"SOCIAL JUSTICE AND POVERTY IN INANDA"

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BACKGROUND

Inanda was entirely rural until the 1950's. Thereafter because of drought and apartheid policy which aimed at undermining indigenous people from rural areas, people could not cope with the pressure exerted upon them by these situations. They moved towards Durban seeking jobs where they had no residential area prepared for them. Forced removals at Cato Manor in the 60's also contributed to the increase of the inhabitants of the area (Urban Planning).

This reception character of Inanda had to spill over to nowadays, since it was and is still easy and cheap to get accommodation or a site in this area. This reception role has resulted into dense population that is caused by the huge influx of people who escape poverty and violence in rural areas.

Most of the rich history of the area is not documented but available through oral history passed to generations by landowners who are the descendants of the first invaders of the area. This situation has resulted into the area becoming the mixture of formal, and semi-rural or peri-urban settlement.

In addition to its reach oral history, the place has a rich history since most of the prominent figures who are today's heroes of the struggle have their traces in the area. John Langalibalele Dube, J B Champion, Prixley Seme, Isiah Shembe and even Mahatma Ghandi to mention a few.

The place has the biggest township population in the province and one of the oldest black settlement in the metropolitan region. It is the most representative place in terms of cultural and tribal diversities of the country and even some groups from the neighbouring countries like Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland.

As mentioned earlier the place even serves as a reception camp for people from rural areas who seek employment in Durban which is encouraged by the affordable lifestyle of the inhabitants.

The economic effects of the past Apartheid era are still visible in this area. It has a population of more than 1.8 million (SDIP). As to whether there can be any sense of being a community in an area consisting of 1.8 million people is subject to debate since the question of common interests between and within the divergent geographic areas that constitute Inanda can be difficult to aggregate. This is made worse by the shortage of commercial activity and job opportunities which results in minimal amount of inter-area movement. Most people are working outside the area, like in Durban and surrounding industrial areas including the former white and Indian suburbs.

Inanda is unique from other townships because of its complex mix of urban pull and rural push factors which were contained in the apartheid policy. The major bonding factor for the people of Inanda is poverty, with the history of marginalisation being yet another. In the mid 80's the growing population of Inanda was seen as nothing other than a temporal settlement by authorities who did not seem to be having any plan to develop the area. An explanation for this neglect was that most land was privately owned and therefore landowners were reluctant to release it for compensation since they suspected that the money was going to be less.

Different settlements in Inanda differ in terms of ethnic composition but principally it is predominantly Zulu speaking people followed by Xhosa speaking especially in the informal side of Inanda like at Gandhi Settlement and Amaoti. There are many other ethnic groups who are viewed as permanent residents because of the time spent in the area. There are no major conflicts that develop from this situation except minor cultural tension that are taking a class than an ethnic character. Homeboy clubs and stokfels have a long history which is evolving with the changing environment.

No major development has taken place because of number of factors such as the question of land ownership, lack of co-ordinated approach to the overall development, influx of people from rural areas and elsewhere, and constant invasion of vacant lands by new comers. These and other factors are the causes of brain drain as successful people fear to invest their monies in such places as violence erupts at any time and leave a lot of damage in a short space of time as it happened in Gandhi Settlement.

POVERTY

Usually people view poverty in two different ways: the first being absolute poverty and the second is relative poverty." A group of development workers in Uganda defined absolute poverty as the inability of an individual, a community or a nation to satisfactorily meet its basic needs"(Burkey 93:1). Another definition says:

> Poverty is not knowing where your next meal is going to come from, and always wondering when the council is going to put your furniture out and always praying that your husband must not lose his job. (Ramphele 94:14)

This suggests that there is no standard definition of poverty, as a concept. Some writers on the topic use certain measurements hence the decision to draw a line which suggest that anything below that line is poor. In this paper poverty will be viewed as meaning the state of being poor, poor meaning the lack of means of survival that are basic for a human being to continue with life in a meaningful way, this situation leading to vicious cycle of poverty which is characterised by vulnerability, low productivity, diseases, dependency, ignorance and other similar problems.

