

NAME: CONSTANCE NONTOBEKO YOSE.

**TITLE: FROM SHACKS TO HOUSES: SPACE
USAGE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A WESTERN
CAPE SHANTY TOWN.**

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ABSTRACT.

The objective of the study is to look at the social impact of development in relation to the relocation of people from an informal settlement to a formal settlement. This is demonstrated by illustrating how the context and flexibility of space influences the social and economic life of people. I show how the spatial flexibility within, and the context of, an informal settlement enabled people to strategise around their living environment for their survival and well being. This contrasts with the disruption and disturbance to social and economic life in the formal settlement to which they were relocated. Evidence for my argument emerges from fieldwork carried out in the Western Cape between March and June 1997, firstly in the Marconi Beam informal settlement and secondly amongst the same people in their new formal settlement, Joe Slovo Park.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION.

The thesis attempts to look at how the physical spaces of informal and formal settlements in which people live can influence their social and economic life. It does this by examining the social and economic impact of development in the form of relocation of people from an informal to a formal settlement. The research is based on participant observation that was carried over a period of six months. This study was done for Development Action Group, (DAG) a non governmental organisation. (DAG) wanted to look at the impact of relocating people from an informal settlement to formal housing.

The fieldwork concentrated on Marconi Beam, an informal settlement in the Western Cape about which some background data is appended (appendix 1). As discussed in chapter two, Marconi Beam's history has influenced the ways in which people have been able to use physical space for residential and income generating purposes. Those ways of using space have in turn affected the social life of residents. Chapter three explores specifically how the spatial arrangements that developed over time at Marconi Beam, and the fact that Marconi Beam is an informal settlement, has shaped the social activity of the people residing there. The chapter analyses different residential arrangements and public space usage with regard to their social and economic meaning. In chapter four I explore the intensive social interactions which, as I show in chapter three, have been enabled by the physical space of the settlement. I argue that those interactions led to the formation of social networks, some of which form part of the survival strategies of the poor people in the settlement. I consider different social networks, examine how they are formed and on what they are based, and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of belonging to a social network. In chapter five, I look at different income generating activities, in particular, how space use patterns enable and constrain those income-generating activities, and the role of social networks in those activities.

Chapter 6 reflects a change of focus from Marconi Beam to Joe Slovo Park, the formal settlement to which people were relocated. The chapter examines the effect of physical change on space-use patterns and how those in turn affect social networks and income generating activities. The chapter looks at social behavioural changes that have occurred since people moved to the new formal area. The concluding chapter summarises the findings with regard to space use patterns, social networks and income generating activities in the two areas. I then look at, and analyse, the disadvantages and advantages of relocating people to their new houses, and consider whether development in this area has met its objectives.

METHODS.

The thesis came about due to a request made by Development Action Group (DAG). DAG, which is a non governmental organisation working with poor communities on development issues, ^{asked} Dr. Spiegel in February 1997, to identify a student to do a social impact analysis in the areas of Joe Slovo Park/Marconi Beam on their behalf. DAG wanted a Xhosa speaking student who would look at how a housing development project might impact on the lives of the people of Marconi Beam. I was asked to do the work, and agreed. I was asked to do the work firstly for acceptance into a masters programme entrance that involved an internship with an agency such as DAG. At the end of the study I produced a report which I have submitted to DAG.

DAG has been working with the people of Marconi Beam since 1990. One of the many things that DAG achieved for the people of Marconi Beam was to assist them in getting a permanent place of residence (chosen by the people of Marconi Beam) and to assist them in having Marconi Beam declared a transit area. According to DAG (1992), "a transit area is an area which people are allowed to occupy only temporarily. People living in these areas are provided with basic services like drinking water, temporary toilets and refuse removal".

I was asked to focus on how health, economic activities and social networks of the population of Marconi Beam were affected by relocation to Joe Slovo Park, and how women's role in contributing to the formation of the social fabric of the population of Marconi Beam might be altered. The study was to be conducted in both the formal and informal settlements in order to understand the relationship between the two areas.

1.1. *GAINING ACCESS.*

According to May (1993:32), one needs to follow ethical guidelines when conducting a research project. These include respect for privacy, confidentiality, accountability and informed consent. When I began the study, DAG did not assume that people of Marconi Beam knew about DAG and its involvement in the particular community. We needed to get permission from the people in order to do the research. According to Du Toit (1987:274), anthropological studies have always required a certain degree of ethics and some co-operation from those being studied. He further says that, since the early 1960s, such research has required the researcher to inform clearly those that are being studied of the implications of their co-operation. This needs to be done in a formal way rather than in a relaxed environment. The implication is that all the leaders within the population, as well as the people of population who are going to be directly affected, need to be called to a formal meeting where permission to do the study will be asked for and granted.

Before I started doing the study, DAG's Alida van der Merwe and I went to talk to the gatekeepers, that is, the people who are seen as leaders by the population of Marconi Beam. We drove to Marconi Beam where we attended a Marconi Beam Trust Committee meeting. The Trust Committee consisted of people regarded as leaders by the population of Marconi Beam as well as government officials from the Milnerton Metropolitan Council. The Trust Committee 'mediates'

between outsiders and the population of Marconi Beam. At that meeting, I was introduced to the Trust Committee members, and Alida asked permission from them for me to conduct the study.

Du Toit (1987:274) further says that people need to be told about the study mechanisms, including how the information will be collected and used. Forcese and Richer (1973:146) suggest that not telling people what the study is all about is unethical and might jeopardise your study as you might be stopped in the middle of your study. They further argue that gaining access to the field increases the probability of maintaining a holistic perspective and collecting reliable data. Alida Van Der Merwe explained to the Trust Committee what the study was about, what I would be doing, the aims of the study, how it would be done and how it might affect the people of Marconi Beam.

The Trust Committee members did not immediately give me permission to carry out the study. Some members were not happy about my doing the study. These were no objections to me, but rather problems they had with DAG. It was said that DAG had mismanaged funds that have been donated to the people of Marconi Beam by overseas donors. Another complaint that came up was that DAG had a tendency of doing things without informing the Trust Committee. From that meeting it was concluded that the best thing would be for me to attend a community meeting where the issue could be discussed. When Alida and I got to the community meeting the following day there were very few people there. Those who were present said that they did not have a problem with me doing the study, especially since they had long worked with DAG and knew the organisation.

According to Sapsford and Evans (1979:106) the process of gaining access continues throughout any period of ethnographic fieldwork. It is not achieved once and for all when the ethnographer has gained entry to the setting. They further state that what is meant by access is not simply physical

admission to the setting but rather the opportunity to observe and if possible to participate in everyday activities in various parts of the setting, and to talk formally and informally with the participants. Furthermore the ethnographer does not want this access for an hour or two but for months or even years.

When I started going to people's houses, I did not take it for granted that everyone within the population of Marconi Beam knew about me and that the fact that I had been given permission by the Trust Committee, to conduct the research. I met people in their houses and in the streets and again explained what I was doing. I explained what the study was about and that, if they felt they did not want to participate, they had the right to refuse. I explained that if they were willing to participate but did not want their names to be recorded, they should say so. In addition I told people that they were welcome to ask about the study as they had the right to know what was going on.

While I was doing my fieldwork, I would tell people that the study was done on behalf of DAG. Some people again raised complaints about DAG that were similar to those raised by the Trust Committee. These people also felt that DAG has mismanaged funds donated to them by overseas donors. Others would tell me how they appreciated what DAG had done for them. These people felt that without DAG they would not have had houses nor the land where the houses were being built.

The negative perception of DAG held by some of the people of Marconi Beam were always at the back of my mind when conducting the study. The fact that there were some problems with DAG made me unsure about whether people would co-operate. Yet most of my fears were unfounded

even those with complaints co-operated with the study. They merely asked that I should pass their complaints to DAG, which I did.

Some people complained that I did not visit their houses. It seemed as if they believed that I was directly involved in housing allocation. I explained to them that I had nothing to do with.

1.2. QUALITATIVE METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA.

My study was based on intensive participant observation between March and June 1997. The first days of conducting the study at the settlement were spent exploring Marconi Beam settlement. I visited many houses, introduced myself and informed people about my research. I did not live at Marconi Beam nor at Joe Slovo Park, but I travelled in and out of the settlement using local mini bus taxis. By using the mini bus taxis and the local train, I was able to establish where people coming into Marconi Beam were from and why were they going to the settlement. I was also able to find out from those leaving the settlement where they were going, that is, were they visiting friends or a kin member or going out to shop or to work. I was also able to observe what people brought into the settlement for sale to their neighbours, as well as identify visitors to the settlement.

I visited both Marconi Beam and Joe Slovo Park settlements three times in each week of the study. I sometimes went over weekends even though I was warned by the residents that I should not come to Marconi Beam during weekends due to high levels of alcohol abuse and violence. They said that it was not safe for a strange woman to be walking around in Marconi Beam. However, I realised that it was necessary to visit during the weekend as there were many people who spent weekends at the settlement, especially children who spent weekdays in the townships with other kin members while their parents were at Marconi Beam. The second reason was that, in some instances, shack owners were at work during the week and available only during weekends. I needed to question

them about when they had arrived in Marconi Beam and the spatial arrangements of the settlement at their time.

As already mentioned, the study was based on participant observation. Forcese and Richer (1973:148) say that "Anthropologists have been of the view that the greater the extent to which they remain external to the interactions they are studying, the more limited is their access to the full complexities of that society. Much behaviour will be hidden from them if they remain aloof, and being with the people that they are studying gives them the opportunity to appreciate the meanings people give to the behaviour that the anthropologist observes". Forcese and Richer (1973: 143) go on to say that, "in studying group behaviour, one must preserve the 'natural' character of the group that one is studying". Participant observation allowed me to observe people in their 'natural' setting, that is, I was able to observe how people used and interacted in the space that they occupied in Marconi Beam and Joe Slovo Park. Participant observation also allowed me to find out how space influenced the social and economic life of the people. These observations of the utilisation of space and of the activities that are influenced by space provided me with data that could not be gathered from interviews alone.

Participant observation also revealed the different space use patterns within the two settlements. I visited people at their houses and talked to people while they were busy with their everyday activities. When visiting people's houses, I was also able to observe their social interactions and develop an understanding of the formation of social networks. These observations focussed on who visited whom and why, where the person came from, and the proximity of their shacks. I also discovered how the physical space of the settlement allowed the formation of various residential arrangements and diverse public space usage patterns. That is, I used this method in

order to be able to observe how physical space had an influence in the formation of certain types of social networks and the different economic activities that people were involved in.

I also observed the different reciprocal exchanges in which people engaged. They were also based on social networks and residential arrangements. I found that these reciprocal exchanges occurred not only at the shacks where people lived, but also at the public taps. I observed the usage of public space to find out the social and economic meaning of public spaces for the people of Marconi Beam. In public spaces identified by a variety of activities. These included public taps and spaza shops.

1.3. *SAMPLING.*

The sample that I used in my study was based on observations made during my first days in the field on the different uses of space and the relationship between shack arrangements and social and economic life.

DAG had previously constructed a sample of five families for me to use as case studies. However, I found this sample too limiting and not adequately representative of the population of Marconi Beam. The research sought to understand how the whole population of Marconi Beam might be affected by their relocation to a new area. To achieve this aim I had to find a sample that cut across the population of Marconi Beam. The sample chosen by DAG was not such a cross section. With Dr Spiegel, I identified some of the problems with the sample to be that it consisted of mainly female-headed households and elite members of the population of Marconi Beam. Dr. Spiegel and I, in conjunction with Alida van der Merwe, the Marconi Beam/Joe Slovo Park development project co-ordinator for DAG, therefore decided that the sample should be changed to include other

members of the population of Marconi Beam. I was given the freedom to pick a sample of five households that I felt would be more representative.

For this thesis I chose a sample of five families based on four criteria: (a) the type of shack that they occupied, (b) the size of the shack, (c) the different ways that the different shacks were used and (d) the shack's position in relation to neighbours. These families included one household at Joe Slovo Park and the remainder in Marconi Beam. One of them had a spaza shop, one comprised an extended family that lived in different shacks close to one another, the third family comprised people who lived close to others who spoke the same language as they did and had their shacks close to one another, and the fourth one was a household which included tenants.

It was difficult, to concentrate on only five households because of the multiple of interrelationships between people and households at Marconi Beam. I had to include other members of the population in my sample. To achieve my objectives of looking at social networks and economic activities, I realised I would not be able to follow only one household in isolation. This confirms the experiences of Ross in her work on fuel use patterns at the informal settlement at Die Bos, (Western Cape). She found that "social relationships in Die Bos, did not appear to be concentrated in clearly demarcated households, but were rather based on networks of interactive, rapidly changing alliances". As a result, she concluded that "focusing on households is problematic because of frequent inter household movement" (Ross 1993:7).

Even though I received co-operation from both males and females, my sample consisted of more women than men. Males co-operated in the sense they would welcome me into their houses, but they would not get directly involved in the study. Tradition played a role here. As a young Xhosa speaking woman, it was expected of me to socialise with women. When I went to people's houses

The interview guide I used included a list of things I wanted to find out from the informants about the various ways in which people have used space since their arrival in the settlement. For example, the interview guide included headings such as what the shack looked like when they first arrived in the settlement, how many rooms the shack had at the time, how many alterations and extensions had they made since they had been in the settlement, and what the settlement was like when they arrival. This information helped me to find out about people's shacks and how people's shacks had changed over the years.

In discussions with people, I came to realise how the different historical events that have occurred at Marconi Beam influenced the way people were able to build shacks, the kinds of arrangements and positions between shacks and income-generating activities. These discussions also enabled me to arrive at a finding that the space in the informal settlement allowed flexibility in terms of construction of a shack. Indeed that is now the core theme of my thesis.

Informal interviews were also used to get the views of the people of Marconi Beam with regard to the new houses to which they were to be relocated, and how they compared the two places. I used this method to find out the feelings of people about life in an informal settlement and life in a formal settlement.

1.5. HOW DATA WAS RECORDED.

According to Forcese and Richer (1973:146), "one needs to be as inconspicuous as possible in recording the data that one gathers. This would imply a strategy, in the field itself, of writing what is happening periodically rather than constantly". They go on to say "training oneself to remember certain incidents for later recording is one way of decreasing the feeling of being constantly watched". When doing participant observation, I did not take notes while in the field because I

wanted to reduce the chance of people being conscious of the fact that they were being observed and, as a result, changing their behaviour. A tape recorder was not used because I felt it could also have made people self-conscious selective and careful of what they said.

To record my observations I wrote everything down on my way home, in the local mini bus taxis and train. In some instances, where it was possible, I would write down just a heading to remind me later of what the people talked about or what I had observed. When I got back home, I would immediately write a detailed account of what had happened in the field. This means that I relied mostly on my memory. The technique was easy for me because I understood the language that people were speaking.

With the help of an interview guide I was able to categorise data according to different sub-headings of social networks, residential arrangements and economic activities. I also categorised information according to individuals and households to allow me to assemble the information in the form of case studies.

The findings in the study were based on the different data collection methods from the residents of Marconi Beam. While the thesis looks specifically at how space influences the social and economic life, it also focuses on how the political and economic constraints created by the past South African government had led to the formation of informal settlements.

CHAPTER 2.

SPACE AND TIME: HISTORY OF MARCONI BEAM.

This chapter discusses how different historical events that have occurred at Marconi Beam have influenced the ways in which people have used physical space for residential and income generating activities. Those ways of using space have in turn affected the social life of residents. The chapter starts by looking at the development of informal settlements in the Western Cape so as to locate Marconi Beam within the broader historical events of South Africa. It then looks specifically at how various events within the settlement, and some outside the settlement, have influenced the development of space usage at Marconi Beam.

2.1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE.

In this section of the chapter I will start by discussing influx control, the migrant labour system, and the immigration of people from rural areas to the urban areas. These three factors have shaped the development of informal settlements in South Africa. Here, they are discussed in relation to the establishment of the settlement of Marconi Beam and their effect on Marconi Beam residents.

2.2. INFLUX CONTROL.

Influx control, according to Oliver-Evans (1991:20), "at the simplest level, refers to specific measures aimed at limiting the growth of a permanent, settled urban population". She further says that, "in the Apartheid South African context, the government had almost exclusively used influx control as a method of restricting the entry of Africans into towns and cities- urban and industrial areas of South Africa". West (1983:18) outlines the key sections of the Black (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which limited the rights of the permanent residence for African people. These are contained in the most often-quoted section 10, which reads as follows:

10. (1) No black shall remain more than seventy-two hours in the prescribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed that-

(a) he has since birth, resided continuously in such area; or
 employer for a period of no less than 10 years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years, and has thereafter continue to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not either during the period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding five hundred rand or imprisonment for a period of more than six months; or

(c) such black is the wife, the unmarried daughter, or the son under the age of eighteen years, of any black mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this subsection and, after lawful entry into such prescribed area, ordinarily resides with such black in that area; or

(d) in the case of any other black, permission so to remain shall be granted by an officer appointed to manage a labour bureau...due regard being had to the availability of accommodation in a black residential area. West (1983:18)

women
 granted
 access to
 white
 males

Oliver-Evans (1991:31) says that, as can be seen, the Act sought to exclude all but a small minority of Africans from permanent residence in the urban areas. According to Howe (1983:21) "influx control was in line with government policy of preventing black family life taking further root in the Cape Peninsula". The only black people who were allowed to come into the urban areas were those who were able to find employment 'legally' and therefore had obtained a pass that authorised them to be there. Most of those who were employed were contract workers and had to go back to the rural areas (homeland) at the end of their contract.

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2.3. MIGRANT WORK: ITS EFFECTS ON DEVELOPMENT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS.

As we have seen, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, denied African men the right to seek work in Cape Town or any other urban area. They were only allowed to stay in the city for more than 72 hours if they had already been issued a contract.

Rural African men who managed to get employment in the cities were accommodated in migrant labour hostels. Ramphela (1993:1) points out that "hostels were an euphemism in South Africa for

single sex labour compounds, constructed to house Africans who, until 1986 when the pass laws were repealed, were only permitted to (in the words of the Stallard principle) “reside in the urban areas to minister the needs of the white man and to depart therefrom as soon as they cease so to minister”. Cole (1987:71) corroborates the point when she says that “the policy of influx control has been scientifically applied, with the chief vision of placing blacks in services, organising the provision of labour and consolidating it with supply and demand”.

According to Howe (1982:4) and to Ellis et al (1977:11), “in the case of African workers, the accommodation that they were provided with was not designed to house families”. This meant that only a few black families could be established in the cities, as it was only employed males who worked legally in that particular city, and only those black families who had legal rights to be in the city for whom housing was provided.

2.4. IMMIGRATION INTO CAPE TOWN: WHY PEOPLE CAME.

Despite government measures to prevent black people from coming into the cities and from gaining full citizenship in the cities, people resisted and came to the cities repeatedly, even when ‘deported’ from them. Humphries (1986:9) suggests that “illegal entry into the Western Cape took two predominant forms: women and children joining husbands who were legally or illegally in the region, and the entry of work seekers”. According to Oliver-Evans (1991:44) “people in the rural areas were faced with a stark alternative of unemployment and poverty. Migration to the Western Cape, remained a viable option notwithstanding influx control”.

The rural areas from where black males came and where they had left their families, were poor and undeveloped and did not provide the resources for people to fend for themselves. As a result, according to Ellis et al (1977) “people were largely driven to the cities by a lack of job opportunities in the rural areas and the opportunities for earning wages in Cape Town”. Ellis et al (1977) further say that “basic economic forces drove the African men to town: there were not enough jobs for them in the rural areas, and

what jobs there were, were generally at low wages. It sometimes was a question of survival that drove those unable to get jobs in the rural areas to the town; local agricultural production was unable to support them. For others it was a choice of living in great poverty in the rural areas, or having a better (even if still inadequate) living situation in Cape Town. The men wanted reasonable paying employment so they came to Cape Town; the women wanted a family life so they come as well". According to West (1983:18) "the situation in the rural areas (mainly Transkei and Ciskei) in terms of poverty and unemployment was such that most people were better off in the cities even if they were not in full time employment. The result was the presence of large numbers of black people who lived and worked illegally in the urban and industrial areas. People in the rural areas were dependent on unreliable remittances from migrants in the cities".

2.5. OVERCROWDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS.

In 1966, according to Hendrie (1983:98), an official freeze on black family housing in the Cape Peninsula was declared. This was in the line with government plans to reduce the number of African families in the Western Cape. The decision to freeze the construction of houses, reflected a government decision that it would not provide proper accommodation and domestic services for black people in the cities such as Cape Town.

According to Ellis et al (1977:2), the immediate reason for the existence of large squatter population was the shortage of housing. They argue (1977:4) that the shortage of housing and squatting were closely related to influx control. According to Howe (1982:4) there was a large shortage of housing for African people due the increase of the African population and the migration of people from the rural areas. This means that there was a high demand for housing which the government did not provide.

