

3.1 INTRODUCTION

We studied six resettlement areas in some depth. Three were older townships dating back to the 1960s: Mdantsane was chosen as the great urban resettlement, and Dimbaza and Sada as rural ones that contrasted with each other because Dimbaza was deliberately developed unlike Sada where relatively little has been done. These older settlements were especially interesting for showing what happened or didn't happen over a period of time. The other three areas were true closer settlements. Elukhanyweni grew from removals in the name of homeland consolidation; Glenmore from the clearance of squatter areas mainly; and Kammaskraal from farm removals, partly as a result of the consolidation plan. In these three it was the removal itself or the circumstances surrounding it that we wanted to focus on as much as on life in the site afterwards.

We regret omitting some places that really cry out for investigation. Thornhill is one, with its background of political removal, the dreadful logistics of the site, the delays and what people did through the years waiting for the basic promises to be met (a continuing state of affairs), the huge question of these rural barracks existing at all. Another is Ndevana near King William's Town which reflects influx from the farms. People have been coming here for years now, in a continuous and totally organised seepage: they are channelled to the site. Again, this place is vast, and poses vast questions as many of the families are marginalised almost out of life itself, their position is so bad. Surveys need to be done in these and many other areas.

Most of our fieldwork was done between December 1980 and February 1981. The sampling was as random as we could make it. In Mdantsane we had to opt for just two zones but tried to keep a balance by choosing one old and one new. Questionnaires were administered on the basis of house numbers. The interviewers were reasonably carefully trained. They met the household head where possible, otherwise some senior member of the family. A copy of the questionnaire is included in SPP Volume 1, and our originals are to be lodged with Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

A major deficiency was that we did not get specific information on income. Later we felt we should at least try to have some idea of the level and spread of per capita incomes. Estimates were based on employment figures together with household composition. Wages and pensions per month were roughly rated on a point system thus:

Local male wage	80
Local female wage	40
Migrant male remittance	100
Migrant female remittance	50
Pension	40

All the incomes in a household were totalled ; then the members (2 points for an adult, 1 for a child under 18 years) ; and then the first total was divided by the second to get a sort of per capita rating . It was rather a crude procedure and the conclusions at best are very rough . Still , it did help to show up the extent of poverty in some areas and also the distribution of income .

There was an error in programming the educational data . The first year of the matric course is Standard 8 . By inferring it was Standard 9 we have not included in our figures those people who had gained Standard 8 level . This would be a small fraction of the whole because very few people manage to go beyond Junior Certificate , and of those presumably a fair proportion would have been at the level of Standard 9+ .

The reports were written up separately by six individuals . There are some differences of interpretation which we could not resolve .

3.2 MDANTSANE

3.2.1 Introduction

Mdantsane is situated in the Ciskei about 20 km from East London. It has a population of over 200 000 people. It was established in the early 1960s, and has been developed since then, to allow for the relocation (i.e. resettlement) of african residents from the East London (EL) townships. Most employed Mdantsane residents in fact work in EL. Besides relocation from EL, african people from other areas of 'white' South Africa have also been moved to Mdantsane. Furthermore, african people have moved freely to Mdantsane, both from within the Ciskei and from 'white' South Africa, including EL.

However, the establishment and development of Mdantsane must be understood in the context of the South African State's policy of urban relocation. Briefly, this relocation involves moving people

through the resiting of their urban township in the neighbouring reserve (in some cases this may have involved no removal but rather a redrawing of the boundary). (Baldwin, 1975, 216)

In the case of Mdantsane, african people have been physically relocated from the EL townships. The removals still continue, with the present EL african population officially being c. 35 000 in 1980. This physical shift contrasts with the case of the Durban township KwaMashu, which was simply incorporated into KwaZulu in 1977 through the redrawing of the KwaZulu border.

In terms of government propaganda, Mdantsane is defined as 'a model town with all the amenities of comfortable living'. (Bantu, May 1976) The town has been planned so as to have a central business district (CBD) surrounded by neighbourhoods or socio-administrative zones (comprising about 1 800 houses) in which can be found administration offices, schools, shops, clinics, recreational facilities etc. The main bus terminal to EL is set in the CBD, with the road to EL providing the only access to Mdantsane. Roads lead from the CBD to the zones, of which there are 13 at present (1982). While the quality of life of Mdantsane residents is better than in the other Ciskei resettlement areas, Mdantsane is certainly not a town with 'all the amenities of comfortable living'. This is reflected in the objective socio-economic conditions present in Mdantsane and by such attitudes of residents as these:

There is no work here, only starvation.

I have no house, I am still a lodger here.

We are living far from town (EL), so we have to use these expensive buses to go there.

This report on Mdantsane is divided into three main sections. Firstly we try to explain the removals from EL to Mdantsane. This involves a brief descriptive account of the State policy of urban relocation and its original application to EL, and an examination of the EL housing situation before the establishment of Mdantsane in the early 1960s. Secondly, the actual movement of EL african residents to Mdantsane is outlined, including such issues as resistance to the relocation policy and conditions on arrival in Mdantsane. Thirdly, the socio-economic situation in Mdantsane is examined, focussing on demography, employment, housing, dietary patterns etc. The report ends with a general summary and conclusion.

3.2.2 Background to the removals

URBAN RELOCATION

Urban relocation policy is related to the urbanisation of the reserves. Since the late 1960s, before local municipal authorities (and later Administration Boards) in 'white' urban areas were allowed to embark on new housing schemes for the african township residents, they were required to have the permission of the then Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Referring to the department's General Circular 27 (1967), Smit and Booyesen note:

The Department had to be satisfied that

- (1) such new developments (particularly family housing) were imperative and that
- (2) it was not possible to provide such accommodation in an adjacent black homeland. (1977, 10)

The explicit policy has been that where a town is situated in the vicinity of a reserve ('homeland'), its african workers must be resettled in that reserve with their families, and where this is not possible, the families should be housed in the reserves and the workers accommodated in hostels in the 'white' towns.

From 1 January 1968, africans living in urban townships

were encouraged to '... build houses in Black towns in homelands of their own national unit'. (Smit and Booyesen, 1977, 10, quoting the above-mentioned Circular)

From the same date, leasehold tenure was suspended in 'white' urban areas, with the african population only being allowed to rent houses in the future. Even though the 99-year leasehold scheme was introduced in the late 1970s, it has not been applied to urban townships such as Duncan Village in EL, which are to be or are already in the process of being disestablished.