This paper will use this approach in deciding what should be perceived as poverty in this discussion, since the area under review has such features. The above characteristic is what besets Inanda where this paper is based. These characteristics are representative of many other townships and informal settlement in the country where injustices of the past has left its footprints. A recently published report by the United Nations indicates that:

> white South Africa as a country on its own in a ranking that is based on per capita income groups, the country would occupy 13th places next to Spain whereas black South Africa would occupy 113 which is next to the DRC.

Inanda constitute part of the latter hence it is a good premise for the hypothesis.

A number of interventions were made to ameliorate this situation by government, NGOS and private sector and even by political parties. This will be the centre of the discussion and thereafter an alternative solution will be explored.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In order to derive any benefit from an economy, people must be able to participate in it. One way of doing this for the poor people is through working as this is the primary means of participation. Being unemployed means being on the sidelines of the economy and become a social outcast. That person lacks the necessary dignity that is deserved by a human being in any community.

Employment opportunities are declining in South Africa due to globalisation, restructuring of the economy and technology, which are associated with jobless growth. Unemployment is a significant contributor to poverty:

> It is said unemployment today stands at 30% of the labour force, depending on what is perceived as unemployment (Poverty and inequality in South Africa, p25).

This situation is even worse at Inanda because of not having the "white" side of South Africa which normally augment the averages. According to the survey conducted by BKG for service delivery improvement programme for the SAPS in Inanda in 1997:

> unemployment stood at 47% and 75% of the population was younger than 18 years of age (SDIP) as opposed to a total of 44,2% of the National population which is younger than 20 years of age (National population unit Page 29).

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In almost all researches conducted at Inanda, be they census or surveys indicate that unemployment is one of the key issues that needs special attention by both community leaders and authorities. Economists usually say for an economy to be stable its growth rate has to exceed the population growth rate. In poor areas like Inanda to achieve that is impossible unless major interventions are done. A number of people are making their living out of illegal activities such as selling dagga and other crimes.

In communities like Inanda crime has become daily experience, with growing frustration amongst the youth leading them to resorting to crime and violent crimes as a tactic for survival. If tyranny is defined as social order without freedom, and anarchy as freedom without social order then Inanda has moved from tyranny to anarchy. Public works programmes that are initiated for and are entering the area are not giving any

opportunity for the youth and women. This has led to businesses like prostitution becoming one of the routes for young women.

HEALTH

The constitution of the republic of South Africa states that everyone has the right to have access to healthcare services. This provision is inclusive of reproductive healthcare, right to sufficient food, water and light as well as social security which includes social assistance if unable to support oneself or their dependants.

However in the survey that was conducted at Inanda by Doctor Mannie in June 1996 which was aimed at getting household information on issues relating to immunisation and growth, breast feeding, water, hygiene / sanitation, Diarrhoea disease and chest infection the findings showed that:

30% of mothers were away from home during the day, +- 40 % of children are cared for by grannies.

87 % had immunisation cards, only 52 % were fully immunised, 30 % were partially and 18 % were not immunised at all.

10 % were under weight, 85 % were normal and 5 % were overweight.

90 % were Breastfed and 87 % starting bottle at or below 4 months.

99 % had access to clean water and 91% were using pit toilets with no ventilation.

59% had diarrhoea and only 25% were using home made glucose solution. 70% had chest infection, 65 % treated at the clinic 53% did not know when to seek help. (Mannies 96)

The key policy goal of the new democratic government was to achieve universal access to primary health care which is seen internationally to be the most progressive type of health care system.

Efforts of establishing more health centres are witnessed all over the country. Nevertheless the problem is not yet solved at Inanda since these clinics are all closing at 16h00 with poor health facilities and shortage of staff who are overworked because of the number of people they attend to at a given day.

