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The South African Townships: Crucibles of Violence



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Geography Division, OGI, 



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The South African Townships: Crucibles of Violence

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Summary

*Information available
as of 1 October 1986
was used in this report.*

South Africa's racially segregated townships have become a major battleground in the continuing struggle by blacks to end apartheid and wrest full political rights from the white government. Since the current wave of unrest began, few nonwhite townships, urban or rural, have escaped the violence that has swept across South Africa over the past two years. Most of the 2,000 or more deaths caused by the political turmoil have occurred in black urban townships. The significance of the townships, however, goes far beyond their role as sites of civil disturbances. Created originally as a mechanism for the government to exert tight control over the nonwhite population, the township system remains a cornerstone of police strategy to contain civil unrest and a device for managing the pressure for urbanization that South Africa shares with the rest of the Third World. At the same time, the townships serve as a reminder to blacks of their politically and legally inferior status.

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Although nonwhite townships vary in physical makeup and quality of life, most share a number of characteristics. They are usually located in distant sites that require long, time-consuming travel to and from work in white urban centers or industrial areas, usually via inadequate public transportation. The townships have few paved streets—unpaved roads and dusty tracks are typical. Overcrowded barracks-like men's hostels and four-room matchbox houses, frequently surrounded by shacks, lean-tos, and other makeshift accommodations, house most township residents. Public utilities, sewerage, water, and electrical services are minimal. Schools are underfunded and there are scant recreational facilities or other urban amenities. Crime rates are high. Local nonwhite township officials are regarded at best as powerless figureheads, at worst as collaborators with the white regime.

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The township system represents a critical dilemma for the South African Government. Its very existence generates unrest and violence, but it is a key mechanism for government control over nonwhites. The townships serve as focuses for nonwhite frustration and antiregime agitation, but they can be sealed off from otherwise vulnerable white areas by security forces. Having accepted urban blacks as permanent residents of South Africa, the government is unlikely to abandon the township concept at any time in the near future. Indeed, government adoption of a strategy of "orderly urbanization" calls explicitly for the creation of new black townships, and we expect them to remain at the core of the apartheid system.

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Huge backlogs in government-provided housing and natural population increases within townships have caused the rampant growth of squatter camps around existing townships and especially in black homelands adjacent to white urban areas. Informal settlements are expected to increase tremendously in the future in response to migration to cities and the housing shortage. Attempts by the government to control the proliferation of squatter camps have often resulted in violence and domestic and international political pressure. 

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The South African Townships: Crucibles of Violence





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What Are The "Townships" and How Did They Come About?

In South Africa, a township is any division of land that the government has legally proclaimed for residential, commercial, or industrial purposes. Since the Group Areas Act of 1950, South Africa has officially set aside discrete residential townships for black, Colored, and Indian occupation.¹ Even before that time, urban blacks generally occupied separate residential areas. Separation of blacks from whites as well as segregation of Coloreds and Indians was accomplished by a pastiche of laws and social practices. When the National Party came to power in 1948, it concluded that these arrangements were too informal to control the growing influx of blacks seeking work in urban areas and enacted legislation to turn these ad hoc arrangements into a more rigid and systematic form of segregation. 


Out of economic necessity, the National Party established the townships system to house "temporary sojourners" in white South Africa until the fulfillment of grand apartheid was realized. Over 30 years of apartheid dogma meant no significant investment in the permanent quality of townships. Resulting inadequacies translate into an enormous backlog of demands for facilities and services. The government now accepts the permanence of urban blacks, but under the rubric of "orderly urbanization" it justifies restrictive measures it claims are to maintain standards and avoid typical Third World urban squalor. South African authorities, nevertheless, are increasingly more willing to overlook certain characteristics associated with Third World cities, such as a growing informal economy, to accommodate black aspirations. Official nonwhite urban townships—as opposed to a

¹ White townships also exist, but are subject to quite different legal regulations and usage patterns. In common South African parlance, as well as for the purposes of this paper, the term *township* refers exclusively to a land division for nonwhites. 


myriad of informal settlements or squatter communities that also house much of the nonwhite population—now number only about 350, but together they contain more than 9 million inhabitants, or about 30 percent of the nation's population and 35 percent of its nonwhites, according to South African authorities. 

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Where Are They Located?

Major white urban areas have the greatest concentrations of townships in their environs but practically all sizable white communities have some black satellite settlements. (See appendix for a listing of township names and locations, compiled from unofficial sources.) Most urban nonwhite townships are located 20 kilometers or more from "white only" central business districts, although Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Durban—where many communities abut and blend—are exceptions. Generally, townships are surrounded by broad buffer zones with limited access. There is often only a single access road and a perimeter road and gridiron street patterns to facilitate control over the residents. In addition, so-called homeland townships also exist within the black homelands but serve a slightly different function from townships near white areas. 

