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Poverty in Port Elizabeth

by

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THE PRESENT STATE OF PORT ELIZABETH

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Synopsis

This paper puts some factual material together with impressions, accounts and estimates, to provide information about conditions in Port Elizabeth with regard to employment, incomes, housing and health.

Port Elizabeth has been particularly hard-hit by the recession, and unemployment, which has tended to be high for a long time, has reached huge dimensions. Coupled with this has been very serious neglect of housing provision so that now, in a Black population estimated at over 300 000, more than one-third live in shacks, and the picture for Coloureds, whilst not of these proportions, is also dismal.

This has already had serious repercussions on the health of the community, as evidenced in the measles epidemic of 1983.

The paper looks at how this situation has developed and its prognosis. Whilst there are plans for the extensive construction of houses, recent alterations in public housing policy and the failure to allocate the necessary finance suggest that there will be little real change in the near future.

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THE PRESENT STATE OF PORT ELIZABETH

(i) Population

The 1980 Census gives the following breakdown of the population of Port Elizabeth:

	<u>All Population Groups</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Coloureds</u>	<u>Asians</u>	<u>Blacks</u>
T	561 700	149 700	127 340	5300	277 840
M	277 520	74 940	60 680	2840	138 240
F	284 180	74 760	66 660	2460	139 600

By 1983 the numbers in all population groups had increased, but the figure for Blacks seems to be particularly subject to guesswork. The Urban Foundation, for example, assumes a 'very conservative' growth rate of 6% per annum, i.e. almost 330000 by 1983 (R. Matlock: Provisional Report: Potential Role of U.F. in Development of New Housing for Blacks in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, 1983). Mr. L. Koch, Chief Director of the Eastern Cape Administration Board (ECAB) released the figure of 340 300 to the Eastern Province Herald in April 1983, and a report into a Measles outbreak in 1983 estimates 355 000 (Investigation of an Outbreak of Measles in Port Elizabeth April to May 1983 n.d.). A part of this growth comes from the natural increase of the existing urban population, but another unknown proportion consists of people who were born elsewhere settling in Port Elizabeth. No statistics are available on the provenance of immigrants, but most sources agree that they are people who originate in the Eastern Cape (only the City Health Authorities thought that many come from the Transkei and Ciskei), and are of two sorts: (a) holders of Section 10 rights in smaller towns of the Eastern Cape who thus have the right to live in Port Elizabeth, and (b) people without Section 10 rights who come from white farms where their labour is no longer required because of the drought, mechanisation and natural population increase. This is probably correct for, in the recent removal of a group of squatters from the flood plain of the Chatty River, ECAB monitored their status and discovered that only 17 per cent were 'illegals' without Section 10 rights. Thus, in a sample where the proportion of 'illegals' was likely to be high, the overwhelming majority came either from Port Elizabeth but were unable to find housing, or from other towns in the Eastern Cape where they already had Section 10 rights. In the opinion of Mr. Swanepoel the ECAB Director of Housing, only 10 to 15 per cent of immigrants to Port Elizabeth come from Transkei and Ciskei, and even then they have often been only temporary sojourner

in the 'Homelands' between leaving the farms and deciding that Port Elizabeth was a more promising place to find a job. Of the inhabitants of the settled townships, fewer than 10 per cent are 'illegals' (ECAB Director of Housing). This means that there are at least 270 000 Blacks in Port Elizabeth who have every legal right to be there. This is a particularly noteworthy figure since, until 1978, Port Elizabeth was a Coloured Labour Preference Area. However, although the Black population has grown considerably in recent years, it was substantial even before the change in labour policy.

The population of Port Elizabeth classified Coloured is the largest outside the Cape Peninsula. In a survey conducted in 1977, the population growth rate was calculated at 3,4 per cent (A. Gibbon: Socio/economic/demographic Survey of Port Elizabeth's Coloured Population: Port Elizabeth Municipal Housing Department: Research Report Number 1, 1978). Using the 1980 Census as a base, we can derive the size of the present population as 140 775. However, Mr. A. Gibbon, Assistant Director of Housing for the Port Elizabeth Municipality (P.E.M.) estimates that the growth rate has declined over the past few years to about 2 per cent. We can say only, therefore, that this population is between 135 134 (assuming a 2 per cent growth rate) and 140 775 (assuming a 3,4 per cent growth rate). Whilst there may have been a decline in the birthrate which would account for a part of this decline in the population growth rate, a part of the decline is attributable to the large-scale movement of artisans from the shrinking labour market of Port Elizabeth to the perceived opportunities of the Rand.