Factors that determine health are housing, access to safe drinking water, and sanitation. However, sanitation and water in particular are arguable more important determinants if emphasis has to be put on prevention rather than cure. These statistics indicate a serious problem around the issue of sanitation in Inanda.

As early as the 1980's certain areas within Inanda were hit hard by cholera because of using running water. This serves as an indication that if authorities by then were any nearer to being accountable then inanda would be a priority in this regard. The fragmented character of the health system that was operating in Inanda can be blamed for this situation. Available statistics in the country show that infant mortality rate varies between 7 for whites and 54 for Africans (Poverty and inequality Report -2000).

Since the community of Inanda is reliant on public services this area warrants an urgent attention. This is so because improved health means fewer workdays lost through illness, increased productivity, improved opportunities for well paid jobs, and longer working lives. Illness and loss of output in consequence, often goes unnoticed and as a result impact negatively in the growth of any economy.

It is just a matter of time for HIV / Aids to prove this fact if not already.

Even though awareness campaigns are conducted the fact that sex is mostly for survival for most of the young people HIV/Aids will remain a threat. Under such conditions it is difficult to advise anyone about the proper way to conduct his/her life.

For an example most women between the ages of 20 and 30 years have children with people whom they are no longer having any relationship with. This is witnessed by the long queues on the pension pay point where teenage mothers get child support grants alongside old age and disability pensioners. The same thing of long queues can be witnessed in courts for child maintenance. Under such conditions then, how can it be expected for such people to have a courage to tell their boyfriends to use condoms if the relationship is meant for survival? In trying to think about this, it warrants that we put ourselves in the shoes of the ordinary township girl (lay person), who even if people are dying side by side would be imprisoned by prejudices and stereotypes that are popular in the township.

On the other hand based on such prejudices like "rape a virgin" to escape HIV/AIDS the rate of child abuse and rape remain high. As we write there is a pending case from Amaoti for a man who has raped a two year child that was published in the media in the first week of March.

CLASS

The high influx of people from rural areas to seek employment in urban areas has given Inanda a dormitory status which is another feature further from being a reception.

This has resulted in relatively new communities establishing themselves in vacant lands. This has caused some form of a tension between the professional class (teachers, nurses and police), whose houses are found in formal areas like Glebe and Newtown and the comparatively poor residents who are living in the shacks nearby. This class tension is shifting from its traditional character of being between landowners and the tenants. The accusation is based on the fact that criminals come from these poor communities.

This tension is taking another dimension in areas like Amaoti and Mahatma Gandhi Settlement where it manifests itself in racial terms since these two areas are close to Phoenix (the nearby formerly Indian area). The communities in these areas (even the local leadership at times) do not regard crime committed in Phoenix as crime.

Paradoxically when any 'Indian' whether he or she is in the area for research purpose or to buy dagga cannot be robbed because of being viewed as a customer by merchants whom are most of the time are 'community leaders'.

INTERVENTION

There were lots of initiatives to develop the area in all aspects by the local leadership, government and NGO's. These initiatives were either financed by international donors or the government itself, however, most of them were frustrated by the question of land ownership (most of the land is privately owned). From the times of the old apartheid structures like Inanda Liaison Committee which comprised un-elected, illegitimate leaders and government reps, the question of land ownership was used as an excused:

> In April 1988 the Department of Development Aid (DDA) commissioned
> Inanda Plan comprising De Leuw, Cather Marsh, Plankonsult, Plan

Associates, Rob Kirby Associates and Terraplan Associates to undertake the detail planning of certain areas within Inanda Structure Plan area. (Planning Services: 90 : 1)

This plan included Amaoti (which was given to Terraplan Associate), Amaotana (Rob Kirby Associates), Gandi Settlement, Ohlange, Shembe, Ezimangweni and Nhlungwane (De Leuw Cather Marsh), Ngoqokazi and Amatikwe (Plan Associates), Stop 8, Namibia, Africa and Mshayazafe (Plan Konsultant). This Inanda Stucture Plan was initially prepared by the then Department of Co-operation and Development. It was to be conducted in accordance with the Black Communities Development Act (4/84 and 74/86) which provided for the purposeful development of Black communities outside the self-governing states. According to amendments of this act Black Local authorities were allocated a level of influence in the development in their geographic areas of concern. This was meant to be a five year plan which was all-encompassing as per the then standards set for Blacks.