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The government developed some of these townships just within the borders of the homelands to facilitate commuting by black workers to white areas that usually are over 30 kilometers away. At the same time, the government provided other townships deep within the homelands to house families whose principal wage earner is a nonresident and employed in white areas as a migrant worker or individuals unable to support themselves, like the aged, widows, and single women with dependent children. 

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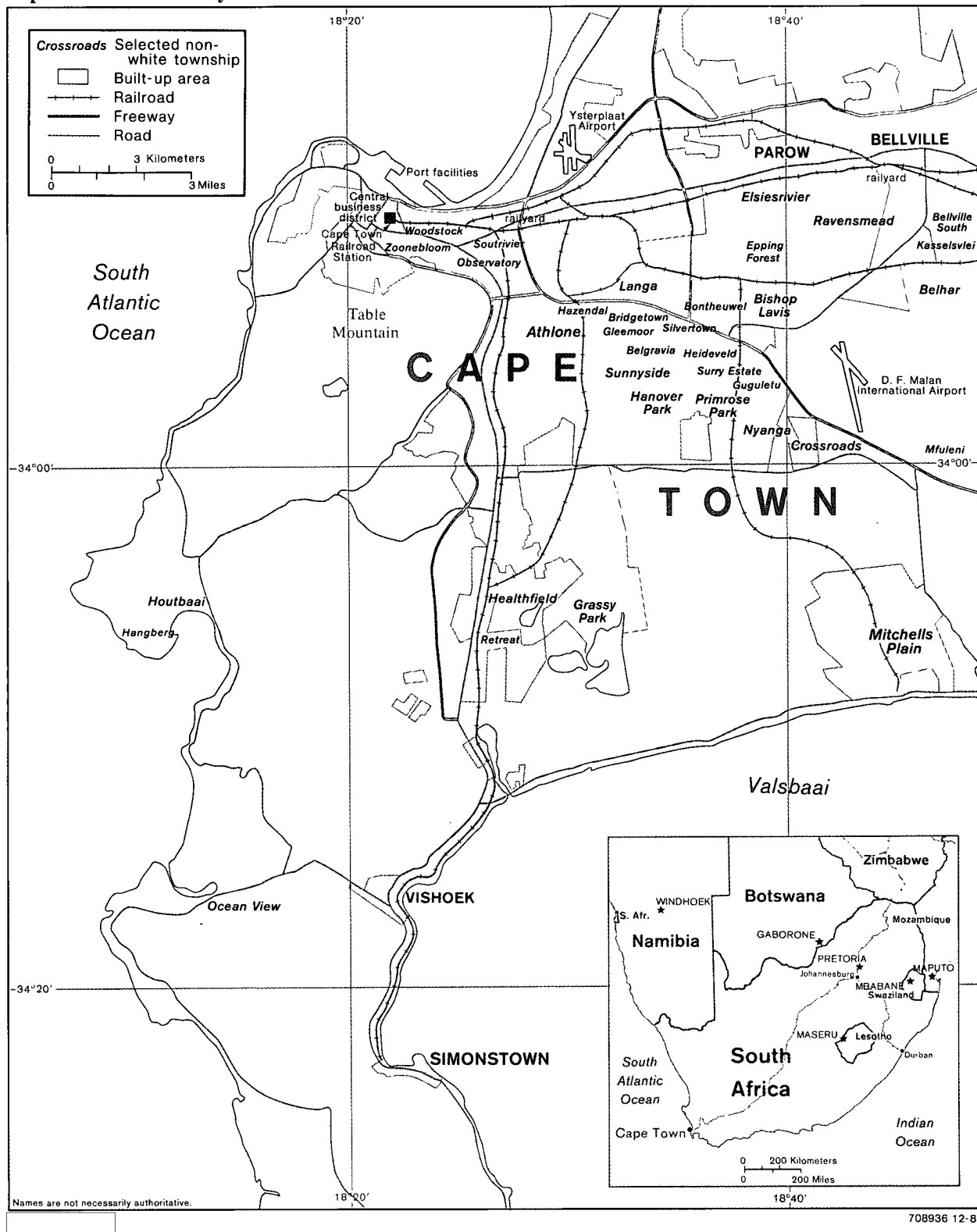
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Figure 1
Cape Town and Vicinity



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What Do They Look Like?

