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Leisure and the making of KwaMashu 1958-1989

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degree of

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Abstract

This thesis explains the role played by recreation and leisure in the making of the township of KwaMashu from 1958 to 1989. The study shows how the Durban Corporation provided housing, infrastructure and recreational amenities in KwaMashu, while extending its administrative control over the township. It explores the emergence of an urban African middle class and how the residents of KwaMashu organized and created new forms of leisure activities autonomous from the state. It also explores the extent at which the incorporation of KwaMashu under KwaZulu homeland, created conflict between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF supporters in KwaMashu and how this conflict affected the participation in leisure and recreational activities in the 1980s.

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Introduction

Leisure and Urban History

Leisure can be defined as the activities undertaken by individuals for the purpose of enjoyment in their free time. Leisure is time off from work and implies autonomy and the possibility of choosing how to spend one's own time and how to demonstrate one's own social identity.¹ In parts of Britain and Europe, the idea that the working class was entitled to the same sort of leisure emerged in 1919 as middle class development spread throughout the entire western region.² The academic scholarship written in this period developed a new understanding of leisure for the majority and insisted that meaningful leisure requires security of income and the capacity of self-expression.³

Leisure activities in Africa have been practised differently from those of western communities. There is little work done on early twentieth century leisure activities in Africa and most of the work relating to leisure has been closely tied to the study of urban history, which in the case of South Africa only begins in the late 1970s. Nonetheless, leisure scholars in the late twentieth century have researched some aspect of the history of leisure in Africa, dividing it between colonial and postcolonial phases. In his research, Ngalamulume argues that the social history of leisure in a colonial situation cannot be explained nor understood in isolation from other economic, social, political and cultural forces at work in the society.⁴ For example, Laura Fair's work on football and leisure in urban colonial Zanzibar has given insight to how leisure activity such as sport has crossed barriers of colonialism and created a sense of unity amongst the people of Zanzibar. Peter Alegi's work on South African football has shown how soccer has changed and influenced the African working class in Durban and the greater South Africa.⁵ Paul La Hausse's work titled *The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936* can be identified as a leisure related study since it investigates drinking

¹ Akyeampong, E and Ambler, C, 'Leisure in African History: An Introduction', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35,1 (1988), p. 3.

² Cross, G. *A Social History of Leisure since 1600* (University of Pennsylvania, 1990), p. 164.

³ Cross, G. *A Social History of Leisure since 1600*, pp. 168-169.

⁴ Ngalamule.K.J, 'Leisure in Colonial Saint-Louis (Senegal), 1850-1920', in Zeleza,P.T and Veney,C.R (eds) *Leisure in Urban Africa* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003),p. 71.

⁵ Alegi,P, *Laduma, Soccer, Politics and Society* (University of Natal Press, 2004),p.3.

activity amongst the African working class. There are a number of other works on early twentieth Durban such as Paul Maylam's *Struggle for Space in Twentieth Century Durban*, David Hemson's work on the dock-workers in Durban and Maynard Swanson's work on the rise of Clermont which touch on leisure and community.⁶ Ian Edwards' work on Cato Manor also highlights leisure related themes in Durban in the late 1950s. Edwards shows how the African people residing in the slums of Cato Manor engaged in leisure and recreational activities within the camp and also in the city of Durban.⁷

Botto's masters dissertation produced in 1954 titled *Some Aspect of Leisure Occupation of the African Population in Cape Town* is one of the earliest works that focused on urban history and in particular leisure studies.⁸ After the research done by Botto, a large number of academic works on urban cities in Africa was undertaken, by academics based in North America and Europe. This scholarly work concentrates on structural conditions and transformation of economic, political and cultural life in Africa. Little research investigated the ordinary activities of daily life, which can tell us far more about social content than broader structures.⁹ Zeleza identifies leisure as having the potential to deepen our understanding of the dynamics of African societies, of the complex constructions and contestations over resources, meanings, symbols, spaces and time.¹⁰ In the 1990s, Kathryn Frances Mathers and Robin Richards produced research focusing on leisure in urban South Africa. Kathryn Frances Mathers' research concentrates on the role of museums as a leisure-learning programme. In her thesis titled *Leisure –Learning: Revitalising the Role of Museums*, she addresses how public spaces such as the museums are interpreted by different social groups, taking into account how these groups interpret leisure.¹¹ Mathers

⁶ Paul La Hausse, David Hemson and Maynard Swanson in Paul Maylam and Ian Edwards (eds) *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth- Century Durban*, (University of Natal Press: Pietermaritzburg, 1996).

⁷ Edwards.I, 'Cato Manor, June 1959: Men, Women, Crowds, Violence, Politics and History', in Maylam.P and Edwards.I (eds) *The People City: African Life in Twentieth Century Durban* (University of Natal Press: Pietermaritzburg,1996).

⁸ Botto. R, 'Some Aspect of the Leisure Occupations of the African Population in Cape Town', MA Thesis, University of Cape Town, November 1954.p. 2.

⁹ Zeleza.P.T and Veney. C.R, *Leisure in Urban Africa* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003), p. viii.

¹⁰ Zeleza and Veney, *Leisure in Urban Africa*,p.viii.

¹¹ Mathers. K.F, 'Leisure –Learning: Revitalizing the Role of Museum', MPhil Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993,pp.22-23.

highlights that research amongst township youth has shown the existence of a semi-leisure syndrome, which is common to teenagers in developing countries. Semi-leisure has two aspects, one related to the activity at hand and the other related to the state of mind.¹² For instance, African youth spend most of their leisure doing obligatory work and the least time on something worthwhile, ie. vacation work or personal development. Semi-leisure therefore combines the feelings associated with pure leisure with the obligation associated with the task being undertaken.¹³ Robin Richards' thesis titled *Living on Durban's Fringe: A Study of leisure styles of shack and peri-urban youth*, addresses the living conditions and social interaction of the African youth in Durban.¹⁴ It addressed how disadvantaged communities' dealt with social issues and how the youth construct recreational activities. Richards' work shows that the narrow range of leisure opportunities available to disadvantaged African youth under apartheid continued to shape their leisure interest after apartheid ended.¹⁵

Charles Ambler's work on mass media and leisure in Africa addresses the effect of video in contemporary Africa, which has been perceived to be the vehicle for leisure activity.¹⁶ Ambler's research showed African forms of leisure as different from those of western society. For example, in the late twentieth century, few families in Africa were able to afford video; a large proportion of people became exposed to video in obscure backrooms and video dens.¹⁷ Ambler's study shows that this form of leisure activity later created a huge market and employment in a number of African states, for instance Nigeria and South Africa. Ambler also identifies how African scholars have perceived this new form of leisure. Some scholars saw video viewing (and mass media) as a negative influence in that video could create its own form of culture capable of suppressing already existing cultures. In contrast, postmodernist leisure scholars welcomed the influence of video viewing (and mass media) on the

¹² Mathers, 'Leisure -Learning: Revitalizing the Role of Museum',p.26.

¹³ Mathers, 'Leisure -Learning: Revitalizing the Role of Museum',p.26.

¹⁴ Richards. R, ' Living on Durban's Fringe: A study of leisure styles of shack and peri-urban youth', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 1995,p.4.

¹⁵ Richards, ' Living on Durban's Fringe',p.43.

¹⁶ Ambler. C, ' Mass Media and Leisure in Africa', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35,1 (2002),p. 119.

¹⁷ Ambler, ' Mass Media and Leisure in Africa', p. 119.

basis that it created business opportunities for African filmmakers and also the opportunity to reach and teach African audiences.¹⁸

Most scholarship on mass media in the past focused on the analysis of media products rather than their consumption, the ways that audiences approached various forms of media for educational purposes and especially for relaxation and leisure.¹⁹ This means that the African audiences were neglected or marginalized in research on mass media. An exception is Jacqueline Maingard's research that focuses on film culture and modernity amongst black audiences from 1920s to 1950s. She traces the origins of mass media in South Africa and how Africans were incorporated into the changing modern society of South Africa.²⁰ Maingard's research shows that most of the film productions initiated by South African filmmakers were based on the notion of civilizing African people and incorporating them to modernity, but as time progressed, the issues of race and class became major influences amongst filmmakers. Maingard's work still lacks the voices of the subjects. It fails to present the views of African (and white) audiences, which the original study was all about. In his introduction to African urban leisure, Zeleza also confirms that much scholarly work has analyzed the various arts in terms of their processes of production, stylistic properties and the interpretive traditions that have emerged around them but few investigate the patterns of audience participation and their consumption of leisure.²¹ On the other hand, Frank Meintjies' research on cinema in the township investigates people's responses to cinema and film.²² Meintjies also identifies the voices of aspiring African filmmakers who thought of cinema as the way to challenge government ideologies during the apartheid period.²³ Liz Gunner's research on the history of radio in South Africa also adds valuable insight to the study of leisure. Beside the general history of Radio Bantu, she focuses on the establishment of an African audience and on how radio became part of popular African culture.²⁴ Most

¹⁸ Ambler, 'Mass Media and Leisure in Africa', p. 120.

¹⁹ Ambler, 'Mass Media and Leisure in Africa', p. 120.

²⁰ Maingard, J, *South African National Cinema* (London and New York, 2007), p. 49.

²¹ Zeleza and Veney, *Leisure in Urban Africa*, p. xxxii.

²² Meintjies, F, 'In the Township: Ethnic Cinema' in Bignaut, J and Botha, M (eds) *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks* (Cape Town: Showdata, 1992), p.274.

²³ Meintjies, 'In the Township: Ethnic Cinema', p.274.

²⁴ Gunner, L, 'Wrestling with the Present, Beckoning to the Past: Contemporary Zulu Radio Drama', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26,2 (June 2000), p. 223.

importantly, her study has shown how radio has shaped the contemporary social lives of a large number of African people.

The study of leisure in South Africa is closely related to the study of urban history that began in the 1970s as a response to the political status of South Africa. Research on the effect of apartheid policies on African communities, the responses of African people to the harsh conditions of apartheid and the need to understand how South African cities operated was the starting point of urban study. Christopher Saunders states that 'the development of South African urban history was only in part a response to the growth of the subject abroad, for events in South Africa itself were at least as important as overseas influences on the new work'.²⁵ With political unrest across the whole country, historians and other scholars sought to capture the political dynamics of apartheid and also to understand African responses to apartheid policies. One could argue that some aspects of leisure had been addressed within the study of urban history. Paul Maylam's *20 years of South African Urban Historiography* explains the state of urban studies in South Africa.²⁶ Maylam argues that research done in the twentieth century has been highly interdisciplinary and tended to be afrocentric in focus.²⁷ This means that a large proportion of urban history focuses on themes like racial segregation, labour and influx control and the regulation of urban African life including some aspects of leisure.²⁸ Van Onselen's work in 1982 on the early history of Witwatersrand, which is considered to be groundbreaking by many urban scholars, does identify some aspects of leisure.²⁹ His work deals with the social and economic history of the Rand, that includes how the early African urban working class socialized, how they related to other fellow Africans and how culture fitted with the socio- economic dynamics in the Rand.³⁰ The University of Natal followed this line of research and produced numerous scholarly works on the urban study of

²⁵ Saunders, C. *Writing History: South Africa's urban past and other essays* (Human Sciences Research, Pretoria, 1992), p. 14.

²⁶ Maylam, P. 'Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 years of South Africa's Urban Historiography', *Journal of South African Studies*, 21,1(March 1995).

²⁷ Maylam, 'Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 years of South Africa's Urban Historiography', p. 19.

²⁸ Maylam, P. 'Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 years of South Africa's Urban Historiography', p. 19.

²⁹ Saunders, C. *Writing History*, p. 14.

³⁰ Van Onselen, C. *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*: New Babylon, New Ninevah 2 Vol1., (Johannesburg, 1982).

Durban. In 1983, a Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century held at the University of Natal encouraged new themes of social and economic histories of the urban study of Durban.³¹ For example, Dan Smit's research on the community, class struggle and social change contributed to the study of urban history.³² From this workshop, a large amount of work on urban Durban was written. For example, Paul Maylam, Bill Freund and other influential urban historians provided direction for twenty first century researchers interested in the study of urban history of Durban.³³

Approaches, Discourses and the limitations of Leisure Studies

The conceptualization of leisure has undergone changes during the course of the twentieth century, "from positivist to poststructuralist paradigms, from Marxism and feminism to postcolonialism and globalization, to approaches that emphasized structure or agency, class or culture, national or global trends in the creation and consumption of leisure".³⁴ In other words, there are different ways of thinking about leisure. Leisure is conceived as residual time, as activities, as freedom, or as functional.³⁵ Some scholars neglected the relations between work and leisure, by arguing for the independence of leisure. Others have shown that work is an important concept when researching leisure.³⁶ This means that to research leisure in modern society, leisure must be seen, in part or at least as an obverse of work.³⁷

The structuralist approach to leisure is based on the premise that the conditions of ordinary life are not fixed, and also applies to an individual or culture. Even though people change with changing conditions, they try by all means to work

³¹ The University of Natal Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban focused on housing, employment and social stratification of urban African residing in Durban. The Workshop aimed to answer the economic and social complexities that existed amongst the urban population in Durban.

³² Smit, D. 'The Community, Class and Social Change', (The University of Natal Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban, October 1983), p.5.

³³ Freund, B., *The African City: A History* (Cambridge, 2007). Freund and Padayachee, V. (eds), *Durban Vortex: the South City in Transition* (Pietermaritzburg, 2002). Maylam, P. and Edwards, I. (eds) *The People's City; African Life in Twentieth Century Durban* (Pietermaritzburg and Portsmouth, 1996).

³⁴ Zeleza and Veney, *Leisure in Urban Africa*, p. x.

³⁵ Zeleza and Veney, *Leisure in Urban Africa*, p.xi.

³⁶ Moorhouse, H.F. 'Models of Work, Models of Leisure', in Rojek, C. (eds), *Leisure for Leisure* (MacMillan, 1989), p. 17.

³⁷ Moorhouse, H.F. 'Models of Work, Models of Leisure', p. 17.

out meaning in their lives. This approach tries to address the role of leisure as articulated in and with a multi-dimensional life, which is a result of a process of both personal and social levels that are constantly changing.³⁸ John Kelly argues that leisure is a social construction that is composed of elements of particular culture and historical moments in time.³⁹ Though leisure implies activities that might be perceived as universal, Kelly states that the particular forms of leisure are specific to a culture and subject to change.⁴⁰ Kelly divides leisure into a number of categories. Leisure as a social phenomenon because it is being connected with all the roles of our institutional lives. It may not be derived from one single social factor but it is nonetheless related to all changes in a constellation. For example, if race, class and ethnicity stratify the society, so does leisure. According to Goudie, the structuralist approach to the study of leisure patterns and processes aids the task of highlighting leisure roles in society.⁴¹ This means that the relations between work and leisure are presented as being independent. As a geographer, Goudie views the structuralist approach as helpful to the study of leisure since urban and space development for leisure and other recreational activity is a critical subject that constantly changes and is important to urban development in general.⁴² Goudie's work titled *Towards Geography of Leisure Control, Resistance and Transformation within the South Africa City* addresses the social and spatial controls over African residents. Goudie addresses the need for a sound analytical foundation, which researchers may use to approach the study of leisure.⁴³ Goudie suggests that leisure researchers need to shift the emphasis from only reporting on the shortages of leisure resources in black communities as a result of apartheid planning, to an investigation of the responses of communities to the environments in which they find themselves in.⁴⁴

Poststructuralists argue that the symbolic construction of our place in the social system impacts our leisure as well as our work and primary relations. The idea that leisure as being existential is based on the notion that we are always in the mode

³⁸ Kelly, J. 'Leisure as Life: Outline of a Poststructuralist Reconstructions in Zeleza, P.T & Veney, C.R (eds) *Leisure in Africa*, (Trenton: NJ, Africa World Press, 2003), pp. 41-42.

³⁹ Kelly, 'Leisure as Life: Outline of a Poststructuralist Reconstructions'. 42.

⁴⁰ Kelly, 'Leisure as Life: Outline of a Poststructuralist Reconstructions'. 42.

⁴¹ Goudie, 'Towards Geography of Leisure Control: resistance and transformation within the South African City', MA Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992, p. 52.

⁴² Goudie, 'Towards Geography of Leisure Control', pp 52-53.

⁴³ Goudie, S.C. 'Towards Geography of Leisure Control'. p. 1.

⁴⁴ Goudie, 'Towards Geography of Leisure Control', p. 110.

of becoming, for instance, what we are supposed to be or not what we are supposed to be. It entails that what we do has consequences for what we become.⁴⁵ It views leisure as part of the development and personal investment that every individual seeks to accomplish in their lifetime. Leisure is seen as dialectical in that it should be approached in a variety of ways, for instance, as an action in society (part of daily existence or life), an embedded dimension of dynamic life, a social space for action and a quality of experience.⁴⁶ Leisure is a social phenomenon that includes the social forces that have power to shape actions and interactions. Kelly acknowledges that leisure (like any other social phenomenon) is thoroughly embedded in the social system that has power to sustain its core values even if there is opposition and resistance to change.⁴⁷

The Marxist conceptualization of leisure has identified modes of production as the key structural influence upon individual consciousness and practice.⁴⁸ Leisure is viewed as a vehicle of social control. Leisure and sport are used to replenish the workers' exhausted energies and to expand the consumer market for capital accumulation. The underlying assumption of Marxist analysis is that human beings have universal needs and that leisure is self-creative. It is important to note that most Marxist scholars dismiss the proposition that progressive reform of the system is possible and they maintain capitalism cannot be stripped of its class character, because class exploitation is the foundation of the entire system. Marxist scholars then conclude that the way to produce genuine freedom and social progress is to sweep away the structure of exploitation through concerted working-class action in all arenas of social life.⁴⁹

The feminist approach to leisure mirrors the Marxist position in treating capitalism as a system of exploitation and oppression with concentration on patriarchy rather than class.⁵⁰ Most research has concentrated on men interaction in leisure activities and has neglected research that focuses on women and leisure. The focus

⁴⁵ Kelly, 'Leisure as Life: Outline of a Poststructuralist Reconstructions', p. 43.

⁴⁶ Kelly, 'Leisure as Life: Outline of a Poststructuralist Reconstructions', p.44.

⁴⁷ Kelly, 'Leisure as Life: Outline of a Poststructuralist Reconstructions', pp.44-45.

⁴⁸ Rojek, *Leisure for leisure: Introduction* (MacMillan, 1989), p.5.

⁴⁹ Rojek, *Leisure for leisure*, p.5.

⁵⁰ Shaw, L. 'Feminist Approaches to the Study of Leisure: Incorporating Gender Into the Analysis of Leisure in Africa', in Zeleza, P.T & Veney, C.R (eds) *Leisure in Africa* (Trenton, NJ; Worlds Press, 2003), p.58.

has been on men because men in the past spend more time and have access to a wider range of opportunities than women. This form of study opened up relationships between gender and leisure, even though the study of women and leisure remained marginalized. This approach documents the gendered experiences of both women and men on the degree of freedom, choice and self-determination in everyday life, on the constraints against opportunities of leisure and the complex relationship between work, leisure and family. It encompasses a wide scope of factors, for instance, it examines the gendered nature of economic and political power, occupational and educational opportunities, reproductive choices, social controls, abuse and violence.⁵¹ The central component of the feminist approach is the ability to process application and to find solutions for immediate problems and to promote social change.

The gap in terms of availability of leisure to women seems to be particularly high in Africa. The traditional division of duties in Africa can be held accountable for this backlog. In most African countries, women's duty and enjoyment are assumed to be centered at home by domestic chores and responsibilities. Males tended to define the standard behavior of the family, which eventually marginalized female perspectives of leisure. Leisure has been typically categorized as free time and recreation activity, and based on this assumption of freedom, women have been subtracted from the equation since their activities have been confined by domestic household responsibilities. To add to this, Henderson shows in her study that a large proportion of South African women believe that they have no entitlement to leisure.⁵² It is true that women are more constrained than men when evaluating such issues as family commitment, lack of information, shyness, lack of transportation and physical inability. But it should also be noted that the definitions of leisure used by researchers and the conceptualization of leisure understood by many women may create problems in interpreting women's leisure constraints. For example, voluntarily work such as knitting and gardening might be mistaken for leisure activities. Overall, women's leisure constraints include the lack of entitlement to leisure which is manifested through personal and family responsibilities, and the general perception of what women's leisure should comprise.

⁵¹ Shaw.L, *Feminist Approaches to the Study of Leisure*, pp. 58-60.

⁵² Henderson, *Feminist Perspectives on leisure Constraints*, pp.34-35.

Scholars have also conceptualized leisure by looking at the manner in which the working classes engage in social spheres. Tade Akin Aina's work titled *Working People's Culture in Lagos* focuses on some aspects of ordinary working class people's engagement in leisure. The study shows how the working class expresses itself and takes its leisure through the outlet that has been defined as "popular culture".⁵³ Aina also shows that contestations and interaction between resources and media space, place, and time may cause conflict between classes. Most importantly, she also shows how people play and negotiate as part of the contestation.⁵⁴

South African leisure research in the twentieth century focuses primarily on themes that deal with the demand and supply of recreation resources, constraints on the use of these resources and most of the work has been urban based.⁵⁵ For example, Botto's dissertation, which focuses on some aspects of leisure occupation of the African population in Cape Town, lists the recreation sources available in Langa Township in the 1950s.⁵⁶ The study fails to address the views of the working class, the youth and the elders of Langa. Another example is an insightful study by G.H. Wilson on the demographic issues relevant to the future of sport and recreation in South Africa.⁵⁷ Wilson's study raised the question of *who does what, where, when and why?*⁵⁸ This form of inquiry is useful to the study of leisure, but the actual views and feelings of the participants themselves are neglected. Both these studies are urban based, partly because recreational resources are offered mostly in urban areas and that academic sources and references available have been based on urban studies.

The most apparent problem of South African leisure study is the lack of a holistic study of leisure. Richard Robin states that South African leisure research in the twentieth century has concentrated on what he calls a sub-field of recreation.⁵⁹ In most cases, the study of leisure has been closely linked to sport, which in fact is part

⁵³ Tade Akin Aina, 'Working People Popular Culture in Lagos', in Zeleza, P.T & Veney, C.R (eds) *Leisure in Africa* (Trenton, NJ; Worlds Press, 2003), p.177.

⁵⁴ Tade Akin Aina, 'Working People Popular Culture in Lagos', p.117.

⁵⁵ Richards. R, 'Living on Durban's Fringe: A Study of Leisure styles of shack and peri-urban youth', (University of Natal, 1995), p. 37.

⁵⁶ Botto, 'Some Aspect of the Leisure Occupations of the African Population in Cape Town', p. 2.

⁵⁷ Wilson, G,D,H. *Demographic Issues relevant to the future of Sport and Recreation in South Africa* (Department of National Education, University of Pretoria, June 1992), p. 10.

⁵⁸ Wilson, *Demographic Issues relevant to the future of Sport and Recreation in South Africa*, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Richards. R, 'Living on Durban's Fringe', pp.37-38.

of leisure. This means that leisure is viewed in an approach that intends to answer sport related questions and its relation to the society. It would be a big mistake to make an overall assumption for leisure by evaluating sporting activities alone. Other scholars have also identified a lack of balance in the study of leisure. A holistic approach that would 'theorize and document how Africans have created, contested, occupied and consumed their leisure time and continued to do so and map out the changing popular culture of leisure' has not been achieved yet.⁶⁰

Finally, in many studies, the city is regarded as an external, colonial space unable to nurture and sustain indigenous customs and traditions, which are supposedly preserved and kept in the rural areas.⁶¹ This perception by African scholars has crippled the advancement of leisure studies in Africa. In reality, a large proportion of people in Africa consider the cities or urban setting as their home. In South Africa, a large population is situated in the vicinity or near the big cities. Urban studies of Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban have shown that African people for a long period have considered cities as their homes while maintaining ties with the reserves. This study aims to show how African people inhabited urban spaces and created leisure domains in ways that supported new constructed identities.

There are a number of early studies on urban development with special reference to Durban that provided the framework for this thesis. Leo Kuper's work on racial ecology in Durban, focuses on the racial zoning of the city of Durban in the late 1950s.⁶² This work presents the complexities of residential distribution under the system of compulsory segregation. It also looks at race relations and space contestation between the Indian and White residents in the city. Paul Maylam's work titled *The Black Belt: African Squatters in Durban 1935-1950* provides an account of the urbanization process in the city of Durban.⁶³ Maylam's work also tracks the establishment of various townships on the outskirts of Durban in the second half of the twentieth century.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Zeleza and Veney, *Leisure in Urban Africa*, p.viii.

⁶¹ Zeleza and Veney, *Leisure in Urban Africa*, p. ix.

⁶² Kuper. L, Watts.H, and Davies R. *Durban: A Study of Racial Ecology*, (Jonathan Cape, 1958),p.13.

⁶³ Maylam. P, 'The "Black Belt": African Squatters in Durban 1935-150', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol.17,No.3. Special Issue: South Africa (1983).

⁶⁴ Maylam. P, 'The "Black Belt": African Squatters in Durban 1935-150,p.425.

Research on KwaMashu

A number of academic studies have highlighted KwaMashu as apartheid constructed township characterized by violence and criminal behavior. Maylam, Moller and others researching on urban Africans in Durban have mentioned KwaMashu as a site for the construction of a working class in Durban.⁶⁵ A few scholars have focused on selected aspects of life in greater depth in KwaMashu. These include Maasdorp and Humphreys, Nonhlanhla Khuzwayo, Bantu Sibongile Siwisa, Dulcie Jean Krige, Matthias Mohr and Paulus Zulu.⁶⁶

Maasdorp and Humphreys' work addresses the economic position of the African community in Durban and the large-scale resettlement of Africans in new residential areas (KwaMashu and Umlazi). The work also addresses elements of poverty and rehousing within a wider framework of rural-urban migration and urban growth.⁶⁷ Maasdorp and Humphreys' work is divided into two sections; the conditions in Cato Manor and the resettlement of African population to planned housing. It also addresses the problems of continued rural-urban migration, describes the African townships and examines the changes in incomes and cost of living of Africans residing in the townships.⁶⁸ This work also speculates on the future control of townships by the KwaZulu Government in the late 1970s.⁶⁹ In sum, Maasdorp and Humphreys' work serves as a guide map of the historical documentation on the status of the African working class in Durban townships in the 1960s and 1970s.

