SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Area study of Cape Town
'A Streetless wasteland':
A preliminary report on Ocean View
by
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Carnegie Conference Paper No.10d

Cape Town 13 - 19 April 1984
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A INTRODUCTION

(1) On fieldwork and methodology

A clear and correct grasp of the fundamental issues to be discussed in this preliminary report cannot be achieved unless it is viewed in the context of two constraining and, undoubtedly, determining factors:

(a) the inexperience of the trainee researchers concerned, and
(b) the methods of analysis employed and the sources of information tapped.

In our view, elaboration of the above points is fundamental, because they give some indication of the types of problems encountered in practice by the researchers and they also locate precisely the contents of the preliminary report in its proper context.

As an integral part of our present 'training course' in social research, we were assigned the duty of doing some fieldwork on the nature and extent of poverty in the Ocean View local area. Our enquiry commenced on the 21 November 1983, and the whole exercise finally encompassed approximately three weeks (initially, the period over which the project was to extend was undefined).

Because the fieldwork was a totally new aspect of research (social) to us, we initially found ourselves in a rather perplexing situation - very few leads were given, i.e. we were thrown in at the deep end, in a manner of speaking.

The first step in overcoming our predicament was the obviously necessary acquisition of background information on our area. In our view, this step was vital in gaining direction and confidence, as well as a thorough understanding of the requirements for the methods and focuses of our enquiry, thus providing a solid base from which to work.

As a first step towards this goal, we consulted all known and available written material on Ocean View, particularly recent publications published in the last decade. It then became possible to launch our investigation from this base.
Information was gathered mainly from two sources (neither of which, we must unfortunately add, proved to be very satisfactory for our purposes):

Firstly, we scrutinised all available and obtainable newspaper clippings - these were very few and not very useful. Secondly, we looked at available books (including articles such as conference papers, research reports, etc.); with a few exceptions, what has been said about newspaper clippings is also applicable here. The information which we were able to extract from these sources was divided and grouped into seven broad categories:

1. History of the area
2. Its economic structure and organization
3. The types of social services provided
4. Available community facilities in the area
5. Its political structure and organization
6. Social relationships and problems (e.g. alcoholism)
7. The health structure (quantity as well as quality).

We realised, however, from the outset that we would encounter difficulties in gathering information on these specific topics or categories. The major problem was that not very much had been written on Ocean View: a great paucity exists in this regard.

It was thus obvious that a third, and indeed the major source of information (especially on aspects such as the history of the area, living conditions, community relations, etc.), would be the residents of Ocean View themselves. This process took the form of interviews with those generally regarded as the 'dignitaries' of the area, and secondly with those who do not occupy any official position in the community as such.

These two sources were able to supply us with a broad range of very useful statistics and opinions on various issues (e.g. information on the rent structure supplied by the Divo office, an outline of the social problems in the area, and, very importantly, the peoples' view of matters).

Our research procedure followed a particular pattern with three distinct phases.
Firstly, we conducted interviews with the dignitaries in the area; this was done on a random basis, with no special significance attached to the official positions occupied by any of these persons.

Secondly, we conducted a short survey of the area and its residents. A questionnaire was utilized in this regard, requiring information ranging from financial and economic status to the history of the area and its people, educational levels of the different households, etc. We found that it was much easier to assemble information on 'personal details' (personal income, rents, problems, etc.) in this manner. A sample (10%) for each of the three areas of Ocean View (see later) was roughly proportional to the size of the three areas. A sample was also taken of the ten new iron shacks recently constructed in the Hungry Hills area.

The reason for undertaking the snap survey was twofold. In the first instance it was to serve as an indicator to possible case studies, and in the second it was to serve as an equalizer. In the selection of case studies the results could produce a slant in any direction and thus the survey could not be used as a generalization indicating trends in a particular section of the area under discussion as being representative of Ocean View overall.

Thirdly, the most significant part of our fieldwork was the investigation of case-studies. This required in-depth interviews with a large number of residents. The findings will not be elaborated upon here, as they are interspersed with the other information assembled and presented in later sections of this report. It suffices at this stage merely to state that various opinions on a number of subjects (e.g. health, facilities in the area, etc.) were procured from the respondents.

(2) On poverty - focus of study

The aim of this area study was to investigate the extent of and the forms in which poverty manifests itself in Ocean View. Having only spent approximately three weeks in the field, we obviously cannot (and certainly do not) lay claims to having exhausted all possible sources of information or having tapped all poverty indicators; such a claim, we fully realize, can only be made if research is conducted over a much longer period of
time.

For our purposes, however, the 'snap survey' of Ocean View brought many things to light, contributing indeed to the sharpening of our initially vague and obscure understanding of what encompasses 'poverty', both in theory and in practice.

In our view, there is no uni-dimensional definition of poverty but some input on advancing a precise definition (although not all-encompassing) is of prime importance, to advance ideas about the manner in which poverty as a real phenomenon manifests itself concretely in areas such as Ocean View. Our practical observation of the situation in the area leads us to side with the view that

"... poverty could be defined as the lack of basic structural facilities and amenities which prevents a family or a single person from enjoying the good things of life. Under good things of life or adequate structural facilities we can list:

(a) Proper housing
(b) An adequate wage
(c) Proper education for the children
(d) Adequate and nourishing food
(e) Clothing according to season
(f) Enough time for rest and relaxation - rest in the form of hobbies and relaxation by way of either participating in sport or merely acting as a spectator ...."\(^1\)

We advance the view that where these six characteristics are absent the individual, family or community concerned is living in poverty.

Furthermore, it is felt that the problems attached to poverty are multiplied by socio-economic as well as socio-political aspects.

The most obvious socio-economic factor which determines the extent to which an individual, household or community will be poverty-stricken, is the absence of an adequate wage. The reason for this is quite clear: the only manner in which most, if not all, of Ocean View families can and do provide for the daily subsistence is to sell their labour power in return.

1. Babs - Promosa Report
for a wage or salary, and hence to utilize the latter for purposes of purchasing necessary goods and services. Their subsistence therefore depends to a large extent on earning adequate wages.

It can be said with a fair degree of certainty that self-subsistence in the area is totally absent.

As has been argued in another report (see earlier quote), the most important reason which prevents a person from earning an adequate wage is the lack of proper education for the children and the lack of training for young adults (we shall return to this aspect elsewhere, where a more thorough discussion will be entertained.)

It is our assertion that poverty emanates from a lack of education, because a poorer education would inevitably place the affected person/s in a lower wage bracket. This would immediately bring about financial and related problems for the family or families concerned. Expenditure would thus have to be reduced which in turn implies a reduction in the chances of the head of the household to supply the family with the six broad necessities listed earlier. This is one of the most obvious indicators of poverty, affecting as a consequence other realms of family life, for example, social and physical aspects (crime, alcoholism, poor health, mental retardation, etc.).

On the broader front of poverty, it is our contention that a whole community can live in structural poverty. This arises in the spheres of facilities, social, health, housing, etc. Where health facilities, or shopping or educational facilities or political opportunities are lacking a whole community may encounter poverty.

It is also clear that in addition to economic poverty indicators (inadequate wage) there are other indicators which are just as crucial in community life. These can be grouped (broadly) into political, social, physical and psychological categories. Any poverty study which is undertaken should also stress the primary importance of all these categories.

The multiplicative effects of socio-political aspects as well, especially in a poverty study pertaining to an area within the borders of South Africa, should not only be recorded and evaluated, but should in addition be
subjected to critical scrutiny.

It is thus our contention that poverty studies, specifically those conducted in South Africa, have to move beyond the narrow confines of socio-economic poverty and should include the broader sphere of socio-political poverty as well.
DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD

(1) Initial impressions

Our field of study was the Ocean View local area. This area is designated as 'coloured' and administered by the Divisional Council of the Cape.

From our very first visit to Ocean View a few interesting initial observations have remained implanted in our memories.

Compared to other townships, the area is relatively small and quiet. The residents appear to be taking life fairly easily and recognize a strange face at first glance.

The area is extremely sandy with large patches of public space or vacant lots covered with gravel. There is little evidence of natural vegetation in Ocean View proper, besides the well vegetated areas on the periphery of the township. The only sign of greenery within the confines of Ocean View proper are clusters of trees on the sandy sidewalks or the occasional lush garden of a resident. Although there are a fair number of residents who seem to care for their gardens (especially in the older extension), the majority appear not to take an interest in them.