While the urban relocation policy received official South African State recognition in the late 1960s, EL african residents were being relocated to Mdantsane from the early 1960s.

Earlier, in 1957, the EL municipality was instructed by the central State to submit an application for establishing a new township site for its african residents. A committee including representatives of both the municipality and the central State was founded to investigate possible sites for a new township. According to municipal records, the new site would

become a magnet ... to draw away blacks from East London, not for work, but for dwelling purposes. (Quoted in Gordon, 1980, 5)

In April 1977 the Minister of the then Department of Native Affairs announced that the Umdanzani farms were to be site of the new township.*

* The spelling of 'Umdanzani' was later changed to 'Mdantsane'.

On 20 February 1962 the Minister of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development announced that the entire East London african population was to be moved to the new site, Mdantsane, with the central State assuming all responsibility 'for the creation of a black city in the Ciskei'. (Gordon, 1980, 8) In terms of Government Gazette 240 of 11 May 1962, the land was rezoned for the sole occupation of africans. In late 1963 the first houses were built at Mdantsane, with the removals from EL beginning in 1964. Mdantsane officially became a proclaimed 'homeland town' on April 7, 1966.

HISTORY OF THE EAST LONDON TOWNSHIPS

EL began in the mid-nineteenth century with the construction of a trading post and military post at the mouth of the Buffalo River. Since the early decades of this century, it has been the fifth largest industrial centre in South Africa, although its contribution to the national gross manufacturing output has been relatively small, about 2%.

As agriculture deteriorated in the pre-capitalist mode of production in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, african people moved permanently to EL in the hope of finding employment. By the late 19th century, three locations had been established in EL with an african population of about 4 000. By 1921, the population was over 12 000.

Large-scale migration of africans to the urban areas of South Africa was widespread at this time. In an attempt at limiting this migration, the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act was passed, allowing for some form of influx control. By limiting this migration it was also hoped that the municipalities, including EL, would be able to provide adequate housing for the urban africans. By 1923 there was already a tremendous housing shortage in EL. The Act also stimulated house building for the EL african population, with 451 houses being built in the mid-1920s.

However, the 1923 Act failed to solve the housing problem in EL. From 1921 to 1936, africans there increased by about 100% to over 24 000, while continuing to build their own shacks as they had done even before 1923, adding

a considerable area of sordid and ramshackle dwellings to the already noisome and overcrowded nucleus of the (East Bank) location. (Reader, 1961, 17)

Then, as in later decades, most employed africans worked in the manufacturing, commercial and State sectors in EL itself. Beyond this, a substantial minority were employed as migrants, mainly on the Witwatersrand. As well, EL had a relatively large migrant labour force whose permanent homes were to be found in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s the EL municipality tried to alleviate the housing shortage for africans. Two commissions, the Thornton Commission (1937) and the Welsh Commission (1949) were appointed to investigate the housing position in the EL townships and make recommendations for improvement. Their recommendations, or at least the ones accepted by the EL municipality, did not succeed.

Meanwhile, agricultural production in the african reserves was declining, resulting in continual migration to the urban centres. By 1946 the EL african population had grown to nearly 33 000. In 1949 the mayor's minutes read:

The lack of adequate and suitable accommodation in the East Bank Location has been the subject of a great deal of criticism during the year under review. (Quoted in Reader, 1961, 22)

The number of houses built for africans in the EL townships during the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s was totally inadequate.

After the 1923 Act, early apartheid legislation immediately after the 1948 Nationalist victory

was the second major attempt by the South African State to solve the urban african housing 'problem'. Influx control was tightened up, for example through the 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act. As well, more direct measures were taken to allow for more houses to be built. Site-and-service housing schemes were introduced. Municipalities were encouraged to extend their monopoly of beer/liquor sales in the townships. Profits from that would be used for housing. Africans were trained as building artisans. (See De Villiers, 1979.)

These measures were implemented in EL during the early 1950s. A site-and-service scheme involving 1 548 houses was established in 1953/54 on an extension to the East Bank Location, while skilled african artisans were locally trained for township housing construction - they built 276 subeconomic houses in 1952.

However, the EL african 'housing problem' was not solved. The EL african population increased substantially throughout the 1950s from 39 850 to 56 120, with the EL township manager saying in 1957:

It has been established that prosecutions for entering the locations under the pass laws have no detrimental effect. (Quoted in Mayer, 1971, 58)

According to Reader's study conducted in 1955, out of a total of 3 760 dwelling units in the EL townships, 1 900 (just over 50%) consisted of wood-and-iron shacks, with the remainder being municipally built houses. The overcrowding in the shacks, relative to the municipal houses, is reflected in the fact that 80% of the population lived in shacks. 32% of the shacks accommodated at least 25 people each.

Although we lack sufficient empirical data to completely validate the argument, it seems quite clear that the urban african 'housing problem' continued throughout South Africa during the 1950s. The early apartheid legislation providing for housing was in part a response to the 'housing problem' during the 1940s, a 'problem' which was responsible to some extent for the intensity of the african working class struggle then. Such legislation was an attempt to limit this struggle by providing more adequate housing and thus decreasing the discontent of the urban african population.

Similarly, the urban relocation policy was a response to the african working class struggle during the 1950s. With the initial establishment of the policy of separate development in the early 1960s, the South African State saw urban relocation as a means whereby working class demands on housing could be redirected to bantustan governments. The policy would also redirect protests about transport cost increases and struggles in the labour field to the bantustan governments. In the case of Ciskei, the latter conflicts are exemplified in the one between SAAWU and the Ciskeian State.

On the EL 'housing problem' and the removals from EL to Mdantsane, the Welsh Commission of 1949 had suggested that a satellite township be built for the relatively wealthy EL africans. In September 1952, the Minister of the then Department of Native Affairs rejected the idea, saying that the EL municipality should search for a new township site that could absorb further increases in the EL african population - the existing township sites were totally inadequate in this respect. This project was also not implemented.

In terms of the separate development strategy, the central South African State was to provide the EL municipality with a more adequate means for dealing with the local 'housing problem'. The urban relocation policy represents the third major attempt by the State to solve this 'problem' in the interests of South African capitalism.