Nonhlanhla Khuzwayo's thesis on '*Ukuhlolwa Kwezintombi*' (girls initiation) brings attention to how the Zulu culture has been carried out in KwaMashu from 1960

⁶⁵ Freund.B, *The African City: A History* (Cambridge, 2007). Freund and Padayachee.V (eds), *Durban Vortex: the South City in Transition* (Pietermaritzburg, 2002). Maylam.P and Edwards.I (eds) *The People's City; African Life in Twentieth Century Durban* (Pietermaritzburg and Portsmouth,1996). Moller, V. *Lost generation found: Black Youth at leisure* (Centre for Social and Development Studies, University of Natal, Durban, May 1991).

⁶⁵ Zeleza and Veney, *Leisure in Urban Africa*,p. x.

⁶⁶ Maasdorp,G and Humphreys, A.B. *From Shantytown to Township: An Economic Study of African Poverty and Rehousing in a South Africa City* (Cape Town, 1975).

⁶⁷ Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, p.iii.

⁶⁸ Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*,iv.

⁶⁹ Maasdorp and Humphreys' work was published in 1975, this is the period whereby the takeover process of KwaMashu by the KwaZulu Government was still underway.

to 2000.⁷⁰ Khuzwayo explains how this culture has evolved over time and how the urban community of KwaMashu has valued the importance of the culture. Bantu Sibangile Siwisa's thesis focuses on the struggle encountered by KwaMashu entrepreneurs. She argues that KwaMashu entrepreneurs were influenced by the entrepreneurial culture that emerged in Cato Manor, where a large number of people had run their informal businesses prior to resettlement.⁷¹ Dulcie Krige's research focuses on the establishment and impact of informal settlements in KwaMashu. Krige's work addresses the squatters' infringement of basic amenities provided for the residents in the townships. It also addresses the relationship between the residents of KwaMashu and the informal settlements neighboring the township.⁷² Mathias Mohr's work concentrates on how religion was affected by the political violence that took place in KwaMashu in the 1980s. Mohr's work explores the response of Zulu Zionists to the volatile political climate in KwaMashu.⁷³ Paulus Zulu's work concentrates on conflict amongst the residents of KwaMashu with reference to men residing at Neighborhood Unit 1 and the rest of the KwaMashu residents.⁷⁴

Aims of the Study

The central aim of this thesis is to explore the making of KwaMashu as a place and as a community and to highlight the role of leisure in these processes. Twentieth century leisure studies in South Africa dealing with black communities have mainly emphasized leisure constraints rather than dealing with the actual participants of leisure. Apartheid planning cannot be omitted in the South African leisure studies, but to fully develop and enrich leisure studies, scholars need to look beyond apartheid and focus on the responses of leisure participants in black communities.

This study aims to look both at the political processes responsible for the creation of KwaMashu, the administration of the township and also to explore how

⁷⁰ Khuzwayo, N. 'Trends, Modifications and Motivations of Ukuhlolwa Kwezintombi (virginity testing) among the Zulu in KwaMashu district of KwaZulu Natal between, 1960-2000', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 2000. p.3.

⁷¹ Siwisa, B.S. 'The Dynamics of the Development of African Entrepreneurship in South Africa : KwaMashu, Durban, in perspective, 1923-c1996', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 1997. p.5.

⁷² Krige, D. 'The Prospects for Informal Small Business in KwaMashu', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 1987. p. 6.

⁷³ Mohr, M. *Negotiating the Boundary: The Response of KwaMashu Zionists to a Volatile Climate* (Hamburg: Lit, 1997), p. 2.

⁷⁴ Zulu, P. 'Durban Hostels and Political Violence: Case Studies in KwaMashu and Umlazi'. *Transformation*, Vol.21 (1993), p.3.

inhabitants developed leisure activities within the restrictions of apartheid. The study aims to investigate the contradiction of state relations with respect to African leisure in South Africa.⁷⁵ It will explain how policies promoted as being for the common good, became a way of acting as surveillance and control mechanisms in this township.

In the apartheid context, holding on to African tradition and values was a way of showing self-respect in the presence of oppression and humiliation. But it was also a way of promoting ethnic identities. This study aims to understand how traditional forms of leisure were carried over by the people relocating to the township. It also aims to investigate the importance of leisure as a part of modern, urban practices developing in KwaMashu and other townships in Durban.

Sources, Methodology and Structure

Part of this research is based on oral interviews with residents of KwaMashu. It also utilizes *Ilanga* newspaper leisure activity columns. The study draws on census records compiled by the South African government to provide details of the population of KwaMashu. Parliamentary debates, and records of the Durban Municipality and Durban Housing Survey, located at the Durban Archive Repository, also contributed to this research. Works by Paul La Hausse, Bill Freund, Paul Maylam, Humphreys and Maasdorp provide background and context for KwaMashu history. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and Cassandra Rachel Veney's studies of leisure in urban Africa provided a perspective on the study of leisure in Africa.⁷⁶ The special issue on 'Leisure in African History' of *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35,1 (2002) helped to provide a framework for the study.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The structure of the chapters is designed to illuminate the making of KwaMashu as an urban African township and as a community, while identifying the role of leisure. The first chapter addresses the problem of African housing in the Durban area and the resettlement of Cato Manor residents to KwaMashu. It also discusses the Durban Corporation's housing and infrastructure provision in KwaMashu. The beginning of residents' organizations and the formation of social clubs are also highlighted in this chapter. The second chapter

⁷⁵ Rojek, *Leisure for Leisure: Introduction*, p. 7.

⁷⁶ Zeleza and Veney, *Leisure in Urban Africa*, p.2.

focuses primarily on the provision of recreational amenities in KwaMashu. This chapter shows the Durban Corporation's expenditure on recreation and also addresses how the Corporation planned to control the movement of people through providing recreational amenities. The third chapter is the heart of the thesis. It shows how the social activities conducted in KwaMashu and the city of Durban achieved a degree of independence from state control. It shows how the people carried over old values from Cato Manor and fused them with the values defining a middle class township, forging a new identity. The fourth chapter addresses the apartheid created complexities involved in transferring an urban township from one form of administrative control to another. This chapter attempts to show the benefits and disadvantages (economic and social) for the residents of such a takeover, also addressing the effect on recreation and leisure. This chapter also addresses the 1980s political unrest and the emergence of a strong political African consciousness. It attempts to show the impact of the political clash in KwaMashu on recreational and leisure activities in the 1990s.

Chapter 1: The making of KwaMashu

The aim of this chapter is to show how the rising urban African population and the escalating informal settlements around the city of Durban in the 1950s created pressure on the authorities to establish townships and to clear the “undesirable slums” that posed a threat to the white community of Durban. This chapter discusses the housing policy designed by the Durban Corporation to accommodate the African population residing in Cato Manor in the late 1950s. The main objective of this chapter is to show how different social classes emerged in the making of the community in KwaMashu.

Paul Maylam argues that the problem of housing in Durban can only be explained within the wider context of the political economy of South Africa.⁷⁷ Maylam identifies the key driving factors of the housing problem of Durban from the 1930s, which are the increasing African urbanization and modern industrialization of the twentieth century. Maylam identifies high population density in the reserves, land shortages, soil exhaustion and overstocking as a combination of factors that caused hardship for Africans in the reserves in the early twentieth century, accelerating the urbanization process.⁷⁸ Men and a few women migrated to the city, not knowing if they would find employment but driven by the need to sustain their families.

World War II stimulated the Durban economy. The increase in the local manufacturing of goods and war materials created more work around the docks, and the city of Durban. The labour statistical records show that between 1938 and 1945, the total number of people employed nationally in the South African manufacturing sector rose from 225 310 to 353 377. Of the 353 377 employed in manufacturing, 110 929 accounts for European workers.⁷⁹ More than two thirds of the manufacturing workforce was non-European. In Durban alone, the number of Africans employed by

⁷⁷ Maylam, P ‘ The “Black Belt”: African Squatters in Durban 1935-1950’, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 17, 3, Special Issue: South Africa (1983), p. 416. This insightful research unfolds the phenomenon of the over-populated Cato Manor, it gives an account of how Africans were drawn to the city and due to limited accommodation, the informal settlement became a major problem for Whites residing in Durban.

⁷⁸ Maylam, P ‘ The “Black Belt”: African Squatters in Durban 1935-1950’, p. 416.

⁷⁹ University of Cape Town Government Publication Library. South Africa. Department of Statistics. Census of Manufacturing, (1920-1975).

this industry increased by 162%, from an estimated 12 000 to over 31 400.⁸⁰ As the city expanded, women started to migrate to town. Between 1936 and 1946 the female African population in Durban increased from 14 234 to 28 523.⁸¹

From the 1930s, the Durban City Council began to tackle the problem of urban African housing.⁸² According to Maylam, the 1930 Durban Boundaries Commission recommended housing programs as the solution to the increasing informal settlements around the city. Maylam states that the construction of Lamont Township in 1934 was a response to the working-class resistance and the beer-hall riots that took place during the 1929-1930 period.⁸³ From the onset, this township could barely meet the demand for housing among the legally employed Africans.⁸⁴ In 1939, Chesterville Township and a hostel in Merebank were constructed for Africans. In 1944, the Durban City Council commissioned Mr. Justice Broome to investigate African housing, health, welfare and recreational conditions in Durban's informal settlements. Broome's findings prompted the development of new townships in the 1950s.

In 1952 the Cato Manor Emergency Camp was opened in the shack settlement of the same name. The camp consisted of 4 427 sites, each containing four rooms and a kitchen. Each shack housed an estimated 4-5 families.⁸⁵ Streetlighting, refuse removal, clinics and nursery schools, sport and recreational services were provided in this camp by the Durban City Council. The population of Cato Manor Emergency Camp ranged from 85 000 and 120 000 at its peak period.⁸⁶ The Emergency Camp

⁸⁰ Maylam, P, *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth Century Durban*, (University of Natal Press Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996), p.16.

⁸¹ Maylam, P, *The People's City*, p.417.

⁸² Maylam, P, *The People's City*, p. 420. The Report of the 1930 Durban Boundaries Commission argued that for the removal of Durban informal settlement, the City Council housing programme for the urban African must be established.

⁸³ Maylam, P, 'Twentieth Century Durban: Thoughts on its Regional Specificity, and some Reflections on a Recent Workshop', (The Witwatersrand History Workshop, February 1984), p.4.

⁸⁴ Paul Maylam brings into attention that the Lamont township was not constructed according to the Durban's housing policy of the 1930s, this policy focused primarily on the provision of housing for single-quarter migrant workers.

⁸⁵ Maasdorp, G and Humphreys, A.B. *From Shantytown to Township: An Economic Study of African Poverty and Rehousing in a South African City*, (Cape Town, 1975), p. 15 . The work by Maasdorp and Humphreys gives a full account of Cato Manor and the Emergency Camp. This work also provides statistical records of the residents residing in Cato Manor and also provides a broader economic perspective of the standard of living in Cato Manor and also the government provision in terms of basic amenities and other important service of the community.

⁸⁶ Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, p.15.

proved to be inadequate and unable to cope with the rapidly growing population of Cato Manor.⁸⁷ Extensive housing provision became necessary and urgent. The Lamont Extension Economic Housing Scheme commenced in 1956 and was completed in 1958/9 providing 640 more houses.⁸⁸

The City Council made plans to develop two prestige African townships- KwaMashu and Umlazi. P.H. Thomas, general secretary of the Natal Chamber of Industries⁸⁹, gave a glowing account of the development of KwaMashu to the chamber in September 1960:

“In 1955 the Durban City Council, from a loan ... advanced by the central government, acquired 2,620 acres of land situated on the main railway line to Zululand approximately nine miles north of Durban, on which to establish a housing township for African urban dwellers. With money drawn from the Native Service Levy Fund this land has been leveled; main roads and streets have been constructed; water has been laid on; water-borne sewerage has been provided and electricity for streetlighting and for consumption in the homes has also been introduced into the area. Trees have been planted to give the township a more pleasing appearance. The area itself has been divided into nine separate neighborhood or suburban units and also have been surveyed, divided and fenced into housing some sites of 2,800 or 2,450 square feet and with some sites of 4,500 square feet to cater for the upper social strata of African people. It is intended that a separate family unit be allocated to provide people with privacy and inculcate in them those family virtues generally associated with middle -class working people.”⁹⁰

The envisaged housing scheme at KwaMashu was to be the biggest scheme that the City Council of Durban had undertaken for Africans. Liaison between the different

⁸⁷ Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, p.17.

⁸⁸ Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, p. 17. Maasdorp and Humphreys list figures of houses of and occupants in Durban' townships. From these figures, Chesterville Township remains unchanged in terms of additional extension.

⁸⁹ The Durban Old House Museum. The Natal Chamber of Commerce 1960 was a body that represented most industrial and commercial business undertakings in Durban. This body had a great deal of influence during the construction of the KwaMashu and Umlazi, since a large number of their employees were to be housed in these townships.

⁹⁰ The Durban Old House Museum. The Natal Chamber of Industries. Housing for Urban African Population (30 September, 1960), pp. 8-9.

departments was the key for the success of the scheme. The transport, treasury, and engineering departments had to work hand in hand, at the same time reporting their progress to the City Council. The City Engineer planned to build 16 houses per day, and the tender to build the first 1000 houses was awarded to Stuart Limited of Germiston.⁹¹ The City Council debated whether to construct semi-detached or detached houses. Semi-detached houses would account for 1,447 sites. Residents would share basic amenities but Africans objected to the lack of privacy between families. If detached houses were constructed, the total number of sites would be reduced from 1,447 to approximately 1,290; resulting in a loss of 157 sites. The Native Administration Department stated that while Africans favoured detached dwellings in preference to the semi-detached dwellings, it would be necessary to keep rentals low by constructing a certain number of semi-detached dwellings.⁹²

The Bantu Housing Board insisted that schools, water and sanitary amenities were to be provided before people moved to the township, while electricity was to be introduced at a later stage.⁹³ The Council stated that the Sewage Disposal Works (SDW) to serve the scheme would not be ready until February 1958 and it would not be feasible to move families into KwaMashu until waterborne sewerage was available.⁹⁴ Councilor Panovka urged the City Council to find ways of bringing cheap housing within the reach of the 80% of the families making up the middle and lower income groups, even if it meant subsidy would need to be requested from the Borough Fund.⁹⁵ The Borough Fund was derived from the white and Indian property taxes and user charges.

Finally, the national government agreed that 12, 500 houses would be built for the provision of families of 6.4 people. In addition to the family accommodation, a

⁹¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Durban City Council Committee Meeting, KwaMashu Housing, 26 September 1957, p. 108.

⁹² The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Special Committee for Native Housing, KwaMashu Housing (23 September 1957), p.1.

⁹³ The first two Lower Primary Schools consisting of 8 classrooms were erected in Neighborhood Unit 6 (Section F) each at an estimated cost of £9,600. The City Council also requested the aid of Round Table and Rotary Club of Durban to provide funds for the erection of the temporary buildings to be used as school, while the construction was still underway. The plans to erect shops to accommodate the first group of resident were approved at a cost not to exceed £5,000.

⁹⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of Special Committee for Native Housing*, Vol 1, September 1957, p.1.

⁹⁵ The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of Special Committee for Native Housing*, Vol 1, September 1958, p.1.

hostel would be built to house 30,000 single Africans. In the hostel, four Africans would be allocated per flat consisting of a combined dining room, kitchen, and one bedroom with four bunks and these men would have to pay a monthly rental of £1.⁹⁶ In totality, accommodation for 80,000 people was planned at KwaMashu. This project was initiated by the South African Development Trust and was to be administered by the Durban City Council. The township was the first modern construction in the post war period, which means that the building standards had not yet been properly determined.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, the building structures later defined the properties of a middle class township.

The family housing scheme consisted of different types of housing. Type A housing consisted of a 4,500 sq feet site on which Africans might build a single storey bungalow according to their own design but to the standards approved by the municipality. This type of housing accommodated better-off Africans, for example, a family in which both partners had white-collar jobs, a successful career or one was a successful businessman. Type B housing made up of 2, 800 sq. feet site on which the municipality builds a four –room bungalow consisting of dining room, kitchen and two bedrooms with outside water-borne closet and bathroom. This was the most common and preferred type of housing. Type C made up of 2, 450 sq. feet on which the municipality built a four-roomed detached- house with outside waterborne closet and bathroom which the occupant could choose to rent or purchase. Because different people were to be removed from Cato Manor, poor individuals who were not in a position to pay high rent were provided another form of housing. Type D, which consisted of 2,800 sq. feet of land, were two-roomed houses consisting of one bedroom and one combined livingroom/ kitchen. This type of accommodation was provided to bridge the gap between different classes in order to provide housing for low income earners until such time as the income of the African householders rises to a level whereby they could afford much more spacious houses. If not, the owners of two room houses could erect additional rooms as the level of income increased. Type E housing was a purely temporary device to meet the position of extremely poor and homeless Africans. Type E houses consisted of two separate single-room log- cabins,

⁹⁶ The Durban Archive Repository. The Natal Chamber of Industries. *Housing for the Urban African Population* (30 September, 1960),p. 9.

⁹⁷ The Durban Archive Repository. *KwaZulu Government Services: KwaMashu Maintenance* (16 May 1977),p. 1.

the waterborne closet and outside shower-bathroom erected on the same site. Householders could rent the log cabin and share it with their neighbors in the adjoining cabin. This type of accommodation took into account that the municipality was dealing with the movement of many poor African people from the informal settlements and other parts of Durban.⁹⁸

Amongst those who settled in KwaMashu were prominent businessmen, teachers, nurses and policemen. Most of the men worked while women looked after the children. Affluent businessmen and couples holding professional careers, for example doctors, were able to afford Type A housing. Civil servants, for example, teachers, police and some industrial workers were able to afford Type B and C housing. Type D housing was unpopular and only low-income earners opted for this type. The classification of houses offered residents some space to demonstrate other forms of identity. For residents earning higher wages and salaries, KwaMashu offered the choice of new social structures, which did not exist at the Emergency Camp. The social structures consisted of different hierarchal levels, which included the civil servants, artisans, housewives and unemployed men who were at the bottom of the social hierarchy even if they earned well through some form of business operation, for example, operating an illegal shebeen.

On the 15th of February 1958, the first 133 houses, which had been constructed by A. Stuart Limited of Germiston, were ready for occupation.⁹⁹ Before people could occupy the houses, an amount not exceeding £1, 000 (R2, 000) was issued by the City Council to the National Building Research Institute and the South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) to test performance, durability and resistance to rain penetration test on selected houses in the KwaMashu Native Housing Scheme.¹⁰⁰ By the end of June 1958, 260 families were voluntarily accommodated in KwaMashu. As the number of occupants increased, the need for schools and nursery schools for the children became pressing. The City Engineer stated that the construction of nursery facilities would commence in January 1959 and would be completed by the

⁹⁸ The Durban Old House Museum. The Natal Chamber of Industries. *Housing for Urban African Population* (30 September, 1960), pp. 10-11.

⁹⁹ The Durban Archive Repository. City Council Committee Meeting, KwaMashu Housing, 26 September 1957. P. 139.

¹⁰⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. City Council Committee Meeting. KwaMashu Housing, 26 September 1957 p. 166.

end of June. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development also approved expenditure of £4,600 (R9, 200) for the erection of a beer hall at Neighborhood Unit 1 (The men's hostel).¹⁰¹ Beer (ie. grain beer/ African beer) drinking was a vital source of revenue for the administration of KwaMashu. The profits generated from the sale of African beer were utilized for the provision of housing and other facilities for Africans. Beerhall revenue made up most of the Bantu Revenue Account responsible for township administration.¹⁰²

As the availability of family houses in KwaMashu increased, in February 1959, the Native Administration Department embarked on an intensive programme for the removal of families from the many shack areas within the city boundaries. While the Native Administration Department engaged in a process of screening and selecting families who qualified for housing in relation to their economic and marital status, the Department realized it would have to accommodate a large number of people who were not eligible to reside in the Urban Area but already residing in shacks. These included unmarried couples with children, widows with children, and unmarried and unattached females with children as well as deserted wives with children. The following survey indicates shacks occupied by women with the circumstances mentioned above. Table 1 indicates the figures of the cases in different settlements around the city of Durban. The City Council planned to vacate the Cato Manor Emergency Camp first, followed by families residing nearby Goodhope and Chateau Estate and other informal settlements around the city of Durban.

¹⁰¹ The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of the Special Committee for Native Housing*, Vol.1 9 (1955-1960), 17 April 1959, p. 4.

¹⁰² Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, pp. 84-85.

Table 1: Clearing of shacks in Cato Manor in 1958

Shack Area	No. of Shacks	No. of Families	No. of Families Married	No. of Families Not Married	No. of Children	Total No. of Persons
Haviland Bellair & Thusini	248	855	252	603	1373	3083
Newton	73	293	186	107	618	1204
Nkawini	172	471	282	189	952	1894
Tintown	108	232	129	103	420	884
Northbank Rd Tibela & Madlebe Mpom	192	669	452	217	1372	2710
Mgangani	119	396	191	205	764	1556
Ridgeview Makalandoda	331	811	414	397	1709	3331
Banki	95	238	123	115	442	918
Mhlangeni	104	374	241	133	844	1592
Wiggins Road Ntabashishi	65	160	72	88	366	686
Chateau Estate Good Hope & Matatiele	421	922	526	396	2131	3975
Bluff Area	66	135	90	45	292	562
Kenville AvocSpringfield	135	338	187	151	689	1365
Mnyasana	194	669	365	304	1234	
E. Camp	4419	10362	5061	5301	199999	40723
Total	6742	16925	8571	8354	33205	67055

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. Native Administration Committee Meeting. *Clearing of Cato Manor Shacks, 2 February 1959, p.3.*

In February 1959, the Native Administration embarked on a process of screening and selecting families who qualified for housing in relation to their economic and marital status. In August 1959, the City Council decided to assign people to the new township according to the location of their workplace. Africans who worked in Durban North and central Durban were to be housed in KwaMashu.¹⁰³ The African people who worked at the Point and South of Durban were to be housed in Umlazi a new township that was still being planned by the City Council. The City Council grappled with the problem that a large number of those in need of housing could not afford the rentals. The council resolved that all families who were legally entitled to live in an urban area would be housed regardless of their economic

¹⁰³ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Special Joint meeting of Bantu Administration Committee and Special Committee for Native Housing (6 August 1959), p.1.

circumstances.¹⁰⁴ In December 1959, Mr. O. Gorven the City Treasurer stated that the Bantu Administration department within the City Council had already encountered difficulties in finding sufficient African families able to afford housing without some form of assistance. He then suggested that whilst every effort would be made to fill the houses in KwaMashu Township, it might be necessary for Africans earning low incomes to be accommodated and to be granted some form of rent remission.¹⁰⁵ Initially the City Council proposed £10 deposits, but later reduced the amount to £2 for the sake of low-income earners. The National Housing Office advised Mr. Gorven of the proposed reduction in deposits, as approved by the Bantu Housing Board.¹⁰⁶

Type A, B, C were provided on the assumption that KwaMashu would only cater for the “middle class” or higher income-earners, for example, workers earning approximately £15 per month or more.¹⁰⁷ Deposit was required. Site rentals were calculated according to the size and the type of housing. Every household paid the same amount of £2.00 for the school levy and the water charge of £3.6. Mr. Zwane arrived in KwaMashu during the early 1960s. He recalls that the deposit for a four room house (Type B) was R30 (£15) when he purchased the government built house.¹⁰⁸

“Sasiqhashe sakuthenga, sasikhokhela isiza, amanzi kanye nesikole” (We had hire-purchase agreements, we paid for the rental site, water and school levy). Most residents were not in favour of this form of arrangement since it granted all the power and control back to Durban Corporation. The following table shows the rental for different types of houses built in KwaMashu.

¹⁰⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Local Committee Re Umlazi Bantu Township (2 December 1959), p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Special Committee for Native Housing, Vol 1 (15 June 1955-28 October 1960), p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Special Committee for Native Housing, Vol 1 (15 June 1955-28 October 1960), p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ The Durban Old House Museum. The Natal Chamber of Industries. *Housing for the Urban African Population* (30 September, 1960), pp. 9-10. £15 economic wage in Durban in late 1950s.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Mr Zwane, 18 April 2009.

Table 2: Total monthly rentals in KwaMashu (occupants purchasing the houses)

	Site Rental £ (p.m)	School Levy £ (p.m)	Water (2,000 gallons) £ (p.m)	Interest charge over 30 years £ (p.m)	Total £ (p.m)
Type A	2. 7. 3	2. 0	3. 6	1. 7. 0	3. 19. 9
Type B	1. 10. 3	2. 0	3. 6	1. 6. 1	3. 1. 10
Type C	1. 6. 9	2. 0	3. 6	1. 5. 1	2. 17. 4
Type D	1. 10. 3	2. 0	3. 6	.17.7	2. 13. 5
Type E	-. 15. 0	2. 0	3. 6	.12. 6	1. 13. 0

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. Natal Chamber of Industries. Report on the Housing for the Urban African Housing, September 1960, pp.10-11.

The Residents move in

The first group of people who occupied houses in KwaMashu did so voluntarily. Not every one was eager to move to KwaMashu. Most of Cato Manor's residents opposed the move to KwaMashu because the township was located far from the city centre. Besides the issue of transport, well-established traders stood to lose business if they were moved to KwaMashu. At KwaMashu close supervision of traders would be enforced. Illegal petty traders and shebeen queens also stood to lose. The uncertainty of not knowing if the same type of business would be viable in the new location was too much to risk. Image 1 shows a group of women and children protesting against the move to KwaMashu at KwaMuhle Offices in Durban. Most of Africans considered Cato Manor as home and viewed the move as inconvenient and insensitive.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Izikhalo kwaMuhle, 27 January 1960,p.1.