The structure of the area deviates in no respect from the typical South African township—it has only one entrance for cars. It should be mentioned that there is a second entrance to Ocean View via an entrance off the main Kommetjie Road. This entrance is, however, far removed from the main concentration of residences. There is, therefore, for all practical purposes only one usable entrance (via Milky Way).

Ocean View nestles among the mountains of the Fish Hoek chain.

At first sight, compared with other townships, the standard of housing in Ocean View does not appear particularly poor, and its residents do not seem to live in obvious poverty or discomfort. Furthermore, the houses do not appear to be in a state of disrepair as is characteristic of poverty-stricken areas on the Cape Flats. Most of the houses seem fairly clean and well cared for.
The roads are, however, in a state of degeneration but are seemingly adequate for general use.

There appear to be four clearly discernable sections in Ocean View with different types and quality of housing.

In summary it can thus be said that Ocean View does not appear to be a very poor area. First impressions can, however, prove illusory on closer scrutiny. It is therefore necessary, on the basis of our conception of poverty through deeper investigation to scrutinize the structural deficiencies within the community. This investigation lies in the context of the complexities of the social, political and economic spheres.

(2) **Geography**

Ocean View is situated approximately 5 km from Fish Hoek and 3 km from Kommetjie.

The area lies within a nook of the Fish Hoek mountain range. It is thus not surprising that two of the boundaries of the area are formed by the surrounding mountains, the other two boundaries consisting of Slangkop Road to the west of Ocean View and Kommetjie Road to the north of Ocean View.

Despite its location in the vicinity of mountainous surroundings, the area under discussion is relatively flat, sloping gently up towards the mountains in the north.

Ocean View can be divided into four clearly distinguishable sections. The difference is clearly discernible in the type, quality and location of the housing.

Firstly, on entering the township one encounters rows of council houses and flats. This is the old Slangkop area into which the first residents of Ocean View moved in 1968. The houses closely resemble those of other locations on the Cape Flats. This section, on a rough estimate, comprises approximately one third of the total area of Ocean View proper, and is also the oldest section.
This old Slangkop section, as it shall hence-forth be referred to, also accommodates the main shopping facilities of the township as well as most (if not all) the community facilities and public amenities such as the civic centre, library, clinic, primary school, training centre, etc.

The second oldest area in Ocean View is a section called 'Ghost Town'. It nestles up against the mountain slope in the South West corner of Ocean View.

The houses in Ghost Town are of the familiar row-type, and they appear to be of the poorest quality in the whole of Ocean View. This area also seems to be the poorest section of Ocean View.

Ghost Town is separated from the other sections of Ocean View by a stretch of open land and a canal.

The name of the area is indeed appropriate. According to Mr Lewis\(^1\), a local resident who has been living in Ocean View since its inception approximately fifteen years ago:

"Some people just put names to places in a joking way, you know... but before long that names becomes common and sticks forever. Now the only reason that people call this place 'Ghost Town' is because the grave yard is just here at the back ... on our back stoep in fact..."

It is commonly said that what is now called Ghost Town was originally built for personnel of the South African Navy but due to the poor quality of the housing, these typical box-type houses were rejected by such personnel and the Navy was thus forced to erect alternative and better housing in another section of Ocean View.

Mr Lewis remembers this situation well:

"These houses were given to pensioners. The Naval people had to live here, but they now live in those nice houses over there (near the old extension) because they didn't like these buildings here. So they stood up for what they wanted, you see ... something similar to what their White counterparts in Simonstown have. So the Navy was forced to build those new houses over there ..."

1. Names used in this report have been changed for obvious reasons.
Divoo then purchased these rejected houses, and is currently renting them to a predominantly low-income group.

The third section of Ocean View, locally known as 'Hungry Hills', lies adjacent to Ghost Town on the apron of the mountain in the south.

In appearance Hungry Hills is clearly distinguishable from the neighbouring estates. It is newer and neater. The houses are painted in an uncharacteristic bright yellow which liven s the area up somewhat.

Hungry Hills also differs from the rest of the sections in Ocean View in its architectural design. The style of housing appears to be much more innovative and stimulating. These features are interesting landmarks in an otherwise dull, unimaginative and monotonously mediocre social landscape. It is as if the planners had a miniscule flash of inspiration during their rather morbid slumber!

And yet in the local vernacular the area has been named Hungry Hills. According to local convention two reasons are advanced for this unofficial christening of the area:

(a) Firstly, the rents are relatively higher than in the neighbouring estates (e.g. Ghost Town); although varying directly with income, it is said that the monthly rental payments constitute a major proportion of disposable income, hence causing funds for general consumption expenditure (especially on food) to be very low. The name of the area follows directly from this: there is therefore a commonly held belief amongst the residents of Ocean View that those who live in Hungry Hills are living in starvation.

As Mr Lewis, smiling, recalls;

"The new section on the other side which was recently opened is called Hungry Hills. And why? Simply 'cos those people had to spend a lot of money, you know. Those are nice houses, you see ... those people are of better means, they can buy their own houses."

But there is something else to this seemingly "grand" situation.
Mr Lewis continues:

"Some people say, 'weet jy man, die mense trek in maar hulle kan nie die huise afford nie - hulle het 'n smart huis maar niks kos in hulle pens nie'. So they jokingly refer to that section as Hungry Hills."

(b) There is the alternative belief that the residents of Hungry Hills either earn a high wage thus enabling them to afford the 'more expensive housing', or the said residents are living 'higher' than their means would allow them. The latter case implies that, in the words of Mr Lewis:

"Aan die buitekant lyk alles 'grand', maar aan die binnekant vrek hulle (Hungry Hills residents) van die hongerte".

The fourth distinguishable section in Ocean View is the accommodation of the SA Navy personnel mentioned before, as well as the home-ownership housing scheme to the west of the old Slangkop section.

When compared with the other extensions such as Ghost Town this appears to be a relatively well-to-do estate. It seems to cater for the more affluent residents.

There is also a proposed fifth extension to Ocean View proper. This is an envisaged and as yet unbuilt extension across Old Slangkop Road. The type of housing that will be provided is, to our knowledge, as yet unspecified, although the proposed location of the said extension has already been decided upon.

This division of Ocean View into four sections might create the false impression that the township is very large. This is not really so. Ocean View, with its ± 23 000 strong population is in fact a very small area indeed. Perhaps the best indicator of this is the fact that it took us a mere five minutes to drive from the one side (the old Slangkop section) to the other extreme (Ghost Town).

(3) Demography

According to official Divco estimates for the period extending to October
1983, the population of Ocean View comprises roughly 23,000 people.

The 1981 figure was estimated to be ± 15,000 which, by implication, indicates a dramatic increase in population density of roughly 8,000 people in the short space of two years. This alarming increase, with its obvious consequences of increasing pressure on already meagre facilities, can be attributed to the opening of the new Hungry Hills extension in 1982/83. Movement into this new section was from two sources: from within Ocean View itself, as well as from outside areas.

We could not help but notice an interesting phenomenon about the distribution of the population: there appears to be a general distribution of families according to age of family and length of stay in Ocean View. It was found that the older families stay in the old Slangkop section, while the younger families of both Ocean View as well as outside origin live in the upper estates of Ghost Town and Hungry Hills.

According to local informants, the number of youths in the township appears to be relatively high. Mrs Peterson, a mother of four teenagers, with a sigh of hopelessness remarks that:

"... there are certainly no less than 8,000 youths in this god-forsaken place. And the problem is that there is absolutely nothing for them to do ... no facilities whatsoever...."

These problems are not specific to recreation or relaxation alone, but extend into the field of overcrowding and the shortage of accommodation, and branch out still further to increase social problems such as alcoholism, drug abuse, etc. (We shall return to this in a later discussion.)

A great problem encountered by Divco officials is the presence of 'illegal' tenants (i.e. the additional tenants or families living in Divco houses without the knowledge or consent of the authorities).

It is this phenomenon which would naturally cause a large discrepancy between the de facto and de jure population of the township.

It is therefore fairly safe to deduce that the de facto population of Ocean View is far greater than the estimated 23,000.
A Divco official on housing in Ocean View, says that an increase in population can be expected in the near future:

"This expectation is ascribed to the fact that a new extension (the proposed fifth extension mentioned earlier) to Ocean View will be built very soon. A major influx of people can thus be expected on completion of this extension ..."