Residential townships may be fully developed areas with hard-shell housing, paved streets, and accompanying urban infrastructure or simply "site-and-service" areas with concrete slabs on which tents are erected to house people expected to build their own shacks. Within a given urban area, the quality of actual housing can vary considerably. According to the US Consulate, for example, Cape Town's three major black townships are characterized by fixed housing ranging from the cramped and filthy conditions of men's hostels to the relative comfort of Guguletu's Majuba Hill, where homes comparable to those of upper-class whites are not uncommon. Most typically, however, township houses are built on plots varying in size from 75 square meters to 200 square meters that can accommodate only the most rudimentary type of dwelling. Such close quarters notwithstanding, over the years almost every housing plot seems to have sprouted shacks, lean-tos, permanent tents, huts, and other informal housing as population pressure and lack of new housing have forced nonwhites to develop makeshift, illegal solutions.

How Have They Grown?

Over the past 10 years urban growth has been characterized by informal settlements that mushroomed close to urban areas of white South Africa. Much of this growth is the result of huge backlogs in government housing and natural population increases within existing townships. According to *The Star* of Johannesburg, more people now live in informal settlements (squatter camps) than in the legally declared townships. The US Embassy reports that in the Cape Town area there are at least three burgeoning squatter camps with in-migration at the 1,000-person-a-month level, including one in which the population has risen from about 10,000 inhabitants to nearly 80,000 in just over a year. The International Red Cross now puts the number of squatters in the Durban area at 1.5 million. At various times, the South African Government has attempted to control the proliferation of squatter camps by slum clearance, strict enforcement of laws prohibiting ethnic mingling, and forced

removals. Under the program of removals, the government relocated some 3 million nonwhites between 1960 and 1985, but, in response to both domestic and international political pressure, announced a moratorium on these activities in 1985. Some removals have, nevertheless, continued. Although the South African Government claims that such removals are not forced, they appear to involve manipulation and pressure by the government, according to US Embassy reporting.

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Who Lives There?

According to the Group Areas Act, all nonwhite South Africans must live in areas officially proclaimed for their respective racial groups, as defined by the government's peculiar taxonomy. Within these group areas, most housing—whether formal or informal—clusters in or around residential townships. Population estimates for individual townships range from several thousand for some of the smaller ones to more than 100,000 for the larger ones. Soweto, South Africa's largest black city, has almost 2 million inhabitants. (Soweto, an acronym for Southwestern Townships, is actually a complex of 30 individual, but closely related, townships.) The urban black population has settled mainly along tribal lines, except in the Pretoria-Johannesburg area where they are more mixed. More than 90 percent of urban blacks in the western Cape Province and Port Elizabeth consist of Xhosa, and more than 85 percent of urban blacks in Durban of Zulu. In the Pretoria-Johannesburg area the Zulu represent the major ethnic group (20 percent) followed by the Southern Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa, Northern Sotho, Swazi, and Shangaan. Even here, individual neighborhoods are often ethnically distinct. Over 80 percent of the Indians live in Natal chiefly around Durban. Some 85 percent of the Coloreds live in the western Cape Province, mostly in and around Cape Town.

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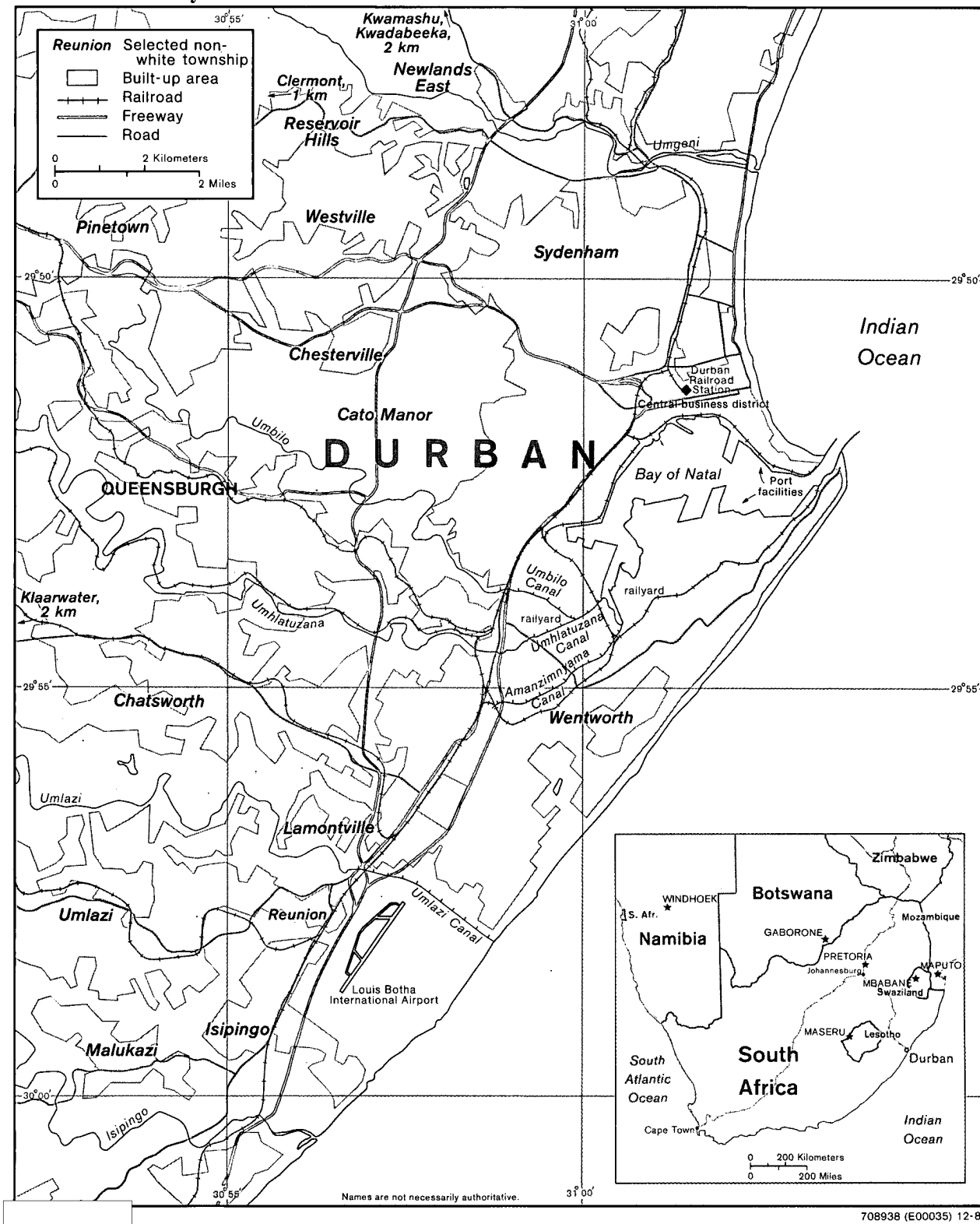
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The educational level of most permanent township residents in urban areas is reasonably high, especially when compared with that of homeland residents. A

