Indicators of Anomie
in the Context of
the Township of
Khayelitsha

(Master's Research Project
Sociology Thesis - Revised Version)

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Preface

This thesis will be read by and discussed by people of various backgrounds and by people whose knowledge differs about the necessary theory or about the history of and the situation within the local context of Khayelitsha. Therefore some parts of the thesis might already be well known to one reader, but be important information for another one. People living in Khayelitsha might find the description of the area much too detailed and not of interest, while the same description might be interesting to students of development sociology coming from northern countries.

The following three paragraphs of the preface are of personal concern to me.

I personally do not like to refer to people by the colour of their skin. Unfortunately, even though “legal apartheid” is over, many of the structural effects caused by this former system still exist. In other societies, one does not mention the colour of a person’s skin to describe her/him - within this specific local context, it is impossible to ignore this fact TODAY! I hope there will come a time that the colour of skin will no longer be a statistical significant or structural relevant fact to describe people.

Whenever I mention the situation of a certain group of people, for example the living situation of “black”, “white” or “coloured” people, I am referring to the situation of the majority of the mentioned groups. Especially in South Africa, it seems to be more important than in other areas of the world since within many discussions the often-used term is “well, I know a person who did this and that, he or she is totally different from what you are describing”. Although I do not like to generalise, it will unfortunately not be possible to mention a number of exceptional stories apart from extracts of the interviews done in Khayelitsha.

Within the document, there are some references to the terms “old” and “new”. In the context of this paper these words refer to values, norms and behavioural patterns; they merely describe a relation to the chronological first appearance of specific values, norms,... within the local Khayelitsha context. The terms of "new" and "old", do not in any case stand for an assessment or a valuation.
The first section of the study describes the situation of the South African population in general and the specific situation of about a half a million to a million people living in Khayelitsha with a rather macro point of view. The qualitative interviews and its analyses focus especially on individual opinions, thoughts and perceptions, afterwards the interviews give a rather micro point of view.

I would like to thank the Department of Political and Development Studies and especially Dr. Heinz Holley who supported me by giving important academic advise in Austria. I owe special thanks to Prof. Ken Jubber from the Department of Sociology for supporting and helping me with academic and personal matters during my stay in South Africa. I would also like to thank P. Tshangana from the Department of African Languages & Literature at the University of Cape Town who fortunately helped me by translating the interview guideline within a short period.

I would also like to thank all the men and women living and working in Khayelitsha, who supported me in doing this project. I would especially like to thank Luyanda for his help, for the warm welcome, and for introducing me to Philiswa Lwanjana. I would like to thank Philiswa for helping me by translating and sometimes building a bridge between different people and different cultures.

While I especially thank Eva Renetzeder for encouraging me in doing this research in South Africa. I, at the same time, apologise for the difficulties that arose. I would also like to thank my brother Robert Krenmayr for his support during the time that I wrote this thesis.
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1 Introduction

Starting with the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s South Africa experienced great societal changes. At the beginning, the major changes happened because of the conflict situation between police and military groups representing the official South African nation, and non-white groups of the population on the other side. In 1994, the first democratic elections took place in South Africa and every South African had one vote to give - for the majority this was the first chance to take part in national elections. With this shift in the distribution of political power and for big groups of the population, this was the first possibility to be represented. A new era begun. At the end of the 90s and at the beginning of the 21st century South Africa is thinking about, whether there is a chance to redistribute the economic power and how this could be accomplished.

Many different scientific disciplines are looking at the big changes taking place in this model of a (rather) peaceful shift from a racist regime to a democratic society. Some sociologists are looking at the macro point of view and discussing different theories of social transformation within societies, like the question of whether the current transformation could be seen within the framework of modernising theories or whether new or modified theories are necessary.

This study is about anomie, the phenomenon of social disintegration. Compared with the before mentioned macro-view theories, this research takes a look at both, the macro and the micro point of view of changes and their possible micro consequences like apathy or aggression. The study is exclusively focusing on the township population of Khayelitsha (Cape Town / South Africa). The goal is to identify possible indicators of anomie within this specific local cultural environment.

Since anomic situations may cause different effects like apathy or aggression within a society, it is important to know their origins in detail to be able to take action against negative causes and therefore to avoid the negative outcomes. For example, when looking at the situation in the Cape Flats one has to mention that the people’s attention today is tied to an aggressive effect of anomie - the high crime rate (The Cape Flats area was, under apartheid, defined as the so-called "coloured-area"). Even though the Cape Flats borders on Khayelitsha, the economic background and the cultural roots in general are very different). In a 1996 study people were asked to name the “most important problems” the “local community [is facing] at the present time” (without giving any hint about the focused issue of the study). Within the 15 most often mentioned answers only four were not related to crime. Beside the problem of unemployment (ranked fifth), the other three were at the bottom of the list. This examples show that the aggressive
criminal effects of anomie let the people to almost forget to think about the causes of anomie and possible other problems.\textsuperscript{1} In order to reduce the existing aggressive criminal effects it is important to know their causes and to remove these causes of anomie instead of only trying to avoid one form of the possible resulting effects.

Anomie can be found among various groups of people - groups defined according to their religious orientation, economic strength, gender, ethnic background or others criteria. Even within the various groups, defined along a specific characteristic, reasons and resulting effects differ as well as the strength of their influence. Within South Africa anomie can also be found among a large proportion of the white population. Many of them had and even have problems getting used to the fact that now they are, when looking at the political (not economic) power, a minority. Some of them assume that the "new" (not " white-only ") government is not able to initiate changes for reducing poverty in this country. Some of them even assume that the government is not able to rule the country within a democratic environment. While there might be many more anomic situations and resulting problems within South Africa and other countries, this study will only focus on the population of Khayelitsha and its relevant context.

The study has been done with scientific support by the University of Linz/Austria (Department of Political and Development Research) and the University of Cape Town/South Africa (Department of Sociology). In different phases of the research process people living and/or working in Khayelitsha (non-governmental organisations (NGOs), local community based organisations (CBOs), companies and administration) contributed with their knowledge and experience. Many thanks to all who supported this research.

\textsuperscript{1} IDASA 1998; p 3f
2 Concept of anomie

2.1 Historical theories, mainly focusing on phenomena in industrial countries

The term anomie emerged from the Greek and Latin language. The Greek term literally meant "the absence of law". In the late 16th and 17th century, it was used in England for the breaking of religious laws. The French philosopher Jean Marie Guyau used the term to describe a kind of morality emerging from an "absence of apodictic, strengthened universal norms". It was seen because of growing knowledge and rationality of humans. Guyau defined the role of the individual as active creator of this change. ²

In 1893, Emile Durkheim ("De la division du travail") used the term anomie to describe a situation in which social disintegration is beside the economic effects another consequence of the division of labour. In societies with only small extends of division of labour there is no strong distinction between members of a society - the solidarity between its members is mechanic ("mechanic solidarity"). With the emergence of the division of labour the extend of interdependence is much higher - no one can live self-sufficient. Comparing it to the interdependence of a biological body he uses the term of organic solidarity. Anomie emerges because of a decreasing organic solidarity resulting from an increasing importance of individualism. It is described as a state with the absence of common obligingness, expectations and norms, which usually guide and control the interaction of members of a community. ³

When Durkheim a few years later wrote "Le suicide" (1897) he used anomie in a different kind of manner. He described humans differing from animals in a way that humans do not have natural limits to their requirements. To solve the problem of living in a permanent unsatisfactory state humans need an external, moral authority. Usually there are accepted authorities and accepted norms within different parts of society. Nevertheless, when it comes to a sudden change, society becomes temporary unable to act. Such crises emerge from the collapsing of economies as well as in certain cases of great economic prosperity. In these situations without certainty about content and the extend of norms, the situation (anomie) intensifies due to the fact that passion is not regulated in a moment when it would need even more regulations. ⁴

² Hillermann Karl-Heinz (1994); p28
³ Lamnek Siegfried (1996); p108ff
⁴ Lamnek Siegfried (1996); p110ff
In "Social Theory and Social Structure", Robert K. Merton (1967-1985) spoke about two important elements of social and cultural structure. At first, he mentioned the cultural defined goals, purposes and interests, that all members of a society, or those in certain positions accept as legitimate. Even though these goals are more or less integrated and their importance varies, they are basic elements of society. The second important element of cultural structure defines, regulates, and controls the permissible way of reaching the goals. Each social group decides on procedures, that are allowed, and procedures, that are not allowed to approach the goals. Many technically more or less efficient ways to reach goals like using violence, cheating, theft and others are not accepted by values shared among a group of people, or even rejected by norms of institutions.\textsuperscript{5}

Merton describes two ideal types. The first type can be found within societies with a combination of very important goals without any value-regulation for the ways of reaching the goals. The second ideal type situation is a society with practices continuing to exist even without goals, turning into rituals without purpose. In between these two ideal types he described societies allowing accentuating the goals as well as the practices to reach them. Societies with a balance of flexibility between the goals and the practices are described as integrated, but also variable and stable.\textsuperscript{6}

Merton lists five different types of adaptation that can take place. Conformity as a first type is the one where cultural goals as well as the legitimate means for attaining them are accepted. The single adaptation of the ways to reach the accepted goals is categorised as innovation. Behaviour within this framework does not need to conform to the laws. Rejecting only the cultural goals, but continuing to act in the same way is named ritualism. The forth type of adaptation is the one that is chosen, when changing the ways to reach goals does not work properly. Then resignation appears and after a while even the cultural goals are rejected - retreatism. For the last type of adaptation the experiences are similar like the one mentioned above, but the outcome is not resignation, but rebellion. The change of goals, and at the same time the change of the ways to reach the goals, seems to be the adequate solution.\textsuperscript{7}

In this study the rather general anomie-description of the "Anomie Research Board" is used: “Anomie indicates an anarchic state of crisis-prone uncertainty affecting a broad segment of the population. Cultural interpretative models lose their function. Social interaction within a community ceases. Previously valid behaviour norms as well as personal

\textsuperscript{5} Robert King Merton translated by Hella Beister (1995); p128f
\textsuperscript{6} Robert King Merton translated by Hella Beister (1995); p129
\textsuperscript{7} Robert King Merton translated by Hella Beister (1995); p135ff
competence disintegrates. Goal orientated action becomes more and more impossible for both the individual and the collective. Results include general lack of direction and uncertainty in behaviour. The intensity of social or cultural conflict increases.”

“More specially, anomie as we understand the concept is characterised as disorganisation or disorder ideally engendering a new organisation and order at a higher societal level.”

### 2.2 Anomie and the link to social change and development

When reading the theoretical part that focuses on anomie one could ask where the link between a developing society and the anomie concept exists. This question especially arises in relation to a developing society, since many of the above-described concepts have been formulated for "modernising" western societies with the consequences of increasing individualisation of societies and a loss of importance of several societal institutions like religion, family and several others.

When P. Atteslander writes about "own cultural development" he explains a new approach to Durkheim's concept of anomie. Durkheim describes society primarily as a state of order. He argues that in cases where common orientation and order do no longer exist, problems, caused by anomie, would arise. Atteslander focuses on developmental aspects within society and therefore primarily on social change - or as he rather carefully states "no society has been or is for a longer period of time totally static". Therefore, he states that anomie is even a necessary prerequisite for every social change. The question to answer is how much/how little anomie is necessary for changes to take place and what extent of anomie is too much, so that development is prevented. Problems emerge when social changes accelerate too fast and there is not enough time for social learning.

When Ogburne looks at development from a modernising point of view, he states that the "diffusion of material goods tends to be much faster than the acceptance of non-material goods". Looking at Merton's concept, the material goods could be interpreted as one aspect of cultural goals and the non-material goods as the way to reach and handle this goal. Even though Ogburne’s theory is about a modernisation, he describes a problem that could be compared to situations of anomie.

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8 P. Atteslander (1999): p9
9 P. Atteslander (1999): p11
10 P. Atteslander (1993): p17f
11 P. Atteslander (1999): p6ff
In many cases, policy makers have an influence in how social changes, modernisation and development are evolving and whether the people implementing the very policies are looking at the possible effects in order to reduce problems, or whether they ignore and therefore even increase them. Especially the uncritical attempt to transfer socially and culturally modernising visions of the industrial societies to other peoples is leading increasingly to irreversible destruction of meaningful relationships and traditional identities.\(^{13}\) For social programs and for development programs as well, it is important not only to measure the economic efficiency, but also the social acceptance.

Research of anomie has a specific goal. By knowing the aspects that could cause anomie in a special cultural setting, in a special economic environment, and a special regional surrounding, it is possible to develop an instrument that allows early detection of arising anomic situations. Up to now the representatives of the discipline have failed (for example: former Soviet Union,...) to deal with the sociological task of grasping the significant signs of some developments. A new, yet to be developed, tool to detect anomie, could be used to predict social chaos, which is likely to follow from decades of poorly conceived economic and political policies.\(^{14}\)

This study is related to the work of the "Anomie Research Board" initiated by Peter Atteslander (Swiss Academy for Development\(^{15}\)). The goal of this research group is to integrate the anomie-concept and the aspects of societies in change. This approach does not forget about the fact that a certain level of anomie is necessary in every situation of change, but could cause problems within societies if it gets too strong.

After a first theoretical approach, the research group tries to establish a reliable measurement instrument with various indicators for different regional areas.\(^{16}\) This tool will combine a group of non-culture-specific global indicators and a group of culture-specific, regional related indicators\(^{17}\). The "Comparative Anomie Board" plans to continue anomie research and is going to assess interventions in anomic situations.

\(^{13}\) P. Atteslander (1999): p8
\(^{14}\) P. Atteslander (1999): p5
\(^{15}\) see also http://www.sad.ch/; 10. May 2000
\(^{16}\) P. Atteslander (1999): p3
\(^{17}\) P. Atteslander (1999): p10
3 The research approach used in this study

Within this study two different approaches to describe the situation of the specific local context are chosen. In the first part Khayelitsha is being described from the macro point of view. Various relevant figures show the living situation of the population and the changes within the last view years.

The second and main part of this research is the qualitative approach to the micro aspects of anomie. Qualitative interviews are very important, since anomie is strongly related to the cultural context and one's own perception of a specific situation. The qualitative approach offers the opportunity to get more in-depth information from the interviewed person without being restricted by a pre-formulated questionnaire.

With the results of this research, it is possible to develop a specific micro-level measurement instrument, which can then describe the personal situations and the subjective understandings of people's reality with statistical, reliable data. These indicator-data will have to be tested for significance and used for interpretations. A final usage of these indicators for early detection purposes should then happen by the people implementing a development project, or by the ones who are affected. \(^{18}\)

\(^{18}\) P. Atteslander (1999): p3ff
4 Anomie as it is used in this research

In this research project, anomie is seen as a state in which individuals, groups or societies have a crisis of values, norms and behaviour patterns. Anomic situations can either be a reality based and described by facts, like the impossibility of harmonising the goal to be richer than others and the sharing of ones possession with the one in need. In most cases, anomie is rather related to a person’s feeling of hopelessness. The crisis is characterised by a period of time where the old values, norms and behaviour patterns lose their importance and new ones are not yet commonly approved.

Living in an anomic situation also deals with the absence of orientation and the shortage of order. Without any orientation, no (well) founded social behaviour is possible. Anomie causes a lack of behaviour patterns on the one hand, and a lack of interpretation patterns on the other. This might subsequently cause a breakdown of the social integration within a community.

While, to a certain extent, anomie is necessary during all times of change, when it becomes too intense problems emerge. An overly high level of anomie prevents social change, as the people then rather falls under the spell of the effect of anomie.

Anomie causes different effects. On the one hand, there is the passive form of apathy - the “inner emigration”. On the other hand, aggressive behaviour is also a form of expressing oneself during an orientation breakdown. It is important to take a look at the reasons for both of these anomie effects. Even in established democracies, a certain level of apathy exists and indicates that the majority of the population is content and happy to leave politics to the politicians and those citizens who have an interest in politics. A widespread feeling of being unable to change or influence a political system, for example, causes apathy within an intense anomie background.
5 Potential causes of anomie in the national context

With the South African context, there are many different aspects that could cause anomic situations, depending on the specific point of time and the specific area in the country. This chapter describes potential aspects like the end of legal apartheid, the promises of the 1994 government before the elections and the aspects of possible changes of the community orientation and aspects concerning Khayelitsha.

5.1 Apartheid and post apartheid policies - more aspects of anomie

Subsequent to the end of legal-apartheid combined with the expectations of the people and the time-consuming transformation process, more anomic situations were caused even though the political transformation itself was rather evolutionary and never overwhelming.

Up to the mid/beginning 90s a big part of the apartheid legal system focused on the oppression of a large number of South African people - the non-whites. During this period of time many basic human rights did not exists for black Africans and the so-called "coloured" South Africans. When looking at the right to political expression, the following has to be mentioned: Political opposition parties were banned for a long period (unban of political parties and other bodies occurred in 1990); demonstrations were not allowed. For a very long time there was no representation for non-whites, and just a few years of non (powerful) representation in parliament for the so-called "coloured people" and the Indians in separate Houses of Parliament, with the special "white-representation-only" right to put a veto on all their decisions. For making their voice heard, they had to choose other ways of expressing their opposition to the system. The huge number of different boycotts (for example rent boycotts, boycott against paying for housing, water, electricity, television) played a major role. During these years of boycotts, a large proportion of the population got used to the fact that they did not pay for some of the services. Living in a "boycott situation" survived its reason for being implemented - one got used to refusing payment for any service, so that it survived as a chance for cheaper living and not as a political instrument, which it had once been. When the legal apartheid ended and all South African citizens elected a new government, some Africans continued to boycott, others took up boycotts again after a few months or years to express that the government has to fulfil all the promises concerning housing, electricity, etc., which had been made before the elections - ... Even

19 T.R.H. Davenport (1998); p8ff
though now the people's living situation is improving slowly, some of the people still do not want to start paying for services they already get.

Another effect, caused by the apartheid system among the black population, was the rejection of all kinds of authority representing the hated suppressive regime (teachers, police officers...). Today’s negative outcome is the result of a generation growing up without understanding the need for any kind of (positive) state related authority. It will take time and supreme effort to create a climate of trust between former disadvantaged groups and the state related institutions.

One part of apartheid oppression was the so-called 'bantu' education systems, which records differences between what was then called "races". There were different kinds of schools with teachers of different education levels and different subjects to be taught. While white people got an education that ensured that whites would stay the ruling South-African minority, non-whites got an education that ensured that they would stay the oppressed, but not rebelling, lower class. This led to a situation where within large sections of the society the culture of learning was destroyed. Beside the fact that school is/was seen as a symbol of the former oppressive regime, many of today’s students also have problems in getting proper education because of overcrowded and poorly equipped schools.

One of the few positive effects caused by the racist Apartheid system was to unite a large portion of the black people. The common goal - that was the rejection of the hated oppressive system - united people with different backgrounds and cultures and gave them energy. People with the ideal of an oppressive black majority rule stood side by side with people just interested in being treated as equal human beings. At present, there are times that the former apparent unity seems to belong to "history" - especially when people see a few of their former "comrades" now acting in a selfish way in their powerful political roles. Many people feel left out and forgotten at "the outskirts of the city".

Now a high crime rate is one of the biggest problems. In former times the government and the state’s administration were primarily focusing on “political and the state's opponents” and did not care about crime within the townships. Some of the criminal organisations even co-operated with the police. By experiencing a situation of being left alone by police and law, street courts and various gang activities arose. Even today, there are still people who rather trust various questionable groups to protect their rights than the police. Very important groups that battle criminal power are, for example, taxi gangs. Other threatened people try to face the primarily male kind of aggressive (anomie caused) behaviour by carrying and using weapons themselves. Combating armed force with armed defence for individual security can either be seen as a real possibility to protect oneself, or just to
give the feeling of security. The high number of ready-to-use weapons in a society is in most cases rather a danger to the population than a promotion of peaceful life.

Today it seems as if the resource-lacking police (missing human as well as material resource) is not able to handle the crime situation in the townships and the people do not trust in the states institutions for preventing crime. A recent research in the Cape Flats (during apartheid an area for only so-called "coloured" people, not including the townships like Khayelitsha) showed that the views on police and law are especially negative among people who had actually experienced personal contact with these state institutions.\(^\text{20}\)

A national opinion poll conducted (among 2672 adults) in November 1999 showed that, compared with a December 1998 study, the level of trust in the state’s institutions to control crime rose. In the Western Cape about 22% of the interviewed people said that they were, at least once within the last twelve months, a victim of crime. In the same province, a majority of people (54%) thought that the government had "no control" over crime. A comparison of the different groups within the country shows that Indian (69%) and white people (59%) are the ones who are most concerned about their personal safety, while the majority of black (45%) and so-called "coloured" people (41%) feel rather safe.\(^\text{21}\)

When speaking about crime one must not forget that in former times “all strategies individuals [could] adopt against poverty involve[d] breaking the law in some way”.\(^\text{22}\) Law and the political system have changed dramatically, but up to now, the situation of the economic structure has not opened real chances for the majority of the former disadvantaged people to improve their situation. It seems as if it is obvious that some ensure their survival by criminal activities like theft, without having difficulties with the law. Possible reasons for the low regard to the law might be the already mentioned rejection of the legal system for a long period of time. Another fact is that to some of the people the sentences given for crime do not really seem to be a threat to culprits, especially since one's life might already make the impression of being a "punishment". Another relevant aspect could be that the definition of legal possibilities to access property had been abused by the former apartheid regime for its own interests and therefore the perception of private property is one aspect that has to develop.

In 1994 when the first political and legal changes took place, the former apartheid system was fresh in mind. The combination of perceived changes

\(^\text{20}\) IDASA 1998; p11ff
\(^\text{21}\) Human Sciences Research Council (2000a)
\(^\text{22}\) F. Wilson, M. Ramphele 1994; p161
(in one's own experience and through media) and the promises given by some parties led to big expectations among the people. The general (macro-) promises of big political idols, for example, for general improvement of the living and housing situation within the townships, led to the personal (micro-) expectations of millions of people/families to get their personally owned, brick-built houses within a few years’ time. The government could not fulfil all these expectations and the phase of enthusiasm was followed by disappointment in the new government, in the new legal system and possibly even in the new democracy. Even though improvements are smaller than what was promised, and even though they are not being implemented as fast as promised, it has to be mentioned that improvements more or less take place. The effects of these improvements on the social situation for significant parts of the population are stagnation or even reduction of the extent of anomie.

One hypothesis of this anomie research approach is that today’s anomie still mainly derives "from social conditions which predate 1994 and which persist in the present. It also derives in large measure from the after effects of the social distortions and pathologies which resulted from, and was even necessitated by, the anti-Apartheid struggle and the state’s responses to this struggle". The penetration crisis of the new government, caused by these old and new factors, favours the emergence of a social vacuum in which private social networks arise as well as uncontrollable criminal organisations.23

5.2 Xhosa - Ubuntu - community orientation - first aspects of anomie

When looking at the history of Khayelitsha, and the origins of the people living in this big township, many different cultural aspects can be found. On the one side, there are rather urban-formed people. Most of these inhabitants came to Khayelitsha short after its building had begun. A large part of the people still seems to have stronger relations to local forms of community-orientated values than to western individualistic norms and patterns of behaviour. Even though people are living in Khayelitsha, the majority perceive their roots in the former Transkei. Whenever it is possible, they return to their rural ancestral home. Even though they have been living in Khayelitsha for many years, when speaking about their home, many of the people rather refer to Transkei or Ciskei than to the township.

23 Heinz Holley, Ken Jubber, Klaus Zapotoczky (1999); p122
In order to examine the transition of (some) community orientated values and behaviour patterns to more individualistic ones it is important to know the extent of traditional elements and their role in everyday life.

The roots of this community-orientated system of values and behaviour patterns developed in former times, when people were working together in the field and had to share their goods. In Xhosa, this need for reciprocal support for individual and collective survival is called Ubuntu. Nowadays there is controversy about the role of Ubuntu and the ability to integrate Ubuntu in societies with Western individual orientations. While some say that Ubuntu cannot be adapted to modern western societies, others like to state that the Ubuntu way of living together within an urban western society is a more worthy way of life. Lovemore Mbigi is one of the most important advocates of an integration of Ubuntu values into business management, and therefore pleads for a combination of Western and Ubuntu values. One could describe this as the African contribution to business ethics.