3.2.3 The removals

Although Mdantsane was established so as to hand on to the Ciskei the 'housing problem' of the EL african labour force, the sheer size of the Mdantsane population cannot be understood merely

in terms of the movement of EL residents to Mdantsane. The Deputy Secretary of the then Department of Bantu Administration and Development said in August 1962 that 10 000 families in the Western Cape would be resettled to Mdantsane in the near future (Gordon, 1980, 15). All the households in the SPP survey that were forcibly removed came from EL. A small minority also moved voluntarily from rural mission land at Mooiplaats, trust land at Peelton and tribal land at Middeldrift and Mount Coke. Any 'Ciskeian', whether inside or outside the Ciskei, may apply to the Mdantsane Town Council for a house in Mdantsane. (Officially 85% of the houses are allocated to former EL african residents, but in practice this is not the case. Patron-client relationships appear to operate, the patrons being Ciskeian State officials.)

The african population in EL is a long-established community, as we have seen. Even though the vast majority of households had lived in EL for more than 20 years, this did not deter the South African State from disestablishing their townships, and moving them to Mdantsane.

Not all former EL households now living in Mdantsane were forcibly removed from EL. According to the SPP survey, about 40% of the households were evicted from their houses and brought to Mdantsane, while 60% moved 'voluntarily'. (This is discussed below.) These percentages stand for very large numbers of people: it was found that 83% of Mdantsane households came from EL. It is estimated that 48 258 former EL residents were living in Mdantsane by 1971 (Wilson, 1972, 61) and 82 000 by 1977. (DD, 7.09.79) Officials said in 1971 that the EL townships would be 'cleared' by 1976. Now in early 1982 Dr G de V Morrison, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, has said that all EL african residents will be in Mdantsane by the end of 1983. The West Bank Location has been entirely cleared, and is now the site of an industrial area. As areas in the East Bank Location (i.e. Duncan Village) have been cleared, housing schemes have been built for coloureds and indians.

The EL households who were evicted and brought to Mdantsane were told to leave by the EL local authorities, chiefly the East Cape Administration Board (ECAB) since the early 1970s. Sometimes these authorities did not tell the people why they were being evicted. However, most households were told that their area in the EL townships had been declared a coloured or an indian group area.

It was said that we should move out of the area because it was for coloureds.

They recognised the authoritarian nature of this decision:

We used to hold meetings asking whether they (ECAB) declared the coloured area with our people and the coloureds, or just decided to do so themselves.

With their historical roots in EL, they were simply not willing to move to Mdantsane after receiving their eviction notices. They tried to stay:

We knew that we had to move but we did not, waiting to be moved. Eventually they reached our house, so we had no alternative but to move.

Any attempt at resisting removal was met by threats from the State authorities.

We formed a group and endeavoured to ask what the reason of our eviction is, but they promised to take us to jail and eventually we were brought here.

The evicted people were carted off against their will on GG trucks. They could load their belongings on the trucks, but nevertheless lost a great deal because their houses were demolished to make way for the coloured and indian housing schemes. No compensation was offered.

Other households have moved voluntarily. However, there has been tremendous indirect and direct pressure on people to do so. This is particularly true of EL people who lived in shacks instead of municipal housing. EL people were told that Mdantsane was a paradise:

We were made to expect a paradise of a homeland in the urbanised form.

We were given to believe that it was to be a wonderful model township for our freedom.
(Quoted in Mayer, 1971, 298)

It was not just the lure of a better life there. Objective township conditions in EL also pressurised them into moving. Because the 99-year leasehold scheme does not apply in EL, the maintenance and further improvement of existing services has been withheld. Here one can note the statement by Mr X L Time, circuit inspector for the Department of Education and Training, who said the lack of ceilings and floors in Duncan Village schools was due to the non-applicability of the 99-year scheme. (Indaba, 23.05.80) The South African State's argument was and is that as all EL africans are due to move to Mdantsane, there is no point in spending money on 'township' services. The same applies to family housing, which has been restricted in terms of the previously mentioned General Circular 27 of 1967. While the leasehold scheme has not been applied to EL, Mdantsane residents are allowed some form of home ownership. All these pressures have induced people to move.

I moved because the one-roomed house (in EL) was too small for my family.

We came to purchase a house in Mdantsane.

We came here to look for a bigger house.

We wanted at least a four-roomed house, not that one-roomed house of ours.

In the early days at Mdantsane, the facilities offered to people on arrival were fairly typical of those in any Ciskeian or other homeland relocation area. By May 1964, when about 1 000 houses had been built, there were few facilities. Water was available only from standpipes in the streets, and the only toilet facilities were pail latrines. Nevertheless, people were being moved in from EL, notably 500 families from the Juliwe emergency camp adjoining Duncan Village. (SAIRR Survey 1964, 228) By mid-1965, about 1 200 families had been relocated from EL. Mdantsane

was started before necessary amenities such as police stations, streetlights, clinics and shops were available. (SAIRR Survey 1965, 199)

In the SPP study, Mdantsane residents were asked, from a given list of facilities, which ones were available on their arrival. The responses should be seen as the subjective perception of the residents. Of those interviewed, 35% had arrived in Mdantsane in either 1966 or 1967, and 43% in 1980. Most of the people we met had come in either 1966/67 or 1980, but that was because most interviews were done in two particular zones. The socio-economic situation in these two zones may differ slightly from Mdantsane as a whole. Most residents said that latrines, water and roads were there on their arrival, but fuel, clinics and shops were not.

3.2.4 Mdantsane - an overview

The Riekert Commission distinguishes between three types of urban areas in the reserves, calling them fully fledged towns, rudimentary towns, and closer settlements. Mdantsane is an example of a 'fully fledged town', these

being provided with full services and are developed mainly to replace the urban Black residential areas (i.e. 'townships') of White Towns or cities situated near the borders of the Black states.... (Riekert Commission report, 1978, para 3.637)

The establishment of 'fully fledged towns' is clearly connected to the policy of urban relocation. Dimbaza is an example of a 'rudimentary town', while 'closer settlements' in the Ciskei would include Elukhanyweni and Kammaskraal.

