

## ELDERADO PARK AND KLIPTOWN

### A HOUSING SURVEY

Black Sash Transvaal: Housing Action Group

March 1978

This report has been prepared primarily for distribution to various authorities and organisations concerned with Coloured Housing, namely Coloured Management Committee and other Departments of the Jhb, City Council, Urban Foundation, Good Shepherd Sisters etc.

It has been reproduced in full for Congress to encourage discussion around some of the following issues:

#### I. Role of Black Sash.

In this project we found the following advantages:

- a) Contact between our members and the Coloured population ; personal experience of living conditions.
- b) Contact with Coloured Community Leaders
- c) Contact with authorities such as Jhb City Council
- d) "Finger on the Pulse" re emerging problems
- e) Facts and figures fairly scientific!

We found the following disadvantages:

- a) A number of workers are required who have to develop new skills
- b) It takes a great deal of time

#### 2. The Effect of Housing and Environment on Initiative in the Community.

We contend that community spirit in Elderado is significantly affected by;

- a) Sterile environment, with absence of facilities: poor schools
- b) Overcrowding
- c) A low percentage of home ownership properties

#### 3. Responsibility in the Upgrading of the General Environment and Facilities

Does the provision of adequate facilities such as nursery schools, parks sports grounds ,halls etc rest with:

- a) the controlling authority in the town
- b) philanthropic and service organisations
- c) the community

#### 4. Allocation of Funds for Housing.

One has to accept that only a certain amount of State, Provincial and Municipal money can be made available to Housing and environmental needs. Should this be used to provide:

- a) very little for all
- b) something for some
- c) a flourishing town for a few.

Should flats be considered or do their social disadvantages outweigh their economic benefits.

#### 5. Electricity Supply.

In subeconomic housing schemes is there not only justification but the necessity for subsidised Electricity and water ?

In a community unused to electricity usage there is the need for education to reduce wasteful consumption. Does this responsibility rest with the authorities, the community or upon the individual ?

## ELDORADO PARK AND KLIPTOWN

### A HOUSING SURVEY

#### TRANSVAAL HOUSING ACTION GROUP BLACK SASH

This report is based on an 8 month survey undertaken by the Housing Action Group of the Black Sash Transvaal. The aim of the project was to gather as much information as possible relating to the living conditions in the Coloured areas of Eldorado Park and Kliptown.

#### DESCRIPTION AND DEFINITION OF AREA RESEARCHED

There are 8 suburbs. Three of the suburbs, namely Kliptown, Eldorado Park Proper and Munchaville have for 2 decades and more, been the established homes of Coloured people. In general these houses were built by Community Development and the areas are still administered by them. (In this report Community Development is designated by C.D.) The other 5 Eldorado extensions namely 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 have been built during the 70's both by Community Development (C.D.) and by the Johannesburg City Council (J.C.C.).

For the presentation of results the area has been divided into 2:

- 1) Eldorado : a viable housing estate
- 2) Kliptown : a deteriorating slum

#### 1. Eldorado

This area has a wide range of housing types. There are brand new owner built homes with all mod cons and there are 6 roomed economic units with well laid gardens. Sub economic three-storey flat buildings rise next to 30 year-old, 2 roomed, semi detached dwellings with outside toilets. This area is serviced by electricity and waterborne sewerage. Throughout the survey this area is called Eldorado, although it includes Eldorado Park Proper, Eldorado Extensions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 and Munchaville which is part of old Nancefield. This section will generally be divided into 2 groups: a) those homes administered by C.D. (Eldorado Park Proper Ext.1, 3 and Munchaville, b) those administered by J.C.C. (Ext. 2, 4 and 6)

#### 2. Kliptown

There is a stretch of homes along the Klip River clustered into mini-suburbs collectively called Kliptown. This is one of the worst slums in Johannesburg including buildings which were condemned 20 years ago by the City Health Department. Some of these homes are merely lean-to shacks against the walls of outbuildings, themselves in a crumbling deteriorated state. A number have no electricity and no running water and the majority are <sup>serviced</sup> by an inadequate lorry-borne sewerage system.

All of these suburbs are on one hillside sloping to the East, to the Klip River. The Western and Southern boundaries are the main Provincial Highway to Potchefstroom. Thus there is one cohesive unit, which, were it not for the anomalies of our apartheid society would unquestionably be self administered and called a town. There were close on to 7,000 living units in Eldorado and Extensions when the survey was done, and the town is growing daily. There are an estimated 1,500 families living in Kliptown. Using our data we estimate that there are over 53,000 people living in this complex. (The 1970 census lists "420 places in RSA with populations which exceed 2,000" It is of interest to note that only 3 cities in the Republic had a larger WHITE population in 1970, than Eldorado has Coloureds today)

**STRUCTURE OF THE SURVEY**

We worked on a 3.6% sample, analysing each area according to ratio of flats, sub economic, lower economic, economic houses, row-houses and houses owned by the residents. A good deal of our primary data was supplied by the J.C.C., for which we are grateful. The survey could not have been done without their help.