The short-coming of this plan was firstly, that the parties which were claiming to represent the community were politically illegitimate since they were not democratically elected. Secondly, it coincided with well-structured resistance plan which was to render the country ungovernable and to destabilise apartheid structures so that they can be unworkable. This entailed the programme to "visit councillors" which was two fold.

One was by way of persuading them to withdraw and the other was by chasing them out of the townships if they didn't comply. Civic associations were in a process to entrench themselves in these communities.

Thirdly it was just after "Indians" were chased away so as to gain more space for local people to build themselves houses. Most of the vacant land was invaded which was making it difficult to implement any development plan.

Fourth, political violence was at its peak and escalating to all areas causing a state of serious unrest. Although efforts were made by the liaison committee to co-opt civic association to limit pressure on themselves, these were turned down in favour of the principle of non-collaboration.

Fifth, the plan itself was a product of non-participatory planning process. It was more informed by land use which based the planning on filling the vacant spaces than developing the area in an inclusive and integrated way.

THE SECOND WAVE OF INTERVENTIONS

This wave of interventions started during the transition which began in early 1990's when political parties were busy with negotiations. At this time most of the NGO'S were in the process of transformation to become more developmental in character, while at the same time the funding was withheld by donors preparing to assist the initiatives of the new government. By this time a lot of research work was done by both academics and NGO's, resulting to some of the local leadership being employed by those NGO's.

Community structures by then were becoming more strong as even the elders were now starting to identify themselves with the popular structures. These researches resulted into the formation of Inanda Development Forum which was initially exclusive of political parties but later invited them in.

In its founding stage participants were Inanda civic association, NGO sector (Centre for community and labour studies, the civil service sector (NPA:- Physical Planning Directorate), and the urban Planning Consultants from the Private sector.

This was marking the end of confrontation between the local authorities and community structures. Those who used to "represent" the "community" were abandoned in this process. The purpose of the Forum was to have a body that is representative of all development initiatives. It was said that the new set of initiatives were to be "holistic", "people centred" and "integrative" in its approach to development.

With the restructuring of the local government, the NPA was replaced by Durban Metro. During this period of changes in authorities a development framework was established. Its aims and objectives as laid down in the document were:

(a). To develop a holistic development framework for Inanda focusing on actions that   will

1.   *improve the quality of life of residents by meeting immediate needs.*
2.   *Integrate Inanda into the Durban functional region.*
3.   *Ensure long term sustainable development.*
4.   *Develop definite priorities, programmes and projects.*

(b).   Empower the community through

1.   Enabling the Inanda development forum to operate effectively

2.   A planning process that hears and reflects the needs and aspirations of the broader community.

3.   The programmed training of elected representatives to be a community resource and catalyst to development (IDF 93: 4)

Some of these objectives were met. An example is the training of community development workers who were representative of almost all the areas constituting Inanda. Programmes were established but dependent on Durban Metro for funding. People participated in its forming stage as it was an inclusive and promising body.

Another reason for participation was the incentives that were given people for their participation in meetings. Vigorous debates were allowed but because of the common purpose that informed this body that enabled the IDF to overcome possible harm that may have emerged. It must be pointed out that through this body the development work was easily monitored as all the service providers were represented in this forum.

With the election of councillors in 1996 then a lot of duplication was envisaged. There was no clear line between what was to be the role of newly elected councillors and the forum. This was so because there were no similar forums in other townships so all projects were seen to be delivered by the councillors. This resulted into the council not funding IDF programmes. The forum tried to come with alternatives like forming itself into a Section 21 company. However, this didn't materialise as more people were either becoming disillusioned or identifying with the councillors as these were holding more power.

