

Poverty, Inequality and Violence: A Case Study of Cato Manor

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Abstract

Violence is traditionally defined as the use of physical force to cause harm to others. In recent years the definition of violence has been widened to include structural forces such as deprivation, poverty and inequality. Violence is spreading into many aspects of daily life in countries of the global South, including South Africa. This study focuses on poverty, inequality and violence in urban areas, with specific reference to Cato Manor in Durban. It investigates the effects and extent of violence in Cato Manor. More specifically, this paper examines how apartheid legislation and history has shaped poverty and inequality in Cato Manor; assesses the impact of post-apartheid reconstruction and development strategies in Cato Manor; and identifies the different forms of violence experienced in Cato Manor, such as crime, gender-based violence and service delivery protests. Violence in Cato Manor takes many forms and is showing no signs of abating. In recent years forced evictions, housing shortages, conflicts over land, municipal corruption, police brutality, poor service delivery, repression, xenophobia, poverty and inequality have sparked many acts of violence in Cato Manor. The violence has resulted in many injuries and a number of deaths, as well as damage to property. There is much more violence that is invisible such as gender-based violence in homes. Structural violence must also be considered as Cato Manor is a low income area where poverty and inequality are rife and many people are unable to meet their basic needs.



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Introduction

Violence is traditionally defined as the use of physical force to cause harm to others. In recent years the definition of violence has been widened to include deprivation, such as poverty and inequality, forced physical displacement and psychological hurt (Farmer, 2004; Moser, 2004). Violence can be confused with conflict and crime. However, power struggles that involve conflict do not necessarily involve the physical or mental harm of another. Crime is similar to conflict in that it does not have to involve any form of violence. Violence by its very nature involves the harming of another, whether it is physically or psychologically (Moser, 2004).

Violence is spreading into many aspects of daily life and has become increasingly common in countries of the global south, including South Africa. This violence can be referred to as endemic or every-day and has been escalating due to many complex processes linked to the economic, social, political and institutional aspects of life (Winton, 2004).

In Durban, Cato Manor is an area where violence has been commonplace over the past 70 years, where the right to live and work has been violently contested. Cato Manor's history is one of discrimination and injustice as the apartheid government attempted to control where certain racial groups could live and work (Popke, 2000). Cato Manor is also an area where poverty and inequality are widespread and this can have a dramatic effect on the levels of violence.

Cato Manor was chosen as the study area for this research as it has a violent history of apartheid segregation, discrimination and control. This legacy is still present today in terms of high levels of poverty and inequality. Cato Manor was an area that experienced forced removals under apartheid legislation during the 1950's that completely destroyed the community and resulted in the area being left vacant for many decades (Popke, 2000). After democracy much effort has been made to rectify the social divisions that were produced in Cato Manor and resulted in violence, associated with the post-apartheid competition for land and resources. The redevelopment of Cato Manor, however, was not without contestation as previous land owners fought over land rights. In more recent years Cato Manor has experienced pockets of violent protest over slow service delivery and other issues of inequality. These protests have resulted in a number of deaths (Patel, 2013). The history of violence in Cato Manor and the continuing

violence today make Cato Manor an important area for study on violence, poverty and inequality

The aim of this study is to investigate the influence of poverty and structural inequalities on violence in Cato Manor. More specifically, the objectives of this study are to:

- determine how apartheid legislation and history has shaped poverty and inequality in Cato Manor;
- assess the impact of post-apartheid reconstruction and development strategies in Cato Manor; and
- analyse the different forms of violence in Cato Manor, such as crime, gender-based violence and service delivery protests.

A qualitative approach was adopted in this study, although some quantitative data, for example, crime statistics, was also used. Methods included direct and indirect field observations, a survey as well as interviews with residents. The flexibility of personal interviews allowed for probing and follow up questions. Documents (e.g. reports, newspaper articles, NGO records) also provided rich sources of information about the lived experiences of the Cato Manor in terms of different forms of violence.

Both snow-ball and convenience sampling methods were used to access respondents for the questionnaire survey (29 respondents) regarding reconstruction and development, and the interviews on personal experiences of violence (20 respondents). For the initial reconstruction and development questionnaire any willing person was interviewed that either lived, had family who lived in, or worked in Cato Manor. This allowed for the targeting of respondents who had valuable opinions regarding service delivery, infrastructure development and general administration of Cato Manor. These respondents were approached alongside two main roads running through Cato Manor, namely Harry Gwala Road and Bellair Road. These two roads encompass an area where many residents of Cato Manor converge to board taxis, walk to and from work, and shop in the informal stalls. The respondents therefore came from many parts of Cato Manor.

The interviews regarding personal experiences of violence required a more selective process. Although convenience and snowball sampling methods were still used, it was imperative that respondents had experienced some form of violence in Cato Manor. Therefore, it was important, before the interviewed commenced, to determine whether or not the potential

respondent had experienced violence. If the respondent confirmed they had experienced violence in Cato Manor an interview was conducted. Respondents were approached in areas of Cato Manor known, from news reports, to have experienced violent crime such as at a local petrol station. Female respondents were particularly useful as they could identify friends or family members who they knew had experienced violence and therefore could be interviewed.

Cato Manor – A violent History

Cato Manor, an evocative name in the province of Natal, has powerful connotations with the history of the dispossessed in South Africa, and represents "a living monument to the heartbreak and destruction wrecked" by apartheid (Herald, 27/4/88). The history of settlement in Cato Manor is very complex, especially in terms of its race-class configuration, types of legal and illegal tenure, and the extent to which the right to live in the area has been "fiercely and often violently contested" (Edwards, 1994:415).

Cato Manor has been referred to as a 'complexity in place' - "one of those places about which, and around which, controversy has always appeared to rage"(Butler-Adam and Venter, 1984:1). Furthermore, the "complexity of Cato Manor is not static. It reflects the interwoven processes of society as it has operated in the past, and is a complexity sustained and created afresh out of present processes" (Butler-Adam and Venter, 1984:67).

Cato Manor comprises about 2 000 hectares and is located seven kilometres to the west of the central business district of Durban. The population of Cato Manor was estimated to be about 93 000 but was predicted to rise to about 170 000 people due to migration and natural population increase.² The study area borders on the Pavilion Shopping Centre and the N3 Highway on the north, Sarnia Road to the South, The University of KwaZulu-Natal Howard College Campus, and Manor Gardens to the east and Westville Prison in the west (Figure 1). The different suburbs in Cato Manor are illustrated in Figure 2.

²http://www.durban.gov.za/City_Government/Administration/Area_Based_Management/Cato_Manor/Pages/default.aspx (accessed 25 January 2015).

Figure 1: Map of the Study Area



(Source: CMDA, 2002)

The origins of Cato Manor can be linked to a period of rapid urbanisation and industrial growth between the 1930s and 1940s. The South African government at the time had the overarching goal of achieving urban development through planning and management that was based on the Fordist principles adopted by the U.S.A and Britain. Urban growth was intended to be carefully planned through zoning and suburbanisation. A planning ordinance was first introduced in Natal in 1934 which aimed to reform the social and economic landscape of Durban through the provision of public works and housing for the white community (Popke, 2000).

The process of industrialisation that ensued resulted in a greater demand for labour in Durban. This new demand however became a problem as the workers that were now entering the city were Indians and Africans, and housing for these racial groups was virtually non-existent (Popke, 2000). Only a small number of these new entrants to the city were housed in municipal hostels. Many began to occupy areas immediately outside the boundaries of Durban, and therefore operated beyond the jurisdiction of the city. One such area was Cato Manor, land that was owned by the first mayor of Durban, George Cato. Cato's sons had farmed on the land until 1890 when it was subdivided into smaller farms, all owned by whites (Popke, 2000).