For Ubuntu it is central that all members of the community are entitled to unconditional respect and dignity, as well as acceptance and care from the community. Since deceased ancestors are a vital part of the community the living owe the dead the same treatment. The Ubuntu core values are simultaneously spiritual, communal, co-operative and human ones. The relation between a single person and the community is best described by the following Xhosa proverb: “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu” (“I am because we are”)\(^\text{25}\). This need for reciprocal support for individual and collective survival is the most essential basis of community orientation.\(^\text{26}\) Within the group of people speaking Xhosa and living in an Ubuntu orientated way, many different extended families and clans with many different customs can be distinguished.

The community is strongly united by a family system where the families are tied to each other through marriage.\(^\text{27}\) This fundamental difference from a western orientated marriage, where two individuals marry and establish a new nuclear family, is that in a traditionally orientated society marriage is a contract between two families.\(^\text{28}\) The close ties between the two families arise from the transfer of bridewealth from the husband’s kin group to that of the wife’s. This connection strengthens by the fact that the huge amount that has to be given is often being given/paid for all of one’s life or even the

\(^{24}\) Erasmus D. Prinsloo (1998); p43f
\(^{25}\) L. Mbigi 1997; p2
\(^{26}\) Heinz Holley, Ken Jubber, Klaus Zapotocky 1998; p19ff
\(^{27}\) P. Schonstein Pinnock 1994; p15, p68
\(^{28}\) Mike Boon (1996), p33f
following generation.\textsuperscript{29} Because of these facts, the family remains involved in the individual's relationship.

While many people grew up in rural areas like the Transkei and are now living in Khayelitsha, and many of them are also working and/or buying things in Cape Town, they are confronted with the western individualistic patterns of behaviour and norms. This situation makes many of the people feel alienated from their (Ubuntu) orientation, and not comfortable with these values. Especially when looking at the living conditions of these people one can understand the problem of not feeling prepared for this new situation with its new values, which is rather orientated along one's own properties.

For living, buying food and earning money, or just for surviving within this situation, people are required to change their norms and patterns of behaviour to the ones of the people with economic power. Especially when looking at the economic situation of the black majority - nation-wide: 95\% of all poor are black; 65\% of the black population is poor\textsuperscript{30} - one can understand that with the possession-orientated western values they would find themselves at the "bottom of society". Even though many might be willing to take part in the western society, when it comes to reality many have the feeling of not being accepted as a full member - left out of proper education; left out of good jobs; left out of good housing; ... with little legal opportunities to improve their situation. In such an environment some try to adapt their behaviour so that the western values and goals can be reached in another, might be even aggressive, way.

Another related problem is the change of female and male roles within the society and problems resulting from this change. Men, in the traditional situation, are/were expected to be the chief actors in politics and economics. They are/were also expected to create opportunities for their sons, daughters and other kin. Nowadays they have lost almost all of their important roles. During the apartheid era not one of them had official positions within the country’s political system, even though many of them were active in fighting against the oppressing system. Now, with the high rate of unemployment, men are also struggling to get jobs to earn money for families - the role within the economic field has also gone. At the same time, the role of women has also changed. Now, they are often almost solely responsible for raising the family, for getting food to eat and for paying for the children’s education. Sometimes women live separated from their men, but more often they have to look for all the family's life-necessities. Being responsible for the children

\textsuperscript{29} Virginia van der Vliet (1991), p219ff

\textsuperscript{30} Ministry in the Office of the President - Reconstruction and Development Programme: Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa 1995; p12
gives them more social stability, but at the same time, it also makes women worry more about their children’s future.

Being confronted with western values people try to adjust to a combination of adapted community and adapted individual values and patterns of behaviour (hopefully the result is more than just “sharing poverty”). Many try to choose different orientations within different roles of their life; some keep one orientation for times when they are in rural areas. Others primary try to orient according to western aspect. When they have problems to reach their goals they try to find a solution by orientating along traditional values. Virginia van der Vliet describes some examples of families, where in times of family problems the otherwise rather modern orientated wife, after a series of failures, tries to handle things by orientating on traditional kinds of behaviours. Trying to integrate two orientations, which are as different as the community approach and the individualistic approach, sometimes causes problems - intra-personal problems, as well as inter-personal problems within different related groups. The entailed erosion of the traditional (extended) family and the kin system are examples of anomic effects, especially when different persons within the family have different valuations of the institution family and the role of its members.

5.3 South African economy - the people's economy

While, compared to other African countries, South Africa is the richest one, when taking a close look the situation is different. To prove this, one can either go to rural areas, or speak with people living in the townships, or one can take a look at statistic figures to show that from being a rich country, on the one hand, to ensuring welfare for all people, on the other hand, is a big difference. The inequality of household income is measured by the Gini coefficient. South Africa’s Gini coefficient was, for a long time, the highest recorded (=highest inequality) in the world. In 1996, the World Bank mentioned Brazil as the only country with a higher level of inequality (according to Gini).

In 1994, before the first democratic elections were held, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was initiated by the ANC as the first priority. The goal was to establish "a participatory democracy that encourage[s] the urban and the rural poor to drive the process of

31 Virginia van der Vliet (1991), p222ff
32 Ingrid Woolard, Conrad Barberton (1998); p21f
The focus of the RDP is to combat unemployment and poverty by pursuing the following goals:

- boosting production and household income through job creation, productivity and efficiency, improving conditions of employment and creating opportunities for all to sustain themselves through productive activity;
- improving living conditions through better access to basic services, health care, education and training; and
- establishing a social security system and other safety nets to protect the poor, disabled, elderly and other vulnerable groups.

Some of the strategies and programmes, which have been devised to meet the above goals, address issues of land reform, housing and service provision, water and sanitation, energy and electrification, telecommunications, transport, environment, nutrition and health care, social security and social welfare, and education and training. While in some of the areas partial success regarding drinking water, sanitation, electrification, health services and education could be achieved, in others, like the symbolic target of 1 million houses within one legislative period could not be achieved. By late 1998 only 480 000 houses had been built or were "under construction." In general, the participatory approach did not succeed and did produce a more equal distribution of income, or relief of poverty to the necessary degree, before the policy was changed.

After three years, the ANC-led government formulated the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy. This program started at the point that sustained growth on a higher level (to create economic capacity) requires a competitive, outward-orientated economy, with market-led growth, and fiscal/monetary discipline for investor confidence. While GEAR was concerning itself instead with the balance of payments, inflation and foreign direct investment, it did not worry about redistribution and poverty relief.

With shift of the economic policy from RDP to GEAR the poor were no longer a main part of the government's economic policy, but instead could find their role as something that should be affected by a trickle down effect. Since the RDP's participatory approach with its policy forums was replaced and the goal of economic equality for the group with lowest income disappeared out of sight, it has to be expected that people living in squatter areas would rather not to be satisfied with the government (or its policy). Having a goal in sight, but also having the feeling of not being able to reach it, is especially what anomie was about.

33 Michael Blake (1998); p40ff
6 Khayelitsha

The township, which is close to the airport, is about 35km away from the city of Cape Town. Today, between 700.000 and 1 Mio people live in the whole area. It is one of the biggest and the fastest expanding townships in South Africa. The growth phenomenon is very complex, with different aspects like comprising resettlement, intra-urban migration, staged urbanisation, effects of changing lifestyle, in-migration and several other aspects.

Khayelitsha's 1999 borders are defined as followed: to the north by a National Road, N2; to the south and the east by the False Bay and Baden Powell; and to the west by Swartklip Road and Mewway. Since the expansion of the area, the population and the living density are increasing simultaneously, for describing the size of Khayelitsha it is also important to mention the years related to the figures. The total area was in 1994 about 3190 ha\textsuperscript{34}; in 1995, the area is said to be about 3372 ha\textsuperscript{35}.

When describing the living situation of people, while integrating the different points of view, one has to take a look at the demographics point of view, the town planners' point of view, the situation of social services and the aspects of the cultural origin of the people living in Khayelitsha.

6.1 Historical Plans and Historical Reality

In 1983, the name Khayelitsha was first mentioned. The first plan for the “New Home” (Xhosa meaning of Khayelitsha) was to accommodate as many black Africans as possible. It seems as if it was the last time that the Western Cape Administration tried to comply with the group area act for the black population within Cape Town. South Africa’s former president, P.W. Botha, selected the former dumping area during a flight with a helicopter by himself. The first plans in the beginning 80s were talking about 250.000\textsuperscript{36} and then about 360.000 inhabitants\textsuperscript{37}. The South African Township Annual 1994 mentioned that Khayelitsha was designed to become a low-rise, single family, high-density (24 units per hectare) development, with four towns along a railway line. The plans spoke about train stations and town centres spaced about two km apart from each other. Towns should comprise four villages with neighbourhood centres and catering for about 450.000 people in all.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{34} The South African Township Annual 1994; p305
\textsuperscript{35} Wesgro 1995; p17
\textsuperscript{36} Wesgro 1995; p9
\textsuperscript{37} J. Seekings et.al. 1990; p9
\textsuperscript{38} The South African Township Annual 1994; p305
In June 1983, the first people from squatter settlements and townships around Cape Town came to Khayelitsha Town. Because of the internal South African resistance and the international attention at that time the plan for realising one general black peoples' area had to be stopped. Within the first two years, officials named several arguments why people should go or already went to Khayelitsha. In April 1985 about 30,000 people came to Site C; ten months later 35,000 moved to Site B. In May of the same year (1986) 10,000 refugees came to emergency camps in Green Point; and by October of the following year the number of people sleeping there doubled. It was also in 1988 when the first railway line to Khayelitsha was opened.

With the years, Khayelitsha grew to the south. More and more settlers came to the different areas of Town 2.

### 6.2 Cultural Background of the people

In 1983/84, the first people were brought to the former dumping area to places without any water supply, any toilet or electrical services (Site C). No wonder that people had the “feeling of being dumped”. These people were mainly coming from urban areas (in most cases other townships around Cape Town), which had already been formed by them. When regulations for settlement became less strict more people migrated from rural areas (in the former Transkei and Ciskei) to the growing "New Home". These “newcomers” either were related to the people already working and living in the Western Cape, or were trying to find work and make a living close to the city for the first time. Though mainly coming from the former Transkei or Ciskei, they had been socialised within a strong community-orientated society and are more used to the Ubuntu way of living together.

When describing people's background in dichotomies like rural-urban or western-traditional it must not be forgotten that there is a broad range in between as well. This approximation seems to be more permissible since the differences between the "black country Transkei" and the Cape Town area were (and still are) very different in many characteristics and a dichotomy-like situation can be detected.

Another important aspect to look at is the fact that about 32% of the population are in an age of 0 to 12 years. Some of them were born in Khayelitsha, some of them grew up in the township, while others might also

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39 Gillian P. Cook (1992); p125
40 Wesgro 1995; p4
41 Luyanda 1999
42 City Planners Department; Urban Studies Unit; 1995; p8
be socialised in rural areas at their relatives' place when their mother (and father) tried to earn an income for them and their relatives.

### 6.3 Population estimation for today's Khayelitsha

From its beginning, when the first areas of Khayelitsha were built on the sandy areas of False Bay in 1983, it is well known for its characteristically high amount of people migrating to (and few people even off) the area. Therefore it is impossible to give an exact figure of how may people are living in the area.

In 1992, the Lingelethu West City Council estimated the population living in Khayelitsha at 435,000.43

Two years later (1994) "The South African Township Annual" mentioned the number of the 1991 census with 189,586 people, then official 1994 estimates with 307,007 people and the "IR Information Estimate" with 590,000 people.44 In the same document, the expected population for the year 2000 is named to be at about one million people45.

In 1995, Wesgro is writing in a background document for the Lingelethu West Transitional Council for May 1994 about a population of 410,00046 and a growth within one year of up to 500,000 people47. Within a conservative estimation, Wesgro expects about 600,000 to inhabit the "Core City" within a period of 10 to 15 years.48

Some of the data, for example, are based on the City Planner Study of November 1995. In this study, a total number of 325,600 inhabitants are mentioned.49

One figure that seems way to be too little, is the "result" of the 1996 Census with a total of 120,973 men and 125,823 women (total of 246,796 people) for the whole area.

Within the chapter 6.7 "Election results" an own estimation via the relative figures of participation in the 1999 national elections was done. Even though

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43 Lingelethu West City Council 1992; p9, p20
44 The South African Township Annual 1994; p307
45 The South African Township Annual 1994; p305
46 Wesgro 1995; p16
47 Wesgro 1995; p24
48 Wesgro 1995; p4
49 City Planners Department; Urban Studies Unit (November 1995): chapter 4.1
the approach of trying to calculate the size of the population seems to be attractive, the difficulties in coming together with the mathematical number are evident. While the calculated result of about 400,000 people seems to be too little, it is questionable how high the influence of the people voting in Transkei and Ciskei is, when considering that many people define these rural areas rather as their home than the urban areas. I would rather tend to believe that about 500,000 to 700,000 people, depending on the season, are living in Khayelitsha.

Even though a few of the absolute numbers, when knowing Khayelitsha, seem to be unrealistic, and many of them might be more or less wrong or right, the data can give an idea of what it is all about.

6.4 Settlement - Housing and Squatterizing

Within Khayelitsha, different areas with different living conditions can be distinguished. The worst standard is characterised by sandy or even no roads, but small paths and one or two roomed, small shacks, made out of wood and old corrugated iron, without water taps and without toilets in or around the house. This is the kind of house where people are climbing onto their roofs to stuff the holes when the first winter-rainfall is pouring. Many of these shacks have been erected in areas without the permission and without preparations by the administration. During some periods this happened because the administrations was not willing to prepare areas for new settlers and hoping to avoid new migration to Khayelitsha. Since these "illegal" squatters are most of the time erected in areas with no proper prepared subsoil and without an underground stormwater system beneath, these people are also the ones who are primarily affected by the raising of the natural watertables after heavy winter rain.50 Other people rather squatter in the backyards of others plot and are therefore sometimes closer to relatives and/or some bus and train stations.

The “upper class” of Khayelitsha lives in more or less small brick built houses with water taps, toilets and electricity.

In between these two categories, there are several different types of houses, with or without water and toilets. In former days in the “core area”, self-extendable houses (26m² to 32m²) were built. Without owning the house and/or without the necessary money, about a quarter of the houses have not

50 Lingelethu West City Council 1992; p7
been extended\textsuperscript{51}. So even now, some families are still living in these too small places.

Nowadays, there are some cases where companies want to build plants in areas that the municipality intended for industrial usage. These situations cause problems most of the time, when the municipality wants the people to leave their illegally placed houses, which, with the surrounding neighbourhood, has already become their home. Some departments of the administration are currently working on plans to improve the situation and offer these "illegal squatters" new areas with more space between the houses, basic services and some green ground, but without erecting the houses by public administration. Up to now for these people, no political consensus could be found between the 1994's promises of "everyone's house" and the country's financial reality of only being able to offer a subsidy. In other areas such a kind of co-operation between public and private sector is working, so that settlements "ranging from 'site and service' schemes for the poorer residents to higher income residential areas" are being provided.\textsuperscript{52}

When looking at the figures with the number of houses within the different areas of Khayelitsha, a similar problem to the total number of inhabitants of Khayelitsha arises. The upper limiting value is the Wesgro 1994 estimation of 85,000 households\textsuperscript{53}, followed by the Phambili Nombanes estimation for 1999 of about 81,446 households, the 1994 "South African Township Annual" estimation of 69,414\textsuperscript{54} units and an estimation by the Khayelitsha administration of about 59,596 households (31 July 1998). In 1999, new efforts were taken to count the number of houses based on aerial pictures.\textsuperscript{55}

Similar to the absolute number of households, the relative figure of informal units was again varying. The highest value lies at about 98% of informal housing\textsuperscript{56}, followed by the figure of the administrations with about 82% of informal houses with or without services, to 75% of informal dwellings\textsuperscript{57}, down to about 60% shacks\textsuperscript{58} or 60% informal settlement (squatter shacks)\textsuperscript{59}. The number of people living within one household will not be presented in details, since this number is also varying in a broad range, depending on the kind of houses and the different areas. For this

\textsuperscript{51} Technobrief Vol. 1:3; June 1997
\textsuperscript{52} The South African Township Annual 1994; p305
\textsuperscript{53} Wesgro 1995; p4, p15
\textsuperscript{54} The South African Township Annual 1994; p307
\textsuperscript{55} Hannes Nethling; June 1999
\textsuperscript{56} City Planners Department; Urban Studies Unit; 1995; p9f
\textsuperscript{57} Wesgro 1995; p24
\textsuperscript{58} The South African Township Annual 1994; p307
\textsuperscript{59} Brochure Khayelitsha Development Forum
figure, even the approach is very different. Some institutions seem to do a simple estimation without looking at possible differences for different households, while others name different densities for different kind of houses and different areas.

6.5 Access to services (water, sanitation, electricity)

The access to running water and sanitation is another basic indicator for quality of life within a township. While no one would tend to describe the living situation in Rondebosch (area where University of Cape Town is located) or in Austria by giving a figure of whether one has access to water in or close around ones house or apartment, in today's townships this is an important consideration.

The Khayelitsha July 1998 estimation shows that about 11,8% of Khayelitsha's population is living in "informal houses without services" or "temporary settlements", or according to the 1992 Lingelethu West Council about 16% utilises the "Bucket system". Translated into these peoples' everyday reality, this stands for walking about 10, up to 15 minutes, with a bucket of water to do cooking and washing. The same distance has to be covered to reach the next loo, that, in most of the cases, is incredible dirty, or one does one's job behind the next house or at the next bush. The remaining rest of 84%/88,2% are either formal houses with water and sanitation on an own plot, or informal houses on plots with water and sanitation. The quality of access to services between these two kinds does not differ very much, since for almost all of the plots the toilet is a separate concrete-only construction with a door of corrugated iron outside the house.

When talking about services, another aspect is the availability of electricity within the houses. Since 1994, Phambili Nombane, the new electricity supplier, is looking at supplying electricity in Khayelitsha and many more households are now getting electricity. One very important effect on the motivation to electrify as many households as possible is the shift to a system with pre-paid electricity. Nowadays, almost all of the electrified households use this system, in which they have to pay for energy at one of the several vendors in Khayelitsha before it can be consumed. Compared to 1992, with about 10% serviced sites, today 43.446 households are electrified and another estimated 38.000 are not electrified (percentage of 53% electrified on June 29 1999). When looking at this figure it has to be

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60 Lingelethu West City Council 1992; p5f
61 Lingelethu West City Council 1992; p8
62 Phambili Nombane; 29-6-99
Indicators of Anomie in the Context of the Township of Khayelitsha

taken into consideration that the number of households being able to use electricity is reduced by the number of people who cannot afford it\textsuperscript{63}. On the other hand, the number of electrified households increase by the houses (mostly shacks) where people did their "electrification" rudimentarily, by themselves, with a few pieces of wire connected to the neighbour's house. Within the last five years, the number of electricity vendors increased from nine up to 23 vendors\textsuperscript{64}. Electricity is now also being sold in the southern areas, which was not the case a few years ago.

### 6.6 Economic situation in Khayelitsha

When talking about one's living, and sometimes even about one's surviving, the question of possible income activities arise. Up to now, only six industrial sites (282 in plans) and 11 business sites developed (156 in plans)\textsuperscript{65}. This means that the remaining formal business is the trading business\textsuperscript{66}. For formal employment in manufacturing industries (with the advantage of a certain payment security), according to the 1994s South African Township Annual, one has to drive a minimum distance of 10 to 15km to major employment centres\textsuperscript{67}. In a 1998 UPRU-study\textsuperscript{68} the main employment areas for Khayelitsha's residents are named as the Cape Town City Centre (35km), Bellville (20km) and Claremont/Wynberg (32km). To drive such a distance to one's working place does not only incorporate a certain amount of time, but also a certain amount of money. Sometimes for a rather small income, a large portion of the earnings can be necessary to cover the travel expenses. Some people are working as salesclerk in some of the shops (a few in Khayelitsha, but even more in rather distant shopping centres). A third bigger group of people is earning a living from domestic work for other households: taking care of the house, looking after other people's children, taking care of the gardens and many other activities. The rest is, according to the formal definitions, formally unemployed. Estimations speak about an unemployment rate of about 60% to 70% of the economically active people living in Khayelitsha. (Dyantyi & Frater quoted in UPRU-study: 24\%\textsuperscript{69}; Lingelethu

\textsuperscript{63} The South African Township Annual 1994; p68
\textsuperscript{64} Phambili Nombane; 29-6-99
\textsuperscript{65} The South African Township Annual 1994; p308
\textsuperscript{66} Lingelethu West City Council 1992; p21
\textsuperscript{67} The South African Township Annual 1994; p305
\textsuperscript{68} Nicole Barnes (December 1998) - Urban Problem Research Unit; p3
\textsuperscript{69} Nicole Barnes (December 1998) - Urban Problem Research Unit; p3
Indicators of Anomie in the Context of the Township of Khayelitsha

West City Council 1992: 60%\textsuperscript{70}; The South African Township Annual 1994: 60-65%\textsuperscript{71}; Wesgro: unemployment of 60-70%\textsuperscript{72})

All of the households, the ones with formal income as well as the ones without a person being (formally) employed, generally have income from other sources in addition to the main breadwinner\textsuperscript{73}. This Khayelitsha local economy consists out of a "very large part generated in Khayelitsha [reflecting] informal- or micro-enterprise activities, and very little [being generated] in large, formal enterprises"\textsuperscript{74}. In a 1997 CSIR survey the following types of income activities are mentioned:\textsuperscript{75}

- retail - 62%: largely informal: spaza shops, supermarkets, fruit and vegetable sellers, butcheries, bakeries, clothes sellers, shoe sellers;
- non-retail - 14%: shebeens, taverns, game/gambling groups, barbers, hairdressers;
- building industry - 4%; and
- manufacturing business - 3%: clothings, curtains, bags, storage bins and furniture items.

From all these activities, a certain household income derives. In 1995, the City Planners Department spoke about 58% of the monthly household income to be less then R800 per month and the next 29% less than R1500\textsuperscript{76}. Within the 1998 UPRU-study half of the interviews were done directly at the Sanlam Centre, the only large retail-centre in Khayelitsha and the second half was conducted in the people's living area. Considering this, UPRU speaks of a household income of about 29% of the interviewed persons of below R800, further 21% below R1200 and another 27% between R1200 and R1999. The rest of the households have either an income of up to R2800(11%) or above(10%).\textsuperscript{77}

Another aspect related to poor service is the lack of formal shopping possibilities for people within the area of Khayelitsha. Even though there are some shopping centres being planned at the moment there are only two

\textsuperscript{70} Lingelethu West City Council 1992; p21
\textsuperscript{71} The South African Township Annual 1994; p307
\textsuperscript{72} Wesgro 1995; p24
\textsuperscript{73} The South African Township Annual 1994; p68
\textsuperscript{74} Wesgro 1995; p21
\textsuperscript{75} CSIR quoted in Nicole Barnes (December 1998) - Urban Problem Research Unit; p4
\textsuperscript{76} City Planners Department; Urban Studies Unit; 1995; p9
\textsuperscript{77} CSIR quoted in Nicole Barnes (December 1998) - Urban Problem Research Unit; p23
formal shopping areas.\textsuperscript{78} People who would like to go shopping in a “western” way have to go to Mitchells Plain, to Bellville, to Claremont/Wynberg or to Cape Town Centre. About 73.5\% said that they do most of their shopping outside the township and only buy the odd items from local stores.\textsuperscript{79}

\subsection*{6.7 Election results}

In the 1999s national elections, which were held nation-wide, about 89,3\% of the registered people took part in the elections. Within Khayelitsha about 87,5\% voted on June 2\textsuperscript{nd} 1999 (IEC estimated population of Khayelitsha being allowed to vote: 149.321; Registered by 4th May: 154.632). With 92,6\% the African National Congress (ANC) got an absolute majority. The party with the second biggest number of people (5,3\%) voting for it was the United Democratic Movement (UDM). The only party left with more than one percent (1,2\%) is the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

When looking at the nation-wide percentage of registered people and the percentage of registered people taking part in the 1999 election for the national government a total participation of 35,15\% is the result - including young people of the age where one is not allowed to vote. When considering the 1996 Census results for age distribution (people of age 0-19 years) within the African population the percentage drops down to 33,54\%. Using this proportion with the absolute number of people who voted in Khayelitsha, a number of about 400.000 can be calculated. Even though the approach of trying to calculate the size of the population seems to be attractive, the difficulties coming together with the mathematical number are evident. While the calculated number seems to be too little, it is questionable how high the influence of the people voting in Transkei and Ciskei is, when considering that many people define these rural areas rather as their home than the urban areas. I would rather tend to believe that about 500.000 to 700.000 people, depending on the season, are living in Khayelitsha.