Freezing the Cape Town housing supply for black people and the migrant labour system together formed part of the influx control policy. Families of migrants and some of the migrants from the hostels resisted by invading land and building shacks in any space that they found available. They used plastic sheets and corrugated iron to build their shacks. As more and more people came, the

black population in the cities increased while, on the other hand, the government did not provide houses for black people. This led to the development of shack settlements like Unibel, Crossroads and Modderdam. NB

Oliver-Evans (1992:48) says that, "when faced with the acute and chronic shortage of housing for the better part of a century, black people had little alternative other than squatting". Howe (1983:17) confirms that "the freezing of housing for African people in the Western Cape also led to the large numbers of people erecting their own accommodation in squatter camps. These informal settlements were built around cities where people came illegally to look for work".

Due to the influx of people from the rural areas and the consequent sudden increase of the black population in the cities (which showed their resistance to the Black (Urban Areas) Act of 1923), the Apartheid government reintroduced the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (No 52 of 1951).

According to Howe (1992:1-2) "the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (No 52 of 1951) prevented squatters from entering or remaining on any land or in any building without the landowner's consent. Magistrates (or commissioners in the case of Africans) were given authority to effect the demolition of shanties and remove the squatter families and their dependants. The legislation did not require the authorities to find alternative accommodation for the squatters. It also provided for stiff penalties for incitement or organisation of illegal occupation of land". The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was reintroduced in the 1980's by the Apartheid government to prevent people from coming to the cities. Howe (1983:19) further states that "police or inspectors who were employed by the various Administration Boards arrested people who occupied land illegally".

As a result of the Act, people living in squatter settlements were often harassed and raided by the South African Police and the army. Some of the squatter settlements were demolished and bulldozed either permanently, as in Modderdam (Silk 1981) or repeatedly, such as Crossroads

(Cole 1986), Crossroads was bulldozed many times because people staying at that settlement repeatedly resisted and rebuilt their shacks. According to Ellis et al (1977:24) "the strength of the drive to come to town was indicated by the fact that the African people stayed despite the police harassment that was a continual feature of their lives (particularly if they are illegal in town) and that the squatters stayed in their areas despite the repeated demolition of their homes". Marconi Beam was one of the settlements that developed out of the resistance^{of} people to the Apartheid government, in invading urban land and building shacks despite legislation and penalties.

2.6. SPACE AND TIME: THE CASE OF MARCONI BEAM.

Marconi Beam is an informal settlement situated 5 kilometres north of the city of Cape Town. It takes its name from the fact that there is a major radio transmission facility nearby. The settlement occupies the area between Montague Gardens, an industrial area of Cape Town, the Milnerton Turf Club and the developed middle class area of Milnerton. It also borders the Koeberg Road. The settlement occupies 5 hectares which belong to the post and telecommunications parastatal body, Telkom.

Across Koeberg Road, opposite the Turf Club, there was an area of bush where people first built their shacks in the 1970's and 1980's. These people were mostly women and children from the rural areas of the Eastern Cape whose fathers, brothers, sons and husbands (and breadwinners) were migrant workers at the Milnerton Turf Club. During the early days of the settlement, people who stayed there did not want to be seen as they were aware that they were not supposed to be there. During the night, they would construct shacks made of plastic sheets and cardboard boxes so that they were able to sleep, and in the early hours of the morning they would dismantle them.

Most of the men who stayed at Marconi Beam had been recruited in the rural areas by the Milnerton Turf Club to work as migrant labourers. They were recruited mostly from the Tsolo

district in the Eastern Cape people were said to be good at looking after horses. These men had had to leave their wives and children behind because, according to the influx control policy, they did not qualify to stay in the city (see above). The men also had to stay in single sex hostels, and were unable to bring their families with them.

The settlement was brought to the attention of the public when the workers Milnerton Turf Club engaged in strike action in the early eighties. These workers were dissatisfied with their wages and wanted an increment. They also demanded that their families be allowed to stay with them in the Turf Club hostels when they were visiting from the rural areas. The Turf Club management did not agree to the accommodation of black families or women in the hostels. As a result, most of the workers moved from the hostels to take up residence with their families living in the bush across Koeberg Road.

Despite drastic measures taken by the government to remove people from Marconi Beam, they resisted and managed to remain in the area until the present day. The early inhabitants of Marconi Beam still and tell stories of raids, arrests and fines that they had to pay due to their illegal occupation of the land and presence in an urban area. This is what was related by one woman Vuyiswa about her experiences of police raids at Marconi Beam:

“It was hard times but we would not go. There was no way that we could have returned to Tsolo and left our husbands and brothers here. I remember one day I went to Gugulethu to check my cousin. I got back at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon since I have left in the morning. When I arrived here, I found chaos in Marconi Beam. There were police vans and dogs. At first I was afraid to come closer to the settlement as I could see from a distance what was going on. But then I thought of my furniture and other belongings so I decided to go there. People were screaming, cursing and shouting at the police, children were crying and there was smoke. They (police) have demolished the shacks. It was not easy to tell which were your building material as some of it was destroyed and some of the furniture was broken. I saw Lindiwe and some of the women at the back of the police van. They were arrested because they did not have passes and it

was said that we were not supposed to have built our shacks there and the police said that we have to go back to our places in the rural areas. Mamtolo related this story: "Those people (the police) were very cruel. They did not care at all. I was once arrested in the morning for not having a pass. It was a group of women from Marconi Beam. We were taken to the police station in Cape Town and told that we had to pay a fine or stay in jail for three months. Those of us who had the money to either pay the fine paid and the other women were left behind. After we paid the fine we were told that we should go back to the rural areas where we came from. On our way back to Marconi Beam we met a different group of police who also asked for passes. We did not have them. We were again arrested and fined. They never cared even if you tell them that you have just paid your fine. If you say so they will then ask you why are you then not in the Transkei where you were supposed to be".

As time went by, the population of Marconi Beam increased. Residents of Marconi Beam remember that, "people who first moved into the settlement, that is those who settled there in the 1960s and 1970s, had to reconstruct their shacks every night when they came to the settlement to sleep. They would then dismantle the shacks in the early hours of the morning so that they should not be seen". This meant reconstructing a shack that might be different from the past one in terms of size, shape and area that it occupies.

As already mentioned, the 1980's strike ^{by} the Milnerton Turf Club workers and their move to join their families in the bush across Koeberg road, drew the Marconi Beam settlement to the attention of the authorities. When the Turf Club workers joined their families in the bush, ^{they} built bigger shacks to accommodate their husbands, sons and brothers. At that time, the ^{abundance} of ^{space} meant that people were able to construct bigger shacks. The move by the workers from the Milnerton Turf Club to join their families in the bush also resulted in the settlement developing a degree of 'permanence'.

The 'permanence' introduced by the migrants by joining their families never lasted due to the constant need to reconstruct shacks that had been demolished by the police. As soon as the state

realised that a settlement was developing, the shacks were destroyed and bulldozed by the police. Yet people would reconstruct their shacks. These 'new' shacks were often different in shape and size than previous ones. There was thus continual flexibility in shack construction.

Ellis et al (1977:9) write that in many cases where squatters often move between squatter areas, usually because they have been evicted or experienced demolition in their previous living area (it is quite common for squatter families to have moved four or five times). Authorities were not the only ones who became aware of the settlement during the Turf Club strike. People from other squatter settlements, also learnt about of the area. As a result people from other squatter settlements moved into the settlement and the population of Marconi Beam grew between 1984 (which is the time immediately after the strike by workers in the Turf Club) and 1991. People moved from areas like Crossroads and Langa, to Marconi Beam. Some of the people moved from these areas because of taxi violence in areas like Langa, others moved from places like Crossroads to due to police evictions. They heard from friends and kin who stayed at Marconi Beam, that it was a good place for hiding. People who moved to the settlement in the early 1990s say that they did so because they could not get formal accommodation within the Cape Peninsula. Others moved to Marconi Beam to be closer to their working places, to expand their business interest within the Peninsula. The later were people who had informal businesses in areas like Langa and Khayelitsha and wanted to establish businesses at Marconi Beam. The migrant labour hostel at Milnerton Turf Club and the presence of passers by meant that Marconi Beam was viewed as a viable business area. Some people moved to Marconi Beam from the rural areas of Eastern Cape to join their kin members and to look for jobs in Cape Town. During the period between 1984 and 1990, there was enough space for people to construct even bigger shacks. People continued to move into Marconi Beam until the beginning of 1991 when the area was declared a transit area.

The strike by the Milnerton Turf Club workers also drew the attention of the ~~local~~ local industrialists of Montagu Gardens, the Milnerton Rate Payers Association and Telkom, the owners of the land to the settlement. This led to negotiations with Telkom, the industrialists ^{who} wanted to buy that land, the Milnerton City Council, representatives from DAG, civic leaders from Marconi Beam, and the Milnerton Rate Payers Association. It was agreed that the settlement be declared a transit area. A transit area is an area in which people are allowed to move temporarily until they can move permanently to land that has been identified and developed. Transit areas are often provided with basic services like water, bucket toilets and refuse removal. PB

At this meeting it was agreed that the people of Marconi Beam should move their shacks to one side of the area that they were occupying. As a result the shacks moved closer to each other and there was less space available. This meant that some of the people had to re-arrange their shacks. A move that enabled them to build their shacks next to people that they feel close to.

However the settlement became increasingly crowded as shacks came to be crammed next to each other. The shacks also had to be organised in such a way that they could be easily numbered. This assisted the civic members and DAG ^{to} have an idea of the number of shacks in Marconi Beam. It also prevented additional people from moving into the settlement and constructing new shacks. Finally, the numbering of shacks was to facilitate the process of registering people for new houses, on land identified for such houses. But it meant that the settlement was considered full and reduced the flexibility, in and less space for, the construction of shacks. People who came to stay at Marconi Beam after 1991 therefore became tenants of others, as they could not construct shacks of their own.

The events outlined above show that spatial arrangements in Marconi Beam initially allowed flexibility in the construction of shacks for residential purposes. The way that these shacks were constructed and reconstructed affected people's social interactions as they had to move their shacks many times and this allowed them to position their shacks next to people that they felt close to. The development of the settlement as an informal (or squatter) settlement, that was not recognised by law, also allowed people to practise certain income-generating activities in a manner that a formal area would not have permitted (see chapter 4).

The fact that the settlement was seen as illegal allowed people to construct shacks built of temporary materials which also resulted in flexibility when people wanted to make alterations. These were also done without any restrictions. As a result there was a continual flexibility almost a 'permanency' that moved around and in the ways that people have experienced life in and around their shacks in Marconi Beam.

CHAPTER 3.

PHYSICAL SPACE AND SOCIAL LIFE IN MARCONI BEAM.

"Goffman suggests that the divisions and hierarchies of social structure are depicted micro-economically, that is through the use of small scale metaphors (1976:p1). This suggests that space reflect social organisation, but once space has been bounded and shaped it is no longer a neutral background: it exerts its own influence. The 'theatre of action' to some extent determines the action. So behaviour and space are mutually dependent". Ardner (1981:12)

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This chapter explores specifically how spatial arrangements that have developed over time at Marconi Beam, and the fact that Marconi Beam is an informal settlement, have influenced the social lives of people residing there. The chapter analyses different residential arrangements and public spaces with regard to their social and economic meaning. The chapter will also be based on the approach by Thornton (1980) about the nature and the potentialities of space in social organisation. I discuss my observations on the relationship between space and social relations in three different sections of the chapter. In the first section I demonstrate how the fact that Marconi Beam is an informal settlement affected the way people interacted with each other in relation to the space that they occupied. In other words I consider how the environment that they lived in influenced their social life. In the second section, which I have called 'Residential Arrangements', I demonstrate how the people that I worked with had built their houses in relation to their kin and language groups. With this I will demonstrate how the spatial environment at Marconi Beam ensured family continuity and enabled people to form cohesive social, residential and economic units.

In the third section I discuss how people's sharing of public facilities and communal space, led to spontaneous social relationship specifically between women. From this I will then demonstrate how these social relationship that women had in the public spaces had created a social meaning for them.

3.1. *MARCONI BEAM: AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT.*

In the previous chapter I discussed how construction and reconstruction of the shacks allowed flexibility in the construction of the shacks. In this section I will demonstrate how flexibility in construction of shacks in turn affected the social interaction of people residing there.

Due to the fact that the Apartheid government did not recognise Marconi Beam settlement, there were no regulations or rules that governed the layout or the types of houses that the people built.

There were no standards set for the building of houses. As the government did not recognise the settlement as legitimate, the settlement was repeatedly demolished. Because of this, people at

Marconi Beam used whatever material they could lay their hands on to build their shacks. People had to use easily movable and inexpensive material as the settlement was vulnerable all the time.

They used material such as corrugated iron, plastic sheets, wood, and cardboard containers to build their shacks. When the settlement was turned into a transit area, it meant that people had to move their shacks next to each other with concomitant results regarding social relationships.

Ardner (1981:11) argues that 'social life is given shape by and corresponds with the so-called 'real' physical world and its social reality'. Comaroff (in Ramphela 1993:54) says that the psychosocial is delineated by the 'inhabited space' that one finds oneself in. Ramphela (1993:7) further says that, to a large extent, inhabited space has a major impact on the individual's perception of their place in society. These two arguments by Ardner and Ramphela also apply in the case of Marconi Beam. The physical space and the environment that people lived in had a great influence on their social life and how they perceived their behaviour which they related to the environment that they lived in.

Marconi Beam was an informal settlement. Its houses had been constructed with temporary material and containers, material that could be easily destroyed. People perceived it or saw it as the

equivalent of a rural area. Most of the houses in the rural parts of the Eastern Cape, where most of the population of Marconi Beam came from, are made of mud. As a result the people at Marconi Beam regarded the lack of permanency of their shacks as similar to the mud houses found in the rural areas which are also semi-permanent and are easily destroyed. The perception that Marconi Beam is the same as a rural area was also evident in the furniture that the people used in the settlement. The locals sent old furniture to the rural areas when they no longer needed it. The other reason that made people perceive Marconi Beam as similar to a rural area was the fact that the houses there are not smart and fancy and there is no proper infrastructure. They saw it as similar to the rural areas where roads are not paved and there is a lot of dust.

The physical structure of the settlement therefore leads people to perceive it as similar to a rural area. The perception that Marconi Beam is a rural area also affects local people's behaviour, social interactions and the way they lead their lives. Rural areas in the Eastern Cape, where most of the population of Marconi Beam came from, are well known for their poverty. This means that there is a lot of interdependency between people through reciprocal exchanges. This interdependency was also prevalent at Marconi Beam and the people there took it as an acceptable form of behaviour since they perceived Marconi Beam in the same way as they did a rural area.

The perception of continuity that people had between Marconi Beam and the rural areas shaped their social relations, inter-action, and their behaviour towards one another. This also shows that the physical space that people find themselves in has a certain meaning that people give to it which then influences their behaviour. What comes up then at Marconi Beam is that people there had a perception that by merely living in an informal settlement which has a certain type of space, one can, even should, behave in a certain way. As a result they in turn developed certain types of behaviour which they associated with that kind of area. This also has to do with the people's

attitudes towards the type of accommodation that they live in which is informal, not permanent and looked down upon.

Hartman (1972:313) says that, in a study that was done at West End, Boston, it was discovered that there was a constant interplay between 'inside' and 'outside', both in the physical and the social sense. It is further said that apartment walls, windows and doors are relatively 'permeable', in terms of sounds, smells, sights, a high degree of informal socialisation, and an intensive use of the street. This can be compared to Marconi Beam in the sense that shacks there were very close to each other due to the small area that the settlement occupied and because the material that had been used to build the shacks was permeable in terms of smells and sounds. As the shacks were close to each other, when one person sat outside between the shacks, he or she often talked to his/her neighbour through his or her door, window or through the permeable corrugated iron walls. The smell of food also passes through to other people who sat outside. For example, one day we were sitting outside Mosia's shack, which is very close to his neighbour's shack. The neighbour had cooked meat and we could smell of meat through the window that was close to Mosia's shack. I was sitting with Mashai, Mosia's nephew. Mashai was sitting down on the ground and he called to the neighbour asking her to dish out some meat for him too when it is done. This shows that the permeability and the closeness of shacks enabled an intensity of relations and interaction between the neighbours.

It also shows that the inside of a shack at Marconi Beam can be said to be private but also it can be said to be public. The shacks at Marconi Beam are private in the sense that one cannot see through the walls or materials used to build the shacks. But they are also public in the sense that they are very close to each other and are built with material through which sound and smell can pass easily. The materials used to build the shacks are permeable, and the shacks close to each

other, which enables high levels of intimacy and casual socialisation between neighbours. Interaction does not only take place within the walls of the shacks but extends outside as the walls of the shacks are permeable. Also, when people are sitting outside on their chairs they hold conversations with those going past on the foot paths.

According to a study done by Hirschon (1981:83) on interior and exterior space in urban Greece, "even though the spaces there are accessible and permeable, the seated groups on the side walks are based on selection". Even though there were intensive social relationships and interactions between people in general and neighbours at Marconi Beam, the space confinements, what Hirschon had observed in urban Greece is similar to what I observed at Marconi Beam. The inter-relationship between Xhosa, Afrikaans and Sotho speakers at Marconi Beam, even if they are neighbours, was not that intense. Often, when people sat outside their houses near the side walks, they sat according to the language that they speak. In many cases when people who speak a language other than that of the group that they were walking past, did not always greet each other. The relations that people had while sitting outside were selective due to the social boundaries that people of Marconi Beam drew around themselves according to 'race' and the language that they speak. (This will be discussed in further detail in chapter 4 on social networks and in a section on residential arrangements).

The contradiction between the intense social relations that are exerted by the space confinements at Marconi Beam and the boundaries that people built around themselves according to language is due to some stereotypes that people have of people who speak and 'look' different to them. For example:

One day I was at Msindokazi's house when two drunk 'coloured' women walked past us going to a shebeen. Msindokazi commented and said: These ones *amalawu* (degrading name used to refer to 'coloured' people), you cannot understand them. How could a woman go to a shebeen so early in the morning? With us Xhosa women you can't spend the whole day at a

shebeen drinking. A shebeen is a place for men. Coloured women do not respect themselves. They are the same. Take my neighbour for example (who was 'coloured'). When it is month end she drinks and passes out in front of her door. I always have to drag her into her shack and close the doors and windows so that people should not come in and steal".

There was also a language barrier that made socialisation and interaction selective. Marconi Beam is dominated by Xhosa speakers with a few Afrikaans speakers who do not know Xhosa. So Afrikaans speaking people found it easier to socialise with those people who are Afrikaans speaking. For example Louise, her tenants and most of the people who came to visit her do not understand Xhosa. They socialise amongst themselves and visit each other.

Even though there were barriers between people that hinder socialisation, there were circumstances that broke those barriers, in cases of emergencies. For example: Louise was an Afrikaans speaking 'coloured' woman who could not speak Xhosa. Her shack was located next to the public telephones. When someone in the settlement had to be fetched by an ambulance, the person would wait for the ambulances at her house because due to bad roads in the settlement. This is not only done by Afrikaans speakers, but also by Xhosa speakers within the settlement.

Even though there was some exclusion of 'others' on the basis of language, the physical dimension of Marconi Beam influenced the social interaction of people. Socialisation and interaction at Marconi Beam was facilitated by the fact that people lived in a small and overcrowded area. This was shown by the fact that even though people formed boundaries around themselves, they knew each other and helped each other in cases of emergency. Also, due to the space confinement, the interaction of people of Marconi Beam and neighbours was intensive due to some of their residential arrangements and the close proximity of their shacks.

3.2. RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

In this section, I analyse different residential arrangements with regard to their social and economic meaning for the people of Marconi Beam. Hartman (1972:311) says that “when residential situations are characterised by considerable choice and minimal restriction, ... density patterns are likely to be a product of certain critical features of living patterns. This density cannot be regarded as a discrete variable and evaluated without reference to the larger residential context provided by other physical and social variables”.

Early on in Marconi Beam's history, there had been flexibility in residential arrangements. People could make their own choices about where to put their shacks and there were no 'restrictions' by anyone. People would come in at night, build a shack at a certain spot, and dismantle it in the morning. When they built these shacks, people who were kin or those from the same rural area would sometimes build one big shack which they all shared for the night. People built their shacks where ever they wanted and could move them around within the settlement. When the settlement gained some 'permanency' after the strike by the Milnerton Turf Club workers, people positioned their shacks according to those they felt close to, like kin members or people who were from the same area as they were. The demolishing of shacks by the police, fire and availability of space which allowed flexibility in the construction of shacks before the area was declared a transit area and shacks moved to one side of the settlement, enabled people to build and arrange their shacks in such a way that they were near people that they felt close to. People who moved into the settlement before it was declared a transit area also built their shacks in the same manner. This led to the development of residential arrangements that were based on kin or language. When the area was declared a transit area, some of the people had to move their shacks to one side of the settlement. These people also build their shacks according to kin and language groups.