The fact that the rate of population growth may have diminished must not blind us to the fact that the population is still on the increase. A part of this growth is accounted for by natural increase, but almost 20 per cent of those classified Coloured in 1977 were not 'native' to the area. The majority of the immigrants came from rural and small urban centres within a relatively tight radius of Port Elizabeth, with very few coming from the Border areas or the Western Cape and none from Transkei and Ciskei (Gibbon *ibid.*).

(ii) Employment

The dominant position of motor manufacturing in the economy of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage metropolitan district is revealed in the fact that motor vehicle-related activities account for 61,3 per cent of the total locally manufactured product (V. Renders: Input-Output Analysis, U.P.E. 1980). Other manufacturing activities are: food processing (12 per cent), footwear (cent), wool, spinning and clothing (3 per cent) and others (9.7 per

cent) (ibid). Thus, when the car industry is in trouble, this is reflected in the economy as a whole, with serious implications for employment. Ford and General Motors employ between them nearly 9000 hourly-paid workers (Ford 5500, G.M. 3200). Ford's announced retrenchment of 450 workers in January this year bodes ill for employment in other factories in car-related activities.

The decline in employment in the car industry is exacerbated by secular decline in activity in other sectors of the local economy. The number of containers handled in Port Elizabeth docks was down by 33,5 per cent between November 1981 and November 1982. Similarly, electricity consumption was 12,1 per cent down on November 1981 (Eastern Province Chamber of Industries' Newsletter, November 1982). Between 1972 and 1976 the metropolitan region had the lowest percentage increase per annum in manufacturing for any region of the Republic: Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage 2,6 per cent, R.S.A. 5,2 per cent (Renders: op. cit.).

Port Elizabeth has, besides manufacturing, large Service and Distribution sectors. Though it is not possible to establish any accurate figures for employment and unemployment it does appear that over recent years there has been an absolute decline in employment. This recent decline has been built upon a situation, even when the economy was more buoyant, of very high unemployment which has been exacerbated by economic recession and in-migration.

In a survey conducted in October 1977 'for every 3,3 employed Coloured persons, 1 Coloured person was actively seeking employment' (A. Gibbon: Employment patterns - Port Elizabeth's Coloured population - Port Elizabeth Municipal Housing Department: Research Report Number 3, 1979). Official figures from the Department of Statistics for October 1977 give 4467 unemployed Coloured adults in Port Elizabeth. However, projections from the Housing Department Survey suggest that work-seeking adults numbered 9202 in that month, suggesting that more than half of those seeking work did not register with the Department of Manpower, and are therefore not recorded in the official unemployment figures (ibid.).

If the unemployment figures for people classified Coloured are not accurately reflected in official statistics, it is probable that this is a fortiori so for those classified Black. In September 1983 the Chief Director of the Eastern Cape Administration Board said that only 2528 'Africans' had registered as unemployed in Port Elizabeth. He stressed that "thousands

more" could be unemployed since those with Section 10.1(a) and (b) rights are no longer required to register at the Labour Bureau (Eastern Province Herald 7.9.83).

One of the problems in estimating unemployment levels is that the size of the economically active population is not known. Another is the difficulty of distinguishing between unemployment and underemployment: people manage to get a few days work here and there, they start up little stalls selling perishables on the street in order to make ends meet, and so on. Estimates therefore vary wildly: the Secretary of MACWUSA thought that about 25 per cent of the township population is unemployed; a priest whose parish includes the Little Soweto squatter area thought that only 30 per cent of his parishioners had secure employment. Between these extremes, a Black social worker and PEBCO (Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation) executive thought that 50 per cent would not be an inaccurate estimate of the proportion of unemployed, and the priest in Zwide township estimated that about 30 per cent of his parish was unemployed in 1983.

It should be mentioned here that the White working class is not immune from the ravages of the recession. The Department of Manpower issued a figure of 828 unemployed Whites in September 1983 and there is a significant group of 'poor Whites' living in the suburbs of Algoa Park and Sidwell whose situation will be covered in the next section.