**HOUSING TYPES AND RENTALS PAID**

The rulings for allocation of Sub-economic and Lower Economic houses are set nationally by the Department of Community Development. Families earning under R150-00 per month qualify for Sub-economic houses; rent under R26-60 per month.

Families earning R150-00 to R250-00 per month qualify for lower economic homes; rent varies from unit to unit.

These rulings are not strictly applied. The exact income and number of dependents are taken into consideration when the home is allocated and the rental set.

**Table 1 Analysis of Housing Types June - December 1977**

	<u>Eldorado</u>	<u>Kliptown</u>
Flats	27%	0%
Row houses	.02%	0%
Sub-economic houses	27%	100% of our sample
Lower economic houses	17%	
Economic houses	6%	
Bought houses	23%	

**Table 2 Analysis of Rentals paid June - December 1977**

<u>Monthly Rentals Paid</u>	<u>Eldorado</u>	<u>Kliptown</u>
No rental paid	0%	8%
Up to R9-00	18%	75%
R10-00 to R19-00	12%	12%
R20-00 to R29-00	12%	
R30-00 to R39-00	14%	
R40-00 to R49-00	11%	
R50-00 to R59-00	8%	
R60-00 and above	23%	

**INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT**

The incomes recorded here are the combined incomes of all family members. In addition they include pensions and grants for foster children; also included are rentals paid to the Household head by lodgers.

**Table 3 Income Analysis**

<u>Total Family Income in Rands per month</u>	<u>C.D. Suburbs</u>	<u>.C.C. Suburbs</u>	<u>Kliptown</u>	<u>Total</u>
R0-00 to R99-00	18%	5%	46%	20%
R100-00 to R199-00	17%	16%	21%	19%
R200-00 to R299-00	13%	31%	20%	22%
R300-00 to R399-00	17%	23%	7%	19%
R400-00 to R499-00	7%	12%	2%	9%
R500-00 to R599-00	8%	3%	-	5%
R600-00 to R699-00	2%	5%	4%	4%
R700-00 to R799-00	3%	3%		3%
Over R800-00	2%	2%		2%

Note. the H.S.L. for Jhb. Coloureds Oct 1977 was R146.28 (Prof Potgieter, P.E.) These income figures were significantly influenced by the Unemployment crisis.

**Table 4 Employment Data**

Details	C.D. Suburbs	J.C.C. Suburbs	Total C.D. & J.C.C.	Kliptown
Families with 1 earner	34%	42%	37%	32%
Families with no income	8%	3%	6%	14%
Families living on 1 pension	4%	0%	2%	9%
Families with more than 1 earner	49%	57%	52%	48%
Families with pensioner household head	14%	7%	11%	26%
Families with unemployed household head	15%	9%	12%	31%
Families with unemployed member	38%	32%	35%	68%

The overall unemployment average for the total area June - Dec. 1977 = 10%. This 10% is comprised of 57% men and 43% women in Eldorado and 43% men and 57% women in Kliptown

#### Employment Opportunities

The Post Office in Eldorado is 17kms from the central Rissik St. Jhb. Post Office. Most working members of the Community commute daily into Johannesburg or Reef towns. There is an industrial area on the borders of Eldorado; at present there are about 15 factories offering employment to residents

#### POPULATION DENSITY AND FAMILY MEMBERS

The rooms average 8 - 12 meters square. The figures below do not include toilets or bathrooms.

**Table 5 Population and Density**

Details	C.D. Suburbs	J.C.C. Suburbs	Total C.D. & J.C.C.	Kliptown
Average No. people / household	6.1	6.2	6.1	5.9
Average No. rooms per house	3.7	4.4	3.9	2.1
Average No. people per room	1.5	1.4	1.5	3.1
Average No. adults (16 yrs + )	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2
Average No. Children (7 - 15 yrs)	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.6
Average No. babies (0 - 6 yrs)	1.5	1.5	1.5	.3

#### FAMILY COMPOSITION

Nuclear families are parents and children only, and include families with adopted and foster children registered with Child Welfare.

Extended families are those where all household members are blood relatives, or are married to a household member. This includes common-law marriages.