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The flexibility that developed over time at Marconi Beam enabled people who settled in the area to build their shacks according to their own pattern that was based on trust and resources. This means that the residential arrangements had been consciously made for economic and social reasons. These arrangements enabled economic and social support between the people to be maintained. The arrangements enabled people to maintain kinship relationships and form close links with those who spoke the same language as they did. It also enabled people to bring their resources together, to support each other and look after those who were ill, and to provide social support. In other words there was interdependency between the people staying in a certain residential arrangement. I use the following case study to illustrate how the residential arrangement through kinship that has developed over time at Marconi Beam enabled people to have economic and social support.

NB

CASE STUDY NO 1. RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT THROUGH KINSHIP AND THE SUPPORT THAT THIS TYPE OF ARRANGEMENT PROVIDES.

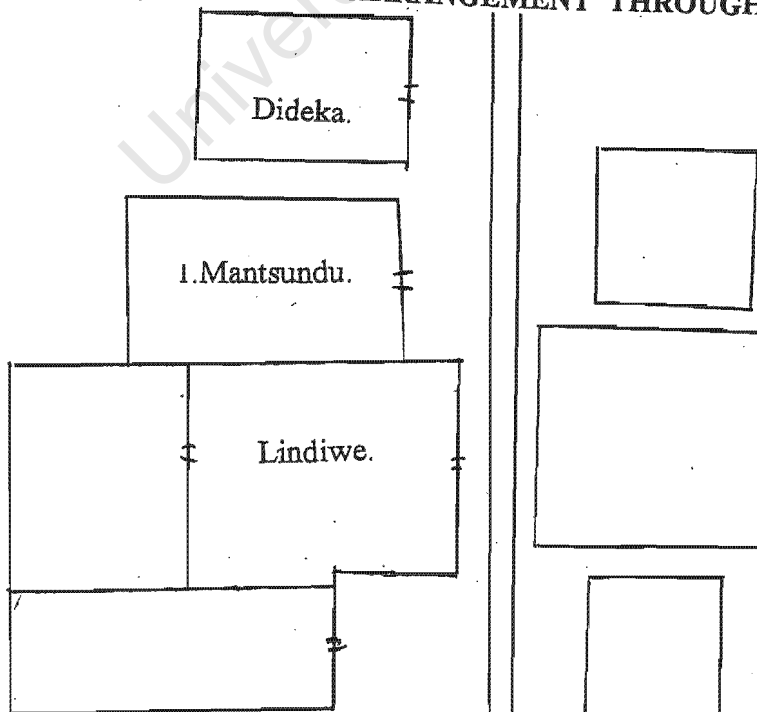
Ndoyisile, a 49 year old male came from Tsolo to Cape Town in the late 1960s. At the time he was working as a groom at the Milnerton Turf Club. According to his 47-year old sister, Lindiwe, Ndoyisile used to send their parents money but stopped after a while. In 1973 Lindiwe came to Cape Town to look for him. She heard from other people who knew Ndoyisile from Tsolo and worked with him at the Milnerton Turf Club where she could find Ndoyisile. After she found him, Lindiwe went back to Tsolo to collect their parents, John and Mantsundu, and three of her children, Dideka, Zukiswa and Simphiwe, in order for them to stay in Cape Town and to be nearer to Ndoyisile. During that time, Lindiwe, her parents and her children slept in the bush next to the Turf Club at night. They constructed a shack at night to sleep and destroyed it in the early hours of the morning. As time went by they built themselves a shack. In 1976 Lindiwe went back to Tsolo to give birth to a son Vumile and came back with the baby soon after that. On her arrival, she then decided to build herself a shack that was semi-detached from the first one they build which she left for their parents to occupy. After a strike by the workers at the Milnerton Turf Club in the 1980s, which made the settlement gain some 'permanency', Ndoyisile joined his parents in the settlement. At that time they occupied only one shack. Dideka and Zukiswa shared a shack with their grandparents while Lindiwe shared a shack with Vumile. Lindiwe said that she could not build her shack far from where her mother stayed as she would need someone to help her during the time when the baby was still young. In 1984 Lindiwe gave birth to Sindiso. She said that when Sindiso was still a baby she added two extra rooms to her shack for

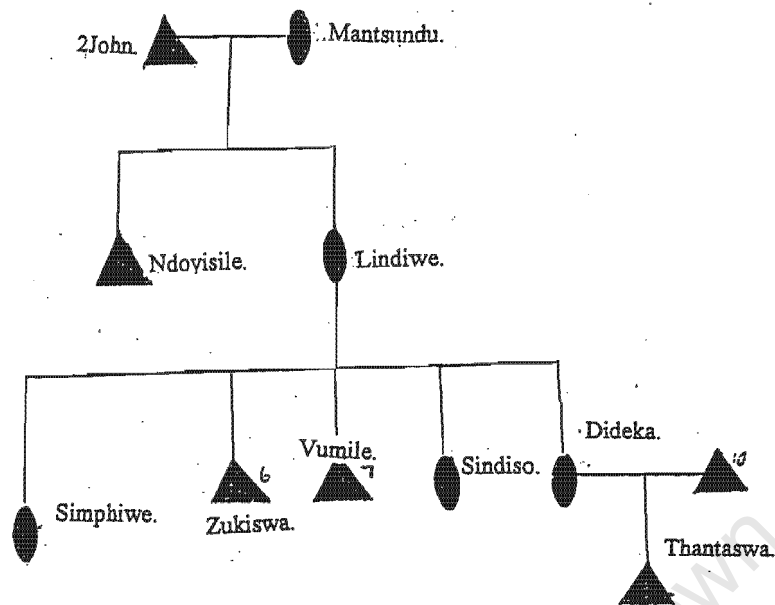
Zukiswa and Dideka to sleep in because her one roomed shack was becoming overcrowded. Ndoysisile later built himself a shack next to Lindiwe's shack which was detached to the other shacks. During the time that I was in the field, two of Lindiwe's children, that is Sindiso and Vumile, and a 'tenant' shared a three room shack with Lindiwe. Zukiswa worked at Athlone and stayed there and Simphiwe was in jail. Dideka occupied Ndoysisile's shack together with her husband and their daughter Thantaswa. (See diagrams on kinship and residential arrangement below).

From 1973 until the 1980s when he left his job due to illness, Ndoysisile was the only breadwinner. During the time that he was employed, his kin members depended on him for financial support. During the time that I was in the field, Ndoysisile was ill and unemployed. John and Mantsundu supported Lindiwe, her children, and Ndoysisile through their old age pension money which they claimed to have got in 1989.

Dideka and her husband, who worked as a security guard, cooked and ate separately from Lindiwe, John, Mantsundu and Lindiwe's children even though they borrowed and used each other's cooking and washing utensils, and cutlery. There were reciprocal exchanges between Dideka, Lindiwe and Lindiwe's parents, that is John and Mantsundu. They reciprocated things like candles, cigarettes, mielie meal and body soap. Ndoysisile stayed with his parents as he was chronically ill, did not have any form of income and was also not married. Lindiwe earned a living by collecting and selling cans for recycling purposes and she sometime sold traditional beer. Lindiwe, Ndoysisile, Sindiso, Vumile, John and Mantsundu ate from the same pot. In other words, although they produced separately, they brought their resources together. This was made easier by the proximity of their shacks that were built next to each other.

RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT THROUGH KINSHIP





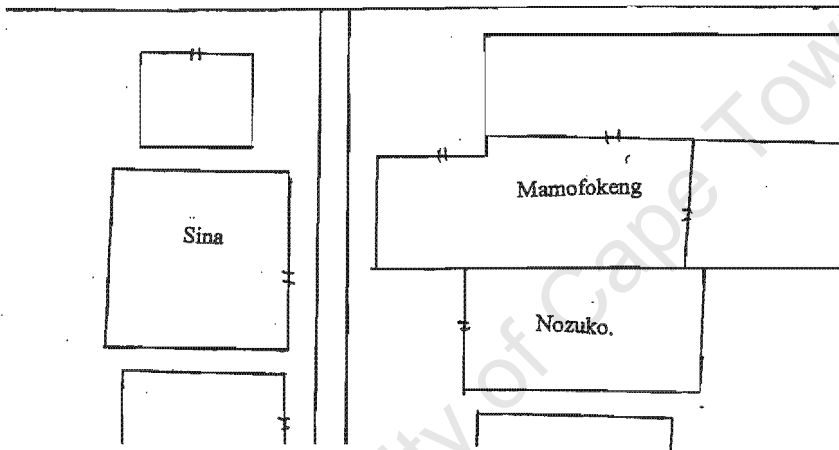
Kin members were not the only ones whose shacks were built in a way that enabled them to form cohesive social and economic residential units. Some of the people that I interviewed, built their shacks close to people who spoke the same language as they did. Some of these shacks were semi-detached. In the case of people who spoke the same language, like those who spoke Sotho, they built their shacks next to each other, that is in groups, or their shacks were semi-detached, as I will demonstrate in the following case study. Between these people there was a lot of reciprocal exchange and social support.

CASE STUDY 2: RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE.

Mamofokeng lives with her daughter Mapinkana, her son Anelang and her husband Khumalo. They are Sotho speakers from Mount Fletcher. They came to Marconi Beam from Khayelitsha in 1991. When

Mamofokeng first got to the site where she has built her shack, she was the only Sotho speaker there. Nozuko came to Marconi Beam in middle of 1991. Mamofokeng's shack is semi-detached from Nozuko's shack. Nozuko is also a Sotho speaker from Matatiele. Her husband used to live at the hostels at Langa and she visited him from Matatiele. Her husband worked at Tableview together with Khumalo. After Mamofokeng moved to Marconi Beam, her husband, Khumalo, advised Nozuko's husband that he should also move there and Nozuko would be able to come and stay with him. When they moved in they built their shack next to Mamofokeng's shack. About three meters opposite Mamofokeng's shack, is Sina's shack. Sina is also a Sotho speaker from Herschel. She came to Marconi Beam towards the end of 1991 from Khayelitsha where she rented a back yard shack. (see diagram).

RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE.



There were a lot of reciprocal exchanges between the three households especially when it came to things like utensils and food stuffs. For example, one day Anelang, Mamofokeng's 9 year old son, complained to his mother that he was hungry. Having not prepared anything, his mother told him that he should go and ask for food from Nozuko who gave him bread to eat. Some moments later, Nozuko arrived to ask for some matches from Mamofokeng. When Mamofokeng and Mapinkana had gone to collect and sell recyclable material, Ananelang was often left either with Nozuko or Sina.

These Sotho speakers have developed reciprocal exchange relationships which were facilitated by the fact that they are from the neighbouring Eastern Cape Districts and that share the same language which fosters to trust.

The two case studies show that the flexibility of space at Marconi Beam which developed over time, and the fact that Marconi Beam is an informal settlement, allowed people to have residential arrangements that were based on kinship and others that were based on language. These in turn enabled them to develop mutual economic and social support. These people had residential units that did not function independently from each other. Reciprocal exchanges strengthened social relationships as they were frequently in contact with each other and learnt to trust one another. The residential arrangement also allowed people not to be tied to one place as people had extended living space in terms of resources and social support. Residential arrangements allowed people to be members of different households for different purposes in different acts and people moved around households in terms of where they ate. Due to this arrangement, activities that are often carried out by people staying in one unit and done in that unit, were not contained in one shack, but extended beyond that shack. The living space thus extended more than one shack. Households were interdependent in an arrangement that has been facilitated by their residential arrangement. This was brought about by the flexibility of space usage.

3.3. PUBLIC SPACE: ITS SOCIAL MEANING.

Hartman (1972:306) says that "in areas with high density houses, external areas are far more extensively and casually used, and the surrounding neighbourhood is a component of the residential life space". In this section I demonstrate that, due to lack of internal domestic space and the shacks being close to each other, social and economic living space at Marconi Beam does not only extend to those shacks that were in a certain residential arrangement or end in the shack that one occupied, but it extended to the public space. The public space extended the living space that people had. In Marconi Beam, it formed part of all people's living space. I demonstrate this by showing that, due to the constraints of space and the few services that people were provided with, people of Marconi Beam were forced to take a collective responsibility for the existing ~~these~~ facilities and to share

them. This then led to intense social relationships, collectivity and 'solidarity'. The facilities that people shared were public toilets, public taps, waste containers and foot paths between the shacks. Here, I concentrate on public taps because, from my observations, they render a particularly interesting social meaning to the women of Marconi Beam.

3.4. COMMUNAL TAPS AND THEIR SOCIAL MEANING.

When it became a transit area, Marconi Beam was divided into four sections (sections A, B, C and D) by the Milnerton Municipality. The divisions were made to facilitate moving people to the upgraded area of Joe Slovo Park. In each section there was a water tap. Women did their laundry there. They also washed their dishes, which mostly included big pots, big dishes and buckets. Some of the men who owned cars washed them at the taps. However, most of the time, it was women that one would find at the taps.

Communal taps were one of the places where women met and performed some of their domestic duties and simultaneously interacted. The public taps were a "social space, which primarily was an area of communication and reciprocal exchange" (Hirschon 1981:84). By being able to perform their domestic duties in public, it meant that women at Marconi Beam had "...available more living space" (Hartman 1972:312) than at their shacks and places of interaction like shebeens where they could not interact freely and escape from unwanted intervention by their partners/husbands. This meant that taps were public, but in a sense private for women. They were a place where women could perform some of their domestic duties while relaxing and socialising at the same time.

The interaction of women at the taps took a long time, due to the kind of activities that they performed there. Moreover, women generally did not leave the tap area immediately after they had finished their laundry. They would sit and continue taking part in the conversation, and those who

smoked would share a cigarette. They also became involved in long conversations, talking about their domestic situations and various experiences in their lives. Of particular interest is their talk about their children, community meetings and what happened at those meetings. The women shared ideas and advised each other on different things like health and their relationships with their husbands or the men that they cohabited with. For example: Manyauze asked Mancuse what was wrong with Mancuse's partner the previous day. Mancuse told her that her partner was angry because she went to visit at Langa and came back late. When he asked her where she came from and why she didn't tell him, she said she failed to answer and left to visit her friend. The other women at the tap warned Mancuse that she must never do that again as her partner might beat her up and that will not be a very nice thing. She should have at least told her neighbour that she had gone somewhere so that when her partner comes back home there would be someone to tell him where she had gone to. Vuyiswa added that she should have come back earlier, before her partner came back from work.

At the taps there was a lot of borrowing and exchanging of washing utensils. If there was a bath that happened to be lying there and no one using it, someone who needed to use it would ask if she could borrow it from the person to whom it belonged. Borrowing and lending each others things at the taps was made easy by the perception that people had about Marconi Beam being the same as a rural area where that type of behaviour is accepted or where there is nothing wrong if one lends and borrows something from others. These reciprocal exchanges at the taps in Marconi Beam took place between people who were friends, neighbours or kin members and who, in many cases, already had other domestic reciprocal exchange relationships. In some of the situations, a person who resided in section A would do her laundry at section C. This was because the person had friends in the section that she went to do her laundry at.

CASE STUDY 3: RECIPROCAL EXCHANGES AT THE COMMUNAL TAPS.

During my observations at the tap in section B, I met Mancuse and Manyauze who lived in section A, Vuyelwa who lived in section B and Nompumelelo who lived in section C. Manyauze was using two baths and a bucket. She had borrowed the bucket from Nompumelelo and a bath from Vuyelwa and one bath belonged to her. Mancuse, whose soap powder was finished before she had done all her laundry, borrowed some from Vuyelwa. After Mancuse finished her laundry, she also borrowed a pot-scourer from Vuyelwa to clean the outside of her bath. Such exchanging and borrowing of washing utensils and soap powder were some of the reciprocal exchanges that were very common at the communal taps. It shows that social networks, through reciprocal exchanges, extend beyond people's homes to the public spaces. (Social networks will be discussed in detail at chapter 5).

Reciprocal exchanges at the taps were not the only form of exchange that took place there. Public taps also served as places where women shared information, especially with regard to community meetings. For example: One day when I was visiting Matshenyeletso's house, Matsholofelang, a nephew of Matshenyeletso's landlord, told me that she had heard that tenants would not be provided with houses at Joe Slovo Park. Tenants would have to go and stay at De Noon that is about 5 kilometres towards Malmesbury. I asked her who said that and she told me that she had heard it from the women at the tap. She told me that she never goes to community meetings as she does not have time, so she relies on such sources.

Another example relates back to four women that I found at a tap in section B. One of the women at the tap, Manyauze, had attended the previous community meeting and told the other three women at the tap what had happened at the meeting. Manyauze told them what was said, by whom, and how the people had responded to what the Trust Committee members said. The other three women at the tap expressed the view that they did not go to community meetings because they did not like to observe the tensions between the committee members.

These two examples show that communal taps are not only places to do laundry and to socialise. They are also places where people share very important information and where public news can be transmitted. People are able to express their opinions, suggest possible forms of action, release social tension and evaluate community matters that affect them, without feeling intimidated.

By contrast, shebeens, where there was a lot of interaction, were viewed as places for men and were dominated by men. If a woman went to a shebeen she was looked down upon and very few women socialised at shebeens. A woman was only 'accepted' in a shebeen that was dominated by men if she came from the same village that they came from. However, even then women did not like to go to shebeens as they were seen as places for men where they expect violent reactions by men towards them. This made the communal taps the only public places where women could socialise without any gendered intimidation and restrictions on their freedom.

CONCLUSION.

In this chapter I have explored how spatial arrangements that have developed over time at Marconi Beam and the area's status as an informal settlement, influenced the social life of people residing there. I have also shown that the closeness of the shacks and the layout of the shacks facilitated close interaction of residents. I have analysed different residential arrangements which, I have argued, developed due to the flexibility of space that existed in Marconi Beam. This means that the development of spatial flexibility enabled construction of certain residential units which were built around economic and social support units which formed part of people's local social organisation. These residential arrangements were based on kinship and on people speaking the same language.

I have also illustrated that, due to space confinements and the limited services available to the people of Marconi Beam, they were forced to share public/communal spaces. The shared facilities,

like public taps, enabled intensive interaction and some form of solidarity. It has also been illustrated how public places like shebeens and public taps were gendered. I have also shown how public taps rendered social meaning for the women of Marconi Beam as they were one of the few places where the women could interact freely amongst themselves.

Hirschon (1981:84) found that in urban Greece, contacts between women are vital in connecting unrelated families through exchanges, creating a pool of information linking families throughout the district. There has also been an indication that the various families or households in Marconi Beam were inter-linked, and social networks were extended through reciprocal exchanges at public taps. It can be concluded that although there were tight limits on the physical space available to the people of Marconi Beam, the flexibility of space usage that developed over time, served as an essential factor to the social life of the people living there. It also influenced their formation of social networks as will be shown in the chapter on space and social networks that follows.

CHAPTER 4.

SPACE AND SOCIAL NETWORKS AT MARCONI BEAM.

This chapter explores the intensive social interactions which, as I have shown in chapter 3, were enabled by the physical space arrangements at the Marconi Beam settlement. I argue that those interactions have led to the formation of social networks, some of which form part of the survival strategies of poor people in the settlement. I consider different social networks, examine how they are formed and on what they are based, and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of belonging to a social network.

The chapter concentrates mainly on local social networks that form the primary networks between people at Marconi Beam. They are networks based on the close proximity in which residents live relative to each other. The first reason I concentrate on primary networks is that my discussion focuses on how physical space influences people's social relations within Marconi Beam. Secondly, I was able to observe only local social networks. Because I did my fieldwork only at Marconi Beam, I did not trace people's social networks much beyond the settlement. There was not enough time nor resources to do that. Thirdly, during my observations I realised that local networks were prominent and important for the residents of Marconi Beam in social and economic terms. They formed the primary networks of the residents of Marconi Beam.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is based on my observations of how physical space enabled the intensive social relations that facilitated the formation of certain social networks. From this I demonstrate how the proximity of the residential units facilitated the formation of neighbourhood networks some of which appeared to have the characteristics of one household, at least in respect of commensality. The second section concentrates on how 'tenants' form part of the primary social networks of their 'landlords'. My discussion in this section leads to

a consideration of what constitutes a 'tenant-landlord' relationship, an issue that re-emerges in chapter 5. I demonstrate how 'tenants' and 'landlords' shared domestic space and how their doing so enabled 'landlord-tenant' relationships that were used for building up the domestic networks. I also demonstrate how the flexibility of space usage at Marconi Beam facilitated the provision of accommodation for those people who were neither 'tenants' nor permanent members of a local household. Before moving into the three major sections of this chapter, I first give a brief introduction as to how the historical development of the settlement facilitated the formation of localised social networks in the settlement.