Image 1: Women and Children protesting against the move to KwaMashu.



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, Izikhalo kwaMuhle, 27 January 1960, p.1.

While people were resisting being removed from Cato Manor, the Durban Corporation organized a liquor raid. This operation caused further unrest in Cato Manor and resulted in the death of nine policemen. According to the *Ilanga* journalist reporting on the 30th of January 1960, five African and four European policemen were killed by a mob of 800 angry residents of Cato Manor who refused to be removed to the new township. The following day, the Durban police searched for the perpetrators. By the end of the day, an estimated 500 people were taken to the police station for interrogation. A substantial number of weapons were confiscated. The Minister of Safety and Security Mr. F.C. Erasmus, confirmed that an inquiry concerning the root of the problem was underway. An estimated 178 policemen were sent to in Cato Manor for peace keeping.¹¹⁰

On the 9th of February 1960, the Durban Municipality destroyed shacks at Zinkawini in Cato Manor as people were reallocated to KwaMashu. More than 20 trucks from the municipality and also privately owned hired trucks helped people move their belongings to KwaMashu. This process was accompanied by a large police force carrying arms. Tractors and other vehicles were to break down the shacks and move people and their belongings. Because of rainy conditions, the removal process

¹¹⁰ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Amaphoyisa Aphume Inqina, 30 January 1960,p.1.

was hard and took time. A few Cato Manor residents were happy to move to KwaMashu because of the better infrastructure and services, while others were concerned about the rates and rent that they would have to pay when they resettled at KwaMashu. On the 9th of February 1960, a group of people from Cato Manor Camp voluntarily asked to be transported to KwaMashu. *Ilanga laseNatal* reported that six families transported by the first truck that arrived in KwaMashu. The families were transported to Neighborhood 7 (Section G), where two houses G171 and G173 were allocated to house three families. The following table lists the family names allocated to the first two houses after the reallocation had been interrupted for few months.

Table 3:Residents House Allocation, 9 February 1960

House	Room A	Room B	Room C
G 171	Mr. Isaac Ziqubu (married with 6 children)	Annah Makhaye (widow with a child)	Saliza Nzuzza (widow with 3 daughters and 2 grandsons)
G 173	Miss Cynthia Shezi (single with a child)	Mr Muzimubi Maphumulo (witchdoctor with 7 children)	Bambumuzi Mdletshe (bachelor)

Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 13 February 1960, p.2.

Not all the houses were ready so residents in transit were moved to KwaTiki, where they paid 3d (a ticky) per day per person (residents over the age of 15) until the completion of the houses.¹¹¹ The following image, taken by an *Ilanga* reporter on the 13th of February 1960, shows a resident standing in front of a windowless log cabin room. The residents called this temporary provision “Emaplangweni”, a house made of logs.

¹¹¹ KwaTiki was a temporary site provided by the Corporation. The name is derived from the amount 3d (uTiki in IsiZulu) paid per day by residents in transit.

Image 2:KwaMashu Log cabin



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 12 February 1960, p.4.

Once again, residents resisted moving. The Cato Manor Welfare Development Board made up of African leaders advised the City Council that Cato Manor residents were not opposing the move from the Emergency Camp to KwaMashu, but that the manner in which the removals were handled was unsatisfactory, residents felt that they were forced to vacate the camp.¹¹² In November 1960, after several notices to residents, the elimination of shacks in the Emergency Camp began.¹¹³ The following year, the attitude amongst residents had changed, 400- 500 families per month moved to KwaMashu.¹¹⁴ Image 3 below shows a large number of people packing their belongings onto Corporations' hired trucks. Women with infants on their back while carrying household items, gathered their belongings while hired loaders neatly packed trucks to their full capacity.

¹¹² The Durban Archive Repository. Cato Manor Welfare Development Board Committee Meeting, (21 November 1960), p.5.

¹¹³. Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, p.34.

¹¹⁴ Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, p.34.

Image 3: Removals from Cato Manor to KwaMashu



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 13 February 1960, p. 8.

On the 31st of December 1960, there had been approximately 400 four-roomed houses and over 1,000 log cabins vacant. In January 1961, however, over 1,000 families were removed from the Cato Manor Emergency Camp and a further 800 families were scheduled to move in February of the same year.¹¹⁵ The authorities registering the movement of families noticed that many residents who did not favour hostel accommodation requested houses in KwaMashu. This demand for family accommodation in KwaMashu was met by construction of log cabin (image 2) accommodation, even though the residents disliked these structures. In May 1962, the first houses in the new township of Umlazi became available for residents of Cato Manor and KwaMashu residents employed in the southern region of the city. 165 families from Cato Manor and 96 from KwaMashu became the first residents to occupy Umlazi. The following table shows the population reallocated to alternative accommodation by the 30th June 1963.

¹¹⁵ The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of Special Committee for Native Housing*, 3 February 1961, p.5.

Table 4: African population removed by 30 June 1963

Designation	Number of families
Families direct to Family Accommodation at KwaMashu	5188
Families to Transit Accommodation at KwaMashu	4088
Single males to KwaMashu Hostel	1735
Families to Umlazi	1673
Families from KwaMashu to Umlazi	247

Source: Durban Archive Repository. Bantu Advisory Board, June 1963,p.2

In a period of five years (1958-1963), the municipality moved 5188 families from Cato Manor to KwaMashu. In addition, 4088 families were in transit while more houses became available. Nearly 2000 families were moved to Umlazi. Image 4 below shows a large group of African men and women waiting to register their marriages at the Durban Bantu Affairs Office.¹¹⁶ Africans requiring housing in KwaMashu were much more eligible if they possessed a marriage certificate and also having the right to reside in urban area of Durban. Meanwhile residents at KwaMashu could acquire house title deed after Durban Corporation transferred the township to the South African government. Mr C.C. Elston announced that the title deeds stipulated the holder has purchased both the land and building, and allowed to extend and add alterations to houses.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Ilanga laseNatal, 17 April 1965, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ Ilanga laseNatal, 17 April 1965, p. 3.

Image 4: Marriage Applications



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 17 April 1965, p. 3

KwaMashu Trading Facilities

According to Mr. Zwane;

“ In the early years, few women worked in Durban. The majority of young women were not working. African women employed as nurses lived in nursing homes and the women who worked as domestic workers lived in cottages attached to their workplace and women without jobs remained behind and looked after children and others brewed and sold traditional beer”.¹¹⁸

Mr. Zwane’s observation shows that a small percentage of women of KwaMashu worked in Durban. Most women started establishing themselves in the township. While men went to work, women discovered ways of contributing to the sustainability of their families while confined in the township. Informal trading was prohibited in KwaMashu until proper provision for hawkers was provided. The City Council recommended that hawking in KwaMashu should be permitted on a controlled basis, and a proper channel of allocating trading sites should be instituted. In response to the problem, two market stalls in Neighborhood Unit No.5, 6 and 7 of

¹¹⁸ Interview with Mr Zwane, 18 April 2009.

KwaMashu at a cost not exceeding R500 (£250) per block was erected. The monthly rental was fixed at R2.60 (£1.6.0) per stall.¹¹⁹

A large number of women (with the exception of housewives) in KwaMashu were not employed. Women who had previously depended on informal trade in Cato Manor were unable to operate in KwaMashu because of police supervision. Maasdorp and Humphreys state that there were a number of 'socially acceptable' ways in which households were able to supplement their incomes in KwaMashu, for example, knitting, dressmaking, cake-baking and peddling of meat, vegetables and other goods.¹²⁰ The absence of convenient shops for construction workers and new residents in KwaMashu enabled women to supplement household income by selling groceries, beer and cooked food for construction workers and the neighbors.¹²¹ Most of these operations were popular in Cato Manor, but close supervision in KwaMashu by Corporations' police discouraged this form of business. The City Council envisaged a township without informal and illegal trading, hence the provision of trading facilities.

The residents of KwaMashu submitted complaints regarding the inadequacy of shopping facilities and the distance walked to the nearest shops. The City Engineer admitted that the shortage of shopping facilities was a temporary setback and facilities would be available as the housing scheme progressed. The traders, who had been conducting business in Cato Manor Emergency Camp before the removals, were promised preference when trading sites at the KwaMashu Housing Scheme became available. The City Engineer presented plans for the trading facilities to be constructed at Neighborhood Number 3 (Section C). The table below lists the proposed fixed rental on business premises managed by the Bantu Trading Department.

¹¹⁹ The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of Special Committee for Bantu Housing*, Vol.2, (April 1961),p.1.

¹²⁰ Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, p. 47.

¹²¹ Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown to Township*, p. 47.

Table 5: Monthly Rate of KwaMashu Trading Facilities, 1960

Shop	Basic Monthly Rent	Monthly Site Rental	Total Monthly Rental
Doctor's Consultation Room	£9.15.0.	£1.10.0.	£11.5.0.
Butchery	£12.15.0.	£1.10.0.	£14.5.0.
General Dealer	£17.10.0.	£3.0.0.	£20.10.0.

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of the Special Committee for Native Housing*, Vol.1 9 (1955-1960) 15 February 1960,p.1.

Table 5 lists the monthly rental of the trading facilities offered at KwaMashu Neighborhood 3. Rental was calculated on the basis of the size of the operational site and revenue generated from the service rendered. For instance, the monthly rental paid by the general dealer entrepreneur would be higher than other business undertakings. Other trading facilities included dry cleaning (monthly rental amounting to £5.4.0.), a barber (monthly rental amounting to £5.5.0.) and a cobbler (monthly rental amounting to £5.4.0).¹²² The table below lists three general dealers sites at a rental of £3 per month approved by the Director of Bantu Administration Mr. Bourquin for the following applicants.

Table 6: General Dealer site and rental rates

Site No.	Name	Cash Deposit
B.1050	J. Mbizane	£3,750
D. 914	G. Mnguni	£3,300
F. 4	S. Sokho	£2,300

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of Special Committee for Native Housing*, 30 August 1960,p.3.

On the 2nd of January 1965, *Ilanga Newspaper* reported that a trend had been developing amongst shop owners to overcharge customers by separating certain items into singular units.¹²³ These goods were produced in doubles in order for lower price purchases, for example, soap and mealie meal. Certain residents of KwaMashu decided to write letters to the industrial firms that produced these products in Durban townships, in order for them to rectify this trend. There was no response from the

¹²² The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of the Special Committee for Native Housing*, Vol.1 9 (1955-1960) 15 February 1960,p.2.

¹²³ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January 1965, p. 2.

industrial firms, so the trend continued.¹²⁴ African shop owners were also in conflict with the Indian traders from Inanda.¹²⁵ Conflict arose because of the limited number of convenience shops, opening space for Indian traders to compete with stores located nearby. Indian hawkers offered convenient goods at lower prices and made huge profits. Mr. S.Z. Chonco, Chair of the Natal and Zululand Chamber of Commerce (Inyanda)¹²⁶, stated it had taken the chamber and the City Council two years to solve the distance problem between shops in the township.¹²⁷ Necessary steps were to be taken by the chamber to discourage Indian traders, while African traders were encouraged to unite and purchase stock in bulk, in order to qualify for discount, which in turn lowers the selling price.¹²⁸ Responding to the accusation of ripping off residents, Mr. Joe Mpanza of the KwaMashu Licensed Trade Association criticized the print media for running negative statements concerning KwaMashu shop owners. Mr. Mpanza rejected the rumors that African businessmen were partners with Indian traders. He expressed his disappointment with the residents of KwaMashu for sending letters to industrial firms instead of addressing their concerns to their respective resident committee representatives.¹²⁹ Siwisa argues that the class of African entrepreneurs who moved from Cato Manor to KwaMashu exhibited a sense of African vibrancy and populism in their entrepreneurial dealings which was indicated on the names of amalgamated business ventures, for example, *Zakheni MaAfrika*, *Phaphamani MaAfrika Ltd (Africans awake)* and *Thandanani MaAfrika (Africans, love one another)*.¹³⁰

Transport Facilities

In December 1959, the City Council agreed that high priority should be given to the construction of the railway line to KwaMashu.¹³¹ Bus transportation was provided for the residents of KwaMashu while rail construction was underway. Public Utility

¹²⁴ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January 1965, p. 2.

¹²⁵ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January 1965, p.2.

¹²⁶ Inyanda, a name that was given to the amalgamated African businessmen residing in Durban Townships.

¹²⁷ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January 1965, p. 3.

¹²⁸ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January 1965, p. 3.

¹²⁹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 23 January 1965, p. 6.

¹³⁰ Siwisa, S.B. 'The Dynamics of the development of African entrepreneurship in South Africa: KwaMashu, Durban, in perspective, 1923-c1996' MA thesis, University of Natal, 1997,p.51.

¹³¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Local Committee Re Umlazi Bantu Township, 2 December 1959.

Transport Corporation (PUTCO) was introduced to assist KwaMashu residents working in Durban and more buses were added to the fleet as more people moved to KwaMashu. The first residents of KwaMashu encountered major transport problems. In May 1960, *Ilanga laseNatal* reported complaints by KwaMashu residents.¹³² Residents complained of long queues while waiting for buses in the morning and in the evenings, high bus fares cost when compared to low wages paid by employers, and few buses. The reporter stated that the managing director of PUTCO, Mr. T.H. Firth, advised the Durban City Council that the development of the township depended on an adequate bus service to and from the city.¹³³

In 1961, the bus terminal in Centenary Road catered for about 3,000 passengers per hour. The number of passengers was expected to escalate from 6,000 – 7, 000 during peak hours. The passenger fare by bus amounted to 8d per trip from the township to Durban and 9d per trip for passengers who proceeded from Durban to Point area. The bus fares were subsidized at the rate of 4d and 5d per trip respectively by the Native Transport Service Fund, which was made up of a levy charge imposed on industrial and commercial employers.¹³⁴ Concerns by KwaMashu residents about the lack of buses were submitted to the City Council. Residents requested additional buses. Passengers also demanded a decrease in bus fares. In response the City Council advised the residents that the bus service was already subsidized. Residents requested a sliding scale of charges for passengers exiting along the route. The City Council rejected the request, stating that the bus service was rendered purely for African workforce working in the city and not the passengers exiting the bus along the route to the city centre. Mr. Zwane, resident of KwaMashu (Section B) explained that in the early 1960's most PUTCO patrons were men who worked in Durban. High rentals (£1) coupled with transport (6d) made life more challenging for the working class.¹³⁵ Mr. J.L. Granger, council member, stated that when wages were increased in 1959 by 7s.6d, it was agreed that further increase would take place after the Wage Board had assessed living conditions of African workers in Durban townships. Some industrial companies and retail shops in Durban also increased the wages for African workers.

¹³² *Ilanga laseNatal*, May 1960, p.8.

¹³³ *Ilanga laseNatal*, May 1960, p.8.

¹³⁴ The Natal Chamber of Industries. *Housing for the Urban African Population* (30 September, 1960), p.12.

¹³⁵ The Durban Archive Repository. The Natal Chamber of Industries. *Housing for the Urban African Population*, p.3.

The Stuttafords branch in Durban increased African wages to £3,10s, which was above the government minimum wage of £2,2s.6d per week.¹³⁶ Mr. Kay, manager of Stuttafords store announced that shop stewards and security managers and all workers who were familiar with the work were already earning between £3,15s to £5 per week. African workers were entitled medical benefit and doctor's consultation privileges. The company assisted with a deposit for workers requesting housing accommodation in KwaMashu. Mr. Kay recognized that further wage increase for the African working class was necessary because the needs increased gradually. It was the company's objective that all workers should reside in well-built houses and maintain a good standard of living. Progress of the company would result in increased wages.

In April 1961, the Transport Department estimated that the workers' monthly rail ticket would amount to £1.2.0 (£1.5.0. for use over the weekends).¹³⁷ In 1962, the rail spur was complete and the train service began operating in KwaMashu. From the onset, passengers were not satisfied with the train service, especially during peak hours. The Chairman of the KwaMashu Resident's Committee Mr. Willson suggested that a special Sub- Committee be formed to investigate the complaints. Mr. Mkhwanazi was assigned to investigate the matter. He reported that a new train service was introduced from town to Duff's Road Station¹³⁸, at 6:00 p.m for workers signing off late at work. Mr. Mkhwanazi suggested that an additional train at 6:15 a.m (in between the 6:00 a.m and 6:30 am train) was necessary due to the morning congestion accumulated at the two train stations in KwaMashu.

There were a number of problems reported during the opening of the railway route to KwaMashu. In January 1965, *Ilanga laseNatal* reported concerns by passengers boarding the train departing Dalton Station at 5:50 p.m for final destination at KwaMashu.¹³⁹ Passengers alleged that the train traveled at a high speed, ranging from 50- 70 kilometers per hour.¹⁴⁰ The passengers named this train the "Twist" because it traveled at a very high speed and it was unbalanced. It was usual

¹³⁶ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Abantu bakwa Stuttafords bakhushulelwe amahola, 25 June 1960,p. 3.

¹³⁷ Minutes of Special Committee for Bantu Housing, Vol.2, April 1961.

¹³⁸ Duffs Road Station after Thembelihle Station, this is an inter-changing station for workers traveling either to city of Durban or herding to Mount Edgecombe Industrial sites.

¹³⁹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January, p.1.

¹⁴⁰ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January, p.1.

for train passengers to socialize on their way to and from work, but on this train there was absolute silence as passengers were in awe of its speed.¹⁴¹

Electricity

In 1962, the residents of KwaMashu requested the Urban Resident Council to investigate electricity provision and installation. The following table shows the three different types of electricity offered by the municipality.

Table 7: Electricity monthly payments, 1962

Type	with 15 amp plug-in stove point but without stove	with 15 amp plug-in stove point and with stove	with stove point suitable for larger stove (stove not included)
A	.73c per month	.84c per month	.84c per month
B	.96c per month	R1.07c per month	R1.07c per month
C	-	-	R1.63c per month

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. KwaMashu Residents Committee meetings, February 1962, p.3

The figures in Table 7 indicate the three different types electricity rates offered by the Durban municipality for different income earners. The figures exclude the cost of consumption paid monthly as per meter charge. The electricity department installed electricity on a trial basis in a sample of 100 houses in KwaMashu. The houses located in Neighborhood Unit 5 (Section E), the first houses to be occupied by tenants, were to be used for the trial. Tenants in rent arrears were not burdened by the electricity installed; they received electricity later with the rest of the residents of KwaMashu. The Durban Electricity Department stated that the purpose of installing three different types of electricity service was to give residents an opportunity to choose which type of electricity they preferred and could afford, while indicating which type was most popular in the community. Councillor Mkhwanazi objected to this system and argued that the Urban Resident Council should decide which electricity installation should be provided for residents. He believed that electricity should be installed in each and every house in the township and not certain houses. The householder would then indicate his or her desire for electricity by paying the required installment and then the consumption costs as per meter. Councillor Mlabo

¹⁴¹ Ilanga laseNatal, 2 January, p.1.

opposed the idea raised by Mr. Mkhwanazi and recommended that residents should make their own decisions in the matter according to their financial standing.¹⁴²

Since many houses in the township operated without electricity, coal and wood were the main source of energy. The Durban City Council granted authority for the expenditure of an amount not exceeding R2, 800 (£1,400) for the provision of premises for wood and coal merchant in Neighborhood Units No.6 and 7.¹⁴³ There was a basic monthly rental of R12.85 (£6.8.6) and site rental R3.20 (£1.12.0), totaling R16.05 (£8.0.6) per month. Indian traders supplied the township with coal and wood. Residents expressed the desire of African entrepreneurs from KwaMashu to render this service. The residents' committee investigated the Indian traders and their relations with KwaMashu residents. The investigation undertaken by Councillor Mkhwanazi was conducted as a result of complaint by residents that neither wood nor coal or the merchant himself was found at the trading site.¹⁴⁴ After several interviews with residents, he discovered that more often than not, there was no wood or coal available.¹⁴⁵ Mr. Mkhwanazi suggested that because of the inability to provide the majority of residents with wood and coal, new wood and coal stalls should be provided to meet the demand.

Residents begin to organize

Women's participation in the social development of KwaMashu in the late 1950s marks the beginning of resident organization. Mrs. D.J. Mgobhozi of KwaMashu praised the work done by Mrs. Makhaye, Mrs. Khanyile and Mrs. Zwane of KwaMashu for establishing the Women's Club.¹⁴⁶ The support of men, for example, Mr. R.H. Msomi, A.P. Ngcobo, D. Khanyile, W.Zwane and others made the work of the women much easier. The KwaMashu Women Institute established by Mrs. Nonqgayi, Ngxukumushe and Mhlongo encouraged women to participate in development. This organization offered crèche facilities for working mothers with

¹⁴² The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Residents' Committee, (18 February, 1962), p. 3.

¹⁴³ The Durban Archive Repository. *Minutes of Special Committee for Bantu Housing*, Vol.2, 10 may 1961, pp. 53-54.

¹⁴⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Residents' Committee (21st January, 1962), p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ The Durban Archive Repository Minutes of the KwaMashu Residents' Committee (18 February, 1962), p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January 1960, p.2.

children. On Sundays, women gathered and collected funds in order to purchase vegetables in bulk at a discount price and divided the fresh produce according to the contributions. This scheme helped many women who could not afford a wide range of vegetables.¹⁴⁷

On the 30th of October 1960, the KwaMashu Residents Committee under the leadership of Mr. H. Msomi held their first general residents meeting. The residents of KwaMashu opposed the proposed division according to individual neighborhoods and preferred to have one residential committee representing all KwaMashu residents. Mr. Sibisi, committee member, argued that purchasing township houses (unlike renting) entitled residents to raise concerns about matters involving the township.¹⁴⁸ Matters of home ownership, rental payments and regulation on the lease agreement were discussed.¹⁴⁹ The residents discussed the transport difficulties, especially the problem of late arrivals at workplaces.

Since the Durban City Council did not recognize the KwaMashu Residents Committee, the resident grievances were not taken into account. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner suggested that a statutory body and the Urban Bantu Council be established in KwaMashu in order to address the residents' concerns. The residents through their civic leaders requested the City Council to establish the Urban Bantu Council. The City Council accepted the request and the Urban Bantu Council was formed.¹⁵⁰ The Urban Bantu Council served as a body that presented and negotiated with the City Council matters involving the livelihoods of residents in KwaMashu. On the other hand, the City Council, which was made up of white representatives, was seen as the vehicle used by the central government when exercising control urban Africans in the township.

Mr. Mkhwanazi, member of the newly formed KwaMashu Urban Bantu Council advised the council members that three housewives approached him on the 14th of January 1962, concerning the establishment of a nursery school at

¹⁴⁷ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 January 1960, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Resident's Committee, (21 January 1962), p.1.

¹⁴⁹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 July 1960, p.4.

¹⁵⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Resident's Committee, (21 January 1962), p.1.

Neighborhood Unit 7 (Section G).¹⁵¹ Mesdames Mokoena of G. 1169, Mogotsi of G.1169 and Nzama of G.1180, representatives of the KwaMashu Women's Association, desired to establish a nursery school but lacked proper guidance. The housewives requested permission to use an old homestead near Neighborhood Unit 10 that was vacant. They intended to raise funds by staging shows at the Community Hall, organizing jumble sales, cake sales and other social activities. Further capital contribution would be made up by the parents of children attending the nursery school. The housewives advised the committee that they could start the nursery school with the sum of R100.00. In addition, the pre-school association and other organization promised to offer financial assistance.¹⁵² Opening of a nursery school benefited mothers who worked till late afternoon. The committee supported the effort of the three women and expressed its support in planning and assisting this project. The committee also recognized the importance of sustaining and bringing up children in the township. This initiative showed that the residents of KwaMashu recognized the essential social elements of community building.

The KwaMashu Zamokuhle Women's Association was involved in numerous community development projects, including the running of KwaMashu crèches. The Association received donations from different organization such as the Durban Rotary Club, Durban Corporation and from individual donors. As part of the annual celebration, members of the KwaMashu Women's Association organized a party for the needy families in KwaMashu. Image 5 shows a group of women invited for the party and image 6 shows a qualified teacher during a lesson.

¹⁵¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Residents' Committee (21 January 1962), p.3.

¹⁵² The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Resident's Committee (18 February 1962), p. 1.

Image 5: Women's Annual Part



Source: The Durban Archive Repository. KwaMashu Zamokuhle Women Association Annual Report, 1965, pp.5-6.

On the 7th of February 1962, a group of women reported to the Township Manager's office and presented their grievances. The women stated that the KwaMashu rentals were high and immediate steps should be taken to reduce the rate. The women also voiced their dissatisfaction and desire for the removal of the water meter system and also the conditions of the log cabins in Neighborhood Unit 2 and 4 (Section B and D) that were worse than the slums of Cato Manor. Women argued that the practice of ejecting widows from their houses upon the death of their husbands was completely inhumane and should be terminated. House raids conducted by the Durban Corporation police should be discontinued. The women also expressed their dissatisfaction of the transportation cost and recommending that the bus fare from the township to town should be reduced from 7c to 6.5c. The women requested that PUTCO introduce the stage system to enable passengers alighting or boarding the buses along the route to pay less and that the children's fare be reduced.¹⁵³ Mr. Mkhwanazi advised the Committee that all the grievances had been addressed before. The question of meters was discussed at several meetings and that at one stage the authorities considered the possibility of introducing a new system of water control. As part of his response, Mr. Mkhwanazi explained that the committee addressed the high rental and not necessarily the undesirable living condition of log cabins, which were constructed on a temporary provision. Mr. Mkhwanazi rejected the claims that widows were ejected from houses in KwaMashu and made an example of Mrs. Gumede, whom after the passing away of her husband was moved to another type of accommodation because she had no children and was not ejected from the township.

¹⁵³ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Residents' Committee (18 February, 1962), p. 4.

Mr. R. G. Wilson, Chairman of the KwaMashu Urban Council explained that PUTCO management stated that the National Commission turned down the request for reduction of bus fare. Originally, the actual fare from town to KwaMashu was 10c and the extra 3c was met by the funds from the Service's Levy, bringing down the bus fare to 7c¹⁵⁴ The committee resolved the meeting by recommended that the women's grievances be submitted to the Director of Bantu Administration Department, for further investigation.