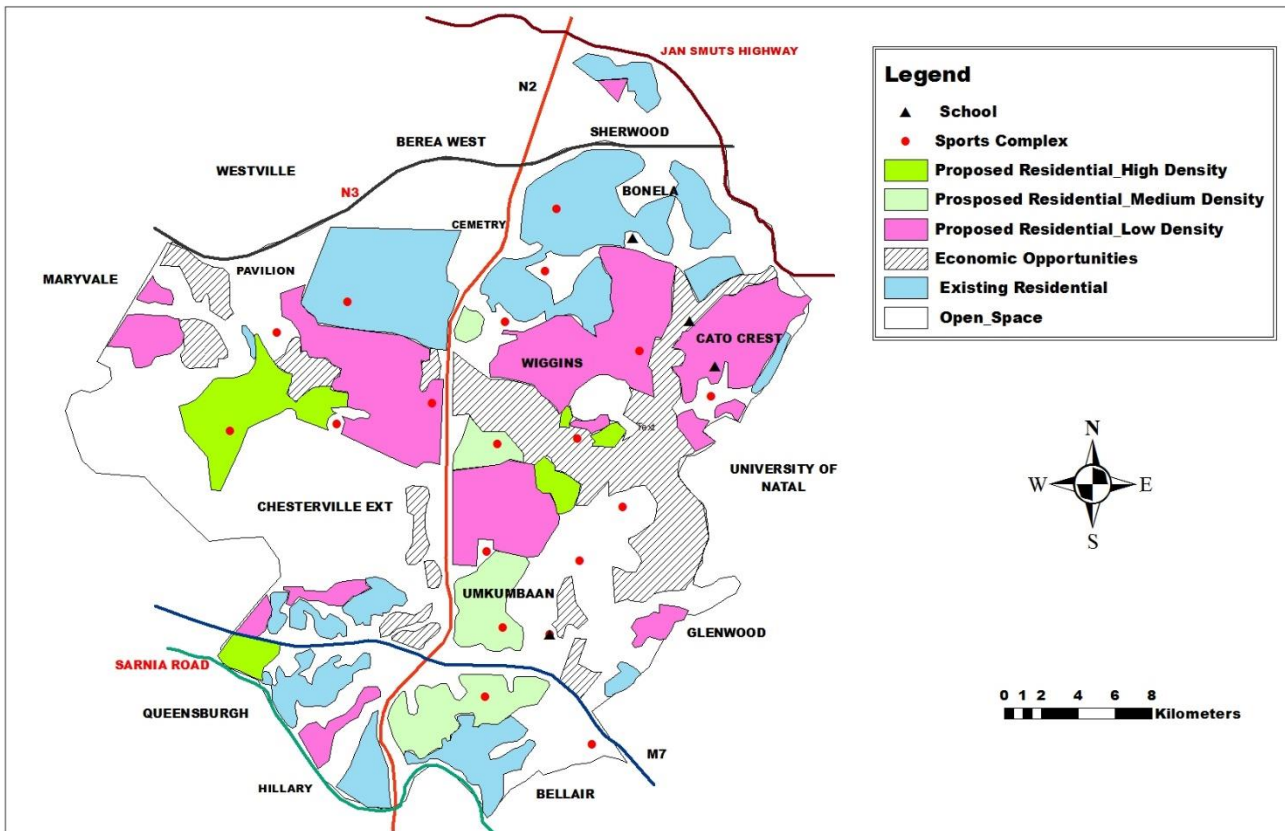


Figure 2: Suburbs in Cato Manor (Source: Adapted from undated CMDA map)

Cato Manor consisted partly of a marshy, animal-infested jungle, and the land was variable in quality. After completing their period of indenture, many pioneering Indians settled here and built simple houses from their modest earnings and savings, facilitated by pooled incomes from the joint family system. They had purchased or leased their land from wealthy white farmers who had made lucrative profits from transactions with Indians.

By the early 1930's much of Cato Manor was occupied by Indian market gardeners. The conversion of undeveloped Cato Manor into a thriving, productive agricultural area resulted from the "effort of the Indian through industry, resourcefulness and thrift" (MIRA, 1958:4). Over time as more and more Africans moved into the area the Indian residents of Cato Manor rented out small plots of their land to the Africans (Maharaj, 1994). As a result, large shack settlements began to grow in Cato Manor (Popke, 2000). The authorities were concerned because the was outside the city's jurisdiction, and not conducive for a stable and productive workforce (Popke, 2000).

In 1932 Cato Manor was finally incorporated into the Durban municipality (Edwards, 2003). However, it remained a chronically neglected area in terms of services and facilities, with mushrooming shacks, overcrowding, inadequate health and sanitation services, and rampant disease. The lack of action on the part of the Durban authorities was due to the fact that there was still a severe housing shortage in the city and the removal of all squatter settlements was unfeasible. Even more of the Indian residents began to rent land out to the shack dwellers and Cato Manor continued to grow, and by 1943 it had a squatter population of 17 000 (Edwards, 2003).

There were tensions in the interaction between African workers and the Indian petty bourgeoisie. However, Indian businesses in Cato Manor provided opportunities for African workers and their families to escape from the austerity of direct local state control. The traders “provided the basic infrastructure of the squatters' slums: the bus services and retail outlets - the services which could be provided because of the particular position of Indian people as a ‘buffer group’ in the racial hierarchy of urban segregation” (Hemson, 1977:103).

The incipient conflict between Africans and Indians in Cato Manor, however, burst into the open with the 1949 riots. The riot was ignited by an assault on an African youth by an Indian shopkeeper in the Indian central business district on 13 January 1949. Africans sacked and looted Indian stores. The riots were most intense in Cato Manor. After two days of bloody rioting 50 Indians and 87 Africans were killed, and 503 Indians and 541 Africans were injured. Thousands of Indian stores and dwellings were destroyed or damaged (Ladlau, 1975:17-18). There were different interpretations of the cause of the riots (Kuper, 1965; Meer, 1969; Ladlau, 1975; Webster, 1978). The state viewed the violence as a racial conflict between Indians and Africans (Union Government, 1949). However, while there was Indian-African tension, the riot was a "complex phenomenon, fed by white prejudice and Government policy as well as by the aspirations of an embryonic African bourgeoisie"(Ladlau, 1975:19).

Many of the Indian residents fled the area after their shops and homes were destroyed in the violence. Indian landowners continued to rent the land out to the Africans with some of them renting out their entire plots. By 1950 the squatter population had increased to between 45 000 and 50 000 residents with 6000 shacks in the area (Edwards, 2003). The 1949 Riots was used by the city authorities and the apartheid government to motivate for further racial segregation. The Group Areas Act (1950) provided the perfect mechanism to the city authorities to enforce separate development (Maharaj, 1997).

After the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950) the government of South Africa initiated the moving of 83 000 Africans out of Cato Manor into new low income housing projects in KwaMashu and Umlazi, and 75 000 Indians were relocated to Chatsworth and Phoenix. It was estimated that 30 000 to 40 000 people disappeared, "either returning to their rural areas or else taking up illegal residence elsewhere in the city" (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975:61).

The removals were resisted by the communities. 'Illegal residents' who were in Durban without permits felt that they were being deprived of their rights to live in the city. Others who were engaged in selling liquor and other illicit activities felt that their livelihoods were being threatened. The main reason for the resistance was that the cost of living would be higher in the townships, especially with regard to rent and transport expenditure (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975).

In June 1959 spontaneous protest action in the Cato Manor Emergency Camp resulted in the destruction of buildings and facilities and beerhall riots. The rioting and boycott of beerhalls was sustained up to November 1959. While the African National Congress played a role in the protest action, it was mainly 'initiated by the underclass - illicit entrepreneurs and women for whom municipal shack demolition and removals posed an absolute threat to continued city residence' (Edwards, 1989:196). A major problem was the lack of organised protest action and resistance. While shack dwellers affirmed their desire to reside in Cato Manor, "there was no clear political strategy and a lack of any clear leadership" (Edwards, 1989:207).

In January 1960 nine policemen who were involved in a liquor raid were killed in Cato Manor. The state of emergency introduced after the Sharpsville riots in March 1960 (in Transvaal, now called Gauteng), resulted in a reduction in resistance action in Cato Manor as residents were unable to counter the repressive power of the state. There was a further change in attitude in early 1961 when between 400 and 500 families were requesting to be moved to Kwa Mashu. There were two possible reasons for this change in attitude. The official view was that residents were aware that they were leaving the unhealthy and overcrowded slum areas. However, a more plausible reason was that residents realised that resettlement was inevitable, and they therefore joining the queue for new housing as soon as possible was in their interest. Furthermore, allocation to a municipal house would give them rights to live in the urban area and end their feelings of insecurity (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975:63).

Although Cato Manor was zoned as a white residential area group area, by 1968 it was still mostly vacant with only a few shops, houses, temples and the beer hall remaining. The remaining Indian residents formed the Cato Manor Residents Association in 1979 so as to resist being moved out of the area (Edwards, 2003).

As the political, economic and housing crises in Durban escalated by the late 1980s, there was an increase in informal settlements in Cato Manor, and this was attributed to a number of socio-political issues:

- i) escalating violence on the periphery of the city;
- ii) rapidly deteriorating social and economic conditions in the townships;
- iii) access to jobs and other resources available within the core city;
- iv) lack of planned development and deteriorating social and economic conditions on the urban peripheries; and
- v) proximity to the work place and reduced transport costs (Hindson, Gwagwa and Makathini, 1994:3).

All the groups removed from Cato Manor in the 1950s and 1960s have staked moral claims to some form of right in the resettlement and development of the area. Indian families that remained in the area have already been able to realize this claim in the form of new housing constructed for them in Bonela and Wiggins by the House of Delegates (HOD, Indian component of the apartheid Tricameral Parliament). New groups of invaders were also staking claims and were refusing to move.

With the advent of a new democratic system in South Africa, Cato Manor has continued to be invaded. It was a large and undeveloped piece of land that was attractive to many low-income residents in the Durban functional region. By the 1990s as the apartheid state began to dissolve and the racially discriminatory laws on movement and residence within the city began to relax, many Africans began to move back into Cato Manor and land invasions and squatter settlements increased (Hindson and Byerley, 1993; Hindson and Makathini, 1993), and there were also housing invasions (Gigaba and Maharaj, 1996).

The 1949 and the 1960 Beer Hall Riots, and forced removals in Cato Manor illustrated how violence that came to be considered normal in the area. Violence is an entrenched part of the history of Cato Manor and this trend continues into the 21st century, as will be illustrated in subsequent sections.