He also mentioned that there is a negligible turnover of population as there is a minor efflux of people from Ocean View; an estimated two families moved out of Ocean View in 1983.
HISTORY OF AND MOVEMENT TO OCEAN VIEW

(1) History

There is very little history attached to Ocean View, mainly because the area has been in existence for less than one-and-a-half decades.

In August 1967 the Simonstown area was declared 'White' under the racial laws of segregation, i.e. the Group Areas Act. During this same year (1967) the Slangkop Township was established amongst the hills ≈ 3 km from Kommetjie and ≈ 5 km from Fish Hoek.

Slangkop was originally part of the Imhoff's Gift farm, owned by a Mr van der Horst and purchased by Divco in the late 1960's.

Slangkop (as present-day Ocean View was then known) was initially established to house the people living in Simonstown and the surrounding areas who were affected by the Group Areas Act. These people were forced to move from areas in which they have been living for hundreds of years.

The present population originates predominantly from the surrounding areas of Noordhoek, Sunnydale, Sun Valley, and from the Ou Kaapseweg area of Red Hill Simonstown, Kalk Bay, Glencairn and Kommetjie.

Not much can be said about these early years. An informant, who came from Simonstown and was himself a victim of the Group Areas Act, recalls:

"Initially the people of Ocean View were a mixture of people from different places ... Noordhoek, Simonstown and Glencairn - folk were thrown together in this place. There was a lot of squabbling going on and there were quite a few gang fights in those years. People did not associate freely at first ..."

As the years progressed people got acquainted, facilities such as schools, a post office, library, etc. were erected, new extensions were added to the old Slangkop area and the name was changed to Ocean View.

(2) Movement

The first removals to Slangkop took place on 1 August 1968 and Ocean
View residents are well aware of the political reasons behind their forced removal from the 'traditional' places of abode. They speak for themselves:

Mr T clearly has no doubts whatsoever when he remarks:

"Why did we move from Simonstown? We were forced to move, and were placed here against our will. And for no other reason than the stupid Group (i.e. Group Areas Act)."

Mr J of Ghost Town was moved out of Noordhoek in 1969 and agrees entirely with Mr T:

"Die rede hoekom ek moes trek was omdat dai mos nou 'n 'white area' is, en hulle ons nie meer daar wou hê nie. Ons moes maar trek want as jy nie wou nie en hulle stoot daai plek om, waar gaan jy dan? Ons moes maar vat wat hulle vir ons gee ..."

Many of those interviewed feel like Mrs P of the old Slangkop extension when she says that:

"... the things that mattered were taken away and we are now being hidden away in a corner between the hills of South Africa."

And Mrs Pa, who is one of the first residents of Ocean View adds:

"Since the so-called coloureds have moved from Simonstown, all the character of the place is gone ..."

Mr Lewis, who is also of Simonstown origin and currently living in a 'choking' house in Ghost Town, was summarily evicted after the declaration of the Group Areas Act. His family was then informed that they would not get any other house besides the one in the Slangkop Estate. He reflects sadly on the decision to move the 'non-whites' out of Simonstown as he relates those last few days:

"My father was the last to move, and before we moved he was standing at this particular window, looking over the bay. We had a very beautiful view; and this was the first time I saw my father cry. I could see that he did not want to leave that place ..."

Oral testimonies such as the above typify the general aversion to removals to Ocean View caused by the implementation of the Group Areas Act. When they talk about the turmoil prevalent in the early years of Slangkop estate's existence, residents recall the talk that was circulating during those years,
"Ek wens ek kon terug gaan Noordhoek/Simonstown/Glencairn toe; hoekom moes hulle ons daaruitgooi? Die boere gaan ons tog hier ook uitgooi ..." (Mr Lewis)

There is no need to dig very deep or to make profound theoretical deduction and conclusions to observe the people's total rejection of forced removals. It is self-evident in their attitudes and their responses. These people speak with such love and deep longing for their original places of abode that their tales seemingly assume fairytale proportions.

Take, for example, Mrs P's description of her Simonstown home:

"Our house was a giant house. It was alive and had character, because we were living in a pretty cobble street just under the mountain."

Mrs Pa, in turn, reflects on her house on the old Imhoff Farm to resemble a postcard:

"Ons het eerste in ’n rietdak-huisie op die heuwel gewoon ... net soos dit in ’n prente-boek lyk. Ons het plat rotse om die rietdak huisie geleë, net soos op ’n poskaart."

Miss W, originally from Noordhoek and currently living in Ghost Town, remarks that:

"Dit was baie lekkerder om in daai sink-huisie in Noordhoek toe woon, want dit is nie lekker hier in die View nie ... daar was almal vriendelike mense en al die families was bymekaar."

Numerous testimonies such as those given above lead one to the obvious (and unsurprising) conclusion that these people were extremely resentful about being forcibly removed from their previous homes. Their first impressions of Ocean View were thus negative in most (if not all) respects.

Mrs Pa, whom we have baptised 'the original resident' (her family was the first to move into Ocean View), can still recall clearly the conditions in which they found themselves on first moving into the area in 1968:

"While they were still building Slangkop, most of the natural vegetation was cut up and this place was a sandy pitch. The place was in a terrible mess and not finished. Bricks and a lot of other building material were lying around the 'nog rou' (still raw) houses. There were no lights at all."

Mrs Pe, whom we have mentioned elsewhere, reports in a similar resentful
manner that:

"... the people had to come to this barren and bare place in the dark; it was most probably so that they could not see in what a mess the place was."

The move to Ocean View caused many physical and psychological hardships. Mr Lewis, a Ghost Town resident, remarks that:

"The effects on people differed ... some people seemed not to care, others just couldn't adapt to this place and it wasn't long before they died. This is probably because the ocean in Simonstown was beneficial to especially the old people, you know, healthwise."

Miss A was still a child when they had to move from Simonstown, but she still remembers that:

"When we moved, my granny refused to get into the lorry that moved us, because she was used to staying there, and was scared of moving to this place."

There were also physical hardships. As Mrs Pe recalls:

"People had to break up their beautiful furniture to be able to take it up stairs or into houses - old people just couldn't take it - it was too hard on all of us."

It is evident from all of this that those who originated in Simonstown are resentful about being moved. The opinions and views of the Noordhoek removes, however, differ markedly from the former. These people felt that it was a move for the better as they, at the time, were occupying shacks in Noordhoek which were of a poorer standard than the housing that was offered in Ocean View.

This was perhaps better put by Mr J (whose case will be discussed in detail in a later section of this report):

"My hele familie moes op een bed gelê het ... dan moes ons lé met baddens sodat die reën kon intap en die bed nie nat kry nie ... totdat ons dié plek hier in Ghost Town gekry het!"

Although they still feel anger at having been forcibly removed, there seems to be a general agreement amongst Noordhoek people (in Ocean View) that the type of accommodation in Ocean View is far better as it provides for more convenience (water is easier to obtain, electricity
But how did these people of Ocean View, having been faced with so many problems, adapt to the area? Opinions in this respect vary widely, ranging from those who have come to accept their situation (more a case of making the best of a situation which they are unable to change) to those who still find difficulty in coping:

"I was frightened of staying here at first - I couldn't even walk up the stairs. Now it is not so bad, and I have come to accept the situation."
(Miss A)

But there are others who still feel very pessimistic:

"The worst is that we are so isolated. Everybody forgets about us ...."
(One of Mrs Pe's daughters)

"The best thing that could happen to me is to move out of here. Even now, 14 years later, I am still not used to staying here ... they keep you here as prisoners."
(Mrs Pe)

Mr Lewis also shares a similar view:

"I didn't like it here at all and I told my wife: '... look, I hate this place ...'. I then looked for a job up the line and became a caretaker in Sea Point. I lived in, and so escaped this terrible place."
(Mr Lewis)

Accounts such as the above proved to be so regular and numerous during our interviews, that we are certainly tempted to generalise and argue that, although seemingly most of the residents have come to accept their situation, a very large proportion of them would prefer to move out of Ocean View. But one can certainly not ignore the fact that history is not static - the process of adaptation has set in, and is most likely to be speeded up (thus tending to become complete) with the current emergence of a new generation.

"Adaptation to the area was a big problem, especially at that age (10 years). We lived in a small community in Simonstown and moving from a house to a flat was very difficult. Also, coming from an English speaking community into an area where mostly Afrikaans was spoken had its problems. I was rejected and sometimes thrown at with stones by other Afrikaans-speaking children. I was seen as having
The attitudes of those residents who had moved into the area much later differ somewhat from those of the initial residents of Ocean View.