\subsection*{6.8 Safety and crime}

This study is about the effects, as well as the reasons for anomic situations. It is going to measure the relation of the people to each other within the family, the neighbourhood and the local area. Since crime is one aspect that is both a factor caused by anomie and anomie creating, the local

\textsuperscript{78} Luyanda 1999
\textsuperscript{79} The South African Township Annual 1994; p68
context is being presented as well. The general problem with the state's authorities like military and police has already been described in chapter 5.1 ("Apartheid and post apartheid policies - more aspects of anomie").

The lack of state institutions to attend to people's problems with crime led to a situation where the people had to find a solution to the problems by themselves. During Apartheid, the community had to solve the problem of criminal behaviour. "People's courts" were formed to deal with cases where the culprit was known. These courts used two steps. Firstly, the incident was discussed and the suspected person found guilty or not. Secondly, the punishment was decided on. Although this kind of organised form of punishing people existed in many areas of the country, the different "courts" had different kinds of sanctions. On the one hand, there were the rather repressive forms, which very often ended with the death of the offender after a high number of lashes. On the other side, people's courts could also act in a rather restitutory manner and rather threaten the guilty person to prevent him or her from committing further crime. Nevertheless, people had to return what they had stolen, or in case of murder, "blood money" had to be paid, so that the cost of the funeral was covered and the living of the family was ensured for a few months.  

Under conditions in which there were bad relations with the police and non-co-operation with township officials, people's courts assumed their role. When looking at the apparent advantage of quick results one can understand why satisfaction with the police's and the court's work is not that high and a certain proportion of people still tend to go to these "authorities", which were established during Apartheid.

After a parliamentarian decision in 1994 in Khayelitsha, the Community Policing Forum was established. The Community Policing Forum is an organisation that works closely with the police to handle minor criminal problems. Although there was mistrust between the two in the beginning, they now co-operate within the personal sector. The Khayelitsha Community Policing Forum, for example, is doing most of the first hand consultations for people being affected by crime, both within their own families and out of the families. In certain cases, the Forum also does investigation together with the police. Now there are 13 branches all over Khayelitsha with a total number of about 450 members. The underlying idea is to build a symbolic bridge between the former hated institution and the population of a certain area. Since the volunteering system will not work for a long term, the goal of the institution must be to hand over certain functions to the South African Police gradually. Therefore, it is important that before the legal system reduces the

80 Thokozani Xaba (1995); p51ff
81 Nomahwbi Dhula (June 1999)
distrust of the residents of townships, a way is found for people to also perceive the state institutions as producing and securing justice.\textsuperscript{82}

When looking at the crime statistics, and speaking with many of the people, one gets the impression that Khayelitsha's crime situation is still a cause for concern. Table 1 shows the different categories of crime and the total number of reported incidents. Officers at the police station in Khayelitsha/Site B judge that all cases of murders are being reported. Especially theft or robbery is not often reported, even though with the increased number of insured properties the number of reported cases also increases.\textsuperscript{83} When looking at crime statistics it is also very important to compare them with the absolute number of people living in an area. Independent of the fact whether 500,000 people or whether 1 million people are living in Khayelitsha, the list of reported cases is more than in comparable environments. Since no absolute number of people living in Khayelitsha exists, it is difficult to estimate for the distinguished kinds of crime, whether they relatively increased, decreased or rather stayed at the same relative level.

\textbf{Table 1 Crime Statistic for Khayelitsha and Macassar\textsuperscript{84}}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted murder</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable homicide</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery - with aggravating circumstances: total</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other robbery</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public violence</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal strike</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape sum (incl attempts)</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercourse with a girl under the prescribed age and/or female imbecile</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent assault</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimen injuria</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{82} Thokozani Xaba (1995); p71f
\textsuperscript{83} South African Police; (June 1999)
\textsuperscript{84} Captain Rod Beer; South African Police (April 1999)
<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruelty towards and ill-treatment of children (excluding sexual offences, assault and murder)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abduction</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>1535</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td>1739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Assault</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary- business premises (including attempts)</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary- residential premises (including attempts)</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>1076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock - theft</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of, or from, motor vehicles</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other theft</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>1034</td>
<td>1056</td>
<td>1103</td>
<td>1147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malicious damage to property</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All fraud, forgeries, malappropriations, embezzlement, etc</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug related crime</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explosives Act</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carjacking</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijacking of trucks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery of cash in transit</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank robbery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When looking at South African Police's number of cars (in Khayelitsha) being not in working order (23) compared with the number of cars working (38) one can imagine that it still has problems with its equipment. This impression is being corroborated when looking at other areas of South Africa with their own security organisations and also when compared with northern countries - Khayelitsha's police has a lack of equipment and is understaffed. With only two police stations and about thirty people on duty (during weekend 80) for more than half a million inhabitants and the current crime rates, there are too few to give the inhabitants the feeling of being secure. Even a high motivation of the police officers, of which about 80-90% live in Khayelitsha, cannot achieve miracles.\textsuperscript{85}

When speaking about the acceptance of a legal system with all the representatives, it must not be forgotten that the satellite-town at the outskirts of Cape Town has no own court and no own prison up to now.

\section*{6.9 Other aspects concerning anomie}

For anomie, a lot of different factors and causes can be distinguished. Within this research context, considering that an interview should not exceed a certain amount of time, many aspects that were not considered of major importance had to be left out.

Within this chapter a short description of the remaining aspects will be given. One of these aspects is the issue of education. As stated above, the (many years existing) poor (by apartheid government initiated) bantu-education system led to overcrowded schools, with too little and of poor quality equipment. In 1992, 21 primary schools with status and one without status with a total number of 22,251 pupils and 532 teachers (pupils per teacher: minimum of 35.2 and maximum of 54.5) and four senior secondary schools with 6,655 pupils and 186 teachers (35.8 pupils per teacher) existed in Khayelitsha\textsuperscript{86}. Two years later about 30 primary schools with about 31,000 pupils and 8 secondary schools for about 12,000 pupils existed\textsuperscript{87}. In 1992, the Lingelethu West City Council additionally noticed the existence of 9 adult training facilities in 5 different centres\textsuperscript{88}. Looking at the history of bantu-
education, one cannot be surprised that in a 1997 pamphlet of the Khayelitsha Development Forum mentioned an illiteracy rate of about 60%.\(^9^9\)

A second aspect of quality of life is the people's health and kind, number and quality of health facilities within an area close to one's living place. In a 1998 study Holley/Jubber/Zapotoczky pointed out that a “high proportion of the population of Khayelitsha is in a very weak state of health”\(^9^0\). This finding is similar to the results of a 1994 university study that asked 1482 interviewees (379 households) from Site C for illnesses or injuries within a two weeks period. While 32.5% of the women reported problems, the proportion of men was, with 24.4%, significantly lower. The results also show that employed people were significant less likely to report morbidity (23% of employed compared to 33% of those who are not employed). For about half of the children with an age of up to 5 years problems within the two weeks period were reported.\(^9^1\) To treat health problems within Khayelitsha, different facilities are available. The 1994s South African Township Annual mentions 1 existing and 1 planned day hospital and 5 clinics (11 more planned)\(^9^2\). One year later the planned day hospital had been built and according to Wesgro a total of 18 clinics did exist\(^9^3\). In June 1999, the municipality listed the following kinds of medical services within Khayelitsha:\(^9^4\)

- 2 day-hospitals (in SiteB and Harare)
- 8 clinics (Khayelitsha A-Block, Site B, Harare, SiteC, Macassar 3, 1 Town2)
- 12 general practitioners (Ilitha Park, Hblock, Fblock, SiteC, Thembani/Bongweni 2, SST Block, Mandela Park, Town2 2, Spoornet Area, SiteB)
- 2 Dentists (Thembani, Hblock)
- 3 Opticians (Khayelitsha, Hblock, Bongani)
- 7 Nutrition Centres (SiteB, SiteC 2, Macassar 2, Harare 2)

\(^8^9\) Pamphlet Khayelitsha Development Forum (1997): p1
\(^9^0\) Heinz Holley, Ken Jubber, Klaus Zapotocky 1998; p15
\(^9^1\) Di McIntyre, Kamy Chetty (Department of Community Health), Karin Ensink (Department of Psychiatry) - University of Cape Town (May 1994); p5ff
\(^9^2\) The South African Township Annual 1994; p307
\(^9^3\) Wesgro 1995; p17
\(^9^4\) Municipality of Khayelitsha, Department of Commuty Development, Mr Khaya Mahanjana, 27-6-99
In Khayelitsha, there are only a few recreation areas and a few sports facilities. In 1994 one sports stadium, six soccer fields, two rugby fields and four former tennis courts, now taken over by squatters, were listed\(^95\). During South Africa’s application for the 2004 Olympic Games, plans had been made to build several sports facilities. Before the decision against the "first games in African" turned out, the building of only one sports hall was finished. Now when streets are built in some areas a small amount of asphalt is being used to make fields for street basketball.

Since anomie is strongly related to the feeling of being disconnected and being left alone, the aspect of postal services should be mentioned as well. In 1997, postal services did not work properly. An announcement had been made that many streets would get names and therefore the people would also be able to receive mail. In May 1998, the Cape Times reported that telephone services and postal street delivery had been started. By getting an own address one becomes economically more empowered and has the chance to open accounts and receive letters (a connection to the world outside the township). While in 1995 only 29% of the letters were delivered in the time, this number has increased and by 1998 up to 90% were delivered\(^96\).

Even though the situation of individual transportation might be of great importance to the people living in Khayelitsha, unfortunately there are too little up-to-date figures existing for the area. Only a minority of the inhabitants can afford own cars in more or less dangerous conditions. For covering long distances to destinations outside Khayelitsha railway, minibus-taxis and golden arrow busses are used. Within Khayelitsha, most of the distance are either being walked or gone by minibus-taxis and golden arrow busses.

\(^{95}\) The South African Township Annual 1994; p307
\(^{96}\) Cape Times 14 May 1998
7 Design of research for micro aspects

The design of this study is intended to focus on the micro view of possible aspects of anomie and the living situation of people in Khayelitsha. The final methodology had to take into consideration that the goal of this study is to get the individual's own perception. Therefore, collecting information and thoughts from different kinds of representatives or experts of more or less representative organisations working, being situated or even living within Khayelitsha, is not the right way.

7.1 Chosen qualitative methodology, compared to quantitative methods

The methodological aspects of this study were formulated around the main goal to get an idea about major aspects that could have an influence in anomic situations. It is not the aim to provide a statistical significant network of different influences for anomie among the township population of Khayelitsha. For getting statistical significant information for an already formulated hypothesis, it would be necessary to choose a quantitative empirical research approach.

The intention to do a qualitative empirical research led to the decision to use the methodological instrument of focused interviews. For doing interviews a combination out of some more structured and some less structured aspects had been chosen. On the one hand, this ensures that all intended necessary possible anomie-related aspects were covered. On the other hand, the design opened the possibility to do parts of the interviews in more depth with the interviewed people who were able and/or interested to tell more about certain aspects. A focused interview is a kind of interview that allows tests of already existing hypothesis, as well as generating of hypothesis from the gained interview results.\(^7\)

With the outcome of the qualitative interviews, it is possible to formulate a quantitative research instrument with the goal to test predefined hypothesis for their statistical relevance. The qualitative approach provides an idea of which aspects are relevant to the issue of anomie and how to put them into words within the given context, and also helps to find aspects that are not even worth being tested. Since the design of open questions gives the interviewed people the chance to freely express themselves in what is important to them, this approach also identifies possible missing aspects. It

\(^7\) Lamnek Siegfried (1995); p79f
does not, like quantitative questionnaires, force the interviewed person to
deal only with aspects that have already been selected and formulated and
do not allow to digress from certain kinds of thinking.\footnote{Lamnek Siegfried (1995); p36ff}

The interviews were done in May and June 1999. Almost a week before the
second democratic national elections in South Africa took place, interviewing
was stopped and restarted the same period afterwards. The reason for this
procedure was the fact that close to the elections many people might have
been in an emotional mood. Since the answers given should not be distorted
by such a fact, the interviews were stopped for this period.

### 7.2 The process of formulating an appropriate interview
guideline

Within the research process, from the beginning with the definition of the
research goal, to the end with the presentation of the results, several steps
can be distinguished.

Many of these steps have already been set out in the chapters before, like
the description of the theoretical anomie background with its historical parts
and the definition used within this study. The second aspect of interest is
existent research with the different focus areas. This includes different
anomie research approaches and their operationalisation, but also existent
Khayelitsha-specific research with regard to anomie. While the brief findings
of the existing anomie studies will be laid out in the next chapter, the
Khayelitsha specific aspects will be dealt with in the chapters presenting the
qualitative results. Closely related, and also of interest, are the macro views
of Khayelitsha, which had been described in chapter \ref{khayelitsha} (“Khayelitsha”).

Considering this, first topics for narrative interviews had been formulated
and first discussions with experts from/about the local area out of political
organisations, community based organisations and from the universities were
done. The findings had been used to develop a first interview guideline for
focused interviews. This, again, had been discussed with experts from
Khayelitsha and afterwards been pre-tested. The first results of people's
perception and opinions were again used to change the interview guideline.
Ms P Tshangana (Department of Linguistics and Southern African Languages
at the University of Cape Town), who is also familiar with the living situation,
the culture and the language ability of people from Khayelitsha, then
generously translated this last English draft. This final interview guideline was
then used to do the finally analysed interviews.
7.3 Design of existing comparable anomie research

The main aim is to study the phenomenon of anomie among the people of Khayelitsha. Since this research is related to the "Anomie Research" initiated from the Swiss Academy for Development (SAD), its operationalisation is also looking at the way the studies were designed there. The following paragraphs describe the operationalisation of the three surveyed studies. Neither of these short descriptions contains a presentation of their results. For testing and analysis purposes, all of the three studies linked the identified indicators directly to the social-economic status of the respondents.

In the Chinese study, interviews with 4000 urban Chinese were conducted. Since China has introduced the "two track system" of socialist dogma and political control on the one hand, and free-market economy on the other hand, the study focused on the resulting value and norm conflict.\(^99\) The study operationalises four theoretical constructs:\(^100\)

- individual and system discontent;
- distrust in the government's competence dealing with economic and political issues;
- pessimism with regard to possible future trends;
- individual anomie, seen as a state of mind when a person or group is not sure about his/hers/its future.

The Bulgarian study focuses on the sudden transition from a country with a centrally planned economy and a single party government to a market economy and democracy after fifty years. Most of the ordinary people were not prepared for such a fast shift and therefore problems with the new situation evolved.\(^101\) The study operationalises a scheme of four scales:\(^102\)

- satisfaction with aspect of micro- (labour condition, material status) and macro-level (macro economical situation, political situation);
- trust in state and public institutions;
- integration at micro- and macro-level; and
- social mobility (past mobility and future expectations).

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\(^{99}\) Hanlin Li, Peter Atteslander, Judith Tanur, Qi Wang (1999); p23f
\(^{100}\) Hanlin Li, Peter Atteslander, Judith Tanur, Qi Wang (1999); p25ff
\(^{101}\) Jelio Vladimirov, Todor Todorov, Ivan Katzarski, Momtchil Badjakov (1999); p47ff
\(^{102}\) Jelio Vladimirov, Todor Todorov, Ivan Katzarski, Momtchil Badjakov (1999); p50ff
Within the Asian-Pacific research project the increasing speed of changes and very unstable structures resulting from it are the focus. The starting points are post-modernising forces of globalisation, urbanisation and mass migration. These are likely to have de-stabilising effects on the national and international structures on which they impinge. Change is cause and consequence at the same time. Therefore the speed of social changes also increases, which at a certain level is directly linked to anomie and causing a loss of quality of life.\textsuperscript{103}

The Australian study in a first step looks at the objective manifestations, represented by anomie: profiles based on existing national data (anomie indicators: living condition, characteristic of youth, suicide and homicide, crime rate, political unrest, economic standing, socio-economic standing). The subjective manifestations are, in a second step, derived from a survey research with individual responses to standardised questions - including the following clusters of variables:\textsuperscript{104}

- quality of live; subjective anomie and life satisfaction;
- health and related behaviours;
- nature of residence and length of residence;
- perceptions of neighbourhood and environment;
- economic activity, employment characteristic and paid work;
- expenditure patterns, consumption activity involving purchase of household durable, vehicles, recreation and leisure;
- travel patterns;
- social network and voluntary work; and
- socio-demographic characteristics.

When looking at the described anomie studies and the situation within the regional context, a big difference to the situation of South Africa can be seen. In China, for example, the high rate of employment is very different to the situation in South Africa and especially the South African townships, where most of the people are unemployed and struggling each day to survive by creating different income activities. Another important difference to China and to Bulgaria is the fact that in both countries the state played, or even plays, a very important role for social security of the people (in mind and reality). In both countries a huge proportion of the population are/were organised in the one party system. In South Africa, an absolute majority of

\textsuperscript{103} John Western, Andrea Lanyon (1999); p73ff
\textsuperscript{104} John Western, Andrea Lanyon (1999); p78ff; p89
the black population rejected the state and its representatives for many decades. There has never been a real or perceived relation to the system. The state has rather been perceived as an opponent of one's life.

7.4 Relevant aspects for measuring anomie - Operationalisation

Anomie is a state of political and socio-economical structures in rapid structural changes whereby the process of social integration declines. The integration of social, as well as cultural structures is declining at the same time. The macro-level aspects at the same time directly affect the micro-level aspects, especially for those individuals who have great problems in adapting to changing situations. These effects cause a general loss of orientation, the development of feelings of insecurity and marginalisation and a relative deprivation of their identity, and in general, a questioning of the legitimacy of core values and ways to reach them.

The interview guideline was designed to start with questions about one's general socio-demographic data. Afterwards the interviewed people were asked to name (for them) important problems for the three different levels: micro-level, as one's own living situation, meso-level, which relates to Khayelitsha, and macro-level with South African as focus area. Since these questions were in the warm up-phase of the interview more detailed answers where given in the following in-depth questions about satisfaction/dissatisfaction with certain listed institutions.

The own living situation and the material status is one further aspect that has an influence in the different tested aspects. Within this topic it was questioned how people get earnings to buy food, or if they are depending on someone else who they get food from. One aspect of the material status is the question of access to services (water, electricity). Additionally macro-level aspects of the economic situation were tested as well. Closely related to the perception of the present situation is the perception of macro-changes of the economic situation within the last few years.

One bigger block focused on the question where one defines one’s roots. Within this topic two aspects were distinguished: the geographic and the cultural roots. The geographic aspect was covered by questions for one's personal migration history, where one feels a belonging and for how often and for how long one goes to Transkei or Ciskei per year. The relevance of traditional Xhosa-culture was tested indirectly. The interviewed person was asked to name traditions and customs and whether she/he sees them rather related to rural or rather urban areas, or whether they are not all of interest to the interviewee.
One very important aspect of feeling secure is the question of how integrated and secure people feel within their neighbourhood and their extended family. These aspects were tested in questioning the relationship with the neighbours and who to trust and who to speak with in case of different kinds of problems. Another point was to find out about several listed organisations, and whether people are active or passive members of those organisations in their regional area. Related to the topic is the question about changes of men and women's role in society. - Mentioned changes would indicate possible problems with the changing role of the interviewee.

When looking at the people's awareness about future, one major aspect is the question of whether they trust or distrust specific country- or local-level institutions. Since the different institutions played different roles during the apartheid regime and afterwards, the evaluation of them will differ as well. It is necessary to distinguish between institutions that were rejected during apartheid and which now get a small portion of trust and those institutions with a now higher, but declining level of trust.

Anomie, as it was already defined above, is a situation with fast changes of values, norms and behaviour patterns. Since these also change with time it is important to get an idea of how content people are with the "old", the "changing" and the "new" institutions. Related to the question of content is the aspect of feeling alone or not alone within times of fast changes. Are the listed institutions influencing the situation of Khayelitsha's occupants?

As a factor that is causing, and has caused, aspect of anomie, the situation of crime within Khayelitsha seemed to be a potential indicator. Related to an example, people were asked to describe whether they now feel secure. This aspect was supplemented by the question about changes within the last few years and a look into the near future - are there institutions that are able to solve aspects of the crime-problems? This aspect was investigated with an open question and a hypothetical example.

The listed topics cover the main important aspects when looking at anomie in the specific local context. On the one hand, "old" or rather "rural" values and behaviour patterns are questioned. On the other hand, the current situation is being tested. It was tested to what extent former "old" values and behaviour patterns were still regarded and whether they are relevant for today's Khayelitsha. The micro-level aspects were broadened with the aspect of one's current living- and material situation. The macro-level-aspects were operationalised with a perception of the current situation of South Africa and Khayelitsha and the belonging organisations and institutions. The theoretical framework describes anomie as a situation where "new" emerges. Since the recent situation of Khayelitsha's people is in transition, it is not possible to speak about final "new" values and behaviour patterns. Today's western
Indicators of Anomie in the Context of the Township of Khayelitsha

When discussing the theory of anomie the rather theoretical approach of this concept is evident. Especially when it comes to the question of how to measure anomie in times of transition, problems arise.

One of the problems is the fact that the final "new" values, norms and behaviour patterns do not, as was described in the last paragraph, exist in times of transition. Within this study, western economy and democracy at state level are seen as intervening variables. However, even during apartheid years many black people were confronted with these aspects when working on farms or as domestic workers in the white people's living area. But different to today's situation apartheid legally defined the rights of participating in western free-market economy and "democracy" as a "white only" matter and excluded almost the whole of the rest of the population.

For anomie research in general, and this study in specific, it is also difficult to distinguish between new micro-level aspects of life and possible phenomena of anomie. If looking at gang activities one could argue that this is strictly an indicator of an anomic situation. At the same time, it can be said that forming groups like these could also be a strategy to find goals together in times where there is no common orientation. The same difficulty exists when looking at organisations, which are taking law into their hands. During the area of the apartheid state, "street justice" was almost the only method to punish criminal behaviour like theft, assault, murder or rape, and to fill the gap left by state institutions by such a institution. Nowadays, shift to "community policing" seems to be a step towards a legal justice system. For some people similar shifts are not as transparent as they seem to be, so that, with regard to the issue of anomie, one has to mention that the transition from one (part of a) system to another does not have to happen suddenly for all aspects of society. While basic democratic rights came were instituted in South Africa with a fast change, other aspects are following only very slow.

When taking all this into consideration, one can define an instrument to measure anomie with certain limitations, but still with the chance to detect possible problems of a society before the extent of anomie gets too big.

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105 Thokozani Xaba (1995); p51ff
8 Interviews: people and interview situation

8.1 Design of interview guideline

To meet the intention of getting an idea of what people think, without limiting them to pre-thought aspects, an interview with only open questions would be proper. Unfortunately the pre-test showed that people sometimes are not going to offer all their ideas, especially when these thoughts are either a matter of course to them, or when it had not yet been verbalised. For that reason the decision had been felt to start with general, rather open questions on a topic and to continue with further in-depth questions, unless the interviewed person already comes up with aspects related to the issue by herself/himself.

The following example shall give an idea how the interview guideline was designed. One question focused on the living situation. The general question was “Describe the living and income situation, including all different income creating activities (for example selling things,..)”. If the interviewee came up with all of the kinds of aspects interesting for this case no further question was asked. Otherwise the interview would go into depth by the following stimuli: “Are you employed / unemployed?”, “If unemployed: When was the last time you applied for a job?”, ”What are your income creating activities? Where do you get money to live on?”, “If you do not get money: How do you get food to eat? Is there a support from others? From whom?”.

In general, it is more interesting if one comes up with one's own, free formulated ideas and descriptions. The in-depth questions are only reserved to those cases where no, or not all, aspects were answered.