Democracy Reconstruction and Development in Cato Manor

As the democratic initiatives of the early 1990s gained momentum urban planners in South Africa attempted to reconstruct apartheid cities by pursuing initiatives to reverse the effects of racial planning. The redevelopment of Cato Manor was looked upon with hope by most of the

people living in the area and those who had been victims of the Group Areas Act, as it represented the "country's prime urban reconstruction opportunity" (CMDA, 1995:2). The forced removals and demolition of the houses in the area meant that development in the area was halted for many decades. Various post-apartheid town planning initiatives emerged to promote development in Cato Manor.

During the transition period to democracy (1990-1994), Cato Manor experienced major turmoil due to political infighting from different factions, struggle for space from new invaders, different factions laying claims of entitlement to space, resistance from neighbouring white communities to squatters on their residential borders, and political uncertainty relating to development of the area (Gigaba and Maharaj, 1996).

As the apartheid system began to dismantle, Cato Manor became a focus point in an effort to improve infrastructure in Durban due to its prime location, just seven kilometres from Durban's central business district (Figure 3). After much deliberations on the type of organisation needed to be entrusted with the development of Cato Manor along non-racial principles, the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) was formed in March 1993 and registered as a Section 21 company, not for gain i.e. enjoying legal entity and the status of a non-governmental organisation (NGO) (Robinson and Smit, 1994:3). In November 1994 Cato Manor was recognised as a Special Presidential Project in the Urban Renewal category of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It would therefore enjoy priority in qualifying for funds from the RDP budget. Also, Cato Manor would receive preference "in the budgeting activities of line function departments at all relevant levels of government" (CMDA, 1994:6).

The CMDA was operational until 2003, and was responsible for the development of much of the important infrastructure in Cato Manor such as roads, schools, clinics and community halls, with funding from the European Union. Cato Manor was viewed as a model for successful urban development (Jackson, 2006).

In the early 1990s the Greater Cato Manor Development Forum was set up by the Durban Metro and involved many stakeholders who collaborated to develop the area. It was decided that there needed to be an integrated approach to the development of Cato Manor and that the area should become a "city within a city" where people could live but also find employment and enjoy recreational facilities (Odendaal, 2003: 281). One of the focus areas in the development of Cato Manor has been the Booth Road area where it is hoped that stimulating

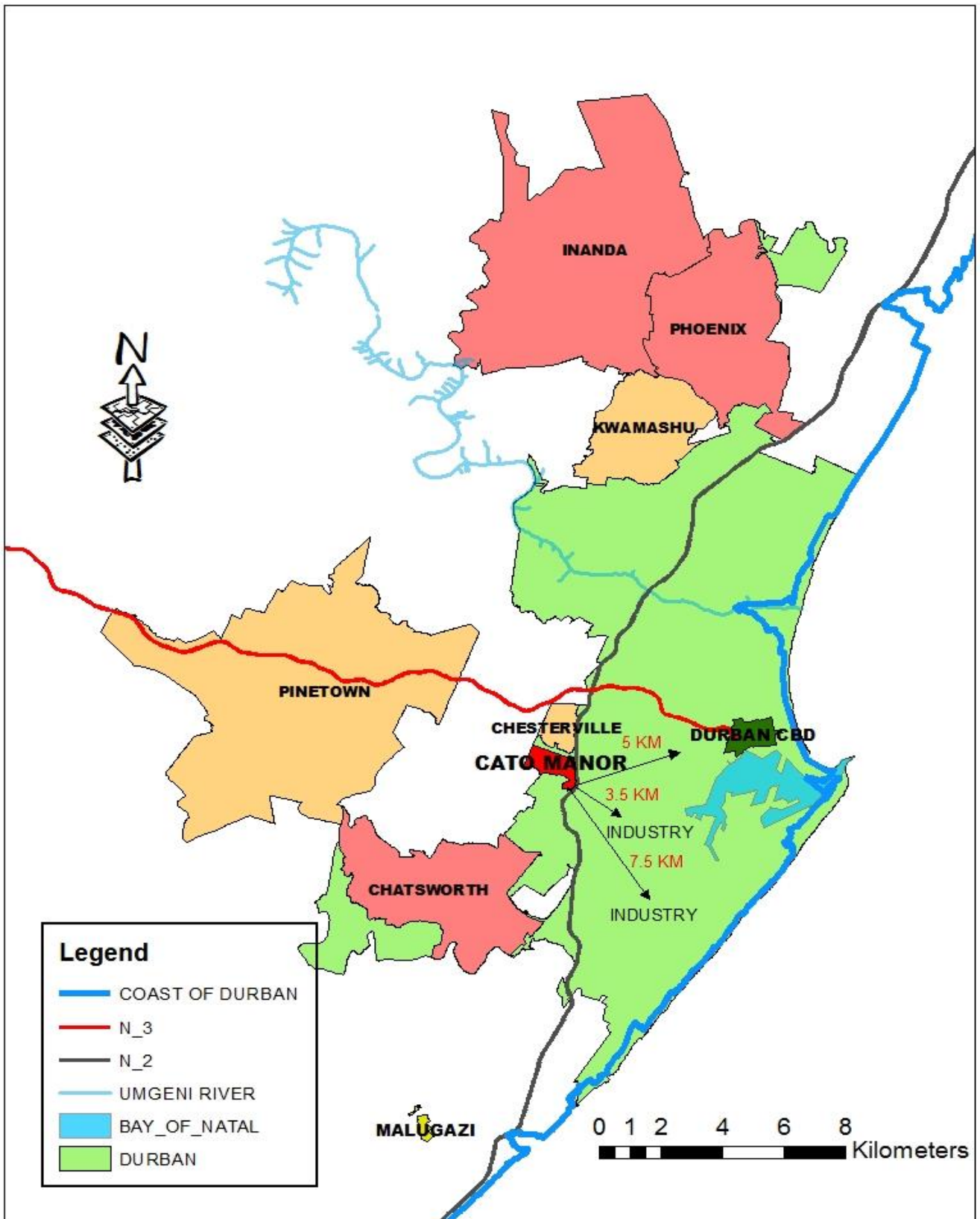


Figure 3: Location of Cato Manor in relation to the Greater Durban Region

investment and new businesses will help in the creation of jobs and aid economic development in the area.

The Cato Manor Development Programme set out various goals for the development of the area. These goals include: building primary housing over a 900 hectare area that would provide 25 000 houses that could shelter at least 150 000 people; investment in the development of infrastructure such as arterial and collector roads; provide social facilities, for example schools, community halls and libraries; promote local economic development (LED) through the creation of 25 000 jobs; involve the policy of land reform so as to reimburse people who lost land due to the Group areas Act; and finally the development of human resources in order to meet the needs of the people of Cato Manor (Odendaal, 2003: 282).

In spite of these opportunities, the CMDA encountered numerous problems as it attempted to implement its plans for reconstruction and development in the area:

- i) Tensions between Indian and African residents as a result of the Wiggins invasions;
- ii) The continued unauthorised invasion of land delayed development initiatives;
- iii) Land claims from those who were dispossessed as a result of the Group Areas Act;
- iv) Political conflict and rivalry in the region delayed the CMDA's access to RDP funds; and
- v) Legal problems relating to the different local authorities who owned different parts of Cato Manor (CMDA, 1994).

The CMDA project was divided into three phases. The first phase of the project was focused on the creation of a ground framework. According to Odendaal (2003) this framework was initiated through the development of a Structure Plan that was based on the principles of development that were decided on by the Greater Cato Manor Development Forum (GCMDF). The second phase of the project was focused on the provision of services and infrastructure such as roads and schools as well, as the initial development of low cost housing in the area (Odendaal, 2003).

The third and final phase was to promote private investment in the area. It was believed that once the community had been established with all the residents in permanent dwellings and infrastructure such as roads had been developed that large scale investments would start to flow

into Cato Manor (Odendaal, 2003). The focus of this final phase has shifted somewhat to the promotion of local economic development strategies which would make use of local resources and skills to create employment within Cato Manor, and therefore generate income in the area that could be used for further development.

South Africa's unique urban situation has led to many challenges in ensuring service delivery and reducing inequalities. Often times it has not been successful with many parts of the cities still being spatially segregated where poor black people occupy marginalised and peripheral areas of the city that are characterised by inadequate service delivery, poverty, unemployment and many other social issues (Peberdy, 2010). Since the early 1990s when racial restrictions on movement into urban areas were lifted, South African cities have experienced a significant increase in urbanisation. Although the rate of urbanisation is slowing down somewhat, South African cities are still growing at a rate of about 2% per year. There are still vast inequalities in the spatial distribution of South African people. Nearly one third of all inhabitants of Durban in 2005 were living below the Minimum Living Level, and during that period there was an average unemployment rate of 25% across South Africa's main cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban (Peberdy, 2010). Socio-economic inequalities persist, and black residents are still a marginalised group who were most likely to live in informal settlements with poor service delivery. Access to basic services such as sanitation, housing and healthcare are still shaped by, and around, race and class.

The goals for development set out by the CMDA can be broadly categorised into housing, social infrastructure, local economic development and human resource development. For the purpose of this research the categories of housing and social infrastructure will be analysed more closely.