Other indicates households with additional individuals with no familial ties.

**Table 6 Family Composition**

Details	C.D. Suburbs	J.C.C. Suburbs	Total C.D. & J.C.C.	Kliptown
Nuclear Families	60%	68%	63%	44%
Extended Families	32%	27%	30%	42%
Other	8%	5%	7%	13%
Household Head Male	86%	92%	88%	72%

PLACE OF BIRTH

Johannesburg includes those adjacent areas where Coloureds have been born and lived in the last 60 years, ie. Kliptown, Alexandra, Eldorado, Albertsville, These are areas which have been under the control of the J.C.C.

Table 7 Place of Birth

	Kliptown (old)	C.D. (old)	C.D. (new)	J.C.C. (new)	Total All suburbs
Johannesburg	80%	76%	71%	78%	77%
W.W. Rand & Tvl	5%	8%	4%	4%	5%
O.F.S.	2%	7%	2%	3%	4%
Cape	6%	3%	1%	9%	7%
Natal	0%	0.7%	3%	2%	1%
Other	3%	0.3%	0.6%	1%	1%
Unknown	4%	6%	8%	4%	5%

REASONS FOR SETTLING IN ELDORADO & KLIPTOWN

Not only 72% of the sample answered this question due to our error, i.e. it is not a full sample. Of those who answered the question:

56% residents stated they had moved to Eldorado voluntarily

22% residents said they did NOT want to leave their previous homes

28% gave a mixed answer to the question

Table 8 reasons given by those who moved Voluntarily

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Percentage who gave this response</u>
We did not have our own home before / we lived with relatives / boarded	22%
We were living in sium conditions / we were squatters	19%
We had our own place but it was too small	16%
We lived in a flat and wanted to move to a house	11%
Other / various reasons	32%

Table 9 Reasons given by those who moved INVOLUNTARILY

Our previous home was condemned / demolished	56%
We were moved because of group areas	35%
Other / various reasons	8%

ATTITUDE TO REMAINING IN PRESENT ACCOMMODATION

The residents were asked to answer Yes or No to:-  
"If you had the choice would you remain in this house / flat"

Table 10 Attitude to Remaining in present accommodation

	<u>Choose to stay</u>	<u>Choose to move</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>C.D. Suburbs</u>			
Ext.1	50%	37%	13%

	<u>Choose to stay</u>	<u>Choose to move</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>C.D. Suburbs</u>			
Ext.3	68%	28%	4%
Eldorado Park Proper	52%	37%	11%
Munchaville	23%	69%	8%
<u>J.C.C. Suburbs</u>			
Ext.2	52%	44%	4%
Ext.4	67%	31%	2%
Ext.6	43%	21%	36%
Kliptown	15%	75%	10%

Of the people above who indicate they would rather move 63% have made application for new homes to either C.D. or J.C.C.

### APPLICATION FOR A CHANGE IN ACCOMMODATION

Table 11 Dates of Applications for Accommodation

<u>Date</u>	<u>Applications to C.D.</u>	<u>Applications to J.C.C.</u>	<u>Total Apps. C.D. &amp; J.C.C</u>	<u>Applications from Kliptown</u>
Before 1972	19%	7%	15%	14%
1973 - 1974	16%	23%	18%	14%
1975 - 1976	33%	35%	32%	25%
1977	28%	19%	24%	22%
Do not know	4%	16%	11%	25%

These figures represent ALL applications for accommodation, i.e. they cover all household heads who wish to alter their accommodation (but are in fact housed at present) and they cover individuals who want separate accommodation (i.e. those who are currently lodgers, newly married couples living with inlaws, etc.) From those figures we have extracted the second group i.e. those who are NOT separately housed at the present. This gives the figures for ADDITIONAL homes needed.

Table 12 Additional Homes Needed

C.D. areas	:	500 new homes needed
J.C.C. areas	:	200 new homes needed
Kliptown areas	:	750 new homes needed
<u>TOTAL</u>	:	<u>1,450 additional units required</u>

Table 13 Those who are housed but have made application for change in accommodation

C.D. areas	:	1,500 would prefer a change
J.C.C.	:	850 would prefer a change
Kliptown	:	1,125 would prefer a change
<u>TOTAL</u>	:	<u>3,475 have applied to move</u>

### ATTITUDE TO ACCOMMODATION

To elicit information about their general attitude to their environment and home, the householders were asked "How do you feel about living in this suburb" and "How do you feel about living in this house / flat"  
The most common responses are tabled below

Table I4 Attitude to Area.