8.2 Description of Sample

The sample was designed to be a multistage sample. Within Khayelitsha, a number of areas had been selected by looking at the time when first settlement took place, and looking at the kind of houses and kind of services (electricity, water, etc.) offered. At the second stage, gender and age were predefined. For the definition of the groups, the 1996 Census data were used. For each gender, three groups starting with the age of 15 were calculated (15 to 25 years, above 25 up to 35 years, above 35 years).\textsuperscript{106} This kind of two-stage sample seemed to be the most appropriate and practicable for the focus area. Other methods of random sampling by using of lists of

\textsuperscript{106} Census 1996; population of Khayelitsha by sex and age
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Inhabitants, or lists of registered households, are not feasible since none of these kinds of lists exist.

According to the first aspect of the multistage sample, six areas in Khayelitsha were selected to do seven interviews per area. The areas were selected with the intention of getting a broad impression of different opinions within different living situations and different periods of time when settling in Khayelitsha.

- **Site C and Site B**: Site C is one of the first settled areas in Khayelitsha close to the N2 north of Khayelitsha. Most of the buildings are shacks; only a few houses are brick-built. Many of the households do not have access to a personal water tap, but to common water taps located nearby, from a few meters up to a few minutes walking distance of the house. Some of the shacks are so closely built to each other that the path in between them is only one or two meters wide.

- **Khayelitsha**: This is the first settled area. Here brick built, so-called “Core Houses” had been offered to the people. The houses were with 26 to 32 m² – very small and built of cheap material. In some of the houses, one can see that after twelve years fundamental repairs would be necessary. The administration's intention (but as it seemed not the architect's plans) was that the people living in the houses would extend the houses by themselves. Nowadays, about three fourth of the houses are extended with constructions out of wood and cardboard.

- **Macassar and Harare**: In these areas, settlement took place on prepared premises. Each plot has its own toilet-box with a water tap outside the house and electricity in the house.

- **Mandela Park**: It is one of the areas where the majority of the houses are brick built. They are newer than the Khayelitsha “Core Houses” and more solidly built. Some of the houses were built by private companies or by the people themselves.

Even though housing within these areas differs, one can say that in Site B, Site C, Harare and Macassar the majority of the people are living in shacks with or without services, while in Mandela Park and Khayelitsha-Core Houses the majority has brick-built houses. This must not be interpreted as a difference in all of the living conditions, but usually this fact is connected to a certain household income that allows the household to pay rent for the house.

Besides areas with these characteristics, there are also areas with so-called “temporary settlements”. These are areas where people erected houses at a place that is not defined for housing without the permission of the administration. These are, for example, areas that should be used for industries, churches, public space and other uses. At those places where the
administrational and political plans still do not want the people to stay forever, only rudimentary service facilities are offered. One water tap is offered in a big area to many people. If toilets exist, they are located at the boundaries of those areas, so that people either have to walk a few minutes to reach them or just go behind the next bush. Electricity is usually not offered in these areas. Within this survey, only one man was interviewed in a temporary settlement in Site B. The estimated number of people living in temporary settlements varies between 11.8% and 16% (see chapter 6.5 "Access to services (water, sanitation, electricity)").

The persons were chosen (to ask for an interview) from different streets to avoid that similar answers were given by face-to-face exchange of ideas between neighbours. The primary remaining connections between thoughts and awareness are similar living situations, similar personal history, similar traditional orientation, similar western orientation, among other aspects.

8.3 Preparing thoughts about the process of interviewing

When planning qualitative interviews certain things have to be taking into consideration. One of the main aspects for researchers with a different cultural background is to get in close contact with what is more or less unknown and largely not experienced. 107 All this has to take place before a method is chosen and therefore also before an interview guideline is designed. When I first met people living in Khayelitsha, I already had some thought exchanges and experience with Xhosa-people living in townships around Cape Town. In order to be sure about cultural aspects or about the connection between different aspects one experiences, it is necessary to talk to people who know both of the cultures - western dominated aspects, as well as Xhosa dominated aspects, and possible combinations. Before designing the study, and after doing the study, I had several discussions about its content.

The second important question is the interview settings. For the current research, it was chosen to do focused interviews with single persons. The interviews took place in Khayelitsha within the area where the interviewees live. Since they were not asked to meet the interviewer alone, it happened a few times that up to ten other people were interested in what was going on, and were watching the interview. Even though discussions sometimes started in between, the interview was continued with the selected person from beginning to the end. This non-restrictive setting was chosen to open the possibility for exchanging of ideas and to keep the interview situation rather

107 Ulrike Froschauer, Manfred Lueger: (1998); p37ff
as an "everyday conversation" than as a "question and answer game". This setting design was also chosen to improve the motivation of the interviewee to participate. Even though some others offered stimuli as well, the interview was guided by the interviewer and the interpreter.

Since I am not Xhosa speaking translation from English to Xhosa and reverse was an important aspect of the interview process. Ms P Tshangana (Department of Linguistics and Southern African Languages at the University of Cape Town) did the translation of the English questionnaire to Xhosa. Philiswa Lwanjana, as the interpreter from Khayelitsha, and I did the interviews together. She was neither a member, nor an affiliate, to any political or other interest group. None of the interviews were done with people she knew or in the area she lived. We introduced ourselves before each of the interviews and declared our independence from any organisation, apart from the University of Cape Town. The people’s anonymity was guaranteed by explaining to them that neither their name, nor their address will be asked or noted. I had the feeling that the combination of my being a non-South African and non-Khayelitsha researcher/student questioning and recording, and Philiswa Lwanjana’s usage of Xhosa-language and understanding of the cultural background, helped to ensure trust in the people we interviewed. In general, they were willing to do the interviews.

One of the interviews ran less smoothly than the others. This interview was held in Harare in front of a tavern with a woman who was about sixty years old. She was very interested in being interviewed and willing to answer. During the interview a drunken man, in account of the white colour of my skin, threatened me verbally ("I don’t like you!”) and with a wooden stick. The interviewed and other women insisted on continuing with the interview and sent the men away. With a few exceptions, most of the interviews were in a good climate of confidence. In all of the cases, when the interview was not done in the streets in front of the house, the researcher and the translator were invited to take a seat, even if it was the last available space to sit. Some even served warm drinks.

During the interviews, the first stimulus came from the interview guideline. After the interviewee ended to tell what he/she wanted to say regarding the topic, and after further signals of interests and understanding by the interviewer, further questions were asked to get more information. Since I was conducting the interviews and responsible for getting answers to the certain questions, Philiswa Lwanjana did the translations in certain intervals or after the end of an answer. Some of the interviewees said that they wanted to do the interviews in English. I did the recording by writing down either the English original or the translations from Xhosa, which were instructed to be as close as possible to the original Xhosa-formulations. Since the symbolic use of language is always related to the culture in which it
evolves, in and in which it is used, an exact translation was not always possible.

The interviews started with establishing rapport and understanding between the interviewer, the interpreter and the interviewee. At the end of each interview, time was spent to smoothly finish the conversation by giving the interviewee the chance to ask questions about the research, the researcher and the translator. Including all these aspect the interview took a minimum of one hour. The average interview lasted for about 90 minutes, the maximum for two hours. Since single persons tend to get tired and lose concentration after 60 to 90 minutes, allowing to exchange thoughts with the surrounding people made it possible to go more in-depth and keep the interest even for rather long periods of time.

Since I am not socialised within the Xhosa culture, I had, on the one hand, the advantage of taking a different look at certain things and of asking more questions than people who are familiar and integrated in the culture. On the other hand, I had to guard against jumping to wrong conclusions. To avoid wrong interpretations an exchange of different thoughts about given answers and the interview situation was done after the interviews with Philiswa Lwanjana.

8.4 Description refused interviews

Since the topic is about various aspects, including trust and mistrust, it was expected that some people might not feel comfortable. Indeed, three people refused to be interviewed.

A person in Khayelitsha Core Houses invited the researcher and the translator into his house, but after the demographical questions, when being asked to name problems of his living situation, refused to continue. He had a dialogue that lasted a few minutes with the translator, after which the interview had to be stopped. The translator did not want to translate in detail why the fifty-sixty year old man was not willing to talk to a white man. An about thirty to forty year old man in Harare was the second to refuse giving interviews. He did not give any reason. The third man who refused lived in Makhaja and was about forty to fifty years old. He refused by mentioning in English that he does not trust the white interviewer. After he repeated that for a few times, another man was willing to do the interview instead of him. Even though the first man had refused being interviewed he did not interfere then. When the question was about changes of men’s and women’s role in society the first man started to be willing to talk.
Besides the three men who more or less strictly refused to give interviews, there were two women and two men who were concerned about their safety. Both women wanted to stop the interview after half of the questions. The researcher and the interpreter then explained their independence, showed the student card and assured to keep the individual data secret. After a short discussion, they were willing to continue with the interview. The men just asked to assure the secrecy of their answers and continued with their explanations.

Since experiences like these had been made, the interpretation of the interview answers had to be very carefully. It could have been the case that a few people did not answer questions they did not feel comfortable with and evaded the answers by either giving a more harmless answer or by saying that they do not understand the content of the question. Since especially some of the closed questions were critical in this regard, the main focus will be on the given answers to the qualitative open questions.

9 Description of the material living situation

9.1 Kind/Source of income

The first open question of the questionnaire was about problems, or wanted changes, of the interviewee's living situation. More than half of the people answered immediately that "unemployment", "having no job", or the source (kind of activity) or height of income are problems for them. Within this open question, women stated one of these aspects twice as often as men to be an important problem.

The other problems often mentioned were the housing situation, the own experiences with crime or the high rate of crime in general. Within the interview people, especially men, often named the problem of poor services (not having an own toilet; dirty streets).

9.1.1 Kind of income activities

In a further question, the interviewees were asked to describe what they are living on and what kind of activity is supplying them with money. From the detailed answers given three groups were derived.

Without the three people who were on pension and the four people who were attending school, from the remaining 35 interviewed people 57% were either totally without any income creating activity (unemployed), or depending on what one could call "survival selling". Except for two people, the rest were employed or what one could call "a small entrepreneur". With
“survival selling”, an activity is meant that mostly has a very small and often not regular income from selling a small range of things (not more than five different kinds of goods) with most of the time not more than a cardboard box with goods. Many of the interviewed people were street hawkers, other were selling small things in front of their own house. The things that were, among others, dealt with were chips, beer, Xhosa beer, paraffin and meat. (Re-)Selling small amounts of a few things made the people highly dependent on the customer’s wealth and income in most cases – if one has not got money one does not buy chips - this is especially a problem since many of them did not seem to have big savings. The group of people depending on survival selling was, with an average of 42.8 years, the group with the eldest people of the groups distinguished above. Another characteristic is the fact that people were mostly working on their own and using no, or only small, own means of production. When looking at the people’s point of view they mostly rather described themselves as unemployed.

The totally unemployed people, without any income activity, were depending on different sources of support. One man could support himself with saved money from his last income. One woman was supported with food by her brother. One woman lived on the state's grant of her baby, which was growing up in rural areas: Three people lived on their spouses' income but were looking for a job and four younger people lived on their parents' money.

"Part-time Jobs" are another small income source, depending on other people's means of production. The term "part-time" must not be understood literally, since it does, unlike in other areas, not stand for an employment with about, or more than, half of a full time employment. One woman was working once a week as domestic worker with a monthly income of R 200. One man said that he sometimes drives taxis or helps on building sites whenever he needs money and gets a chance to work.

The rest of the interviewed people (37%) were either employed (23%), or belonging to the group of "small entrepreneurs" (14%). The majority of employed people were working as domestic workers (in others' houses, gardening or in a restaurant) and at construction sites; one person was working as a petrol attendant, another one at the police. People described as "small entrepreneurs” run a business that allows them to live a little bit better than people described before in the group of "survival selling". They have a higher and more regular income. When selling things the range of products is wider and the stock often bigger than the one of people gaining income from "survival selling". The different listed businesses were: sewing clothes and selling them, running a barber shop, running a vegetable and fruits shop, running a small spaza, repairing cars outside without a garage.
Table 2: Kind of Income Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Income Source</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survival Selling</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time Job</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Entrepreneur</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total – Working Age</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,0%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sorted by the height of income and the income earned

When comparing the areas with majority formal housing (Mandela Park and Khayelitsha – Core Houses) to the areas with a majority of non-brick-built houses one can see differences within the group of interviewed people. In areas with formal housing 36% were employed, compared to 13% in areas with non-brick-built houses. Further 18.2% were running their own small business in formal housing areas, compared to 13%. In the area with non-formal housing half of the people were either unemployed (39%) or doing survival selling (13%). In areas with mainly formal housing, 45% were unemployed (9%) or selling small goods (36%).

When looking at quality of life the distinction has to be made between the first group of employed and small entrepreneurs and the second group of unemployed, “survival selling” and part-time jobs. 63% of the latter were rather struggling with getting an income, only 37% had jobs or own activities where they did not have to be worried about surviving the next day.
9.1.2 Applying for a job – Looking for employment

Many people referred to themselves as unemployed. Even if they earned a small income from “survival selling”, or they even had their own small business, many of them would rather prefer to get a job, which gives more feeling of security.

15 persons were asked when they last tried to apply for a job. Almost half of them said that it was within the last month or the last six months. One applied about a year ago. The other seven said that they either do not try/no longer try to apply (5 people) or that they tried to get a job with the help of their neighbours (2 women). The group of people who still tried to apply had an average age of 29 years compared to the second group with 41.3 years.

In a situation, as South Africa is now in, when too many people are looking for jobs, companies and employers are getting selective and therefore older people have most of the time great difficulties in getting jobs. This might be the reason why the older people that were interviewed rather tried to find a job by the help of friends and relatives than spend money on sending letters and travelling by taxi to companies where they did not know anybody who could help them to get a job. One man had a different point of view as to why he would not apply for a job:

“I am repairing cars of people who know me. I do that without a garage and without a shelter. Before, I was a car mechanic at a service station, but I got paid very little. I earned during the week (after tax and travelling costs) less than at the weekend with private jobs. I did not apply [again] after this last experience.”

9.1.3 Changes in ones own material living situation / Satisfaction

People were also asked about changes in their living situation. Five said that the situation has not changed; the rest were divided into two similar sized groups, the ones who said that they now live better (43%; average age 38 years) and a second group who felt that they now live worse (45%; average age 34.3 years) than five years ago. Within the group of people who felt that their situation improved, two mentioned electricity and toilets as reasons, the rest either were employed or was then able to get a small income from survival-sell- ing activities. For the group of people whose situation got worse, two reasons were often mentioned. Five of the people said that they lost their job, another seven said that the prices increased and that they had financial problems.
The people were also asked whether they felt rather satisfied, or dissatisfied with their material situation in general. Within the group of people, who felt that they now live better than before, the majority was satisfied, a quarter was not satisfied and further 12.5% felt in between - not totally satisfied, but also not totally dissatisfied. Within the group of people who said that their economic situation is rather worse than before, 2 out of 5 said that they are satisfied, the rest was dissatisfied. In total, the number of people who felt dissatisfied and the ones who felt satisfied was of about the same size. The average age of satisfied people was about 39.6 years, the average age of dissatisfied people was 30.3 years. The people who did not tend to the one or the other group were rather young – within an average of 27 years of age.

9.1.4 Job Training

One way that increases the chance of getting a job is to do a job skills training. This type of training has been offered by a few organisations within Khayelitsha and some more outside the township. A proportion of three out of four interviewed people did not know whether there was a job skills training in the area where they lived. Only seven interviewees knew of a training centre, whether it was close to the place they were living or not.

9.2 Having and paying services

One aspect that relates to the living situation is the aspect of how accessible services are for people living in Khayelitsha. After asking whether people are getting several kinds of services, the issue arose of whether they would have to pay for the services or not. If one refused to pay, we were interested in getting a reason for this.

Within this question, additional to the services of water, electricity and rubbish collection, the people were also asked if they have a television or not.
### Table 3: Public services available and paid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>SiteC</th>
<th>SiteB</th>
<th>Khayelitsha</th>
<th>Harare</th>
<th>MandelaP</th>
<th>Macassar</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22,0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Paying</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34,1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paying</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43,9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26,3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paying</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>83,3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Paying</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23,8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paying</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26,2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubbish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26,3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Paying</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31,6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paying</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42,1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Especially in the area of Site B and Site C many interviewed people did not have access to services directly, or these services were only available within a short or long distance to walk. While the fact of having services was depending on different aspects like the area living in (temporary squatters,...) and the aspect whether the house was built on one's own plot, or whether it was in someone else's backyard. The people who wanted to have running water, a toilet or electricity to have light during the nights or the chance to listen to a radio, or other things, did not care whether they were in an area that the administration had intended to be used for other
purposes. Right then (and for many even for some years) they just wanted to live like humans with the right for water and electricity.

Within the group of interviewed people an average of 20% did not have own access to water, electricity or rubbish collection. The average distance to a water tap was about 30 meters – it includes people with 5 to 10 meters as well as one who has to walk a distance a few hundred meters to and from the water tap.

The second issue focused on is the question about whether people pay for services or whether they refuse to pay, and what reasons the people named for not paying. This aspect is especially interesting since the reasons for introducing boycotts in 1993 (lasting up to 1995), the abolition of the racist Apartheid system, did no longer exists. Since up to then two democratic elections were held and a government respecting human rights was installed, this reason should no longer be used. The following reasons were being given:

"I do not pay, because I have neither a work nor money"

"I have to support too many people from the family – there is no money left for paying water..."

"I paid before I became unemployed, then [I] stopped [paying]. And now, I haven't got money to pay for it"

"I do not pay, because we did not receive a bill from the government"

"I am supposed to pay, but I don't. I am taking an advantage; no-one pays for water – the councillor has not introduced service charges.” The interviewed man then mentioned that he pays for garbage collection.

"I don't know the height for a month – the bill we received contained fees that the pre-owner did not pay" and: "We have not got the money to pay for the people who were living in this house before – we want to restart at 0"

"some pay, some don't pay for water – that has been so for a long time, but I do not know why; nowadays we get some statements that we have to pay”

I do not pay for water because no one is paying
Table 4: Given Reason for Not Paying Water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Not enough money to pay&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Don’t know the rate - was not informed&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28,6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;No-one is paying&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7,1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I should pay pre-owners bill&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7,1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Reason</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7,1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total – Working Age</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of 14 people who said that they would not pay for services only three were living north of Spine Road (Site B, Site C, Khayelitsha), the rest was living in Macassar, Harare and Mandela Park.

The only explicit reasons given for not paying for the TV was given by a man who said that he does not like the programs that are being played. Even though almost half of the people were not paying, they watched TV for an average of 3.3 hours per day.

*A 36 years old man said, that he does "not know the rate for a month. The bill they received contained fees that the pre-owner did not pay." And than he continued: "We have not got the money to pay for the people who were living in this house before. We want to restart at 0.”*

### 9.3 Changes of situation of rich and poor people - awareness of changes at macro-level

When being asked about changes of the gap between poor and rich people in South Africa, the interviewed men rather tended to say that the gap increased (60%). The women tended to say that the gap decreased (48%). Four people said that the distance was still the same. When asking whether and how the situation of the rich changed, the interviewees were more likely to say that the rich got richer (55%) or stayed the same (38%) within the last five years. The perception about poor people did not show a clear trend, since 45% said that it worsened, while 38% said that it improved.
9.4 Summary / Conclusion

Even in the new South Africa black people in the townships experience only small improvements of their material living situation. Therefore, it is no wonder when within the interviews done the number of persons who perceived improvements and the number of persons who perceived a worsening of the situation are almost equal. The reasons for changes, most interviewees argued, were shifts in their own income situation. When looking at the description of the kind of income source it is still somehow unbelievable that still 43% said that they were satisfied with their own living situation. Almost two thirds were either unemployed or had only very small possibilities getting an income. Especially many women were living on money creating activities, which did not allow them to get a feeling of economic security. According to the answers given for a question about their personal problems and their wishes for changes, the 23% of employed people had to be the "lucky" ones. When being asked only half of the people said that, they had applied for a job within the last few months. The other group of people mentioned that they were trying to get a job with the help of neighbours, friend and relatives. One person mentioned that it was not worth spending a day of waiting in a queue at a company to discover at the end of the day that he was again in the group of people who did not get the job.

When looking at the kind of income sources, with their small amounts and the non-existence of stability, it is no wonder that many people (44% said that they refused to pay for water) rather said that they were not willing to pay for services. While for half of the interviewees having no money was the reason for not paying, a further 29% (men only) said that they were not informed. Electricity is a second important aspect of services. Even though the situation improved strongly in the last few years 17% of the interviewed people said that they were still not connected.

The example of electricity payment might be named as characteristic for economic solutions to anomic situations. Since the few people who already had access to electricity a few years ago were either not able, or not willing, to pay for it, the new policy of providing electricity is to offer a service that has to be pre-paid. Transformed into anomie theory – the, in other places existing consensus that each household on its own has to pay for something already consumed, was missing - at latest since the 1990s service boycott years showed that not paying must not stand for not having no access. The development program took up this aspect and brought in the experience that one has to pay before one can use a service and this was established by the new rules and regulations. Since education and the resistance against the new rules is not too high, they are accepted and the electricity meter is not being bypassed. Many people are able to live with these kinds of rules and the electricity company is able to provide connection lines to new households. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that there is still a certain number of
people who now spend the money for having light during (for example long winter) nights, but in total are not having enough money for buying necessary good.

The detailed proof of this aspect could not be given with the data collected within the interviews, since the question about changes of the household's financial situation was not asked. Looking at results of a national survey presented in March 2000 confirms that the household's financial situation rather worsened than improved. Compared to other population groups only within the black population the answers given to "situation got worse within last 12 months" stayed at the same level (54%) compared with 1998 results. Within all of the other groups, improvements could be found.\(^\text{108}\)

Another nation-wide survey was done focusing on the problem of unemployment. The main obstacles mentioned by the people there were a lack of education, a shortage of job opportunities and too many people looking for employment. All these problems also got evident within this Khayelitsha focussed research. Beside the above-mentioned problems reported by the people, the analysis of the economic structure of Khayelitsha showed that there were only a few organisations in the formal sector offering jobs. The rest of the population had to make an income (most of the time) some distance from Khayelitsha (causing expenses for transport) or to work in the informal sector. Almost none of the income creating activities within the latter offers any kind of security.

10 Relation to other people and the place called “home”

10.1 Where people feel at home

10.1.1 Peoples Migrational History

From the interviewed people 71% said that they were born in rural areas like Transkei (62%) or Ciskei (9%). Only 24% of the interviewed people were born in Cape Town. Since many of the people started their migrational history when they were young the question of being born can only be seen as an indicator of where one grew up and got socialised. A few people mentioned without being asked that they grew up in rural areas. During the interviews, women remarked that their babies also grow up at relatives' place in rural areas since they are looking for jobs and are struggling to survive.

\(^\text{108}\) Human Sciences Research Council (2000b)
Since the first people came to Khayelitsha in 1983, a further aspect dealt with looking at the time that people settled in Khayelitsha. A few people only arrived within the last few months; a few people had already been there for fourteen years. The interviewed people had been in Khayelitsha for an average of 7.46 years. Even though they were not explicitly asked for their inner-Khayelitsha migration, some of them mentioned that since they were in Khayelitsha they had also been living in other areas of the township.

10.1.2 Where do people feel at home

The acceptance of a place where people live and the behaviour within a certain place is always connected to the question of whether people define a specific place as their home or not. Within the group of interviewed people 23 out of 42 said that their home is in rural areas rather than in urban areas. 48% named the former Transkei and further 7% the former Ciskei.

**Table 5: Where people feel at home**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khayelitsha</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everywhere</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since feeling at home is a general feeling, the people were not asked for a specific reason why they felt rather at home in rural areas than in the place where they now live. Some of the reasons were named when the question about tradition and the relation to Khayelitsha was discussed.
Table 6: Where does one feel at home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rural-Home</th>
<th>Urban-Home</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural – Born</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban - Born</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rural: Ciskei and Transkei; Urban: Cape Town and Khayelitsha

People who were born in urban areas feel rather at home in urban areas. Only one person born in urban areas felt at home in rural areas. People born in rural areas also feel at home in these places, except for 15% who already feel at home in urban areas. Neither age, nor the period of time that people had lived in Khayelitsha has an influence on where people feel at home.