Housing Projects

The Cato Manor Development Project (CMDP) had a primary focus on housing. The goal was to use an area of about 900 hectares for the purpose of building houses. Twenty five thousand low income houses would be built in this area to accommodate up to 150 000 residents. The various housing projects in Cato Manor were funded through state sources such as the KZN (KwaZulu-Natal) Department of Housing and the eThekweni Metro Housing Service Unit. The goal was to provide the residents with a variety of environmentally sustainable housing types that will be accessible by low and middle income groups. Linked with the provision of housing

is the provision of other services such as electricity and running water as well as the provision of water borne sewage systems to the residents of Cato Manor.

The various housing projects in Cato Manor can be categorised in the four different types. These include: Informal Settlement Upgrading Projects, Greenfields Incremental Projects, Social Housing and Credit-linked Housing (Table 1).

Table 1: Housing Projects

Type of project/investment	Number
Informal settlement upgrading projects (completed by 2004)	4512
Greenfields incremental projects (completed by 2004)	3835
Credit linked housing (completed by 2004)	1384
Social housing (completed by 2004)	2574

Source: Adapted from CMDA (2002) and Robinson (2003).

By the end of 2002 the CMDP had built 4051 houses, and a total of relocation from 1110 shacks was completed. Within the Informal Settlement Upgrading projects 1272 housing units were built. Through the Greenfields Incremental projects 1191 housing units were transferred to families, 766 housing units were made available to Cato Manor residents through Credit-linked housing, and 320 units were built for the Shayamoya project. A total of 1896 units were completed by March of 2003 and a further 9836 housing units were completed by the end of 2004 in the various housing projects

Social Infrastructure

Although the delivery of houses had not been according to the CMDA's expectations, the provision of social infrastructure had been well within the set time frames. Under the guidance of the CMDA many new facilities have been built within Cato Manor. These facilities include: parks and sports fields, community halls, religious centres, libraries, schools and clinics. One of the focus points for the CMDP has been to create multi-purpose centres where community halls, libraries, schools and recreation sites are located close to one another so as to encourage co-operative use. Two multi-purpose centres have been developed in Cato Manor. They are located in Wiggins and Cato Crest. Both sites have primary and secondary schools, as well as

nearby pre-schools, a library, a community hall and a sports field. Due to the fact that all these facilities are located very close to one another students are able to use the libraries after hours as well as the hall for extra-curricular activities, and the classrooms are used at night for adult-education initiatives.

Parks and playgrounds have also been recognised as an important aspect of a living environment. Outdoor recreational facilities have been provided with 22 sites being completed by 2003. Another very important aspect of the living environment is a community health centre. A community health centre was completed in 2004 in the central node of Cato Manor. It was made possible through funding from the EU and the eThekweni Municipality. It was the largest single building to be developed by the CMDA and cost an estimated R20 million. This health care centre services around 70 000 residents and includes an emergency department, consultation rooms, 24 hour midwifery services, dentists, a pharmacy, an obstetrics unit and a physiotherapy section. A summary of the social infrastructure that was developed by the CMDA is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Social Infrastructure

Type of project/investment	Number
Community Health Centre	1
Community halls	3
Fruit trees to home owners	1
Libraries	3
Preschools	10
Primary schools	6
Secondary schools	3
Parks	9
Playgrounds	3
Play “spots”	11

Sports fields	5
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Source: Robinson (2003: 11-12)

As seen in Table 2, social infrastructure projects have been very successful in Cato Manor, including the provision of 3 parks, 5 sports fields, 3 libraries, 9 pre-schools, 6 primary schools, 3 secondary schools, 3 community halls and 1 community health centre (CMDA, 2002). The achievements of the CMDA in providing Cato Manor residents with much needed social infrastructure has been recognised through awards from the KwaZulu-Natal Institute for Architecture (KZNIA). The KZNIA awarded the CMDA for its work on the Chesterville Extension 3 Library and the Wiggins Multi-Purpose Centre. The Chesterville Library was recognised for the various facilities it provides the local community, and how well it was built with a very tight budget. The Wiggins Multi-Purpose Centre was also recognised for its achievements with a limited budget and for the high quality of the buildings, and the strong spatial connections between all the buildings (CMDA, 2002).

Adequacy of Services and Infrastructure

Residents were interviewed to assess if they were satisfied with the infrastructure and services they received. Twenty-nine people in total were questioned, 13 of which were male and 16 were female. The average age of the people questioned was 30 years. The majority of the people questioned lived in Cato Manor. However, three of the people did not live in the area but were employed, socialised and had family and friends that lived in the area, and therefore had an opinion on the quality and quantity of the infrastructure and services. Nineteen of the people questioned were formally employed, either part-time or full-time, 3 were employed in the informal sector and 7 were unemployed.

Questions were asked about the various forms of infrastructure and services that have been developed in the post-apartheid era. This included questions about schools, housing, government clinics, parks and playgrounds, community halls and roads. Respondents were also asked what they would improve or change in Cato Manor.

i) Schools

When asked if there were enough primary schools in the area the responses were mixed, with an almost equal proportion agreeing and disagreeing. Fifty-two percent of people said there

were not enough schools and 48 percent said that the existing schools were sufficient for the number of children in the area. Six primary schools have been built in Cato Manor (CMDA, 2002), and two are in Chesterville, one of which can accommodate 800 learners. Another primary school was built in Wiggins and this can also accommodate 800 learners. In 1999 alterations and extensions were done on an existing school in Cato Crest so that it could serve 800 learners. One more primary school was built in Cato Crest for 800 learners and another was built in Nsimbini (CMDA, 2002).

Sixty-six percent of respondents stated that there were enough secondary schools in the area, with only 34 percent stating that this was insufficient. According to the CMDA (2002) three secondary schools have been built in Cato Manor. The first secondary school was built in 1999 in Wiggins, and two more secondary schools were built in 2000 in Cato Crest and Chesterville, respectively. Each school can accommodate 1000 learners.

Sixty-six percent agreed that the primary schools in Cato Manor were of good quality. And 55 percent agreed that the secondary schools were of good quality. It is clear from these results that the residents of Cato Manor are relatively satisfied with the number of schools in the area, but also with the quality of the schools.

i) Housing

When asked if there were enough houses in Cato Manor, particularly government built RDP houses, the majority of the respondents agreed that there was a housing shortage. Seventy-six percent of the respondents stated that there were definitely not enough houses while only 24 percent said that there were enough.

Despite the various housing projects that have been developed in Cato Manor, the number of houses actually constructed falls very short of the demand. This is illustrated by the large informal settlements that are present throughout Cato Manor. Of the 29 people questioned 45 percent lived in some kind of formal housing which was made of brick and had a roof, running water, electricity and sanitation. Fifty-five percent of the people questioned, however, lived in informal housing which included shacks, or a dwelling that was built in the yard of a formal house or block of flats, without proper planning permission.

The respondents were also asked if the houses that had been built were of good quality. Fifty-nine percent agreed that the houses were not of good quality. Many of the respondents claimed

that the walls of the houses were cracking and were dangerous, especially the double storey dwellings.

The provision of housing in Cato Manor was a very serious problem. The vast majority agreed that there was a severe shortage of housing. Also, the houses that had been provided were not of good quality. The discontent of the residents was evident through the various protests that have occurred in Cato Manor. There is growing tension over the housing shortage in the area and the continuing evictions of shack dwellers as well as the moving of displaced people to poorly serviced transit camps (Patel, 2013). The provision of housing is an area that requires much improvement.

ii) Government Clinics

When asked if there were enough government clinics in Cato Manor the majority of the respondents stated that this was inadequate. Sixty-two percent of respondents agreed that there were too few clinics, while 38 percent stated that there were adequate facilities. Fifty nine percent of the respondents indicated that the clinics were of poor quality, while 38 percent felt that the facilities were adequate. There were complaints of having to wait hours at clinics.

iii) Parks and Playgrounds

The respondents were also asked whether or not there were enough parks and playgrounds for children in Cato Manor. Seventy-two percent said that there was not enough, and only 28 percent said that the number of parks and playgrounds was sufficient. According to Robinson (2003) 9 parks, 3 playgrounds and 11 play “spots” have been built throughout the Cato Manor area. Despite this many of the respondents expressed great concern that there were not enough places for children to play safely, and often many of them played on busy main roads and this had resulted in many accidents where children were run over. The majority of the respondents stated that there was a growing need to put speed bumps on the roads to stop people from speeding and to protect the children. The lack of playgrounds and parks appears to upset the residents of Cato Manor and is therefore an area in which improvement is needed.

iv) Residents’ Priorities

The respondents were asked what they would change or improve in Cato Manor. The issue that was raised most often was housing. Sixty nine percent stated that they needed more houses, particularly for those people living in shacks. Another problem that became very clear was that

many of respondents who had received houses felt that they were too cramped, with entire families living in one room. There were also concerns about quality, with many residents claiming that the dwellings were dangerous to live in due to cracks in the walls.

Clinics were also mentioned frequently as an area of concern, with many saying that they needed more staff and better service delivery. Another problem which was mentioned often was the lack of employment in Cato Manor. Crime and drugs were also mentioned as problems in Cato Manor which needed to be addressed.

It was evident from the responses that some areas of social infrastructure development had been successful and the residents were satisfied, such as schools and community halls. However, there are many areas that need significant improvement such as the provision of housing, government clinics and safe places for children to play.