(iii) Income and Housing

The most pressing problem for Port Elizabeth is housing, indeed it has an officially recognised housing crisis. The enormity of the problem can be judged by the government's despatching of elder statesman Louis Rive early in 1983 to carry out an inquiry into Black housing in Port Elizabeth. His conclusion was that R300 000 000 needed to be allocated immediately to rehouse shackdwellers and those living in overcrowded conditions. Because of the government's decision that all future housing for those earning over R150 per month should be self-financing and that the government subsidy would be provided only for services, the amount of money that people earn now becomes crucial in deciding the kind of housing that they will be able to afford to occupy. It is for this reason that housing and income levels are being dealt with here in relation to one another.

Contrary to the belief of many Port Elizabeth citizens, the appalling housing conditions in the shack areas cannot be blamed on the illegal influx of people into the city. Mr. Koch, Chief Director of ECAB has stated that 'about 90 per cent of the people who live there are in the city legally'

(E.P. Herald 27. 4.83). Indeed, the housing crisis has a long history that reflects exceedingly ill on those responsible: the housing authorities and policy makers.

In 1950 the number of Blacks needing rehousing was put at 20 000. The figure in 1984 is at least 120 000. The kind of ad hoc response to the 'fifties housing crisis which has never been rectified by a concerted attack on the problem is demonstrated by the story of how the motor companies provided packing cases for people to live in which were intended to last a maximum of five years. In 1984, thirty years later, they are still standing and accommodating people in the area known as Kwaford. Two years ago the Ford Motor Company 'gained a social conscience' and contributed R1 million towards the upgrading of the area which, embarrassingly, bore the company's name, but this has provided only 140 houses (Personnel Director, Ford).

In 1966 it was announced that Red Location, an old area of acute overcrowding, decrepit buildings and backyard shacks was to be cleared and rebuilt; today ECAB is still agonising about how to do it: where to get the money, where to put the people whilst rebuilding is going on, where to put the overflow when numbers are brought within statutory limits.

The problem of housing pre-dates the establishment of the Administration Boards in 1972 and arose when new land was required for developing Black townships in 1969. This marked the beginning of a dispute over the positioning of Group Areas in Port Elizabeth which did not end until 1979 and the publication of the Greater Algoa Bay Guide Plan. In those ten years the P.E. Housing Department still had designated land available for housing people classified Coloured, and so the backlog there is not quite so overwhelming, though, as we shall see, it is still large. During those ten years, however, almost no housing for Blacks was built.

In order to provide some grasp of the dimensions of the problem we draw on an Urban Foundation report on housing requirements in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Despatch. It estimates that there is a shortfall of at least 20 000 houses in Port Elizabeth, and that houses must now be built at a rate of at least 7 300 per year (many times the current rate of a few hundred) 'to catch up with the current backlog within ten years and thereafter to keep pace with future growth' (R. Matlock: op.cit.)

Before we look at proposals for how this is to be done, we need to know something about housing conditions and income levels.

(a) Coloured Housing and Incomes

The so-called Coloured Group Area comprises 7000 hectares towards the west of Port Elizabeth. There has been only one large-scale and much-protested removal: from South End, an old and colourfully cosmopolitan, racially mixed area of housing and businesses between the city centre and the beach suburb of Humewood. Like District Six, it now lies empty of all but sand, weeds and mosques. The density of population in the various suburbs is given in the following table:

<u>Residential Area</u>	<u>Housing units</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Density</u>
Korsten/Schauderville	3358	21 289	6,34
Chatty	3270	20 622	6,30
Gelvandale	5438	35 067	6,45
Bethelsdorp/Missionvale	5920	37 852	6,39
Booysens Park	998	6 696	6,71

Source: A. Gibbon, Port Elizabeth Municipal Housing Dept. Annual Report.
 Note: 'Housing Unit' includes shacks, chiefly in Chatty and Bethelsdorp.