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Figure 2
Durban and Vicinity



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Figure 3
South Africa: Total Population
by Ethnic Group, 1984

Percent

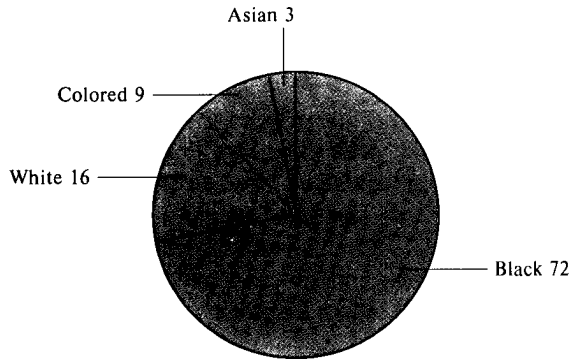
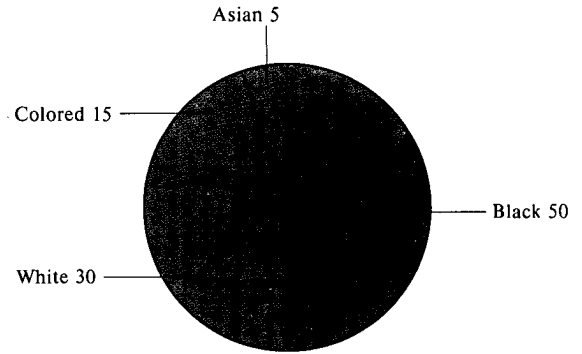


Figure 4
South Africa: Urban Population
by Ethnic Group, 1984

Percent



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study by the Center for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal of black education in the Durban area reports, for example, that the median educational attainment for township residents is 11.4 years.² Squatter camp dwellers have a median education of 6 years, and contract workers living in barracks-like structures called hostels have only 1.5 years. This education profile probably applies to most urban blacks in the larger metropolitan areas. Not surprisingly, according to the study, unemployment is highest among squatter camp dwellers and, of those employed, the majority are semiskilled. In contrast, formal townships host nearly all of the white-collar workers as well as approximately one-third of the semiskilled workers.

² This figure is less impressive when the quality of that education is taken into account. Black and Colored students in South Africa enjoy facilities, instructional materials, and teachers that are significantly inferior in quality and quantity to that offered white students.

Quality of Life

Nearly every aspect of township life is controlled by national laws, most of which are aimed at controlling the freedom of movement of nonwhite South Africans. Even though Pretoria has abolished the hated pass laws, its replacement, which requires all South Africans 16 or older to carry uniform identity documents, will serve a similar function when applied in concert with the strictures of the Group Areas Act that remains intact. In the past, the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and Black Labor Act had governed movement, residence, and employment in the cities. The new system permits the white government to exercise almost identical control.