Post-CMDA Development in Cato Manor

The continued development of Cato Manor, following the closure of the CMDA in 2003, and with the eThekweni Municipality subsequently taking responsibility for the area, has been relatively limited. The eThekweni Municipality instituted the Cato Manor Area Based Management programme in late 2003 so as to continue the development of the area. There is increasing frustration, contestations and violence in the area, as will be illustrated in subsequent sections. The eThekweni municipality has promised to provide RDP housing for the shack dwellers of Cato Manor. This, however, has failed to materialise with many people still living in shacks or in poorly serviced transit camps.

The eThekweni municipality had also been involved in the demolition of a large number of shacks throughout the area, but particularly in Cato Crest. These demolitions are reminiscent of the forced removals during the apartheid era and show that the right to live in Cato Manor remains a contested issue. In January 2013 about 110 shacks were demolished by the municipality leaving at least 150 families without homes (Nene, 2014). These demolitions have been occurring periodically since 2012 throughout the various informal settlements in Cato Manor.

A spokesperson from the municipality claimed that the demolitions took place in order to control the growth of informal settlements and to prevent land from being illegally invaded by

shack dwellers. The informal shacks were to be replaced by small formal housing units which were to be allocated to people who are currently living in temporary shelter (Manzi, 2012). The municipality has adopted an almost zero tolerance policy to informal settlements in Cato Manor, instead of continuing with the CMDA informal settlement upgrading projects. The plan was to relocate the shack dwellers to new formal settlements but these are often much further away from the city, especially in terms of access to employment. The residents of these shack settlements, therefore, naturally contest this move and began to rebuild their shacks soon after the land invasion crews have completed the demolitions (Nene, 2014).

In January 2012 the planned demolition of shacks sparked violent protest in Cato Crest when the residents were told to leave their shacks so that new low-cost housing could be built (Plate 1). This particular set of demolitions became a political issue with the Democratic Alliance (DA) claiming that the ANC had ordered the illegal demolition of the shacks. This did, however, succeed in halting the demolitions as the DA opened up a case of illegal eviction at the Cato Manor police station. It was alleged that the shacks had been demolished without a court order (Hans, 2012).



Plate 1: Evictions in Cato Crest without court orders

Demolitions of shack are still occurring in Cato Manor even though many people have not been provided with alternate accommodation. Many residents continue to tolerate these periodic demolitions as they have no other option. A number of families who once occupied land in Cato Crest which was then used for low-cost housing invaded a new area of land in March 2013 and established the Marikana informal settlement (named after the Marikkana miners' strike). These shacks were being demolished on a regular basis. However, the residents do not qualify for low-cost housing and therefore have to continue to live in shacks with illegal water and electricity connections and poor sanitation (Hans, 2014). The continued demolitions have resulted in the degradation of their shack building materials such as the corrugated iron. For many, this means that once they have rebuilt their shacks they are not as stable as before and often have leaking roofs. This further decreases their standard of living.

Contemporary Violence in Cato Manor

Violence in Cato Manor takes many forms and is showing no signs of letting up. In fact “violent crime was a facet of day-to-day life for people living in Cato Manor” (England and Xulu, 2006:2). In recent years forced evictions, housing shortages, conflict over land, municipal corruption, xenophobia, police brutality, poor service delivery, repression, poverty and inequality have sparked many acts of violence throughout the area. The violence has resulted in many injuries and a number of deaths as well as damage to property. Often the protests involve the blocking of main roads in Cato Manor with burning tyres and debris (Plate 2).

The shortage of accommodation in Cato Manor and the slow delivery of RDP housing is a major point of contestation for the residents (Plates 3 and 4). Protests over the poor delivery of housing and services have become increasingly more violent in recent years as the residents try in earnest to raise public awareness of their predicament (ka-Manzi, 2013). Community leaders from some of the shack settlements within Cato Manor began to lead land invasions into vacant property in response to the lack of housing. Multiple protests have occurred as the residents believe that the Ward Councillors are not fulfilling their responsibilities, and are in fact corrupt. These protests have regularly resulted in the closing of major roads in the area and have in some cases resulted in damage to property (ka-Manzi, 2013). In June 2013 the protests came to a violent head as government offices in Cato Manor were destroyed.



Plate 3: Blocking roads with burning tyres



Plate 3: Residents gather for protest march



Plate 4: Confrontation between residents and police

The protests in Cato Manor often turn violent, highlighting the South African Police Services' lack of capacity to facilitate the right of citizens to protest (Plate 3). One such protest in September 2013 culminated in the death of a teenage girl who lived in one of Cato Manor's informal settlements. The girl, Nqobile Nzuza, was allegedly shot by the police (Patel, 2013). There have been claims made that during some of the protests violence was used against the police.

Members of the shack dwellers movement Abahlali baseMajondolo who have led some of the land invasions within Cato Manor have been arrested and a number have been assassinated. Two housing activists were murdered in 2013. The residents of Cato Manor were quick to blame the deaths on the Health MEC Sibongiseni Dhlomo who was accused of inciting violence at a community meeting (Nene, 2013). The increase in violence prompted many Abahlali members to go into hiding.

Discontentment over poor service delivery and corruption in Cato Manor has also led to xenophobic attacks against Somali residents and acts of hooliganism within the community. Many Somali owned shops have been destroyed and the owners of the shops have been attacked. There was also a spate of break-ins at various bottle stores and the damaging of infrastructure such as traffic lights by groups of hooligans (ka-Manzi, 2013).

It is clear that the violence in Cato Manor has many different causes and takes the form of institutional violence in the form of police brutality against protesters, political violence incited by Ward Councillors, social violence in the form of xenophobia and other attacks on community members and leaders of land invasions. The violence in Cato Manor is, however, even more complex and widespread than what is reported in the media. There is much more violence that is invisible such as gender-based violence in homes. Structural violence must also be considered as Cato Manor is a low income area where poverty and inequality is rife.

The majority of residents who were questioned about violence in Cato Manor stated that the area was not a safe place in which to live. Despite many respondents stating that they felt safe within their own homes, most admitted that they felt unsafe on the streets, especially when it was dark. There consensus that there was a high level of violence in Cato Manor, and often women were the victims.

i) Violence against Women in Cato Manor

About 90 percent of the respondents also stated that rape/sexual assault was common in Cato Manor. According to the SAPS, between April 2012 and March 2013 a total of 118 sexual crimes were reported in Cato Manor. This, however, is not a realistic figure as many cases of sexual assault go unreported. It can therefore be assumed that the total number of sexual crimes for that period was significantly higher. When asked to elaborate on the level of rape/sexual assault in Cato Manor Respondent 5 stated that *“rape happens very often to women . . . even in their own homes and when they are walking on the street.”*

Many of the respondents were unwilling to elaborate too much on the situation of rape besides admitting that it did happen frequently. Those who did feel more comfortable with the question said that rape/sexual assault was often perpetrated by family members or friends of the victim. *“I have only heard about it, but I have heard it is family members and friends who do it sometimes”* (Respondent 9). This view was echoed by Respondent 13, *“. . . it happens a lot. Women get raped in their homes by their family or boyfriends”*.

In a study conducted in 2011 revealed that intimate partner violence (IPV) in Cato Manor includes multiple forms of violence committed against women in their homes by partners such as sexual, physical and emotional abuse (Stern, 2011). Gender-based violence as a whole is high in South Africa. According to Goodenough (2006) domestic violence is considered by the SAPS as a major problem in Cato Manor and makes up a large proportion of assault cases reported to the police. It has been noted, however, that often these cases of assault get dropped or that victims of domestic violence are too afraid to report their partners to the police in the first place. Victims of domestic violence in Cato Manor reported that violence often occurs after their partners have been drinking at local taverns and shebeens.

According to Stern (2011) IPV in Cato Manor was reported to happen in the presence of other people. This is to say a man would abuse his female partner physically or verbally in front of people. Bystanders to IPV would for the most part not get involved or attempt to stop the attack. This is believed to be illustrative of the fact that this form of violence against women is perceived by the people of Cato Manor to be relatively common or normal (Stern, 2011). To some degree IPV appears to be accepted and as a result people are able to perpetrate it in public with no consequences.

A number of the female respondents felt that they were specifically targeted because of their gender. Respondent 10, a female, had recently been attacked on her way home from work. She explained her experience; “. . . *last week on my way home a guy came out of the bush near my house with a knife and attacked me. I tried to run away and jumped over a wall. I hurt my ankle and couldn't go to work for a few days.*” Respondent 10 had also been employed at a local petrol station and said “*they also rob at work. Guys came up to me with knives and ask for petrol. They make me fill up bottles with petrol. The men take advantage of women. They tried to come back and do it again but there was only men at the front so they run away. They only do it to me because I am a woman and it is easy*”.

ii) Drugs and Violence in Cato Manor

All the respondents who were questioned on violence in Cato Manor agreed that there is a drug problem in the area, which increases violence. When asked what specific role the drug addicts of Cato Manor played in violence in the area every respondent claimed that it was they were responsible for much of the burglaries and attacks that occurred. Respondent 13 said ‘*yes they hurt people and steal from homes, even from their own mothers*’. According to Goodenough (2006) the residents of Cato Manor believe that drugs are the third most important factor influencing crime and violence. Respondent 6 believed that drugs were very important in causing crime and violence and said ‘*they steal stuff from people. The people who take drugs don't work so how are they getting the money?*’.