In his 1977 survey Gibbon demonstrated that occupancy rates varied with type of occupancy as follows:

	<u>Households per unit</u>	<u>Persons per unit</u>	<u>Per cent of Population</u>
Occupancy type			
Erf ownership (1)	1,52	6,91	8,6
Purchased units (1)	1,12	6,32	
Economic rented (2)	1,15	6,00	
Sub-economic rented (2)	1,09	6,38	77,5
Squatter/slum (3)	1,16	6,16	13,9
MEAN	1,17	6,30	

Source: Gibbon 1978

(1) Erf ownership and purchased units: owner either purchased land and later constructed the house, or purchased the complete unit from the P.E. Municipality. In many cases these have been extended and improved by the owners. Outbuildings have often been converted to living quarters, thus accounting for the high occupancy rates. (2) Municipal rented dwellings: in 1977 7410 sub-economic and 3873 economic units were being rented. From late 1983 these were being offered to tenants for freehold purchase. (3) Squatter/slum dwellings: temporary shacks constructed by the owners, generally not conforming to minimum standards and sometimes outside the

confines of the Coloured Group Areas. Under the 1976 Prevention of Squatting Act the local authority was required to number existing shacks and not allow any more to be erected. However, the pressure on housing is such that new shacks constantly appear. The Housing Department attempts to cope with the worst features of this by providing taps and minimum services and ensuring that sufficient space is left for fire engines and garbage trucks to enter but this is clearly nothing but an emergency response to a situation which has continued for years, and which has not yet been resolved though there has been considerable improvement. In 1977 there were 15 674 people (13,9 per cent of the population) living in 2618 shacks; in March 1983 this had been reduced to 8760 people (7,3 per cent of population).

Variations in household income according to the various types of occupancy provides some insight into reasons for the persistence of squatting :

Nature of Occupancy	Primary h'hold	Secondary h'hold	Average
Erf ownership	R512,09	R527,20	R516,9
Purchased units	403,43	248,70	385,0
Economic rented	315,35	177,87	295,4
Sub-economic rented	199,29	125,00	194,0
Squatter/slum	144,46	114,24	140,3
MEAN	277,54	274,45	277,1

The highest household incomes occur in erf ownership and the lowest in the secondary households (tenants) of squatter slums. In October 1977, the time of the survey, 32,7 per cent of the households had total earnings of less than R150 per month. The Household Subsistence Level for Coloured households in October 1977 was R145,13 per month in Port Elizabeth (Potgieter, J.P. The Household Institute for Planning Research, U.P.E.), suggesting that 6837 households were living ^{below or} only just above the minimum subsistence level. There is no reason to suppose that the situation has improved in the interim, since, although incomes have been rising, there is more unemployment and the consumer index has been rising even faster. In addition to poverty, of course, people live in shacks because of the lack of any alternative housing. Yet another reason for the persistence of squatting is the complete absence of industrial and other employment opportunities within the Coloured Group Areas. People tend to squat close to work and, as new townships are developed, so the distances and the costs of commuting increase and squatting becomes

the only alternative. As one might expect, the inhabitants of squatter shacks are deprived in multiple ways: not only do they have the worst housing and lowest incomes, but they have the lowest levels of education as well.

The latest housing provision for people classified Coloured is Booyens Park, a purchased unit development, where the government provided the finance which has to be repaid by the local authority's giving loans to the purchasers. Although the occupiers were carefully vetted for their ability to afford the repayments, in January 1984 there were 142 households which were two months or more in arrears. Repayments are R206 per month. It appears that amongst these more affluent people, disaster can easily strike: commuting costs are higher than anticipated, one may take on heavy hirepurchase commitments in order to live up to the higher expectations of the neighbourhood and then it requires only one thing to go wrong - illness or short-time or retrenchment of the bread-winner, major repairs to the commuter's car - for these families to be no longer able to make ends meet. There is clearly something amiss with a house building policy that results in uncontrollable indebtedness amongst purchasers in up-market estates and no housing at all for 1748 families living in 1602 shacks. As the City Hall correspondent commented in a scathing attack: This Council cannot turn its back on conditions under which thousands of its citizens live. They concern everyone because those people are part of the city (Denise Boutall:E.P. Herald, 4.5.83).