Miss A and Mrs J are from the bush in Houtbay and from Noordhoek respectively, and have only recently moved into Ocean View. Like many others who are originally from areas with similar characteristics Miss A and Mrs J see their move to Ocean View as satisfactory. Both, having previously lived in zinc shacks, feel that their life-styles have been upgraded, as the conditions that were prevalent in the bush were atrocious.

As Miss Ab says:

"Ek was baie gelukkig om uit die bos in Houtbaai te trek. Toe ek hier kom, toe sê my man ook dat hy ook die plekkie like. Ek het lekker in die bos gebly, maar dit is ook beter hier."

It appears as if there are divergent attitudes between the three main groups of people who were moved into Ocean View. Firstly, the Simonstown people were vociferously opposed to the system of mass removals. They have, however, come to accept the way of life in Ocean View. There is a sense of apathy among these people and yet a deep desire to return to Simonstown.

Secondly, old Noordhoek residents appear to have come to resent the area. (Ocean View). This is surprising, as most of those interviewed seemed to be in general agreement that coming to live in Ocean View did much to improve their standard of living in many respects. Yet some now feel a growing resentment at having been moved from their shacks as friendship ties had to be broken, property had to be left behind (e.g. chickens, cattle, etc.) etc. This section of the Ocean View population seems to share two viewpoints: On the one hand they argue that it is better living in Ocean View due to factors such as convenience, easier access to water and public services, etc; On the other hand, they regret moving from their previous places of abode (breaking of family ties, loss of property, etc.).

Thirdly, the relatively 'newer residents' of Ocean View, i.e. those hounded out of the bushes around Noordhoek and Houtbay, feel absolutely
satisfied at having moved into Ocean View. Whereas they were previously hassled by arrests for squatting, complaints by surrounding residents, etc., they are now living in a fixed, 'legal' home.
D EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

(1) The main sectors

Within Ocean View employment opportunities are minimal. Employment opportunities within the area are mainly found in government and local government sectors, such as education (teaching), health and related community services, library services and local administration (rent office) etc.

The percentage of people (mainly professionally trained) employed within these sectors is, not surprisingly and in comparison with the total labour force, proportionately so low that it would tend to occupy an insignificant and minor role in any discussion of employment patterns in Ocean View. In any event it became quite clear to us that most of the people in this occupational category were residents of the area itself.

There are no industries located within Ocean View. The chief employment sectors are found within the surrounding areas of Simonstown, Fishhoek, Glencairn, Kalkbay, etc. These are mainly fishing, the S A Navy (dockyard) and the surrounding factories.

Fishing is generally regarded as being the traditional form of employment. This is, in all probability, because Ocean View residents originally resided near the sea at Simonstown, Glencairn, Kalkbay, etc. Thus it seems evident that, prior to the mass removals, fishing was the nearest and easiest source of income for the local residents.

However, when these fisherfolk were moved to Ocean View, away from their source of employment, the fishing community tradition ebbed. Thus, mainly due to the necessity for a fixed and regular income (to pay rents, for increased transport costs, etc.), the fishing industry is now, fifteen years after the first removals, a minor source of employment; fishing in Ocean View is a dying tradition.

The major employment sector is the S A Navy, especially the dockyard in Simonstown, which employs both male and female workers. The type of
work varies, from that of skilled artisans (e.g. boiler-makers, brick-layers, painters, etc) to unskilled (i.e. general worker grade I).

The Navy (or the dockyard) also seems to be the first choice of employment for the young adults of Ocean View according to local informants. This preference for working in the Navy (and dockyard) centres chiefly around three interrelated reasons. There is the general belief that employment there

1. provides a relatively stable and regular income
2. the place of work is situated near to Ocean View which implies that travelling costs can, to a certain extent, be considerably reduced
3. provides, unlike other employment types (e.g. fishing, which is perhaps the most appropriate example in this case) a measure of job-security; there is also the attraction of certain 'fringe benefits' e.g. the provision of housing.

Apart from the SA Navy and the fast dying fishing trade the other major source of employment is in the surrounding factories. In this regard two factories (mainly employing women) were frequently mentioned:

1. Firstly, there is the 'Gemstone' factory, or the 'Klippies fabriek' as it is locally known, located near. Not much information, surprisingly, could be extracted as to wages, types of products produced, etc. It can however be said that, from speaking to the residents, this factory employs chiefly women, and in all probability its output consists of jewellery and closely related products.
2. Secondly, there is Marine Oil, a factory situated nearby in Glencairn. This is an oil refinery which provides work for a significant proportion of the Ocean View labour force.

A fourth and major employment sector for women is the service sector.
From a short survey conducted by us, as well as from numerous interviews, it would appear that the largest sector of Ocean View males (those who are working) are employed in building and in the dockyard. The females, in contrast, are mainly employed in the commercial and service sectors as shop assistants, charis, etc. To what extent this can be generalized will only become clear if a more thorough inquiry is made.

It would, of course, be naive to assert that the employment sectors mentioned thus far are the only ones. As time has passed, and people have settled into the life-style of Ocean View, changes in employment have taken place (here fishing is not the only one). From numerous interviews it became evident that there is a definite drift from employment near to Ocean View (excluding the Navy) to areas further afield in the areas of Retreat, Wynberg, etc. These are mostly the areas in which the new shopping complexes and a concentration of textile factories are situated.

There also appears to be a large unemployment rate in Ocean View. In one particular house, all the residents of working age are unemployed. The whole household is dependent on a pension of R83 per month. The head of the household (mother) says that all of the family members are healthy and fit to work, but are unable to obtain any jobs.

"Many of these people who are unemployed have just given up trying, and have a glorious time sitting and drinking on the grass under the trees."
(Mrs Pe)

The social worker (Divco), Mrs Se, also complained that many residents have given up all hope of obtaining any type of employment in the near future, and have become apathetic in their attitudes.

"They just refuse to go out and look for a job now."
(Mrs Se)

A feature that is as predominant here as in other poverty stricken areas is that there is a great need for members of the family other than the head of the household to work. Some families, even with four or five people in the house working, still struggle constantly to keep their heads above water. The high rental payments, high transport costs, high food prices, etc. make life in Ocean View very difficult indeed.
The need for more than one person, other than the household head, to work goes a long way in indicating the extremely low wages in the area.

(2) Occupations

The types of occupation in which Ocean View residents are engaged generally centre around the type of workforce demanded by the surrounding sectors (as mentioned earlier). Discussion of this issue will therefore very likely be repetitive, and will be illustrated rather by the utilisation of 'official' statistical data; here we are especially referring to the 1980 population census and the TMS data.

(3) Income and expenditure

Wages in the area are extremely low. According to the 1980 population census, Ocean View's average head of household's income was approximately R200 per month (R2 427.63 p.a.). This figure, even in comparison with other 'poor areas' (such as Retreat), is low.

"The wages of the people here in Ocean View stay low. We know that employers look at the addresses and then put a low wage on the job or refuse the application, as was found in my own house. My daughter works at a clothing factory near Steenberg and earns only R200 per month, and that after a full year's training at a secretarial college! There are people who earn R20 a week and they have to take work home for extra money. Some women work for two madams, in the morning and the afternoon, just to make ends meet on their low wages."

(Mrs Pe)

This story is typical of the situation of most Ocean View families.

It is evident from our short survey that 30% of those interviewed earn R200 p.m. or less. In some cases there are no sources of income from within the household, and all expenses are paid either by a relative or a friend (i.e. in those cases where no grants are received).

Although it is difficult to generalize, it would be fairly safe to deduce that the former situation appears to be the general trend.