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In terms of black spending power, the cost for essential services such as housing, transportation, and utilities is very high:

- According to a 1984 race relations survey, the average monthly income for blacks is less than one-sixth that of whites. Compounding the problem of low wages is the high rate of unemployment and underemployment among blacks. Urban black unemployment overall is approximately 25 percent, but it may reach 60 percent in some areas such as Port Elizabeth, according to the US Embassy. A private South African survey found that 31 percent of black urban men and 23 percent of black women earned additional income from street vending, sewing, and other odd jobs to supplement their regular income.
- Fixed housing is in particularly short supply. An official of the South African Urban Foundation estimates a shortage of about 700,000 homes for all races, including 540,000 for blacks. According to a reliable press report, more than 2 million urban blacks do not have homes, and many more are living in substandard housing. Less than 1.25 percent of the total black population own their own homes, according to a private South African study. The others must rent government-built family houses, although individuals on work contracts are provided space in government-maintained hostels. In recent years the South African Government has liberalized opportunities for homeownership by blacks, first by allowing purchases of government-built homes under 99-year leasehold and, more recently, under freehold. Despite subsidies and an intensive promotional campaign, sales are weak, and the blacks' willingness to risk home investment in many areas has been overtaken by their fear of damage from the continuing unrest.
- The poor quality of education has been a major cause for protest in the black community. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, in 1984 the South African Government spent R234 per black student, R569 per Colored student, R1,088 per Indian student, and R1,654 per white student (1R = US\$0.40; figures include capital expenditures). Black schooling, or "Bantu Education," has been characterized by financial starvation, pupil/teacher ratios of 50, 60, or more to 1, makeshift classrooms, rudimentary inferior facilities whether for science or sports, unqualified teachers, and high dropout rates. In contrast, white schooling is generally comparable to that available in Northern Europe. Even so, black parents are required to pay school fees, while white education is free.
- The quality of health care varies among the townships, but urban townships tend to be better equipped than rural ones. Most urban townships have clinics and sometimes hospitals staffed by full-time personnel. Rural townships often lack any formal health care facilities; when clinics are available, they often lack a full-time staff.
- Few blacks can afford cars, and many who owned cars have had them commandeered or destroyed during the current unrest. Public transportation, though subsidized, is expensive. Bus companies have refused to provide service in some of the worst riot-torn townships after stonethrowing mobs destroyed buses and sometimes even killed drivers, forcing some workers to walk great distances each day to and from their homes. Some black commuters spend more than six hours traveling to and from work in Pretoria, according to an Embassy report. The same source reports that in the countries of the EC the average distance traveled by bus commuters is less than 14 kilometers a day, as compared with 28 kilometers a day for black South African commuters.
- Public facilities are inadequate and often in disrepair. Many public buildings, particularly schools, have been burned or severely damaged during the current unrest. According to the South African Institute of Strategic Studies, destruction on the order of R211 million has been caused by rioters from September 1984 through April 1986.

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The Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 provided for the establishment of full-fledged municipal authorities for the black urban areas. Black townships still, however, have almost no financial resources other than rents and utility fees with which to provide services, and the new local authorities quickly became the focus of black protest. Councilors have often been the target of violence and intimidation, resulting in wholesale resignations and the collapse of many local authorities. During continuing unrest in 1986, rent boycotts spread to over 50 townships, according to press reports, costing those township governments about \$16 million per month in lost revenue. []

A Representative Black Township

Duduza, near Nigel in the Transvaal, is a typical black township. Grossly overpopulated, its infrastructure is inadequate for even basic services. The present population, estimated at 35,000, is expected to increase to 43,000 by 1987. The residential area was officially proclaimed in 1964, but most of the 4,500 residences are still without electricity. The housing shortage is critical: more than 800 families are on the waiting list for individual houses. Hostels, barracks-like structures for males on work contracts, accommodate some 1,505. Only 370 hectares are available for development; communal taps (one for every 13 houses) supply water; sewerage is practically nonexistent; streets remain untarred; and there are no leasehold property rights (most of the area is unsurveyed). []

Soweto

Soweto is perhaps the best known black urban center in South Africa, particularly since the 16 June 1976 riots that began there and spread to other areas of the country. Located southwest of Johannesburg, and separated from that city by a broad marshy tract dotted with settling ponds and mine tailings, Soweto is accessible by rail and highway. It is about an hour's commute by bus to the Johannesburg central business district. []

The 30 townships that make up the Soweto complex are almost indistinguishable in general appearance, but each has its own distinctive characteristics. Orlando, the oldest and the closest to Johannesburg, was first settled in the 1930s and houses a relatively stable group—second- and third-generation residents. The

newest part, or deep Soweto, is approximately 16 kilometers south of Orlando; it houses the more recent arrivals, the poorest of the poor. No signs identify the few paved streets that crisscross the townships, or the maze of dusty side streets. There are few distinguishing landmarks: no large shopping centers, only occasional small grocery or liquor stores, a few gas stations, a train depot, three soccer stadiums, seven swimming pools, and three movie houses to serve nearly 2 million people. []