(b) Black housing and incomes

The Black Group Area covers the following townships at present: some new ones are under construction, particularly a large one called Motherwell, about 17 kms from the city centre. No accurate data are available to construct overall population densities, but Mr. R. Matlock of the Port Elizabeth Urban Foundation estimates an average of about 700 per hectare - 600 above the recommended norm. The table below shows occupancy rates in the various townships:

<u>Residential Area</u>	<u>Housing Units</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Occupancy/ Unit</u>
New Brighton	8 041	67 634	8.4
Kwazakele	11 652	100 028	8.6
Zwide (1)	7 063	79 800	11,3
Soweto/Veeplaas (3)	8 471	90 000	10,6
Walmer (2)	377	2 955	7,8
TOTAL	35 604	330 417	9,3

Source : Eastern Cape Administration Board, May 1983

- (1) New Brighton, Kwazakele and Zwide are traditional brick three- and four-roomed house townships established in that chronological order. They date from the era when Port Elizabeth Municipality was responsible for Black housing. New Brighton includes a shack area known as Red Location as well as Kwaford, where the original houses (now being replaced) were packing cases. Zwide has a shack area including the Railway Reserve. In all three areas there are outhouses converted into dwelling space and shacks built in the yards.
- (2) Walmer Location lies on the fringe of the White suburb of the same name. An attempt to remove this "black spot" has been thwarted (or delayed) by a concerted campaign of the inhabitants, with the support of local churches. Squatter shacks have been erected between Walmer and the Airport.
- (3) Soweto/Veeplaas is the main squatter area in Port Elizabeth. It lies between Zwide extension and the Chatty River. Part of the area near the river is subject to flooding and five hundred families were removed from there in August 1983 following disastrous floods in the winter. They have been moved with their shacks to the fringe of the planned Motherwell township.

The following table shows the frequency distribution of households per dwelling, factored up:

	New Brighton	Kwazakele	Zwide	Total
One household	54,5	65,8	48,4	58,2
Two households	35,8	22,9	38,5	30,7
Three households	6,3	9,6	12,3	9,1
Four + households	3,4	1,7	0,8	2,0
	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: J. Erwee: Consumer Behaviour and Shopping Patterns of Black Households in Port Elizabeth: A Re-appraisal. U.P.E. 1982.

Erwee's 2 per cent sample survey of township house units shows that 'more than 40 per cent of the households shared accommodation ... and in more than 10 per cent of cases, three or more families share the same house.' In the shack area the average number of people per dwelling was 10,8. Though the conditions in the shack area are appalling the number of people per room is not much worse than in sub-economic rented dwellings, as the table below demonstrates:

Nature of Occupancy	Number of persons per room
Erf Ownership	1,04
Purchased units	1,17
Economic rented	1,98
Squatter/slum	2,12
MEAN	1,56

Source: *ibid.*

This is because shacks can be extended relatively easily to accommodate relatives and lodgers. Overcrowding is nonetheless severe, with 60 per cent of the shacks housing 10 or more people.

Conditions in the established townships are typical: only bus routes are tarred, pavements are stony, forcing people to walk on the streets in danger of being knocked down, many areas have no streetlighting or domestic electricity supply. Where there is electricity, blackouts are frequent. There are no parks or off-street play areas and few shopping centres. More expensive housing has been built in Fordville (financed by Ford, but only 10 per cent occupied by Ford employees) and is planned for Kwamagxake, after which, the local director of Urban Foundation estimates, the market for expensive housing will be saturated.

Soweto has a population of something between 80-90 000. (Deputy Minister of Cooperation and Development, Hansard 27.4.83) and 120 000 (Urban Foundation: December 1983, ECAB: January 1984) people in 8500 - 9000 shacks. The first shacks appeared in 1975 with accelerated growth since 1981. Ironically the original inhabitants moved there to get away from overcrowded conditions in the old townships, and in the hope of being more rapidly rehoused as squatters than as lodgers. The newest section is called Endlovini (without permission, by force), a reflection of how people perceive their claim to live there.

Soweto is grossly overcrowded and insanitary. Until recently there were only 36 stand-pipes for the entire area; there are now 145, equivalent to approximately 60 shacks or 600 people per tap. Originally sewerage was disposed of by pit latrines, but because of the clay soil they tended to collapse and overflow in wet weather. A bucket system is now provided but, according to residents, they still need pit latrines because the collection is inadequate, frequently resulting in 'overflow and random dumping of sewerage' (Measles Investigation, *op.cit.*). Waste and rubbish is removed once a week, but again this appeared to be inadequate judging by the heaps of garbage rotting in pools of stagnant water. The storm drains are similarly insufficient and frequently

clogged with refuse. Pools of water remain for as long as three days after rainfall. Food is sold at fly-infested street stalls. 'There is no obvious malnutrition amongst children, but 38 per cent of those admitted to hospital in the measles epidemic of 1983 were found to be below the third percentile weight for age' (ibid)