Chapter 2 and 3 have shown how Marconi Beam developed as an informal settlement. Residents living there could not build formal masonry houses. They built temporary shacks using cheap material. This led to limited differentiation between the residents as all the shacks were built with similar material. The apparent lack of differentiation at Marconi Beam enabled close and intensive social relations. From the outside, one could not easily tell the difference between those who were well off and those who were poor. It was only after talking to people that I came to realise the differences. What I observed in terms of limited social differentiation between the population of Marconi Beam, is the same as was discovered by Wilsworth (1979) in the Fingo village township outside Grahamstown. Wilsworth (1979:407) says that "the community strength in that population came from among other things avoidance of strain from competition, freedom from self blame, co-operation and mutual aid which was enabled by the homogeneity that existed within that population". Cohen and Shinar (1985:77) also argue that "a perception of homogeneity between people influences the degree of intimacy in the relationship". They further say that the stronger "the intimacy, the higher the probability that people will see greater similarities between themselves".

What was discovered by Wilsforth (1979) and asserted by Cohen and Shinar (1985) is similar to what I discovered at Marconi Beam. With regard to Marconi Beam, the informality of the space limited social differentiation between people, which then made it difficult to distinguish the poor from the well off. This then limited the extent to which people felt shame and humiliation because they were poor. Those who were well off in the settlement could not show off their possessions, as they were not willing to invest in a place that could be demolished at any time. The second reason is that the residents did not have security of tenure.

In the study that they did in Jerusalem, Cohen and Shinar found that “people from Asian and African countries had friendship networks that were very dense and localised” (1985:76). They argued that “people from these two continents came from traditional societies in which primary relations, centred on the residential neighbourhood, were the dominant ones” (ibid.). They added, “in the traditional framework, the social network was local and very dense in contrast to the framework in modern countries that went through the process of modernisation” (ibid.).

What has been said by these authors was much the same as in South African rural areas where most of the population of Marconi Beam came from, and which are well known for their poverty. As already pointed out in chapter 3, people at Marconi Beam perceived the settlement to be the same kind of space and place as the rural areas where they came from. The rural areas that most of the population of Marconi Beam came from were marked by much localised inter-dependency between people and by reciprocal exchanges that facilitated intensive local relationships and social networks. A similar situation was prevalent in Marconi Beam. The local social networks that people created were what I have called domestic networks and neighbourhood networks I discuss below.

Early on in the life of the settlement various nuclear families, friends and individuals shared one shack for the purpose of sleeping at night. The people who slept in one shack also shared domestic chores that, at the time, comprised only of building and dismantling the shack that they slept in. It was not always the same people sleeping in one shack. This shows that, since early on in the settlement, there has always been an experience of change in the residential composition of shacks. It also shows that there has always been inter-dependence between different families or individuals, in terms of co-residence and sharing of domestic chores.

When the settlement gained some 'permanency' after the strike by the Milnerton Turf Club workers (see chapter 2), people again built their shacks according to a pattern that they had become used to. What this means is that some of the people who previously shared a shack for sleeping now built their shacks next to each other. This facilitated the formation of different types of local social networks. This chapter concentrates only on those that were facilitated by residential arrangements. These were domestic networks and neighbourhood networks.

It should be noted that even though I have concentrated only on those two levels of networks, this does not mean that networks at Marconi Beam were bounded. Members of the population of Marconi Beam, whether from domestic or neighbourhood networks, do have relationships with others who do not fall under the levels of networks that I have discussed. Their links often extend beyond and outside these networks. Members from the two levels of networks that are discussed also have networks extending outside the settlement. These were based on interest and were not necessarily influenced by space. One example is networks where members belong to the same church. So it should be noted that, for each level of network that I have discussed, members within those networks did have links to other people who were not necessarily in their nearest vicinity.

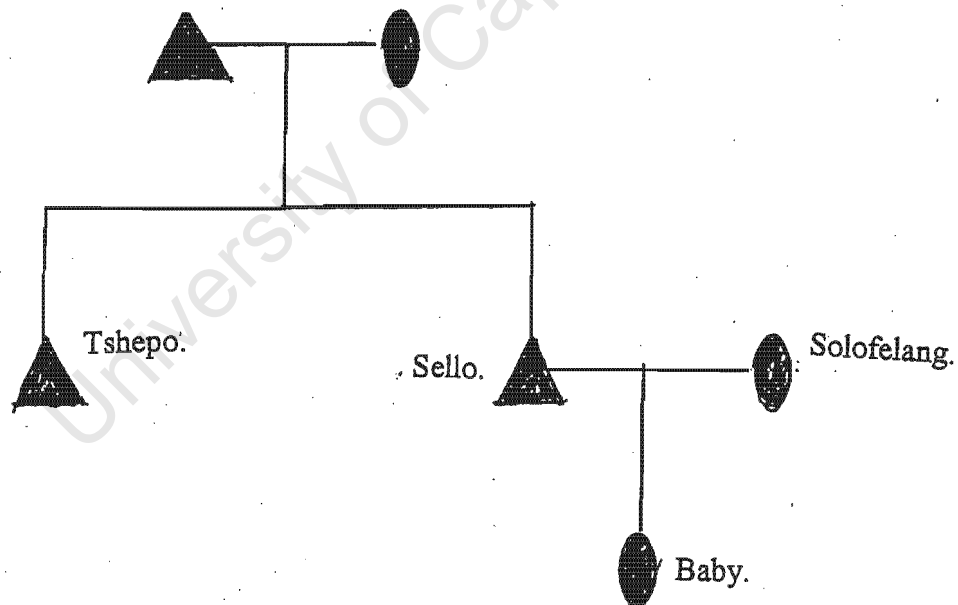
There are two levels of local residential networks that existed at Marconi Beam. The first was what I call the 'domestic network'. It comprised people sharing one shack.

4.1. DOMESTIC NETWORKS.

These were what Craig (1986:64) has described as networks of people who co-reside in one shack, whether as kin or as owners and 'tenants'. He calls them the basic form of network. They consist of members who share one shack, produce their resources separately but pool them in one single shack. The following case study shows what a domestic network is and how it functions.

CASE STUDY NO 4: A DOMESTIC NETWORK AND HOW IT FUNCTIONS.

Tshepo was a 34 year old man who shared a shack with Sello who was 30 years old. They also shared the shack with Solofelang who was Sello's wife, and their six month old baby. Tshepo worked as a driver at a factory. Sello was unemployed but did some casual work. Solofelang was also unemployed. She stayed at home and did house chores. Sello and Tshepo bought groceries separately but brought them together in their shack to provide for the consumption needs of all four.



A DOMESTIC NETWORK.

4.2. NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS.

The second form of network I am concerned with in Marconi Beam is the neighbourhood network that linked different residential units to one another. Even though there were domestic level

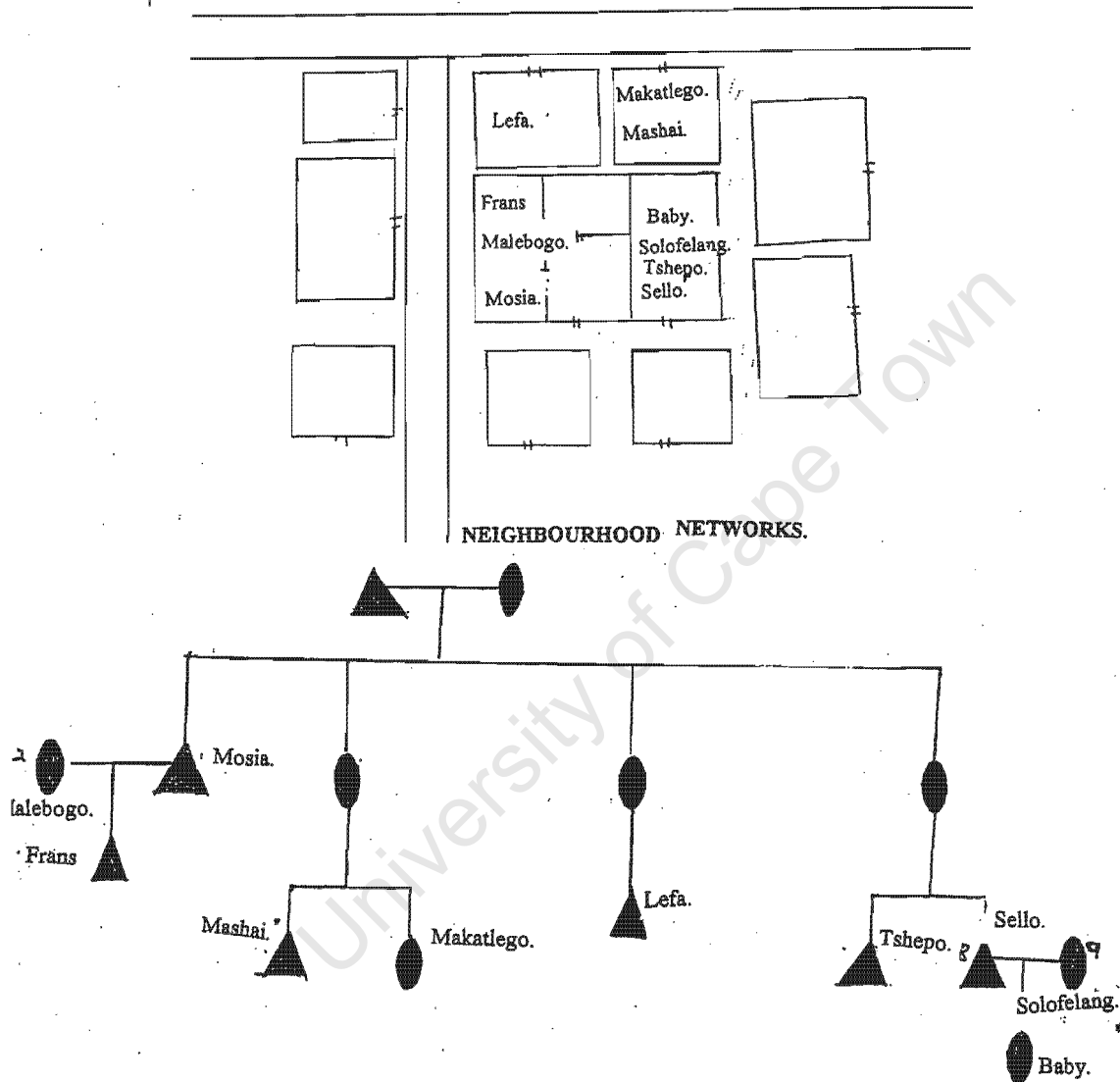
networks that centred around people who slept in one shack and pooled all their resources, most people and their domestic units were also tied into broader residential or neighbourhood networks. The result was that the pooled resources of one domestic network sometimes ended up being shared and distributed across other domestic networks--precisely because they were inter-linked through neighbourhood networks that tied residential units to one another. The exchanges that followed along the lines of these neighbourhood networks were facilitated by the close proximity of the domestic residential units, many of which were not even completely detached from one another (see diagram). This implies that domestic networks at Marconi Beam did not exist independently. The spatial arrangements that had developed over time and persisted at Marconi Beam facilitated the formation of what I have called neighbourhood networks between domestic networks which were then linked to each other.

Many activities that are conventionally carried out by members of domestic networks were also shared across different domestic networks at Marconi Beam that were linked together in what I have called neighbourhood networks. These activities include what Wilk and Netting (1985:5) call consumption, socialisation of children, production, reproduction and co-residence. At Marconi Beam the most important function that linked domestic networks to neighbourhood networks was consumption. This will be illustrated by the following case study.

CASE STUDY NO 5: SHARED CONSUMPTION THROUGH NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS.

Mosia was a 45 year old man who owned a shack comprising five separate units that were built next to each other. Three of them were occupied by six of his three sister's children, five of whom were unemployed. Mosia's son Frans, who was 22 years old, and Mosia's wife Malebogo were unemployed and spent time at home. Mosia was employed as a gardener at Tableview. He was the one who bought groceries. 34 year old Tshepo (refer to case no 4) shared a shack with his brother Sello, who was 30

years old); 25 year old Solofelang who was Sello's wife and their six months old baby. Tshepo was the only one who had full-time employment as a driver at a factory. Sello depended on casual labour. Makatleho who was 25 years old, shared a shack with her brother Mashai and 35 year old Lefa occupied another one. These three were also unemployed but depended on casual work.



Each of the four contiguous domestic networks, that is Tshepo's domestic unit, Mosia's domestic unit, Lefa's domestic unit and Mashai's domestic unit, tried to have its own supply of groceries which was purchased by one or more of its members. However there were frequent exchanges

when those supplies would be shared with people in the other neighbouring domestic networks. In a sense that sharing meant that the three units were inter linked together for consumption purpose in such a way that they appeared, over the short term, to be a single consumption unit. Although they lived in a series of separate shacks they occasionally also came together to form one temporary consumption unit or household.

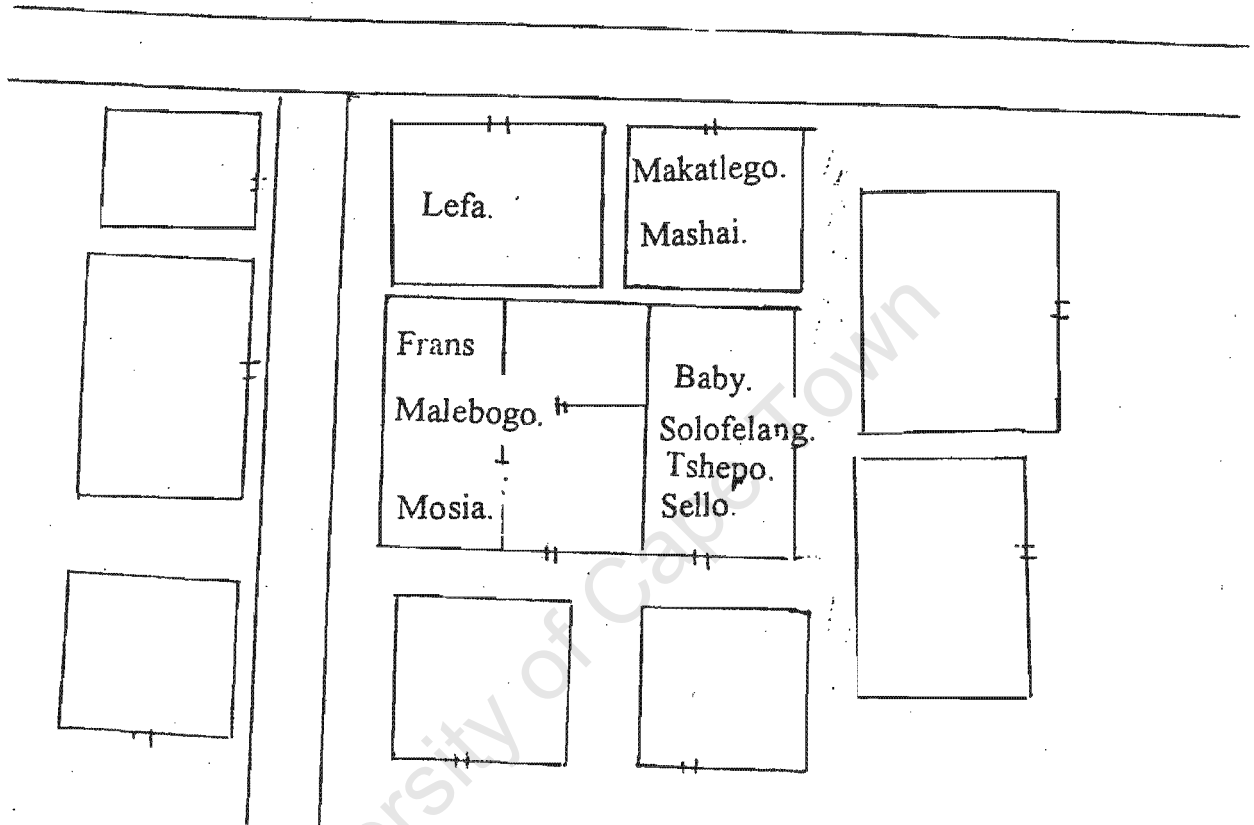
Some of the neighbourhood networks had consciously been made through residential arrangements for the purpose of economic support. The following case study illustrates this.

CASE STUDY 6: CONSTRUCTING SHACKS TO CREATE A CONTIGUOUS RESIDENTIAL NETWORK.

Mosia was a 45 year old man from Matatiele. He moved to Marconi Beam in 1990 from Khayelitsha in order to be near to his place of work at Tableview. At the time of his arrival, Mosia shared a one room shack with his wife Malebogo [40 years] and their son Frans [22 years old]. In 1990 he was joined by Tshepo [35 years old] (refer to case no 4 and 5) who is one of his sister's son's. Tshepo came to Cape Town looking for a job. He worked as a driver at a factory. When Tshepo came to Marconi Beam, Mosia used building material that he had available to build a shack in order to accommodate Tshepo. In 1994 Makatleho [25 years old] and Mashai [35 years old] also came to Cape Town to look for a job. They firstly shared a shack with Tshepo. After some time Mosia collected some building material and Mashai built a shack alongside detached from Tshepo's shack. Mashai and Makatleho occupied this shack. In 1995 Lefa also came to Cape Town looking for a job. On his arrival he also shared a shack with Tshepo. Mosia later bought some building material and built a three roomed shack. Mosia, his wife and their son moved to the newly built shack and Lefa moved to their previous shack. In 1997 Sello joined Tshepo. He also came to Cape Town looking for a job. In April of the same year he was joined by his wife Solofelang and their 6 month old baby. The only person who was employed were Tshepo while Mosia and the others relied on irregular casual work. They reciprocated things like food and utensils.

It can be seen from the above case study that people who were unemployed centred some of their domestic networks around those who had employment.

CONSTRUCTING SHACKS TO CREATE A CONTIGUOUS NETWORKS.



4.3. 'TENANTS' AS PART OF DOMESTIC AND NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS.

This section concentrates on how 'tenants' form part of the primary social networks of their 'landlords'. The discussion leads to a consideration of what constitutes the tenant-landlord relationship, an issue that re-emerges in chapter 5. I demonstrate how 'tenants' and 'landlords' shared domestic space and how their doing so enabled the development of 'landlord'-'tenant' relationships that were used for building up domestic networks.

4.4. *HOW 'TENANTS' AND 'LANDLORDS' TOGETHER FORM DOMESTIC NETWORKS THROUGH SHARING SPACE.*

A study by Gilbert, et al (1997) on low income housing in the township of Gugulethu in Cape Town and Tamboville in Johannesburg, showed that, in the two areas, only a few landlords built shacks for their tenants while the majority let space to 'tenants' to build their shacks. None of the tenants in the two areas occupied a room in the home of the landlord. 'Tenants' lived in backyard shacks and provided their own shelter. The landlords did not create much accommodation and merely left the construction of the shacks to their tenants.

What I found at Marconi Beam was different from the findings of Gilbert, et al (1997). When Marconi Beam was declared a transit area, people had to move their shacks to one side of the settlement. This resulted in a limitation of space, in part because of increased density so that shacks no longer had yard space, but primarily because people were required not to build further shacks. As a result 'landlords' could no longer build outside shacks to rent out. Those who moved to the settlement after it had been declared a transit area, and were in need of accommodation, ended up having to share shacks with their 'landlords', most of whom had shacks that were sufficiently large to accommodate 'tenants'. At Marconi Beam therefore, 'tenants' did not provide their own shelter as they did elsewhere (Gilbert et al 1997). They were not provided with space on which to build their shacks and they did not hire shacks from their 'landlords'. Rather they moved in with their 'landlords'.

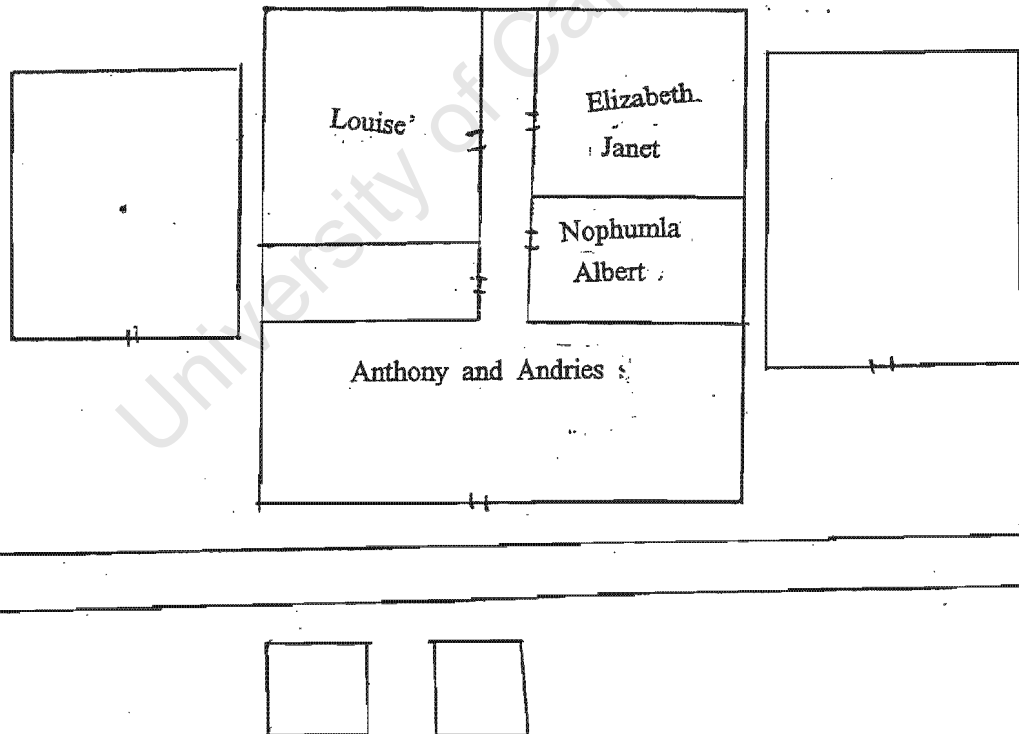
What this meant was that both the 'landlord' and the 'tenant' occupied the same shack and space. There were a few cases where the 'tenant' slept in a separate room but shared and used the 'landlord's shack's common rooms, like the kitchen and lounge. What all this means is that

'tenants' at Marconi Beam were likely to form part of the domestic networks of their 'landlords'.