Soweto has approximately 100,000 "matchbox" houses (one-story, rectangular brick structures, each about 20 feet by 25 feet). An average of 14 people live in each four-room house. Most of the houses are candle-lit, but Soweto is scheduled to be completely electrified by the late 1980s—four decades after it was founded. Unlike most other urban centers where only one or two of the 10 or so black ethnic groups are represented drawn from the closest rural area, Soweto is a "melting pot." Some Sowetans have mastered as many as eight or nine languages. The overall crime rate is very high. Strict gun control laws are in effect for blacks, but, even though most of the homicides are committed with knives, the number of armed robberies and murders committed with guns has increased over the last year. About 1,000 murders occur each year—several hundred more than Chicago, which has twice the population. []

Increasing Unrest

Not surprisingly, South Africa's black urban townships have been the site of most of the racially motivated violence sweeping the country over the past several years. Of the total South African population of 30 million, some 80 percent are urban residents. This includes over 90 percent of the whites and most of the Coloreds and Indians. Notably, however, at least half of all urban South Africans are blacks living in or around segregated townships, and experts expect this share to continue rising fast—to 65 percent or more by the end of the century. Not only are these blacks and Coloreds relatively well educated but they

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In a South African Township . . .

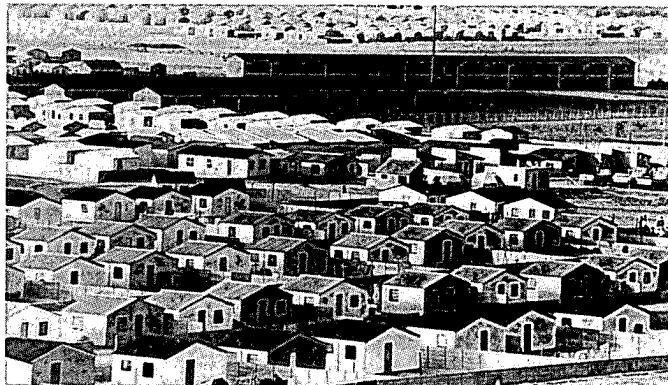


. . . at Crossroads Settlement.

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. . . the shacks of Crossroads.



. . . in the new village of Khayelitsha, where the inhabitants of Crossroads are being relocated.

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South African soldiers line roadway in Thokoza Township.



Police and South African soldiers in Diepkloof Township during a house-to-house search for illegal arms.

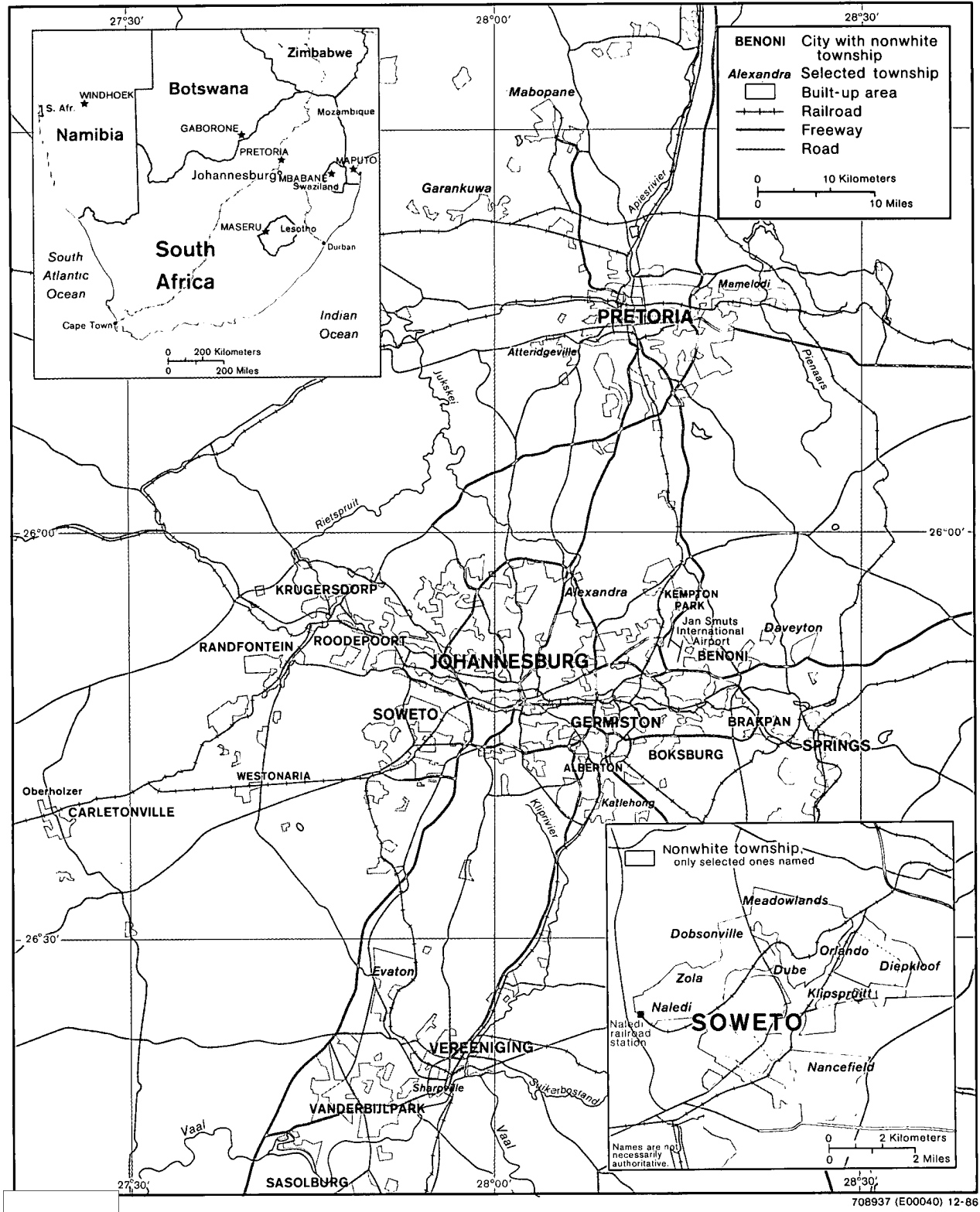
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Figure 5
Urban Areas With Nonwhite Townships in the Johannesburg Vicinity