Contrary to what one might suppose, not all the people living in shacks do so because they cannot afford proper housing: there is simply no alternative housing available. Many workers at Ford and General Motors, who are amongst the highest paid in the area, are forced to live in shacks for lack of available accommodation (Mr. F. Ferreira, Ford and Mr. G. Stegman, G.M. Personnel Departments). However there is a strong correlation between type of dwelling, householder or lodger status and income, as the following table demonstrates:

Average Monthly Household Income:

<u>Township</u>	<u>Main h'hold</u>	<u>Lodger h'hold</u>	<u>All</u>
New Brighton	R259,00	R180,00	R229,00
Kwazakele	254,00	175,00	228,00
Zwide	240,00	184,00	218,00
Soweto	190,00	182,00	185,00

Source: Erwee, op.cit.

Of the sample of squatter households, 20 per cent earned less than R90 per month, and 50 per cent earned between R91 and R240 - only 30 per cent. earned more than R240,00 per month. The average earnings of employed household heads was R172, which is R26 below the Household Subsistence Level (Potgieter, cited in Erwee, op. cit.)

These income differences are going to become more rather than less indicative of housing type and quality in the future. This is because of the recent policy decision to limit the provision of new rented housing to those earning under R150 per month (a figure which has remained the indicator for sub-economic housing entitlement for at least seven years). This has very serious implications in Port Elizabeth, for it means that people who earn over R150 but cannot afford to purchase housing (and there will be many of them - see below) will be compelled to continue in self-built houses, and many of these will continue to be of makeshift materials.

The figures that demonstrate this argument are taken from the Urban Foundation Interim Report:

Summary of Distribution of Affordable Housing

Numbers and types of Housing Units

Total H'hold	Shacks (2)	Zenzele (3)	Min.Std(4) Block/shell	Full Std Block	Full Std Contractor
< R250(1)	9100				
251-350		4800			
351-550			4300		
551-700				1000	
> 701					800
Per cent	45	24	22	5	4

- (1) The report has combined those earning under R150 per month with those earning between R151 and R250 because the cost of providing scheme houses for those earning under R150 p.m. would amount to R46 million: 'the opinion is held that the State does not have the resources to make this option feasible It is therefore felt that the only pragmatic solution is to reduce the cost of serviced sites to the bare minimum.'
- (2) Shacks: sites with 'controlled shack development of the highest possible standard' and rudimentary services 'such as ventilated improved pit latrines, 1 communal tap per 100 families etc.'
- (3) Zenzele: self-build housing as used in an experimental ECAB development in Grahamstown: 'a full standard asbestos cement roof supported by treated wooden poles with walls consisting of clay and earth sandwiched between two layers of wire mesh and rendered with cement plaster on both sides' (L.C. Koch 'The Settlement of Communities - the East Cape Experience'. Paper delivered at the Building Research Conference, 24 - 26 May, 1983).
- (4) Minimum Standard Block or Shell Houses: these can be self-built throughout, but even when contractor-built, always require finishing of ceilings, interior walls, fittings etc. etc., by the occupier.

According to this scenario, 45 per cent of those requiring re-housing will continue to live in self-built shacks with only site and minimum services provided. Another 24 per cent are to build their own houses on the Zenzele principle, paying for the materials through savings or loans. It is envisaged that standard block and shell houses will be self-built or self-completed, and self- or loan-financed (27 per cent). Thus only 4 per cent. of all new housing will be delivered complete to the occupants, who will be in the highest income bracket,

and who will, presumably, not have any difficulty in raising the loans to purchase.

(c) White incomes and housing

The information in this section, is derived entirely from newspaper and verbal reports.

Housing for people in lower income groups is provided as rental accommodation by the municipality. No new housing has been built since the completion of Algoa Park in the 'fifties. According to one group of White social workers (Child and Family Welfare Society), the new policy for the purchase of council accommodation will disadvantage the very poor, who cannot afford to buy, since White tenants are not to be given the option of continuing to rent.

A large sector of the rental market is catered for by private landlords. Many of these claim that the rents are so low that they do not cover the costs of repairs. In a series of exposé articles in the E.P. Herald and Evening News, journalists interviewed White slum dwellers and their landlords. In Sidwell, for example, proprietors claimed that they could not afford the maintenance on their decaying properties which were being rented at between R79 and R90 a month. Many tenants who were unemployed could not afford these rents, let alone any increase. In a large number of cases the tenants have carried out improvements and maintenance themselves, but others cannot afford to move toilets inside, replace roofs and cure rising damp (Shirley Pressley: E.P. Herald, 16.3.83).