Although, however, the wages are extremely low, most residents report
TABLE 1

**Population:** 910 (0.6% of total pop of Ol region)
- Male: 4400 (48% of population)
- Female: 4700 (52% of population)

**Econ. Active:** 2840 (31% of total population)
- Male: 1820 (68% of econ. active)
- Female: 920 (32% of econ. active)

**Not Econ. Active:** 6260 (69% of total population)
- Male: 2480 (40% of not econ. active)
- Female: 3780 (60% of not econ. active)

**TABLE 2**

**Employment Patterns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Sectors</th>
<th>% of Econ. active in area</th>
<th>Total no in area</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>% of total sector Ol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>120</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>240</td>
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<td>Commerce</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>140</td>
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<tr>
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<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.09</td>
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<td>60</td>
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<tr>
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<td>80</td>
<td>1.24</td>
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<tr>
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<td>160</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3**

**Occupational Groups:**

| Professional       | 2                         | 40               | 0    | 40     | 0.07                |
| Teachers           | 3                         | 80               | 0    | 80     | 0.41                |
| Supervisors        |                           |                  |      |        | 0.03                |
| Clerical workers   | 5                         | 140              | 60   | 80     | 0.16                |
| Service workers    | 25                        | 700              | 340  | 360    | 0.83                |
| Farm workers       | 10                        | 280              | 280  | 0      | 2.15                |
| Production workers | 52                        | 1480             | 1200 | 280    | 0.66                |
| Sales workers      | 3                         | 80               | 20   | 60     | 0.35                |
| Unclassified       | 1                         | 20               | 0    | 20     | 0.04                |
a regular income - either monthly or weekly.

Mrs Pe remarked that wages are generally so low that:

"... people never progressed in their personal lives - only for the government, council and dockyard personnel. Those in government jobs progressed, but others seem to get poorer."

There is an observable difference between the standard of living of people who are state-employed and those who are not. This difference is best observed in the difference in the types of housing provided as mentioned earlier.

On a number of occasions, however, people mentioned that there was no friction between the different income groups in Ocean View; they accept each other as they are socially and politically in the same situation. It cannot be said with absolute certainty that no social stratification exists between these two groups, as is illustrated by Mrs Pe's statement (see quotation on p. 29).

The major expenditures of the average Ocean View household can be said to be mainly of three types: rental payments, consumption expenditures and expenditure on transport.

Rental payments (more fully discussed under housing) have always been, and still are, thorns in the flesh of Ocean View residents. Rent constitutes the major proportion of their total expenditure, thus taking away a large portion of their disposable incomes.

The rental structure is calculated on a sliding scale based on the income of the household. This means that families have to spend over 20% of their wages on rent. But this is not all - there are some who have to pay up to 50% of their wages in rent. For the latter this is mainly because rental payments for the R0 - R150 income group are fixed at R33 per month. Thus, if you are in the shoes of Mr J of Ghost Town who is a handyman earning an average of R70 per month, nearly 45% of your wage is spent on rent alone.

Furthermore, if you should earn R1 more than R150 (i.e. R151) you would no longer fall in the R0 - R150 income group, and your rent would
consequently more than double. This applies even though the same house is still being occupied.

The rental policy of Divoo as applied to Ocean View is difficult to understand as it proves, in some cases, to be illogical and unreasonable. If a tenant is staying in a subeconomie house but earns an economic wage, he/she has to pay economic rent relative to his/her income, irrespective of the state of the house. If, on the other hand, the resident is living in an economic house but earns a sub-economic wage (R150 or less), they would pay a subeconomie rent in accordance with their income.

It is therefore not very surprising to find some people, living in a subeconomie house, paying a higher rent than those living in economic houses (and vice-versa). Thus rental payments are not necessarily concomitant with the facilities provided in the house.

"Die raad (council) verloor nooit - waar sal die raad verloor? Al bly jy in dieselfde huis en jou inkomste verskil, dan betaal jy meer." (Mr J)

"Ons moet maar net vat en hou wat ons het. En dit baat nie om te kla nie, want hulle het 'n drie-voet lank 'waiting list'." (Mrs Pa speaking about the possibility of complaining about the high rents)

Miss Ab also realizes the hopelessness of the situation when she adds:

"Ek aanvaar maar die rent, want alles is duur en dit help nie om te kla nie. 'n Mens moet maar maak soos hulle (Divoo) sê."

Mrs Pe is convinced that high rentals are the reason for the bad situation in Ocean View:

"Poverty in Ocean View is mainly due to the high rentals. A means of combatting poverty is to buy houses. That is why people here buy their houses, to get out of the grip of the council and its rent increases. There are rent increases every year."

A resident, who had bought her house, remarked that:

"These houses are not worth it for the price (+R11 000). But I could not otherwise but buy the damn place."
Although residents do not have a very high opinion of the types of housing provided, they would rather opt for buying their houses instead of having their pockets drained by paying astronomical rents.

Shopping (expenditure on subsistence necessities) also proves to be a matter of grave concern for Ocean View residents. The nearest supermarket is in Fish Hoek. Existing high transport costs make it expensive for residents of the area to use public transport to shop in Fish Hoek. It would therefore be economically more viable to shop at the cafés and mini-markets in Ocean View.

This is, however, not the case, as most residents prefer to do their shopping in Fish Hoek. They only buy the daily essentials such as milk, bread, etc. in Ocean View. In comparison to prices in Fish Hoek, Ocean View proves to be very expensive.

"Alles is so duur hier in Ocean View."
(Miss W)

(A project undertaken by a std. 7 class at the only high school in Ocean View indicates that, even if the transport costs are included, a given basket of goods is still cheaper in Fish Hoek than in Ocean View.)

In Ocean View itself, like many other townships, people who buy 'on the book' have to pay nearly double the price for goods bought on credit at the local cafés. This hits the already poor, immobile section of the community very hard. These are usually those people who only purchase a few items during a given period (usually weekly). For this section of the local population it is economically advantageous to shop in Ocean View, since total costs would be far greater (additional transport cost) if they should choose to travel to Fish Hoek.

High transport costs are another problem for most of the oppressed and exploited in South Africa. Those townships which are located far from the central districts are perhaps hardest hit - and Ocean View is no exception to the rule. Ocean View residents have very little option in deciding whether to use the public transport or not. This is chiefly because of the area's relative isolation from the outside world. Thus, whether they like it or not, these people have to travel if they wish.
to get to work or to entertainment spots (there are very few recreational facilities located within Ocean View).

Hence, it seems clear that residents have to commute by public (or private) transport. They are thus directly obliged to pay the high transport costs.

The rate by bus to Fish Hoek and back is R1.10 per trip and 80c per taxi. Thus an Ocean View resident, on average, has to spend between R5 and R6 per week in order to travel to work and back. That is assuming the person works in Fish Hoek. This might not seem so expensive at first glance (i.e. travel expenses of R6 per week), but what about those girls whom we have mentioned elsewhere who have to travel from Ocean View to factories in the Steenberg-Retreat and Wynberg areas to earn a mere R20 per week?

The residents of Ocean View have to pay a high price for their isolation although it is not a situation of their own making.

Much has been said in this section, and it would perhaps be desirable to give a brief summary of the main points that we wished to convey to our reader:

**Firstly** : Most of the Ocean View workers are employed either in the dockyard (Navy) or in factories in the neighbouring estates; fishing was the traditional occupation but is now dying due to the need for a stable, regular income, etc.

**Secondly** : The majority of those people who work in the factories generally earn a low wage in addition to being faced with the problem of being employed far from their homes; those working in the dockyard generally earn a higher wage than the rest of the labour force; this appears to be the case for all state employees;

**Thirdly** : The people of Ocean View have to contend with high rents as well as high transport costs and food prices. This reduces their disposable income by a large amount and
thus induces poverty in an area where adequate wages are not being earned. The lack of an adequate income reduces a family's chance of enjoying adequate opportunities and leading a reasonably comfortable life.

It would therefore appear that Ocean View can be classified as being a 'poor' area. We are not particularly concerned with theoretical explanations of poverty, but rather with its concrete manifestations.
SERVICES AND FACILITIES

(1) Public

Although shops are not a public facility, it is useful to examine the commercial sector to give the reader an indication of access as well as adequacy in the provision of necessary goods and services.

There is no large selection of shopping facilities in the area. Those that are there are to be found in the two 'complexes'. Firstly, there is the 'complex' in the Old Slangkop extension. This consists of two or three cafés. Secondly, there is the 'complex' situated near Hungry Hills. This houses a mini-market, a butchery, three cafés, the only liquor outlet and the only cinema in Ocean View.

The prices at these shops compared with those in areas such as Fish Hoek are relatively high. Many residents feel that these prices are far too high and very unreasonable.

Ocean View is very poorly equipped with recreational facilities. There is one library in the area, a sports field, a discotheque (housed in the 'Oak Cellars', which is the liquor outlet mentioned earlier), and .... absolutely nothing else!

There is not a single playpark in the area and children have nowhere to play. Numerous appeals made to the authorities over the years for the provision of such a facility have been in vain. There is no swimming pool. There is only one community hall which was originally a painting storehouse, later converted into a community hall.

The amenities which exist are meagre.