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Gallery of Township Residents

Townships house a broad cross section of nonwhite South Africans—from the very poor living in hostels and rundown government houses to the few relatively well-to-do living in custom-built houses. No matter what their social or economic status, they are all being profoundly affected by the continuing turmoil in the townships. On the basis of [redacted]

[redacted] US Embassy and press reports, [redacted] we have profiled seven typical kinds of township dwellers who, even though better off than most, must cope with the repressive apartheid laws and daily violence. [redacted]

The Policeman. After the third attack on his home left nothing unscathed, a black policeman joined hundreds of other policemen who have moved to safety outside the townships to live in tents near the station house or who have left the police force entirely. His black neighbors often view the policeman as a symbol of white rule, and he lives in fear for his life and the safety of his family. He joined the police force to maintain law and order and has no sympathy for the rioters' view that peaceful protest will win them nothing. His children do not attend school for fear of reprisals, and often are sent for safety to stay with relatives in rural or homeland areas. [redacted]

The Teacher. As a teacher at a secondary school in Soweto, she is faced with the daily dilemma of trying to satisfy the demands of pupils, parents, the education authorities, and the police. If the pupils feel the teacher is not responsive to their wishes, her life may

be threatened; the parents feel the teacher should be their children's savior; and the authorities demand that the teacher be loyal to them. The teacher has been told that with her qualifications she should leave the school, but she believes her duty lies with solving the problems, not escaping to lecture at a university. [redacted]

The Student Protest Leader. The leader is a 21-year-old male. During his schooling, disruptions because of boycotts and failure to take examinations have cost him an average of three years' education. He is an articulate, forceful speaker, by the standards of his peers. Like most of his counterparts, he is not the product of a broken family or delinquent parents. His parents probably belong to the nascent black middle class and he usually gets what he wants from them. He has lost respect for his parents and other authority figures, whom he sees as docile participants in the apartheid system. He feels his parents and other elders have failed him and his generation. He despises the police, whom he sees as part of a repressive system that holds him back by feeding him "poisonous education." He is impatient with his parents' generation. He tends to regard arrest and prosecution not as stigmas but as status symbols. [redacted]

The Manager. An account executive with a bank in Johannesburg, she is a middle-class black, who with her husband, an inspector for the education department, earns \$24,000 a year—a high income for blacks or whites. She is able to send her children to a private school and recently built a modern home in a

are young: over 20 percent are young adults between 15 and 24, the age group with the highest propensity to violence in most countries.³ Their political awareness is also increasing, a process sharpened by the unemployment, street-corner political rhetoric, and more visible black-white imbalances characteristic of the urban township setting. [redacted]

The current unrest in South Africa began in Johannesburg townships in September 1984 with protests over nonwhite parliamentary elections and the new Constitution and was exacerbated by sharp rent and transportation increases and other local grievances. In February 1985 rioting broke out in the eastern Cape townships, hit hard by recession. In western Cape

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more prosperous section of Soweto. She reluctantly decided to move from the old home in Soweto, which had no indoor plumbing, in part because her family could no longer fit into the old neighborhood and she feared that they might become targets for collaborating with the white system. A former teacher, she plans to give up her job to pursue a graduate education program in London and return to Soweto to open an alternative school for black children.