The following case study illustrates how 'tenants' and 'landlords' shared a shack at Marconi Beam.

CASE STUDY 7: SHARED SPACE BY 'TENANTS' AND 'LANDLORDS'.

Louise (30 years old) worked as a char at Tableview and owned a five-roomed shack that she shared with her one year old son and five 'tenants'. The tenants were 28 year old Elizabeth, 39 year old Nophumla and her 45 year old husband Albert, 40 year old Janet and her 25 year old son Anthony, and Louise's brother Andries who was 25 years old. Louise's shack consisted of three bedrooms, a lounge, and a kitchen. Louise and her son slept in the first bedroom, Nophumla and her husband Albert in the second and Elizabeth and Janet in the third. Anthony and Andries slept on a mattress in the lounge. Louise and her 'tenants' used the lounge and kitchen together.



'Tenants' and 'landlords' at Marconi Beam formed domestic networks not only through co-residence but also through shared resources. They produced separately and pooled their resources in one domestic unit. The resources were then consumed by all members of that domestic network. In other words 'tenants' produced separately from their 'landlords' but pooled their resources into one domestic unit. Part of the resources produced by 'tenants' was then consumed by other members of that domestic network and part was sent to 'tenants' kin members outside the settlement.

CASE STUDY 8: 'TENANTS' AS PART OF THEIR 'LANDLORDS' DOMESTIC NETWORKS THROUGH CONSUMPTION.

Nomfundo was a 38 year old woman who owned a two roomed shack. She worked as a char at Milnerton. She had two 'tenants', Pieter and Rita, who were husband and wife. Rita and Pieter were unemployed and sold recyclable material (see chapter 5). During the day when Nomfundo had gone to work, Rita cleaned the house, did the laundry and cooked. On one of the days that I visited them Pieter came back from selling recyclable material, and with some groceries he had bought. I asked Rita if she was going to dish out some food for Nomfundo. She told me that they ate their food together. If one of them has got money he or she buys groceries and it would be prepared and eaten by all of them.

As the two cases above show, some 'landlords' were employed while their 'tenants' were unemployed. In situations like these 'tenants' were often left at home to do the domestic chores, look after the children if there were any, carry messages and attend to some of the 'landlord's' business that she/he was unable to attend to due to work commitments.

CASE STUDY 9: DOMESTIC CHORES CARRIED OUT BY 'TENANTS'.

Macikiswana's 'tenant', Toto was often left to look after her 'landlord's' shack when Macikiswana had gone home to the Transkei, at harvest time. Harvesting, I was told by various people, can take up to 2 to 3 months. The 'tenant' is then left behind to look after the shack and any young children that are left behind at Marconi Beam.

Louise's 'tenants' (see case no 7) Elizabeth and Nophumla were regularly left at Louise's shack during the day when the others had gone to work. Elizabeth cleaned the house and fetched water from the local tap. Nophumla looked after Louise's year old baby, and she and Elizabeth helped each other doing the laundry for everyone who stayed there.

4.5. HOW 'TENANTS' FORMED PART OF NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS.

The second kind of social network that 'tenants' belonged to extended beyond the domestic level. 'Tenants' belonged also to the neighbourhood networks to which their 'landlords' belonged. This was mostly evident in cases where they shared *umfino*. *Umfino* is a nutritious Xhosa traditional meal that is eaten primarily by women and children. The meal comprises a mixture of mealie meal, wild spinach and pumpkin, a bit of salt and cooking oil. The meal is often eaten together by a group of people who are friends or kin. The following case study illustrates how 'tenants' formed part of neighbourhood networks through consumption.

CASE STUDY 10: 'TENANTS' AS PART OF NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS.

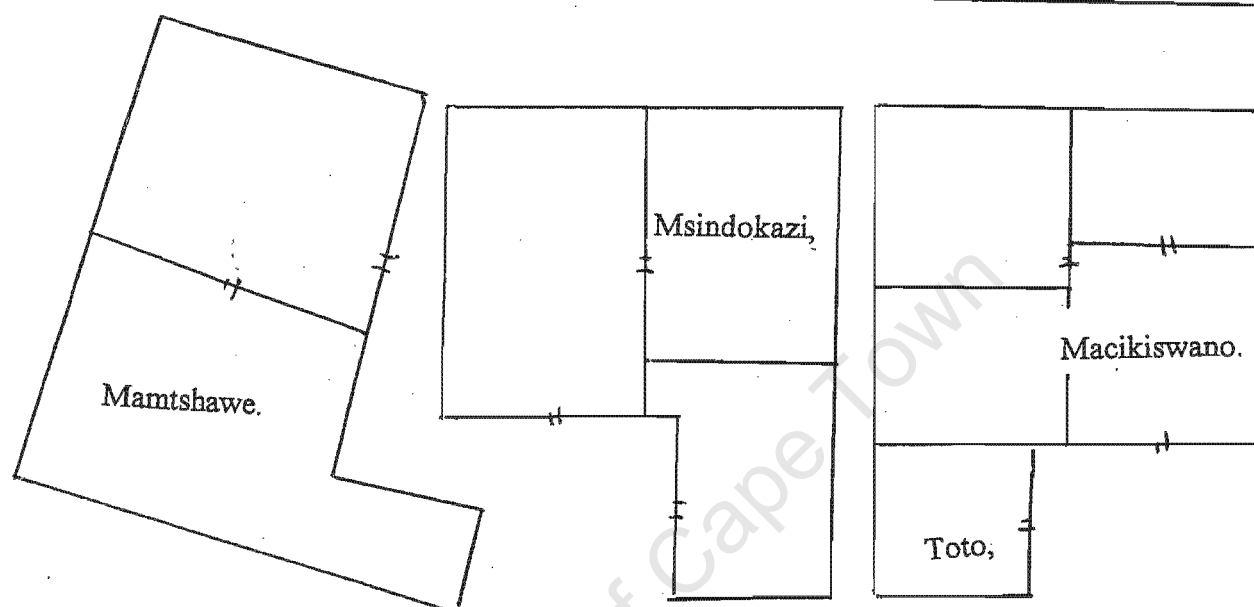
Macikiswano was a 41 year old female shack owner. She was unemployed and co-habited with 43 year old Tulwana. Tulwana worked at a soap factory together with their 42 year old 'tenant' Paul. Paul co-habited with 38 year old Toto who was unemployed.

Macikiswano's neighbour was 38 years old Msindokazi. She had two sons who were 7 and 5. Msindokazi co-habited with 50 year old Petrus who owned that shack.

Mamtshawe was a 35 years old shack owner and Msindokazi's sister. She stayed with her husband Ndoda and their 1 year old baby in a shack situated behind Msindokazi's shack.

One day, when I visited Msindokazi, I found Toto, Macikiswano, and Msindokazi preparing themselves to go and collect cans for recycling. When they left, Msindokazi took some mealie meal with her. Toto had pumpkin with her and Macikiswano had some spinach with her. They took all of these to Mamtshawe's place. Mamtshawe was left at home to cook *umfino*. She used her paraffin stove, salt and cooking oil to prepare the meal. When Macikiswano, Toto and Msindokazi came back from collecting cans, they went to Mamtshawe's shack where they had their meal. They were joined by Msindokazi's two sons.

'TENANTS' AS PART OF NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS.



4.6. HOW OUTSIDE KIN WAS ACCOMMODATED IN THE SETTLEMENT.

Even though there were people who were said to be 'tenants' at Marconi Beam, there were those who said they did not live in the settlement permanently but were merely visiting kin. They were mostly young adults from hostels within the Peninsula, and they often visited for long periods. This, I think, was because of the "overcrowding and lack of privacy at the hostels" (Ramphela 1993:23). Ramphela (1993:25) states that "at the hostels, life rotated around a bed that one owns and it also served as a place of residence. Parents shared a bed with the youngest children. Other adults and teenage boys and children slept in the common room". This means that there was not enough space to accommodate everyone who stayed in the hostels. These people had to find other

accommodation to provide them with space and privacy that was not easy to get at the hostels, and as a result, some had found their way to Marconi Beam.

In the following case study I demonstrate how Marconi Beam provided accommodation to people from the hostels who did not have access to proper accommodation in the hostels.

CASE STUDY 11: ACCOMMODATION FOR PEOPLE FROM THE HOSTELS.

Joseph was 31 years old and married to 30 year old Nosolomuzi. They shared their shack with Joseph's 26 year old brother, Zuzekile. There was 30 year old Solomuzi also lived there. Solomuzi is from Cala where Joseph also came from and 25 year old Xolile. When I asked Xolile if he and Solomuzi lived permanently with Joseph and Nosolomuzi, he told me that they were only visiting and that they had come to help Joseph and Nosolomuzi in their business. He said that Solomuzi stayed at a hostel with his uncle at Gugulethu and he, Xolile, stayed at a hostel with his brother at Langa.

Joseph and Nosolomuzi's shack consisted of 3 big rooms. The biggest room was used as a shebeen, a general dealer and a sleeping place for both Xolile and Solomuzi. The second room was used as a bedroom where Zuzekile slept, and as a lounge and kitchen. Joseph and Nosolomuzi slept in third room. For the three months that I worked at Marconi Beam, Xolile and Solomuzi were there all the time. They only went to the hostels to get clothes and when they did so they always came back the same day.

CONCLUSION.

In this chapter I have illustrated how the informality of the Marconi Beam settlement and the development of the settlement through time have facilitated the formation of certain residential arrangements which in turn enabled the formation of certain types of local social networks. I have also illustrated that the close proximity of the shacks, and the residential arrangements, facilitated reciprocal exchanges that made residential units at Marconi Beam inter-dependent rather than independent functioning units. I have also shown that the practice of 'tenants' sharing their 'landlords' space enabled close social relations between the two, so that 'tenants' formed part of the domestic and neighbourhood social networks of their 'landlords'. The networks of which both 'tenants' and the 'landlords' were members were produced by the frequent socialisation between

them which in turn was facilitated by the fact that they shared the same space. It can be concluded that the ways physical space, has been used and has developed over time facilitated the formation of social networks that served as a support system of mutual dependence for the people of Marconi Beam. In the following chapter I illustrate how these networks were used to mobilise income-generating activities. Social networks between 'tenant' and the 'landlords' did not only exist at domestic and residential level but 'tenants' often belonged to the same economic and production networks as their 'landlords'. This will be discussed in chapter 5.

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CHAPTER 5.

INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SPATIALLY-BASED NETWORKS.

The chapter discusses different income-generating activities, with particular focus on the ways that social networks based on spatial contiguity both enabled and constrained those income-generating activities. The chapter concentrates on those economic activities that were influenced by social networks at Marconi Beam. In considering all these activities, I illustrate the role played by both domestic and neighbourhood networks. There were of course income-generating activities that were not directly influenced by spatial contiguity. These included the sale of vegetable and herbs and traditional healing. I do not consider them here because the issue of space utilisation and contiguity does not affect them.

5.1. LETTING OF SHACKS.

As already been illustrated in chapter 4, 'tenants' at Marconi Beam formed part of the primary social networks of their 'landlords'. Sharing of space by 'tenants' and 'landlords' facilitated the formation of domestic networks through consumption and co-residence. I now discuss how their sharing of space also facilitated collective income-generating activities. In many instances, 'tenants' and 'landlords' were involved together in generating the income for the domestic unit. They did so in various ways. I identify some of those ways below.

During the time that I spent at Marconi Beam, I realised that the relationship between 'tenants' and their 'landlords' was not based on a simple cash transaction. Rather, it was based, among other things, on their common and co-operative income-generating activities. Many 'tenants' did not pay rent, but shared income-generating activities with their 'landlords'. This is different from what has

been found to be the case in Gugulethu and Tamboville (Gilbert et al: 1997) where tenants paid rent for the space they occupied.

'Landlords' at Marconi Beam gave a number of reasons for not charging their 'tenants' in cash. The general explanation was that the poor quality of the accommodation they offered people meant that they could not expect 'tenants' to pay while staying in uncomfortable and poorly built shacks. The second reason that came up many times was expressed in the form of the principle of *ubuntu* (humanity). This principle is often associated with rural villages and is based on practices of reciprocal exchange among Africans. It manifests in claims that, if a person does not have a place to stay, he/she cannot be left out in the cold, especially if one knows the person concerned. The third reason given was that one cannot expect someone who is poor, and unemployed, to pay rent. As will be seen below, 'landlords' did benefit both socially and financially from their association with the 'tenants', so their motive was not entirely altruistic. Their attitudes and practices reflect again the sense they had of being in a homogeneous community with a rural orientation (see chapter 4).

5.2. DOMESTIC INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES SHARED BY 'TENANTS' AND 'LANDLORDS'.

I observed a number of different types of domestically-based income generating relationships held by 'tenants' and 'landlords' together. The first was the partial dependence by the 'landlord' on the income generated by a 'tenant' who ran an informal business from that shack. This is illustrated by following case study.

CASE STUDY 12: 'TENANTS' AS SOURCE OF INCOME.

Nomphelo was a 41 year old unemployed women who had a 3 roomed shack. She made a living from collecting and selling

recyclable materials. She shared her shack with 39 year old 'tenant', Nompuxuko. Nompuxuko ran a shebeen from Nomphele's shack. She also sold cigarettes. Nomphele regularly helped Nompuxuko in attending her customers, both when Nompuxuko was out and when she was around. To reciprocate, Nompuxuko bought groceries which they shared.

The second kind of domestically-based income-generating relationship observed was where both the 'tenant' and the 'landlord' were unemployed and both were then dependent on collecting and selling recyclable material. Collecting and selling recyclable material was an income-generating activity that was done both by men and women. Both men and women collected in the neighbouring areas of Milnerton, Blaauwburg, Cambridge and Maitland. Men collected heavy steel material and sold their belongings individually. Some men used horse carts and others used supermarket trolleys while some used home-made trolleys to transport their materials. By contrast women collected cans individually but pooled and sold their takings collectively.

My study concentrates on women collecting and selling cans because their sales were mostly organised according to social networks that had in turn been facilitated by space use patterns. The income-generating relationships that existed between women took place both at domestic and neighbourhood social network level.

5.3. CAN COLLECTING AND SELLING AT THE DOMESTIC LEVEL.

'Tenants' and 'landlords' who shared one domestic unit collected cans individually, each with her own supermarket trolley. Every individual collected in her own time. Even when they shared a domestic unit, each collector kept her cans separately until the day of their sale when the cans were brought together from each domestic unit and sold as one job lot. Usually, one or two unit members went together, leaving the others from the unit behind at home. The money obtained on the sale of the cans was shared equally between all the collectors in the domestic network. Part of their income

was used to buy groceries, but each woman's contributed separately to the domestic unit. The following case study illustrates.

CASE STUDY 13: CAN COLLECTING AND SELLING AT DOMESTIC LEVEL.

50 year old Nophumzile shared her shack with 47 year old Nokuzola. Both of them were unemployed, but Nophumzile sometimes did voluntary work at the local day care centre. While Nokuzola went to the local day care centre, Nophumzile would go and collect cans. Nophumzile collected on her own during times that she did not go to the day care centre. Nokuzola and Nophumzile kept their cans together in one corner of their shack. When they felt that they had collected enough cans, they went together to the scrap yard to sell the cans. When they came back they shared the money equally between the two of them. Each woman bought what ever she felt was needed in her shack, and thereafter they shared the groceries.

5.4. SHARED INCOME-GENERATING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN 'TENANTS' AND 'LANDLORDS' AT NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL.

In the previous chapter, I illustrated how space facilitated neighbourhood networks to which both 'tenants' and 'landlords' belonged. In this section I illustrate how neighbourhood networks that were facilitated by spatial contiguity allowed 'tenants' and 'landlord' to co-operate and to pool some of their resources.

In a practice similar to that of members of domestic networks, women who belonged to a neighbourhood network collected cans individually. They also kept their cans separately. Those who shared a shack, that is 'tenants' and 'landlords' in one domestic network, but who belonged to a can collecting neighbourhood network, kept their cans separately from each other. When all the women in a neighbourhood network's can selling group felt that they had amassed enough cans, they then brought them together, using their trolleys, to one of the member's shacks. From there, one or two of the women would then go and sell them at the scrap yard. The money that they obtained was then shared equally between each member even though their respective inputs were

often unequal. Even those women who belonged to one domestic unit, got their own separate and equal amounts of money. The following case study illustrates.

CASE STUDY 14: 'TENANTS' AND 'LANDLORDS' AS PART OF NEIGHBOURHOOD INCOME-GENERATING RELATIONSHIPS.

Macikiswano, (see case no 10) was a 'landlord' and Toto was her 'tenant'. They collected cans, and kept them because they were part of a larger network that sold cans together. The network comprised of Msindokazi, who was Macikiswano's neighbour, Mamtshawe, Msindokazi's sister whose shack was behind Msindokazi's shacks. The four women collected cans and stored them separately in their shacks. When they felt they had enough to be sold to earn them a reasonable sum, the four women brought their cans together. They helped each other to pack the cans in trolleys that were then used to transport the cans to where they were sold. The number of trolleys depended on the quantity they had collected. In most cases, Mamtshawe was left behind to cook *umfino* for all four. This was because she had a year old baby to look after. (Ref to case no 14) The other three women, Macikiswano, Toto and Msindokazi, went off to sell their cans. When they returned they went to Mamtshawe's shack where they divided the money equally even though Mamtshawe usually collected fewer cans than the other women. The women realised that it is not always possible for everyone to collect the same number of cans, due to for example child care responsibilities. I asked Msindokazi what she usually does with the money that she got from selling cans. She told me that she often uses the money to buy candles, paraffin and bread.

The relationship between 'tenants' and 'landlords' was not always without conflict despite appearances to the contrary. Some of the relationships were based on exploitation of unequal power relations. This occurred in situations where either the 'tenant' or the 'landlord' had a resource that the other party did not have access to. The following case study illustrates.

CASE STUDY 15: EXPLOITATION OF A 'LANDLORD' BY A 'TENANT'.

One Sunday, when visiting Nomphele's shack (see case no 12), Nomphele told me that she does not like staying at home and not going to church on Sundays. I asked her the reason why she did not go to church? Nompuxuko, who was sitting with us, answered on behalf of Nomphele

and she said: “Nomphele cannot go to church while I run a shebeen from her shack. It is against the rules of the Universal Church that she attends”. Some minutes after this discussion, Nompuxuko told Nomphele that she will be leaving very soon to visit her boyfriend at Kraaifontein. So she (Nomphele) must attend to people coming to buy beer or cigarettes. It was clear that Nompuxuko manipulated and dominated Nomphele because Nomphele depended partly on what Nompuxuko earned in the shebeen.

In this section I have illustrated how, for the most part, letting of shacks benefited both ‘tenants and ‘landlords’ through shared income-generating activities which were facilitated by social networks that both belonged to.

5.5. SPAZA SHOPS AS PLACES FOR INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITY.

Another type of income-generating activity that was enabled by spatial flexibility at Marconi Beam was the running of spaza shops. In this discussion I illustrate how spaza shops served as a source of income for local people, for people from other townships within the Peninsula, and for people from rural areas in the Eastern Cape. I argue that the flexibility of space usage that developed at Marconi Beam over time enabled this type of activity to form a source of income because of the possibilities of providing accommodation. Before moving into the main discussion, I firstly give an overview of what spazashops are, the kinds of premises that spaza shops were found in and their sizes at Marconi Beam.

5.5.1. WHAT ARE ‘SPAZA SHOPS’?

The word ‘spaza’ in the townships, villages and the informal settlements means something that is an imitation, not formal, a disguise. It carries the connotation of temporariness. It is thought to be very cheap in nature and easily destroyed. This means that people who stay in informal settlements, townships and in rural villages do not see spazashops as formal businesses like those with solid structures. At Marconi Beam, spazashops were informal in every respect. The material that was

used to build the spazashops was temporary and susceptible to fire and harsh weather conditions. The floors were not well laid and the walls were made from old corrugated iron sheets, boxes and plastics.