Mdantsane is the third largest town in the reserves, KwaMashu in Kwa Zulu being the largest. The only township in 'white' South Africa which is larger than Mdantsane is Soweto in the Transvaal. Just as Soweto is a labour pool for Johannesburg, so Mdantsane serves the centre

of EL. According to EL municipal records, the ultimate planned size of Mdantsane is 450 000 residents living in 30 socio-administrative zones. (Gordon, 1980, 14) The South African State intends moving africans from Berlin as well as EL.

GEOGRAPHY

Mdantsane lies north-west of EL along the King William's Town road. It is close to the railway line. The actual land area is 2 883 ha, considerably larger than the 300 ha of Duncan Village. The Mdantsane site

consists of a series of valleys and ridges running generally in a north-south direction. The land slope varies between 1:4 and 1:20, with an average of 1:12, draining southwards towards the Buffalo River. (Gordon, 1980, 8)

While the northern boundary is the King William's Town /EL railway line, the southern one is marked by Bridle Drift Dam. The chief feature of the site is its hills. The CBD is on top of a hill with housing scattered about it. The place is spread fairly wide because some slopes are too steep for housing.

DEMOGRAPHY

The preliminary census figure for Mdantsane in 1980 was 148 621, but this is almost certainly far too low. By contrast, the Quail Commission gave an estimate of 250 000.(1980, para 82) At the end of 1980 an official in Mdantsane gave us his personal estimate of about 185 000. Today the evidence strongly suggests that the de facto population alone is well over 200 000.

The de jure population by sex and age is composed thus:

Table 1 DE JURE POPULATION OF MDANTSANE, BY SEX AND AGE (%)

Age	Male	Female	Total
0-14	18,2	14,9	33,1
15-24	13,2	15,1	28,3
25-34	6,2	8,1	14,3
35-44	4,9	4,5	9,4
45-64	4,8	5,8	10,6
65+	1,0	3,3	4,3
Total	48,3	51,7	100,0

The masculinity rate (95) in Mdantsane is only slightly lower than the national african average, suggesting that the de jure population consists in general of family households. This point is confirmed by the fact that the age distribution is similar to the national average. Most family households are nuclear, although about 30% are three-generational, extended ones.

According to the 'quality of life' study done in 1980 by the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) at Rhodes University, the average household size in Mdantsane is 7,3, a figure which would include family members, relatives and lodgers who are not relatives. Over a third of the households have at least nine people.

Since most workers commute, the de facto figure is quite close to the de jure one, although the percentages of young and old are somewhat higher for the de facto population:

Table 2 DE FACTO POPULATION OF MDANTSANE, BY AGE AND SEX (%)

Age	Male	Female	Total
0-14	19,6	16,4	36,0
15-24	13,5	15,8	29,3
25-34	4,7	7,5	12,2
35-44	3,4	4,6	8,0
45-64	3,8	6,1	9,9
65+	1,0	3,6	4,6
Total	46,0	54,0	100,0

The de facto masculinity rate (85) is much lower than the de jure one. While only 9% of the total de jure population is migrant, 72% of migrants are male, thus lowering the masculinity rate for the de jure population.

The percentage of people aged 25-64 who work as migrants (21%) is lower than in most other Ciskei resettlement areas, particularly the 'closer settlements'. Only 10% of female adults migrate, as opposed to 33% of males.

In the de jure population, over 60% of household heads are male. While nearly 25% of male household heads migrate, hardly any of the female ones do. Assuming that a woman always takes charge of a household whenever a male or female household head becomes a migrant, just over 50% of de facto household heads would be female.

AGRICULTURE

Living in an urban centre, Mdantsane residents do not have access to grazing and arable land in the form of fields. They can grow vegetables on their house plots, most of which measure 15,24 x 21,34 metres (i.e. 325,2 square metres).

Nearly 60% of the households produce food from their gardens. Maize, potatoes and beans are grown by about 65% of these households, and some have spinach, onions, cabbage, tomatoes and carrots. A few people keep poultry, for meat and eggs. 10% of all households sell some of their produce, mainly vegetables, primarily through the informal sector. Employment in the formal economy is a far more important source of income than agricultural production. However, the garden produce does help families to save on food money.

LABOUR

Residents are employed in Mdantsane itself, or else as 'frontier' commuters or migrant labourers. There is a large commuter work force compared with other Ciskei resettlement areas. Most of them work in EL - in fact Mdantsane was created to house the EL work force. As the EL municipal records of the late 1950s say, it was hoped it would eventually

become a magnet ... (to) draw away blacks from East London, not for work, but for dwelling purposes. (Quoted in Gordon, 1980, 16)

In 1979 the Mdantsane commuter work force numbered 29 400, 28 900 of whom worked in EL and 500 in Berlin. According to the SPP data, 53% of all those employed are commuters, and 32% are migrants. Only 15% work in the Ciskei, the vast majority in Mdantsane itself.

The activity rates for all workers in the de jure population are as follows:

Table 3 ACTIVITY RATES OF THE DE JURE POPULATION OF MDANTSANE, BY AGE AND SEX

Age	Male	Female	Total
15-24	30	23	
25-34	82	86	
35-44	100	88	
45-64	92	77	
65+	20	18	
Average	39	38	38

The average activity rate (38), being the percentage of adults aged 15 years and over who are employed or searching for work, is near the national average for Africans (37). However, while the Mdantsane male activity rate (39) is much lower than the national one (49), the female rate (38) is much higher than the national one (26). The need for more than one breadwinner is great in Mdantsane. Women have a fair chance of getting jobs in the large domestic service sector in EL, and it is wives in particular who go off in search of work. The relatively low male activity rate is not true for all age groups, but is confined to the young (15-34 years) and the old (65+).

The dependency rate for Mdantsane is 26.2%. Given that the average household size is 7,3 (based on the ISER survey), this means that on average a household has 1.9 people in employment.

As noted above, only a small percentage of employed residents actually work in Mdantsane. This reflects the fact that relatively few jobs are available there. In 1977, employment opportunities amounted to 7 060. The largest employer then was the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital, with 2 700 posts. Local government took on 1 296, the education sector was the third largest employer with 647 employees. Most employment therefore was, and is, to be found in the State sector. Jobs in manufacturing are incredibly limited, only 408 in 1977 (Gordon, 1980). Industrial growth in the Ciskei has been concentrated at the growth point of Dimbaza. Mdantsane people complain about this:

Work is scarce here.