When asked which drugs were the most common many respondents claimed it was dagga and whoonga. Whoonga appears to be an increasing problem in Cato Manor: “*Yes I know people who take drugs. People who take whoonga do crazy things. They even steal washing from the line*” (Respondent 9). The drug problem in Cato Manor is growing. According to Goodenough (2001) drugs are more common in Cato Manor than surrounding areas and other informal settlements. The problem appeared to be worse than even the local police realised.

Goodenough (2001) identified that dagga, mandrax and crack were used in the area. Whoonga is a relatively new drug in comparison and is a mixture of antiretroviral drugs and chemical agents that is highly addictive. Drug awareness campaigns have been set up in the area by the Cato Manor Area Based Management and this highlights the growing concern of the residents and local government about the drug issues in the area. These campaigns aim to educate the residents on the dangers of using whoonga and how to identify if someone may be addicted to drugs (KZN Health, 2010).

The respondents were also asked what role the drug dealers played in the violence. The majority of those questioned stated that the drug dealers themselves were not actively involved in violence as explained by Respondent 2: *“Yes they are involved but they are not abusive. They don’t want to be known”*. According to Respondent 2, the drug dealers were not actively involved in violence as they wanted to remain hidden from the authorities. Respondent 10 had the same sentiment stating that drug dealers *“just keep quiet”*. Two of the respondents stated that they were afraid of the drug dealers. Eight of the respondents felt that the drug dealers, although not involved in violent activities themselves, were to blame for many of the crime and violence problems experienced by the residents. Respondent 8 explains, *“they cause the violence . . . if there were less drugs the crime wouldn’t be so bad”*. According to Respondent 15, *“they make the area more unsafe. If they weren’t selling drugs it wouldn’t be like this”*. Respondent 14 went so far as to say that the drug dealers were responsible for destroying the children’s future in Cato Manor because of the violence they cause.

Whoonga, in particular is having a devastating effects on the community and families within Cato Manor. In 2013 the head of the Community Safety and Liaison Department, Ronnie Bhengu helped the police identify 20 houses within the area that were being used as drug dens. It was found that the majority of the people who were selling the drugs were young and that in some cases they were being assisted by their parents (Hans, 2013). The use of whoonga can be directly linked to many cases of crime and violence in the area such as violent housebreakings and robberies as addicts desperately try to make enough money to buy more drugs. Ntokozo Ngobese, a principal of one of the local schools believes that the drug dealers see the youth of Cato Manor as soft targets and that whoonga and other drugs have resulted in many children dropping out of his school. These children then go on the lead a life of crime to feed their drug addiction (Hans, 2013).

According to SAPS (2013a) statistics, drug related crimes, which includes the possession and selling of drugs, is the category with the highest total number of crimes reported each year in Cato Manor. For example, between April 2012 and March 2013, a total of 644 drug related crimes were reported to the police in Cato Manor. In the 2008/2009 period, the total number of drug related crime reported in Cato Manor was only 390. This shows that there has been a marked increase in the last five years. This is significantly higher than any other crime category. Between 2004 and 2013 drug related crimes in South African have increased by 192.8 percent (SAPS, 2013b).

iii) Taxi Violence in Cato Manor

Taxi violence has been rife in Cato Manor for many years but it was at its peak in 2008. Various taxi associations fight for ownership of routes and for customers but the real victims of these taxi wars are the innocent commuters and residents in Cato Manor (Mkhulisi, 2008). In 2008 there was ongoing violence linked to a dispute between the Cato Manor and the Chesterville-Westville taxi associations. A member of the Cato Manor Taxi Association, Steven Moletsane, was gunned down as killed outside his home along with his wife and daughter in 2008.

The ongoing violence between rival taxi associations in 2008 left the residents of Cato Manor living in fear. The violence started when Taxi bosses from Chesterville told their drivers to expand their routes into Cato Manor as their business in Chesterville and Westville had begun to stagnate. This angered the Cato Manor Taxi Association and a taxi war ensued (Manzi and Bond, 2008). Although peace agreements were made amongst the various associations, these often did not hold and violence erupted soon after. In one instance in August 2008 a verbal agreement between the Cato Manor and Chesterville associations only lasted one day before violence and shootings started again (Madlala, 2008). According to Manzi and Bond (2008) during the taxi war gunshots could be heard throughout Cato Manor on most nights. In some instances it became too dangerous to walk around the area for fear of flying bullets. During this spate of violence one taxi lord was murdered and numerous innocent commuters and bystanders were injured, including children (Manzi and Bond, 2008).

Community meetings were held to inform the residents of Cato Manor of the agreements that had been reached between the rival associations, however, the majority of the residents still felt unsafe. In March 2009 alone five people died as a result of taxi violence in the area, and 19 cases of attempted murder had been reported to the Cato Manor SAPS (Madlala, 2008). Residents of Cato Manor and neighbouring townships were in fear of the taxi violence and as a result urged the government to outlaw the taxis in their communities and provide them with buses. In August 2008 ten taxis which were carrying innocent commuters were shot at and one taxi driver was injured when he was shot in the arm. As a result, many residents had to stop using the taxis for fear that they would be injured or killed. They then had to walk to work which put them at risk of other dangers, such as been mugged, raped or run over by motor vehicles (Mdlala, 2008).

In the early hours of 12 August 2008 a taxi was shot at in Cato Manor which resulted in the driver crashing into a house. A family was asleep in the house at the time when the shoot-out

occurred in the street outside their property. The shoot-out occurred despite a peace agreement that had been signed. None of the family were hurt but the wall of their house was destroyed. It is clear that the taxi violence severely affected innocent people's lives (Hans, 2008)..

In 2009 a Cato Manor taxi boss Bongani Mkhize was shot 12 times in his car by a group dubbed the 'angles of death' (Hlongwane, 2012). The death of Mkhize had implications for a number of policemen for many years after it happened.

iv) The Politics of Policing in Cato Manor

Policing in Cato Manor appears to be fraught with corruption and issues of internal politics. This was clearly illustrated in 2012 when Major-General Johan Booysen who was the head of the KwaZulu-Natal Hawks and a member of the Cato Manor organised crime unit was arrested, suspended and criminally charged. Booysen along with other members of the organised crime unit were accused of operating a death squad in Cato Manor. Their arrests followed an investigation which was conducted by the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (Hans, 2012). This supposed death squad was believed to be responsible for multiple counts of murder, robbery and racketeering (Broughton, 2014).

According to Daily News Reporters (2012) a total of thirty policeman, who had been members of the Cato Manor Organised Crime Unit, were arrested along with Booysen. A total of 116 charges were laid against them including 28 charges of murder. The remainder of the charges pertained to defeating the course of justice, illegal possession of ammunition and firearms, illegal pointing of weapons, housebreaking, theft, attempted murder, malicious damage to property, assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm and racketeering. The majority of these offences involved acts of violence against the public and suspects. In a number of the murder cases these policemen were also accused of placing firearms next to victims' bodies so as to create the impression that a shootout had occurred and the killing was done in self-defence (Daily News Reporters, 2012). The policemen were also linked to much of the taxi violence which had blighted Cato Manor and many other areas of Durban since 2008. All 30 policemen were granted R 5 000 bail in August 2012. Their case was continually postponed and all 30 policeman were unable to work during that time. In June 2014 twenty-seven of the policemen appeared in the Durban High Court with the support of Booysen. The case was then adjourned to February 2015 (SAPA, 2014).

Three cases were used to charge Booysen. The first case involved the murder of taxi boss Bongani Mkhize. It had been alleged that members of the Cato Manor organised crime unit shot Mkhize in the back and that Booysen did not address the situation at all. In the second case it was alleged that the organised crime unit stormed into a house in Cato Manor in pursuit of an escaped prisoner. Members of the unit then shot and accidentally killed a 16-year old boy named Kwazi Ndlovu (Broughton, 2014). Again Booysen was accused of doing nothing to control the unit. The third cases regarded an article in the Sunday Times which accused the unit of misconduct and Booysen's apparent disregard and inaction against the members of the unit who were being accused by the newspaper.

In March 2014 Judge Trevor Gorven ruled that all charges against Booysen should be withdrawn as there was no evidence that he had been involved in any racketeering. The State was forced to comply and all charges were withdrawn. However, Booysen was still under fire and was subsequently charged internally with misconduct and mismanagement with regards to the way in which he handled the three above mentioned cases.

Booyesen was finally exonerated of all charges laid against him in September 2014 in a report by Advocate Nazeer Cassim. In the report Cassim questions the motives of a number of people in trying to oust Booysen. Cassim in particular criticised the former commander of the Cato Manor Unit Rajen Ayer as the evidence he gave against Booysen was dismal. He was also criticised for being obsessed with his political image. According to Cassim the charges laid against Booysen were politically motivated and are illustrative of corruption at the highest levels of the SAPS (Broughton, 2014).

Evidence was also found that the provincial police commissioner of KwaZulu-Natal Mmamonye Ngobeni had attempted to stop an investigation into the corrupt activities of Col Navin Madhoe and a private businessman Thoshan Panday. Booysen had succeeded in getting Madhoe arrested after he tried to bribe Booysen with R2 million to compromise a police investigation (Broughton, 2014). It was soon after this incident that Booysen was charged with operating the death squad and Madhoe was reinstated as a police Colonel. It has since become clear that Madhoe, Ngobeni and Panday were all involved in corruption that resulted in significant amounts of SAPS money going 'missing'. The charges laid against Booysen appear to have been contrived by Ngobeni in an attempt to get rid of him.