10.1.3 How often do people go to rural areas

After asking for their feelings about the place they identify for themselves as their home, people were asked how often they visit rural areas. Out of 41 people, 11 said that they never go home; a further three said that they only sometimes or seldomly visit people in rural areas, or only go there for funerals. Seven people said that they stay in rural areas for three weeks in December; 15 stay for a month and four even longer than a month.

When combining these results with the answers of the last question the people who said that they feel most at home in Transkei are also the ones who go there for the longest time (5.2 weeks a year). People defining Khayelitsha as their home still stay for 3.3 weeks a year. The other groups are even more below the general average of 3.9 weeks a year (excluding the people who do not go to rural areas).

10.2 Relation to neighbours (Ubuntu)

Since the aim of this research is to identify possible areas of change within people’s values and behaviour patterns, one of the possible aspects that could have changed is the people’s relation to each other. Ubuntu is described as an orientation of living together. Since Ubuntu is something that only exists while people interact, it is not easy to measure with a questionnaire. In this research, there were three questions about the relation to the neighbours: In a first the people were asked to generally rate the
relation. In the second and third question, people were asked to estimate whether neighbours offer help in everyday life, in specific for getting food and looking after the children.

The description of the general relation to their close neighbours was, with 39 out of 42, good (93%). Two people described it as mediocre and only one person said that the relation with the neighbours was bad.

When continuing with the question about food support the number of people who did not get food support increases - 13% of the people said that they did not get food support at all and one person put into perspective that only some of the neighbours give food support. Only one of these people was living in Harare, the rest were living in Site C or Khayelitsha “Core Houses”. All of the people who did not get unconditional food support were 25 years old or younger (average of 22.3 years). There are different possible reasons for this correlation with age. One reason relates to what the chapter is about and therefore had to be interpreted as a decrease of the importance of Ubuntu when people meet the influence of urban life.

Since the methodology was decided for a questionnaire, all the answers are a combination of what people experience and what people expect from other people. Therefore, a second interpretation of the characteristic age of the people getting no support could be a mistrust (which is not based on experience) of the younger people in the willingness of older people to support them. It also could be an experienced rejection of elders who were not willing to support the young people since the elders often feel that they are being confronted by younger people without respect.

Within this research, it is only possible to say that within the group of interviewed people only young people said that they did not get food support from neighbours without naming a special reason.

For the question relating to whether neighbours would look after their children, seven people said that they would not, one person said that some did and some did not, another person said that neighbours would only look after her children if they were paid. Within this group were also two people older than 40 years. The areas were similar to the one mentioned before.

When asking the question about the relation to neighbours one could assume that especially people who feel at home in rural areas think that their relation to neighbours is worse than at home. The results within the group of interviewed people did not show any correlation between the answers of one of the three questions and the place of feeling at home.

Many of the people who came from rural areas lived closely to some relatives at the beginning. Some of them stayed at their relatives’ houses,
others built an own backyard house within a short distance to their relatives and the rest tried to find another place to live within Khayelitsha. In many of the cases, there was a correlation between relatives and neighbours.

Since Ubuntu originally did not distinguish between relatives and non-relatives it would be interesting for further research to measure whether the interviewed person distinguished between neighbours which were relatives and neighbours which were not relatives and whether there was a difference between the relation of these two groups.

10.3 People's integration in different spheres of community

Another aspect of feeling at home and being integrated in a community is to belong to different groups of the society. People were asked whether they are members or attending meetings in different organisations.

Figure 1 Membership in Organisations
### Table 7 Membership in Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Attending Only Meetings</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Not Possible</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burial Society</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policing Forum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local RDP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Organisation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Committee</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Organisation</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Group</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Club</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Union</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Organisation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Not Possible: Men and unmarried young girls cannot be members of a women’s organisation; unemployed people or entrepreneurs cannot be members of the trade union.

Many of these organisations named are self-explanatory and unequivocal within the local area. Even though, for example, the street committee varied within the different areas of Khayelitsha, street committees in general can be compared since they were similar when looking at their functions and institutional framework. The political organisation was used as a synonym for political parties. When asked for the kind of party only one person answered UDM, the other party members answered to be related to the ANC. Within the list of organisations, there are two rather abstract groups, which allowed the interviewed people to bring in their own examples - the cultural organisations and the sports club.

When looking at differences between memberships of women and men one can find that women were more integrated in the following two kinds of organisations: the Burial Society: 72.7% compared to 55%, religious organisations 90.9% compared to 65%. Men were more integrated in the Policing Forum: 26.3% compared to 23.8%, in cultural organisations: 25% compared to 9.5%, in political organisations 55% compared to 40.9%, sport organisations with 60% compared to 9.1%, trade unions with 42.9% compared to 12.5%. With the two organisations that are also looking at formulating policies (Local RDP, street committee), it is different. In the Local
RDP 23.5% of the interviewed men said that they were members, but, including the people who said that they attended the meetings, 47.6% of the women are more integrated, compared to 35.3% of men. Within the street committee, one can see similarities – 35% of men compared to 13.6% of women are members, but all in all 81.8% of women, compared to 55% of men attend meetings of the street committee.

Looking at age one can see that within the Burial Society the people were older than compared with the average age of the interviewed people (31.9 years compared with 38.3 years). Similar effects could be seen within the local RDP (people only at meetings were of an average of 43.3 years; the members were of an average age of 38.25 years; non-members 31.1 years). The people only attending the street committee meetings were with an average of 41.6 years older than the members, with 36.6 years, and the people outside the street committee with an average of 27.5 years. People in religious organisations were with 38.5 years compared with 30.7 years also older. In women's groups, the people were with an average of 46.7 years, compared with 34 years, also older. Members of cultural organisations were with 32 years rather younger than non-members with an age of 36 years. Within sports clubs the members were with 31.6, compared with 38.3 years, younger.

Within the other organisations like Policing Forum, political organisations and trade unions no big differences could be found.

11 Traditions / Customs

Since anomie is about the changes of norms, values and behaviour patterns, it is very important to look at the people's cultural background. The aspect of where one feels at home covers, to a large degree, affiliations with certain customs or traditions. This was already discussed in this chapter.

In the interview different questions focused on this issue. With a first question, the general knowledge of various customs was gathered. A further question focused on the traditions and customs relevant for Khayelitsha. The issue of traditions and customs was explored with two examples (circumcision and lobola) and the aspect of relevance to the people's life now.
11.1 Knowledge about customs

When doing social research to find out the relevance of certain aspects of life, a person can either be asked directly about it, or in some case it is possible to do observations. With the interviews, a further approach was chosen: The people were asked to name different customs they knew - irrespective whether they had been practising it, or whether they had not. The idea behind this approach is the assumption that people who are practising customs would know more about them, compared to the ones who do not.

Table 8: Examples for customs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>customs</th>
<th>answers</th>
<th>% (*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>circumcision</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celebrating birth of baby – <em>Imbeleko</em></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>47,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaughter a cow/goat/ ... for memories of ancestors - <em>Ukuxhelela Izinyanya</em></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>42,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobola</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make Xhosa-beer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa doctors</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut the finger – <em>Ingqithi</em></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaughter a sheep before a girl is going to marry – <em>Ukuthomba</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuts into face – <em>Ukuchazwa</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaughter a sheep when girl is getting older than 16 years – <em>Isiyaca</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifice for getting a job</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaughtering a goat or sheep for a woman who is married – <em>Utsiki</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>necklace by tail of a cow, when girls start with menstruation – <em>Ubulunga</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook for ancestors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other examples</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't believe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>118</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* related to number of interviewed people (42)
With about two thirds, circumcision was mentioned most often. While just 50% of the women mentioned circumcision, 80% of the men do not forget to name this custom. When speaking of different memories on customs it has to be mentioned that there are certain customs, which are named more by women than by men. For the following examples, about two to three times more women remembered the custom than men did: making Xhosa beer, Xhosa doctor and slaughtering a sheep when a girl is getting older or a women is marrying. When analysing for a correlation to the age of interviewed persons, most of the customs were named by people with an average age of about 33,9 to 37,2 years. Only the making of Xhosa beer and the Xhosa doctors were mentioned by people with an average age of 43,3 years or 48,6 years.

A 22 years old woman mentioned: "Slaughter a sheep when a baby is born." and to "make an African beer when thinking about ancestors."

A 28 years old woman mentioned: "Circumcision; slaughter a sheep when a baby is born." When being asked whether she did it for her baby she answered no, because she "had not enough money to buy a sheep." As a further custom she mentioned "the slaughter of a cow for the ancestors", which she last did in December 1998.

A 28 year old women mentioned the following customs: "Circumcision; to slaughter a sheep or cow and make a Xhosa beer for girl who is getting older. Lobola. To make cuts in the face when 3 months old – if one has problems with eyes. To slaughter a sheep when a baby is born." When being asked whether she did it for her baby she didn't do it for, because she "want[s] to do traditions in Transkei." But she mentioned that it "can be done any time, not specific period after the birth of baby."

A 60 year old woman mentioned the following customs: "Slaughter a sheep or a cow for the memories of the ancestors." She stated that she had last done it in 1998 in rural areas and, that it "can only be done in rural areas." As further customs she mentioned "Slaughter a goat when one is going to be a Xhosa doctor. Slaughter a sheep for the baby."

A 41 years old women mentioned: "Slaughter a sheep, a goat or a cow for a girl, when she is older than 16 years. Make a necklace out of the tail of a cow when girls start with menstruation. Slaughter a sheep when baby is born."

A 25 years old man mentioned: "Circumcision. Cut the finger. To slaughter a cow for the memories of the ancestors." When asked how often he dreamt about them he said: “it is not common: I dreamt about 2 years ago.” Continuing with another custom "... cut the face (independent of age). When not doing it, one becomes sick."

People being socialised in western societies often start to think in dichotomies, when it comes to tradition or customs and western orientation. Some of the interviews showed that these two aspects could exist in parallel without any problem. When looking at sociology’s in theory, situations are possible where a person might own various roles, even if they are
contradictory. When it comes to the aspect of integrating western orientations and traditional values or customs it is similar. When doing an interview with a younger man a group of even younger ones was following the conversation. The interviewed men and the other young people could rather be described as modern orientated, especially, when looking at the clothes they wore. When the question came to customs, the following situation took place:

A 21 years old man being in the street with other "youngsters" (most of the time being "cool"), when being asked about customs, a list of various customs is given: "Lobola. Slaughter a goat if one wants to get a job. Slaughter a cow for memories of the ancestors." When asking when he last did it he said that it was 3 years ago. Continuing with the other examples: "Slaughter a goat, when one is going to be a Xhosa doctor. Circumcision."

Most of the customs focus on aspects of spirit, on aspects of traditional institutions or on one's health. Many, if not all of them, are either integrating the ancestors in the procedure that is happening, or are some kind of "dialogue" with the ancestors. During these procedures, or when dreaming about the ancestors, one can bring along all the problems a person has and the ancestors are going to find a way of giving an idea of how a certain problem could be solved. During the interviews, only a few persons mentioned possible contents while coming together with the ancestors - one woman indicated that ancestors also might help when it comes about the problem of unemployment. It is an example similar to another research that indicated that living in a western environment does not mean that a person could not fall back in traditional customs, in case of having problems that cannot be solved according to western solution patterns:

A 43 years old woman listed: "Make a Xhosa beer." - She made it last year in Khayelitsha. "To ask the ancestors for help if one cannot get a job or does not know how to survive with the money he or she has to live on." When asked how the ancestors could help in a case like that she explained that "they explain how to live on."

11.2 Traditions and customs in Khayelitsha

After looking at their knowledge of various customs the interviewees were asked whether they could tell "which traditions or customs should be relevant for people of Khayelitsha today."
Table 9 Traditions / customs relevant for people of Khayelitsha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% (*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Circumcision</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make Xhosa-beer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celebrating birth of baby</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaughter a cow/goat/ ... for</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memories of ancestors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no answer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't believe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* related to number of people believing and answering (26)

Four people answered that they did not believe in traditions, with this question a further 12 could not give an answer. An interesting fact is the circumstance, that even though the same number of men and women did either not believe or not give an answer, women knew about 64,7% more traditions or customs for Khayelitsha than men. Even though they were given enough time when the question was asked, these interviewees could not answer. Since no other interpretation could be found, it must be assumed that they do not know any traditions or customs relevant for Khayelitsha. Out of the remaining 26 people 38,5% mentioned circumcision as a custom that can be done in Khayelitsha. The second and third most often named customs were the making of a Xhosa-beer and the celebrating of the birth of a baby.

When asked whether customs and traditions "could help solve the current problems" only 18 people agreed. Taking into consideration that, for example, when one is dreaming about the ancestors, most of the time problems are being solved, it is no wonder that only a quarter explicitly mentioned examples for societal problems that could be solved, and only a further three interviewees gave examples of their own individual problems. The rest, apart from saying that traditions or customs could help solving problems, did not go into details.

A 47 year old man said: "No tradition is possible in Khayelitsha, since there are no kraals, but tradition could help to solve problems. It is also necessary to be close to the ancestors, which does not happen in Khayelitsha." When asking whether both of the described aspects were relevant or whether only one would be important the man continued and said "No matter whether there are kraals or not ..." - what meant that the ancestors were the more important factor.
A 22 year old woman said, that "going back to old customs would help to increase the respect the people have for each other."

A 36 year old man said: "The only thing that can be done in Khayelitsha is the Xhosa beer for the memories of the ancestors. Other traditions can't be done in other places than in rural areas, because only the own people understand and respect what's going on." When asking for an examples he mentioned the "noise of dancing and singing before circumcision." He then continued describing why the named customs can't be done in urban areas: "Others can't be done because, for example, bushes for circumcision are not existing in Cape Town. In December when he comes home he has all problems in mind and is going to talk about the problems, for example: being healthy, or sickness in mind and the problem of children concentrating in school. Then they can slaughter a cow and it will be better." When asking how traditions can help with current problems he said: "for example circumcision: When a boy starts to be naughty it helps to take them to the bush." This meant to let him begin the circumcision procedure, which should make a responsible man out of him.

A 21 years old man said: "there are no traditions that can be done here in Khayelitsha."

A 28 years old woman said that "Tradition can help those who are making the robberies and those who are raping." Since she mentioned circumcision she meant that when doing the procedure of leaving boyhood and entering manhood one is being told to be responsible and stops doing things that negatively affects (members of) the society.

11.3 Case 1: Circumcision

After the open questions relating to tradition and customs in general, the interviewees were asked about two specific customs.

Firstly, the male related custom of circumcision was chosen for discussion. Within the Xhosa culture circumcision is the time when the relationship to the spirits of their ancestors is emphasised to the young men passing from boyhood to manhood. After that point of time, “all childish conduct must be a thing of the past to them, quarrelling and fighting (imi-ngeni) as a pastime must no longer be indulged in. They must henceforth speak and act with the dignity of men”. Usually circumcision is done at an age of about seventeen to twenty-one. A group of several boys is taken and after sacrificing an animal (ox, goat, sheep) at a kraal they are brought to the aba-kweta lodge, which is built in some secluded spot where they have considerable privacy. The first part of the custom is done by a surgeon, who is either an ordinary man, or depending on the tribe sometimes a religious functionary. Through

109 J.H. Soga (1931); p245ff; P250
the whole process, the young men are instructed and looked after by a guardian. The process takes a few weeks to a few months.

When asking about circumcision within the interview, it was the only time that there was an evident methodological problem in the company of a woman, since Xhosa-men are not supposed to speak about circumcision in the presence of a women. A few of the men then refused to give in detail descriptions of what the course of circumcision consists of.

Within the survey the interviewees where asked what they think about circumcision and what the reason for this custom might be. When looking at the results of the question whether people agree with circumcision only one "rastafarian" disagreed with circumcision of today, even though he takes a different look at it:

"Today it is a sort of fashion, but I thinks that before there were good reasons for circumcision - in former times when the people were sent to the mountain or the bushes for 3 to 4 months it was good, but today it is not good [any more]."

Additionally the people where asked to give a possible reason why circumcision is being done. Table 10 "Reasons given for circumcision" shows the groups of given answers.

**Table 10 Reasons given for circumcision**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% (*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa-tradition</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difference between boys and men</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduces crime</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madness/silly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one's health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one cannot marry without</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other reasons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* related to number of people who agreed with circumcision (41)

Within the given answers, no difference between men's and women's opinions could be detected. When it came to considering the interviewees' ages, differences could be found. With an average age of 41,6 years and
above the "Xhosa tradition", "madness/silly" and the "differences between boys and men" seemed to be rather an unquestioned answer of older people. People with an average age of 36,3 to 37,7 years named "respect" and "one's health". The youngest persons rather gave answers like "reducing crime" (26,4 years) and "one cannot marry without" (28,3 years).

A man who was 36 years of age said: "... because it differentiates between boys and men. [It] helps not to do the funny things. If [one is] not circumcised he is not going to be healthy. Sometimes children of people who are not circumcised cannot survive. Circumcision gives dignity."

A man who said that he was circumcised in 1985 in Kimberley said: "It helps to bring discipline (when transforming from childhood to manhood). When coming back they[men] became responsible - there are totally changed."

You don't get a wife without circumcision."

"It must be continued, because it's our Xhosa tradition. One cannot marry without circumcision. You are not welcome as Xhosa person if you marry without."

"If one is not circumcised one does wrong things (rape)."

When asking where circumcision has to be done, about half of the interviewees stated that it had to be done in rural areas; a further third said that circumcision also could be done in the bushes close to Khayelitsha. The idea of doing circumcision in hospitals was only supported by one man, but by three out of 12 women.

A man stated: "the boys must not circumcise in the hospital; should go to Transkei or in the bushes close to Khayelitsha; (people from other townships do go to hospitals – Khayelitsha people not)."

A man stated "a good procedure can be done anywhere, except in the hospitals – in the peoples health should be checked by the doctors before."

11.4 Case2: Lobola

After dealing with the custom of circumcision, the people were asked for their thoughts on lobola.

As was already stated in chapter 5.2 ("Xhosa - Ubuntu - community orientation - first aspects of anomie"), the relation between the Xhosa families deals with a very important aspect of Ubuntu. This relation is by a large part supported by the custom of lobola. When it comes to marriage between a man and a young woman, the prospective husband asks the girl's parents to allow him to marry their daughter. Considering the young man's social status and his personal character the applicant is requested to state
what he is prepared to give by way of lobola. In former days, lobola was exclusively given in cattle. In most of the cases, the man was not able to afford lobola at once, so that he had to pledge his faith to marry the young woman. Lobola, most of the times, had to be paid over the man's lifetime and was often even continued by his son(s).  

With this kind of unfulfilled contract the relation between the families was tied and the women's rights and protection of her person secured - and therefore also the protection of the family and the tribal life.

When being asked what they think about lobola as a custom now, 36 of the interviewed people said that they agreed with the custom and five said that they would not do so (one did not know). Only a single woman was in the group of rather young people (average age of 25,4 years) who disagreed with lobola.

A man 28 years of age argued that: "One can stand with a woman without lobola. Lobola is nowadays rather a business, [where one has] many years to pay [and that] lobola could cause a problem if the wife does wrong things."

A 22 year old woman said that she would stop lobola "... as long as her husband is going to support the family."

A man of 21 years mentioned that "... there are many divorces these days. If one pays lobola and he has an argument with the woman the money does not go back."

Also the people who agreed with lobola mentioned several different reasons. The argument most often named was the fact that lobola was a "Xhosa tradition", that lobola "builds families together" and that it gives the woman "respect". All these answers were given by people with an average age of 38 to 42,8 years. Especially young people mentioned aspects of preventing something unwanted, in a rather western wording, like the fact that women without giving lobola were not treated or cared well, or that a man could marry more often if there was no lobola. Six younger men and women (average of 26 years) gave a reason for lobola that involved looking at a woman's history before marriage and therefore lobola could almost be seen as somehow a kind of purchase. For three, about 55 year old women, one important fact was that "lobola gives dignity".

110 J.H. Soga (1931); p245ff; P265

111 J.H. Soga (1931); p245ff; P263f
A 33 year old man mentioned that lobola has to be considered:

"There must be no lobola when a girl has a child. There also must be no lobola if a girl has no discipline. The girl must be an example and accepted by the family"

A 45 year old man said: "Lobola in former days built 2 families together. Today it is something like selling." - and when thinking about people who are not paying he mentioned: "Men of today abuse their wives, because they don't pay for their wives."

A 36 year old man said, "... it builds a friendship between families. It is a better thing than the "marriage story, because it [shows] respect[s]."

A 28 years old woman said: "When a man does not pay he would be married any time. When he has an argue[ment] with his wife, he then can go away and marry another woman."

A 28 year old woman stated as reason for lobola: "Because [it] gives the money back [in regard to] what the parents have spent for the education of the girl."

Close to the question of whether one thinks lobola is important, people were asked how lobola should be given. Seven out of nine unconditionally said that lobola should be given in money. A 30 and a 60 year old woman wanted lobola to be given in cows, while a 67 year old woman distinguished:

"Lobola in rural areas must be in cows, but in Khayelitsha it must be in money."
- when asked she stated that she would prefer money.

11.5 Summary / Conclusion

Within the interviews conducted, the people of Khayelitsha were confronted with the question that dealt with what kinds of customs they knew and what kind of customs and traditions they think to be important for the situation of Khayelitsha today. Two thirds of the people had no difficulties in naming circumcision as an example. Almost half of the people interviewed mentioned the celebrating ceremony for new-born babies and the sacrifice for the memory of the ancestors. The rest was only mentioned by a fifth, or even less, of the people interviewed. Within the interviews, it was very interesting to realise that customs and traditions are not things only practised by people who rejected western or modern orientation. Similar to other situations these two orientations fit together without any problem, as it seems. While in everyday life, customs and traditions might not be present every day, but within the specific environment of rural areas, the situation is different. During the interviews people were asked whether they had the feeling that ancestors could improve or worsen the situation of Khayelitsha. Two thirds said that ancestors could improve many aspects of their life, while the others
either said that they would not change anything, or that they would not believe in ancestors (14%). Therefore, it can be assumed that two thirds of people believe in ancestors without a correlation to gender or age.

After the general question, the interviewees were asked which customs and traditions they think to be important for the situation of Khayelitsha today. For this question, a total of 16 people either said that they would not believe in customs and traditions (4) or they did not give an answer (12). Compared to the known customs, the distinguished customs and traditions seen in connection with Khayelitsha were only mentioned by a third. While a few people said that urban areas were not the right place, since kraals would be necessary, some others stated that for doing traditions and customs it is necessary to be at the place of the ancestors. One aspect about traditions and customs known, and those mentioned to be relevant for Khayelitsha, is the sexual difference between the answers of men and women. While both gave about the same number of answers for "known customs", only 11 customs or traditions relevant for Khayelitsha were mentioned by men compared to 21 examples given by women. Future research will have to show whether the small number of interviewed people is the causes of this apparent connection, or whether a statistical relevant correlation exists. This is especially interesting, since men could perceive in rural areas a higher level of security of being accepted in the men's traditional role.

When being specifically asked for two examples of customs, the majority of the people said that they would agree (circumcision: 98%; lobola 86%). Only one man rejected circumcision and argued that just "a sort of fashion" was left. When being asked where circumcision had to take place only a minority of 17% said that circumcising in hospitals would be right (3 women, 1 man). One man, looking down on the other townships, even stated: "people from other township do go to hospitals – Khayelitsha people not."

Within the first paragraph, a question about "whether ancestors improve or worsen the situation in Khayelitsha" was mentioned. The same question was also asked for "ministers of the church". When comparing the two answers about 57% of the interviewees said that they would improve many aspects. A further 13 persons said that either the one or the other would improve many aspects. Comparing the ones who positively valued both and the ones who only valued one institution positive, a difference in the average age could be detected. The ones who agreed for both were, with 40 years, about a decade older than the 13 persons were. Even though the question of improvements is not able to tell whether one believes in church, the answers given for the question of churchgoing frequency confirmed it. Twenty-four said that they at least would go to church once a week and a further eight stated that they would go to church once or twice a month. This means that for almost two third of the interviewed people believing in traditional ancestors does not contradict with the faith in God.
12 Men and women’s role in society

Within recent years, many changes took place in relation to men's and women's role in society. For a long period of time, during the Apartheid system, men and women mostly lived separated - in many cases men lived in South Africa close to the workplace, while many women were living with the children in the rural areas of Transkei or Ciskei. With the abolition of influx control, men and women had the chance to live together in one place. Since married couples were not separated by the role they had within their family, the question of how to distribute the things done in a family is newly raised.