Job opportunities should be created in Mdantsane.

Open as many factories here for work as possible.

With so few jobs going in Mdantsane, people are forced to seek work in the EL area as 'frontier' commuters. In fact many who moved from EL to Mdantsane were able to keep their EL jobs. However, by being permanently relocated in Mdantsane, people have lost their Section 10 (1) (a), (b) or (c) rights, and are now defined as Section (1) (d), even though, unlike migrant labourers, they are not restricted to being employed on the basis of one-year contracts. Up to 1981 at least, Mdantsane workseekers had to report to the labour bureau in EL for a workseeker's permit. Only then could they try to find work door-to-door. If they found work, they then had to return to the labour bureau to have their employment officially ratified. An Mdantsane work-seeker indicates what problems this can cause:

Nowadays I am sent to a madam by the labour office and when I get there she will say she has engaged somebody already. I am left to pay the return fare for nothing.

(Quoted in Mayer, 1971, 297)

But now it appears that people must get their workseeker's permits from the labour bureau in Mdantsane itself.

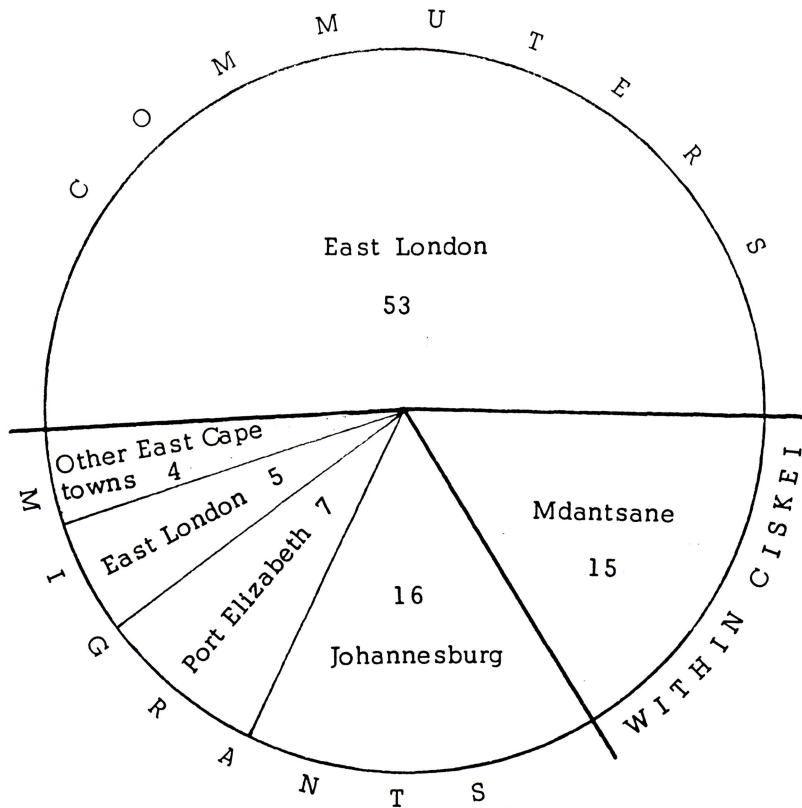
Many Mdantsane people (32% of those employed) have had to get work further afield as migrant contract workers. This means going through the Mdantsane labour bureau where the contracts are limited to one year. The well-known social problem arising from the migrancy system is evident in Mdantsane:

Our problem is family disunity as a result of migratory labour.

Almost all migrants are males, half of whom work in Johannesburg on the mines.

This is where their jobs are:

Fig 1 WORK PLACES OF THE MDANTSANE EMPLOYED (%)



The table on the next page shows what industrial sectors the people are in, differentiating between migrants and locals (i.e. those employed in the Ciskei, and commuters).

The service sector employs most, 40% of the total. Mining comes next with 17%, and then manufacturing (16%). Construction and transport are the next largest employers.

The main sector for females is services. Over 70% of their jobs are of this kind. Most local service workers are employed privately as domestic servants in East London. The only other significant sector for females is manufacturing, with EL firms taking advantage of the fact they can pay women less than men.

Men are more evenly distributed among the sectors. Mining takes most (27%), and manufacturing, construction, services and transport are all of more or less equal importance (13 - 17%). Male migrants are overwhelmingly employed in mining, where wages are relatively low. All of them go to the Witwatersrand mines. The mining sector obviously does not affect local workers. Most of these are in the manufacturing, transport and State service sectors. The bulk of them

Table 4 SECTORS OF EMPLOYMENT OF MDANTSANE WORKERS (%)

Industry	<u>Local employment</u>			<u>Migrant employment</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	5	3	4	3	0	2	4	2	3
Mining	2	0	1	58	20	48	27	3	17
Manufacturing	23	12	17	10	20	13	17	13	16
Construction	13	0	6	17	10	15	15	2	9
Transport	21	2	11	3	0	3	13	2	8
Trade	3	5	4	3	0	2	3	3	3
Service	26	76	53	3	50	15	16	73	40
Finance	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	2	2
Electricity, gas etc	5	0	2	3	0	2	4	0	2

work in EL, with employers in these three sectors relying heavily on Mdantsane for their labour.

The occupational structure of all jobs is shown here:

Table 5 OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS OF MDANTSANE WORKERS (%)

Occupation	<u>Local employment</u>			<u>Migrant employment</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
White collar	16	21	19	6	16	8	12	20	16
Service	19	35	27	0	42	12	11	37	22
Skilled	28	6	16	39	16	33	32	8	22
Unskilled	37	38	38	55	26	47	45	35	40

Over 60% are labourers, more of them migrant than local. The emphasis on the migrants here is because most migrants work in mining, manufacturing and construction, where they have little chance of getting white-collar jobs. More males (77%) than females (43%) are at the labouring level. This is particularly true of migrants, where males have much less chance of white-collar and service jobs.

Nearly 25% of workers are in skilled jobs (32% of males and 8% of females). Interestingly enough, the percentage of skilled work is greater for migrants (33%) than for local workers (16%). No doubt this is partly because many local workers are in the service sector.

The skilled/unskilled rate is much higher for migrants than for local employees, and higher for males than females. The lower ratio for locals is possibly because their jobs tend to be labour-intensive, a feature of EL employment compared with other industrial centres. The ratio for men does not differ significantly between migrants and locals, but is much lower for local females than for migrant females.