The absence of a co-ordinating structure of that form made it difficult for any development to be monitored. Programmes that were set for Inanda were short-lived as outsiders were in total control working through co–opting few individuals who were left stranded when those outsiders left. As it stands there is no platform for the local leadership to make any contribution to the development of the area. With the new councillors (those elected in 2000), there seems to be a move towards creating a similar body in all townships for the sake of allowing participation.

THE CONTEXT FOR CHANGE

Social mobility and rapid urbanisation seem to be becoming a hindrance to development at Inanda. This raises a question as to whether there will ever be a possibility for sustainable development in areas like Inanda. Each turning point in the history of such areas is characterised by change in both local leadership and plans for development. This leads to a lack of continuity as the population growth continues to threaten the environment. According to the initial plans the annual growth rate between 1982 and 1988 was 12,2% (Inanda Structure plan Vol 1 page18).

Almost 10 years later, by 1997, the growth rate was 25% which is a 50% increase (Inanda SAPS –SDIP). If nothing is done about the situation then things will be worse in 10 years to come. The plan to develop the informal parts of Inanda prior to 1994 was abandoned with the changing of the leadership of the Old Greater Inanda Liason Committee. Maybe this was politically correct as people were not involved in the planning stage, but as compared to the fragmented approach and the standards the former was comparatively better.

When the Inanda Development Forum took over power from the GILC a totally new plan was developed referred to as the Inanda Development Framework Plan.

When these two plans were contrasted by the Communications Workgroup of the Inanda Development Forum they formed an interesting scenario which is depicted in diagram . (see annexture).

Further comparison and contrast could be made using the four successive terms of office namely Greater Inanda laison Committee, The Inanda Development Forum, the Interim Councillors from 1996 –2000 and the final phase councilors elected in 2000. If the same argument depicted in the diagram can be used in this further comparison and contrasting then it can be concluded that Inanda is actually resonating between two poles namely bad & worse.

If this has to change then there is a need for the local leadership to go back to the drawing board and may be to lobby for continuity. Such continuity may mean that the current plans should not exclusively be based on current land use patterns but should

build upon the plans developed earlier namely the Inanda Structure Plan and the Inanda Development Framework plan.

Parallel to the alignment and realignment of plans is the need to rethink the roles and structures that are necessary for implementation and the role of community structures in effecting development and democratic participation. If development has to be done then it should be put within the context of social justice. The population growth rate seems to be a time bomb since it implies ever-growing unemployment, tensions, diseases and crime.

The situation in Inanda reinforces conditions that may lead to permanent dependency. This is particularly the case in terms of patterns of knowledge and skills which are necessary for the development of the area. Whatever skills and knowledge available have so far been neglected and not explored in and/or planning and implementation of development plans relying on outside consultants and contractors.

This largely results from consistent pressure from residents that leads to confining delivery to infrastructural provision at the expense of human resource development.

The detailed data that forms the outcome of the Skills Audit conducted in Inanda during May 2001 may provide a scientific platform for targeted human resource capacity building as it shows the gaps in skills and areas where redirection and retraining of existing individuals may be directed. According to Paulo Freire:

> it is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose that on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours. We must realise that their view of the world, manifested variously in their actions, reflects their situation in the world" (Freire:- 72: 35).

This has to be what informs any initiative for social justice in areas like Inanda. It is not hiding behind jargon so that people cannot confidently air their views. The current reality is that the economy of Inanda is going out of Inanda because of its economic structure. The economic structure of the area is outwardly skewed as money from the area flows outside before it provides any value to the area. It is estimated that people from Inanda spend 60% of their income in the Durban CBD, 30% in Phoenix/Mount Edgecombe and 10% in the area. This shows very serious economic leakage that needs to

be attended to. A concrete and immediately available chance to do this is through the forthcoming projects that fall under the Presidential Urban Renewal programme.

These situations lead to the people losing the sense of ownership and responsibility for the infrastructure hence security guards have to be employed for every effort to develop or upgrade infrastructure in the area. Tensions derived from this situation lead to further stagnation in the development of Inanda.