Maasdorp (1983:3) defines a spazashop as a family-owned, small-scale operation, which in some cases is labour intensive and is run from the premises that the owner resides in. He classifies spazashops as part of the informal sector. My study uses Maasdorp's definition.

Spazashops are found in both formal and informal townships, informal settlements and rural villages. A spazashop is in some respect the same as a general dealer. Some spazashops in Marconi Beam included a shebeen although others did not operate their spazashops as shebeens for religious reasons. Spaza shops sell a range of goods, depending on the everyday consumer needs within that area.

5.5.2. PREMISES OF SPAZASHOPS AT MARCONI BEAM.

Walls and roofs of premises where spazashops were run were made out of old wood and iron sheets. Crates and 20 litres paraffin drums were used as shelves to pack groceries. Floors were not properly laid. This was because, in the informal settlement, people could not build their spaza shops with expensive material as they feared these could either be demolished or could be destroyed by fire.

The sizes of spaza shops at Marconi Beam differed widely. The variation in size of spaza shops was influenced by the historical development of the settlement and the stage at which the owner had arrived at the settlement. People who, in 1998, had bigger spazashops were those who had settled in the area during its early years, before the settlement was declared a transit area. A third factor that

influenced some people to have bigger spaza shops was the destruction of the premises previously by fire. People often built bigger replacement shacks than before. The three above factors will be illustrated in the following case study.

CASE STUDY 16: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF A SPAZASHOP.

Vuyisile is a 48 year old spaza shop owner. In 1998 he was married to 42 year old Gloria who worked as a house-keeper at Milnerton. He lived with his two sons who were 18 and 10 years old. He moved to Marconi Beam from Crossroads in 1987 when he began to work in one of the factories at Montagu Gardens. In 1990 he was expelled from his job. When he had arrived at the settlement in 1987, he had built himself a one roomed shack. In 1990, with no income, he started selling vegetables within the settlement. He saved most of the money that he made from selling vegetables. In late 1990, when the settlement was declared a transit area, he had already added two more rooms to his shack, one of which he used to keep his vegetables. He did not have to move his shack because it was situated in an area that the other shacks had to move into. In 1993 there was a fire in the settlement and his shack was burned down, together with some of his neighbour's shacks. He constructed a new shack with second-hand material that he bought, and got some material from a charity organisation. The replacement shack had four rooms. One of the rooms that was bigger than the other three, was used as a spaza shop.

The following case study will be used to illustrate the size of the spaza shop based on the amount of furniture that was found in those shacks.

CASE STUDY 17: A LARGE SPAZA SHOP.

31 year old Joseph was married to 30 years old Nosolomuzi. They had a spaza shop that they ran from a room in their shack. The room was divided by a counter and was used as both a shebeen and a general dealer. The side that was used as a general dealer had some groceries packed on shelves, a vegetable rack with vegetables for sale, big plastic containers used to store milk, a fridge and crates full of beer and brandy. The side that was used as a shebeen, had garden chairs, benches and stools as well as 20 litre drums used for sitting on, a table, a pool table, a 200 litre drums of paraffin and two big speakers used to supply music for those who came to the shebeen. The area where the shebeen was also provided enough space for people to dance. The second room had a lounge suite which contained of 4 couches,

a table, one three quarter bed, a gas stove, two gas cylinders, a cupboard, two tables. The third room consisted of a double size bed, a dressing table, a headboard, and a wardrobe.

5.5.2. SPAZA SHOPS AS A SOURCE OF INCOME.

As already been stated, this section of the chapter aims to illustrate how spaza shops provided an income to more people than just their owners. They also provided income for other people within the settlement, people from townships within the Peninsula and people from rural areas in the Eastern Cape. These were people who shared the same residential space as the spaza shop owner and consumed food with the owner. This was enabled by the flexibility of space whereby those who came to Cape Town looking for employment could also be accommodated. (Refer to chapter 4. How the settlement provided accommodation).

These people, and spaza shop owners, did not see their relationship as those of employer/employee. Rather they saw themselves as people who helped the spaza shop owner. They received fluctuating cash incomes as well as food and clothing. Cash was often given according to the profit that was made that month. Both the spaza shop owners and helpers said that whatever remuneration the spaza shop owner gave them was to thank the person for his or her help. These people did not consider help that they provided to the spaza shop owners as formal employment. They saw themselves as people who were unemployed even though they realised that what the spaza shop owners gave them at the end of the day was some form of income. They often said that they were looking for formal employment.

These 'helpers' performed a variety of duties. They helped in the shop itself, both selling and tending the stock. They sold beer, they travelled to wholesale outlets to purchase stock, and they

took on domestic duties either as servants or in the place of the shop owner when he or she was not around.

There were also spaza shop 'helpers' who had their own shacks or other places to stay within the settlement. These people were given income in the form of cash and groceries. Those who were provided with accommodation were from the surrounding Peninsula townships and from areas outside Cape Town. Helpers from within the Peninsula were given cash and groceries. But for those individuals whose parents were in the rural areas, and, who were regarded as still very young, the spaza shop owner, who in most cases was from the same village as his helper would send part of their payment home to their parents. Most such young helpers were sent to the city by their parents to look for employment under the care of the spaza shop owner. The 'helpers' from the rural areas did not consider themselves 'employees' at the spaza shop. Indeed, even though these 'helpers' received fluctuating incomes, they functioned as part of the domestic network of the spaza shop owner. The three following case studies illustrate how spaza shops provided income for locals, for those in the townships and for people from rural areas.

CASE STUDY 18: SPAZA SHOPS AS SOURCE OF INCOME FOR LOCAL PEOPLE.

Thamsanqa was a 32 year old man who owned a spaza shop. He was married to 26 year old Noncedo. They did not have formal employees but were assisted at their spaza shop by Mthobeli and Nonkazimla. Mthobeli was Thamsanqa's neighbour while Nonkazimla's shack was situated two shacks from Thamsanqa's shack. When I visited Thamsanqa's shack, I found Mthobeli selling beer and attending to customers who came to buy beer. Noncedo was attending customers who had come to buy groceries. When there were no customers to serve, he packed groceries on shelves. When they went home from Thamsanqa's shack, Noncedo gave them some groceries, and fat cakes. She also told Nonkazimla to dish out some food for themselves. I asked Noncedo if she ever paid them by cash. She told me that it depends on what she asked them to do during the day. For example, if she had sent them to buy beer that they had to carry on their heads or push in a trolley, she might give them R5.00. She also gives

Nonkazimla some money if she has done laundry whilst Noncedo was busy in the spaza shop.

CASE STUDY 19: SPAZA SHOPS AS A SOURCE OF INCOME FOR PEOPLE FROM OTHER THE TOWNSHIPS.

Magadebe was a 56 year old women who sold sheep and pig heads, and braaid meat and sausages. 43 years old Themba, 34 years old Minkie and Filo who was 23 years old helped Magadebe. Themba, Minkie and Filo lived in Khayelitsha. Filo is Magadebe's sister's child. Minkie is Magadebe's sister. Themba is not related to Magadebe and stays within the settlement. They often came to help Magadebe. Themba helped with cleaning the sheep and pig heads. He also went with Magadebe to the butchery at Salt River where they bought meat which he helped to carry. Filo and Minkie helped in selling braaid meat and sheep heads. Minkie and Filo were also often left behind to look after the business when Magadebe had gone to the Eastern Cape. Magadebe gave them amounts of between R40.00 and R50.00 a week depending on how much profit she had made that week. When they left for home they were also given some meat to take with them.

CASE 20: SPAZA SHOPS AS A SOURCE OF INCOME TO PEOPLE FROM THE RURAL AREAS.

Joseph and Nosolomuzi depended on 'labour' from the rural areas for running their business (see case no 17) The people who 'worked' and shared their shack with them were 30 year old Solomuzi and 26 year old Xolile. Previously, Xolile and Solomuzi had stayed at the hostels in Gugulethu. They had come to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape looking for employment. Xolile, Solomuzi and Joseph are originally from the same village of Nqheleni in the Eastern Cape.

Solomuzi and Xolile sold braaid meat and helped in running the spazashop. When Joseph and Nosolomuzi travelled to the Eastern Cape, Xolile and Solomuzi would be left behind at Marconi Beam to look after the business. They also collected beer from the wholesale outlets using supermarket trolleys, cleaned the spazashop, washed glasses, and went to charge the batteries that were used for the hi-fi set in the shebeen. Xolile and Solomuzi were given between R70.00 to R100.00 per week depending on the profit that had been made that week. They also got free beer during the weekends and free cigarettes. Part of the money that they earned was, however, sent home to their parents by Joseph who then gave them pocket money from the remainder. Joseph told me that when he has gone home to

Nqheleni, he buys also some groceries that he took to Solomuzi and Xolile's parents.

CONCLUSION.

In this chapter I have shown how social networks, which were enabled by the flexibility of space at Marconi Beam, themselves enabled income generating activities. This was illustrated firstly by showing how shared space in a domestic unit provided circumstances in which people could collectively share their income. I have also shown how neighbourhood networks, facilitated by contiguity of space, enabled 'tenants', shack owners and neighbours to co-operate and pool their resources. In the chapter I have also demonstrated how the flexibility of space usage that developed at Marconi Beam enabled some people to earn a living because of ^{being} accommodated in shacks that housed shebeens and spaza shops. What I found at Marconi Beam was that, with regard to income generating activities, the spatial flexibility that developed over time at Marconi Beam, provided conditions that enabled people ^{to generate income that} and earn otherwise might not have been possible to obtain.

CHAPTER 6.

RELOCATION/SPATIAL CHANGE: A CHANGE OF LIFE STYLE.

The focus of this chapter shifts from Marconi Beam itself to Joe Slovo Park, which is the formal settlement to which Marconi Beam people were relocated. The chapter considers the effects of physical changes in space-use patterns and how those in turn affect social networks and income-generating activities. The chapter also looks at social behavioural changes that have occurred since people moved to the new formal area. Before moving into the main discussion I firstly give a brief background on Joe Slovo Park.

6.1. JOE SLOVO PARK.

With the promise of the upgrade, Marconi Beam people did not want to move anywhere far from where they were already residing. They wanted to remain near their work places and close to where transport was accessible. From conversations I had with the people, it was also clear that their determination not to move anywhere else was because they had fought long and hard to remain in the area where they then were.

It was in 1994 that a new piece of land adjacent to Marconi Beam was made available. The Milnerton Rate Payers Association, the Milnerton municipality, the land owners (Telkom) and a Civic Organisation representing the population of Marconi Beam, assisted by DAG, came to an agreement concerning land for occupation by the people of Marconi Beam (DAG, 1994). Telkom donated a 20-hectare piece of land adjacent to Marconi Beam and a plan was drawn up to use the land to build lowcost, high-density, formal houses for the people of Marconi Beam.

The new area was named Joe Slovo Park, after the late Minister of Housing who was also a leader in the liberation struggle. Joe Slovo Park lies between the Montagu Garden industrial area^{and} the middle income residential settlements of Phoenix and Milnerton. (see map 2).

The first people to settle in Joe Slovo Park moved in towards the end of 1996. In May 1997 (when I was still conducting the fieldwork) there were 200 families that had already been moved from Marconi Beam to Joe Slovo Park. Further houses were still being built to accommodate people from Marconi Beam.

As shown in chapter 3, Marconi Beam had been divided into sections A, B, C, and D. The settlement was divided so as to ease the relocation process. During the period that I was in the field, that is between March 1997 and June 1997, people in section A were moved to Joe Slovo Park. To obtain house in Joe Slovo Park, people had to have been registered in 1994 when the registration process was stated. When a family was moved to Joe Slovo Park, they had to totally destroy their shack before being given their new house. This was to prevent new people from moving into the Marconi Beam settlement and occupying a shack that had been left behind. If one had a tenant, one had to either move with that person to Joe Slovo Park, or the tenant had to seek alternative accommodation. Tenants could also move to an informal settlement known as De Noon which 5 kilometres from Cape Town towards Malmesbury.

Condev, the Construction Company responsible for developing Joe Slovo Park in 1997, appointed an agent responsible for moving people from Marconi Beam and allocating them houses. According to the agent, when he moved people to the new area, he made sure that they were settled alongside new neighbours rather than near their old neighbours. He said that he did that to make people behave responsibly. When they have someone whom they do not know as their neighbour,

he said, they cannot behave badly. For example, he said, if a person has a new neighbour he/she will not throw papers everywhere and make the place dirty. The reason is that the individual would not know how the new neighbour would react and whether he/she would be hostile to him/her.

Joe Slovo Park is clean as compared to Marconi Beam. There are tarred roads and the houses are painted with bright colours. By 1997, some people there had already put fences around their houses, others had extended their houses with bricks or wooden structures and some had planted flower gardens. During the time that I was in the field there were only two shebeens, one early learning centre and a spaza shop in Joe Slovo Park.

6.2. TYPE OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the effects of physical change on space use-patterns and how those influence the social and economic life of people. This chapter looks at the behavioural changes that have occurred since people moved to the new formal-housing area, with its different physical structure, conditions and housing units. Before moving into the main discussion, I firstly give a brief discussion of different types of housing development in South Africa and different types of relocation.

In South Africa there have been three types of high-density low-cost housing development. Firstly there are upgrade schemes. These are where services are provided for people in areas which had no proper services before. This applies mostly to people living in informal settlements. The second type of housing development are site-and-service schemes whereby, after land has been identified for housing development, services are provided and people build they own houses using their own materials. The third type of low-cost housing development is when people are relocated to a new area where houses have been built for them. This type of housing development applies either to

people who have occupied the land illegally or where the land that people occupied was not suitable for residential purposes. The type of housing development that will be discussed in this chapter is one where people had been relocated to a new area where formal houses were built for them. Since this type of housing development involved relocating people to a newly developed area, I give a brief discussion on different types of relocations.

In an overview of different kinds of relocation, Scudder and Colson (1982) have identified one form of relocation which they call relocation development. This type of relocation, according to Scudder and Colson (1982:67), means relocation that is meant for the benefit of the relocatees. Thus "people are moved or relocated to a new area with the aim of providing them with better standards compared to the ones they had in the previous settlement and their lives are deliberately changed for the better".

6.3. THE EFFECTS OF CHANGED PHYSICAL SPACE ON PEOPLE OF JOE SLOVO PARK.

Hansen and Oliver-Smith (1982:3) say that "the geographical movement of people, that is the physical movement of the body through space, is a social action". What they mean is relocatees do not experience only physical change but that change also brings about social change. Rodman (1979:127) says that "one cannot separate people from the physical world. She further says that space is neither abstract nor neutral. There is an inner connection between the pattern of events and the pattern of space in which it happens". Furthermore Alexander (1979:92) views "buildings and people as bound to each other. He says that there is a contextual interplay of form and activity".

As it will be illustrated in the discussion below, the physical spaces that people find themselves in often influence their behaviour. According to Rodman (1979:127) "Space is one of the things that gives a certain town a character".

Joe Slovo Park as a formal settlement, had a quite different spatial environment from that of Marconi Beam. People associated it with certain kinds of behaviour not expected at Marconi Beam. People had a perception that, once they moved, they had to change the way they behaved in accordance with the new formal spatial environment. The perception that people had was that, when one moves to a formal settlement, one has to adopt a new life style and way of doing things; that is, that there is a new type of behaviour that one has to adopt. This was similar to what was discovered by Epstein (1981:331), in his study of the Copper Belt mines in Zambia, where improved housing was accompanied by the development of distinctive attitudes and modes of behaviour over a range of matters.

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On one of my visits to Joe Slovo Park, I met Vuyiswa. I asked her how she found Joe Slovo Park.

This is what she said:

“I like this place just because it is safe. One does not have to worry about fire or bad weather conditions especially in winter. But people have changed. They are no longer the same. These concrete houses have made them totally different people from what they used to be at Marconi Beam. They lock themselves in their houses. They no longer visit. They see themselves as people with high status and they look down upon some of us. Look at me now. I am bored and I am scared to go knock at people’s houses to visit them”.

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When people moved to Joe Slovo Park, most sent their old furniture, which they had used at Marconi Beam, to the rural areas, and bought new furniture to be used at Joe Slovo Park. This type of behaviour elaborates also on the discussion, in chapter 3, about the similarities that people perceived to exist between rural areas and the informal settlement with regard to the environments of the two places. The behaviour change also shows the distinction that people have drawn and perceived to exist between the informal settlement that they have relocated from and the formal settlement that they now live in. From the conversations that I had with various people at Marconi Beam, I noticed a general feeling that, when they move to Joe Slovo Park, they have to buy new

furniture and household appliances in order to reach the standard of a formal area. They refer to as a 'town'. Most people did not move with their old things, especially furniture that they used at Marconi Beam. Indeed they abandoned their old furniture, leaving it for those still at Marconi Beam and use at least for the time before they too were moved to Joe Slovo Park.

People at Joe Slovo Park felt that, when one stays in a formal area, one has to lead an independent life and not bother other people by borrowing their belongings. Scudder (1982) has pointed out that, after a relocation process to a new area, past behavioural patterns are often suppressed because they are ridiculed, and that this often leads to the disappearance of a variety of other cultural practices that previously played a role in dealing with crises.

An example from Marconi Beam/Joe Slovo Park is that women seemed to be worried about buying new things like big baths to do the laundry. Previously in Marconi Beam they had borrowed from other people. Now they felt they had to have their own. When I asked if they had not had big baths all along in which they did their laundry, women answered that: "Joe Slovo Park is a 'town' one must have her own things. There, one needs to be independent and stop bothering people with their things. That is how people live in (formal) places like Joe Slovo Park".

6.4. HOW NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS WERE AFFECTED BY RELOCATION.

Change in physical space also affected people with regard to their social relations. Janes (1990:57), in a study on Migration, Social Change and Health among the Samoan community in urban California, says that "researchers found that relatively affluent Samoans, after moving to a new area, develop a class structure in a community that, a short time previously had been remarkable homogeneous". He further says that "many Samoans gained prestige through expensive family and community activities that the poor could not afford".

Improvement of houses in Joe Slovo Park had already begun to reveal social differentiation in 1998. It was visible, from the different structures of houses in these areas, that social differentiation had begun to develop. Those people who had enough money and a regular income, like domestic workers and those with businesses, had managed already to build themselves bigger houses and had bought expensive furniture.

Safa (1974:18) argues that "to a high degree internal differentiation weakens neighbourhood solidarity by destroying basic homogeneity". Gans (1970:286) says that "if neighbours are homogeneous and feel themselves to be compatible, there is some likelihood that their relationship will be more intensive than an exchange of greetings". But, according to Heberle (1970:277), "the intensity of social relations between neighbours tends to decrease as one's social status changes".

The social differentiation that had developed in Joe Slovo Park was due to a status change which some of the people acquired through building new and bigger houses after moving to the new settlement. Yet it weakened neighbourhood networks and friendships that had existed in the informal settlement. I discovered this through gossip. For example, one day I was sitting and having a conversation with Grace, one of the women in Joe Slovo Park, at her house. She was later joined by her cousin Nombeko, who came for a visit. Grace has a neighbour, Vivienne who lived opposite Grace's house. Vivienne ran an early learning centre at Joe Slovo Park, a role she had also played at Marconi Beam. On that particular day Vivienne joined us when she came back from the early learning centre. Later when she left to go to her house, Grace laughed. Her cousin asked her what was funny? Grace said that she was surprised that Vivienne had come to join us. Since Vivienne had built a new house Grace said, she tended to think that she is "above the sky". I asked if Vivienne never visits people. Grace answered that she now visits people who had been in the Trust

Committee at Marconi Beam and another women who runs an early learning centre only. They said Vivienne's friends are all people with high status and only visited each other.

Schorr (1975:118) says that "relocation programmes utilising middle class-standards of evaluation, like physical characteristics of the dwelling unit, tend to ignore social concerns such as moving close to similar neighbours. If neighbours are heterogeneous, the relationship is not likely to be intensive, regardless of the degree of propinquity". A controlled allocation of sites weakened neighbourhood networks that had existed in the informal settlement. The controlled allocation of houses and space, effected by the Condev agent, meant that people could not arrange their houses according to kin links and in terms of people that they felt close to. This meant that neighbourhood networks, which were previously facilitated by space and which in turn enabled shared consumption, were strained by the new allocation of sites and houses in Joe Slovo Park. This worked to the disadvantage of those domestic units that could not support themselves independently. The inter-dependency that existed between the domestic networks was lost and the support system that domestic units had from this type of network was strained. This meant that people could no longer have the extent of co-operative consumption patterns that they had had in the informal settlement. This will be illustrated by a case study.

CASE STUDY 21: CHANGE IN RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE SUPPORT SYSTEM BETWEEN DIFFERENT DOMESTIC UNITS.