In 1963, residents of KwaMashu established the White Shirt Club. This club assisted its members in the event of death of a family member. Membership was free and a contribution of R2 by all members was requested when a member passed away.¹⁵⁵ This money contributed to the funeral arrangement and burial expenses. This club bridged the gap between the different social classes of KwaMashu. Because of its hard work and popularity, the White Shirt Club expanded and more African working class families in the township joined the Club. In February 1965, the club celebrated its second year anniversary. Members enjoyed a joyful celebration and slaughtering of a cow (outside the township premises). Drinks and entertainment were provided and well-known local personalities, for example, Mr. Richard Nkosi and Mr. Johannes Radebe, popular members of the club, were also present for the celebration.¹⁵⁶ Unfortunately, different ideas of leadership resulted into a split of the White Shirt Club. On the 27th of March 1965, *Ilanga laseNatal* reported that White Shirt members (old and newly formed group) held two meetings with different agendas at different venues.¹⁵⁷ Mr. Goldstone Mpanza and Mr. P. Ngcobo led the old club members. The leaders stated that their organization was strong despite the division. The new White Shirt members held their meeting at Simelani School under the leadership of Mr. Sam Mabaso and Mr. E.Dlamini, former general secretary of the White Shirt Club. 135 members registered with the new White Shirt Club.¹⁵⁸ Image 7 shows group of men celebrating during the 1965 annual celebration. In the image Victor Gumede, is serving the White Shirt members during the event.

¹⁵⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Residents' Committee (18 February, 1962), p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 15 March 1963, p.3.

¹⁵⁶ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 18 February 1965, p.7.

¹⁵⁷ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 27 March 1965, p. 7.

¹⁵⁸ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 27 March 1965, p. 7.

Image 7: White Shirt Club celebration



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 30 January 1965,p.5.

At the end of 1965, the Urban Bantu Council issued a press report to *Ilanga laseNatal* reporters that the Durban Corporation had not kept its promises after reallocating the people to KwaMashu.¹⁵⁹ Councillor Makhatini stated that the promises that had been made in a meeting by the KwaMashu Urban Resident Committee, the Durban Corporation, Minister of Bantu Affairs Dr. Verwoerd, Mr. Bourquin, the Manager of KwaMashu and the Zulu King Cyprian Bhekuzulu, were not kept. Issues concerning title deeds, application of housing and other incorporating costs had not been resolved. However, aside from the shortcomings of the Durban Corporation, it had been able to accommodate a very large number of African people over a period of a decade. By 1969, the Durban Corporation had constructed 71 business premises in KwaMashu and an additional 33 premises were constructed by individual entrepreneurs. These included 14 general stores, 3 butcheries and 5 fresh produce merchants.¹⁶⁰ The following table lists the number and type of houses constructed in KwaMashu by the end of 1969.

¹⁵⁹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Wasikhohlisa ngokuningi uKopeletsheni esisusa e Mkhumbane, 3 January 1965,p.8.

¹⁶⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Durban City Council, KwaMashu Statistical Records, 31 July,1969,p.2.

Table 8: Total Number of houses in KwaMashu in 1969

Dwelling	Purchased	Rented	Use	Total
Better Type (Owner Builder)	47	-	-	67
Type 51/6 (4 Room Detached)	5410	3631	-	9041
Type 51/7 (4 Room Semi-Deattached)	13	729	66	808
Type K2/D (2 Room Deatched)	32	2560	1	2593
Type K4/G (2 Room Semi-Detached (Shared Toilet)	-	2244	-	2244
Total	5502	9164	67	14733

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. KwaMashu Statistical Records, Durban Citu Council, 31 July, 1969, p.2.

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Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the Durban Corporation planned and initiated a housing programme in KwaMashu. It has also shown how social hierarchies emerged in KwaMashu partly through housing types equated with income earned by the residents. Further, it has shown the struggles encountered by residents over transport and trading facilities and how they negotiated changes that made their lives easier and more convenient. It has shown that the residents of KwaMashu at first found life in the township lacking the spontaneity and sense of community that existed in Cato Manor. Through the establishment of social clubs like the White Shirt Club and the KwaMashu Women's Institution, residents began to organize and work towards the creation of a new, more middle class identity. However, the chapter has shown that because of the low wages earned by the residents of KwaMashu, maintaining well-balanced families and community was a challenge that affected every member.

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Chapter 2: Provision of Recreational Amenities

This chapter focuses on the Durban Corporation's provision of recreational services at KwaMashu. It shows the extent of government control of African leisure through these amenities. The provision of recreational facilities by the City Council of Durban was based on their view that recreation would create a well-balanced community whose social, educational, cultural and needs would be met within the township of KwaMashu. Dulcie Krige argues that the removal of people from squatter areas to regulated townships like KwaMashu served the important function of increasing social control.¹⁶¹ This chapter aims to show how the Durban Corporation provided social amenities and at the same time extended its control over people's social activity.

Drinking amenities: beerhalls, bars and bottle stores

In the 1960s, the government constructed three beerhalls and three bars and bottle stores for the sale of western-style liquor in KwaMashu, to raise revenue for the township administration and at the same time to reduce public drinking at the Durban city centre. The bottle stores and bars alongside the beerhalls sold bottled beer, wine, brandy, wine, brandy quarts, vodka and gin in nips (200ml bottles). At first, the liquor outlets yielded profitable margins. Maasdorp and Humphreys state that the profits on the manufacturing and sale of African beer almost covered the losses on housing, recreation and welfare. In 1970, R5 811,000 income was generated and an expenditure of R4 538,000 on breweries and beerhalls supervised by Durban Corporation, generating R1 272,000 surplus to cover a deficit generated by recreation and welfare (R400, 000) and housing (R941, 000).¹⁶² In the same year, the audit report of the City Council finance department revealed that the beerhalls were not performing as expected. There were irregularities at the brewery and at the beer outlets in the township supervised by Durban Corporation. The audit report revealed serious problems concerning the system of control by the brewery management, the distributors and the beerhalls. According to the production specifications, 3000 gallons of beer were supposed to be produced a day, but surveys conducted at the

¹⁶¹ Krige, 'The Prospects for Informal Small Business in KwaMashu', p. 100. The presence of a Town Manager and police on patrol discouraged residents of KwaMashu from engaging in unlawful practices, unlike in the shack settlements where there is lack of infrastructure for car patrol.

¹⁶² Maasdorp and Humphrey, *From Shantytown to Township*, p. 85.

brewery showed that production amounted to 2936 and 2953 gallons on different days.¹⁶³ Further, a carton of *Ijuba* beer, meant to be exactly 1,000 c.c ranged from 992.5 c.c to 1,027 c.c.¹⁶⁴ Other problems included wastage during production, missing goods during distribution stages and the shortages of stock at the township outlets. The following table lists the shortages (losses) and surplus of Durban townships liquor sales on the liquor sale financial statement for 1970/1971 estimates.

Table 9: Liquor sales: cash register shortages and surplus 1970/71

Township	Surplus (R)	Shortage (R)
KwaMashu Unit 1 (Men's Hostel) Beerhall	36,13	85,02
KwaMashu Unit 3 (Section C) Beerhall	62,07	88,87
KwaMashu Unit 6 (Section E) Beerhall	54,45	114,19
Umlazi Glebelands Bar & Bottle Store	35,29	85,63
Lamont Bar & Bottle Store	17,63	12,43
Chesterville Bar & Bottle Store	23,49	36,06
Total	R229,06	R422,20

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board, 1970/71 Financial Statement, pp.1-2.

Table 9 shows surpluses and shortages recorded by the Durban Corporation township outlets. All outlets (except the Lamont Bar and Bottle Store) recorded shortages. The figures in Table 9 shows that the till points in Durban Corporation township outlets did not balance according to the sales generated. In KwaMashu, all three beerhalls statement showed that the till point cash total did not balance according to the sales recorded. It is clear that the cashiers either stole the money or it was a case of miscalculation or mismanagement of cash registers.

In June 1972, Durban Corporation opened a beer garden at Neighborhood Unit 10 (Section K), followed by Outlets in Neighbourhood Unit 11 and at the Township Centre.¹⁶⁵ Mr. Gorven, the city treasurer advised the Director of Bantu

¹⁶³ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration. The Durban City Treasury Department, 1971, p.1.

¹⁶⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration. The Durban City Treasury Department, 1971, p.1.

¹⁶⁵ The Durban Archive Repository. The Durban Treasurer's Department. (17 August 1972), p.1.

Administration Mr. S. Bourquin that the Neighborhood 10 beer hall encountered problems with the tank storage facilities resulting in shortages. Mr. Gorven advised Mr. Bourquin that in response to the shortages, his department reduced the “African” beer quantity supplied per day until the storage tanks were calibrated.¹⁶⁶ Mr. Gorven suggested that in future, an overseer- in charge be employed to monitor the relationship between the beer garden management, brewery and the tanker- driver.

The recorded incidents of regular shortages were pointed out to particular workers. For example, at the Neighborhood Unit 3 (Section C), Mr. R. Dlodla was R136,20 short between the 1st and 5th of September 1973. This was not the first time he recorded a shortage. Dlodla had also recorded shortages in the November/ December 1972 financial period. Dlodla was given an opportunity to recheck his stock and he came up short once again. During the recheck, Dlodla declared total sales of R2217,35 but the machine totaled R2299,43.¹⁶⁷ When it was clear that Dlodla had been stealing on several accounts, he was dismissed.

After all cases of missing inventory and shortages had been dealt with, the Department of Bantu Administration invited contractors to tender a razor-wire fence around the beerhalls and bottle stores in KwaMashu. The following table lists the three African contractors who were shortlisted for the tender. Payments due to the selected contractor were based on the value of the work done. The method of assessing the value of work done was set up as a mutual agreement between the inspector and the Contractor prior to the commencement of the contract.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration. The Durban City Treasury Department. (17 August 1972), p.1.

¹⁶⁷ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration, 1971, p.1.

¹⁶⁸ The Durban Archive Repository. Department of Bantu Administration, 1971, p.3.

Table 10: Tender rendered by African contractors to KwaMashu

Employers (KwaMashu)	Job Description	Amount
Mr M. Luthuli (G1146)	Repair fence and razor fencing at Neighborhood Unit 1 Bottle Store	R30
Mr C. Mkhize (C847)	Repair fence and razor fencing at Neighborhood Unit 1 Bottle Store	R25
Mr I. Mkhize (A140)	Repair fence and razor fencing at Neighborhood Unit 1 Bottle Store	R18

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. Business Undertaking Department. Durban Corporation Committee Meeting, 1973, pp.2-3.

Fencing the beer outlets in KwaMashu did not stop shortages and cases of stolen goods. African employees at the outlet always found methods to manipulate the system and further losses were reported. The following table lists the business operating hours of outlets and beer halls supervised by Port Natal Bantu Administration. Opening times suggest that workers were encouraged to drink on their days off.

Table 11: Beer outlet and beer hall business hours

Day	Outlet & Beer hall (Sale point)	Beer hall (consumption)
Monday -Saturday	10 a.m -1 p.m 2 p.m – 5:45 p.m	11:30 a.m-7 p.m
Sunday	2 p.m – 5 p.m	2 p.m – 5 p.m

Source: the Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board: business and employee working hours (1974), p.4.

Popular Arts: cinema, music, radio and dance

Cinema-going in the late 1970s proved to be popular amongst Africans in the townships and Durban city at large. As part of further promotion of cinema amongst Africans, plans to erect a cinema in KwaMashu were initiated by the City Council. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development Dr. D.L. Smit had noted in January 1959 that cinema venues for Africans should be provided in their respective townships by their own people. In that way, cinema would open new opportunities while eliminating friction between different races.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ South Africa. House of Assembly. *Debates of the House of Assembly* (Cape Town: Parliament, 23 January- 27 February 1959), p.1205.

The construction of KwaMashu cinema in 1971 marks the prestigious recreational facility provided by the Durban City Council for the residents. The cinema was constructed at the estimated cost of R200, 000 with a seating capacity for nearly 800 viewers. The cinema was officially opened in December 1971 and white staff held the managerial positions. In Image 7, a large group of children is waiting patiently for the cinema to open. Because of its location (in close proximity to KwaMashu Main train station), a large number of children walked to the cinema. Since this was a busy public area of the township, children enjoyed some form of safety during the day. Adults attended later shows.

Image 8: Children waiting for admission at the KwaMashu Cinema



Source: The Durban Chamber of Commerce, Annual Report. Non-European Affairs, 1971, p.8.

The opening and daily operating of the KwaMashu Cinema required close supervision by a professional manager. Though Port Natal Bantu Administration had planned to hand over the cinema to African management, an appropriate African manager for the position was not forthcoming. The cinema employed 11 workers, a supervisor, senior projectionist, a cashier/projectionist and six cinema doormen also serving as ushers and cleaners. The cinema operated from 11 a.m till 8 p.m.

The provision of public goods and recreational amenities in the townships was done on the condition of self- financing.¹⁷⁰ In making cinema a profitable venture, the Board decided that the cinema would be efficiently used if it had stage facilities with sound fitting suitable for jazz performances or Sunday music concerts. This would be another way of generating revenue out of the venue. Setting aside some seats for exclusive viewing privileges at a higher price would also add to the revenue at the same time accommodating the more affluent class residing in KwaMashu.

Meanwhile, film-distributing companies approached Port Natal Administration Board for an opportunity to distribute films in the township cinemas and other forms of viewing venues under the Boards control. Film Fun (PTY) Ltd approached the Director of Bantu Affairs Administration Board for permission to distribute films in the township cinema. The company was a distributor of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Limited Artist 16mm films.¹⁷¹ Film Fun Company forwarded its 1975 catalogue with its latest selection of 16mm quality films that were distributed across South African cinemas. After careful assessment, the Board pointed out the necessity of obtaining film programmes that would appeal to local audiences for screening at the KwaMashu Cinema. The Board agreed to invite tenders for the supply of films and authority was granted for the Chief Financial Officer to enter into contracts film distributors to obtain suitable films for screening at the KwaMashu cinema at a cost not exceeding R9, 500.¹⁷² This process of selection clearly indicates that whites determined which films were suitable for blacks to watch. In 1976, the Welfare Department of Port Natal Bantu Administration screened road show films at the KwaMashu cinema. Tickets cost 60 cents for the gallery seats, 40 cents for adult and 20 cents for children sitting in the stalls. The following table lists the names of the films selected for the 1976 road show.

¹⁷⁰ Smit, D. 'The Community, Class Struggle and Social Change', (The University of Natal Workshop on African Urban Life in Durban, October 1983), p.2.

¹⁷¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration, September 1975, p.1.

¹⁷² The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration, September 1975, p.1.

Table 12: KwaMashu Cinema Road Show 1976

Screening Date	Title of the film
7 th - 12 th June 1976	Enter the Dragon
28 th - 3 rd July 1976	The Robe
28 th - 30 th October 1976	Live ad Let Die
18 th -20 th November 1976	Magnum Force
9 th - 11 th December 1976	Man with the Golden Gun

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board: Welfare Department, 7 June 1976, p.2.

Since 1956, the South African government through the African Film Production (AFP) program, subsidized film production as part of the development of the country's film industry.¹⁷³ Different schemes were set by the government to subsidize the production of films for different racial groups. For example, A- Scheme was mainly for feature films for white South Africans, B-Scheme was mainly for feature films made for Black South Africans.¹⁷⁴ Maingard argues that the B-Scheme films were a way of controlling how black audiences were addressed and also provided a useful mechanism for sustaining white domination.¹⁷⁵ The aim of these films was to produce a genuine black cinema with audiences located in the townships, on the school circuit or by mobile units.¹⁷⁶ Films like *Deliwe* (1975), *Inkedama* (1975) and *Ikati Elimnyama* (1976) were produced by white film companies (eg. Heyns Films) and subsidized by the government. These films captured urban African daily life without the presence of whites and sought to illuminate the rising African middle class in the 1970s.¹⁷⁷

A film company from Johannesburg, directed by Mr. Borgwardt, donated four projectors to the Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board.¹⁷⁸ The donating of projectors was an attempt to promote films about the coaching of sport to African

¹⁷³ Maingard, J. *South African National Cinema: Apartheid Cinema* (London & New York, 2007), p. 127.

¹⁷⁴ Meintjies, 'In the township', p.80.

¹⁷⁵ Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, p.127.

¹⁷⁶ Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, p.127.

¹⁷⁷ Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, p.130.

¹⁷⁸ The Natal Mercury, 16 September 1975, p.5.

schools in Natal. The films were to be used by the Department of Sport in urban areas. Mr. Borgwardt presented the projectors to the Director of Bantu Administrator Affairs, Mr. S. Bourquin and Councilor W.Zichaka of Ningizimu Township. Mr. Bourquin appealed to local companies to donate films or funds for this project.

KwaMashu residents also attended the cinema in Durban. Indian owned cinemas for instance, Shah Jehan, Raj, Scala and Dreamland had acquired permission to hold multi-racial cinema shows and were running successful business. Since the establishment, these cinemas operated from 9:30 a.m till 10 p.m.¹⁷⁹ In August 1975, the Orient Hall under the directorship of Harry Maharaj applied to the Bantu Affairs Commission for permission to host a multi-racial cinema viewing theatre work made up of an African cast. In this particular event, admission tickets were R3.00, R2.00 and R1.00. The City Council had been discussing the issue of mixed audiences for sometime. Mr. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Affairs, opposed mixed audiences stating that government policy stipulated that Africans, Indians and Coloureds were to hold cultural activities in their respective group areas. Only when facilities did not exist for staging certain shows, would a request be considered to allow that group to attend shows in other areas.

The KwaMuhle Brass Band was established by the Durban Corporation in 1952 as an important link between departments responsible for the Bantu Affairs Administration and the general public at large. Because of its growing popularity, the Corporation decided to enlist the band on a full-time basis. In 1973, the Port Natal Administration took over administration of the KwaMuhle Brass Band. In 1973, the Port Natal Administration took over administration of social services from the Durban Corporation, and some other 48 local authorities along the coast of Natal.¹⁸⁰ The band's scope was expanded and it performed regularly at formal and informal concerts, civic functions, dance and musical festivals. The band performed different styles of music, for example, classical music, jazz, swing and dance and popular music. The band provided entertainment and also enabled youngsters from the townships to learn to play musical instruments, such as the trumpet, cornet, trombone, drums and percussion. The group was occasionally requested to perform at different

¹⁷⁹ Ilanga laseNatal, 21 May 1960, p.6.

¹⁸⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. KwaMuhle Brass Band, 1973,p.1.

community events. The decision to perform was a joint agreement between the bandleader and the Board's Cultural Officer. The Port Natal Administration Board stipulated the fee for each performance except for cases when the band played without charging.

Radio was a very popular pastime for residents in KwaMashu. According to the 1970 annual report of the South African Broadcasting Station (SABC), the main objectives of the SABC were to provide wholesome entertainment and informative programmes offered "cultural enrichment and stimulation of spiritual creativity".¹⁸¹ The broadcasting statistics revealed that a total of 1,567,000 Africans and 1,600,000 Europeans listened to the radio daily during the peak times 7:00am-7:15 and 7:45am-8:00am.¹⁸² Meanwhile Radio Bantu was celebrating its tenth birthday and was one of the fast growing radio stations in South Africa. With seven programme services, listenership grew from 2,250,000 in 1969 to 2,846,000 in 1970.¹⁸³ It was estimated that approximately 96.1% of urban Africans tuned into radio on any given day. In the same year, the SABC Board announced that it had decided to begin with plans leading to the introduction of television. The SABC's main emphasis during this period was to encourage broadcasting in independent modern cultural and educational institutions. For example, schools in the townships were provided with radios and tuned into radio whenever school related programmes were on air.

Radio Bantu included the collection, preservation and development of music and literature of various African artists. More than 5,000 traditional musical items and compositions by African composers were recorded in 1970, while more than 400 original plays, serials, legends, songs of praise and features were broadcast in all seven programme services. Magazine programmes for women in urban areas and to some extent the homelands, were also said to be popular. In sport, soccer and boxing remained as the most popular and broadcast by Radio Bantu. Meanwhile the Business Undertaking Department (department under Port Natal Administration Board) approached the Bantu Administration Board about the new music rights tariffs stipulated by the South African Music Right Organization Ltd (SAMRO). SAMRO was an organization that controlled the rights of public performance of any musical

¹⁸¹ South African Broadcasting Corporation. Annual Report (Johannesburg: SABC),1970, p.4.

¹⁸² South African Broadcasting Corporation. Annual Report (Johannesburg: SABC),1970,p.8.

¹⁸³South African Broadcasting Corporation. Annual Report (Johannesburg: SABC),1970, p.9.

work, for example, live artists or music rendered through machine devices like gramophones, tape machines, jukeboxes or radio sets.¹⁸⁴ SAMRO also issued licenses to authorities controlled by the Bantu Administration Board. The following table shows different categories and rates charged as from 1974.

Table 13: Rates of the music rights at African public venues

Venue	Method of calculation
Music soundtracks during cinema shows	Calculated on gross revenue from admission fees to cinema shows
Radio and or background music at beerhalls or garden	Calculated on the square feet of the venue whereby R2 for every 2250 square feet
Music at social functions and entertainment in community halls	Calculated at 25 cents to 50 cents per unit 100 persons seating capacity

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. South African Music Right Organisation Limited 1974,p.1.

The rights for radio and playing background music in beerhalls were complicated and were calculated according to the number of people at the venue. This method was difficult to accomplish since the authorities could not detect the number of people seated or gathered at beerhalls at particular times. It was recommended that the charge should be calculated on the size of the venue, whereby R2 was charged for every 250 square feet measured. For example, a venue made up of approximately 2500 sq.ft would be charged R24,00.¹⁸⁵ A charge on church halls and school halls was calculated at 25 cents to 50 cents per unit of 100 persons seating capacity per function. For example, a hall with a capacity that can accommodate 400 seats, would be charged R44,00 for 44 performances.¹⁸⁶ This put pressure on organizers to fill the venue.

The Port Natal Administration Board encouraged the revival of ethnic African culture. The Daily News Champion of Champion Zulu Dance competition was held at the non-European recreation grounds at Point. Different stages of the tournament were held each week. Three winners were chosen to proceed to the next stage. The

¹⁸⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. South African Music Right Organisation Limited,p.1.

¹⁸⁵ R24,00 breakdown: 2400 sq.feet/ 250, totaling 10 units.10X2 (R2), amounting R20,00. This amount is then combined with 20% surcharge on consumer price in this case would be R4 (R20X0,20). The total amount equals R24,00 (R20,00 +R4,00).

¹⁸⁶ R44,00 breakdown: 25 cent X 4 (400/100)X44.

Zulu dance consisted of 30 dancers, a leader and two subordinates. The routine involved the beating of drums and clap plankers and the leader (Igosu) shrilled his whistle to indicate a change in the rhythm and sequence and alignment while Igosu altered his dance routine, in most cases, with unpractised moves.¹⁸⁷ The team had to stick to the sequence and alignment while Igosu altered his routine to ridicule other groups. This act boosted the enthusiasm of his team members. During the dance competition, the teams were given 20 minutes each to perform an entire routine dance. Taking part in the competition included groups like South African Railway Bayhead, Brown Road compound, Amatikulu Sugar Mill, Bakers Ltd, Barclays National Bank, Masonite, the Beach Hotel and Durnall Sugar Mill.

The enlisting of Zulu dance teams in Natal became a sign of status and great honour, promoted by industrial and business companies. Mr. J. Mthiyane, president of the Natal Zulu Dance, declared that the dance competition had attracted large crowds and that the dance had brought new life to Ngoma dancing.¹⁸⁸ The presence of large numbers of European spectators made dancers even keener. In the 1975 competition, twenty-five teams took part in the elimination rounds till the finale, which took place on the 6th July. Admission prices were fixed at 60 cents for Europeans, 40 cents for African and 25 cents for all children irrespective of race. Drinks and sweets were served and the proceeds were transferred to the *Daily News/Ilanga* LEARN Fund. Half of the proceeds from the admission revenue were allocated to the Learn Fund. The *Daily News* presented the winners with cash prizes valued at R500 and a floating trophy for the best leader. In 1976, twenty-one teams across Natal were invited to take part in the five-week Champion of Champions Zulu dance competition. Year after year, this competition drew larger crowds and became even more popular amongst urban Africans residing in the townships. The finals for the 1976 competition included gumboot dance performance as part of the day's competition.

Sporting Facilities

The swimming pool at Neighborhood Unit 7 (Section G) constructed in the 1960s was unable to cater for the large majority of African youth.¹⁸⁹ Youth from other neighboring units far from the pool were discouraged from travelling miles in order to

¹⁸⁷ The Daily News, Champion of Champion, 19 May 1976, p.5.

¹⁸⁸ The Daily News, Champions of Champions, 19 May 1976, p.5.

¹⁸⁹ The swimming pool was named after Zulu dignitary, Phika KaSiteku.

swim. After several meetings held by the City Council in August 1971, approval was granted for an expenditure amounting to R40 000 for the provision of an additional swimming pool in Neighborhood Unit 4 (Section D).¹⁹⁰ In December 1971, ministerial approval was received for expenditure to be taken out from the Bantu Revenue Account for this project. The amount of R57, 000 was approved for the project, but this expenditure was drawn from other development projects that the Durban City Council planned for the year. This decision shows that the construction of this swimming pool in KwaMashu was very important project for the City Council since additional funding for this project was taken from other projects. From the draft estimates of 1972/73, the Durban City Council voted that an amount of R30,000 be reduced from the Umlazi Glebe New Hostel Scheme, R10,000 reduced from the KwaMashu Neighborhood Unit 3 crèche scheme and R3,000 from the KwaMashu Community Hall project. The total of R43,000 derived from other projects was allocated for the construction of the additional swimming pool.¹⁹¹

In 1974, the opening of the Cyprian Bhekuzulu Hall at the Neighborhood Unit 1 provided a venue for community activities. The Urban Bantu Council delivered the speeches for the opening and the KwaMuhle Brass Band rendered the musical entertainment. Port Natal Board provided financial assistance for refreshments and the brewing of traditional beer. The naming of the community hall by the late Zulu King Cyprian Bhekuzulu fitted the Zulu identity promoted by the Port Natal Administration in KwaMashu. The naming of the hall after Zulu monarchy by Port Natal Bantu Administration Board emphasized the Zulu culture and identity of the KwaMashu residents.