WAY FORWARD

This paper acknowledges the eagerness from the side of the government to develop the previously disadvantaged. This is reflected in the poverty alleviation programmes that are meant for the poor. To achieve this, the government committed itself to an agenda of social, political and economic transformation through poverty alleviation programmes whilst simultaneously reducing state expenditure and introducing measures to liberalise the economy.

Inanda together with other township is said to be top priorities in the agenda as the President mentioned in his parliamentary opening addresses for two successive years. This, in Kwazulu Natal has resulted into a Presidential project that is meant for Inanda., Kwa Mashu and Ntuzuma. This Presidential project is meant for poverty alleviation.

Another programme is being initiated by the Unicity with the creation of co – operatives that are meant for the betterment of the lives of the people. On the side of the community there is more to be done since land is still in the hands of the land owners whose old fears are still not addressed. Some of these landowners have title deeds that are still to be transferred from the previous owners who are mostly the grand parents of the present generation. This alone needs a programme of its own giving specific attention to the land issue.

All the programmes that are to be implemented for poverty alleviation should focus on poverty, unemployment, and education and training as these seem to be the fundamental issues in previously disadvantaged communities.

Although it is said it is better to opt for a brain drain than allowing your brain to be put in the drain, it is disturbing that almost all the people who can contribute to change in Inanda are leaving for fear of crime and low social standards. The issue of the brain drain and its underlying causes, in particular, crime and low social standards need a special attention by the authorities. Such attention should move away from an assumption that Inanda needs low cost infrastructure since "everyone" is poor. There should be a provision for people who can afford better services. Otherwise the area will remain a hiding place for criminals and a safe heaven for drug lords. This compromises human values hence it becomes the survival of the fittest. To overcome this situation there is a need for a consolidated action by all stakeholders through forming partnerships between the existing bodies in Inanda for concerted efforts in fighting poverty. All stakeholders like community, NGOs, CBOs private sector and the local authorities can do this through co – ordination of development.

The reason for this is that CBOs and NGOs have better information about conditions at local level, good contacts, and have built reputation and relationships of trust with the donors overtime. They have learnt to respond quickly to problems on the ground and adapt easily to changing needs. They have smaller bureaucracies hence more accountability, thereby minimising corruption. They are able to identify the poor and target assistance to them, especially those who cannot be reached by authorities.

They are more independent than politicians to play a watchdog role in community.