Comment	Sub-Econ.	Low. Econ. & Econ.	Home Owned	Flats	Total	Kliptown
The area is quiet / peaceful no ruffians / troublemakers	15%	49%	38%	17%	28%	4%
The neighbours are nice / friendly / compatible	18%	14%	27%	10%	17%	8%
The area is bad / there are troublemakers / drunks	14%	5%	16%	17%	12%	56%
The roads are bad	2%	12%	30%	19%	20%	4%
Medical facilities are bad	8%	11%	16%	10%	9%	2%

General Facilities are good : mentioned by 10% total sample  
 General Facilities are bad : mentioned by 18% total sample  
 Total who mention facilities : 28% of total sample

#### Our comments on Facilities

Fearing in mind the size of the total complex and the fact that 65% of the living units should have had all the advantages of modern planning it is beyond comprehension that the area has such meagre inadequate facilities. One must realize that the population of this Coloured town is equal to the White population of East London and is greater than the White population of Pietermaritzburg.

The condition of the roads defies adequate description. Barring the main arteries few roads are tarred. In places the ruts are actually dongas up to a metre deep and three metres wide; rocks are the mainstay of surfaces which are otherwise shifting, blowing, ubiquitous dust; dust in the winter which turns to slippery impassable mud, surrounded by lakes, after every heavy rain storm in the summer

Very few streets have storm water drains to protect the homes, pedestrians, or vehicles. There are few street lights, and no finished pavements. All this in a town where the majority of inhabitants have to walk to all destinations, day and night, as there is no internal bus system, and few cars, particularly during working hours when they are needed to transport commuters to work. There are virtually no road signs, not even basic "Stop" signs at intersections (perhaps the roads department argue that the few cars which stay roadworthy on those totally unworthy roads cannot possibly speed on the surfaces that exist) The atmosphere and appearance of Eldorado could be dramatically improved if trees were planted along the roads.

During the year that the survey was conducted there were 3 very small shopping centres in Eldorado. 2 new tiny centres are to be opened shortly. High prices, small storage and display areas, no telephones and chronically dusty conditions (due to the roads) make it difficult for the shopkeepers to attract customers who have no transport. A number of shopkeepers complained that residents did not know of their existence. This is testimony to the fact that lack of general facilities dampens a community's initiative. The people simply have little reason to travel around the suburb on those awful roads. In Kliptown there are a number of small general dealers and there is a large, old rambling market -cum shopping centre with open stalls, live chickens and conventional furniture and clothing shops muddled together. This centre is at one extreme end of the town, and the only Post Office for the area is here. There are no mail collection boxes in the other suburbs. Mail deliveries to homes have been initiated during the past 18 months.

There are only a handful of telephones in the whole town. Even the 2 doctors, 1 dentist and 1 chemist do not have this basic service. To add to the medical inadequacies, the nearest hospital is Coronationville, 15kms away. However, the

ambulance has to travel from Lenasia, a distance of 5kms between the outer boundaries of the 2 towns. There are 3 Day centres Clinics, 2 of which are preventative City Health Clinics for Maternity and T.B. checks and family planning. The third is a Hospital Clinic run as a branch of Coronationville Hospital. This is open from 8.00am to 3.00pm

There is no fire station the nearest is Jabulani, Soweto, 5 Kms away.

The schools are chronically overcrowded, and inadequate. 9 Primary schools provide a total of 8,300 places and 2 High schools have 1,700 places (Total 10,000) We estimate that there are 12,400 children of school going age (7 - 15yrs) A third High school is being built in Ext.3. The present shortage of places:2,400. The population of pre-school children is 12,300 according to our estimate. Of these 3,800 are 5 and 6 years of age waiting to start school at 7 years old. There are 3 nursery schools which receive small grants from the City Council and there is one school run by the Dominican Sisters which is privately funded. These schools offer a total of about 400 places. There are 3 pre school centres; 1 run by the Good Shepherd Sisters and 2 by the J.C.C. These offer a total of about 600 places. Ext. 2 has initiated a system of pre school centres, set up in private homes, which receive no grant and offer 20 places each. Thus the total number of children that can be offered care and tuition is approximately 1,080

There is 1 minute public library in Ext.2; there are 2 large halls which can be used for recreational purposes. There are 14 churches of 11 different denominations. The sports facilities are woefully inadequate. Each school has very little ground, but there are no formally laid facilities at any of them. There are 2 tennis courts in ext.2 and 4 in Eldorado Park. There are half a dozen grassed fields for soccer, cricket, etc., but most of these are unfenced and not really safe for unattended children. There is 1 "Stadium" in Eldorado Park, which is completely fenced to keep residents out; it has 2 tiered stands for spectators, and the field is large enough for soccer. There is also a swimming pool in Eldorado Park.