(2) Educational

There are only three schools in Ocean View proper: 2 primary schools and a single high school. There is also a training centre for the mentally handicapped which caters not only for Ocean View but also for other areas such as Steenberg, Retreat, etc.
The standard of education in Ocean View is generally regarded as being poor, largely because educational institutions are few.

Besides the major economic constraints which the pupil has to face, there is another problem of grave concern in that education is circumscribed:

"There is no attraction at the schools for the pupils. This is so 'cos besides the prescribed work, there is nothing else for them to do at school."
(Divco social worker)

Given their social as well as their economic background, it can be said that the pupils' incentive for attending school is very small indeed.

One of the major problems encountered is the extremely high truancy rate. Children are said to hide away in the surrounding bush and dunes, thus failing to turn up at school (contrary to the belief of the parents).

"Hier draai die kinders sommer elke dag stokkies."
(Mr J, Ghost Town resident)

"Previously it was said that the reason for this truancy is the home from which these children come. The parents were said to be non-academically orientated. This attitude has however changed, and it is now realised that the lack of interest to attend school can be linked to the general lack of facilities and societies e.g. art, drama ...."
(Miss Ab, teacher at the high school).

A second problem, closely related to the above, is the high drop-out rate (see table 4), the lowest percentage occurring in standards 6 and 10, the highest in standards 7, 8 and 9. The 1983 figures indicate that the drop-out rate for standards 6 and 10 was 5%, while that of standards 7 to 9 was between 11 and 13%. This means that a total of 61 students out of a grand total of 581 left school during the 1983 academic year alone.

The high drop-out rate for standards 7 to 9 is a phenomenon of special significance. The periods of drop-out (as well as the ages of the drop-outs) for these standards corresponds closely to the times of intake at the dockyard and the Navy. One would obviously (given that this study was merely a 'snap' survey of Ocean View) not like to deduce and hence conclude a causal relationship. It seems, however, highly likely
that there is a relation between the two (the social worker and some teachers certainly think so).

Other reasons cited for the high drop-out rate include the economic, social and even 'obstinateness of the youth'. Of all these, the first-mentioned is perhaps the most important due to the various increasing needs of both the pupil as well as his/her family which arise at this stage of his/her education.

Most importantly, the cost of completing a high school education is becoming increasingly expensive. The pupil has to be fed and housed as well as clothed - this must all be done with no additional income. More often than not families fail to cope, especially in the cases where more than one member of the household is at high school. It therefore happens that these pupils, who are also (in the words of one resident) 'ripe for employment', are thus forced to leave school to supplement the already meagre income of the household.

Furthermore, it was observed that many of these drop-outs were the direct result of pregnancies where, as a consequence, either the girl or both have to leave school (i.e. the boy has to seek some form of employment to give financial support to the concerned party or parties). Miss Ab, a local teacher, reports that pregnancies amongst school girls at the rate of ± 20 per annum is not a surprise.

The above was in a sense substantiated by Mr Ba, a local church minister, who expressed alarm at the great number of teenage marriages he has to conduct. The reason, he says, is mainly due to the high rate of pre-marital pregnancies, especially amongst those young adults who are still 'immature and should still be attending school'.

Lastly, there is, as one teacher inappropriately put it, 'the obstinateness of the youth'. What was meant was the lack of enjoyment and encouragement at school, as well as an insecure background. This results in a refusal ('obstinateness') by pupils to continue their schooling.
### TABLE 4

**SENIOR SEKONDÆRE SKOOL OCEAN VIEW**
**STATISTIEK: NOVEMBER 1983**
**INSKRYWINGS EN ONTREKKINGS 1976 EN 1980 - 1983**

A: aantal inskrywings aan die begin van die jaar.
B: aantal onttrekkings gedurende die jaar.
C: aantal aan die einde van die betrokke jaar.

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<td>9</td>
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<td>27</td>
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</table>

**GRAND TOTALS:** 415 464 535 491 581
The majority of the teachers at the three schools can be classified as being 'qualified'. These qualifications are not uniform, and range from educational levels of standard 8 plus a teacher's diploma, standards 9 and 10 plus a teacher's diploma to a degree plus a teacher's diploma. It is also fairly safe to say, for various reasons (e.g. departmental requirements) that those few who merely possess a matric certificate ('unqualified') are either furthering their qualifications by pursuing private studies, or are regarded as being 'temporarily employed'.

All of this might create the impression that Ocean View is provided with enough teachers. There is, however, another dimension to the picture: there is a constant and continuous struggle over the provision of teaching staff, as most teachers are reluctant to accept posts in the area. This is mainly due to the relative isolation of Ocean View. Hence, as one teacher argues:

"There is an absence of many good quality teachers at our schools here in Ocean View. They don't want to travel to this isolated place ... (W)hen I was in matric here at the high school, the first time that I saw a maths teacher was just before the September exams. The situation has seemingly improved since then."
(Miss Ab)

Student/teacher ratios appear to follow a pattern similar to other poverty stricken townships, i.e. 30-40 pupils per class, especially in the higher standards (6-8). This can be attributed to two factors:
(a) the reluctance of qualified teachers to accept permanent teaching posts at the schools in Ocean View, and
(b) overcrowded classrooms. The latter problem was temporarily relieved (at one school) with the erection of a few 'ready made' classrooms.

The educational horizons of students in Ocean View are extremely narrow. This is shown in that:

"One or two students out of an annual average of about 30 matriculants further their education at a college. They very seldom, if ever, go on to complete a university education."
(Mr Je, teacher).

Of these pupils, most prefer to pursue a career either in the dockyard or in the S A Navy, for reasons outlined earlier. The necessity and
opportunity for a 'good' education is thus minimal.

(3) Health

The health facilities in Ocean View are perceived to be adequate, according to both the day-hospital staff as well as local residents. The health services are provided by:

(a) one day-hospital and one clinic; these are housed in the same building (if you want to go to the day-hospital you enter by the backdoor; if you want to attend the clinic, you enter the building via the frontdoor);

(b) 2 private general practitioners;

(c) one dentist.

The latter two services in general cater for the higher income group, and are not stationed in the area on a permanent, regular basis as these professionals do not live in Ocean View themselves. Services are thus provided only during certain hours of the day.

The nursing sister at the clinic feels that the health service compares favourably with general standards laid down by the WHO regulations. The clinic supplies the preventative health services, while the day-hospital, on the other hand, provides the curative. We were, however, unsuccessful in our attempts to gain an interview with the head (or any other staff member, for that matter) of the day-hospital. (Permission from the head office in Belville was required). We therefore focused here on the clinic.

The clinic supplies services in the fields of family planning, V D treatment, child care, tuberculosis, malnutrition, etc. The extent of T B in Ocean View is not very high, but there is a reported increase in its occurrence. Overcrowding in the area is definitely a major cause of this increase. It is not only a contributory factor, but also tends to complicate treatment and control as many T B cases occur in silent proportions (i.e. 'illegal tenants').

One of the reasons why T B in Ocean View is not so high is because (when Ocean View was started) all residents were screened for T B. Most of
those residents who are currently receiving treatment are among the latest removees to Ocean View. There is a noticeable attempt on the part of the clinic to keep abreast of this new influx of cases.

The T B clinic is held once a month. One of the ways in which this disease is combatted is through continuous appeals for better and more housing. This stems from the fact that T B is primarily cause by socio-economic conditions.

The occurrence of malnutrition is not seen as being a major problem in the area.

"Nutrition in the area is not too bad, although it could be better"
(Mrs O, Divco clinic sister)

The residents are well nourished, but a problem was encountered with the 'new' squatters moving into the area from Noordhoek and Houtbay. Their children especially were found to be underweight. This necessitated the launching of a feeding scheme which:

"... would then go a far way to combating malnutrition, as well as T B in the area, although both diseases cannot be said to be of epidemic proportions."
(Mrs O, Divco clinic sister)

Home visits are felt to enhance the control of these poverty related diseases. The lack of staffing at the clinic, however, complicates the application of this method – there is a major imbalance between the clinic staff and the population of the area.

Ocean View, according to Mrs O, has the highest incidence of mental illness in the Peninsula. This is said to be genetically related (resulting from inter-marriage). This is especially noticeable amongst the older residents who are descendants of the Simonstown and Noordhoek areas. There is a lesser degree of mental illness in the younger generation than in the older generation. An indicator to the genetic pool in the area is the high incidence of albino's in the township.