However this does not imply that they do not have their short comings like having weak administrative capacity, lack resources, may be less accountable to the community and have a donor tailored leadership. Poverty alleviation projects should empower the community through active participation in their development from the planning stage. It has been the tendency that through pressure that is exerted by the community for delivery, the government compromises the principle of community participation by living everything to the technocrats who do not allow the community to participate.
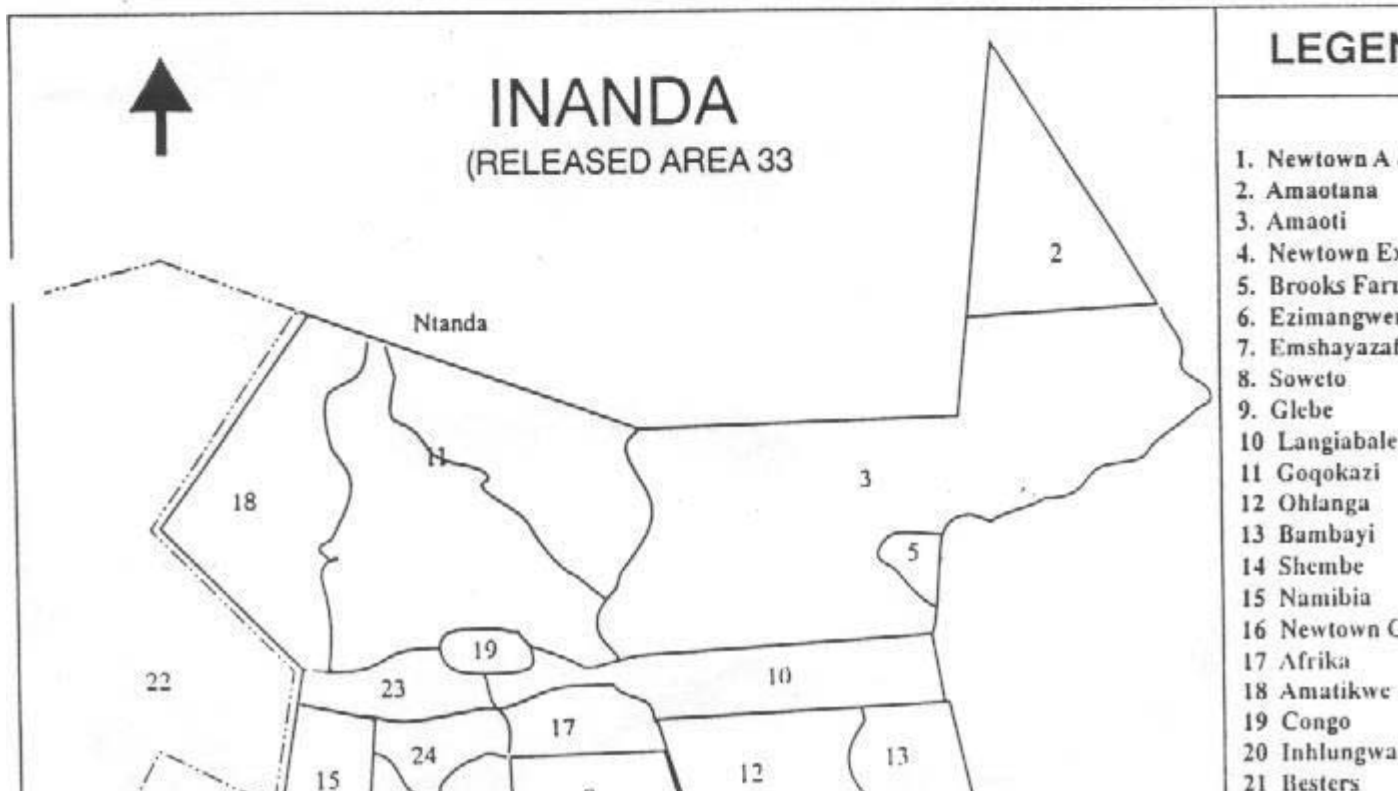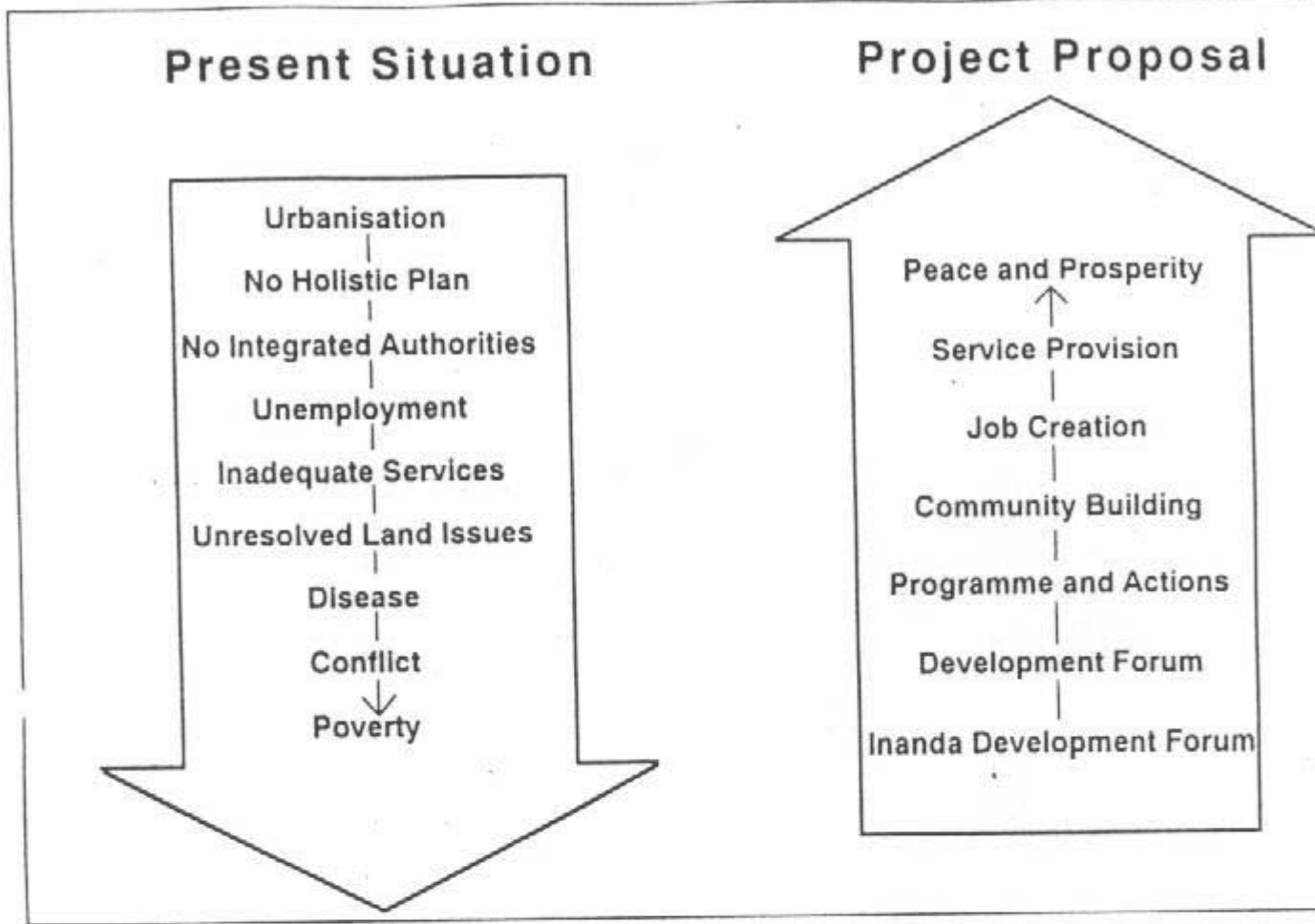
With the emerging stated intention in the local authorities of allocating contracts to co–operatives which are more labour intensive than those black economic