Table 14: Attitude to Home Unit

Comments	Sub Econ.	Lower E. & Econ	Home Owned	(Flats	Total	Kliptown
it is a good house / good building	22%	26%	33%	14%	27%	0%
It is too small	3%	L.E 29% E 2%	25%	24%	26%	27%
We would like to buy own house	0%	26%	N/A	23%	0%	10%
The rest of the comments differed from unit type to unit type						

#### Sub economic Homes

12% of the residents complained of not having a bathroom. 20% found their homes too hot in summer and too cold in the winter due to lack of ceilings, and to poor insulation. 4% said they felt that they had no choice in their type of accommodation, that they had been allocated that house and due to the acute shortage of accommodation were bound to accept. 4% were glad the rent was low while 4% felt the electricity was very high.

#### Lower Economic

10% felt that electricity was high and again lack of insulation led to complaints, from 14% of residents. 7% felt that the actual homes were unhealthy due to damp or cracks, 10% wished they had hot water geysers. This was often combined with the



fear that the young children would come in harm with large pots of boiling water on the stove, in the small kitchen cum living rooms. This is a common accident in this area.

### Economic

25% commented that the home was large and the same percentage complained about high electricity costs.

### Owned Homes

8% appreciated the fact that this was their own home. 3% liked the large size, 6% liked the view. 9% complained that the design was very poor and a further 8% had specific complaints about the condition of the walls (cracks, no air bricks, damp). 5% complained that the electricity was high as did about 5% about the cost of the house itself.

### Flats

11% said they were happier in a flat than in a house. While 8% appreciated the low rent 10% felt it was too high. One of the most consistent complaints was the lack of a safe area for the children to play, 22% of residents specifying this. A further 18% said they lacked privacy and 8% said it was noisy. 10% of the women complained that the washlines were inadequate, unsafe from thieving, in the shade on the South side, or too close to the dusty roads.

Only 5% of the residents made totally positive comments, while 58% made totally negative comments about living in flats

### General Comment about the Housing Units

It is hard to generalise about the units except to say that the properties and the houses are small and close together, and the homes are simple, all of which are to be expected in a subsidised housing complex. In our estimate the homes in Ext.3 recently built by C.D. were the soundest. There were no obvious faults that would lead to rapid deterioration of the dwelling or the furniture inside, or to ill health of the occupants. The same cannot be said of some of the other units. Ill fitting windows, short doors with inadequate universal locks, wide gaps, in asbestos sheet roofing, none existant drainage around the unit, poor design, cracked walls and general damp are the complaints associated with various houses. These faults exist when the houses are handed over to the tenants, and although there are promises of repairs, the residents complain that in most cases nothing is done. We found the designs by and large unimaginative and failing to utilise whatever potential the areas had to offer. The prime example of this is that virtually no units take advantage of natural light and warmth of north-facing rooms. Not only are the houses square, a factor dictated by cost, but the majority do not face north (36% of the houses in Eldorado face north)

With the price of electricity escalating constantly, this is a factor of economic importance to the householders, and one that we do not feel has yet been recognised by the authorities. They contend, quite correctly, that the average Coloured likes his house to face the street. However it was our experience that with the briefest explanation about the advantages of north facing rooms, that the concept was accepted readily. All that is required is a modicum of specific education.

The other fundamental error in planning (both in our estimate, and in a significant percentage of upper income residents) has been the integration of different socio economic groups in one block. It has been a matter of basic policy to attempt to upgrade the living habits of those in sub-economic dwellings by placing them alongside the homes owned by residents. This has had the reverse effect, of lowering

the value of the better properties, and leading to conflict between neighbours whose ideals and standards are understandably different

#### GENERAL SUMMARY

Our overall impression of the town is that the immense task of providing homes for 10,000 families in the total Eldorado complex is being undertaken by specific local authority employees, with enthusiasm and energy, but **WITHOUT** sufficient funds being made available from the state coffers to really create a flourishing healthy community. These funds are not forthcoming because of the fundamental ideology which governs all our lives; until we see the end of apartheid the Coloureds are doomed, despite their new homes, to a sterile environment. Eldorado is the living proof that the development of the black community in general, and the upgrading of the standards of their population as a whole, will not be stimulated by the Central Government. Maturation towards a fully viable urban community in Eldorado will depend entirely on the initiative of the residents themselves. Can this initiative be expected from a population who are generally inadequately stimulated or educated for the task, meagerly paid, on the whole poorly fed and who have never had the essential advantages of achievement and independence?