The unemployment rate is quite high: 38,2% for females, 24,2% for males, and 31,5% overall. This has caused strain:

We are still unemployed here.

We are living in poverty here because of unemployment .

All of us were working in Duncan but here we are sitting helpless because there is no work .

Starvation is here , caused by unemployment .

The unemployment rates look like this in terms of sex and age:

Table 6 UNEMPLOYMENT, BY SEX AND AGE (%)

Age	Male	Female	Total
15 - 24	60	78	68
25 - 34	18	36	28
35 - 44	8	19	13
45+	17	30	24

The female unemployment rate is higher than the male rate throughout . The highest rate for both males and females is amongst the young . Unemployment is highest for female youth , and lowest for males aged 35 - 44 .

Clearly then , people do not have enough jobs in Mdantsane , whether on the spot or as 'frontier' commuters or migrants .

INCOME

The formal sector , which we have just examined , is the most important source of income , but there are also informal sector activities and social welfare benefits such as old age pensions .

Unemployment forces many people into informal activities . They are required to get a licence from the Mdantsane Town Council for any hawking . Not everyone succeeds . One of the requirements for a licence is explicit support for the Ciskei National Independence Party . Many people therefore carry on informal trading illegally , which causes much friction with those who do have licences . The latter accuse the others of cutting into their consumer market .

A 1975 survey in Mdantsane found that of all earners , formal or informal , 14% depended totally on informal sources of income , while others in the formal sector were also involved in informal activities . (Black , 1980) In the SPP study , it was found that 18% of households have some form of informal sector involvement , usually selling vegetables from the market or grown in their own gardens , but also jerseys , paraffin , table mats , beer , meat , etc .

Informal income aside , 90% of all incomes are from the formal economy , 8% are old age pensions and 2% disability grants . Of all adults including migrants , 40% earn an income in the formal economy , while nearly 5% receive some form of pension .

Pensions and informal sector activities are thus of some importance for income . While most incomes are from the formal economy , these two other sources are vital to some households . There are problems though . Those trading illegally are subject to police harassment , and so on . Pensioners do not always get their money regularly . Some find the two-monthly payout system very hard to cope with and would far prefer being paid every month .

It appears that all migrants remit regularly to their families in Mdantsane .

The ISER survey of 1980 gives us fairly recent data on income levels in both the formal and informal sectors, and on pensions, even though it does not differentiate between the three sources. This pattern emerges:

Table 7 INCOME LEVELS IN MDANTSANE (%), MONTHLY

Per capita income*	Total	Household income	Total
R0 - 25	64	R0 - 100	49
26 - 80	31	101 - 250	33
81 +	5	251 +	18

* (PCIN)

The PCIN figures mean, for example, that in 31% of households, the average monthly income yields R26 - 80 per member.

POVERTY

Turning now to poverty levels, the better-off households (R81 + per month) tend to be small, their mean size being 3,7 people. The dependency ratio is probably quite small, with perhaps one or two wage-earners. The poorest households (R0 - 25 per month) are generally large, with an average of 8,6 people. Their dependency ratio would be quite high, with many children and elderly people. Quite a few are of extended, three-generational families.

In the ISER study, residents were asked how their present financial position compared with that of three years ago (1977). 61% said it was worse. Only 13% were positive, while 26% felt there had been no change.

An income survey conducted in Mdantsane in 1975 (see Black, 1980) found that the average household monthly income amounted to R174, with the average monthly PCIN being R31. The median income was R107/month, meaning that 50% of households earned less than R107/month and 50% earned more. In 1975 the EL Poverty Datum Line (PDL) was R105/month. Using this as our defining line for poverty then, we can say that more than 50% of households lived below it in 1975. The figure is certainly more than 50% because, while the PDL is based on an average household size of 6 people, the average in Mdantsane is more than 7.

Comparing monthly household incomes for Mdantsane in 1975 and 1980 with the PDL results for those two years, the economic position of households has definitely deteriorated in real terms. Comments cited above illustrate how people feel.

In 1980, 49% of households had an income of R0 - 100/month. The EL PDL for 1980 was R165/month. Given that 33% of households had a monthly income of R101 - 250/month (see Table 7), it is clear that well over 50% of households lived below the PDL in 1980.

Mdantsane households are subjected to some degree of poverty. It manifests itself in a number of ways: the inability to buy enough food, to pay high transport costs and house rentals, to pay for school uniforms and books (all of which will be noted later in the report). Clothes are another problem:

Clothing the children is our difficulty.

Clothing is our problem - we have no money to buy new clothes.

DIET

As for dietary patterns, 67% of households eat three times a day, 28% twice a day, and 5% only once a day. Food items occurred as follows:

Table 8 DIETARY PATTERN IN MDANTSANE HOUSEHOLDS (%)

Food items	Daily	Twice weekly	Weekly	Less than weekly
Carbohydrates: Maize	83	15	1	1
Bread	94	0	1	5
Sugar	90	2	3	5
Proteins: Meat	5	18	27	50
Eggs	10	18	10	62
Vitamins: Milk	34	4	17	45
Greens	34	44	18	4
Other: Tea/coffee	95	1	1	3
Fat	40	6	27	27

The normal diet is heavy in carbohydrates (maize and bread) with tea/coffee and sugar. For vitamins, both milk and greens are used regularly by about a third of households, the others having greens more regularly than milk. Proteins, in milk and eggs, are irregular features. It amounts to a very inadequate dietary pattern.

People talked about starvation:

When I wake up early in the morning, I do not have tea because of starvation.

We are starving and some have died of starvation.

Starvation - I think all of us are not going to survive the coming years because of starvation.

We are starving here more than we were in Duncan.

More starvation here - we are suffering more than words can say.

A survey done by Dr Trudi Thomas in Mdantsane in 1978 showed that one out of every ten children dies before the age of one, and that 75% of eight-year-olds are malnourished.

SERVICES

HEALTH

Health facilities in Mdantsane include the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital. This is a Ciskeian regional hospital where many people from all over the Ciskei are admitted, and so in that sense Mdantsane does not have a hospital to itself. Two dozen or so permanent and temporary clinics are scattered about the zones.