Although the consumption of alcohol is reported to assume alarming proportions, alcoholism and other drug-related diseases do not, surprisingly, prove to be a matter of pressing concern; it's occurrence is fairly low ('normal'). Furthermore, it is felt by the nursing staff that these
problems/diseases can be adequately diagnosed and treated in the township. But, although diseases related to alcohol and drugs are not common, Sister O once again repeated what we have heard so many times— that alcohol, dagga, etc. are widely and openly abused.

There is a constant effort (on the part of the clinic) to ensure that all children in the area are adequately immunized against all common illnesses. Sister O estimated that 90-95% of all children in the area have been adequately immunized.

Other notifiable diseases such as diarrhoea, meningitis, measles, etc., are also treated where possible. These illnesses are, however, not a major problem, as they do not occur in any significant proportions (especially measles).

V D services are also provided. Mostly young men attend these clinics. Sister O was, however, unable to indicate how bad the situation is, as the attendance figures are never made known (i.e. that of the G.P's). Although V D is a notifiable disease, there is no way in which the volume of patients that seek the services of the general practitioners can be determined. It is believed that the G.P.'s do not usually relay this information to the clinic.

The clinic caters primarily for the R0 to R250 income group. T B and V D services are provided free of charge.

In retrospect, can one say that the services are adequate? Firstly, there is only one dentist — and he is supposed to provide dental services to a + 23 000 strong population. Secondly, there is no full-time private doctor in the area. Thirdly, the nearest general hospital is in False Bay. This proves to be problematic because, although the hospital is not far from Ocean View, transport problems do exist (especially at night). Most residents interviewed stated that the ambulance takes a long time to arrive in Ocean View:

"... (A)s jy dan vir 'n ambulans lui, dan vat hulle hul tyd om te kom."
(Mr J)

Criticism among the local population is therefore directed mainly at
the False Bay service:

"Some people here say 'you shouldn't go to the hospital in Fish Hoek because you are going to die' - so, you see, a certain suspicion did arise. People don't speak very well of the Fish Hoek hospital."
(Mr L)

The importance of this statement lies in the generally negative opinion of the service provided by the hospital. Of course, the statement can be, and in all probability is, unfounded. It should not be taken literally as it merely expresses an attitude.

"People with serious illnesses are taken to Fish Hoek hospital. It is the nearest, but the people there are racialistic. Different food is even given to different 'races' - And the fees are so high!"
(Mrs Pe)

Most residents, in contrast to their negative attitude towards the facilities and services in Fish Hoek, speak favourable of those in Ocean View itself.

"Die dag-hospitaal en die kliniek is altyd 'n baie groot hulp vir onse - die mense is baie gaaf daar."
(Mrs Pa)

(4) Transport

Public transport consists mainly of buses and taxies. They operate between Fish Hoek station and Ocean View. Most residents feel that the public transport is adequate during the week. They are, however very critical of the inadequacy and irregularity of the service over weekends, especially on Sundays.

Residents complain that because of the lack of recreational facilities in Ocean View, weekend entertainment has to be sought outside. But, due to the irregularity, unreliability and inadequacy of public transport, they have to leave the area for the whole weekend (unless arrangement for private transport is made).

During the week there are two main movements of people: between 5:15 and 7:00 a.m. and 6:00 - 7:00 p.m., the former being the main efflux period while the latter is the main influx period.
Monitoring this efflux and influx to and from the township, we found it striking that the residents have to leave Ocean View so early. From about 5:15 to 7:00 a.m. there is a steady stream of workers to the bus stops. It appears as if someone had woken the township into a hub of movement. During this period, the buses seem to leave the area at two-minute intervals, each bus being packed to capacity. This torrent of movement suddenly ceases at around 7:00 a.m.

After 7:00 a.m. the township returns to its tranquil slumber. Of course there are still people who leave the area later, but in comparison to the earlier stream it is merely a trickle. The buses are less frequent after 7:00 a.m., and the queues at the bus stops are very much shorter.

We spoke to a number of commuters. Most replied that they have to leave Ocean View between 5:30 and 6:30 a.m. in order to be in time for work (most start at 8:00 a.m.). Thus, roughly two hours is spent in travelling to work. This, it is said, is very tiring and unnecessary. They blame it on the relative isolation of the township.

The process described above is repeated in the evenings i.e. when the work force returns to Ocean View. The situation becomes extremely confusing, as train-loads of people reach Fish Hoek station simultaneously and in quick succession. Most of these people use the public transport (bus or taxi) to get to Ocean View. Therefore the queues at the bus-stops lapse into total confusion when the bus makes its appearance. Everybody wants to board the bus or taxi first to reach home a little earlier. The buses during this period are nearly all filled to the brim. This big scramble is observed with the arrival of every train.

"Somebody can still be killed if it continues like this. That's why I prefer to stand here on one side and rather wait till the rush is over."

(Commuter)

Another described the situation as 'bordering on the chaotic'.

The fares for using the two public services are as follows (see also section C):

(a) Bus: 55 cents per trip, i.e. R1,10 to travel from Ocean View to Fish Hoek and back. For a five day week this works out at R5,50. Most commuters buy clip-cards, which reduces the price
a little

(b) Taxi: 45 cents per one-way trip.

(5) General

Roads: The general consensus in the area is that these are adequately catered for.

Lighting also appears to be adequate.

The general conditions of the roads, although sub-standard, can be said to be usable for all purposes.

The roads in the older extensions are poorly constructed, one half of the road being of cement, while the other is gravel. This situation creates problems.

In the newer sections, especially in Hungry Hills, the roads are in excellent condition.
|                | 2-rmd | 3-rmd | 4-rmd | 5-rmd | 6-rmd | Total | Total | Home- | TOTAL |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------| owner|       |
|                | Sub-  | Econ  | Sub-  | Econ  | Sub-  | Econ  | Sub-  | Eco- |       |
|                | Econ  |       | Econ  |       | Econ  |       | Econ  |       |       |
| (a) Flats      | -     | -     | 192   | 96    | 204   | 108   | -     | -    | - 396 204 |
| (b) Detached   | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | 19    | -     | -    | - 19   |
| (c) Maisonettes| -     | -     | -     | -     | 21    | 142   | 68    | 28   | - 89   170 |
| (d) Semi-detached| 36   | -     | 72    | -     | 72    | 26    | 20    | 9    | - 200  35 |
| (e) Row Houses | -     | -     | -     | -     | 122   | -     | 6     | -    | - 128  699 |
|                | 36    | -     | 264   | 96    | 419   | 276   | 113   | 37   | - 832  409 |
|                |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |      | 1241  699 |
|                |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |      | 1940  |

TABLE 5

OCEAN VIEW ESTATE

DWELLING UNITS 1983
Since about 1968, when the first 136 economic cottages were built by Divco, the number of housing units has been increased to about 1940 (September 1983). 1241 of these units are let by Divco. These include 409 economic and 832 sub-economic houses. In addition to the rental scheme, there are also 699 home-ownership units. There are also a further 60 units provided by the S A Navy for use by its personnel.

In the rental scheme there are different kinds of housing. The main types of accommodation provided are the flats, maisonettes, row-houses, semi-detached and detached houses. The differences between these are obvious.

The distinction between economic and sub-economic lies in the fact that the former type is provided with hot water, while the latter does not offer this luxury. The people who are supposed to afford an economic house are those who earn a monthly income of not less than R150 (i.e. an economic wage according to Divco policy). Those earning less than R150 per month qualify for sub-economic housing (i.e. they earn a sub-economic wage).

No definite cases of overcrowding were encountered during our fieldwork exercise. This, however, does not imply that there is none. Residents' reluctance to report the true and exact number of residents in their household is understandable. If such reports are followed up by the council, the family would be faced with eviction and possible prosecution.

Informal sources lead us to believe that 4 families per house is not uncommon. Reasons given by the representative of Divco, Mr T, include

(a) children get married and, because of the lack of available housing, simply move in with parents;
(b) friends come to visit from 'up-country', and then decide to stay permanently;
(c) 'illegal tenants' are being housed nearly everywhere.

Obviously, all of this is being done without the consent or knowledge
of Divco. One can therefore understand the difficulty in obtaining information on overcrowding. A local newspaper, however reported a household in Ocean View with 36 members.

The self-confessed unreliable mean household size for Ocean View, as calculated and estimated by Divco, is approximately 5.23 persons per household.