When looking at the changed role, the high unemployment rate and the necessity to accept every possibility of work one could get, also has to be considered. Now it is no longer a man's world in relation to who should supply the money for the family to live on.

With all these shifts and the rather western idea of individualisation close to the urban areas, some women take their chance and tell men that they are no longer the unquestioned heads of the family.

While in times where, for example, the economy and the crime situation worsen, both genders are affected. It has to be expected that both, the aspects of what changed, as well as the perception of it, changed to a different extend.

Many of the questions described before showed differences between the interviewed men and the interviewed women. With the following questions, people were asked whether they think that either women's or men's role in society had changed. Even though some answers exceed what sociologists understand as being the concept of one's role in society, in the following chapters all of the given answers are presented. While being asked separately for short-term aspects and long-term aspects of changes within one's role separately a few people mixed up the given answers. The two following chapters will present the answers of both questions jointly.
12.1 Women’s role in society

Interviewees were asked whether they had the feeling, that women's situation in society had changed. People were also requested to name different aspects of change.

Even though almost the same number of men and women answered the question, men more often gave many different aspects, while the majority of the women just mentioned one or two aspects. In Table 11 the "Changes of women's role in society" can be seen.

Table 11 Changes of women's role in society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>possibility/doing paid work</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>48,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changes of kind of dressing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>43,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behavior of couples before getting married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working in the household</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women’s role and rights within the family</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drinking alcohol</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living standard – wealth of life</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of respect, dignity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspects indirectly related to relationships</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motherhood before marriage</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unwanted pregnancy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role of marriage</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increase of women's rights (general)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now eating traditional food</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men are no longer allowed to discipline wife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political rights of women</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head of household</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>88</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* related to number of people who said that there have been changes for women in society (37)
One of the women's situations in society that was mentioned most often in relation to changes is related to the work women do. About half of the people mentioned that women in former times "[had] not [been] working", while they were working now. The term "work", similar to other languages, is for the given answers exclusively used for "paid employment". So when it was said that they were not working, in a few of the given answers the aspect of women not living in urban areas were mentioned at the same time:

A 59 year old woman: "In former days women were not working. Now they are working. In former days mothers were only responsible for the housework."

A 47 year old man: "Women can work themselves while they before were depending on the men." - when asked about the valuation of the changes he said that it would be "better now."

One of the points where the differences between expectations to girls and expectations to women got strongly evident was the aspect of clothing. While more interviewed people did not mention the different ways girls were dressing (modern fashioned, or wearing trousers), the number of people who have a certain idea of how (married) women had to dress is higher. Especially older women mentioned that wearing trousers stands for not respecting Xhosa tradition.

Rather related to traditions is the aspect of couples running around in public even before they were married and the aspect of own chances to choose a partner. Following the traditions, a couple was not allowed to be seen in public together before they were going to marry. One 32-year-old man even mentioned that in former times the parents had chosen the partners. Only one 36-year-old man stated that this was clearly a result of a lack of respect for older people.

Closely related to the cultural aspect of not being expected to have a relationship is today's aspect of very young, unmarried mothers and the aspect of abortion.

A 20-year-old woman: "Girls of former days did not fall in love." - when asked what was meant by that she stated: "They did not have a boyfriend. If a woman is not married she is not supposed to be in love."

A 27-year-old woman: "In former days mothers did not get pregnant when they were young – in former days they got pregnant after marriage." - when asked about her valuation the said that "it was better then."

Especially men often mentioned that women now had increased rights compared with former times. The list of increased rights started with rights and roles within the household and continued with political rights ("in the former days there were no women in the parliament") and several rights at the place where they worked. Closely related is the shift of rights in the aspect that men are no longer allowed to discipline their wives, which was
valued differently. Some of the men saw the expansion of rights as a positive chance; others had the feeling of being forgotten.

A 23-year-old man said: "The government is giving women in this country attention, but not the men. The government is implementing something for women. This is the women's world. Women are being trained for example at CWD ([job skills training like:] sewing ...). Most [of the] new projects around the townships are for women."

A 28-year-old man said: "Before men were able to force women – now women can go to the police." - when asked he said that "it's worse now."

A 24-year-old man said: "Now they have rights, what they did not have before. Now men and women are equal (in all places – family, home, health,...)"

A further aspect only mentioned by three men is the fact that the role of marriage had changed. A 21 year old man referred to the aspect that women were especially looking for rich men and no longer (compared with former days) for love. While another one did not give any details, the third gave the following explanation:

A 36-year-old man said that women "take nowadays their rings off, when they leave the house, to look like girls and not to show that they are married."

When speaking about causes and causing aspects of anomie, the aspect of women drinking alcohol also has to be looked at separately. While some men like to be in taverns and meet girls, some (might be even the same) did not like woman to drink alcohol. It was not clear whether drinking alcohol is a typical male behaviour, or whether there should be no women in taverns. Within the given answers no unequivocal deduction could be drawn.
12.2 Men’s role in society

Similar to the question of women's changes in society, interviewees were asked whether they could name changes affecting men's role in society.

Table 12 Changes of men's role in society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work – income responsibility</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rape / abuse of children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before men were cruel - they have no longer the right to do so</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more divorces</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girlfriends before marriage</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no family support – income distribution</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more alcohol – drugs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothes / dressing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of growing up – rural areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men were strong</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>running away from pregnant girlfriends</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today boys and men live together</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general – “no culture / respect”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer head of houses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now doing sports instead of drinking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other crime</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* related to number of people who said that there are changes for men in society (30)

When looking at the answers given, it is possible to combine the aspects mentioning the rather descriptive "work - income responsibility“ category and the rather "no family support" category. Half of the people stating that there were changes for men's role in society and perceived changes affecting income responsibility.
A 30-year-old woman said: "Men were head of the house. Now women are." Then she changed her attempt when saying: "Now both are head of the house. Now women are allowed to work themselves. In former times the husband was responsible for the household income." When being asked for a valuation she said: "It is better now, because men and women are working together."

A 25-year-old man said: "Nowadays there are no jobs." Without mentioning whether the following aspect was related to the first as cause or as consequence, he said: "Women are also looking for jobs. Now there is a lot of crime because women are working [and] the men try to rob people to get their money."

A 36-year-old man said: "Women chase men away if they do not work. Men who are not working are useless. It happens a lot in Khayelitsha." Without indicating whether there is a connection between the before mentioned and the following statement he then continued: "Before there were not so many divorces – parents stayed for a lifetime, but nowadays couples even break up after a few months of marriage."

A 46-year-old woman stated: "Men in former days did have respect – but now they don't have respect." When being asked for an example she said: "When men in former days got money from their job, they showed the money to the family, now they don't." When asked she said that her sister experienced that.

When looking at the crime related aspects (second and third often-mentioned aspects) two groups of persons with different kinds of answers could be distinguished. On the one side, the first group of eight persons said that men of today sexually abuse (sometimes their own) children, which did not happen before.

A 21-year-old man mentioned a list of failures of today's men: "Men of today live in the tavern. If it is payday, they say to their wives that they did not get money. ... Men of today sexually abuse their children (sleep with girls under age). ... In these days, there are more divorces, because men fall in love with young women [and] leave their wives. ... Men of today are drunk; they don't care about their family."

A 36-year-old man said: "Men abuse their own daughters." He then mentioned an example of a person: "who lives close to this house. He abused a 7-year-old child. They had a police forum meeting where he was asked for reasons. He could not give any. He is now arrested."

A 67-year-old woman said: "Men of today can rape their own daughters – this did not happen in former days." When asked whether she had an idea for what reason men do so today, or why they did not do so before, she had no idea.

On the other side a second, different group said that now the situation of domestic violence is improving since now men no longer have the right to beat their women.

A 49-year-old man said: "Men now cannot treat women like slaves."
A 57-year-old woman said: "In former days men beat women, but now they have no right to beat them. Women now can go to the police to report when men beat others."

Most of the divorce statements were related to the fact that today lobola was no longer managed in the right way.

A 28-year-old woman explained her perception about the changes of relationships: "Men in former days did not divorce, but nowadays men are divorcing from women." As a reason she stated: "Nowadays they do not pay lobola. Men of today do not have love, they are only using women. They have got a lot of girlfriends."

A 36-year-old man said: “Their fathers did not do these things wrong. They now do not do lobola correctly. They don’t do lobola and divorce and remarry without any problem.” When asked for his marriage he said, that he "did lobola with 8 out of agreed 12 cattle. One cattle was [worth] R1600." The reason for doing lobola with only 8 out of 12 cattle can be found in the idea of lobola: Since lobola is a lifelong contract between families and a form of relating families together, the amount of lobola being agreed on is not being fulfilled during lifetime."

Beside the aspect that men of today were drinking more than before only one further aspect was mentioned by more than one man, but not by any women. It is the apartheid relating aspect that now it is allowed for women to also live in urban areas, while before they had to stay in Transkei or Ciskei, when having no employment.

A 47-year-old man said: "Men of today drink very much, in former days they did not." When being asked he said that this is bad, but that he had no idea why men of today would do so. He then continued: "Men of today kill each other, while they did not do that in former days. [It is] because they drink too much."

A 49-year-old man said: "In former days women were supposed to live in rural areas. Now men and women live together." When being asked he stated that it "is better now."

A 20-year-old woman with relation to customs stated: "Men of today do not wear jackets to keep their dignity, [what] they should wear after circumcision". For a few weeks period after coming back from the circumcision procedure from the bush the "new" men are, following the customs, supposed to wear special dressing.
12.3 Summary / Conclusion

When doing the interviews, and when analysing the answers given, men's and women's perceptions often differ. When going back in time and looking exclusively at what is written about the way Xhosa families were living together, one can find a big difference in the role of men and the role of women. While, similar to other cultures, the first were exclusively the head of the family and responsible for earning money and ensuring the nutrition of the family, the later were responsible for running the household.

When Apartheid legally defined the homelands as the place in which black people had to live and the remaining country as only accessibly for the ones with special authorisations and jobs and a place to sleep, it often divided families into two parts. Still the men were responsible for income and the women responsible for running the household and raising the children, and the kind of life they spent together was reduced to short periods of time. Sometimes the men did not see the families even for a period of many months. When they were together, women being dependent on men's income, often accepted the men's behaviour, which because of often living in hostels with little space and begin confronted with urban crime, changed.

When South Africa's passport and influx restrictions were banned, the couples could again live together as a family, then in rural areas. In this situation, both women and men had an interest in bringing in their ideas of family life. Now, especially in combination with the problem of unemployment in the urban areas, the importance of men’s roles was reduced by a very strong extent. In the interviews done, especially this aspect of changed responsibilities for household income was mentioned. No difference between the answers of men and women could be detected.

Besides the mentioned shifts in the working situation, many people stated that women now have more rights in all areas of life. Starting with the right to choose different kinds of jobs, the rights within the family and extends to political rights. When only looking at the most often given aspects, one could almost assume that men and women were equal. Nevertheless, considering the other, less often-mentioned aspects as well, one quickly realises that the assumption is wrong. While in former days men's and women's role were defined exactly by traditions, both of them had certain responsibilities - even though women's roles were rather household orientated and the men's roles were the official family representing one ("head of the family"). To a large extent the shift of responsibilities already took place and some men now almost feel as if they were "not respected as men any more". Without the feeling of responsibility and the feeling of being necessary, men today sometimes tend to undervalue the institution of family and sometimes even do not respect the physical and psychological necessities of its members (beating and raping women and even children).
Proceeding with the fact that men and women have equal rights irrespective of their differences, some men in Khayelitsha nowadays need some kind of support in defining a new role in society. Within the interviews conducted it seemed that especially younger people with a higher level of education are no longer seeing this fact as a problem. For the ones who were a little bit older, and who, within the procedure of becoming men (circumcision), swore that they felt responsible and indirectly hoped therefore to be respected as the head's of society, today’s changed situation seems to be a big disillusionment.

13 Perception of politics

One of the main focus areas of the interview was the perception of politics. Therefore, several different approaches were chosen to get an idea of the people's relation to politics.

One question directly asked whether people liked politics, or whether they thought that it was a waste of time. While 7 rated it as a "waste of time", a further five said that they did not like it, without calling it a "waste of time". Twenty-eight declared themselves as people who like politics. The answers did not show any differences between gender, the age or the education.

Irrespective of the answers given to the previous question, they were asked to tell whether they would try to become involved in politics. Again, no sign of relation to gender could be found when 19 said that they would do so and 21 were not interested in being involved.

Asked why they would try to be involved in politics, about two out of three mentioned that they were interested in both (suggested) answers: "to change things" and "to know what was going on". The rest answered to equally sized parts with only one of the given suggestions. Especially the young ones were more interested in knowing what was going on (average age 28,4 years) while the elder ones either wanted both (35 years) or only "to change things" (average age 38,6 years).

While the aspect above looked at the general relation to politics, the next question was about the specific political participation in the political right to cast a vote for the election to the national government. Out of the 42 interviewed people, only one 24-year-old man said that he did not vote in the 1999 elections. Focusing on the 1994 elections seven interviewed people had been too young to take part. The rest had casted their vote.
14 **Trust / Mistrust towards various institutions**

One of the central-aspects to be tested within the anomie study was the issue of trust or mistrust towards various different institutions. Each of the institutions played a different role within different periods of time. Some of them were to a high extent rejected during the Apartheid area. Others, like for example the people's courts, had at the same time a compensating role, filling the gaps left by the former government and its institutions.

14.1 **Detailed description**

The interviewees were asked to say whether they would strongly trust, trust, mistrust or strongly mistrust the listed institutions and to name the reasons for not trusting a specific institution.

Figure 2 ("Trust / Mistrust in different Institutions") gives an overall view of the named institutions and the people's relationship to them.

**Figure 2 Trust / Mistrust in different Institutions**

When knowing the height of the people's rejection just one decade ago and seeing the answers given in the interviews it only can be described as amazing.

During the apartheid ara the national broadcasting companies and their television program were seen as an extension, or part of, the racist government. Most of the time films and news somehow supported the racist ideology of separating different groups within the population. When bringing "news" very often the reports about the situation in townships, either were left out, or when being broadcasted the pictures rather tended to show injured police officers than the situation of black people in townships.

In the post-apartheid ara SABC (South African Broadcasting Company) played an important role in "nation building". Many people are watching different TV series, which now deal with racial problems of various groups living in South Africa.

In the interview only one young man said that the SABC is "only adventurous, but [does] not inform". Thirty-three said that they would trust
the news being brought and further five stated that they have a strong feeling of trust.

When looking at the South African administration in general, or the local Khayelitsha administration, the shift from strong rejection to trust is of a similar extent as the one mentioned in the question about TV. For the first named institution only two, for the other, four people said that they would mistrust them. The following two statements, each given by a young man, show perceived problems with the administration and possible changes:

One man stated that he strongly trusts, "... but we must not expect everything from them – we must develop ourselves."

The other man said that he would mistrust, because "the people who are working there are not depending on the results of their work. Some of the things like parks are being built and after a short while being forgotten to maintain; sometimes they collect the waste bin, sometimes they don’t."

A further institution that played a role, which is different during the Apartheid system, is the South African police. During the Apartheid era it was the task to control the situation and of avoiding rebellion within the townships. Most of the time criminals were co-operating with the police and therefore were not prosecuted. For getting a kind of punishment or a kind of reparation, "people’s courts" were installed. This institution had to find out whether a person committed a crime and what should be done with the person.

Within the interviews that were done 69,1% said that they would either trust, or even strongly trust (6 persons), the police. The closer inspection showed that with 9 out of 13 people, men, rather than women, tended to mistrust. While comparing the results of different areas of Khayelitsha no differences were noted, and analysis towards age and education indicated a correlation to the level of trust: the level of trust declined with the age of the people as well as with the level of completed education. (From strong mistrust to strong trust - average age: 43 years / 37,7 years / 31,8 years / 26,8 years). The argument most often (8 people) mentioned is that the police do not show up when contacted. Two further persons said that the police were criminal, because they either "work with criminals" or "beat people instead of talking to them". Each of the other arguments was only stated by one person:

The oldest man not trusting the police for example said, that a woman "was robbed in December 1998 in front of her house. The street committee sent the robber to the police – the following day he was seen again in front of her house; he had been released on the same day. "

Wolfgang Krenmayr
A 25 year old said that he mistrusted and stated that "[the] police do not help. One first has to go to the taxi ranks. The person [then] is being brought to the police by them."

While the paragraph before was talking about the police it is interesting to see that the people's courts received a similar extent of trust. This is especially interesting since the role of both institutions, as mentioned above, was different in former days.

Similar to the police, women (20) are trusting people's courts more than men (10) and again mistrust is rather among young and among more educated people.

A 25-year-old man said that he mistrusts, because "[people's courts] do not punish in a right way - not equal punishment for equal things."

A 20-year-old man and a 27-year-old woman mistrusted because "It is not right that they take the law into their hands."

Analysis showed that, according to the level of trust and distrust, the people's courts and the police are rather perceived as something that goes well together than something that does not match. Only about 21,4% said that they would either trust the one or the other. Among the remaining people, 25 trusted both of the institutions and a further eight did not trust either. While these two institutions showed a high degree of correlation, it was different with taxis. Since some people said that the taxis would be the solution to problems of crime, this aspect was analysed as well. The taxis role as crime related institution varies from fetching stolen goods from a thief to brutally beating and often killing a suspect person. Even though it has to be taken into consideration that a certain extent of distrust indicated towards taxis was caused by reasons different from crime and security aspects, only 28,6% of the interviewed people trusted the people's courts as well as the taxis, while a further two did not trust any. It can be assumed that people's courts, to a certain extent, were still part of people's justice system, while the taxis were no longer. It is questionable whether the role of people's courts has changed within the last few years. While before the "street justice" did the job that Apartheid's police were not doing, now some explanations make it sound like the role is now also to confront the prosecuted with the people living in an area, but it is sometimes no longer used as an institution where punishment takes place. Since this a possible conclusion made from a few discussions with some interviewees, the data collected is too small to consider it as being proved.

Since taxis were already mentioned before, Table 13 outlines what the reasons for the high level of distrust were. When combining the aspects of fighting, crime and beating, about 61,8% percent of the reasons for distrusting taxis were because of rather criminal behaviour. If this number of persons is combined with the ones who do not feel safe with the driving or
the vehicle itself, a total of 82.4% do not trust taxis because of behaviour that causes danger and the feeling of insecurity in people.

Table 13 Reasons for mistrust of taxis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% (*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;they are fighting each others&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>driving and/or vehicle is dangerous</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they beat passengers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prices are too high</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crime - general: &quot;they kill&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other reasons</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 14 20 34

* related to the number of people who said that they (strongly) mistrust taxis (27)

An institution that made a sudden change from Apartheid to non-Apartheid was the government. With the 1994 elections, a government of national unity was initiated. Even though the other big parties (non-ANC) in course of time left government and took up their opposition role in parliament, the ANC remained and a Khayelitsha result of 92.6% votes for ANC, the majority of the people perceived the government as their government. A second aspect that was interesting within the issue and could play a role for the people's perception of the government is the question whether people would see the 1994-election promises not to be fulfilled, and therefore rather distrust this national institution.

When asked whether they trust or mistrust the government, taking into consideration the fact of the former Apartheid government and the ANC pre-1994-election promises were only fulfilled to a certain extent, it is interesting to see that only 14.3% of the interviewees mistrusted. While one person did not give a reason for mistrusting and another one said that there are no jobs, the remaining four stated the problem of not fulfilling the promises as the most important fact. When looking at trust in government and the answers given within the question of "liking politics" it is recognisable that not liking politics does not at the same time mean that one does not trust the political
An institution with rather traditional, historic roots is the street committee. Even though 71.4% of the interviewees trusted the street committee, compared to the other institutions it is one with a rather high level of distrust. Analysis showed that this institution had the highest correlation with age and education. While the people trusting in street committee's were about 38.5 years ("strong trust") or 40.2 years ("trust"), the people mistrusting were of an average age of 28.1 year, or 22.5 years. Also a very big gap could be discovered in the education of the people - the people who (strongly) trusted had finished school about two years earlier than the ones who did not. Out of these figures the question arises that deals with what is going to happen with this institution in the future. If younger people rather do not trust, or maybe do not take part, this institution will in time lose its legitimisation.

14.2 Summary / Conclusion

One of the possible main causes of anomie is a low level of trust. When looking at the national figures collected by the Human Science Research Council they indicate that in the 1999 pre-election campaign the nation-wide level of distrust in the national government dropped dramatically from December 1998 (40%) to March 1999 (22%). Among the black population this proportion (13%) was even smaller. ¹¹²

Except the taxis, which play a certain role when it comes to the question of how to respond to crime, for all of the institutions questioned in this research the people had from about two thirds, up to almost everyone, trusted in the listed institutions. So, for example, the national broadcasting station, formerly rather experienced as the Apartheid government's mouthpiece, now receive, almost with one voice, trust in relation to the news program they broadcast.

Two institutions, especially interesting for the local situation, are the local administration and the police. Even though within the first the level of trust is unequivocal at about 88%, a few voices show that there are still possibilities to improve the relationship with the population. Therefore, especially one man stated that one problem of Khayelitsha's administration is that many people working there were not depending on the results of their work, since they would not live in the township. When looking back about a decade some

¹¹² Human Sciences Research Council (1999a)
of the administrating persons had never even been to Khayelitsha. With its offices in the centre of the township, the situation already improved. Some more efforts now are being made to reduce the gap within the population (for example holding public meetings with the chance to discuss issues). Nevertheless, for the ones who did not feel satisfied, symbols will not be enough; they themselves will have to experience a difference during the Apartheid Ara.

The second institution with a big shift from strong distrust about a decade ago, to 69% of trust, and 14% out of them even strong trust, must be one of the most impressive changes. Even though this results are high, the remaining third will also have to be convinced about the now role within the "New South Africa". One approach that promises results in this direction is the co-operation between the police and the "policing forum", as an in between institution. Being from the community, but not a member of the police, helps even more people to get over the barrier of contacting a formerly rejected institution. A very positive sign, when it is about trusting the police (remembering the former days) is the fact that now a strong proportion of police officers are living in Khayelitsha and because of that this institution has become more of an institution of the people.

Even though, for all mentioned institutions, the level of trust is high, it must not be forgotten that some of them at the same time are not able to give the people the feeling of satisfaction.

15 Satisfaction / Dissatisfaction

When it comes to anomie the levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with various aspects of one's live are very important. Within the interviews the people were asked at the beginning about their own situation or the environment close to them. The second group of questions focused on macro-aspects of Khayelitsha. Within this group, the education situation, the economic situation, the health and the housing situation and the general situation in Khayelitsha were questioned.

15.1 Detailed description

The following figures show the given answers – beginning to the left with the aspects with the highest satisfaction and the lowest dissatisfaction rate, continuing to the right with low satisfaction and high dissatisfaction. In Figure 3 all five possible answering categories are shown. In the following
paragraphs, many of the answers given for the various aspects are analysed in more detail.

**Figure 3 Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction for different Institutions**

The aspect that has the highest level of dissatisfaction is the housing situation in Khayelitsha. A total of 36 people said that they were not satisfied. People gave several reasons that were of relevance when expressing if they were content with their situation.

**Table 14: Reasons for dissatisfaction with housing situation in Khayelitsha**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>living in squatter camp</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houses are too small</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living in squatter camp + no (own) house</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no (own) house</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problem with house living in</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no, or too little improvement</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general lack of facilities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>price of living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no explanation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* related to the number of people who said that they were dissatisfied (36)

The 85,7% of people dissatisfied with the housing situation mentioned several reasons why they were not content. When looking at the answers given it can be seen that the first four answers (28 of 39 reasons) were focused around the issue of lack of houses and living in shacks. When speaking about the aspect of having an own house it is important not to forget that "own house" in the given context mostly meant that shacks of small dimensions have to be shared for living and sleeping among a group of
people (mostly relatives). Within this background of sometimes not even having an own room and own space the term "no (own) house" has to be understood.

A 36-year-old man was satisfied, "because they promised to build houses – and in other places [like] in Macassar they already built houses."

A 23-year-old dissatisfied man said that, "the government is not interfering in housing situation; people who own houses bought them with their own money and the companies who are building are just charging."

A 27-year-old dissatisfied man said: "Housing in Khayelitsha is very poor. The shacks in SiteB & SiteC are not cool. Houses made out of concrete are very cold in winter."

