

23.   What were the experiences of others in your department, in the factory?

24   Can you relate any incidents of trouble in the factory amongst Pondos and Zulus?

25.   How did management react to the Pondo/Zulu "faction fighting"?

26.   Can you relate any incidents of trouble in other factories between Pondos and Zulus?

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