In an article on the plight of unemployed White families, the Herald talked of whole families crowded into barely furnished single rooms and backyard shacks with no electricity, water or sanitary facilities. Rentals of R140 were being charged for single rooms in Sidwell that were accommodating whole families, and R40 - 60 for backyard shacks (Yvonne Steynberg: EP Herald, 15.3.83).

(d) Housing: Summary

Clearly there is a housing crisis of huge proportions in Port Elizabeth that affects people classified in all racial groups (the Asian population, whilst not negligible is very small and the number of homeless proportionately so). It is exacerbated by unemployment and very low incomes, particularly for Coloureds and Blacks. The housing problems for Blacks are compounded by the fact that even if they have the money to buy or rent decent housing, there are neither houses nor serviced house sites available at present, though there are sites planned for over 25 000 units at Motherwell, Kwamagzaki, Kwadwesi, Zwide Extension 5 and Masangwanaville (Red Location).

The future of Black housing is by no means assured, despite these plans. R. Matlock of the Urban Foundation in Port Elizabeth estimates that the market for contractor-built, full standard houses is now saturated (personal communication). All the remaining housing will have to be financed through various combinations of state subsidy and employer and private sector loans, with the 'consumer' ultimately paying the cost. Of the very low income group Matlock comments:

'Because the employers are in general not linked in any way with the large proportion of people who have very low incomes (i.e. the reputable, large employers with whom the UF deals) the private sector as a whole cannot be expected to involve itself in the provision of housing for the bottom 45% of the population who can afford nothing better than shacks The public sector will therefore have to accept responsibility for this group and must urgently formulate planning strategies'. (op. cit.)

This does not bode well for the shack dwellers: whilst Louis Rive recommended the expenditure of R300 million in Port Elizabeth, this figure has not been forthcoming. Indeed no sum has been indicated so far, although the government has approved the Rive Report. Rumours are rife in ECAB that R160 million raised by the Minister of Finance in Switzerland has been earmarked for Port Elizabeth housing. In early February ECAB was unable to give contractors the go-ahead for the next stage of servicing in Motherwell because it had no money.

In the course of discussions with the ECAB Director of Housing, Mr. Swanepoel, an interesting conflict came to light. It would appear that the Housing Section of ECAB at the highest levels has accepted the inevitability of Black urbanisation, and that housing will have to be provided for ever-increasing numbers. They have gone so far as to confront the impossibility of permanently excluding "illegals" from housing provision, and an attempt was made at "legalising" those who do not hold Section 10 rights by allowing them to purchase 99 year leaseholds. Reference to Pretoria on the matter put a stop to that, but it was my impression that those who have daily to confront the difficulties of the people for whom they are ultimately responsible will continue to press Pretoria into accepting that more and more people will come to the cities in search of work, and that they cannot be ignored.

That this will take a long time to be accepted in Pretoria is linked to a number of factors. There appears to be considerable hostility and status distinction between "Pretoria" and "the agencies" (such as ECAB) which carry

out government policy on the ground. An additional problem seems to be that high-ranking bureaucrats in Pretoria still cling to the old belief that Blacks could ultimately be removed from "White" cities. Their formative years were spent under the aegis and ideology of the Verwoerd Government, and they are a severe block to the implementation of the kinds of "enlightened" policies towards which the present government and some of its "agencies" are moving. This is certainly an area that calls for more research. It may be, for example, that ECAB is something of a special case. There are definite anomalies apparent in the number of people convicted of "pass" offences in Port Elizabeth (and also in Durban). In reply to a question from Mrs. Suzman, the Minister of Cooperation and Development gave the following figures for Blacks convicted of offences relating to reference books and influx control:

	1981	1982
Pretoria	6 996	7 666
Johannesburg	20 265	29 940
Durban	509	259
East London	1 480	1 487
Port Elizabeth	42	272
Cape Peninsula	10 178	9 393
Bloemfontein	4 198	5 639
West Rand	13 480	17 086
East Rand	18 048	26 966

Source: Hansard 24. 5.83

(iv) Health

No report on the 'present state of Port Elizabeth' is complete without reference to the measles epidemic of April and May 1983 and to the lack of adequate clinic facilities.