A 19-year-old man was dissatisfied, because they "live in squatter camps. We have problems when it rains."

A 21-year-old woman is dissatisfied, because "there are no buildings" and mentioned that they are "using [a] school for church" and that "there are no playing fields for sports. The houses are too small."

A 43-year-old woman, living in Mandela Park said, that she is dissatisfied, because "the rent is with R545 [too] high – she does not pay, because she cannot afford." Then she continued "One time they are going to get us out."

When asking for satisfaction with the health situation in Khayelitsha 25 out of 41 said that they were not satisfied. Within the Harare and Macassar areas, two thirds were satisfied, while in the other areas 75% were dissatisfied. The given reasons for being not satisfied are shown in Table 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>too long queues</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too little / too few facilities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurses are not treating well</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general – &quot;no care&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opening hours</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no proper treatment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own bad experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The answer most often given was the aspect of long queues. Six men and three women stated this as a problem. When adding this number with the ones given for "too little / too few facilities" and "opening hours" a proportion of 54,3% of given answers can be seen as general problems focusing around the issue of too little equipment. A further 31,4% can be seen as a lack of knowledge of how to find someone who can assist them at the health service institution. The following answers are just a few examples of what had been mentioned:

A 28-year-old dissatisfied man stated the following problem: "the people have to get up early to get treatment. Those people that come too late get no help. They keep to their office hours. They do not help – they do not care how sick one is."

A 46-year-old dissatisfied women stated: "If one goes to the hospitals in Site B and you arrive too late in the morning, you are sent away to come the following day again. The queues are too long."

A 28-year-old dissatisfied woman said: "At hospitals they don’t care. They only take 30 patients."

A 43-year-old dissatisfied woman said: "There is no care in the hospitals. She goes to the hospital once a month from about 5am to 3/4pm."

A 25-year-old dissatisfied woman said: "Nurses are not disciplined. They shout at patients." When being asked whether it would be her own experience, she was speaking about she said yes.

A 42-year-old dissatisfied woman said: "They don’t care. Office hours are too small. In the evening there is no treatment."

A 27-year-old dissatisfied man said: "The service at the hospital is not efficient. The service is lacking, [so] that persons even die."

The personal education that people received was another point that was asked about. Twelve out of the interviewed 42 people were dissatisfied with the education they got. Analysis of the data shows that the average age of these dissatisfied persons is lower (34,3 compared with 38,3 years) and the highest education they got higher (a difference of the averages of about 1,5 years) than the ones of the satisfied interviewees. Additionally it has to be mentioned that 4 people said that they were satisfied and added that they could not do otherwise, since they already would be too old and had to do other things and had no chance to go back to school again. Among the
younger group of dissatisfied people six men and two women with an average age of 25,5 years said they would like to continue, but that they would have problems to finance it. A few mentioned that they had to stop going to school since the personal situation at the time forced them to concentrate either on earning money (for oneself or for the family) or looking after children.

While the opening question already focused on possible problems, within the questions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction interviewees had another chance to address this. At this stage they would also feel more comfortable with the interview situation and would usually be willing to discuss the aspects that they are not satisfied with.

Table 16 Reasons for dissatisfaction with personal living situation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% (*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>housing and services</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>77,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unemployment / money to live on</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>61,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crime</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirty places</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* related to the number of people who said that they were (very) dissatisfied (18)

More than half of the dissatisfied people mentioned aspects that were focused on housing and the problem of unemployment. With the aspect of unemployment, especially, more women felt dissatisfied than men. While "housing and services" and "unemployment / money to live on" were reasons for dissatisfaction that were mentioned by people with an average age of about 36 to 37 years, the aspect of crime is a big problem to the younger people (average age of 28,2 years).

A 46-year-old dissatisfied woman said that she lost many things when she arrived from Nyanga in Khayelitsha (before she was sewing and selling meat).

A 28-year-old man is dissatisfied because there were no representatives in the area he was living in (street committee).
A 36-year-old man is dissatisfied because he is not working. He stated that he had been unemployed since 1983.

A 49-year-old man said that he was dissatisfied because "the house is too small. I would like to extend it, but have no money to extend the house."

As a further aspect, people were asked to explain whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied with their own health situation. Twelve out of 42 people stated that they were not content with their health. This group of mainly women (9 out of 12) is, when looking at the average age, almost a decade older than the people who were satisfied (42,5 compared to 33,5 years). Within the answers given for the question why they were dissatisfied with their health situation different, reasons were given. A first group mentioned explicitly complaints they had, an other group gave explanations about the threat to health they are worried about:

A 42-year-old dissatisfied woman had problems with asthma.

A 62-year-old dissatisfied woman said that she had high blood pressure and problems with the bones.

A 60-year-old dissatisfied woman said that she has to work hard, for example "going to bushes to fetch wood for making fire."

A 23-year-old dissatisfied man said: "I am not eating the healthy things I [would] want to eat, because I cannot afford [to buy] them."

15.2 Summary / Conclusion

When looking at several institutions there are different aspects of interest. On the one hand, there is the issue of trust or distrust with a strong relation to present and future aspects. Even though the extent to which a person trusts an institution is to be found in history or present experience, trust is very important when it comes to what people expect in the (near or far) future from an institution. On the other hand, there is the aspect of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, which to the bigger extent describes what people experience with the organisation and whether what they experience corresponds with what they expect. It covers both dimensions; the rather absolute expectations, like a certain level of quality of life, as well as the expectations of a certain change of quality of life within a period of time.

Within the current research, people were asked about aspects of their individual live, as well as their perception of the situation in Khayelitsha. Within the research, asking about satisfaction and dissatisfaction with bigger institutions was avoided. It had been avoided, for example, in asking whether people are content with the work of the government, because it could cause the problem that interviewees would rather respond to a single aspect (like
the (former) president Mandela), but forget about the relation to her/his own life. Therefore, on the one hand, the people were, asked whether they were satisfied with various aspects of the personal living situation or not. On the other hand, the question referred to aspects of Khayelitsha in general.

With about 78% of dissatisfaction, the housing situation of Khayelitsha is seen as the aspect that causes most concern. More than three out of four of the given answers referred to the issue of a lack of houses and living in shacks. Even though the following information is not up to date (1991), it still gives an impression of what differences within one country might be: When analysing the floor area per person for different population groups the World Bank listed the following figures: white people - 33,2m²; Asian - 18,2m²; "coloured" people 12,0m²; black people (formal housing) - 8,9m²; black people (backyard shacks) - 4,8m²; black people (squatter settlements) - 4,2m². Even though size is only one aspect of many, it indicates big differences. When, in 1994, 1 million low-cost houses to be built by 1999 was promised by the ANC, the people were looking forward to leaving their wood-and-corrugated-cardboard iron shacks. With the years they had to realise that the shift from the former system to the new system could not fulfil all the promises given.

With about two thirds, Khayelitsha's health situation, personal education and the personal living situation were, as a group, the second most disappointing aspects. Especially the answers to the question on the reasons why the interviewees were disappointed with the personal living situation showed what the persons were most discontent with: two thirds and half of the answers housing and services in the township, and the aspect of being unemployed or the problems of getting money were most often mentioned. The aspect of crime was named by about a quarter.

Even though the interviewees indicated by posing the questions, described in the following chapter, that they were aware of the problem of high crime rates, only a small minority was not satisfied with hers/his relation to the community.

113 Helen Kimble (1996); p87
16 Awareness of Crime

Besides the other questions that have already been mentioned, the aspect of crime is closely related to anomie. The reason is either outcome of anomic situations, or the causes of anomie.

When looking at crime, the interviews focused on two major issues: the aspect of feeling secure from a micro-, as well as from a macro point of view, and how to approach crime. The issue was dealt with in two ways - on the one hand, there were open questions about the institutions, which could solve the general problem of crime, and on the other hand, an example was given about the interviewee's own assumed behaviour in case of crime.

For getting an idea of the extent to which a person does not feel secure within her/his own environment, the question was asked whether he/she felt safe in various situations. The first situation that was presented was "walking alone in the afternoon". For this question, about 28,6% of both sexes said that they would feel comfortable with that. The rest said that they would not feel secure in this situation. The second question investigated the feeling of safety at home during the night. Within this question, a difference between the sexes was indicated. While 15 out of 20 men said that they would feel safe, only 9 out of 22 women stated feeling secure. Formulated in proportions, twice as many men as women feel safe. The third situation investigated "feeling safe walking alone at night". Similarly to the first situation, the proportions between men and women were the same, but, with 83,3%, the amount of people feeling insecure increased. The issue of security within the last situation was explored further by asking how many people one would need around to feel safe. Again, with an average of 3,3 (women) and an average of 3,0 (men) no differences between sexes could be found. Only the second situation raises the question of the source for feeling insecure. Within the interviews, no explanation could be found. Within further research, it would be interesting to investigate whether the double rate of women who feel insecure is caused by threat of domestic crime.

After the personal safety issue was explored, the perception of general crime was investigated. Interviewees were asked whether they think that certain kinds of crime had increased within the last few years.
### Table 17 Increased kinds of crime – Interviewees' perception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime Type</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>76.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robber</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug (related crime)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;all listed increased&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage of properties</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijacking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housebreaking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* related to the total number of people interviewed (42)

When looking at the answers given it can be stated that women more frequently mentioned rape and drug (related crime), as well as damage to properties. On the other hand, four more men said that all listed kinds of crime increased. When adding the 10 persons who said that all kinds of crime increased to the ones that were mentioned separately, the following ones were at least perceived by half of the people as having increased: rape (100%), robbery (69%), drug (related crime) (61.9%), murder (57.1%) and damage to properties (50%). When comparing with the official crime statistics for Khayelitsha, for example, the number of murders from 1994 to 1998 increased by 49.6%, and assuming that Khayelitsha's population did not increase by the same factor within the four years, the people's perception seems to correspond with reality. When asking whether there were decreases of crimes within the last few years 36 persons answered in the negative and two did not give any answer, so that only 10% said that there were some decreases. Among the mentioned, theft, car thefts, hijacking and shoplifting were named.

After the issue of one's perception of crime, the people were asked to say who could solve the problem of crime. For getting information about this issue two approaches were used - an open question and a question, listing
possible institutions related to crime within the local context. For the open
question three extensive statements were given:

A 28-year-old man gave a more comprehensive answer when also looking at
the causes of crime: "[The] government can solve the problem, especially by
giving jobs and so on... Arresting by police cannot help. It is no solution to
arrest, [because] people come back again and do the same." - Even though he
did not give the impression of considering punishment, he continued with
"Street justice is a good idea to solve (according to what he heard from other
places)."

A 25-year-old man started stating ways to prevent crime: "The society itself
should work hand in hand with the police. There should be some kind of policing
forum, but [a] proper one. Crime is caused by unemployment. Sports activities
can prevent this and employment would also reduce crime." - then he spoke
about the policing forum mentioning activities different from what were
described by the secretary of the policing forum (see 6.8 "Safety and crime")
"There are policing forums in the area, but they are not working properly. We
are, now, relying on the taxis. Now the policing forum is giving the job to the
taxis but do not solve them by themselves. Taxis cannot solve the problems.
The policing forum now treats friends in a different way than others - friends do
not get any treatment." He then argued about the problem of reporting
suspects to the police: "Reporting some happenings (to reduce crime all have to
work together) could cause problems. Later one could be affected by the person
who did not like to be reported." He then came back to the possible reasons of
unemployment and possible causes "Jobs are a solution. I passed Std. 10, but I
have no job. [The] government should do something. Unemployment is a
further problem when looking at imbibis (=informers). The society is not
working together. [This is] destroying [the] society." With a rather individual
orientation, he stated that, "street justice is not the right way to solve the
problem; if one has, for example, a problem with his wife not everyone should
discuss that - it is an intimate thing."

A 33-year-old police officer said that it would help: "if [the] police can work
together with the community. Now there is not enough communication with the
police. There are fears from former days about giving the names of the
criminals. Police do not represent the different parties in the country. People
tend to say high crime rate is a problem of police failing, but if something good
is done, then it's the government. With the transformation of the police a lot of
changes are taking place, [but the] people at the ground do not understand." -
when being asked about street justice he said that it, "is not the right way."

Since the listed institutions (related to crime) were named as a stimulus
and not a list of separate questions to be answered with yes or no, the
analysis had to be done carefully and were not possible in such detail as with
other questions. In general, people’s courts and the police were more often
mentioned as the organisations, which can solve crime. Within a group of 26
persons relating to the police, only two said that they were not able to solve
the problem (both of them did not trust the police). Thirty-five interviewees
mentioned street justice within their explanation. With about 14,3% (already
twice as much) rejected this organisation. The third most often mentioned
institution were the taxis with 11 people mentioning the positive contribution
and four rejecting that they should play a role. When trying to identify groups of possible solutions, two different approaches were described more often. The first group might be described as co-existence of police and street justice within the group of crime solving institutions. Seventeen people said that this is a good way to handle crime. Most of them did not mention the taxis. Within the second group 13 persons mentioned the street justice and did not mention the police, but rather the taxis (61,5%). When questioning this group, 10 people said that beating a person could also help to solve the problem of crime. Below, three answers out of the two groups and a further statement indicated the problem of trust:

A 31-year-old woman asked who could solve the problem of crime: "Kangaroo courts by beating those who do crime. Kangaroo courts consist of all people of a street. If a person kills someone, the kangaroo court also must do so." - When asking whether she just heard this kind of procedure or whether she knew a recent case she said, that they did so last year.

A 30-year-old man named taxis as the best institution to solve crime problems with giving the following reason: "When police captures a person on one day, s/he is being seen at the following day. [The] taxis beat him that he does not do the same thing. Even though it is not right - the other thing does not help. Street justice is the best way."

A 30-year-old woman said that the police can solve the problem and described: "Street courts are a good way, when they only send him/her to the police, but don't do own punishment"

A 36-year-old man said that, "Courts could solve the problem, but it's not here." He then expressed that the court's role is not like the police's role of defending. Afterwards he, by himself, spoke about the problem of trust: "taxis you cannot trust - police you cannot trust - don't know whom to trust today. Street justice cannot solve, but the courts." and coming back on the trust problem "...you cannot trust me, I cannot trust you..."

Within a last crime related question, the people were confronted with two examples of possible crime situations. In both situations the interviewee should imagine being an eyewitness of a crime happening and know where the criminal lives. In a first example, the crime committed was a knife attack to another adult person, who would survive after hospital. In a second example, the situation was related to the rape of a 14-year-old girl. When looking at the answers given with this example a slight difference to the question before (related to the list of institutions) could be found. While before, two groups with relation to street justice could be identified, within this question - except for two answers relating to the rape situation - all of the interviewees mentioned that they would contact the police. In both of the given examples, about two thirds said that they would contact the police without speaking to the street courts. The remaining third stated that they would contact both police and street justice.
17 Being able to influence changes

One aspect closely related to anomie is the issue of whether one feels helpless in times of change or not. If someone has the feeling of not being able to influence changes, but rather feels driven by others or unknown forces, he/she won't be able to participate in what is going on, and therefore won't be able to contribute and express his/her own needs. It is also an indicator of whether he/she feels a belonging in a place, and whether a certain place is of importance to him/her.

One of the last questions focused on that issue and investigated whether people had the feeling that they could influence the changes taking place in Khayelitsha. Four persons were not able to give an answer and another one had the feeling of knowing what should be done, but at the same time the feeling of having too little power in society to initiate these things. Of the remaining 37 people, 73% said that they had the feeling of being able to influence the changes in Khayelitsha and many of them were also able to give examples of what they were thinking of.

A 30-year-old woman said that she could contribute "...by cleaning the street". She then also said that she is already doing it together with the help of others.

A 28-year-old woman said that she could help "by collecting the youth to do any activity."

A 36-year-old male said that "working together with the leaders (politicians and councillors)" would help.

A 27-year-old man, who sells vegetables, said: "I am developing Khayelitsha by running my shop."
18 Summary / Conclusion

This research focused on the phenomena of anomie, within the specific context of the South African Township of Khayelitsha. For the phenomena of anomie, different approaches were taken. Emile Durkheim first describes anomie related to the aspect of the division of labour and a few years later, he refers to it as a situation with rapid changes and the missing of an external, moral authority. Robert King Merton describes the phenomena as a state where a person's own or common social and cultural goals cannot be achieved with the controlling regulations. He then refers to various individual possible adaptations to such a situation: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion. Within this study anomie was understood as a "concept, characterised as disorganisation or disorder ideally engendering a new organisation and order at a higher societal level".  

For this study, a mix of two different methodological approaches was chosen. With this theoretical concept in mind, major important possible aspects concerning anomie within the South African context were described and a connection with the local area established. As the second approach, 42 qualitative interviews were done within seven areas of Khayelitsha.

Some of the possible aspects of anomie being looked at were the effects caused by the long period of Apartheid policy and legal Apartheid. During these decades the country's black African majority was excluded from almost all political rights. Within the economic system, only a subordinate role was reserved for most of them. To ensure this inequality different steps were taken. For example, the Bantu-Education System did not attempt to educate young black people into skilled persons, but rather it attempted to keep this group of people at a low level of knowledge, education and skills. The whole apartheid system was designed to ensure that the distinguished groups of the population would live in separated spaces - for all aspects of society and within all geographical levels. At the regional and the national level domination was established by creating separated countries and homelands like Transkei, Ciskei and others. At the urban, citywide level separation continued. Different districts were kept apart by support of various regulations. For example, physical barriers, keep-out signs and property restrictions were all used to keep people apart. Finally at the interpersonal level segregation and domination were ensured in public transportation, elevators, washrooms, beaches, schools, hospitals and many more. All these aspects, which were supposed to ensure that the white minority would continue dominating the country led to (various extents of) rejection on the

115 John Western (1996); p62ff
side of the oppressed. With the end of the Apartheid system, beginning with the release of Nelson Mandela, and the allowance of political parties like the ANC in 1990 up to 1994 (first all-South-African-democratic elections) a quick shift took place. While the rules for the country's institutions could be transformed within a rather short period of time, the improvement or even establishment of trust in these institutions as well as the other groups of the population, would take much more time.

One of the institutions affected by the big change was the South African Police. During Apartheid, its major role was to avoid riots in the townships and to secure the white domination. To ensure this goal several levels of oppression were implemented beginning at the psychological level with making people feel insecure by unpredictably driving armed forces with military vehicles through the townships and ending at the physical level with torturing and killing people, who were then blamed for inciting others to rebellion. At the same time, the police was more interested in trying to co-operate with criminals than to prosecute them for their behaviour. People's courts then were filling this gap in the townships. In these neighbourhoods people formed their own unofficial courts. The suspects were found guilty or innocent, and then the punishment was decided upon and executed. With the end of Apartheid, the police began trying to take up their role in combating crime. As the study showed, up to now, the number of people trusting the police has already increased up to 69%, but there is still a certain level of distrust among the population when it comes to co-operating with the police. One possibility is to establish a better level of trust. Another is to begin to bring the members of the community together with the police. This is being done by the policing forums. This institution consists of volunteer members of the community that, especially in minor cases, are the primary contact for people affected by crime. When not being able to solve a problem by themselves, they are working together with the police. A second positive improvement happened at Khayelitsha's police. By employing and deploying officers in Khayelitsha who are also living in Khayelitsha there is now the chance to perceive the police as "a people's institution", different from former times when it rather was "a white institution".

Today South Africa is suffering from crime. There is almost no country in the World with such a high crime rate. Within this research it could be shown that for a township with the size of Khayelitsha (half a million to a million people) a total number of about 300 police officers is way too small, especially when at the same time 368 murder (1998) happen in the area. When asking the people whether they felt safe walking alone during the afternoon 71% said that they would not. During the night, the figure reaches its top with about 83%. When asking the same question for being at home during the night it was interesting to find out, that in especially this situation almost twice as many women feel insecure while in the other given examples
the feeling of security of women and men was similar. Further research should focus on this aspect to find out whether this difference is caused by domestic violence. If this is the case, certain steps should be taken to increase the awareness among people that domestic violence is no longer something that must be accepted (only 6 people mentioned domestic violence when discussing the changes of roles of men today). Besides their own personal feelings about crime, the general perception is that at least half of the people interviewed have the feeling that murder, rape, robbery, drug related crime and damage to property had increased. This prevasiveness of the fear of crime could be viewed crime is no longer only the result of anomie, but also part of the cause. Further questions relate to the way people handle the problem of crime and how they think that it could be solved. While a few of the interviewees even expressed an understanding of crime as a phenomena within the context of unemployment, most of the people within the survey understood crime as a too big of number, of criminal incidents happening each day. Within a theoretical approach, people described two kinds of common problem solutions. The first group said that they would expect a solution from the police most of the times that co-operated with the street justice. The smaller second group of people said that they find street justice not connected to the police but rather in combination with the taxis. In this group people thought, the police and taxis could solve these problems. When approaching the issue of solving crime with an example given, the answers were different. In almost all of the cases, the people mentioned the police. Additionally one third said that street justice should be involved. Out of the findings of high crime rates, different necessities can be derived. In the first necessity, this study is focusing on finding out and possibly giving ideas about regard what the high crime rate is based upon. In general, even with lower crime rates, Khayelitsha police should be better staffed and better equipped. When looking at the existing level of distrust towards the police (one third) the policing forum has to be mentioned as a very promising approach to bring the institution of the police together with the community. This institution also needs a certain material basis, to have some equipment. Nevertheless, even more important is to have the chance to better communicate with the people by individual efforts as well as with various communication mediums (local papers, local radio station, posters), in order to be able to do an efficient job. A third necessity will be to change the procedure of how to handle crime. Today there are still people's courts existing and suspects are being punished. Perhaps an approach might be to shift the people's court's role from that of punishment to consultation and to discuss a problem and to pass on a recommendation to an institution that is accepting and respecting the justice system and its results. Therefore, it will be necessary to give the people the feeling that within the police and the courts of justice equality is available for all.
When looking at the administration in general a shift away from "white institutions" to "all people's institutions" similar to the perception of the police, can be detected with an impressive level of trust now. About 78% of the interviewees' trust and another 10% strongly trust the local administration.

Nevertheless, it has to be mentioned that it is a trust in advance of action, because at the same time about 88% are not satisfied with the housing situation of Khayelitsha. In many of these cases, people stated facts like: “living in a squatter camp”, “having too small houses” and similar ones. Closely related to the aspect of housing is the aspect of services. Although a packaged deal was agreed upon for electricity (electrifying many households, with installing pre-paid meters), when choosing a similar way for the service of water a problem could arise. Since two third of the interviewees described income sources that are very small and very insecure, when charging too much from people who do not even have enough to ensure their own survival, it could cause problems with the dynamics of the townships. Khayelitsha's administration will have to look exactly at who to charge, how much to charge, how to communicate this agenda and whether certain conditions are necessary before implementing a new policy (when speaking about satisfaction people often mentioned dirty streets).

Coming back to the problem of employment, the lack of manufacturing companies has to be mentioned. However, this aspect is or should be a great concern to the community and to the administration great efforts should be taken to get formal working places in Khayelitsha. Especially attempts to motivate black “social climbers”, who are now living and running businesses outside of Khayelitsha, to invest and build branches and working places in Khayelitsha could be successful and further efforts should be made in this direction. Since people are looking for work and some of them are also willing to start own businesses, it might also help them to start by giving them job skills training and giving small-scale credits at low interest rates.

An institution closely related to the question of unemployment is the national government. When looking at national figures of satisfaction with the government, in December 1998, 49% of all South Africans were dissatisfied, while 37% were satisfied. Looking only at the black population the level of satisfaction rose to 50%, compared to 36% who were dissatisfied. By November 1999, the all South African level of satisfaction increased to 53%, while the level of dissatisfaction dropped to 32%. For the same period of time no more detailed figures for different population groups were available. Noteworthy is the fact that for Western Cape the situation is slightly different: The extent of dissatisfaction for the national, the provincial and the

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116 Human Sciences Research Council (1999b)
local governments is still higher than the level of satisfaction. Additionally, it has to be mentioned that the level of dissatisfaction with the local government even increased within the year mentioned. Since no question relating to the government was asked, no comparison with Khayelitsha is possible. Comparing the November 1998 survey with the interview results for the question of trust, the results indicate the satisfaction within Khayelitsha could even be a little bit above fifty percent. While in November 1998 46% of all South Africans responded that they had trust in the national government compared to 39% who did not trust in the national government. By the time the interviews were done in Khayelitsha the level of trust rose to almost seventy percent. When mentioning these figures it must not be forgotten that around the time of conducting the interviews, the elections with all the party rallies and the electoral battles would raise the party members satisfaction with (in the current case) their government (19 out of 42 people were ANC party members). The time after the elections will show whether people experience changes regarding the general job situation, the aspect of crime and the question of housing and whether they perceive a connection to the government’s work.