Lindiwe and her children, (see case no 1) her parents and her brother had owned and resided in three different shacks that were built close to each other in Marconi Beam. They had a co-operative consumption and residential network in the old settlement. When they moved to Joe Slovo Park, Lindiwe was still unemployed. She survived on her parent's pension money and what she could earn from collecting cans. Lindiwe was the first to move to Joe Slovo Park. Her children stayed behind with her parents. I

asked Lindiwe why her children stayed behind. She told me that partly it was because of space but the main thing was that she never has enough money to buy food. Her children stayed with their grandparents because the latter receive pensions so they can buy food. Lindiwe also said that much of the time she too goes back to have a meal at her parent's place. Her parents did not want to move to Joe Slovo Park because they felt that life there would be difficult for them as would not be able to meet the standard of living at Joe Slovo Park. So they decided to move to De Noon. Dideka, who is Lindiwe's daughter and occupied Ndoyisile's shack at Marconi Beam, also moved to Joe Slovo Park but her house is situated far from her mother, Lidiwe's house. Lindiwe said that she really finds it difficult for her everyday survival since her parents have moved to De Noon. She now has to feed her children and her grandchild herself.

6.5. KINSHIP NETWORKS.

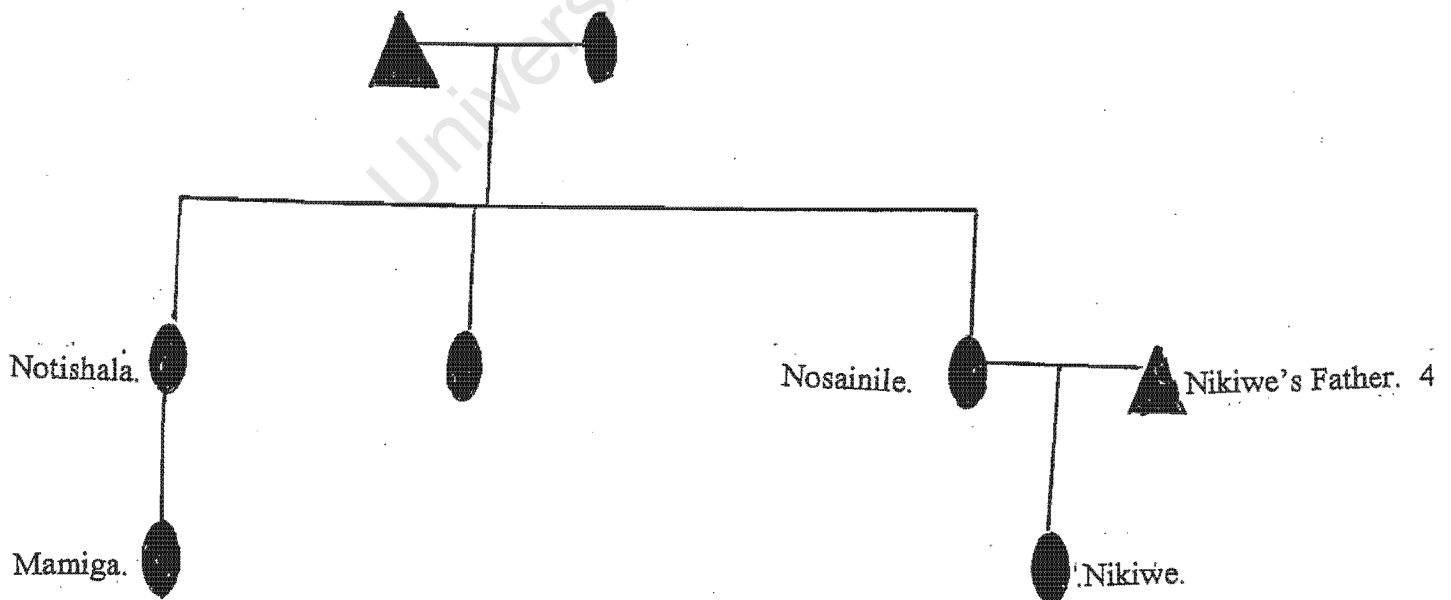
Even though some neighbourhood networks and behavioural patterns were changed by spatial pressure, there were some ways of doing things that managed to survive the move from Marconi Beam to Joe Slovo Park. Fahim in De Wet (1985:1) says that "relocatees change as much as it is necessary to continue behaving in accordance with pre-relocation goals and values". He further says that "people attempt to adapt to the new environment in such a way as to preserve as much of their pre-location style as possible and they see useful in their new environment".

There were various ways of doing things that people did not abandon when they moved to the new area, and indeed some of the old behavioural patterns were reinforced after people had relocated to the new settlement. This was most predominant with kinship relationships demonstrated to become more important than at Marconi Beam. Local people who were related to each other visited each other frequently and had reciprocal exchanges, even though their houses were far from each other, as the following case study will illustrate.

CASE STUDY 22: HOW RELOCATION INTENSIFIED KINSHIP NETWORKS.

One day, when visiting Nikiwe's house, I found Notishala who was said to be Nikiwe's mother's sister, Mamiga who was said to be Notishala's daughter, Nikiwe and Nosainile, who is Nikiwe's mother. I found Nosainile cleaning wild pumpkin. She told me that she was going to prepare *umfino* which would then be shared with Notishala, Mamiga and Nikiwe because they each donated something (ref to chapter 4). I asked Nikiwe if she had previously shared *umfino* with the same two ladies when they were still at Marconi Beam. She told me that at Marconi Beam it used to be herself, her mother and two of her friends. Mamiga and Notishala only joined them after they had moved over to Joe Slovo Park. I asked her what had happened to those whom she had shared *umfino* with previously. She said that they might have found new groups of friends that they cook and eat *umfino* with. She added that she does not know if they would ever get back together, as one can never know, with people especially since most of the people have changed since moving to Joe Slovo Park. This is what she said: "These are my relatives. They won't change and they will help me if I need help anytime. Since we have moved to this new settlement one cannot be sure about people who are not related to you. People change and some have already changed. But with your relatives you are sure that they will be there to help even if you are in a 'town'. They are the only ones that you have and feel safe with".

HOW RELOCATION INTENSIFIED KINSHIP NETWORKS.



6.6. CHANGE IN DOMESTIC NETWORK COMPOSITION.

Schorr (1975: 118) says that "in breaking up the areas, planners fail to take account the concept of the extended family". De Wet (1985:1) further argues that "what is central to the phenomenon of relocation is the element of spatial change, in both the physical and social sense. The kinds of change that relocatees have to make will at least determine their demographic, social and economic circumstances". Indeed, after people were relocated to Joe Slovo Park there was a significant change in the composition of domestic network members. One of the important features of the domestic groups in the informal settlement (Marconi Beam) was co-residence of individuals who lived as a single unit and co-operated in domestic network activities such as bringing resources to one domestic unit for consumption. Houses at Joe Slovo Park are very small as compared to the shacks that people resided in at Marconi Beam. There were restrictions imposed by the municipality on the type of extensions that people could make to their houses. Firstly, if one wanted to extend one's house, one was supposed to have extension plans approved by the municipality. Secondly, people could not use any type of material that they felt like using when extending their houses. They were not supposed to use flammable materials like wood. These restrictions, which limited the flexibility in the construction of houses, and the small size of the houses, limited the amount of space that people had in order to accommodate others who had earlier formed part of their domestic networks. These included 'tenants', kin and those people who had come to Cape Town from other areas looking for employment, all people who had previously been accommodated in their shacks. The consequence was a change in domestic network compositions that led to some domestic units losing the support that they had had to meet their social and consumption needs.

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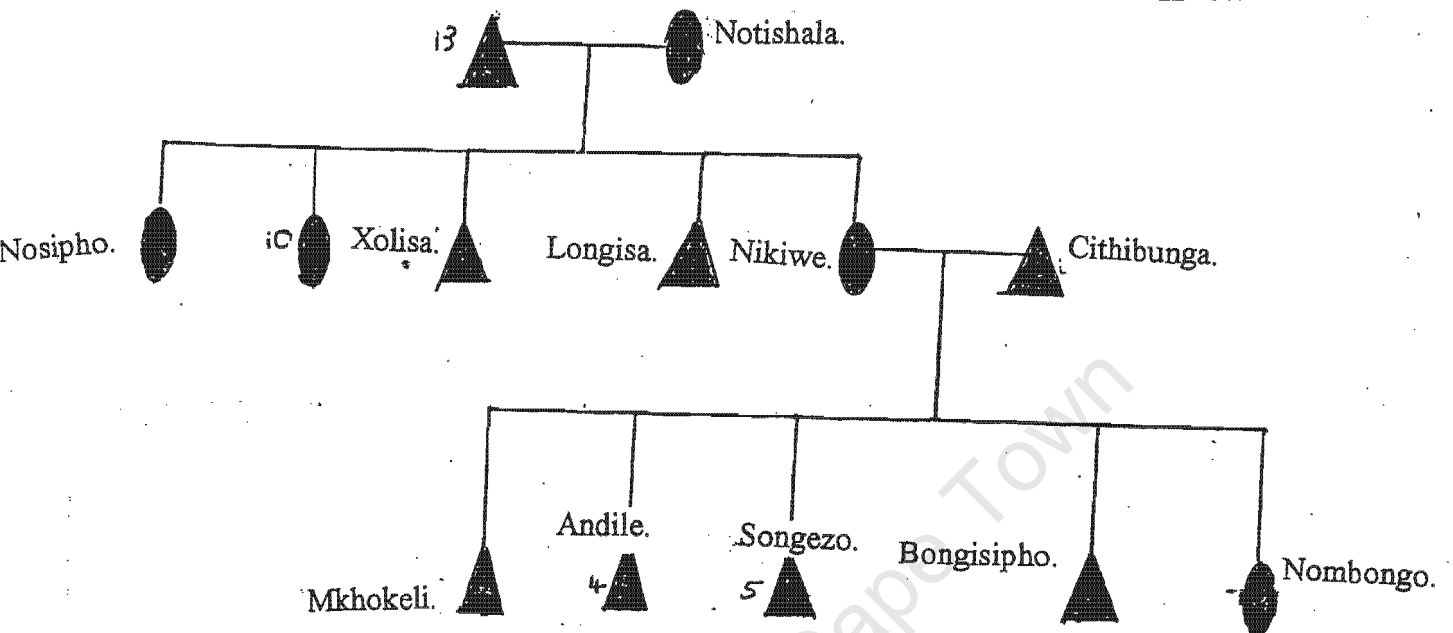
Most of the domestic networks at Joe Slovo Park had shrunk in size from networks that consisted of various individuals and family to conventional nuclear family size. In a conversation with some women about the new houses that were built for them, one of them said this: "Those houses at Joe Slovo Park are very small. Maybe whoever built them was conveying a message that we should have not more than one or two children. We are being limited to a certain number of children we should have, and must live a life style of father, mother and two kids".

Local people called the new houses 'bus compartments'. They implied that, if the bus is full and one has six children who also need to get into the compartment, then it means that some of your children will be left behind and you will have to get an alternative transport for them. Indeed this was what happened to some of the domestic networks, and it was mostly children, 'tenants' and extended family members who were affected. In some domestic units children had to stay with relatives in the townships or at the Milnerton Turf Club as the following case study illustrates:

CASE STUDY 23: CHANGE IN DOMESTIC NETWORK COMPOSITION.

38 year old Nikiwe, who was married to 45 year old Cithibunga, used to own a 5-roomed shack at Marconi Beam. She shared it with 5 of her children, two of her brothers and two of her sisters. Nikiwe, together with those that she shared her shack with at Marconi Beam, moved to Joe Slovo Park during November 1996. Her five children are: 12 year old Mkhokeli, 10 years old Andile, 8 year old Songeso, 6 year old Bongisipho, and 4 year old Nombongo. Nikiwe's brothers are: 27 year old Xolisa and 20 years old Longisa. Her sisters were 19 year old Nosipho and 6 year old Nokulunga. Two of Nikiwe's sons, Mkhokheli and Songeso, moved to Tsolo to live with their maternal grandfather in January 1997 when Nikiwe moved to Joe Slovo Park. Nikiwe's two brothers, Xolisa and Longisa spent their nights either at the Milnerton Turf Club or at Marconi Beam with their friends due to lack of space in the house at Joe Slovo Park. At the time that I was still in the field, Nikiwe told me that she had also asked her cousin, who stayed at Langa, to accommodate her two sisters, Nosiphiwe and Nosipho. Nikiwe said that she does all this because there is not

enough space to accommodate everyone in her home at Joe Slovo Park.



6.7. CHANGE IN DOMESTIC COMPOSITION WITH REGARD TO 'TENANTS'

When the move to Joe Slovo Park was effected, only those who were shack owners and registered when Marconi Beam was declared a transit area were allocated houses at Joe Slovo Park. 'Tenants' had to be accommodated with shack owners in the move to Joe Slovo Park, or the 'tenants' had to find alternative accommodation for themselves. The sizes of the houses, their inflexibility, and the formal requirements for extension of houses (approved material and approved extension plans), that people had to follow if they want to extend their houses, were some of the reasons that inhibited people from accommodating their 'tenants' in Joe Slovo Park. This had an effect on the resources that were brought from different sources to one domestic unit by different members who resided in

that shack. Change in domestic unit composition therefore strained the social support that existed between individuals who had previously shared one shack.

6.8. INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES.

Scudder (1982) says that often, after relocation to a developed area, there are major inventory due to temporary or permanent loss of behavioural patterns, economic practices, institutions and symbols. The spatial change to Joe Slovo Park not only changed social networks. It also influenced some co-operative pooling together of resources like co-operative consumption and some of the ways that people used to generate income that were facilitated by space use patterns, for example can-collecting groups.

6.9. INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES AT NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL.

According to Eames and Goode (1977:154) "the nature of urban housing tends to mitigate against co-residence of different units". When people were moved to Joe Slovo Park they were allocated new neighbours. They did not have a choice as to whom they would live next to. People were scattered all over the place, unlike in the informal settlement where they constructed their shacks and lived close by their kin and people whom they felt close to. Neighbourhood collective sharing of income, such as can collecting that neighbours were collectively involved in at Marconi Beam, was disrupted when people moved to the new settlement. People withdrew their memberships from can collecting groups, which were made up of individuals belonging to one neighbourhood network, and some started collecting individually. When I asked them why they did this, the answer was that "one is never sure if people will continue collecting cans and the other reason was that some of the people who previously collected together stayed far from each other". This type of

behaviour was influenced by the change in lifestyle since people had relocated to the new settlement and collecting cans might be seen as a low status activity that does not suit a formal settlement.

6.10. SPAZA SHOPS.

At Marconi Beam, flexibility of space had enabled some people to have quite big spaza shops. In contrast, at Joe Slovo Park the controlled usage and fixed space, and the controlled allocation of sites, meant that people could not build big spaza shops. Those people who wanted to extend their spaza shops had to do so according to certain standards and rules that were set by the municipality. Even after having extended the spaza shops, the size of the house did not enable the owner to have people staying with him/her, except his or her nuclear family, and therefore they had no easy source of labour. The lack of space inhibited the ways that income could be generated and the form of accommodation available for those people who in Marconi Beam were accommodated by, and in turn offered labour to, spaza shop owners. The unavailability of space therefore prevented people who helped in the running of the spaza shops from sharing the same domestic unit with the spaza shop owner. This reduced the time they spent at spaza shop. Their status changed from being resident 'helpers' to being treated like employees or outsiders as the following case study will illustrate.

CASE 24: CHANGED STATUS OF RESIDENT HELPERS TO BEING “EMPLOYEES”.

Joseph owned a spaza shop at Marconi Beam which offered an income to 4 people. (Refer to case no 20) When he moved to Joe Slovo Park, he told Xolile and Solomuzi to go and stay at the Hostels where they had previously stayed. He then lived only with his wife Nosolomuzi and their 10 year old daughter who had previously been left at Mount Fletcher with Nosolomuzi's parents. Xolile and Solomuzi alternated in coming to Joseph's spaza shop in Joe Slovo Park to help. They came mostly during weekends, depending on whether they had enough transport money. Xolile said that they alternated coming to Joe Slovo Park because it is expensive if both of them were to come at the same time. Who ever came, came in the morning with a train and went back the same day in the evening. Nosolomuzi said that it was very difficult for them as a family to accommodate extra people, especially now that their daughter had joined them and because the house was too small to accommodate four extra people. She also added that, at Joe Slovo Park there was nothing much for helpers to do because, even if you have a shebeen, people did not congregate there but rather purchased their drink and took it away with them. This was because of lack of space in the shebeen room. The yards and the house were too small for people to sit and have their drinks at the shebeen. Nosolomuzi continued saying that, because she sold only take aways, she did not need someone to serve the customers, wash glasses and keep the place clean. She could easily do those things on her own. I asked Joseph if he still sends money to Xolile's parents. He told me that he does it less frequently than before, and it was a smaller amount. He said that it is difficult because Xolile and Solomuzi did not stay with him and they did not have much to do at the spaza shop. He said that he has told Xolile and Solomuzi to start being serious about getting employment even if was part time so that they could live an independent life.

Esptein (1981:344), in his study on the Copper Belt in Zambia, found that “when people moved into their new houses, relations in the domestic sphere were profoundly affected. On the one hand, conditions in the town at once served to encourage a more close-knit, more intimate style of family life. On the other hand, these same factors tended to upset the customary areas of responsibility... and in this way introduce new sources of tensions”. Even though Joseph felt that his former 'helpers' needed independence, he also said that he knew that, once he goes home, (Nqhelani, Eastern Cape) he would be faced with questions and would be seen as a bad person by both Solomuzi's and Xolile's parents. They would not easily understand his changed behaviour.

The concern was also expressed by other people who had 'tenants' at Marconi Beam and left them behind to find alternative accommodation. I quote from one woman who had three 'tenants' at her shack: "These houses are too small. We have left people ('tenants') behind. The poor people had to go look for alternative accommodation while we were moving to these houses. It seemed like you do not really care about other people. How do they perceive us now? They probably think that we are bad people. How can we leave them in the streets without accommodation whilst we move into properly built houses? Some of them might be angry at us even though they do not show it".

CONCLUSION.

In this chapter I have illustrated how spatial change had influenced some of the behaviour of people which was caused by the perception that people had about the new physical structure, environment and housing that they had been relocated to. This change in behaviour, which was influenced by relocation, led to individuals minimising the degree of involvement with those whom they were previously involved social networks with.

The chapter has also illustrated how lack of flexibility of houses and controlled space at Joe Slovo Park affected the composition of some of the domestic units. This in turn led to economic and social disadvantages. The consequence was that lack of flexibility of space can be seen to have led to reduced capacity and production level of domestic units. Controlled space not only affected people within the settlement. It also affected social relations that people had with other people who lived outside the settlement and undermined the chances of people to earn an income through helping in the local spaza shops. From the discussion of this chapter, it can be concluded that change in physical space did not result only in relocation of people from one spatial environment to the other. It also

led to significant change in the everyday of life people. Space is not a neutral factor. It plays a significant role in determining people's behaviour. According to Gottdiener (1994:182) "people assign meaning to different spatial environments and they behave according to the meaning that they have put to the space that they find themselves in". This has been illustrated by the change in the behaviour of people once they moved to a new settlement to that they had assigned a certain meaning.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION.

The aim of this thesis has been to look at how the physical space, in both the informal and formal settlements, in which the population of Marconi Beam/Joe Slovo Park have lived, influenced their social and economic life. It has looked at the social and economic impact of development, in the form of relocation of people from an informal settlement to a formal settlement and how the move from one to the other created new space constraints.

I firstly explained how the historical development of the occupation of Marconi Beam enabled flexibility of space use through the construction of shacks within the settlement. That flexibility in turn affected the social relations and the income-generating activities that people there were involved in. I have also shown how the spatial flexibility that developed over time at Marconi Beam, and the fact that Marconi Beam is an informal settlement, enabled a certain type of residential arrangement which facilitated the formation of neighbourhood and domestic networks. These, in turn, served as social support system for people.

These forms of support system were disrupted after people were moved to the new settlement due to the controlled allocation of space and sites which prevented them from maintaining networks that had existed at Marconi Beam and from choosing whom they would have as their neighbours. The move to Joe Slovo Park meant that people were forced to live individualistic lives in nuclear family life styles because they were no longer able to rely on the domestic networks and neighbourhood networks that had existed at Marconi

Beam. The loss of previous networks and the new spatial context that people now found themselves necessitated the foundation of new types of networks. This confirms De Wet's (1995:12) argument that "people's feeling of continuity or disruption of community life in the new context will be strongly influenced by the new layout of their new residential areas". He then also argues that "the amount of freedom which people had to choose their neighbours will have a direct influence on the size and sort of groups that develop in the post relocation context".