One thing which the measles epidemic did achieve was to highlight the correlation between inadequate housing and disease. The Medical Officer of Health for Port Elizabeth observed: 'We must take cognisance of this fact otherwise further explosions of infectious diseases can be expected' (Annual Report, City Health Department, 1982-3). His comment was prompted by the fact that the epidemic was 'localised to certain high-density areas, particularly in the Black townships.' (ibid). According to another report, 'The highest attack rate was found in the area with the lowest standards of housing, hygiene and sanitation' (Epidemiological Comments, Dept. of Health, Vol. 10. No. 5, 1983). In his (confidential) report on the outbreak of measles, the doctor commissioned to carry out the investigation simply allowed the facts to speak for themselves: drawing on Erwee, Gibbon and ECAB figures, and on his own visits to the squatter areas where the measles were most prevalent, he builds up a massive epidemiological case against the authorities.

In addition, the report contains a heavy indictment of clinic facilities. There are only three clinics for 340 000 or more people and a one day per week clinic for Walmer which, 'being geographically distant from the black group area does not help in absorbing the workload' (Anon: Measles Outbreak Report op.cit.). There is one mobile clinic in the Kleinskool area tending to both Coloured and Black inhabitants. Although mobile clinics with loud hailers were brought into service to vaccinate children during the epidemic, and it was promised that these would continue in operation, none have been to Soweto since the epidemic officially ended in June 1983 (Rev. Hans, personal communication). The nearest clinic to Soweto is 6 kms away.

The existing three clinics do not conform to SAHNORM standards in terms of space:

Clinic	Patients per day	Actual Area	Desired Area
Zwide	364	180 m.sq.	2000 m.sq.
Kwazakele	368	353	2000
New Brighton	300	290	900

Source: Report on Measles Outbreak.

By SAHNORM standards there should be not 3 but 30 clinics for a population of 350 000. 'It is perfectly obvious that the clinic facilities are grossly inadequate. The clinics are overcrowded, overrun and overworked and cannot possibly cope with the incessant demands for their services.' (ibid.). At the request of the M.O.H. the Port Elizabeth Municipal Work Study Division carried out a survey in 1982, which came to the same conclusions, but nothing has been done to provide the much-needed facilities.

V. Conclusion

Too much of this report is surmise, conjecture and estimate: the basic research has not been done to establish such vital information as the real size of the population, the age/sex distribution, the provenance of in-migrants, the numbers of economically active, unemployed, etc. etc.

In addition, great plans are being laid for developing mainly self-financed housing in which vital information, such as disposable incomes, is not known. Nor have people ever been asked what kind of housing it might be that they want. The end result of this lack of information and consultation could well be vast expenditure on housing which people do not want and cannot afford.

Another area in which the need for research is even more vital is into the life conditions of the very young - those under three years old who are particularly at risk because they cannot ask for the things they need to survive. In the

Paediatric Department at the Livingstone Hospital, 75 per cent of babies admitted are under weight for their age: this needs to be monitored before they are hospitalised, when they are already suffering from nutrition related diseases, or less likely to recover because of their poor nutritional state. The Paediatric Department is so over-stretched that no statistics are available of the family background, provenance, condition etc. of the babies and children who are treated there, so that in order to get a proper picture of the health of the community, research needs to be located both in the hospital and in the community and also in the rural areas from which many of the patients come.

Very interesting research could be done on the size and composition of household incomes. Large numbers of women are said to work as domestic servants in Port Elizabeth, for which the pay levels are reported to be still as low as Jackie Cock found in Grahamstown in 1971. In the older townships such as New Brighton, as many as 40 per cent of household heads are women (Erwee, op. cit.). How are these women managing to do their paid work and look after their own families? What financial contribution are under-age children making to the household budget? How are street stalls financed and run?

Finally, Port Elizabeth has a long history of organised opposition to the Apartheid State. It has long had trade unions, community organisations and youth groups whose members have involved themselves in oppositional activities often at great risk. There appears to be an orchestrated effort to prevent people who have been convicted of political offences (and served their sentences) from obtaining gainful employment. This needs to be investigated and exposed.

Port Elizabeth has been curiously neglected by our best researchers: it needs research of both the quantitative and qualitative varieties urgently to be done.

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