The ever –increasing popularity of African professional football during the 1970s in Durban led to the improvement and additional facilities at the KwaMashu Football Stadium.¹⁹² There were no facilities for special guests and the inability to accommodate such guests, which embarrassed management and match organizers during the staging of functions or matches attended by dignitaries. Also, certain alterations were required in order to guarantee the safety of players from supporters while leaving for changing rooms or after matches. The catering stalls provided for

¹⁹⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Durban City Council Committee Meeting, August 1972, p. 1.

¹⁹¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Durban City Council Committee Meeting, August 1972, p.1.

¹⁹² The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board, July 1975, p.1.

fans were inadequate and plans to provide further premises for refreshment facilities were set in motion. The increasing interest in soccer generated revenue as the National Professional Football League voluntary contributed 10 percent gross takings to assist in meeting the expenses of staging events. The new stadium in KwaMashu accommodated 25, 000 spectators (22, 000 standing, 4, 000 ordinary seating and 1,000 covered seating). The Rotary Stadium accommodated 5,000(4,000 covered seating and 1, 000 standing).¹⁹³

The provision of soccer grounds and stadiums united different townships around the city of Durban. For example, the KwaMashu Football Stadium hosted soccer fixtures for teams from other townships. Local entrepreneurs began to sell fast food for the people in stadiums. The success of soccer attracted catering companies who anticipated profitable margins. For example, in May 1974, Queen Mafuta (Pty)Ltd based in Germiston requested permission from the Port Natal Administration Board to provide food at the football grounds. The Chief Director of the Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Mr Johnson informed the representative of Queen Mafuta (Jan Pickard's company) that the football stadiums of their interest already had local traders and that he had no intention to withdraw their trading rights.¹⁹⁴ Mr. Johnson clarified that there would be no objection of the application as long as the local traders reached an agreement to handle Queen Mafuta's company products and receive assistance of equipment facilities. If expansion involved construction of further structures, approval would only be granted on the condition that these additions accrue as an asset to the Bantu Revenue Fund. Further, the present rental would probably be increased if trading facilities were enlarged taking into account that trading rights are reviewed annually.¹⁹⁵

Mr. David Pooe, a prominent businessman from Orlando East (Soweto) also expressed his eagerness to cater at the football stadiums. From his observation, soccer was a well supported and watched sport, which lacked catering facilities during major league matches. The only traders were a handful of women at the gate providing fruits

¹⁹³ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board. Welfare Department, September, 1976, p.1.

¹⁹⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration. Durban Central District, July 1974, p.1.

¹⁹⁵ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board. Durban Central District, July 1074, p.1.

and fat-cakes. As a result of limited variety and quantity of food sold, fans ended up sitting at the stadium without food and liquid refreshments. Mr. Poee also addressed the South African Football Association Chief George Thabe, who showed his enthusiasm in finding the solution to the catering problem. Mr. Poee also admitted that the approach by Mr. J. Pickard's company (Queen Mafuta) seemed practical and lucrative. He then requested that his company and Mr. Pickard's company be combined and enter an agreement whereby his company and Queen Mafuta (PTY) Ltd could co-ordinate on a nation wide basis to cater for all the soccer fans in stadiums across the country. Mr. Poee's company would administer the catering scheme and sell properly cooked food for the fans while Queen Mafuta (PTY) Ltd would assist him by setting up kiosks with the necessary equipment and the cost incurred would be paid out of the profits generated.

Beach visits during the summer holidays (December and January) were annually celebrated over the years by African urban residents. Large numbers of Africans from different townships visit the beach for relaxation and as a form of outing. In the survey conducted by the Durban tourist department, an estimated 100 000 visitors enjoyed the public holidays at the beach.¹⁹⁶ In the 1970s there were no proper catering facilities provide at the beach, large numbers of Africans came along with their own picnic baskets and camped along the Snell Parade beach. A large number of Africans purchased their refreshments at the European cafes near the Mangrove Beach Centre.¹⁹⁷ During the Easter holidays of 1975, Wimpy South Africa under the franchisee Mr. Ivan Wooley served cooked food, hot dogs, ice creams, cold drinks and sandwiches. Bad weather, high prices and lack of advertising to patrons turned this venture to a disaster. When the Bantu Administration Board invited the public to tender for temporary kiosks to be erected for the summer holidays of 1975, there was no response. The Board once again approached the Wimpy Company, and under Mr. Ivan Wooley agreed to set up a kiosk at the African Snell Parade Beach. Applying a new business strategy, Mr. Wooley promised that the kiosk would be larger and provide more substantial food at low prices. Mr. J.Q. Henwood, Acting City Valuator and Estate Manager approached the radio and local press for

¹⁹⁶ The Survey Tribune, 16 November 1975, p.5.

¹⁹⁷ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board: Provision of Recreational Service, 1969,p.3.

advertising. The Bantu Administration Board Office had notices prominently displayed at all town centers, hostels, recreational centers and offices.

In 1975, the City Council agreed to embark on the beach face-lift project. Plans were drawn up to spend almost R90,000 on the improvements to Durban's African bathing beach. The plans included extra changing rooms and toilets and a refreshment kiosk to cater for the crowds visiting the beach during summer holidays. The face-lift of the beach facilities also involved the reallocation of beach amongst different races. The beach redevelopment plan stretched from Snake Park to the river mouth of Umgeni.¹⁹⁸ The revised plan included the handing over of the European White Country Club and Sinkist Tearoom to the Indian residents in Durban. The initial plans to allocate the Country Club beach (which extends along the Indian Beach to Blue Lagoon) to Africans and the beach in front of the Beachwood golf course to Indians were rejected. In a letter written by the Snell Park Ratepayers Association addressed to Mr. Baker (Assistant Director of Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board), the association members presented their observations of African visitors. During the Christmas and New Year holiday period, it had become evident that an increasingly large number of Africans walked from the African beach along the Marine Parade and also along the Playfair Road towards town and to African bus stops at Brickhill Road and Somtseu Road. Though there was transport provided, a large percentage of Africans preferred to walk. For example, on Boxing Day (26 December) and New Year's Day, 1500 to 2500 Africans returning to their homes after visiting the beach allegedly made it impossible for Europeans residing in this area, to walk on the pavements or to access cafes in Playfair Road. Litter and noise levels seemed to be the biggest complaint of European residents. Meanwhile the African beach that had been previously allocated with its new built-in change rooms was allocated to Europeans.

¹⁹⁸ The Daily News, Beach for Africans, 27 May 1975, p.4.

Table 14: Sporting and recreational service in KwaMashu 1974

Soccer Fields	11
Netball Grounds and Soccer Stadiums (2)	3
Swimming Pool	2
Halls	4
Cinema	1
Library	-
Cycling Track	-
Tennis Courts	6
Ngoma Dancing venue	1
Parks/ Playgrounds	7
Bowling Green	-
Billiards	-
Boxing Ring	-

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board: KwaMashu Recreational Service portfolio, July 1974

From Table 14 above, it is clear that Port Natal administered a wide range of recreational services for the African population in KwaMashu.¹⁹⁹ It is not surprising that eleven soccer fields and seven playgrounds or parks had been constructed because of the majority of youth in KwaMashu enjoyed football. In contrast three netball courts were provided for girls given that female teenagers activities revolve around house chores and domestic activities within the household.²⁰⁰ The small number of netball courts was calculated on the basis that female activities revolved around the house, leaving them with less time for leisure. The township had no library facilities. The African Administration Board investigated the idea of erecting a bowling green course in KwaMashu. Meanwhile, tennis proved to be a popular sport among the upper middle class residing in KwaMashu. Tennis was a game played and enjoyed by both sexes. To encourage this interest, construction of additional three courts was proposed in neighborhood 7 (G section). Meanwhile the Welfare

¹⁹⁹ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board. Provision of Recreational Service, 14 July 1974, p.1.

²⁰⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board. Provision of Recreational Service, 14 July 1974, p.1.

Department of Durban constructed small playfields across the Township.²⁰¹ These recreational areas ensured that the full-sized football fields were not over-used.

In December 1976, the central Welfare, Recreational and Cultural Department embarked on a survey about how the township management carried out and organized the respective services.²⁰² It was discovered that the European staff employed was untrained and few reports were available on the programme, planning and implementation of the Board's welfare and recreational policy.²⁰³ The recreational and welfare centre's (Youth centre and KwaSimama) had no planned activity and was reportedly dysfunctional. Further, the recreational services in KwaMashu tended to be largely centered on the activities of professional soccer and general leisure time activities.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Durban City Council Committee Meeting, August 1975, p.5.

²⁰² The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration. Welfare, recreation and Cultural Services, Proposed Board Policy, Re-Organization and Institution of Services, 1976, p.2.

²⁰³ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration, pp.2-3.

²⁰⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration, p. 3.

Conclusion

In sum, this chapter has demonstrated how the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, through the Durban Corporation and Port Natal Bantu Administration Board, provided recreational facilities in the township of KwaMashu. In so doing, the government achieved extensive control over African leisure activities and African people's leisure time. Government also promoted the idea that recreation should take place within separate group areas and townships. It also encouraged ethnic cultural activities. The chapter has also shown how a few opportunities were provided for African businesses through amenities controlled by the Port Natal Administration Board. It has also shown how the Board generated revenue through the provision of beerhalls and bars.

University Of Cape Town

Chapter 3: Leisure Activities in KwaMashu

The previous chapters outlined the housing and recreational facilities provided by the Durban Corporation for the residents of KwaMashu. This chapter aims to investigate the forms of leisure initiated, organized and promoted by the residents of KwaMashu themselves in the 1960s and 1970s. A significant shift, from Durban as the place for social interaction to KwaMashu occurred in the 1970s. This change was influenced by several factors including transport costs to the centers during weekends, criminal activities in the city, and limited autonomy on Africans in Durban. Most importantly, KwaMashu became a fully-fledged community with its own activities, culture and identity. Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler emphasize that autonomy is crucial to the definition of leisure and the ways in which a person chooses to use his or her free time.²⁰⁵ This chapter will attempt to investigate to what extent KwaMashu residents' social activities were autonomous and independent of the control of the Department of Bantu Affairs and the Durban Corporation. In this context, autonomy implied that the residents in KwaMashu were able to decide in which social activities they would engage.

Social Drinking

The previous chapter showed how the Durban Corporation provided beerhalls across the city and the townships in order to provide and control alcohol consumption and also generate revenue from the sales. The Corporation's beer halls were called 'Ematsheni', a place where beer drinkers gathered.²⁰⁶ According to the *Ilanga laseNatal* social journalist reporting on the 9th of January 1960, amongst the patrons visiting 'Ematsheni' were men who drank beer, men who came to socialize with other patrons and petty thieves selling stolen industrial goods, for example home products, consumable goods and clothing items.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Akyeampong and Ambler, 'Leisure in African History', p. 11.

²⁰⁶ Ematsheni was the Durban's Corporation beerhalls provided for African men working in the city where they could buy and drink beer. The word Ematsheni, which means a pile of stones, was the name given to the concrete benches that were built in these beer halls for patrons.

²⁰⁷ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Kanti kunemikhuba engaka Ematsheni otshwala eThekwini, 9 January 1960, p.2.

Mr. Nkimbi Mkhwanazi, a security guard for Safe Guards Insurers regularly visited 'KwamaHeshe'.²⁰⁸ Mkhwanazi admitted that in the past he used to buy and drink beer at Ematsheni, but because of bad behavior by other patrons, he chose not to drink but visited 'Ematsheni' in order to socialize with his friends. Mkhwanazi claimed that on several occasions disputes amongst patrons resulted in severe wounds and even death. For safety reasons, he preferred to drink in the illegal shebeens of Cato Manor.

A tendency to sell sorghum beer "Ubhokweni" at higher prices in shebeens developed in the early 1960s. Just before closing time of the beerhall, some men purchased large quantities of beer (up to the value of R2). When questioned, they explained that the extra beer was reserved for friends who were late from work. When the outlets were closed, the resale of beer commenced in the shebeens. Sorghum beer also known as "Ubhokweni" was sold at a cost of 10 cents per jug at the outlet's counter, but resold by shebeen queens and other patrons at 20 cents per jug.²⁰⁹ People named this beer "Imbazo"- an axe, because of the high price and the fact that they were ripped off. Beer was often sold out at the beerhalls, which closed early and were often out of stock even before closure. Patrons who worked until late became victims of 'The axe'. Mr Bourquin of the Bantu Affairs in Durban admitted to *Ilanga* reporter that the illicit resale of beer was a problem.²¹⁰

Liquor Regulations before 1961 prohibited Africans from purchasing European liquor, and for this reason, illicit beer trading across the country's major cities expanded as the number of Africans employed in urban areas increased. In 1960, the South African government announced to the public that talks concerning the new Liquor Amendment Bill that allowed the distribution of liquor to non-Europeans' across the whole country were underway.²¹¹ The government recognized that Africans were part of the urbanized society and certain acts needed to be relaxed. Government also saw that revenues could be generated from selling 'Europeans' liquor as well as

²⁰⁸ The men drinking and socializing in Corporation beerhalls and outlets had given all the venues that they visited. For example, some of the names were derived from the popular shebeens who operate in close proximity with the outlet or after a dramatic incident, for example, KwamaHeshe.

²⁰⁹ The name "Ubhokweni" given to the sorghum beer produced by Durban Corporation was derived from Mr Bourquin, the Director of Bantu Administration in Durban.

²¹⁰ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Kanti kunemikhuba engaka Ematsheni otshwala eThekwini, 9 January 1960, p. 2.

²¹¹ South Africa. House of Assembly. *Debates of the House of Assembly*. Vol 1, (Cape Town: Parliament, 16 June 1961), p. 8284.

grain beer. The government stated that the Bill would allow Africans the right to purchase liquor over the counter and enjoy it without fear of breaking the law. The New Liquor Act (1961) intended to do away with illicit liquor trade and ease tension between the state police force and the general public. Mr. A.W.G. Champion (Mahlathi), Chairman of the Bantu Combined Local Advisory Board in Durban, argued that Africans should drink in respectable areas other than 'Ematsheni'.²¹² Shebeen operators in Durban were not happy about the Act, because now Africans would be entitled to purchase liquor at a reasonable rate and enjoy it in their homes or at 'Ematsheni'. The Rolling Stone social column in the *Ilanga* newspaper addressed the voices of the people affected by the Liquor Act. The Rolling Stone reporter introduced Sis Katie's Illegalize Tavern by the headlines, "Sis Katie worried about the new liquor laws".²¹³ The article presents 'Sis Katie' as a worried illicit beer trader in Durban. She argued that if the government adopted the recommendations, she would lose business. The reporter described Sis Katie as the sweetest host and bar lady, who insisted on sharing the "Waters" with her customers and offered warm hospitality. But the reporter believed that despite the new regulations, Africans would still visit the shebeens. The reporter also recognized the struggle of informal African entrepreneurship taking place in Durban and the problem of hangers-on.

"Let's be merry now before that lousy fool comes around. He seems to hang around a lot here, Sis Katie. That no good son of So & So. What you see in him Sis Katie, I do not know".

The complex shebeen setting shows the extent to which the space contestation and the hardships encountered by African entrepreneurs in the city of Durban also affected the African working class. The shebeens offered a social space in which many Africans chose to interact with fellow Africans while drinking alcohol.

Selling home brewed African beer was a major source of income for many African families in KwaMashu. African traders who operated in KwaMashu sold a set (isethi) of ingredients for "imfulamfulu". Miss Duduzile Ngubane, born and bred in KwaMashu recalls how the beer brewing operated in the 1970s.

²¹² *Ilanga laseNatal*, Ugologo kuBantu, 18 June 1960, p.4.

²¹³ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Sis Katie worried by the new law, 18 June 1960, p.4.

“ Sasithunywa njalo kwaMzoneli ukuba siyothenga isethi yesiqatha. Wawufike ucacise ukuthi ufuna isingili noma idabuli yesethi. Babesazi isikali, ukuthi imithombo emingaka neyisti engaka isethi iyinye). Isiqhatha sasingcono kakhulu uma usiqhathanisa noGavini” (We were sent on regular basis to purchase African beer sets at Mzoneli Store. One had to identify oneself if he or she wanted to buy a single or double set for ‘isiqatha’ and the traders knew the exact measure of all the ingredients, barley and yeast used per set. ‘Isiqatha or imfulamfula’ was much better than to liquor concoctions).²¹⁴

Mrs. Beauty Ngubane recalls her arrival in KwaMashu as a young woman from KwaMaphumulo in 1966. She recalls that the women of KwaMashu ran stokvels over the weekends and most men in the township attended these social gatherings. Stokvels supplemented income but mainly formed part of entertainment. This was a social space in which the working class could meet over the weekend and enjoy the activities offered by the host. It was the space where friends talked about their week at work. New relations were established at stokvels. Her mother Ngiyayona Maphumulo, a former resident of Cato Manor ran a stokvels in KwaMashu C1448.²¹⁵

“ Women in the township ran stokvels over the weekend. Men and women from different sections participated. My mother ran a stokvel and we served drinks to men who drank “imfulamfula”. We prepared ourselves and looked beautiful, but we were not allowed to mingle with girls of our age group in the streets or be involved with men who came to participate.”²¹⁶

Mr. Zwane recalls that on his arrival in 1967, beer drinking was very popular amongst residents of KwaMashu.

‘ Ngifika la KwaMashu kwakudliwa utshwala, uBhokweni. Kuthe kusenjalo, ukopeletsheni wenza *Ijuba*. Ngalesosikhathi lalisakuplastiki, hayi ikhathoni. Kwakuthiwa uSimelane. Kuneculo elaqanjwa izidwaka elithi;

Ngiyamthanda uSimelane
Ngithanda ifiga yakhe’.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Interview with Duduzile Ngubane, 4 May 2009.

²¹⁵ Interview with Mrs Beauty Ngubane, 18 April 2009.

²¹⁶ Interview with Mrs Beauty Ngubane, 18 April 2009.

²¹⁷ Interview with Mr Zwane, 2 April 2009.

(On my arrival in 1967, people drank African beer “Ubhokweni”. Thereafter, Durban Corporation introduced and produced *Ijuba* in plastic packages, and later in carton boxes. It was called Simelane. Bhokweni drinkers composed the following song:

I love Simelane
I love his figure.

Mr. Zwane recalls the maximum “two dozen cases rule” applied when purchasing Ubhokweni by the Durban Corporation shebeens. This rule crippled a number of illegal shebeens. On the arrival of a police van, beer traders in the township temporarily stopped trading. The beer quantity rule also affected any normal residents of KwaMashu. For example, in the event of a cultural ritual or ceremony where beer and spirits were necessary, the inability to purchase large quantities or to brew one’s own beer affected the event.

In the 1970s, different kinds of beer were brewed and sold in KwaMashu. This form of business was passed on from one generation to another. “Gavini” was considered a highly toxic and dangerous liquor concoction in the township. According to the memorandum concerning the consumption of Alcohol Beverages by Non-Europeans issued by the Round Table of Durban No.2, drinking of Gavini caused temporary insanity, liable to lead to violence, or if taken chronically resulted in malnutrition, pellagra and chronic mental confusion.²¹⁸ In some cases, Gavini resulted in tuberculosis and most of the men who drank it were unemployed. Miss Duduzile Ngubane recalls:

“ Waqala waphuza uGavini, awusebenzi, wotha isigcaki ugadane neveni yamaphoyisa. Wawudumile uGavini, kwakusuka namakhaladi aseNewlands ngezinyawo ezowuthenga. Amanye awo ayewuthenga ukuba bawuphuze, abanye babewuthenga ngamagalane ukuze bawudayise” (“Gavini drinkers never worked, they sun bathed for the whole day and watched out for police van. “Gavini” was very popular amongst Coloured people from Newlands (Coloured township close to KwaMashu) who walked to KwaMashu to purchase this concoction some purely for self-enjoyment and others in large gallons for resale purposes).

²¹⁸ Memorandum concerning the consumption of Alcoholic Beverages by Non-Europeans with special reference to the results of illegal brewing in Cato Manor (Round Table of Durban, 1960), p.5.

Selling of Ijuba was popular in the 1960s, 1970s and also the 1980s. In each and every part of the township, there were houses that sold Ijuba and other European liquor. For example, Gogo MaZuma arrived in KwaMashu in the early 1980s. On her arrival, her brother ran an illegal liquor business and offered hospitality to his patrons. On his retirement, he returned back to Inkandla and she then took charge of the business.

“ Ukudayisa utshwala kuyasiza kakhulu ngoba kuba khona leyomadlana yokuthenga izinto ezincane zasendlini. Futhi ngidayisa kuze kubesebisuku, baningi abasizakalayo”²¹⁹ (Selling alcohol supplemented my income, I could afford to purchase house supplies. I operated till late hours and many patrons benefited from my service).

Image 9a: Ijuba Utshwala besiZulu

Image 9b: European liquor



Source: Ilanga laseNatal, 20 January 1980,p.3

Aze nga print oh, 110 pages emseImages 9a and 9b show two different social classes of African men who drank liquor in KwaMashu. Image 9a titled ‘ Ijuba Utshwala BesiZulu’ (Ijuba Zulu Beer) suggests that Ijuba was produced by and for the enjoyment of African people. The image shows four middle-aged African men who

²¹⁹ Interview with Gogo MaZuma, 2 April 2009.

identify themselves as authentic and aligned with the Zulu culture enjoying themselves while drinking Ijuba. The image shows a traditional drinking vessel 'Ukhamba' positioned next to Ijuba, suggesting the possible ways of drinking Ijuba, either from a carton or the conventional Zulu vessel 'ukhamba'.²²⁰ The caption titled 'Utshwala obuyisilomo obenza umuntu azizwe engumqemane enamandla' (the popular beer which rejuvenates and strengthens a person) suggests that Ijuba contains some form of nutritious elements that are good for African consumption. Image 9b shows a group of men relaxing and drinking European liquor.²²¹ The formal attire suggests that these men hold white-collar jobs. In this image, a group of African working class men is celebrating the year-end and sending off farewells. This image suggests that by the 1980s, Africans were accepted in different career fields and a new form of lifestyle was emerging. The image confirms that African men were entitled to purchase and enjoy European beer. The two images present an urban and semi-urban social identity developed in KwaMashu and the vicinity of Durban. Image 9a presents the semi-urban identity, whereby cultural values and African roots practised in the township. Most of the men who drank *Ijuba* were located in the hostel (Neighborhood Unit A), but some men from other units drank *Ijuba*. Image 9b presents an urban identity for which European liquor was the main source of drink. This is a generation mostly born and raised in the township and was identified with the Western habits. Because of this social stratification contrast, shebeens were divided in terms of urban sophistication or rural settings and some were a hybrid of both identities.

Gender, time and leisure

Most shebeens provided sustenance for hundreds of families in the township. Because of the low wages paid by employers in Durban, the African people sought different ways to supplement their incomes and increase their revenues in order to survive. Mr. R.B. Ngubane moved in Section G KwaMashu with his family in 1974, recalls how he supplemented his income for the sustenance of the family.

'When I got married, leisure time was not an option. After working for a while as a driver for a firm in Durban, I bought myself hair-cutting machines. During afternoon

²²⁰ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 20 January 1980, p.5.

²²¹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 20 January 1980, p.5.

and weekends, I normally cut people's hair. I purchased a season train ticket from KwaMashu to Durban with the money generated'.²²²

Mr. Ngubane's account suggests a clash between leisure and time reflecting the notion of semi-leisure discussed by Mathers in her study that focuses on the role of the museum as a leisure-learning programme. There were certain people who managed to find leisure time, but family care and provision for the children mattered the most. Leisure activity, for example drinking beer was accepted as the only time an individual man could mingle and socialize with neighbours and friends.

Interviews conducted with people residing in KwaMashu during the 1960s and 1970s suggests that most women and a few men spent most of their free time doing house work and repairs and taking care of their children. Mrs.E.R. Molefe, a KwaMashu resident and a nurse at King George Hospital in Durban stressed the importance of taking care of the children when not working and also how she spent and enjoyed her leisure time by doing gardening. Her chores and leisure time revolved around the household and garden.²²³

'uma ngingasebenzi ngangiwashela izingane zami, ngibagade, ngangithanda futhi ukkwenza ingadi, kwakungithokozisa ukubona izitshalo zami zithela' (After work, I washed my children's clothes and I loved gardening. It gave me joy to see my vegetable flourish).²²⁴

A large number of African women in KwaMashu were not employed during the 1960s and 1970s. Women's main task involved taking care of and raising the children, cleaning, cooking and running domestic errands. Women's leisure involved listening to the radio, gossiping, house visits and home improvement. The KwaMashu residents committee and the Durban City Council department of Business Undertaking, annually invited the National Bantu Trade Fairs (Batfair). The Batfair festival's first visit to the township was in 1963. Children, housewives and even husbands attended the festival. In 1964, an estimated 31,189 children and 33,085

²²² Interview with Mr. R.B. Ngubane, 22 May 2009.

²²³ The Durban Municipality encouraged gardening, for example, in Klaarwater, women with the best gardens were awarded for their work well done. The best garden was awarded R30,00, second R20,00 and the third price amounted to R10,00.

²²⁴ Interview with Mrs. E.R. Molefe, 27 April 2009.

adults attended the festival.²²⁵ Image 10 was taken at the 1965 KwaMashu Batfair festival. The image shows the Omo/ Stork demonstrations, where demonstrations were staged on how to do laundry by using Omo washing power and how to cook and bake using Stork margarine.²²⁶ Mrs. Laura Phethile demonstrated the best ways of cooking and baking using Stork margarine. Visitors were each given a coupon which was redeemable at any dealer in the township for 250g Stork margarine and as well as a coupon for 5% discount on Omo washing powder. Children's motor vehicles were also provided. The toy motor vehicles gave road instruction for the children, and the child that shows vast knowledge of road signs and instruction were awarded.