Corruption at the highest levels of the SAPS and the internal wrangling's of the Cato Manor SAPS have resulted in the police service becoming preoccupied and therefore largely

ineffective in quelling violence in the area. The majority of the residents questioned about violence felt that the police did not do enough to help stop or prevent violence in Cato Manor. Respondent 14 stated “*They are lazy. They don’t do nothing, never enough. We try and phone them but they take ages to show up*”. It appears that many of the residents have little faith that the police can help them. When respondent 10 was asked what the police response to violence was in Cato Manor she said “*they don’t take action at all. If you tell them they are robbing or attacking in a certain area they don’t stop it*”. Since 2012 the SAPS has been preoccupied with prosecuting Booysen and the other 30 policeman rather than being focused on fighting crime and reducing violence in Cato Manor and Durban as a whole.

v) Immigrants and Violence in Cato Manor

All 20 people who were questioned on violence said there was a large number of foreign immigrants living in Cato Manor, mainly from Zimbabwe and Somalia. Xenophobic attacks occurring within Cato Manor have been reported in the media. Including the destroying of tuck shops owned by immigrants. However only 9 of the respondents admitted that violent acts were committed against immigrants with the remainder saying that Cato Manor is one of the only places that immigrants are welcome. The majority of the respondents did, however, feel that immigrants were responsible for the violence that they experience on a day to day basis in Cato Manor. Respondent 14 claims, “*they are involved big time . . . drugs, stealing, fraud. They are the masterminds behind it all*”. Respondent 5 who had been a victim of a violent attack in her home blamed it on the immigrants saying: “*Yes they are involved in crime. They break into my house and rape the children . . . even killing the children*”. Whether or not the immigrants are truly responsible for these violent activities is, however, uncertain.

The first time that a significant number of xenophobic attacks were reported to have occurred in Cato Manor was in May 2008. During this period xenophobia was tearing through South Africa with thousands of immigrants, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, subjected to violent attacks. One case involved a Mozambican man who was approached along Bellair Road which is a main road through Cato Manor. He was asked by two local men if he knew the isiZulu word for elbow. The man did not know the answer to the question and as a result the two assailants severely beat him up and told him to return to his home country (Manzi and Bond, 2008). By 23 May 2008, about three hundred foreigners—mostly Zimbabweans,

Mozambicans and Malawians—had gathered at the Cato Manor police station because of a fear of possible attacks.³

According to Manzi and Bond (2008) there are structural reasons behind the violent acts of xenophobia that have occurred in Cato Manor. One of the most important reasons is the high unemployment rate and the decrease in wages as immigrants are willing to work for less money. Immigrants have also been able to open up small informal tuck shops and stalls selling small goods and food. The increase in crime has also been blamed on the immigrants and as a result many local residents are hostile towards them and xenophobia can occur along with an increase in violence.

In 2008 the Minister of Intelligence, Ronnie Kasrils, compared the outbreak of xenophobic violence with the 1949 riots in Cato Manor:

“I liken it to the anti-Indian mayhem that erupted in Durban in 1949 ... I accept that we have had a spontaneous outburst of xenophobia here - and I don't know why people have trouble with that word: it's accurate for what's going on ... You can't divorce what's happening with food prices, for example, from the present anger. Nor can you divorce all the other economic and financial factors and policies ... There are opportunists who see a chance of getting rid of business opposition, there are local politicians who see a chance of garnering local power, and there are powerful criminal elements”.⁴

v) Protest, Violence and Political Intolerance

Most of the respondents questioned would not admit being involved in a service delivery protest. All the respondents did, however, say that the protests that they had witnessed or heard about were peaceful in nature. One respondent did however admit that during one particular protest the roads had been damaged. The majority of the protests which have occurred in Cato Manor centre around the housing shortage in the area. There have also been many related protests over the lack of delivery of services such as electricity and water to the informal settlements within Cato Manor.

³ <http://mg.co.za/article/2008-05-23-xenophobia-the-perfect-excuse-to-commit-crime> (accessed 10 December 2015).

⁴ http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/uncategorized/current-race-riots-like-1949-anti-indian-riots-south-african-minister_10052573.html (accessed 10 December 2015).

On 6 August 2014, for example, hundreds of protestors blocked one of the main roads through Cato Manor with burning tyres. This particular protest focused on the poor delivery of services to the shack dwellers of the area. The protestors claimed that their electricity was cut off by the municipality and that they were tired of living in such poor conditions (Phoswa, 2014). They felt that the municipality could do more to help their dire situation rather than cutting them off from essential services and plunging them deeper into poverty. Many of the service delivery protests occur because the residents believe that the Ward Councillors in the area are corrupt and responsible for the poor delivery of services (ka-Manzi, 2013).

There is a lack of tolerance in Cato Manor for politically divergent views. Those who disagree with political leaders are often assassinated or have to relocate to other communities. On 13th March 2013 the municipal offices of Councilors Mzimuni Ngiba and Zanele Ndzoziya were damaged and burned by protestors demanding the delivery of RDP houses. The protestors chased ANC Councillor Mzimuni Ngiba out of his house and out of the area. On the 15th of March 2013, Thembinkosi Qumbela who was the president of the Cato Crest Residents' Association, was assassinated standing in a passage outside a local tavern. According to the tavern owner Sipho Mthethwa about 10 spent cartridges were found at the scene. The week before his murder, it is alleged that Qumbela had been trying to get the eThekweni Municipality to allocate houses to shack dwellers whose homes had to be demolished to make way for housing development in Cato Crest. According to Nene (2013:1):

“A day before Qumbelo’s killing, another member of the committee was shot in the arm. The Ward 29 member, who asked not to be named, said he feared for his life after he was ambushed at his home ... I thought I was dying when I heard a number of gunshots fired through the window at about 2am. It has never crossed our minds that we could be attacked and probably killed. He said he was shocked to learn that Qumbelo had been shot dead. We worked together in the ward committee meetings. It is not easy to go back home, if discharged, without knowing who is behind these attacks. My plea to the eThekweni council is to investigate and arrest these people.”

There is some connection between protest violence and political violence, whereby protest is followed by political violence. The burning of councilors offices, burning tyres and logs, and barricading the roads as methods of voicing their grievance are met with violence from the police, and also political violence from unknown perpetrators. When participants were asked which form of protest they found most effective between peaceful protest and violent protest,

there was an equal responses with one half finding peaceful protest more effective, for example, a participant stated: *"I find peaceful protest most effective so that (the community and leaders) communicate and solve their problems"*. The other half believed that peaceful protests are a waste of time, with one participating stating that: *"I prefer violent protest because the government does not take protest seriously until you vandalize something, that's when they will have your attention"*.

These service delivery protests are often labelled illegal and therefore police intervention was inevitable. In the questionnaire survey the respondents were asked what the police response was to the protests. Seventy-five percent of the respondents stated that the police either hurt the protestors and arrested them or chased them away. Respondent 16 believed that the way in which the police dealt with protestors *"violated their right to protest and did not allow them to protest peacefully"*. Many of the respondents claimed that the police did not listen to their problems and merely arrested the protestors. Some claimed that protestors had been hurt by the police.

One of the most violent service delivery protests in recent years occurred on 30 September 2013. Residents blocked Bellair road in the early hours of the morning with debris, rubble and burning tyres and the police were called to disperse them. The police vehicles were unable to reach the scene due to the road blockades and were forced to use a side road (Sapa, 2013). At this point it is alleged that around 500 residents surrounded the vehicle and began to throw stones and broke the windows. According to Colonel Jay Naicker the protesters then tried to pull the policemen out of their vehicles. Gunshots were then heard in the crowd and the policeman retaliated by shooting with live rounds into the crowd, which then dispersed. The SAPS alleged that the policemen shot into the crowd in self-defence as they would have been killed otherwise. The policemen then fled the area. When they returned they found that a 17 year old girl, Nqobile Nzuzi, had been shot and had died at the scene. One other woman had also been shot but had been taken to hospital (SAPA, 2013). The Independent Police Investigative Directorate were then called to the scene and subsequently opened a docket of murder and public violence. Nqobile was the third person to die in 2013 in the fight for houses in Cato Crest (Umar, 2013).