The ISER survey found that 39% were dissatisfied with health services in Mdantsane, primarily

because of the 'bad standard'. Many go to EL instead. Whatever the health services are like, malnutrition will continue if people cannot earn enough to buy nutritious food.

COMMERCE

The CBD in Mdantsane houses the main firms such as clothing shops, general dealers, butcheries and bottle stores. A large Checkers supermarket is being built now. There are also banks. Many of the businesses are in the Lennox Sebe shopping complex. Each socio-administrative zone also has a small business centre, which includes its own administration offices. Schools and clinics are scattered throughout each zone.

The business sector in Mdantsane is incredibly underdeveloped - it cannot cater for local needs. For example, a small survey in the mid-1970s showed that 53% of the residents' total expenditure was spent in EL. (Gordon, 1980) With the new Checkers supermarket, the situation will improve, but even then the money is essentially leaving Mdantsane through the chain store. In fact the supermarket will draw custom from the small local shops, so the outflow of money will increase. It will save on transport costs to EL though, once people can buy locally.

Compared to the EL townships, the situation in Mdantsane is an improvement:

There are more shops, butchery, bottle store and a market.

HOUSING AND ASSOCIATED SERVICES

Prior to 1970 the South African Bantu Trust (SABT, now Development Trust) was solely responsible for the establishment, financing and development of 'homeland' towns. Since 1970 the 'homeland' governments and the development corporations have increasingly become involved. From 1959/60 to 1969/70, the SABT's real expenditure on these towns amounted to R120 million. All three - the SABT, 'homeland' governments and development corporations - spent a total of no less than R550 million from 1970/71 to 1979/80. The figure for the Ciskei alone from 1972/73 to 1979/80 amounted to R66,01 million.

Most of this is for housing and associated services such as water supply, roads, drainage. Increasing expenditure on 'homeland' towns over the past two decades reflects the urbanisation of the 'homelands', due in large part to the policy of urban relocation. The bill for developing Mdantsane amounts to about R50 million so far.

The standard houses built in the 'fully fledged towns' (Mdantsane etc.) are the NE 51/6 and the NE 51/9. The 51/6 houses are the older type, and consist of

four rooms with no ceilings, and outside sanitation. Walls are unplastered, painted concrete blocks and roofs are of asbestos sheeting. Floors are of uncovered concrete.
(Gordon, 1980, 15)

The newer type, the 51/9 house, is adapted to allow for an inside toilet and shower. Based on the ISER survey, the rental charges (which include a service charge for services such as street maintenance and refuse removal) in 1980 for these two types of houses were respectively R15,45/month and R16,00/month. Residents are also allowed a form of home ownership, although they may only sell their 'purchased' houses back to the Ciskeian government. In 1982 the purchase price of a 51/9 house is c. R2 600, which reflects a considerable subsidy on the actual cost of R3 500.

The actual physical construction of housing (and services) is done by the Mdantsane Special Organisation established by the EL municipality, which consists of labourers, builders and

engineers. The municipality acts as agent of the SADT, with the Department of Co-operation and Development as controlling body. Africans have been trained locally as skilled artisans for the Special Organisation. The Ciskei Department of Works is responsible for maintaining the houses and services.

In addition to this building programme, there is an owner-financed housing scheme where a prospective home-owner can have the Special Organisation build a house, either a 51/9 or an improved version of it. These houses, bought at cost price (e.g. at R3 500 for a 51/9 house in 1982) are financed by personal means or a loan from the Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC). By mid-1978, after the scheme had been going for 18 months, the CNDC had invested R55 000 and residents R250 000.

By 1980, 18 828 houses had been built in Mdantsane. The ISER study shows that 69% were of the 51/9 type and 31% of the 51/6 type. It also gauges that about 20% of households have bought their houses. The others rent them, mostly from the local authority. About 10% of households pay rent as lodgers. In 1977, about 4 000 families were on the waiting list for permanent houses, and the shortage is still severe, even though the 1 220 houses completed in 1981/82 brings the total of housing units to 21 439. In 1982 there are some 2 000 privately built houses with another 500 on order, and private sources have invested about R6 million in this scheme. (DD, 2.06.82)

In 1980, 15% of houses had electricity. Now in 1982 a new electrical distribution centre at Fort Jackson adds to the supply. Two further reservoirs are also under construction. Compared to what they had in EL, the residents in general are fairly satisfied:

There are many people who did not have houses there but have houses here.

We have toilets inside the houses.

We used to have one tap on every street but here the taps are in the houses.

In Duncan Village there was a shortage of houses and filthiness.

Similar feelings had prevailed even in 1970:

Here I have four rooms which belong to me. The house is airy and light, compared to the stinking shacks we lived in at Duncan Village. I have my lavatory. Altogether it is a pleasant place to live in.

It is like four houses in one. I have got a garden and everything to myself.

We are no longer crowded and all on top of one another. The nearby gutters are not full of rotten food and human droppings.

(Quoted in Mayer, 1971, 296)

But this does not mean that people are totally satisfied. In 1980 the ISER asked residents what they thought of housing and services. On a scale of one (very satisfied) to five (very dissatisfied), the mean score for Mdantsane on both housing and services was 3,5. Thus in general there is a lot of dissatisfaction with housing and services.

Houses should be built for lodgers.

Bigger and better houses should be built.

We would like to have our streets tarred.

In the ISER survey, 98% said that their housing costs were too high, considering the income they received and the quality of the house.

Residents rated their housing conditions thus:

Table 9 OPINIONS ON MDANTSANE HOUSING (%)

Housing factor	Verdict
Accommodation comfortable	42 NO
Accommodation enough space	70 NO
Accommodation well ventilated	49 NO
Winter temperature inside	55 VERY COLD
Summer temperature inside	54 VERY HOT

Quite a serious negative response here. Residents were also asked if specific services were available in Mdantsane, including proper roads, proper pavements, stormwater drains, water to houses, streetlights, refuse removal, wastewater drains. More than half said that these services were available, except for proper roads and pavements which most people felt were lacking.

How these services help Mdantsane is only part of the story. Huge concentrations of people are bound to strain the environment - the long-term pollution of the Buffalo River, for example, may build up to very serious levels in future.