Image 10: Omo/ Stork Demonstration



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, Demonstration of Cooking Stork/ Omo Show, 2 April 1965, p.3

In the 1960s and 1970s, African men in Durban enjoyed trying their luck on horses. Most races took place at Greyville Race Course. Men from different hostels and townships would gather around these venues and bet on their favourite horses. Africans were not allowed to bet high stakes, certain minimum amount was stipulated for African bettors. The most popular race was the July Handicap. To encourage the

²²⁵ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Batfair Returns KwaMashu, 2 April 1965,p.3.

²²⁶ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Demonstration on Cooking at Stork/ Omo Show,10 April 1965,p.3. Image 5 was taken from the Batfair Supplement featured in the *Ilanga laseNatal* issued of the Batfair event week.

spirit of the tournament, every year *Ilanga laseNatal* posted a competition to the readers and awarded £15 to the reader who could fill up four horse numbers according to their win before the date of the race.

Image 11: Durban handicap/ Ilanga reader competition

**ILANGA LASE NATAL
'JULY' COMPETITION**

Ngibona ukuthi umphumela kaJuly Handicap womhlaka
July 2, uyoma kanje:-

ELOKUQALA	_____
ELESIBILI	_____
ELESITHATHU	_____
ELESINE	_____

Ngiyavuma ukuthi ngiyolalela imithetho yomncintisw
njengoba ilotshiwe kwi-Ilanga Lase Natal

IGAMA

IKHELI

(Siza ubhale ngamagama amakhulu okuprinta).

Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 25 June 1960, p.5

Image 11 shows the competition slip for the race taking place on the 2nd of July 1960. The reader who can name all the horse numbers in their winning order was to be announced on the 16th of July 1960.

Some women and men in KwaMashu were involved in gambling, either for enjoyment and fun, or to generate revenue that contribute to the family income. A Chinese game called 'Ufafi' or 'Umshayini' was very popular among women in the township. Women of KwaMashu played this game and it was illegal. But participation in gambling was very popular in KwaMashu. Mr Zwane gives an account on how the game was played:

“Maningi amakhosikazi ayedlala Ufafi, wawunobugebengu obukhulu. Kwakuthi uma kuphuma inombolo, amakhosikazi athiphise usikhwama ngophawu lenombolo ephumile. Yonke inombolo yayinophawu layo. Uma kungu 36 emakhadini,

babetshelana ukuthi iphumile inyoka'.²²⁷ (A large number of women operated 'Ufafi'. The game was illegal. The game operates by identifying the cards, which have been placed down by the game instructor. Women would make signals to the treasurer after the cards have been issued out by identifying the sign of the number issued. Every number had a symbol, for instance, number 36 represented a snake).

According to Mr. Zwane, the Chinese game ceased during the violent period in the early 1980s.²²⁸ Mr. Zwane also added that he heard through the grapevine that a group of women in Neighborhood Unit 11 (Section K) continued to play the game.²²⁹

Newspaper, magazines and radio

The content of *Ilanga laseNatal* in the 1960s suggests that more urban Africans in the province of Natal were reading newspapers.²³⁰ The reading of newspapers in Durban was considered more than just a leisure activity, but mandatory reading material for Africans. The newspaper not only updated them about the domestic and international news, but it also updated people about their social calendar, serial drama stories, important notices and sporting updates. In April 1960, one *Ilanga laseNatal* article titled 'More people are now reading newspapers' indicates the level of literacy amongst Africans. In the article, Mr. K.D.Dube, editor of the *Bantu Mirror* addressed members of the newly formed Luveve Club in Bulawayo (Rhodesia) about the importance of the press to any community.²³¹ Dube stated that the Press was an institution upon which men and women depended for knowledge of things, which happened every day of their lives. Dube argued that good press was just as important and essential to the well-being of a country as a good government and that the press was often the best security for the government.²³²

During the 1960s, the government distributed *Bantu* and *Bona* publications for Africans residing in urban areas. In 1961, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that the government published 800,500 copies of Bantu

²²⁷ Interview with Mr Zwane, 2 April 2009.

²²⁸ The 1980s is characterized by conflict between KwaMashu and the neighboring informal settlement of Lindelani. Violent attacks and counter-attacks by members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), United Democratic Movement (UDM) and African National Congress (ANC).

²²⁹ Interview with Mr Zwane, 2 April 2009.

²³¹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, More People are now Reading Newspaper, April 1960,p.5.

²³² *Ilanga laseNatal*, More people are now reading newspapers, 11 April 1960,p.5.

publications in both official languages (English and Afrikaans) and in five African languages.²³³ The minister also announced that the department of Bantu Educations had purchased 241, 800 copies of *Bona* for distribution to urban Africans at a cost of R14, 555. The Liberal Party argued that the content of *Bantu* and *Bona* consisted of Nationalist and Government propaganda infiltrated to the Africans. The Liberals were also concerned about the white and ‘non-white taxpayers’ money that funded the purchase and distribution of these publications. The content had nothing to do with the education of African people. The Minister of Bantu Education also purchased 62,000 copies per month of *Wamba* magazine because it offered good reading material for African children. Afrika Limited published *Wamba* in Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Venda and Tsonga.

On the 2nd of April 1965, the first issue of ‘*The Sun*’ was introduced by the *Ilanga laseNatal*. An *Ilanga* reporter stated that ‘The Sun’ intends to be the eyes, the ears and representative for the urban African people. This newspaper aimed at addressing the misconceptions about the Africans by other races by showing the life style of urban Africans.²³⁴ This newspaper was designed for Africans who aspired to independent thinking, taking interest in the world and all that was about them. It was a platform to offer responses and present the African side of the story. ‘The Sun’ was seen as synonymous with the new African.

In the 1960s and 1970s, listening to the radio was a popular pastime for the residents of KwaMashu. Families gathered together and listened to their favorite programmes offered by Radio Bantu. This radio station was controlled and managed by the South African government. Africans for example, Mr Masinga, were employed as programme broadcasters who interacted with the African people. African artists were given a platform to record music that related to their people. During this period, the South African Broadcasting Station (SABC) provided two hours in the morning for Zulu programmes.²³⁵ The morning hours of broadcast were inconvenient for African workers who were either on their way to work or already at work. *Ilanga*

²³³ South Africa. House of Assembly. *Debates of the House of Assembly*. (Cape Town: Parliament, 22 January, 1962), pp.221-222.

²³⁴ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 2 April 1965,p.7.

²³⁵ Radio Bantu (Zulu programme) aired from 05:30am to 06:30 am and also from 09:30-10:30am.

laseNatal received several suggestions that the SABC should provide evening broadcasts for African listeners.

‘ The evening hours would be the perfect time for broadcast. The family gathered together and is ready to pass time by listening to the current news of the day. This is an opportunity to entertain and inform the African people and it should not be missed. It is the time when parents can teach their children moral values broadcasted in the radio’.²³⁶ Mr. K.E. Masinga, chief Zulu Broadcaster was very popular and defined Zulu broadcasting for over two decades (1940s and 1950s). The complaints urged Mr. Masinga to convey the suggestions about the time slots, in order for necessary changes to be made. Mr. Vela Ngcobo recalls growing up in KwaMashu, listening to Mr. Masinga as a thrilling experience.

‘ Kwakuthi uma kungena uMasinga, wonke umuntu elokishini wayegijima endlini eyolalela . Sasisincane isikhathi kodwa sasikujabulela ukumlalela’²³⁷ (Whenever Masinga broadcasted, everyone in the township listened to the radio. Though time was limited, we enjoyed listening to him).

In 1965, Mr. Masinga announced his retirement and his move to a new business venture. At a farewell ceremony hosted in KwaMashu, Mr. Champion appreciated the hard work and the contribution to African development through radio accomplished by Mr. Masinga. But he rejected the manner in which Radio Bantu operated. He argued that the station was very harmful to African people through its broadcasting.²³⁸ He was quoted stating:

‘ Many of you here probably do not know the significance of the radio you listen to and all that is broadcast on the air. I want to tell you that the radio is a powerful propaganda weapon if it is used by your enemy it can be detrimental’.

Masinga and Champion believe that the survival and progress of African people had to be built not only on political organizations but also upon the base of economic development and self-sufficiency. They also promoted the interests of

²³⁶ *Ilanga laseNatal*, S.A.B.C. Zulu Programmes, 2 July 1960,p.4.

²³⁷ Interview with Mr. V. Ngcobo, 05 May 2009.

²³⁸ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Mr. A.W.G Champion slams Radio Bantu, 11 December 1965.The Sun: Weekend Edition.

African enterprise and capital accumulation through co-operative ventures.²³⁹ Maylam suggests that Champion was quite happy to appeal to a sense of Zulu ethnic identity in order to mobilize support for his organization.²⁴⁰ Complaints about the Radio Bantu programmes were received on a regular basis by *Ilanga laseNatal*. For example, a reader from Ozwathini complained that Radio Bantu provided the people with weak material instead of intense intellectual and interesting programmes.²⁴¹

‘Sinikezwa ubusi njengezingane, asinikezwa okuqinile, uma silalela sinikwa ukuhlabelela kube iyona into ephambili nsuku zonke’ (We are given light material like children, it is music all day long, every day).

Africans complained about the lack of national and international news broadcasting. They urged the station not to report trivial and useless matters. Image 12 titled ‘a man who own a radio enjoys more and learn more’ highlights the importance of radio for African families in the 1960s. The caption suggests that an individual who owns a radio finds time for leisure and is insightful. The image shows an African family listening to the radio. Two boys are dancing while parents cheer them on. The image suggests that, by owning a radio, togetherness of family members can be achieved. The three different radio transmitters at different price ranges suggest that every urban and rural African could purchase a radio. The use of ‘Eveready battery’ emphasized the portability of a radio set.

²³⁹ Swanson, M., ‘The Fate of the Natives’: black Durban and African Ideology’, *Natalia*, Vol. 14, p. 60.

²⁴⁰ Maylam, P. *The Historical background to the Natal Violence: Extension Series lecture*, (University of Natal, 1989), p. 70.

²⁴¹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, iRadio Bantu iyehluleka, 11 December 1965, p. 5.

Image 12: Radio Advertisement

A MAN WHO OWNS A RADIO
enjoys more and learns more

—listen for only 1d. an hour with an EVEREADY Battery Radio

A radio brings you all the things you want to hear and know about. It entertains and amuses you—and also helps you get knowledge of the world. Music from the world's finest bands—sports news—thrilling radio plays—valuable education programmes; . . . all these can be yours at the flick of a switch. They're yours whenever you want them when you own an EVEREADY battery radio.

And you can use your EVEREADY radio indoors or outdoors—carry it with you wherever you want—it's always ready to play! It does not need house electricity. It is powered by a strong, long-lasting EVEREADY battery that gives you hundreds of hours good listening for as little as a 1d. an hour!

When you buy a radio choose EVEREADY—and you'll always be sure of getting the right batteries to fit it.

'SPACE CADET'
Portable Radio
Amazing performance. 4 valves. Broadcast and short wave. Two colour washable finish. Price £14-19-6 (Battery extra.)

'SPACEGRAM'
Portable Radiogram
No winding! EVEREADY Super No. 1 Battery gives more than 300 hours listening at as little as 1d. per hour. Record player. Battery runs more than a 100 hours at less than 1d. an hour. Price only £29-19-6. (Batteries extra.)

'SPACE LEADER'
Portable Radio
Cheap to run . . . hand-some. 5 valves. Broadcast and short wave. Special internal aerial cuts out interference. Price £16-19-6. (Battery extra.)

'SPACE HUNTER'
Table Radio
Terrific value! 4 valves. Broadcast and shortwave. Polished wooden cabinet. Price £13-19-6 (Battery extra.)

Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, December 1965, p.6.

African musicians were encouraged to record their work. Mr. Reg Morris, a well-known musical personality in Durban, stated that his recording company had installed modern machinery and equipment to enable African recording artists to showcase their talent in order for big record company recognition.²⁴² There were a number of groups that showed potential to become recording artists. For example, the Ink Splashers from Durban always impressed the audience wherever they performed.

²⁴² *Ilanga laseNatal*, Big Chance for Durban artists, 23 July, 1960, p.3.

Image 13: The Ink Splashers



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal* ,14 May 1960,p.4.

This picture was taken just before their big performance “Nite in Havana” which took place in the Durban City Hall. From the back row (from left) is Elias Mavuso and William Lushaba and front row (from left) is Eric Dladla and Simon Ndebele.²⁴³ Other successful groups included *The Bean Brothers* and *Black and White*.

Youth and Leisure in KwaMashu

For urban African youth, government provided facilities were not the only means of pastime. Children played different games at close proximity to their homes. These games required no monetary payment or purchased equipment. Boys would play soccer on the street (using bricks as their goal posts) and girls would play games like 3 tin, Sprite and group games. Some of the games consisted of both girls and boys, for example Donkey²⁴⁴. These games were carried over from one age group to the next and still exist to this day. Mrs. B. Ngubane recalls how the young children recited rhymes accompanied by moves, as part of their games. One of the rhymes goes as follows;

²⁴³ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 14 May 1960, p.4.

²⁴⁴ 3 Tin game is a competitive game whereby the players are divided into two teams. Each team tries to align 3 tins of different size, on top of each other, while the other team blocks by eliminating other members using a soft ball. Sprite required energetic children who would be able to complete the task of pushing an object by foot through different block sizes. Donkey was popular amongst teenagers and involved harsh penalties, for example, drinking 2 litres of water

Mumbi umakhelwane,
esithi umasakheleni
abethutha izindaba
Mumbi umakhelwane
(A bad neighbor is the one who spread
rumors about other neighbors
while we are all neighbors)

Children's games grouped children according to gender and according to residential blocks or streets. During teenage years, these games became unappealing because teenagers were interested in self-discovery. Girls pulled back from the streets and created new forms of leisure within the household. For some boys, drinking, smoking and becoming a gang member were popular trends.

Young women growing up and residing in KwaMashu were influenced by western ideas of femininity. Women were using make-up and changing hairstyles on a regular basis. Different views circulated among men concerning women's empowerment and self-expression of their femininity. The majority of African men opposed the use of make-up and while other some men supported the new look and self-esteem. For example, Mr. Isaac Mthembu of Point Road addressed his concerns about women and make-up on the *Ilanga laseNatal* (21 May 1960).²⁴⁵ Mr. Mthembu was unhappy about how African women applied make-up on regular basis. He argued that this culture was alien to Africans and if encouraged, it should only be permitted on special occasions. He stated that women applying make-up lacked self-control and parental guidance. African men believed that women using make-up and changing hairstyles sought the attention of European and Indian men. Gender patterns were changing as the media continually encouraged women advancement in society. For example, an *Ilanga* issue titled 'Come on Girls, put on your lipstick and look pretty' suggests that it was time for women to apply western cosmetics and improve their image.²⁴⁶ The feature also offered the best technique of applying lipstick and what shade works for what skin tone.

Dressing up for special occasions or visiting the city was popular amongst African men residing in KwaMashu. It offered a way of expressing one's sense of

²⁴⁵ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Onobuhle abalula izinwele, bapende imilomo kanye nezinzapho, 2 July 1960, p.5.

²⁴⁶ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Come on Girls: put your lipstick and look pretty, December 1960, p.5.

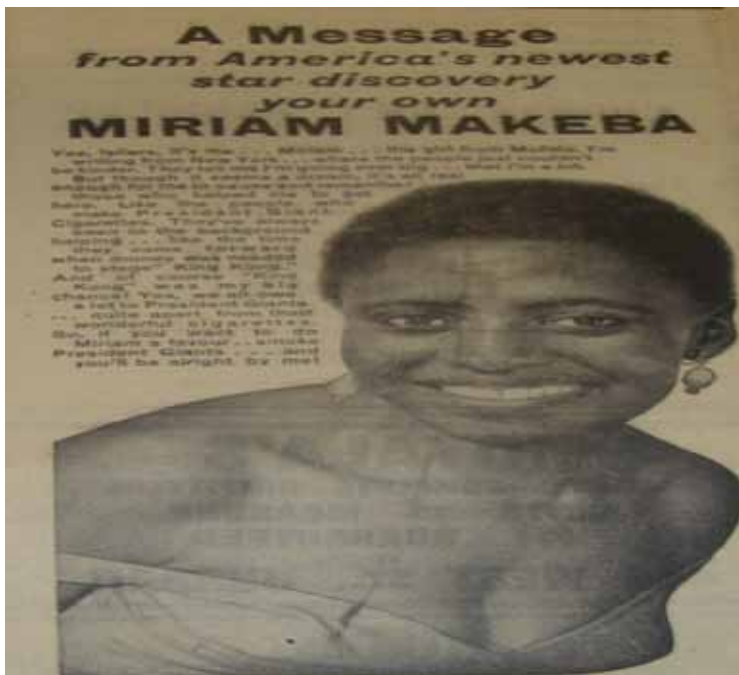
style, modernity and masculinity. Young men would dress up in order to look presentable and charm the ladies. Fashion trends adopted from Western countries defined the meaning of fashion and style for urban Africans. *Ilanga laseNatal* through the social pages presented the different trends that were adopted in the city. For example, image 14 shows African men posing for picture shots. These two sets of images present different fashion styles that influenced Africans during the 1960s. These images suggest that different styles of dressing presented and defined different characters. For example, the young men wearing a tie, sunglasses and a watch show that Africans had accepted the use of accessories and influences of western society. Every modern man owned a watch. The wearing of dark glasses or “shades” could also be associated with fashion trends presented by western movies watched by Africans in Indian owned cinemas like the Raj and Scala. It also became a trend to use South African celebrities to promote activities or products that were directly linked to leisure or recreation. Image 15 shows an advertisement by President Giant cigarettes. The advertisement uses Miriam Makeba, South African popular artist as the cover girl.

Image 14: Dressing up and masculinity



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal* ,1965, p.4

Image 15: Miriam Makeba on President Giants cigarettes



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 9 March 1960, p.4.

The Beatrice Y.M.C.A (previously known as the Bantu Social Centre) provided social programmes for Africans working in the city of Durban during the 1960s and 1970s. A large proportion of the KwaMashu working class attended the social activities offered at the Y.M.C.A after work and over the weekend. These activities were not available in the new township. The programmes were grouped into three categories namely, individual development (writing and reading classes), group development (sport) and serving the needs of the community. On the weekends, residents from KwaMashu and other townships gathered at this venue for musical performances, dance shows and other types of concerts. The Y.M.C.A (Young Men's Christian Association) became a place where residents from different locations met and engaged in leisure and recreation activities. For example, the annual Miss Durban beauty pageant was hosted by the Y.M.C.A. In most cases, the organizers grouped different performances into one event in order to attract larger crowds.

Image 16a: Flying Jazz Dance



Image 16b: Jazz Crazy Night



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, June 1960,p.3.

Image 16a and 16b show two of the events hosted by the Y.M.C.A. Image 16a shows a group of urban Africans dancing to live music. The dance was known as the ‘ Flying Jazz’ and Rupert ‘Bops’ Bupane, Isaac ‘Zaaks’ Nkosi, Louis Rathebe the comedian and Zaphaniah Nkabinde, all from E.M.I recording company, originated in Johannesburg.²⁴⁷ The performers waved their arms as if flying and turning round, bowing down with a scoop movement like a hawk snatching a chicken from its nest. The dance was smooth and effortless, and it was suitable for people of all ages. The adoption of other cultural activities from other major townships suggested that the urban Africans in Durban aligned themselves with current trends of entertainment. Image 16b shows Anthony Nkabinde and his partner dancing jive. The image shows an exciting young couple enjoying a lively dance. The clothes worn by both Nkabinde and his partner suggest that the 1960s were about fashion, music, dance and social interaction.

²⁴⁷ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Miss Durban’ contest, 16 June 1960, p.4.

Miss Durban beauty pageant was a very popular event each year. On the 1st of June 1960, the annual Miss Durban contest was held at the Y.M.C.A Bantu Social Centre. As part of the entertainment, a July Ball was organized to take place after the pageant with music rendered by the Rhythm Aces of Durban. The Miss Durban winner was awarded a brand new sewing machine. Gift parcels were given to the for runners-up. The image below shows the finalist entering the competition for Miss Durban 1960.

Image 17: Miss Durban finalist



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 'Miss Durban' contest, 16 June 1960, p.4.

In April 1965, members of Beatrice Y.M.C.A complained about the conditions at the bus stop close to the centre. It was reported that thieves and criminals were loitering around the bus stop and that there were several cases of pick pocketing. Some members terminated membership because of the safety conditions around the centre.²⁴⁸ The committee addressed the issue to the City Council in order to prevent further membership termination. Security guards were assigned to patrol around the centre. In the 1970s, the Y.M.C.A served as a sanctuary and an escape zone for the residents of KwaMashu. Mr. Ngubane recalls the times he spent in the centre.

‘ During the 1970s I used to sing with a group. We used to practice at Y.M.C.A. and we were given access cards for entrance purposes. As time progressed, we were

²⁴⁸ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Kuyesabeka e YMCA, 17 April 1965, p.3.

granted permission to use the hall in Neighborhood Unit 6 (Section F) under the management of Mr. Mkhize, the school teacher'.²⁴⁹

The Natal Regional Council of Y.M.C.A was responsible for all the branches in the province of Natal. For several years, the Beatrice Y.M.C.A worked towards autonomy.²⁵⁰ As from 1964, Africans began to take over the position of General Secretary and in 1966 the first African was elected Chairman. By 1973, the board of management was made up of Africans but the National Regional Council of Y.M.C.As still had the final say in the running of the Beatrice Y.M.C.A.²⁵¹ Port Natal Administration offered financial grants to the Y.M.C.A and also extended its control over the association.

In the early 1970s, members of the Durban YMCA residing in KwaMashu requested the establishment of a Y.M.C.A branch in the township. Transportation costs and safety in the city centre were partly the reason for the new branch. The aim was to bring facilities into the relationship so that a large number of youth and young adult could participate regularly without incurring transportation costs. Members forwarded an application to the Bantu Administration Department and Port Natal Administration Board for a site in KwaMashu.²⁵² On the 25th of October 1973, Mr. E.R. Irvine the town clerk informed the Director of Durban Bantu Administration of the site (Site T.78) for the establishment of the KwaMashu Y.M.C.A.²⁵³ The right to occupy the Y.M.C.A premises was set on a yearly basis. The Port Natal Administration Board advised the leadership of the KwaMashu Y.M.C.A that the premises were to be used solely for what the venue had been granted for and that no non- Africans might reside or be accommodated in this centre.²⁵⁴

Theatre and cinema were very popular amongst younger African working class, for instance nurses. Cinema venues, for example The Raj, Tajehan and Scala

²⁴⁹ Interview with Mr. R.B. Ngubane, 22 May 2009.

²⁵⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board. Beatrice Street Y.M.C.A Annual Report, January 1978-March 1979, p. 2.

²⁵¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board. Beatrice Street Y.M.C.A Annual Report January 1978-March 1979, p.2.

²⁵² Port Natal Administration Board was inaugurated in 1973 and took control of all the Durban Corporation departments and accounts.

²⁵³ The Durban Archive Repository. The Durban City Town Clerk Documents, 25 October 1973, p.1.

²⁵⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Permission to Occupy Site T78, November 1973, p.1.

catered for non- European viewers. Most of the shows during weekdays were during daytime because African people passed their break time by watching movies at these venues. Mrs. E.R. Molefe, nurse at the King George V Hospital (1960s-2002) in Durban recalls how she and her friends spent their free time.

‘ When I started working in King George Hospital, cinema viewing was very popular amongst the nursing staff. Our staff breaks were between 13:00 pm – 16:00 pm and return to duty. During break time, my friends and I would go to the movies. During that time, Indian owned cinema for example Raj Cinema on Prince Edward, Tajehan and Scala were very popular places. After the movie, we hopped in a bus costing 2 ½ cent per trip.’²⁵⁵

The opening of KwaMashu Cinema provided enjoyment for both young people and adults. Weekends, school vacation and Christmas holidays operated to full capacity. Theatre shows were screened for Africans in Durban. The introduction of “Mkhumbane, theatrical play” in 1960 was an excellent production. The Director of the musical play, Mr. Malcom Wilson identified the musical as the beginning of a tremendous new era in African music.²⁵⁶ Todd Matshikiza composed the music for “Mkhumbane” and it portrayed the lives of Zulu people living in Cato Manor. Through the medium of music, Matshikiza attempted to show that the African society still preserved morals and human dignity and these values were not degraded by the living conditions in Cato Manor. This musical consisted of a cast of 130 Africans and was set out to illustrate the essentiality of music to African’s way of life.

Sports: Soccer and boxing

The previous chapter outlined all the Durban Corporation youth recreational facilities. The facilities included a soccer stadium, playing grounds, tennis fields, swimming pools, cinema and halls. These facilities were used to their capacity. Boxing and soccer were the two best-supported sports in the 1960s. The government enforced control in South African boxing. Promoters were active in promoting boxers across races. The government gazette forbade any contract on boxing between White and non-White, and also forbade white persons acting as manager, promoter, and

²⁵⁵ Interview with Mrs. E.R. Molefe, 27 April 2009.

²⁵⁶ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Mkhumbane seen as the new era in African music, 20 March 1960, p. 4.

adviser or participating in any black boxing tournament.²⁵⁷ The reporter of *Ilanga* sport column argued that the new rule would never be put into practical operation, because races that shared the passion of boxing would mingle during the tournament. If the rule were passed, European fans would not be allowed to attend black tournaments. Mr. Frank Ashe, State Secretary of the Natal Boxing Board of Control stated that the existing Board would continue its task of controlling African and European boxing as they had done in the past. Ashe stated that under the new rule, entertaining ring acrobatics (especially performed by African boxers, like ‘Kangaroo’ Maoto) would not be permitted. The new set of rules if implemented meant that the enjoyment of boxing would be jeopardized.