Mnikelo Ndabankulu who is a spokesperson for the shack dwellers movement, Abahlali baseMjondolo, stated that the protest was held due to the non-delivery of houses in the area. According to Ndabankulu the residents had tried many times to voice their grievances to the

municipality and a number of ministers from 16 June 2014 but their cries had fallen on deaf ears. The municipality's failure to respond resulted in the residents of Cato Manor and members of Abahlali becoming angry and frustrated. They believed that if they continued to protest peacefully there would be no response from the authorities (SAPA, 2013). Ndabankulu did however claim that he had no knowledge that any attack on police or damage to their vehicle. The KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Commissioner Lieutenant General Mmamonye Ngobeni condemned this attack on police officers:

“We acknowledge and respect that the public has a constitutional right to demonstrate but the police also has a constitutional mandate to maintain law and order. Violent protests are not acceptable and the police has responsibility to protect property and lives during these violent protests. The public is warned that we will use necessary force to execute this constitutional mandate. It is regrettable that the violent protest led to the loss of life but our police officers will protect themselves when they are attacked or ambushed and perpetrators of such violent protests will be arrested and prosecuted”.⁵

Abahlali general secretary Bandile Mdlalose was arrested for inciting the violence which occurred during the 30 September 2013 protest in Cato Manor. According to Prosecutor Blackie Swart, Ms Mdlalose had been the leader of the violent protest which had resulted in the death of Nqobile Nzuza. It was alleged that there was CCTV evidence that Mdlalose had been the leader. It was stated by the investigating officer, Constable Godfrey Goss that if Bandile Mdlalose was released from jail she would once again incite violence amongst the residents of Cato Manor. Mdlalose was then granted R 5 000 bail after appearing in court and banned from entering Cato Manor until her trial was finalised (Umar, 2013).

The magistrate who granted the bail said that Cato Manor was a site of total anarchy as the court had seen 11 cases of public violence in the 7 months leading up to the 30 September 2013 protest. After Mdlalose was released she vowed to continue the struggle for housing in Cato Manor. According to Mdlalose she had not been the leader of the protest and refused to sit back and watch when she heard that the police had shot at the crowd. At the time she was arrested Mdlalose claimed that she was merely ensuring that Abahlali members were not being harmed

⁵<http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-10-01-in-durbans-cato-manor-death-by-protest-death-by-dissent#.Vv4hDvI96M-> (Accessed 14 March 2014).

and that she was not responsible for inciting the violence (Umar, 2013). A number of members of Abahlali have been assassinated in recent years and this has prompted them to go into hiding. The residents blame these deaths on the ANC and in particular Sibongiseni Dhlomo the Health MEC who was accused of inciting violence at a local meeting (ka-Manzi, 2013).

The frequency and escalation of the service delivery protests in Cato Manor show that the residents are desperate and frustrated with their living conditions. Many of the residents blame ward councillors and the political parties for not addressing their problems. Protestors claim that they have asked for the ward councillors to come talk to them so that they can make their grievances known but the councillors fail to respond (Phoswa, 2014). Of the 20 residents that were questioned, 18 felt that the political response to their needs was insufficient or in some cases non-existent. Respondent 6 said *“they don’t do nothing. They don’t talk to the people”*. Respondent 2 who lived in informal housing said *“we are promised housing. They said they will build toilet. I don’t want a toilet, I want a house. If I had a house I would be safe. They have all the meetings but still do nothing”*. It appears that many of the residents who have been promised low cost housing and better service delivery feel that these are empty promises made by political parties, who want more votes during elections, as aptly encapsulated by Respondent 1: *“they do nothing, and only want votes. After elections they are gone”*.

Conclusion

The residents of Cato Manor live in a state of poverty and inequality which historically stems from apartheid era racially discriminatory legislation which had marginalised the black population. Reconstruction and development strategies in the post-apartheid era have attempted to address this problem. In Cato Manor the reconstruction and development was first championed by the CMDA with some positive results. Many people in Cato Manor had access to basic services that they previously lacked such as running water, electricity, low income housing and other social infrastructure.

After the closure of the CMDA in 2003, the continual maintenance and provision of these services and infrastructure by the eThekweni Municipality fell short of what was needed and as a result the majority of people were condemned to live under appalling conditions with few services. These problems were exacerbated as migrants flocked into the area. The needs of the

poor in Cato Manor were not being met, and their only option was mass protest action, which was often met with state supported violence and repression.

The levels of poverty and inequality in Cato Manor can be directly linked with apartheid era forced removals and displacement of Indians and Africans in the 1950s and 1960s. In the present day little has changed for many residents of Durban with the African population being the most likely to occupy poverty stricken informal settlements (Peberdy, 2010). It has been argued that cities in South Africa are neo-apartheid cities where the most horrible aspects of the apartheid city are continually being reproduced through poverty and inequality amongst the poor black population. In Cato Manor, in particular, poverty appears to be a serious problem with many of the unemployed residents living in informal settlements, unemployed and unable to meet their basic needs. These people receive little or no services and rely on stolen electricity and water connections. These conditions are in contrast to the neighbouring residential areas of Westville and Glenwood and are illustrative of the levels of inequality that are present throughout Durban.

Various forms of violence have been evident in the area such as gender-based violence, protest and taxi wars. This high level of violence was not being adequately addressed as the SAPS is corrupt and preoccupied with internal politics. Ward Councillors and the municipality have also been accused of being corrupt and are therefore responsible for the poor state of affairs in Cato Manor. In order to reduce violence in the area the basic needs of the people must be realised.

Violence in Cato Manor appears to be widespread and takes many forms such as gender based violence, crime related to drugs, taxi wars, xenophobia and protest action. The majority of the residents felt that the area was unsafe, especially when it was dark and there was a high level of violence.

Violence against women appears to be common in Cato Manor, particularly rape/sexual assault and IPV. Rape/sexual assault was reported to be perpetrated by family members and friends with some forming part of IPV. Domestic violence as a whole is seen as a serious problem in Cato Manor and the source of many assault cases reported to the police in the area. Gender based violence in Cato Manor has been linked to the high consumption rate of alcohol in local taverns and shebeens.

Drugs were seen by the residents to be a serious problem in the area and a source of much of the crime and violence. Drug dealers were seen to be the ones responsible for housebreakings and muggings in the area. Dagga and whoonga were cited as the most common drugs used in the area, however, the use of mandrax and crack has also been reported (Goodenough, 2001). The use of whoonga appears to be increasing rapidly and is a concern to most residents. Drug dealers were not seen as a significant threat to violence, however, a number of the residents believed that the drug dealers, although not actively involved, were responsible for the increase in violence as they were the ones bringing the drugs into the area.

Taxi violence and taxi wars have been occurring in Cato Manor for many years and is a cause of much fear and insecurity amongst the residents. A taxi war between rival associations in Cato Manor and the neighbouring Chesterville resulted in many acts of violence throughout the area. Numerous shootouts have occurred in Cato Manor that have resulted in the deaths of a number of people and caused injury to innocent commuters and bystanders, including school children (Manzi and Bond, 2008). At one point a taxi wars became so violent that residents were afraid to walk around Cato Manor for fear of being hit by a stray bullet. The violence was also responsible for damage to property.

Xenophobia was prevalent in Cato Manor. Immigrants are often blamed by the residents of Cato Manor for much of the crime and violence in the area. This can be attributed to general frustrations due to lack of employment, services and infrastructure (Manzi and Bond, 2008), and foreign migrants become scapegoats. Some residents accepted immigrants but the majority felt that they were to blame for many social ills and should therefore move back to their home countries.

Violence relating to service delivery protests is an increasing problem in Cato Manor. Many of the protests which occur are centred on the poor service delivery (water and electricity) and shortage of housing. The state criminalises such protests and often call for police reinforcements which escalates crime, violence and conflict. Service delivery protests are occurring with increasing frequency and highlight the desperation of Cato Manor residents. Residents claim that ward councillors and political parties fail to respond to their needs and therefore protests are necessary. Promises made by the ANC are now seen by residents as empty and just a ruse to garner more votes during elections.

Policing in Cato Manor is fraught with corruption and internal political problems. The arrest of Johan Booysen and 30 other policemen from the Cato Manor organised crime unit is illustrative of this fact. Politically motivated arrests of police personnel are taking place and this is seriously hampering the ability of the SAPS to do their job properly. Many of the residents in Cato Manor have little faith that the police can help them or reduce violence in the area. A number of the residents stated that the police do nothing to help them and do not stop crime or violence from happening even if they are aware of it.

Policy Recommendations

- Investigate the source of service delivery backlogs such as corruption within the municipality.
- There needs to be better communication between the municipality and the community in Cato Manor to ensure that residents are aware of new developments. Effective public participation is necessary in the planning of new development strategies and projects. This will help identify what the residents' priorities are for development. This would also help to identify possible contentious issues, and reduce conflict and violent protests. In this regard, ward councillors should be playing a critical, proactive role.
- Shack demolitions must be stopped unless reasonable, alternate accommodation is available. Instead there should be effective shack upgrading projects that help to provide services to informal settlements and can slowly transform them into formal, fully serviced settlements with adequate infrastructure.
- Shack upgrading projects can also provide training and employment creation initiatives. In this way human capital can be developed and this can contribute to poverty alleviation in the area.
- Corruption within the SAPS needs to be addressed and those responsible should be removed from their positions. More frequent police patrols and raids should be

occurring in the area so as to reduce the amount of crime and thereby reduce the fears and insecurity experienced by the residents.

- Introduce awareness campaigns about different forms of violence in the community, especially for gender based violence. The community can then work together to combat the different types of violence.
- Drug awareness campaigns should also be introduced. Drug dealing and drug use is becoming an increasing problem in Cato Manor, especially amongst the youth. Parents need to be made aware of the signs of drug use in their children and the best ways to deal with it. Children must also be educated in schools about the dangers of drug use and a life of crime.
- The frustrations relating to housing shortages, poor service delivery and infrastructure provision have boiled over into increased protests in Cato Manor that often turn violent. If the needs of the residents are not satisfactorily addressed, then the level of violence in Cato Manor may continue to rise.

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