Housing and services are far worse in Duncan Village than in Mdantsane. In February 1981, Duncan Village was identified by a central State inquiry as one of the eight crisis points in the Eastern Cape for priority action. As we have said, the policy of urban relocation out of EL has stopped the local authorities from improving conditions in Duncan Village - and conversely the worsening conditions have been welcomed in some quarters as strong indirect pressure to get people to move more willingly. This has also been true of the other townships such as West Bank, where maintenance stopped while they were being cleared.

Duncan Village township includes what is called the Duncan Village emergency camp, where an estimated 50% of EL africans live. This camp consists of shacks all on top of each other. The ISER survey only covered State-provided housing, not the emergency camp. Even in terms of State-provided housing, residents there were far more negative about standards than people in Mdantsane. On the scale of one (very satisfied) to five (very dissatisfied), the overall scores were 4,3 and 4,6 on housing and services, a quite damning result. Despite that, Race Relations in EL observed in 1982 that some poor people were actually seeping back to Duncan Village from Mdantsane. They were prepared to put up with very bad living conditions for the sake of avoiding conventional rents, or transport costs to EL for their jobs or workseeking.

TRANSPORT

This is an important issue because most Mdantsane workers must commute to EL some 20 km away. People voiced their long-held grievances:

We pay expensive buses to carry us to town.

We used to go to town (when living) in Duncan by foot, but here we pay 60c to go to town.

We would like transport costs to be reduced.

Buses should be regular and not cost very much.

Buses do not enter the area and you have to travel to reach the bus stop.

From the EL townships, the trip to and from work had been relatively quick and cheap. Now in Mdantsane, the situation is completely different. People go to EL by bus or train if they don't

have their own transport. The buses are more popular than trains because the three railway stations nearby are still too far away for most people. However, the road network in Mdantsane has not been designed to let buses pass around easily. Instead all roads tend to lead to the main bus station situated in the CBD, where all the buses leave for EL. The internal road network has therefore been designed with the interests of EL employers in mind rather than to serve people within Mdantsane. (Matravers, 1980)

On average, a worker spends 1 - 1½ hours getting to EL by bus. This includes walking to the nearest bus stop, waiting in bus queues at the CBD, and the actual bus trip to EL. It amounts to 2 - 3 hours every working day. Those whose employers contribute to the Transport Levy Fund have their transport costs subsidised. For these workers, the daily round trip cost 27 - 43c in 1977, depending on how far the worker lived from the CBD, while others were paying 78c. (Matravers, 1980)

EDUCATION

At present schooling facilities are fairly adequate in purely quantitative terms, with about 50 schools in all: lower primary, higher primary, junior secondary and senior secondary. In the ISER study, local attitudes to education scored an average of 2,4 on the one (very satisfied) to five (very dissatisfied) scale - an opinion between neutrality and satisfaction. People certainly find the situation better than EL had been:

There are many schools here but in Duncan there were few.

What I like are the many schools here.

But many found school expenses too high to bear:

Some of our children had to leave school because we had no money.

Books and school uniforms are very expensive.

The education levels of the de jure population are as follows, for everyone over 6 years:

Table 10 MDANTSANE LEVELS OF SCHOOLING (%)

Level	Total
No education	10
Lower primary	18
Higher primary	27
Lower secondary	36
Standard 9+	9

This is better than the national figure for africans. Over 40% have completed lower secondary school or higher, with little variation between males and females.

OTHER SERVICES

By 1977 public recreational facilities amounted to eleven tennis courts, three rugby fields, two soccer fields, one cricket pitch and one swimming pool. (Gordon, 1980, 18) There was also a cinema and three community halls. This is not nearly enough. In 1980 people seemed fairly

displeased, their response being 3,3 on the range from one (very satisfied) to five (very dissatisfied).

The attitude to welfare services was slightly worse, with a score of 3,5. Welfare services in Mdantsane include a school for mentally handicapped people.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Mdantsane is administered by a Town Council, and a township manager and staff. The council has a mayor and deputy mayor, and the councillors are elected by residents, with some also nominated by the Ciskeian government. The functions of the council include:

the allocation of residential, business, religious and educational sites, management and control, maintenance of law and order, social welfare... (Gordon, 1980, 16)

The township manager and his staff see to the economic and social progress of the Mdantsane community. The manager is employed by the Ciskeian Department of the Interior. The post will be abolished in the not-too-distant future, according to Gordon. (1980, 18)

COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND CRIME

According to the ISER survey, most people feel their neighbourhoods are friendly and cohesive. This is a change from the late 1960s as recorded by Mayer (1971):

Mdantsane is a place where a cow misses its calf. Those who love each other miss each other greatly.

The people I stayed with live quite far from me now.

It seems that the removals to Mdantsane resulted in the scattering of well established EL neighbourhoods, with relocated households having to go where they were put. With the passing of time, though, true neighbourhoods have apparently grown up.

Despite a great deal of cohesiveness and friendliness amongst neighbours, people feel somewhat insecure through fear of crime:

More recreational facilities should be built to curb the youth from violence.

The ISER study found that 58% of residents did not feel safe in either their home or neighbourhood. The crimes worrying them most were assault, rape and housebreaking.

3.2.5 Conclusion

This report was presented in three main sections. Firstly, an attempt was made to explain the removals from EL (as a specific application of the State policy of urban relocation) in terms of the EL 'housing problem'. Secondly, the actual removals from EL were examined, and the conditions on arrival in Mdantsane. Thirdly, the socio-economic situation in Mdantsane was presented.

In the first section it was argued that urban relocation from EL to Mdantsane is an attempt by the State to guarantee the conditions for the reproduction and development of South African

capitalism. The means whereby the State has facilitated the removals was noted in the second section, in terms of both forced and 'voluntary' movement.

In the past the State tried to resolve the contradiction between capital accumulation on an expanding scale and the urban 'housing problem'. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 was one such attempt. Yet the State was aware of failing to find a solution, and is now, in essence, merely locating the 'housing problem' in the reserve areas at places such as Mdantsane.

It is important, however, to recognise that the State, through its policies, reproduces the contradictions of South African capitalism. Working-class struggle in the reserves poses a threat to the reproduction of the entire South African social formation (including the reserves themselves), thus potentially limiting the success of the urban relocation policy. As noted in the third section of this report, the dissatisfaction in Mdantsane with a wide range of socio-economic conditions may lead to increasing opposition to the Ciskeian State, which is already manifesting itself in the activities of SAAWU.