How people behaved towards each other, that is their social relations at Marconi Beam, was not only influenced by the historical development of the settlement, but also by the perceptions that people had about the spatial environment that they found themselves in. This is similar to what Gottdiener (1994:183) argues when he says that "people's behaviour and actions are organised according to how they view particular places. The built environment poses a social meaning. That is, a place or location has a symbolic value that counts in determining behaviour". Gottdiener (1994:189) further says that, "in social psychology, behaviour is interpreted according to particular spatial context; hence behaviour is a combination of social and spatial factors". Before people were moved to Joe Slovo Park, they had a perception that, in the informal settlement, it is appropriate to behave in a certain manner, such as, for example, exchanging domestic utensils. This type of behaviour was on the other hand, perceived as inappropriate in a formal settlement where people felt they needed to have their own possessions. From my observations I discovered that relocation was not only a physical movement of people. It also brought about a change in their every day social life and behaviour.

At Marconi Beam, I found that spatially based networks played a significant role in the ways people generated income and earned their living. People used their neighbourhood networks and domestic networks as a means of co-operatively sharing resources through consumption. Spatial flexibility enabled those who were unemployed to use spazashops as a place to earn an income. This was facilitated by the possibilities of providing accommodation for those locals who were unemployed.

De Wet (1994:13) says that "relocation can either leave people better off or worse off than before. The break up of old communities may disrupt existing patterns of livelihood and trade. Resettlement also tends to disrupt people's economic ties outside their immediate community. People lose their established economic networks". Furthermore Colson and Scudder (1982:268) argue that within "the broad range of predictable responses to relocation there is room for difference. Those in more favourable situations, with regard to relocation, the richer people, react differently from the poor because the range of their coping responses, both economic and psychological, is not limited as is that of other relocatees".

My study of Joe Slovo Park supports the above arguments. From interviews with people it was clear that for people earning a stable income, and for those with spaza shops, relocation had less negative effects than for other members of the population. The well off at Joe Slovo Park preferred relocation as it gave them a chance to improve their social standing. They were able to prosper and make the most of what they had. For example spaza shop owners were able to save money which they would otherwise have to distribute to people

who helped them, as they did when they were still at Marconi Beam. On the other hand, relocation to Joe Slovo Park worked to the disadvantage of those individuals who relied on spaza shops for earning an income. An activity that was inhibited by controlled usage and fixed space, and the controlled allocation of sites which in turn meant that those who use to help in the spaza shops, could not be accommodated in the new houses as they were smaller than shacks at Marconi Beam.

Changes in domestic network compositions brought some economic disadvantages and some advantages to various domestic units. It worked as an advantage for the house owner who had employed 'tenant's. This was because it meant fewer people to feed or fewer people who depended on one person's earnings. On the other hand, for some of the domestic units, changes in domestic unit composition worked to their disadvantage as it meant reduction of the production level in the domestic unit. This was mostly the case where the 'tenant' was employed or ran an informal business and the shack owner was unemployed and without any source of income. This meant that the resources brought to the domestic units shrunk. As has been shown, relocation and the physical change of space, which was related to housing development in the case of Marconi Beam /Joe Slovo Park, disrupted the lives of people both in economic and social terms.

Having looked at the advantages and disadvantages of relocation I now consider whether the development has met its objectives of uplifting the standard of living of the people. In my own view, development in the form of relocation (at Marconi Beam/Joe Slovo Park) did improve some aspects of the lives of people in terms of providing them with security of

tenure and providing dignity to some members of the population of Marconi Beam. However, such development relocation needs to take account of the social and economic change that goes along with it, and the great disadvantages it causes to some of the members of the relocated populations. The social and economic life of people should not be viewed in isolation from housing developments. When people are relocated for development purposes which are meant to improve their lives, they should not be seen only in terms of being moved into new houses. As evidence from Marconi Beam and Joe Slovo Park has shown, the social and economic realities that go hand in hand with spatial change should be seriously considered.

APPENDIX 1

POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT PROFILE.

According to a survey that was carried by the Urban Foundation (quoted by DAG 1994), the population of Marconi Beam in 1993 was 2835 people. The survey covered 820 out of 834 households. The Argus (1996:04:15) claims that the population of Marconi Beam consisted of about 1500 families.

The population of the settlement is dominated by Xhosa speakers most of whom are from the Eastern Cape districts of Cala and Tsolo. There are also a few Afrikaans and Sotho speaking households. Some of the people living in Marconi Beam have been staying there since the 1960s. Thus they have also survived raids and harassment by the police, the army and the apartheid government.

According to the Urban Foundation survey quoted by DAG (1994), 70.7% of the 2835 residents were in the economically active age group (between ages 18 and 65) and 32.7% were permanently employed. The general skills level in the population of Marconi Beam was generally low (DAG 1994). Those who were employed during my research period worked as house keepers, petrol attendants, horse grooms at the Milnerton Turf Club, gardeners and as factory workers. Others in surrounding suburbs of Table View, Maitland and Milnerton.

There were those who were self-employed. These people own spaza shops, shoe repair services, shebeens or sold cooked sheep or pig heads, vegetables and some illegal substances such as dagga. The most common of these enterprise was the spaza shops. A spaza shop is a general dealer run by a family in a house that is also used for residential purposes. Some also sell alcohol. Local people were employed in the local spaza shops and by some of the local informal businesses.

Some of the unemployed women in the settlement earned a living through prostitution. They offered their services to the men living and working at the Milnerton Turf Club hostels and some of the men living at Marconi Beam. This is what a young unemployed woman said:

“I carry a stigma in this community. I am a single parent with two children to look after. I am unemployed, and I stay in a shack with my two kids. What I do is not safe, even for the children, but what can I do. The way I survive is by asking for favours from men because they are the ones who have money and cars. But I do not get those favours for free. They (men) would not give you those favours for free, like buying you bread, cigarettes or booze (alcohol), or even if you ask them to take you to a certain place using their own car. You must sleep with them as a return for that favour. That is how I pay for their favours, and that is why they do not respect me in this community. But then that is how I earn a living”.

EDUCATION.

At Marconi Beam there is only one school that caters for children from grade 1 to 8. Children who have passed grade 8 further their studies at high schools in one of the other townships or in Milnerton. These children travel by train and local mini bus taxis to the schools.

Pupils at Marconi Beam attend classes in six classrooms consist of steel containers that were donated by industrialists in Montagu Gardens. These are overcrowded, with more than 60 children in each classroom. There are 7 teachers including the school principal. The school principal is the only one who is paid by the national Department of Education. The other teachers who have studied only up to standard ten, are volunteers who only get paid when there have been some donations.

There are two Early Learning Centres which also serve as day care centres. They cater for children between the ages of 7 months and 5 years. The assistants who work at these Early Learning Centres are paid from money paid by parents for service.

According to the Urban Foundation quoted by DAG (1994), of the 2835 residents surveyed, 55% are functionally illiterate and the average education is standard 4. 30% of children of school going age do not attend school.

HEALTH.

There is only one clinic at Marconi Beam. It was built by owners of the Milnerton Medical City, which is a private hospital. Milnerton Medical City is about a kilometre from Marconi Beam. The owners of the Medical City built the clinic for the people of Marconi Beam because people from this community would previously go to the hospital when they were ill and could not afford to pay the medical expenses.

The clinic staff members consist of two senior sisters and an assistant nurse. The three staff members do not reside at Marconi Beam. There is also a clerk. She is a resident of Marconi Beam. The staff members at the clinic are employed and paid by the Milnerton Medical City. There is a paediatrician who comes once a week. She works on a voluntary basis.

The clinic is open weekdays from 8 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon. It does not open during weekends and public holidays. During times that the clinic is closed, people in need of medical treatment have to call an ambulance from the public phones within the settlement. The ambulances often take hours before they come. As a result, people from Marconi Beam rely on the ambulances from the Milnerton Fire Emergency. People from the Fire Emergency respond quickly but in most cases they cannot help as they are not trained for major medical problems, such as the delivery of a baby.

According to one of the senior sisters at the clinic, the most common illnesses at Marconi Beam are TB, gastro-enteritis, skin diseases, burns, paraffin intoxication and AIDS related illnesses. She further said that these are caused by low economic status, over crowding and poor drainage system.

USE OF TRADITIONAL HEALING METHODS.

People at Marconi Beam use a variety of healing methods. There is a general belief in witchcraft and some people consult traditional healers and medicine men. These healers operate within the settlement. Some of the people within the settlement consult traditional healers and medicine men in neighbouring townships. They feel that it is not safe to consult with a healer who lives in your settlement as other people might come to know your secrets.

Separatist churches like the Zionist church offer rituals of healing and spiritual healing. According to one healer in one of the Zionist churches within the settlement, people often come to consult her when they have problems of infertility or when they have been bewitched and cannot be cured by the Western method of healing.

CRIME AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

As Marconi Beam is an informal settlement, it is made up of shacks. They are built from any practical material. The materials consist of boxes, corrugated iron sheets, plastic, wood and plaster board. The material used to build these shacks is highly flammable. When it rains they become very wet. They are also very cold and they are not properly ventilated.

The major problem that the people of Marconi Beam complain about is fire. This is caused mainly by home made heaters, candles, paraffin stoves and open fires used for cooking. Some of the people at Marconi Beam believe that fire in the settlement is caused by witchcraft or by someone who is jealous of one's achievements.

There is a lot of violence within Marconi Beam especially during weekends. The people there have nicknamed the place 'Chuku Town'. This means a place where people like to cause problems and troubles for others. As one young woman said:

“We call Marconi Beam ‘Chuku Town’ because people here are troublesome. It is not safe at all. At night you do not sleep well because your shack might be burnt, so you always have to be ready. Also one needs to be careful of these young men who live with us in this settlement and are unemployed. There is a lot of raping, stabbing and shootings that goes on in this place. This place is not safe at all”.

In many cases when I went to the settlement after a weekend when I had been away, people told me that so and so had been stabbed, beaten up or shot. There is a lot of alcohol and substance abuse and most of the violence happens when people are under the influence of either alcohol or drugs. According to one of the staff members at the local clinic, women in the settlement are physically and sexually abused by boyfriends and husbands who are often drunk during weekends.

Many young boys do not attend school and have formed gangs. These gangs are often involved in fights and other criminal activities. According to some of the older people in Marconi Beam, people who have informal businesses within the settlement often use these young boys to sell illegal substances for them. They also use them to steal or break into local spaza shops.

There is no police station at Marconi Beam. People there have to report their cases to the Milnerton police station that is about 2 to 3 kilometres from Marconi Beam. In many cases the police are called by phone when there is a problem, but they either come too late or they do not come at all. During some weekends, especially at month end, there are some police patrols within the settlement.

LEADERSHIP IN THE SETTLEMENT.

According to DAG (1994), until 1994, the general community organisation at Marconi Beam was weak and very few people attended meetings. This, it is said, can be attributed to the poor living conditions without hope for change or direction for change being clear, as well as to the fact that there were no widely respected prominent community leaders. There was a small pocket of organisation in the civic and ANC, who carried influence. The civic organisation at Marconi Beam consisted mainly of prominent people within the settlement. They included people who had businesses, the educated and those who appeared to have some political awareness. Their educational status, wealth and status ^{as} leaders of the ANC, which was popular within the settlement, made it easy for them to assume positions of leadership within the community and, due to their qualities, people 'respected' them and recognised them as leaders.

The involvement of DAG strengthened leadership in the community as people were required to have a strong organisation that could represent them in negotiations for land. The land obtained was to be used to build low-cost high-density houses. The people of Marconi Beam were required to form a Community Trust. The Community Trust consisted of people who mostly were in the Civic Organisation and also were leaders of the ANC within the settlement. The Community Trust, according to DAG (1994) was to hold the land that had been identified for development of the new houses and to mobilise the capital required for construction.

The birth of the Community Trust led to the death of the civic organisation. This was because people who were in the civic organisation were chosen by the community members to be their representative in the Trust Committee. The Community Trust members assumed some of the duties that were carried out by the civic because they were the only ones who could occupy leadership positions within the community and were civic leaders. Because these were the same people who

were previously in the civic organisation, people started to recognise the Community Trust as the local authority.

The civic organisation at Marconi Beam fought for the people to remain in the area that they are occupying. It negotiated with various governmental organisation to enable people to get houses and also to find ways to get proper housing for the people. After these have been achieved, people did not see the need to have a civic to fight for their rights. After the 1994 national election people thought that they do not need to have organisations like civics as some of the civic members have been taken positions in the government and the government promised to provide.

APPENDIX 2.

BACKGROUND TO JOE SLOVO PARK.

SCHOOLS AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES.

By 1999 February there was one primary school that offered grade 1 to grade 8, two early learning centres had been built and also served as day care centres. The one was situated in a new building that had been built with funds from local donors. There was also a community hall where community meetings and concerts could be held.

CRIME.

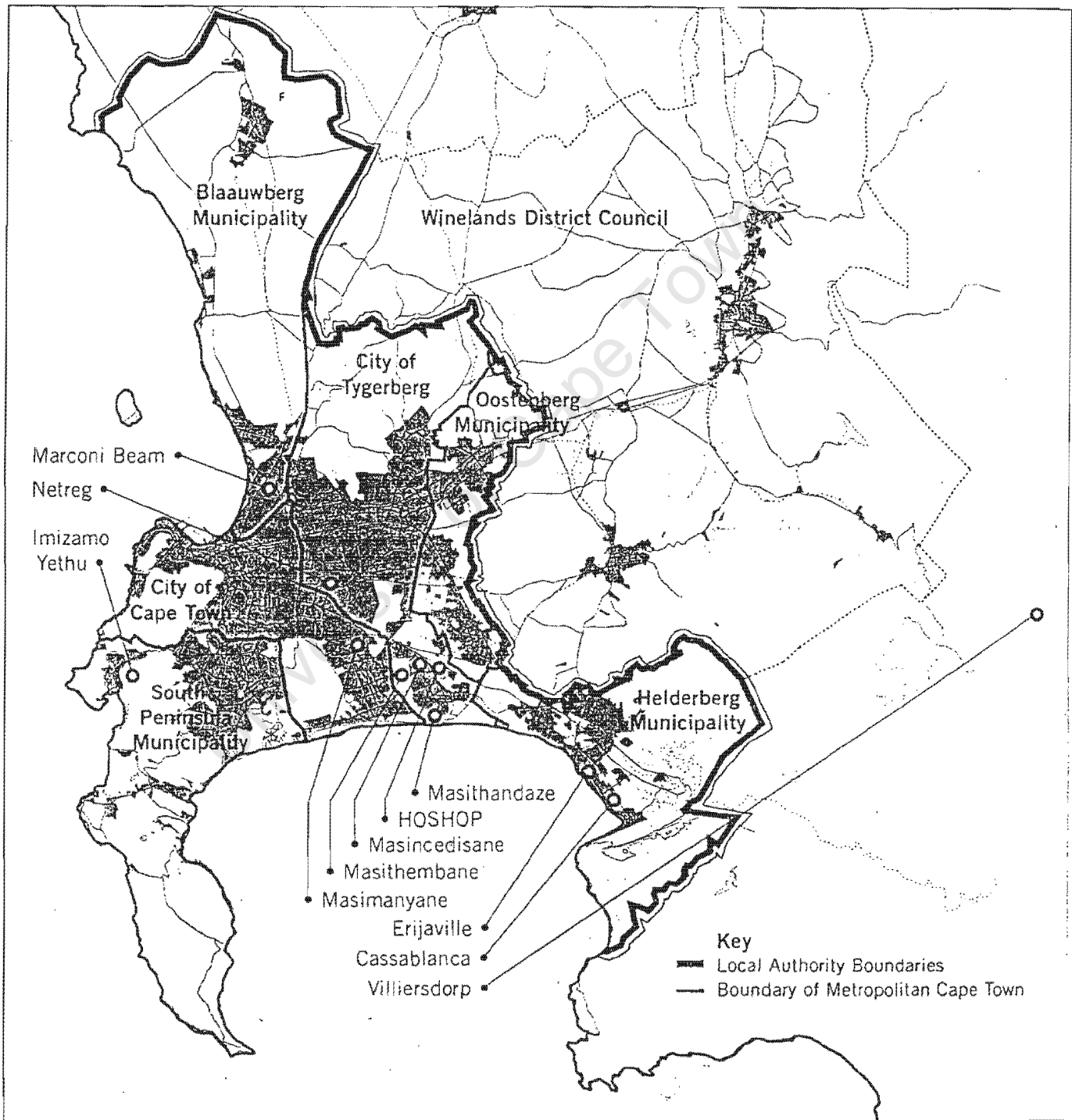
According to local residents the level of criminal activities within the new settlement is worse than it had been in the old one. At Marconi Beam, they said, people used to steal but they used to steal from the local industrialists. Since people have moved to the new settlement, however, the most predominant criminal activity was said to be housebreaking. When people moved to Joe Slovo Park, many had bought themselves new furniture including electronic equipment that these found attractive.

No police station was built at Joe Slovo Park, and people continued to have to report their cases at the Milnerton Police station. According to the local people, police never respond when they go to report their cases. They were told by the police to form a police forum.

LEADERSHIP.

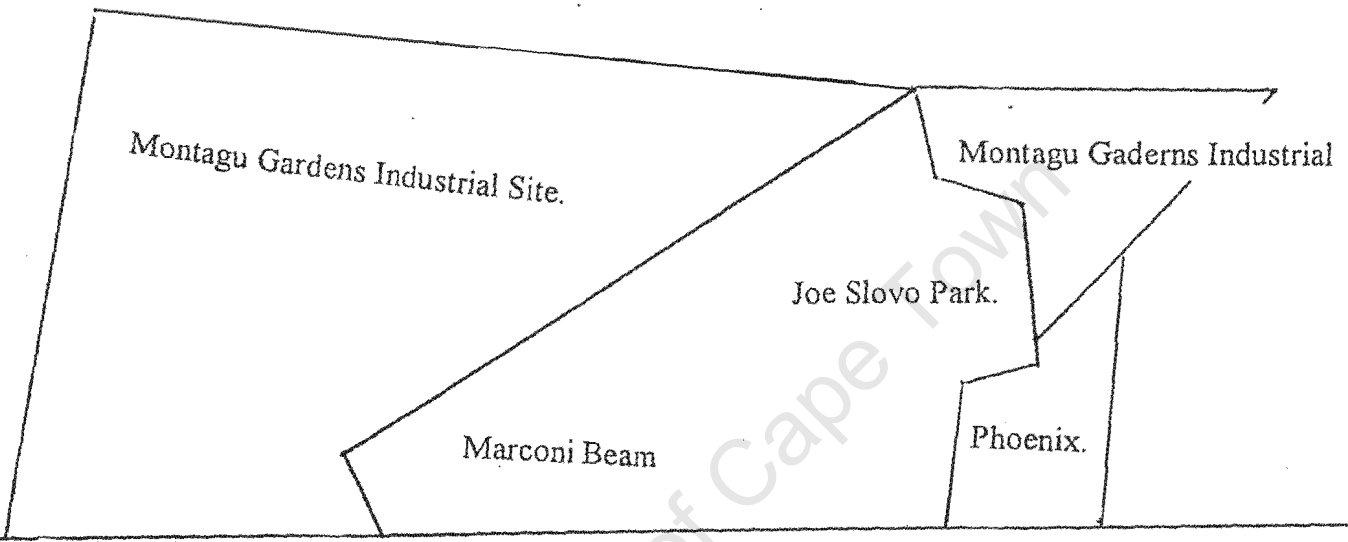
When people lived at Marconi Beam, there was a Marconi Beam Development Trust the role of which was to monitor the development and relocation process. In 1997, as people were moved to Joe Slovo Park, some of the people who were in the Marconi Beam Trust assumed power and declared themselves leaders at Joe Slovo Park. A councillor, who was elected during the local government elections at Marconi Beam in 1995, was still recognised as the leader, even in the new settlement. I was told by some of the local people that in some of the sections there were street committees. Their responsibilities were to report crime to the police and to report to the municipality any public facility that needs to be fixed.

APPENDIX 3.
MAP NO 1. MARCONI BEAM IN REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE.



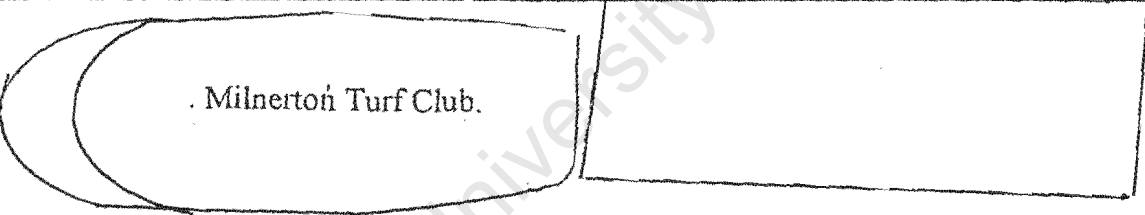
Metropolitan Cape Town, showing the location of DAG's housing delivery projects.

APPENDIX 4.
MAP NO 2. MARCONI BEAM/JOE SLOVO PARK AND ITS IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT.



To Tableview and Reitvlei. Keoberg Road

To Cape Town city.



Milnerton Turf Club.

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