There is also the added difficulty of the size of the houses:

"My children don't know anything better than a bunk here ... it is too overcrowded to have beds also. Other people around here erected sheds because of the need for more space. The council then forced them to break it (the sheds) down."

(Mrs Pe)

Another commented that:

"Dit is te beknap hier; 'n mens het sô geen privaatheid nie - veral in die flats."

(Miss Ab)

Still another resident commented that:

"I grew up in these box-type houses - the government has a pre-planned style of architecture for our people. For me it is hopelessly too small. One wants space to breathe and have a healthy mind. How can you if you are boxed in like this?"

(Mr Le)

Many people complain about the inadequacy of the houses - both in quantity as well as quality. The most pressing problem (apart from the shortage where Divco claims a five-year waiting list) is the small sizes of the houses, as well as the limited number of rooms per home.

All of this causes many problems such as the inability to separate the family along age and sex lines. This in turn causes many social problems like inter-family relationships. In other cases there is a large range in ages of room-mates, e.g. grand-parents sharing a room with grandchildren, etc.

Many residents labelled the quality of housing as 'down-right poor'.

Mrs Jo, a resident in the old Slangkop extension, reports that water from the apartment above leaks into hers. The council has apparently
fixed the fault, but the problem persists.

"Dit wys net die swak gehalte van die huise in geheel."
(Mrs Jo)

Fungi on the walls has been widely reported in the area. This appears to be a widespread problem.

"The house is very damp. All the corners go green in the winter (not of the cold!) and the walls become damp. There is also a problem with bugs."
(Miss Ab)

"Die mure word klam in die winter. Toe ons nuutlings hier ingetrek het was dit baie koud. Dan maak ons vuur in 'n 'gally' en bring dit binne-in die huis in om die kamers warm te maak. Ons het toe almal siek geword, en nou doen ons dit nie meer nie."
(Miss W, Ghost Town)

The residents of the newly constructed 'temporary' iron shacks bear the full brunt of the winter. The houses consist of a cement floor base with zinc walls one sheet thick. The area is partitioned into a kitchen and two small bedrooms by hard-board.

Another major problem is the presence of bugs in the houses. This was reported about two weeks after people had moved into the new Hungry Hills extension. There is, and this was confirmed by a Divco rep., no other explanation for this phenomenon than the poor quality of the building materials used in the construction of these houses. The new maisonnettes are said to be especially poor in this respect.

Not everybody was, however, so scornful of the quality of the housing. The Noordhoek people feel that the quality of their present housing is much better that what they were used to in Noordhoek.

The 'Simonstownites' on the other hand are openly disdainful of the quality of housing. This difference in opinion can be attributed to the different backgrounds of the two 'groups', the 'Noordhoek people' having come out of a poorer area than the 'Simonstown people'.

What is evident, however, is that in neither case was the quality praised -
everybody seemed to agree that the standard could have been better, and that there was much scope for improvement.

(2) Rent structure

Previous discussions on household expenditure (see Section D-3) have given an indication of the monthly rental payments of residents, depending on the type of dwelling occupied and monthly income. Apart from the rent, there is also the water (included) and electricity accounts which have to be paid. The provision of water and electricity is adequate. A complaint that was heard frequently is that the electricity supply is often interrupted during the winter.

Electricity fees vary, but range between R20 and R30 per month. Some people, especially in the Ghost Town section, do not use electricity as it is considered a luxury and too expensive. For example, Mr J of Ghost Town sees no reason for using electricity in his house when his family cannot afford it. They had anyway, he says, always coped in Noordhoek without it. To save a few badly needed rands he had his electricity supply cut off. He and his family have been using candles for the past eight years. He (Mr J) is typical of many like him.

Very few residents have to pay water accounts. This is as a result of council policy only to charge for the use of water if the resident uses an amount in excess of about 1000 kl per month. It is therefore not surprising that one gets reports of residents having to pay water accounts of 2 cents and 5c per month!

Apart from electricity and water payments, there is also the question of general repairs and maintenance.

Most of the residents inform the council of any repairs that need to be done. It is said that the response to such complaints is relatively quick, obviously depending on the waiting list of other complaints already lodged by other residents. Mr Jo, however, does not go to the council for any repairs to 'his' house as the fees charged are reported to be
too high. He complains of having once had to pay R9 just to have a window installed. As he says:

"Hier is niks vir niks nie — hulle (council) 'instal' en 'fix' kamma alles, en 7 dae daarna dan kry jy die groot rekening."
(Mr Jo, Ghost Town).

Although the council's fees for repairs are high they are cheaper than the cost of doing it oneself or hiring a contractor.
G. CONCLUSION

The hardships (economic, social & otherwise) which the residents of Ocean View have experienced and still are experiencing are the result of forced removals from areas which have been the 'historical homes of many of these Coloured families since the earliest days of slavery'.

At the core of this whole process was the Group Areas Act which in itself was not an isolated measure. The forced removals of people from areas which were the most beautiful in the Western Cape, such as Simonstown, to such barren, bare and almost always isolated places as Ocean View, warrants a closer scrutiny of the issues at stake.

When one consider the application of Group Areas in Cape Town, two aspects are of specific importance (both relating to the provision of 'new' and 'alternative' forms of accommodation):

One has firstly to look at where and how people are living in Cape Town, and secondly, why they live where and how they do. There are over 120 Group Areas which have been declared 'Coloured' in the Western Cape; the specific shape of Cape Town itself can be seen as a reflection of the broader structure of South African society. We have areas such as Bishop's Court and Constantia Estate, and other (poorer) townships such as Ocean View, reflecting the differences in the housing of the poor and the rich.

But this in itself does not tell us much; it does not tell us why there are poor and why there are 'plush' areas. One cannot simply assert that there are poor areas such as Ocean View because there are poor people, or say that there are 'plush' areas because there are rich people. It is, in this regard, important to question critically why there is an unequal distribution of resources/wealth as well as the relationship of this phenomenon to apartheid policies executed through the implementation of the Group Areas Act.

It is by means of this Act that government exercises power over who may live in Cape Town and where such people may live. The resulting distress and aversion has, in preceding sections of this report, been clearly expressed by Ocean View residents. These are the people who were disqualified from their land and homes in 1968, under the Group Areas Act (No 44 of 1950, as amended), and dumped in isolation.
But, what is the motive which those in power use to justify these removals and segregation along racial lines? What are the objectives underlying this whole process?

In 1967 the Department of Community Development identified the following objectives of such a plan for 'coloured' and 'Indian' townships:

"Objective I: A group area must be planned as a co-ordinated whole and its relation to any regional planning or adjacent town planning must be considered. PIECEMEAL and sporadic planning can thus be avoided. The aims in the establishment of a group area are as follows:

(1) to establish and preserve the rights of occupation and ownership of land for the particular racial group. This is achieved through the application of the Group Areas Act by the Group Areas Board with the approval of the Minister of Planning;

(2) to provide the necessary facilities and amenities required for individual and community development;

(3) to provide for eventual control and administration by the inhabitants themselves."

(Quoted in Western: 1981, pp72-73)

It is within these confines that townships like Ocean View were 'developed'. Without wishing to engage in a long debate about these 'objectives' (it is not only unnecessary, but would also be a waste of time) a few brief comments will show how this aim is refuted by the situation in Ocean View:

On aim 1: the mere existence of Ocean View indicates that this aim has been achieved to a certain extent. But it was not a natural movement; extra political coercion in the form of the Group Areas Act was required to realize the forced removal of Simonstown, Noordhoek and Glencairn residents. These people had no reason to move voluntarily as they were much better off then than they are now.

On aim 2: after nearly 20 years of existence, Ocean View still has no adequate 'facilities and amenities' to serve the needs of its rapidly growing population.
On aim 3: the aim to provide eventual control and administration by the inhabitants themselves is organised around various processes leading to this eventuality. Management Committees are one expression of this but although there is such a committee in Ocean View, it is not very popular with local residents because it is appointed. The people maintain that the Ocean View Management Committee is a 'puppet body' collaborating with the authorities while not being elected by the residents themselves.

The Group Areas Act sealed the fate of Ocean View residents. How can anyone justify dumping people who once lived happily in a barren, windy place, with no facilities, no decent housing (quantitatively as well as qualitatively), no jobs, and such high transport costs because of its isolation? Thousands of people are cramped into a small and overpopulated piece of land; into

"... those breeding places of permanent social backwardness, those great, ugly complexes of matchbox dwellings on a streetless wasteland." (Adam Small)

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