empowerment companies which promote elitism, the community can regain the buying power that has been lost with job losses that are caused by privatisation.

These co – operatives should employ technology that is meant to assist in making the job easy than replacing workers. They should employ technology because co – operatives have been a failure in other countries in Africa because of using primitive methods. This process should also include empowering the local initiatives like stokvels and credit unions to change their spending patterns. Instead of spending their monies on feasts and traditional ceremonies they should be encouraged to redirect their spending towards initiatives that will increase their income.

Diagram One: The Challenge

Present Situation

Urbanisation
|
No Holistic Plan
|
No Integrated Authorities
|
Unemployment
|
Inadequate Services
|
Unresolved Land Issues
|
Disease
|
Conflict
↓
Poverty

Project Proposal

Peace and Prosperity
↑
Service Provision
|
Job Creation
|
Community Building
|
Programme and Actions
|
Development Forum
|
Inanda Development Forum

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INANDA
(RELEASED AREA 33

Ntanda

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12

13

LEGEN

1. Newtown A
2. Amaotana
3. Amaoti
4. Newtown E:
5. Brooks Farı
6. Ezimangwe
7. Emshayaza
8. Soweto
9. Glebe
10 Langiabale
11 Goqokazi
12 Ohlanga
13 Bambayi
14 Shembe
15 Namibia
16 Newtown C
17 Afrika
18 Amatikwe
19 Congo
20 Inhlungwa
21 Besters

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