Besides the aspects especially related to the changes since the legal end of Apartheid, one further important aspect is the question of traditions, customs and the feeling of home. When generally being asked which kinds of traditions they knew, two-thirds named circumcision at the end of boyhood and the beginning of manhood. About half of the interviewees also mentioned the celebration of the birth of a baby, and further 43% mentioned sacrifices of animals for the ancestors. When trying to find out the relevance of these customs for the Khayelitsha of today many people could not give an answer. Compared to the answers given before circumcision and the celebration of newborn babies, the number of answers given dropped down to a third. The sacrifice of animals for the ancestors even decreased from 18 persons remembering, to 4 women saying that this could be practised in Khayelitsha. The only exception is the making of Xhosa beer that got about the same number of answers as the previous two questions. Since these numbers do not indicate the extent to which people are attached to customs or whether customs could just not be practised in Khayelitsha, the detailed answers given in the interviews showed something it between. It seemed that with only a small number of customs known by people the importance of customs decreasing. While many of the interviewees insisted that these traditions were strictly related to rural areas, some also mentioned examples that indicated that these rather traditional aspects do not have to exclude western orientation. While in these cases most of the time, the western orientation is the primary one, the traditional behaviour patterns can be seen as the same.

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117 Human Sciences Research Council (2000c)
kind of securing aspect that is utilised to reach one’s goals. Within the group of people, who said that traditions and customs were related to rural areas, one group said that in urban areas there were no kraals while others tend to mention the necessity of being close to their ancestors. On the one hand, this aspect could be seen negatively, as it points to the fact that it is not possible to do traditions or customs in Khayelitsha. On the other hand, it could also be interpreted as a positive aspect, especially since the problems of conflicts between different orientations (western, traditional) are avoided by the hundreds of kilometers of distance. Within the interviews, two customs were explicitly asked for: circumcision and lobola. Except for one person who said that today's circumcision was rather a "kind of fashion" all other said that it is important to keep. Looking at the reasons for keeping these customs showed that apart from only mentioning the "Xhosa tradition", the "difference between boys and men" and the traditional relevance for ones health, a few people mentioned that it played an important role for reducing crime. This is being argued with the aspect that during the procedure that is lasting a few months the young men were getting the responsibilities for their life and afterwards are not expected to do mad things. In general it is recognisable that the general role of traditions and customs are no longer central to all of the people all of the time. Related to the other problems exiting in the local context, the relevance of other regulatory common values and norms will have to increase, so that negative effects could be avoided.

One of the most important aspects when talking about anomie and disorientation seems to be the relation between men and women. About half of the people mentioned changes concerning the responsibility for insuring the family income. In former days, the men were responsible for supporting the family and women were expected to stay at home. Now this division of responsibilities has changed. While many did not indicate having problems with the situation now, a small amount seemed to have problems with how it is today. Since the questions of changes were rather generally formulated it is not possible therefore to derive exactly whether the changes mainly concerned the younger people or the people from age 35 to 50 or the group above. Before the example of circumcision was mentioned as a chance to increase respect and decrease crime problems. At the same time the idea of responsibility for one’s family could cause problems when men are still being taught that they are the only ones responsible for financially supporting the families but don’t have the means (jobs) to fulfil this task in a legal way. Listening to the perceptions expressed by the interviewees some already stated arguments indicating that the new situation was no problem to them. For the others, it would be important to detect a "new" role and new aspects for their lives apart from giving their families security, which by the way, is often not possible now. It might be that this could best take place among groups of men with similar backgrounds. One approach might be age, or education specific skill training, where handling of these problems also would
be discussed (as some kind of subject arising surprisingly and not planned). But therefore, it is also important to look for the right environment. One should pay especially attention to find a suitable mentoring man of the same age. Besides the men’s own approach, especially for the younger people, a joint approach would be more forward looking than enabling men and women separately, and by this almost disabling both to be unable to respect each other.

Summarising all the aspects found in the interviews and before taking a macro point of view at Khayelitsha it has to be said that many of the problems, especially of distrust, decreased within the last few years. Also a few aspects of living improved, while the big problem of shacks and squatter settlement has not yet found a solution. The population as one of the most important problems therefore also mentioned it. A second closely related finding is the fact that the level of insecure income is very high. Only a minority has fixed employment, even when adding the ones who run their own informal small business, almost two third had no or only very small and very insecure income. Usually parallel to the insecure individual economic situation, the confidence in the future is most of the times low. Since the level of trust, for example in the government, is still very high, this aspect will have to be primarily ascribed to the fact that the "1994 new" democratic government is still viewed as the people's government. The police and the administration were also considered very trustworthy, when directly asking the people for their level of trust in these institutions. When going into details about solving crime still other institutions are mentioned to a great degree. Although the old official institutions of police and other justice organisations are not the only ones to address the crime and justice issues, the unofficial institutions of resident street organisations have no place in a post-Apartheid South Africa. Alternative solutions like Policing Forum may help address the issue of crime and should be encouraged. One very large problem of today seems to be the fact of different levels of education combined with the different extent of either more western orientation or more traditional orientation. While younger, higher educated people sometime reject the "old" orientations, due to their approach to life, the other side feels that their traditions are being misunderstood and ignored. The closely related aspect of men's and women's role in society is also still in transition. When considering what one 28 years old man explicitly stated: "In these days we don't respect each others, because of civilisation (We are now civilised)", another way, already recognisable very often in the interviews, which is in between the two extreme poles, should be available to all in the future.

Similar to what was already mentioned in the introduction I want to emphasis again that possible aspects of anomie can probably also be found within other groups of the South African population, especially since the level of trust sometimes is even lower and distrust more wide-spread.
19 Interview Guideline

Introduction / IINKCUKACHA ZOKUZAZISA


Sinemibuza embalwa esifuna ukukubuza yona. Ngaba unalo ixesha loko? Uzimisele na ukusinceda?

Hello; Wolfgang is an international student; he is doing research - focusing on the living situation of the people of Khayelitsha; I am Philiswa; I am helping him by translating Xhosa into English.

We are doing the research independent of any organisation apart from the University of Cape Town. We are neither members of a party nor of a NGO. Everything you tell us will be handled as confidential – all the answers you give us are anonymous. Neither your name nor your detailed address will be registered.

We have a few questions that we want to ask you. Have you got time for us? Are you willing to help us?

Questions / IMIBUZO

01 mbuzo wokuqala ungezinto ezingqamene nawe... / about personal facts ...
   01.a) Isini
   01.b) Ubudala
   01.c) Inqanaba lemfundo (ibanga / isigaba)
   01.d) Ingingqi ohlala kuyo eKhayelitsha


Siyathemba ukuba uza kuziva ukhuluulekile wonwabile kukuthetha nathi.

The following questions sometimes might seem to be difficult to answer. Most of the questions are about how you see the things happening around you. There are no questions about knowledge and therefore you are not able to give neither "right" nor "wrong" answers for any of the following questions.

In some of the following questions we are interested in the reason why you answered in a specific way. For some of these "why" questions you will be able to tell us a reason; for others you might have a feeling without an arguable answer. For us it is fine if you answered because of a feeling.

We hope you feel comfortable and enjoy to talk with us.
02 Zeziphi iingxaki ezingondoqo ezikhoyo ngoko? Yintoni onqwenela ukuyiguqula, xa uqwalasela ezi zilandelayo...?
What are the most important current problems? What would you like to change, when looking at ...?
02.a) ...iingxaki ezingqamene nemeko yokuhlala kwakho? probl. with your pers. living situation?
02.b) ... iingxaki zaseKhayelitsha? problems in Khayelitsha
02.c) ...iingxaki zase-Mzantsi Afrika? problems in South Africa

03 Yeyiphi indawo oziva ukhululekile, usekhaya xa ukuyo?
Where do you feel at most home?
03.a) Ngaba uziva usekhaya xa useKhayelitsha, eTranskei okanye eKapa?
Do you rather feel at home in Khayelitsha, Transkei or Cape Town?
03.b) Wazalelwa phi? Where were you born?
03.c) Wafudukela phi emva koko? Where did you then move?
03.d) Uqale nini ukuhlala eKhayelitsha? Since when do you live in Khayelitsha?

04 Ngaba uyoneliseka okanye awoneliseki zzei meko zilandelayo? Phendula ngokuthi;
Are you satisfied/dissatisfied with ...? Please answer with
1 * ndoneliseka kakhulu very satisfied
2 * ndiyoneliseka nie satisfied
3 * ndiphakathi kokwaneliseka nokungoneliseki mixed
4 * andoneliseki dissatisfied
5 * andoneliseki konke konke very dissatisfied
BUZA UKUBA “KUBA KUTHENI / KUTHENI KUNGENJALO?” KUYO YONKE IMIBA.
(ASK "WHY / WHY NOT?" FOR ALL OF THE "BOX"-ASPECTS)
04.a) ... yimeko yakho yokuhlala? your living situation
04.b) ... bubudlelane bakho noluntu? your relation to the community
04.c) ... yimeko yempilo yakho? your health situation
04.d) ... yimfundo onayo? education you got?
04.e) ... yimeko yaseKhayelitsha ngokubanzi? general situation in litsha
04.f) ... yimeko yezaqoqosho eKhayelitsha? economic situation in litsha
04.g) ... yimeko yeenkonzo zoluntu eKhayelitsha? service (church) situation in litsha
04.h) ... yimeko yezindlu eKhayelitsha? housing situation in litsha

05 ???????????????
??????????????
??????????????
Tell us for the following list of institutions/organisations whether they improve or worsen the situation of Khayelitsha’s people?
Please answer with: “the institution/organisation ...”
1 * ... ???? improves many aspects
2 * ... ???? improves a few aspects
3 * ... ???? causes no changes
4 * ... ???? worsens a few aspects
5 * ... ???? Worsens many aspects
05.a) Urhulumente the government
05.b) companies of the economy
05.c) imanyano / imibutho yabasebenzi trade unions
05.d) umbutho wezopolitiko : i- African National Congress (ANC)
Indicators of Anomie in the Context of the Township of Khayelitsha

05.e) umbutho wezopolitiko: i- Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)
05.f) umbutho wezopolitiko: i- New National Party (NNP)
05.g) umbutho wezopolitiko: i- Democratic Party (DP)
05.h) ikomiti yasekuhlaleni: the street committee
05.i) i-RDP ekhulaleni / ikomiti yophuhliso loluntu: local RDP/community dev. com.
05.j) ooceba / abameli: the councillors
05.k) izinyanya: the ancestors
05.l) abefundisi, abaphathi beenkonzo / iityalike: ministers of the church
05.m) abahlali / uluntu: the community
05.n) Ngaba akho amanye amaziko / imibutho / iinkozo okanye abantu abanakho ukuphucula le meko?
  Nceda sixelele ukuba ucinga ngabani? Sixelele ukuba angakwenza njani oku?
  Are there some other institutions/organisations and/or people who are able to improve the situation? Please tell us who you are thinking about? And how?

06 Unxibelelwano lunjani phakathi kwakho nabamelwane bakho?
  How strong is your relation to your neighbours?
06.a) Xa ungenamali ngaba uye ufumane ukutya kubo?
   If you haven’t got money do you get food from them?
06.b) Xa ufuna umntu wokukugcinela umntwana - bayakunceda?
   If you need someone to look after your child – do the neighbours help?

07 Chaza imeko yohlala / ukuphila nendlela ongenisa ngayo imali, quka zonke iindlela zokungenisa imali (umzekelo ukuthengisisa njalo njalo)
  Describe the living and income situation including all different income creating activities (for example selling things,..)
07.a) uqeshiwe okanye awuqeshwanga?
   Are you employed / unemployed?
07.b) Ukuba aakaqeshwanga: Wagqibela nini ukwenza isicelo somsebenzi?
   If unemployed: When was the last time you applied for a job?
07.c) Ndlela zini ozisebenzisayo zokungenisa imali? Uyifumana phi imali ophila ngayo?
   What are your income creating activities? Where do you get money to live on?
07.d) Ukuba akaqumani mali: Ukufumana njani ukutywa? Ngaba ufumana inkxaso kwabanye abantu?
   Ngoobani abo? If one does not get money: How do you get food to eat? Is there a support from others? From whom?
07.e) Xa ujonga ikhaya lakho kunye nezinto okwaziyo ukuzithenga- ngaba uphila ngcono, ngendlela enye, okanye emaxongo kuneminyaka emihlanu edluxileyo?
   When you look at your home and the things you are able to buy – do you now live better, the same way, or worse than 5 years ago?
07.f) Ukuba zikho iinguqulelo: Ucinga ukuba ngubani obangela ezi ngqu? Kutheni?
   If changes: Who do you think is responsible for these changes? Why?
07.g) Uyaneliseka okanye awanelineksi?
   Are you satisfied or dissatisfied?
07.h) Ngaba unolwazi ngoqeqeshelo-msebenzi oluqhuba kwindawo ohlala kuya?
   Do you know whether there is job training in the area you live?
07.i) Ukuba akazi nto ngoqeqesho: Wakha wazama ukuyifumana indawo enjalo?
   If not for “know job training”: Did you try to find one?
07.j) Ukuba unolwazi: Wakha wazama ukungenena uqeqeshelo-msebenzi?
   If yes for “know job training”: Did you try to do job training?
07.k) Compared with five year ago, do you think the difference between rich and poor South Africans is bigger, about the same, or not as big?

08 Xa kukho umuntu oti wenza amasiko okanye izithethe, ucinga ngantoni?
When someone says he/she practises traditions/customs – what do you think about?

08.a) Sixelele ngemizekelo yamasiko abalulekileyo
Tell us some examples for important customs

08.b) Uphila ngamasiko / izithethe ? Ngawaphi / zeziphi?
Do you live tradition/customs? Which?

08.c) Ngaba kwakukho iinkcukacha ezininzi kumaxesha angaphambili okanye ezilalini?
Are/where there more elements in former times and/or in rural areas?

08.d) Ngawaphi amasiko nezithethe amele ukuba angqinelane nobom babantu baseKhayelitsha kula maxesha? Ucinga ukuba amanye amasiko anganceeda ekusombuluneni ezi ngxaki zikhoyo?
Ngawaphi? Kuba kutheni?
Which traditions/customs should be relevant for people in Khayelitsha today?
Do you think some could help solving the current problems? Which? Why?

08.e) Ucinga ntoni ngolwaluko?
What do you think about circumcision?

08.f) Ucinga ntoni ngokulobola?
What do you think about lobola?

09 Xa ubani esithi uyakhonza - ucinga ngantoni?
When someone says he/she practises religion – what do you think about?

09.a) Leliphi ihlelo lenkonzo yakho?
What is your religious denomination?

09.b) Leliphi ihlelo lenkolo yosapho / ifemeli yakho?
the religious denomination of your family?

09.c) Ngaba uya rhoqo enkonzweni?
Do you often go to services?

10 Ngaba kukho umbutho oyinxalenye / ozibandakanya nawo? Unethuba elingakanani?
Are you integrated in any organisation? For how long?

10.a) Umasingcwabane
burial society

10.b) umbutho wabahlali

civic

10.c) umbutho wasekuhlaleni osebenzisana namapolisa
community police forum

10.d) i-RDP yasekuhlaleni - ikomiti yophuhliso loluntu. RDP/community dev. com.

10.e) umbutho wenkcubeko
cultural organisation

10.f) ikomiti yesitalato
street committee

10.g) umbutho wezopolitiiko
political organisation

10.h) umbutho wenkonzono / wenkolo
religious organisation/churches

10.i) iqela lezemidlalo
sports club

10.j) umgalelo

savings club

10.k) umbutho wabasebenzi
trade union

10.l) umbutho warakakhosikazi
women’s group

10.m) eminye imibutho
other organisations

10.n) akukho mbutho ndizibandakanya nawo
none
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11 Xa unengxaki / imbambano naba bantu balandelayo - uyaphi? uhetha nabani?
   When you have problems with the following groups of persons – where do you go? To whom do you speak?
   11.a) ingxaki kwifemeli / usapho lwakho? problems within your family
   11.b) ingxaki banazali bakho? problems with your parents

12 Xa ujonga ezopolitiko eMzantsi Afrika- ngaba kukho inguqu ezenzekileyo kule minyaka mihlanu idlulileyo? Zeziphi?
   If you look at politics in South Africa - Where there any changes within the last 5 years? Which?
   12.a) Uyazithanda ezo politiko okanye yinkcitha-xesha? Do you like politics or is politics is a waste of time?
   12.b) Uya zama ukuzibandakanya nezopolitiko? Do you try to be involved in politics?
   12.c) Ukuba kunjalo: Ingaba kungensa yokuba ukufuna ukwenza inguqu okanye ufuna ukusoloko usazi okuqhubekayo?
      If yes, Is it because you want to change things, or is it because you want to keep in touch with what is happening?
   12.e) Uthini ngonyulo luka-1999? What about the 1999 elections?

   Do you get the following services? Do you pay or don’t you pay for the services?
   If you pay – How much do you pay per month? If you do not pay for the whole amount - Why not?
   13.a) Umabonakude television
   13.b) Umbane electricity
   13.c) Amanzi water
   13.d) uthutho lwenkunkuma rubbish collection
   13.e) Ukuba umntu uqeshiwe: irhafu income tax

14 Ukuba unomabonakude kunye nombane uchitha iiyure ezingaphi ngesuku ubukele umabonakude?
   If person has a TV set and electricity: How many hours a day do you spend in front of your TV?

15 Ngaba uzithembile okanye avuzithembanga ezi nkonzo zilandelayo. Phendula ngokukhetha kwezi mpendulo zilandelayo ze unxulumanise nomba lowo.
   Do you trust – mistrust the following institutions. Please answer with:
   1 * ndiyithembile kakhulu strong trust
   2 * ndiyithembile trust
   3 * andiyithembanga mistrust
   4 * andiyithembanga konke konke. strong mistrust

BUZA UKUBA “KUTHENI OKANYE KUTHENI KUNGENJALO” KUYO YONKE LE MIBA
(Ask "WHY / WHY NOT?" FOR ALL OF THE "BOX"-ASPECTS)

15.a) Urhulumente the government
15.b) Amapolisa the police
15.c) inkundla the courts
15.d) ikomiti yesitalato the street committee
15.e) ulawulo the administration
15.f) inkundla zabahlali kangaroo courts
15.g) ooceba / abameli the councillors
15.h) umabonakude (SABC)  
15.i) iityalike / iicawa  
15.j) iteksi  
15.k) umasipala  
15.l) ulawulo lwengingqi

Le mibuzo ilandelayo ijoliswe kwimeko yabaseTyhini kwintlalo yoluntu
The next questions focuses on the situation of women in society:

16  Xa ujonga iminyakana embalwa edlulileyo, ucinga ukuba imeko yabaseTyhini iguqukileyo? Yintoni eguqukileyo?
When looking at the last few years, do you think the situation of women changed? What?

17  Xa ujonga umama wakho ngethuba awayelingana nave, ucinga uuuba imeko yabaseTyhini iguqukileyo? Yintoni eguqukuleyo?
When looking at your mother when she was as old as you are now, do you think the situation of women changed? What?

Le mibuzo ilandelayo ijoliswe kwimeko yamadoda kwintlalo yethu.
The next questions focuses on the situation of men in society:

18  Xa ujonga kwiminyakana embalwa edlulileyo, ngaba iguqukile imeko yamadoda? Yintoni eguqukileyo?
When looking at the last few years, do you think the situation of men changed? What?

19  Xa ujonga utata wakho ngethuba awayelingana nave, ngaba imeko yamadoda guqukile? kuguquke ntoni?
When looking at your father when he was as old as you are now, do you think the situation of men changed? What?

20  Ngaba uziva ukhuselekile ....  Do you feel safe ...
20.a) ... xa uhamba wedwa kwingingqi yakho ngenjikalanga? walking alone aftern.
20.b) ... xa usekhaya ngokuhlwa? at home at night
20.c) ... xa uhamba wedwa kwingingqi yakho ebusuku? alone at night
20.d) ungziva ukhuselekela xa uhamba nabantu abangaphi kwingingqi yakho ebusuku?
   if not feeling safe at night: how many people - feel safe walking at night

Le mibuzo ilandelayo ijonga imeko yolwaphulo-mthetho.
The next questions look at today’s crime situation.

21  Xa ujonga ulwaphulo-mthetho kule mihla - ucinga ntoni / uziva njani?
When looking at today’s crime situation – what do you feel / think?
   Are some kinds of crime increasing within the last years? Please tell us which?
   (examples: murderer, robber, rape, assault, burglary, shoplifting, theft, damage to property, drug related crime)
21.b) Ngaba kukho intlolo zolwaphulo mthetho ezinciphileyo kule minyaka imbalwa idlulileyo? Sixelele ukuba zeziphi?
   Are some kinds of crime decreasing within the last years? Please tell us which?
21.c) Ngubani onokusombulula le ngxaki yolwaphulo-mthetho? Ngubani ongenako?
   Who can solve the crime problem? Who can not?
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21.d) Uthini …  
… ngamapolisa?  
… ngeenkundla zomthetho?  
… ngenkundla zasekushunelani?  
… ngomthetho?  
… ngeenkundla zezitalato?  
… ngeeteksi?

What about …  
… the police?  
… the court?  
… kangaroo courts?  
… the law?  
… street courts?  
… taxis?

21.e) Ngaba ukuxoxwa kwamatyala yimibutho yezitalato yindlela eyiyo yokusombulula ingxaki yolwaphulo-mthetho?  
Is street justice a proper way to solve the crime problem?

Are today’s laws too soft-hearted? Do you think the sentences should be longer? Do you think there should be harder sentences?

21.g) Ukhe waliyabo lola waphulo-mthetho kulu minyaka mihlanu idlulileyo?  
Do you think that people should no longer be able to leave prison on bail?

21.h) ??  
Have you been a victim of crime in the last 5 years?

Ngoku siza kuchaza imeko enokwehla nakubani, kwaye sifuna ukuva kuwe ukuba ungenza ntoni:  
We will now describe a situation that could happen to everyone and want to know from you how you would react:

22 Zithathe njengomntu obone ngeliso lenyama ukuhlatywa komntu ngebhozo, ixhoba elidala lingeniswe esibhedlele laza lasinda, uyayazi indawo ahlal kuyo umenzi wobubi, unomdla wokuba lomenzi bubi angasindi kuba ufuna kunciphe ulwaphulo-mthetho.  
Imagine you are eye-witness of a knife attack; the adult victim was brought to the hospital, but survives; you know where the attacker lives; you are interested in that the attacker does not get off without nothing – crime should not increase ...

22.a) ungaxelela bani ngoko ukwaziyo?  
To whom would you go with your knowledge?

22.b) kungenzwiwa ntoni?  
What would then be done?

23 Ungenza ntoni ukuba asilohlaselo lwemelwa, ludlwengulo lwentombazana eminyaka elishumi elinesine ubudala?  
What would you do if it was no knife attack, but a rape of a 14 years old girl?

23.a) ungenza into eyahlukileyo?  
Would you do something different?

23.b) ukuba uthi ewe, kuba kutheni?  
If yes, why? What?

24 Ucinga ukuba unganempembelelo / ifuthe kwilinguqu ezenzeka eKhayelitsha?  
Do you feel that you can influence the changes taking place in Khayelitsha?

25 Ukuba umntu uziva esekhaya xa xe-Transkei/Ciskei, okanye selekhe wahlala ithuba elide …  
Uya amatyeli amangaphi eTranskei/Ciskei? Ngaba zikho ezinye indawo oqhele ukuya kuzo?  
If person feels home at Transkei/Ciskei, or lived there for some time ...

How often do you go to Transkei/Ciskei? Are there any other places you are used to go to?

Thank you – enkosi!  
Ngaba unemibuzo onqwenela ukusibuzu yona?  
Have you got any questions that you want to ask us?
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