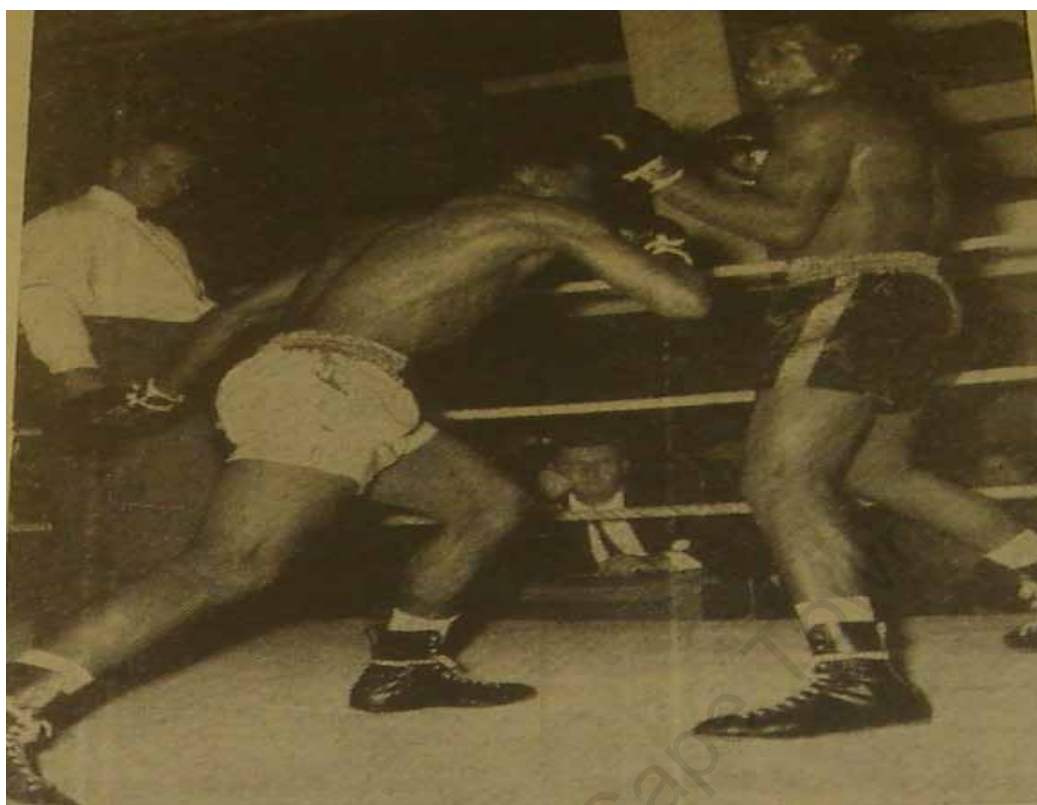
Even though boxing lacked proper organization, Durban’s veteran Nat Moodley and the young Razarka Sarkhot of the City Promoters became rising boxing promoters. Boxing promoters were reluctant to host big matches that generated little profit. Durban Corporation did not encourage the sport through subsidies or any other form of monetary assistantship. The sport journalist of *Ilanga laseNatal* suggested that it would take more than two prominent boxing promoters to revive the sport.²⁵⁸ In an attempt to revive boxing, the Y.M.C.A Bantu Social Centre hosted a series of professional boxing tourneys. The image below was taken of the June 1960 Y.M.C.A Natal Welterweight Championship. In the image, Lawrence “Brown Berry” Makhanye is attacking Joseph “Zulu Mahlabathi” Sishi. Makhanye lost the title to Sishi on a technical knock out at the end of the fifth round.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ *Ilanga laseNatal*, The boxing game is fast dying in Durban, January 1960, p.7.

²⁵⁸ *Ilanga laseNatal*, The boxing game is fast dying in Durban, January 1960, p.7.

²⁵⁹ *Ilanga laseNatal*, 19 June 1960, p.7.

Image 18: Boxing match at the Y.M.C.A Bantu Social Centre



Source: *Ilanga lase Natal*, 19 June 1960, p.7.

Mr. Zwane recalls how popular boxing was amongst the residents of KwaMashu. 'Boxing was very popular amongst KwaMashu residents. We watched boxing at Kallisfontein and other matches were staged at the city hall. Some of the boxers were from KwaMashu and were organized by Star and Clarence from Neighborhood 3 (Section C). Boxing matches in KwaMashu were held at the community hall in Section C and F. The venues in Wema and Kallisfontein hosted big international matches'.²⁶⁰

On the 4th of December 1960, the boxing organizers in KwaMashu Township hosted its first Natal Bantu Amateur Boxing Associations Championship. This tournament included contestants from other Durban townships, for example Chesterville and Glebelands and it was staged at a local Community Hall. In the Flyweight division, Simon Dladla of KwaMashu drew in a fight against Michael Gumede of Chesterville and Reymond Nkosi from KwaMashu drew in a fight against Otto Sithole of Glebelands. There were also other matches under the Bantamweight,

²⁶⁰ Interview with Mr. Zwane, 2 April 2009.

Heavyweight and Featherweight division. The tournament was followed by music and dance.

In the 1960s, the Durban and District Football Associations controlled the local soccer grounds in KwaMashu. The teams associated with the Durban Association used the KwaMashu soccer grounds, annoying KwaMashu youth. In 1962, the residents expressed their dissatisfaction. The residents of KwaMashu stated that since they purchased the houses, their children were entitled to use the sport grounds in the township and they would not entertain interference from outside bodies that wanted to exercise control over the soccer grounds.²⁶¹ This mirrors the views raised by Zeleza that recreation and leisure can deepen our understanding of contestations over resources in African societies. The residents committee resolved the issue by an investigation whether the grounds of KwaMashu fall under the jurisdiction of the Ground's Association for the matches conducted by the Durban and District Football Association, whether the ground's Association would give KwaMashu residents the necessary recognition if they formed their own association in order to operate the grounds, and whether the Ground Association had anything to do with the soccer grounds in KwaMashu.²⁶² After consultation, the chairman of the Residents Committee confirmed that the soccer grounds in KwaMashu fell under the jurisdiction of the Ground's Association. The Association nevertheless agreed in principle to recognize a football association in KwaMashu.

In 1965, the Durban North Football Association began arranging matches on weekends in KwaMashu Stadium. Matches began at 10:15 am and continued until the late afternoon. The afternoon matches when everyone was out from work, were reserved for the well-supported and popular teams. For example, on the 16th of January 1965, the well-supported Zulu Royal versus Stone Breakers match took place in the afternoon. Notices about the games were printed in *Ilanga* and also by word of mouth. The establishment of the Durban North Football Association created opportunities for the talented youth of KwaMashu, while the number of spectators

²⁶¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Residents' Committee, (18 February, 1962), p. 7.

²⁶² The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the KwaMashu Residents' Committee (18 February, 1962), p. 8.

increased dramatically. Mr. Zwane gives an account of the origins of soccer in KwaMashu.

‘ In the late 1960s and 1970s, there were location based soccer clubs. It is recent news for spectators to pay to watch football match. The first clubs established in the Durban townships were Zulu Royal, African Wanderers and later Umlazi Citizen, Golden Arrows and Bush Bucks’.²⁶³

In 1976, the Lamontville Golden Arrows United made history at the KwaMashu Stadium when it became the first Natal soccer team to beat the powerful AmaZulu Football Club ‘Usuthu’ since the founding of the Natal Professional Soccer League (NPSL) in 1971.²⁶⁴ The excellent performance and talent by Cecil ‘Lavilation’ Chilisa and goalkeeper Ndoda ‘Gorilla’ Peters secured a 3-0 win against AmaZulu. Important matches were normally held during Sundays when most of KwaMashu residents and other residents from other townships were not working.

Image 19 shows a group of young men affiliated with Sokesimbona Football Club of Durban. This club was very popular in Durban and attracted very talented soccer players. Socializing and eating meals together after soccer matches was very popular among players.

Image 18: Sokesimbone F.C.



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal*, 21 May 1960, p.7.

²⁶³ Interview with Mr. Zwane, 2 April 2009.

²⁶⁴ *The Daily News*, Arrows beat AmaZulu and made history, June 1976, p.8.

Several violent incidents were reported to have taken place at the KwaMashu Soccer Stadium. Finding ways of discouraging opposing teams was very popular in Durban, with referees favoring certain teams, misinterpreting play and failing to represent all teams equally and also through the rough behavior of supporters. In such cases, the police intervened and enforced peace among residents. For example, in January 1965, a match between Zulu Royal and Brave Tigers was peacefully played under the supervision of the Corporation's police stationed at Redhill. Mr. G. Kubheka, chair of the Durban North Football Association notified the police when the disputes arose between players and supporters.²⁶⁵ On the arrival of Redhill Station police, the crowd calmed down and the game proceeded without any disturbance.

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²⁶⁵ *Ilanga laseNatal*, January 1965, p.10.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the residents of KwaMashu created and participated in different recreational and leisure activities. Drinking, listening to the radio, and participation and support of boxing and soccer were the most popular past time enjoyed by many residents of KwaMashu. The difference between recreational activities was characterized in most cases by age and monetary possession. Associations like the Y.M.C.A provide more than just recreational centres. The Y.M.C.A was a place where different urban cultures were created. This chapter has also shown the importance of the recreational facilities provided by the city of Durban in helping the residents of KwaMashu to develop organized leisure activities.

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Chapter 4: Effect of Inkatha control over KwaMashu

The residents of KwaMashu had anticipated the incorporation of the township into the KwaZulu homeland under the Department of Bantu Administration for a very long time. During his inspection visit in KwaMashu on the 25th September 1969, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development Mr.M.C. Botha, explained that the Government felt that it would be of great benefit to Africans if KwaMashu was incorporated into the Bantu homeland that it adjoined. He explained that the financing of the takeover would be the responsibility of the South African Bantu Trust, which would obtain the necessary money from the Government Treasury.²⁶⁶ The Durban City Council Director of Bantu Administration, Mr. Bourquin indicated that the Departmental Sub-Committee had been assigned to investigate the various aspects involved in such a take over.²⁶⁷

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leaders were eager for the KwaMashu incorporation because it was going to bring the township, which had been historically hostile to IFP, directly under their control. This would provide a unique opportunity to suppress opposition and expand IFP's power base into this important urban constituency.²⁶⁸ Most residents of KwaMashu opposed the idea of incorporation into the KwaZulu homeland. Residents opposed the incorporation because they saw that transferring the responsibilities for housing services to an impoverished, inefficient and corrupt Bantustan administration was a disaster.²⁶⁹ Some residents feared the possibility of losing their urban residents' rights that allowed them to live and seek work in the white urban areas. Those who did not support Inkatha feared that if KwaMashu were incorporated into KwaZulu, they would become victims of violent attacks and antagonism from Inkatha supporters. By 1977, Umlazi and KwaMashu were incorporated into KwaZulu, encompassing approximately 200, 000 Africans who worked in the city of Durban. This chapter aims to show how the impact of incorporation into KwaZulu affected the residents of KwaMashu. It also discusses the

²⁶⁶ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the Durban Bantu Administration and Development, 1969, p.1.

²⁶⁷ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the Durban Bantu Administration and Development. Future Control and Administration of KwaMashu Township, (25 September, 1969), p.1.

²⁶⁸ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the Durban Bantu Administration and Development, 1977, p.326.

²⁶⁹ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of the Durban Bantu Administration and Development, 1969, p.337.

new roles of the Durban Corporation and the Port Natal Bantu Administration Board. It further explores the effects of incorporation on recreational services, housing and social welfare provision in KwaMashu. It also shows how the dominance and control of Inkatha over KwaMashu resulted in a clash with ANC/ UDF supporters, and how this clash affected participation in leisure activities. Maylam distinguished Inkatha from UDF explaining that Inkatha was an organization representing a narrow ethnic nationalism while the UDF expressed a commitment to a broader non-racial democracy.²⁷⁰

Transfer of assets and administration to KwaZulu

The 1976/77 budget allocated by the central government to the KwaZulu government increased and topped R100 million for the first time.²⁷¹ The increased budget expenditure of R113,6 million accounted for the take over of Durban townships by KwaZulu government. The objectives for the expenditure focused on land planning and conservation, settlement of population, employment creation, development of human potential, infrastructure, government and administration services and provision of social service.²⁷² The lion's share of the budget expenditure was allocated to departmental works, which included community affairs, finance, education and culture, justice, forestry and agriculture. The large budget did not impress all who might benefit from it and some civil servants were reluctant to move to the new offices in Ulundi. *The Daily News* reported that more than half of the designated employees for Ulundi resigned from government service.²⁷³ Out of 137 vacant posts in Ulundi, only 61 were filled, made up of 51 African and 10 white employees. KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi blamed the newspapers for blowing out of proportion questions about salaries and reallocation. He pointed out that the KwaZulu government was blamed for mistakes done by the central government.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Maylam,P. *The Historical background to the Natal Violence: Extension Series lecture*, (University of Natal, 1989), p.68.

²⁷¹ *The Daily News*, KwaZulu budget tops R100 million for the first time, 19 May 1976, p.3.

²⁷² *The Daily News*, KwaZulu budget tops R100 million for the first time, 19 May 1976, p.3.

²⁷³ *The Daily News*, Civil Servants reluctant to work in Ulundi 'bundu', 19 May 1976, p.4.

²⁷⁴ *The Daily News*, Civil Servants reluctant to work in Ulundi ' bundu', 19 May 1976,p.4.

Through its control of the KwaZulu Government, Inkatha influenced social and political decisions taken for KwaMashu. Inkatha members controlled the community council of KwaMashu and Umlazi, which fell under the KwaZulu administration.²⁷⁵ Maylam suggests that the KwaZulu self-government was a sham, Africans had no voice in the making of the structure in which they were supposed to participate.²⁷⁶ The majority of the members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly were chiefs who were not elected members. A large number of residents in KwaMashu and other townships registered as Inkatha members solely because membership offered better chances of employment. A survey conducted amongst IFP membership in KwaMashu in 1980s revealed that 81% of interviewees associated their membership of the party with the possibility of employment and career development.²⁷⁷ However, 75 % also stated that they believed that by joining IFP, they were contributing towards the termination of racial discrimination in the country.²⁷⁸

The Port Natal Bantu Administration Board requested that the KwaZulu government take over all assets and liabilities, including plant and equipment, outstanding rentals and debts and that the Board should not be responsible for any expenditure or losses thereafter.²⁷⁹ The KwaZulu government was to take over, the sorghum beer outlet, other liquor outlets, movable assets (trucks) and staff employed in KwaMashu.²⁸⁰ The liquor division consisted of a total of two bottle stores/ bar complexes (neighborhood unit 1 and 3) and three bottle stores (neighborhood unit 6, 11 and Township Centre). Collectively these outlets generated a turnover of R3 million in 1976, while contributing R40, 000 towards the Board's overheads, R60,000 to the cost of Security Corps and yielded a net profit estimated at R0,12 million.²⁸¹

²⁷⁵ South African Institute of Race Relation. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1976, p.155.

²⁷⁶ Maylam, P. *The Historical background to the Natal Violence: Extension Series lecture*, (University of Natal, 1989), p.72.

²⁷⁷ Lodge, T, 'Other Political Forces' in Lodge, T, Nasson, B, Mufson, S, Shibane K and Sithole, N (eds), *All Here and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s* (Ford Foundation- David Philip: Cape Town, 1991), p. 155.

²⁷⁸ Lodge, T, 'Other Political Forces', p.155.

²⁷⁹ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Bantu Administration Committee. City Engineer Department, (27 August, 1969), p. 1

²⁸⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Department of Business Undertakings Executive Committee Report, (30 June 1976), p.1

²⁸¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Department of Business Undertakings Executive Committee Report, (30 June 1976), p.1.

The sorghum beer division consisted of eight outlets at the neighborhood units 1,2 and beerhalls at units 3,5,6,10,11 and at the Township Centre. The total annual sales of sorghum beer for the year amounted to 13 million litres and packaged 7 million beer litres. Meanwhile the loss accounted by the Board during the takeover was estimated at R190, 000. The main problems that dragged the handover process involved transfer of licenses, drawing of contracts to supply sorghum beer, and decisions about which staff, in particular drivers, were to be retained.²⁸² Following the incorporation of KwaMashu into KwaZulu on 1 April 1977, the Port Natal Bantu Administration Board agreed to operate the liquor outlets for an unspecified period, in order to allow time for all the legal requirements to be completed.²⁸³ The Board requested KwaZulu government to offer employment to the staff concerned. On the 3rd October 1978, a notice was received from the Finance Department in Ulundi, stating that the liquor outlets in neighborhood units, 1,3,6 and 11 would shortly be sold to private individuals and that the Bottle Store at Township Centre would be run by the KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC).

In October 1978, the Board's Department of Business Undertakings reported that it seemed that the KwaZulu government no longer intended to honour its promise to offer alternate employment to the staff concerned. Rather, KwaZulu declared posts redundant and debited the KwaMashu liquor account, which the Board operated as a trust account for the KwaZulu authorities, with outstanding costs. The KwaZulu government recommended that the Bottle Stores in KwaMashu be sold to private entrepreneurs, who would continue to employ the previous employees.²⁸⁴ Mr. Gregory from the KwaZulu government stated that the outlets and beerhalls were to be sold in April 1979.²⁸⁵ On 30 April 1979, an invitation to persons who qualify as KwaZulu citizens to apply for trading rights in KwaMashu.²⁸⁶ The closing date for application was on the 6th June 1979, followed by handing of full particulars, business

²⁸² The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Department of Business Undertakings Executive Committee Report, (3 October, 1978), p.1.

²⁸³ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Department of Business Undertakings Executive Committee Report, (30 June 1976), p.1.

²⁸⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board. Department of Business Undertakings Executive Committee Report, (6 December, 1978), p.2.

²⁸⁵ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board,p.2.

²⁸⁶ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration. Department of Business Undertaking: Central District, p. 1.

plans and capital account documents.²⁸⁷ The following table lists the selling price of beerhalls, bottle stores and bars calculated by the Port Natal Administration Department of Business Undertaking in 30 April 1979.

Table 15: Sale of KwaMashu liquor outlet and beerhalls: April 1979

Items for sale	Bar and Bottle Stores (Hostel)	Bar and Bottle Store (Unit C)	Bottle Stores (Unit L)
Building, Fixtures and Equipment	R76, 900	R96, 000	R58, 500
Good Saleable Stock (Approximate Value)	R21, 000	R23, 500	R16, 000
Total	R98, 000	R119, 500	R74, 500

Source: The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board. Business Undertaking Department, p.1.

A total of 24 Bantu graded employees, 43 laborers and a further 24 Bantu security guards had worked for the Durban Corporation and Port Natal Administration and were subject to Bantu Administration Act 45 of 1971.²⁸⁸ The City Council requested that all employees over the age of 40 who had worked more than 10 years of continuous municipal service, should be entitled to retire with pensions calculated on his/ her current salary but with an additional 10 years. If the employee was less than 40 years of age and or had less than 10 years service, he would be entitled to choose to retire and to receive both his and the City Council's contributions to the Superannuation Fund plus interest.

The KwaZulu government and the Board negotiated that the staff employed in KwaMashu business undertakings were to be employed in their respective jobs or be allocated to other departments. In KwaMashu, the transfer affected the following occupants: 5 head barmen, 6 senior bottle store attendants, 4 senior (bar and bottle) store attendants, 1 cashier/barman, 1 waiter and 40 labourers. The Secretary for Authority Affairs Mr. Gregory, in terms of the Bantu Administration Act 45 of 1971, said that the employees were to be given 6 months notice of intended redundancy unless alternative employment was offered and accepted by the employees.²⁸⁹ On the

²⁸⁷ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration, p.1.

²⁸⁸ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Department of Business Undertakings Executive Committee Report, (30 June, 1976), p. 2.

²⁸⁹ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Department of Business Undertakings Executive Committee Report, (3 October, 1978), p.1.

14th July 1978, the Ulundi Finance Department informed Port Natal Administration that there were no posts for the redundant staff.²⁹⁰

Housing was also a complex issue. In the meeting held on 27 August 1969, the Department of Bantu Affairs in Durban had proposed a number of conditions in regard to the incorporation of KwaMashu under the KwaZulu homeland. The KwaZulu government was to provide all family housing for Africans in order to meet the labour needs of Durban, and the City Council would be relieved of all obligations to do so in terms of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945.²⁹¹ Humphreys and Maasdorp's research reveals that by 1970, 15 256 houses were erected at KwaMashu since the late 1950s, and in the late 1960s, the City Council slowed down the building of houses (1078 houses in 1968, 678 houses in 1969 and 504 houses in 1970).²⁹² In May 1977, there were approximately 15 500 houses and 3000 hostels.²⁹³ All neighborhoods were to be transferred with the exception of the men's hostel at neighborhood unit 1. The men's hostel consisted of a large proportion of employees of Durban industrial firms and the Durban Corporation. In this hostel, blocks were assigned for workers of the same firm, for example, Corobrick and the Railways Department.²⁹⁴ The City Council requested that the standard of welfare and recreational services and facilities under homeland control should not be less than those presently in place in KwaMashu, particularly, the Youth Employment Scheme, Alcohol Treatment Centre, Crèches and other-preschool centres, Cripple Care, recreational amenities, subsidies on Feeding Scheme and Educational Bursaries.²⁹⁵ Mr. L.H.J. Van Rensburg, Director of Technical and Building Service stated that because of the small sum of money spent on maintenance by Durban Corporation and Port Natal Bantu Administration in the past eighteen years, the state of maintenance

²⁹⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Department of Business Undertakings Executive Committee Report, p. 2.

²⁹¹ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Bantu Administration Committee. City Engineer Department, (27 August, 1969), p. 1.

²⁹² Maasdorp and Humphreys, *From Shantytown*, p841.

²⁹³ The Durban Archive Repository. KwaZulu Government Service: The Secretary for Works (16 May 1977), p.1.

²⁹⁴ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Bantu Administration Committee: City Engineer Department (27 August, 1969), p. 1.

²⁹⁵ The Durban Archive Repository. Minutes of Bantu Administration Committee: City Engineer Department (27 August, 1969), p. 1.

was very poor. It was necessary to spend far more on maintenance at KwaMashu than in the equivalent township such as Umlazi.²⁹⁶

Before 1977, the Bantu Community Welfare Organisation under the Port Natal Administration Board managed a number of clinics, nursery schools and welfare services in townships of KwaMashu, Umlazi and Chesterville. This organization's expenditure made up of food and provision, medicine and wages for employees was covered by income from the Durban municipality and private donors. In January 1977, the KwaMashu Family and Child Welfare Society began operating independently and still enjoyed generous assistance from the Board.²⁹⁷ Mrs. J. Khanyile, the director of the Society, stated the possibilities of reduced income from the Port Natal Administration Board due to the economic climate and that KwaMashu was no longer part of the Board's jurisdiction, hence curtailing a number of services offered to the residents. Basic essential services such as day care and crèches remained a priority. The KwaMashu Y.M.C.A opened in November 1978. This association was managed by a committee made up of KwaMashu residents and maintained close relations with the Beatrice Y.M.C.A.²⁹⁸ An Urban Foundation loan of R89,000 and funds kept in the Trust by the Natal Regional Council of Y.M.C.A made it possible for the construction of this branch. While this administrative restructuring was preoccupying officials, the community of KwaMashu was becoming increasingly unsettled.

Escalating conflict and turmoil in KwaMashu

The 1976 Soweto uprising marks the beginning of political unrest in KwaMashu. Political mobilization across African townships spread rapidly. A strong political consciousness emerged and the residents became more radical and vigilant. In KwaMashu, tensions arose between the youth and the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture (DEC) following the protest of thousands of school children

²⁹⁶ The Durban Archive Repository. KwaZulu Government Service: The Secretary for Works (16 May 1977),p.1.

²⁹⁷ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration. KwaMashu family and Child Welfare Society Report, 22 November 1977,p.1.

²⁹⁸ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Bantu Administration Board. Beatrice Y.M.C.A, November 1978, p.3.

against the 'Bantu Education' curriculum designed for African learners.²⁹⁹ The effect of the uprising turned KwaMashu into a violent community characterized by teargas, bullets, detention and death on the streets.

In an attempt to counter student radicalism at the end of the 1970s, the IFP encouraged the ideology of Ubuntu- Botho (respect for Zulu tradition and authority) in schools under the KwaZulu Government.³⁰⁰ Tilton says that IFP initiated Ubuntu Botho through a series of reforms in order to enhance education effectiveness as an agent of political recruitment and social control, especially in township youth.³⁰¹ IFP ideologies on education were introduced in schools by KwaZulu Government and circulated as propaganda through government mail.³⁰² Ubuntu-Botho driven education intended to suppress African social mobility in the townships and also to prepare students for a broader range of social and economic position in the evolving KwaZulu region. The IFP intended to shift the energetic youth away from political activism towards the possibilities of a stratified society and economy.³⁰³ In 1980, a clash emerged between the youth of KwaMashu and Umlazi and the IFP over the content of the Ubuntu Botho syllabus. A number of schools in both townships were affected and most of the schoolchildren stayed away from the school for the whole year.³⁰⁴

Most working class parents in KwaMashu began sending their children to boarding schools to the rural areas of KwaZulu homeland where there was less violence. Mr. B Ngubane residing at G Section in KwaMashu during the late 1970s and 1980s recalls that he sent his children to Elandskop, north of Pietermaritzburg, where there were fewer violent incidents.³⁰⁵ Mrs. E.R. Molefe of KwaMashu recalls that her children spent most of their teenage years in boarding schools and mission schools because it was unsafe for learners in KwaMashu and the prospect of progressing up to the Standard 10 (Form IV) level were very low. Only financially

²⁹⁹ Zulu and de Haas. 'Ethnicity and Federalism: The Case of KwaZulu / Natal', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.20, No.3, (9 Sep 1994), p.1.

³⁰⁰ Hassim, S. 'Reinforcing Conservatism: an analysis of the politics of Inkatha Women's Brigade', *Agenda*, NO.2,(1988),p. 6.

³⁰¹ Tilton, D. 'Creating an Educational Workforce: Inkatha Big Business and Educational Reform in KwaZulu', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.18, No.1, (1991), p. 167.

³⁰² Lodge, 'Other Political Forces', p.155.

³⁰³ Lodge, 'Other Political Forces',p.179.

³⁰⁴ Lodge, Other Political Forces, p.187.

³⁰⁵ Interview with Mr. R.B. Ngubane, 22 May 2009.

stable African families were able to send their children to boarding schools away from the township. The less fortunate experienced the hardships of coercion, intimidation and constant fear. The consequences of the 1970s and 1980s youth disturbance explain the high unemployment rate and low-income level jobs held by the people residing in KwaMashu in this 1990s. This crisis accounts for the poverty and also the view that nothing good could come out of KwaMashu. Mr. Zwane observed that during the unrest in KwaMashu, education and learners were the most affected.

‘During the war period, KwaMashu schools were mostly affected. Teachers and learners were constantly harassed’.³⁰⁶

Meanwhile, the urbanization policy of ‘independent’ KwaZulu was different from that applied by the city of Durban. By lifting influx control the KwaZulu government encouraged families to join breadwinners, with a view to promoting family life in the urban areas. But the increasing number of Africans allowed into the urban areas of KwaZulu (KwaMashu and Umlazi) negatively affected employment possibilities for the permanent residents of these townships. In an interview conducted by Radio Zulu on the 30th January 1981 between Mr. Sabelo of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Miss Q.V. Pretorius of the Port Natal Administration Board, it emerged that residents felt that the Town Councils of Umlazi and KwaMashu were allowing people from rural areas to enter the township, causing difficulties for residents and competition for jobs.³⁰⁷ Miss Pretorius stated that the increasing numbers of African people augmented the supply of labour while there was no increase in demand for labour by the economy. The high cost of living for permanent residents (rent, transport and other basic need service) made them very vulnerable.³⁰⁸

A large number of scholars from the 1980s era never recovered from the effect of violence. Some were left with permanent physical scars and others resorted to illegal activities. For example, in KwaMashu a group of young boys joined gangs. The Welfare Department undertook research on leisure activities in KwaMashu and

³⁰⁶ Interview with Mr. Zwane, 18 April 2009.

³⁰⁷ The Durban Archive Repository. Radio Interview between Mr. Sabelo (KwaZulu legislative Assembly) and Miss Q.V. Pretorius (Port Natal Administration Board), Durban radio Zulu, 30 January 1981, p.1.

³⁰⁸ The Durban Archive Repository. Radio Interview between Mr. Sabelo (KwaZulu Legislative Assembly) and Miss Q.V. Pretorius.p.2.

other townships in Durban. The findings revealed that there were four social groupings.³⁰⁹ The recreation/social/ welfare grouping which in most cases were influenced by church organizations; juveniles taking part in crime in and out of the township, for example, robbery, gambling and dagga peddling; organized crime in the township and suburbia, for example, car theft, burglary and gangs of school drop-outs, for example, the 'Kwayitos' of Lamont Township and 'Amadamara' of KwaMashu who stabbed people to gain recognition and created fear in some parts of the township.³¹⁰ Mr Zwane recalls that some youth became involved in stealing cars from white residential areas. They are known as 'Amaginsa'.

'Aside from the violent activities of the 1980s, we also encountered gang operations in KwaMashu. Young boys who grew up in front of us were now specializing in stealing cars (amaginsa) and breaking in White neighborhood 'amajalidi'. The name Amaginsa came to describe those engaged in these activities'.³¹¹

Participation in social activities by the residents of KwaMashu during the violence in the 1980s declined. It became unsafe for people to gather in groups, lest they be identified conspiring against the residents of KwaMashu.³¹² Even Zionist church gatherings were seen as meetings preparing for war or betrayal. Children continued to play in the streets but under a constant vigilant eye and they played in close proximity to home in case an attack took place. For many African people, the physically insecure and socially oppressive conditions in the township, together with the government's weak reform programmes and repressive actions, frustrated hopes and created a great sense of utter despair.³¹³

However, some recreation and leisure activities continued in the midst of the political conflict taking place in KwaMashu. In 1980, music lovers looked forward to the live performance by international American performer, Ray Charles. More than 20, 000 people were expected to attend the show in October 1980, but due to high

³⁰⁹ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Welfare Department-Central District, 2 February 1997,p.2.

³¹⁰ The Durban Archive Repository. Port Natal Administration Board. Welfare Department-Central District, 2 February 1997,p.2.

³¹¹ Interview with Mr Zwane, 18 April 2009.

³¹² Mohr, M. Negotiating the Boundary: The Response of KwaMashu Zionist to a Volatile Climate (Hamburg, 1997),p.8.

³¹³ Magwaza,J.B. From Township to Industrial Frontline: The Politics of Sound Management. *Indicator South Africa Vol.3 No.2 (Spring, 1985),p.2.*

prices of tickets only 5,000 attended.³¹⁴ Transportation problem and conflict that characterized townships contributed to the low turnouts. Ray Charles gave a showstopper performance, which included his famous songs like, Georgia, Hit the Road Jack and I can't stop loving you. Durban based group Era performed during the opening and Judy Clay who was accompanying Ray Charles on his tour also performed during the show.

Bols, a popular South African brandy, sponsored an international (ie. multiracial) disco competition for the year 1980. Representatives were chosen from different nightclubs across the whole country. This competition encouraged recreation. Duke Mnguni representing the Five Point Five Club, an Umlazi nightclub, was crowned the champion of Natal division of Bols Disco Competition held at the Raffles hotel in Durban.³¹⁵ Talent, skills, different techniques and clothing attire were the main criteria used by the judges. At the national competition held at Johannesburg, Mnguni came out second. The crown was given to Allan Holister who beat all ten finalists. Mnguni won 3 nights and 4 days at any Southern Sun. Significantly, most activities took place in the city of Durban rather than KwaMashu.

Image 20: Duke Mnguni competition, Bols Disco Competition, 1980



Source: *Ilanga laseNatal* , Kwale kancane adle ubhedu u Duke, 2-3 November 1980,p.7.

³¹⁴ *Ilanga laseNatal*, URay Charles ugile izimanga, 27-28 October 1980,p.5.

³¹⁵ *Ilanga laseNatal*, Kwale kancane adle ubhedu u Duke, 3-5 November 1980,p.7.

In 1983, political unionism and the emergence of the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) encouraged the youth's participation in political activism and reshaped the notion of black consciousness amongst students and in communities.³¹⁶ While Inkatha controlled KwaMashu, Brewer points out that it was not IFP that dominated politics in the late 1970s and 1980s but a variety of black consciousness organizations organized by youth and the working class. In October 1983, conflict developed between IFP and UDF members in Natal after attacks on students at the University of Zululand (Ngoye) resulted in the death of five UDF supporters who were students.³¹⁷ Chief Buthelezi denied the allegations that IFP supporters were responsible for the deaths on the Ngoye campus in Empangeni.³¹⁸ Violence erupted in KwaMashu.

Violence also affected the workers of KwaMashu. Thembalihle Station is situated next to Neighborhood Unit 1 (Inkatha base) and used by Unit 2,35,5 and 6 (ANC/UDF supporters). Thembalihle Station became a major problem for the working class who either had to cross through the hostel (unit 1) 'ezimpohlweni' or travel with IFP supporters. Tensions between 'izimpohlwa' men from the hostel and workers result in violent attacks while workers were on their way or coming back from work. A large number of people changed from rail to bus and taxi transportation. African entrepreneurs in KwaMashu invested in taxis as the number of commuters in the township increased. These taxi operators were also subject to political assault. On several occasions, taxis with passengers on the way to or back from work were assaulted, resulting in injuries and even deaths. The same applied to the Durban Transport Corporation buses (municipal) 'umaspala', for example, when a stay away strike was announced, a bus spotted with passengers on their way to work was stoned or even worse, burnt down.

Violence escalated after the murder of human rights lawyer Mrs. Victoria Mxenge on the 1st August 1985 at her home in Umlazi Township. She was defending members of the UDF in a trial in Pietermaritzburg at the time. After news of her death spread, students all over Durban boycotted schools as part of the mourning and commemoration of their late hero. Inkatha delegated a group of vigilantes to bring the

³¹⁶ Brewer, J.D. 'Inkatha membership in kwaMashu: A Rejoinder to Southall', *The Royal African Society*, Vol.85.No.34 (October, 1986), p.589.

³¹⁷ Lodge, 'Other Political Forces', p.162.

³¹⁸ Lodge, 'Other Political Forces', p.163.

affected areas under control but this action triggered even more unrest as the youth began to demolish and loot government property and burn commercial vehicles entering the townships.³¹⁹ KwaZulu Government property and buildings were vandalized along with property belonging to anyone identified as a government informant. In Neighborhood Unit 3 (Section C) a number of commercial general dealer stores were vandalized. These still stand in ruins. Also, all bottle stores and shops owned by the Board, non-African businessmen and African traders who were seen as unsupportive, were looted and then destroyed.³²⁰ After the attacks in KwaMashu, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) distributed pamphlets calling for a week-long stay away from school to observe a mourning period for Mrs. Mxenge.³²¹

Mohr argues that the violence in KwaMashu was not only perpetrated in the fights between the IFP and the ANC, but influenced by the impact of the economic sanctions against South Africa which made the conditions even worse.³²² From his fieldwork in KwaMashu, Mohr gathered statistics, which suggested that 29 out of 30 people had no work in this township.³²³ Attacks on ordinary civilians in the streets developed as a result of unemployment that prevailed in the township. In his interview with residents of KwaMashu, Mohr discovered that residents who were perceived to be financially stable in an impoverished township were subject to violent attacks as they were considered to be the state's informants. Unlawful residents wanted a share of the wealth from people who seemed to be enjoying a good standard of living, and then he or she would be subject to violent attack or even death.³²⁴ This conduct made KwaMashu an undesirable place to live in the 1980s. Neighborhood 2, 5,6,7 (Section B, E, F & G) in close proximity with the IFP base (Neighborhood 1 Men's Hostel) were in constant conflict. KwaMashu youth looted and burned down shops, butcheries and other businesses in the township.³²⁵ The KwaZulu Police was called in. Inkatha warlords recruited from Neighborhood Unit 1 (Section A) moved

³¹⁹ Mohr, *Negotiating the Boundary*, p. 130.

³²⁰ Gwala,Z. 'Rebellion in the last Outpost: the Natal Riots'. *Monitor Indicator, South Africa Vol3,2* (1985),p.7.

³²¹ Gwala, 'Rebellion in the last Outpost',p.7.

³²² Mohr, *Negotiating the Boundary*, p.8.

³²³ Mohr, *Negotiating the Boundary*, p.8.

³²⁴ Mohr, *Negotiating the Boundary*, p.8.

³²⁵ Mohr, *Negotiating the Boundary*, p.131.

into KwaMashu.³²⁶ Inkatha became the number one township enemy and found it very difficult to recruit new members in KwaMashu.

Mr Zwane gives an account of the impact of violence on living conditions in KwaMashu during the 1980s.

‘Our living conditions were interrupted during the formation of the UDF and the active participation of IFP. A large number of people were killed and suffered major injuries during this period. They started by burning convenient stores in Inanda, then caused disturbance in the Indian community of Phoenix and then returned to the township and destroyed supermarkets and super stores. The burning of property began in 1982 and by 1985; the fight between Inkatha and UDF reached its highest peak. The tension and counter-attacks lasted until 1989. KwaMashu and other Durban Township’s youth were killed during this civil disturbance’³²⁷

Mr. Zwane states that aggressors came from the KwaMashu men’s hostel, Inanda and the informal settlement of Lindelani, which is in close proximity to neighborhood 10 (Section K). In an interview, Mrs. B. Ngubane, who settled in Lindelani from KwaMashu in the early 1980s, said that the township youth on numerous occasions attacked the informal settlement (Lindelani), which was associated with the IFP. In defense, the people of the new informal settlement reacted. Mrs. Ngubane said:

‘We were attacked at all angles, from Ntuzuma F and E, Amchoba and other ANC affiliated townships. We had no other alternative except to defend our homes.’

She also states that a third force was involved, the third player perpetrated the violence between the neighboring communities.

‘Kwakukhona unyawo lwesithathu’ (there was a third force involved).³²⁸

The residents of Lindelani believed that the apartheid government influenced the violent attacks and also delighted in the fighting between IFP and ANC. In one instance, one of the ‘ANC’ offenders caught in Lindelani during the fighting

³²⁶ Mohr, *Negotiating the Boundary*, p.131.

³²⁷ Interview with Mr. Zwane, 18 April 2009.

³²⁸ Interview with MaButhelezi and Mrs B. Ngubane, 15 April 2009.

confessed that they were paid by a government official to attack the IFP supporters in Lindelani.³²⁹ Within the space of 8 months, 140 people lost their lives and approximately 110 lost their homes and businesses through arson.³³⁰ A series of court cases were held in the Durban regional court in 1986 and 1987.³³¹

In mid-1985, the warlords (in small and informal groups) began terrorizing the UDF civic and youth organization across KwaZulu. Warlords received money and equipment from the Joint Management Committees. These funds had been set up by KwaZulu administration to deal with safety and security in the region. On the weekend of the 14th of March 1987, members of the KwaMashu Youth League (KYL) and the youth of KwaMashu attended a funeral of a comrade at the Lindelani cemetery. On their arrival at the cemetery, supporters of the Inkatha Youth Brigade ambushed the mourners. The Inkatha Youth League offenders hid behind the bushes and suddenly attacked the mourners with spears, knob kieries and home made guns ‘oqhwasha’. While a number of mourners suffered minor injuries, several children were abducted and taken hostage in Lindelani. The following Monday, a number of students identified one of the offenders at Vuyiswa Mtolo High School in KwaMashu. The KwaMashu students marched to the school, grabbed the student and stoned him to death. Within a few hours of the incident, KwaMashu was swamped with warlords from Lindelani. School was halted for weeks. Monitoring groups concluded that IFP supporters were responsible for the bloodshed.³³²

³²⁹ Interview with MaButhlezi and Mrs B. Ngubane, 15 April 2009.

³³⁰ Mohr, *Negotiating the Boundary*, p.130.

³³¹ Lodge, ‘Other Political Forces’, p.165.

³³² Unrest Monitor Project. *The Tightening Noose: Violence Against Anti-Apartheid Organization in Natal/ KwaZulu During the 1980s* (University of Natal, July 1988), p. 7. Paper presented at the 19th Annual ASSA Congress, University of Durban Westville.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Inkatha came to control the administration of KwaMashu after its incorporation of under the KwaZulu government. It has shown how the Port Natal Administration Board tried to ensure that services and facilities remained beneficial to the residents of KwaMashu. While the emergence of UDF and COSATU as powerful political forces reduced the influence of Inkatha through its local government control, Inkatha nevertheless permeated KwaMashu affairs in the 1980s. The emergence of warlords in KwaMashu hostels also meant that opposition to Inkatha often turned to violence. Many people struggled to find a safe space and free time for leisure in the turbulent 1980s.

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Conclusion

This thesis set out to investigate how leisure and recreation shaped the making of the community of KwaMashu. It began by showing how the Durban Corporation using loans raised from the Central Government built the housing scheme of KwaMashu and provided infrastructure for the new urban township. Different forms of housing for different economic classes were established. Many people moved to the new KwaMashu township from the informal settlement of Cato Manor. These included professionals and civil servants (teachers, nurses and police), industrial and firm employees, informal traders, shebeen queens, unemployed and housewives. Large numbers of children were sent to the new schools, especially in the lower grades. The houses provided sufficient space for residents to make alterations, for example to extend the buildings or cultivate vegetable gardens. Residents began to group themselves according to their social and economic status and a self-conscious middle class emerged.

The Durban Corporation began to construct recreational facilities. Both youth and adults were taken into consideration. Facilities such as playgrounds for children, tennis courts and community halls were available in KwaMashu. At first, the recreational amenities were inadequate for the number of residents of KwaMashu. Additional recreational facilities were constructed, including a cinema, soccer stadium and additional playfields. Recreation was encouraged in the belief that it would instill family values and create a new urban African middle class. A wide range of recreational facilities, especially sporting facilities, was provided for the residents.

While social drinking had been the main leisure activity in Cato Manor, the move to KwaMashu provided opportunities for the creation of new forms of leisure while maintaining some old trends. For example, police raids discouraged illegal brewing of sorghum beer but nevertheless the trend continued. However a number of bottlestores, beerhalls and bars were opened across the township. By this time Africans were allowed to buy and drink European liquor, adding to the range of choice of liquor to drink. Drinking in beerhalls and shebeens were not the only leisure activity in which men engaged, but sports like boxing and soccer filled the vacuum during weekends. Other forms of activities enjoyed by both men and women were gambling and running of stokvels.

As the people of KwaMashu settled in the township, they started using the recreational facilities provided by the Durban Corporation. The thesis shows how the residents of KwaMashu adopted new forms of leisure, for example, listening to the radio and reading newspapers. It shows how the residents became aware of the importance of leisure and how the world they lived in evolved over time. As the residents settled and began to become acquainted, they began to organize. The women formed societies like the KwaMashu Women Association, KwaMashu Family and Child Welfare Society and the men formed groups like the White Shirt Club. These clubs were important during the process of community development.

This thesis has also addressed how the residents dealt with the low wages in comparison to the high rental and transportation costs. A large number of working class people engaged in “semi-leisure” activity. For women, house chores and taking care of children formed part of their leisure time, while most men (and few women) engaged in entrepreneurial activities, for example, setting up of barber kiosks after work hours and weekends. Some leisure activities allowed multi-tasking, for example, listening to a radio while engaging in domestic chores. Leisure became more diversified, more modern and residents had a wider range of choices.

The thesis discusses how the transfer of KwaMashu from Port Natal Bantu Administration to KwaZulu Government in the 1970s affected residents. It discusses the difficulties encountered during the transfer of liquor businesses to KwaZulu. It shows how the Port Natal Administration Board held onto the recreational facilities as it wished to see that these activities were well handled. The violence that took place in the late 1970s and 1980s in KwaMashu between the IFP and ANC/ UDF supporters also forms part of the making of the community of KwaMashu. The violence affected participation in recreational and leisure activities. Leisure time became scarce and recreation spaces became dangerous. Anti-social activities like robbery also developed in the wake of school boycotts.

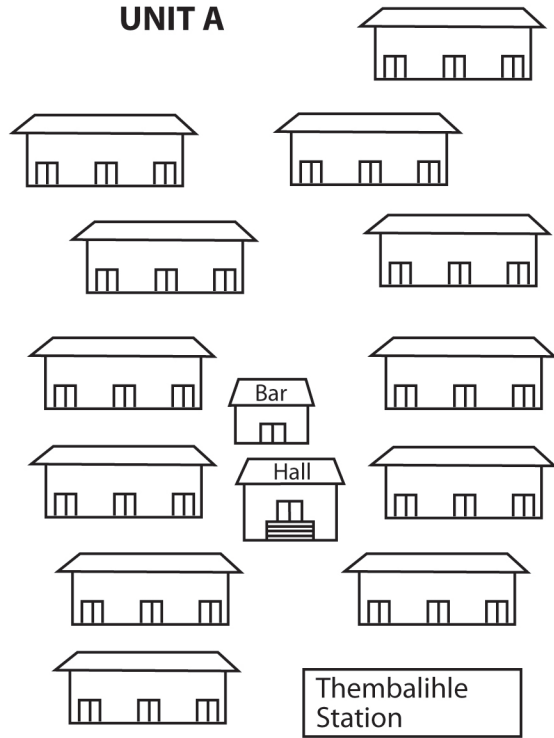
Akyeampong and Ambler argue that African leisure under colonialism raises the question of autonomy and control.³³³ They conclude that in most cases, African leisure and recreational activities tended to be controlled either by government authorities or by conservative cultural organizations. This thesis supports this view. It

³³³ Akyeampong and Ambler, ‘Leisure in African History’ p.3.

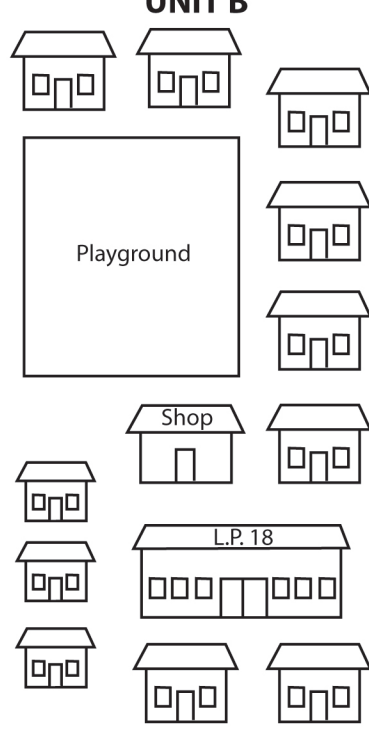
has shown that the provision of recreational facilities in KwaMashu enabled the Durban Corporation and later the Port Natal Administration Board to control the residents while regulating the manner in which these facilities were to be used. Despite the state's heavy hand in Radio Bantu and the cinema, these were ambiguous areas since there was no control over African responses to this media. This thesis has also shown that through other new social spaces available in KwaMashu, for example, boxing, dancing and the Y.M.C.A, residents were able to create new forms of leisure activities independent of state control.

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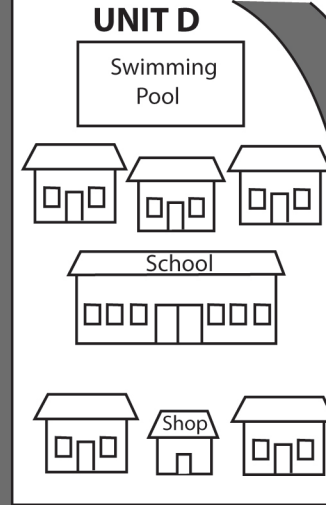
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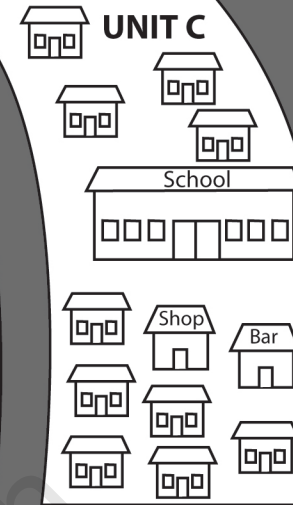
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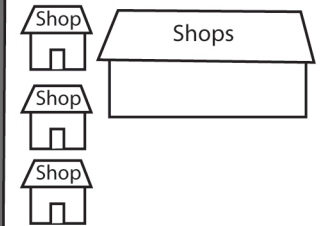
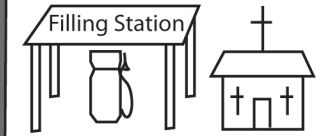
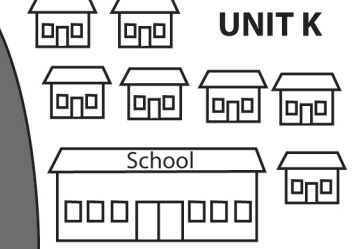
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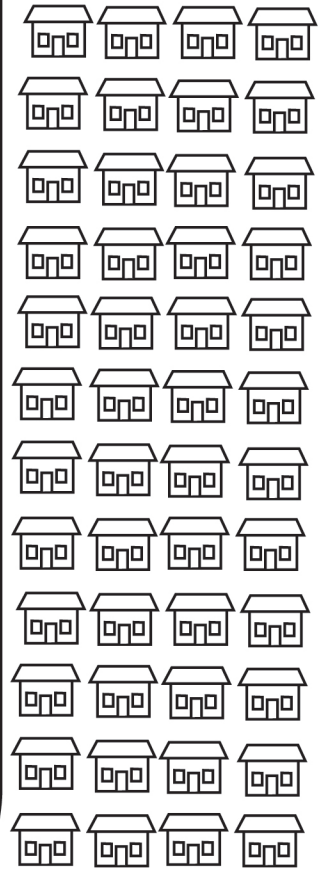
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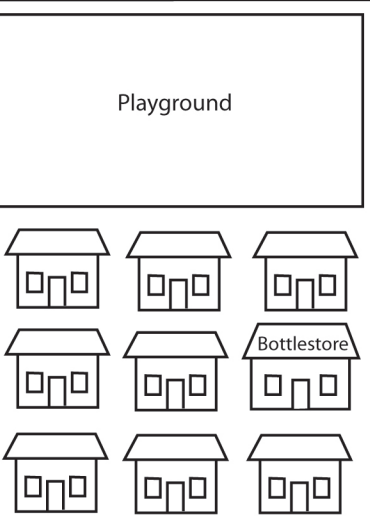
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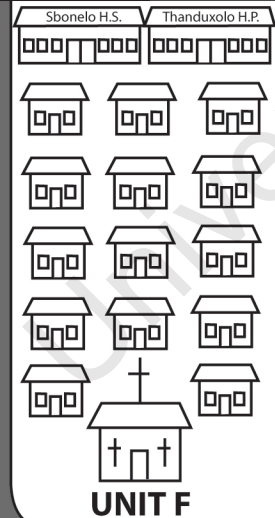
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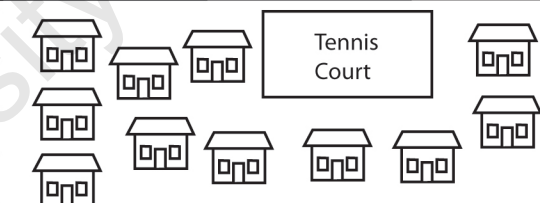
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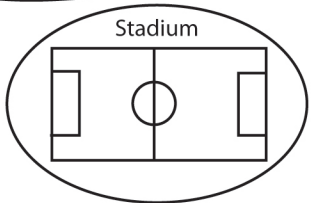
UNIT F



Tennis Court



Stadium



Swimming Pool



UNIT G

Shop