The Rich Man. An Indian by ancestry, this businessman operates three record stores in Cape Town's white suburbs and has an extremely successful store in Stellenbosch, where his top black salesman regularly sells upmarket stereo gear to the stars of Afrikaner sports. The price he pays to stay in business includes a conscious decision to stay out of the booming new shopping malls, thousands of rands in bail money annually paid to those arrested in street demonstrations as incentives to leave his stores alone, and constant worry about how he and his company fit into Cape Town's complex social structures. He is steeped in the complexities forced on him by apartheid: he lives in an illegal house because his Colored wife has no right to live in the Indian "area" of Rylands; he trades illegally because his wife owns his Colored area stores and a white nominee owns his central business district stores; and he even sends his children to a private school that they are not legally permitted to attend because of their mixed racial background.

The Messenger. In order to catch a 6 a.m. bus to his job in the city as a messenger at an engineering firm, this father of four must rise at 4 a.m. His wife was a factory machinist until she was laid off. Because of the riots, buses no longer enter the township and he must walk 4 kilometers to get home. When he and the other workers get off the bus, they are stoned by youths. Despite his meager income, he must shop at a local store, which usually doubles its prices during riots. He managed to purchase a refrigerator and a television but cannot get them delivered because delivery vans are burned if they enter the township. While he is at work he worries for the safety of his children and home. The fact that most township houses like his bought under the 99-year-lease scheme are not insured adds to the worry.

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The Squatter. A recent arrival from the Transkei, this widowed mother of three moved to a squatter area near Cape Town hoping to find work to support her children. With little education and no job training, and because the Cape is a Colored Labor Preference area, she has little hope of finding even intermittent employment. Early each morning she leaves her shack, built of cardboard and bits of wood, to scavenge in the refuse pit for food and items to sell in the squatter community. She joins other single mothers like herself who get first crack at the refuse and guard their finds with machetes and sticks. Even if she found a job she would not have carfare to get to it. Her children show signs of malnutrition, and she lives in fear that the authorities will send her back to the homeland, where her situation would be even worse.

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Province, rumors of a government plan to relocate Crossroads squatters caused rioting that claimed 18 lives and injured over 250. One month later, police opened fire on a crowd of blacks marching to attend a funeral near Uitenhage and 19 blacks were killed. Escalating unrest during the next four months prompted the declaration of a 220-day state of emergency covering the major urban centers, except Durban, in July of last year followed by a nationwide state of emergency in June 1986.

The unrest has been characterized by clashes with security forces and factional violence within the townships and only sporadic attacks on the white community. There has been a continuing increase in the use of knives, guns, and grenades over the past two years. Incidents of arson, petrol-bombing, and stonethrowing have been widespread and common to all unrest areas.

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More recently, some black and Colored vigilante groups have been formed in response to intratownship violence. Antipartheid critics charge that government policies have intensified traditional tribal rivalries that often erupt into violence. [redacted]

Antigovernment resistance at the local level has persisted despite the state of emergency restriction, although at a lower level. School and consumer boycotts are continuing in Soweto and the eastern Cape Province. [redacted] nearly 50 percent of all unrest incidents occur in these two areas; violence in Soweto in late August claimed more than 20 lives. [redacted]

Intimidation within the townships continues as militant youth or "comrades" pressure residents to participate in boycotts. Student boycotters ensure a large pool of available protestors. Black political activity is continuing despite bans on public meetings and demonstrations, although there is still no apparent nationwide network. [redacted]

A Dilemma for the Government

The South African Government has accepted the necessity of a racially integrated economy and the permanence of urban blacks and has also conceded the inevitability of an urban aspiration among blacks. Racial violence and black pressure for an equal share of political rights and economic benefits, however, have underscored inherent contradictions in the government's urban township policy:

- As they now exist, these segregated residential areas serve, for blacks, as emotionally charged symbols of their inferior status. By grouping nonwhites together, the townships probably tend to focus both frustration and rage against the white ruling class. They also make it simpler for political agitators to find sympathetic ears for their antiregime messages.
- At the same time, however, for most white South Africans, segregated residential areas are a fundamental right. The townships continue to be a critical

element in the government's ability to keep violence from threatening the white community. South African security forces have repeatedly demonstrated that they can seal off the townships very rapidly and effectively screen any movement to and from them while conducting meticulous house-to-house searches. Moreover, elaborate legal controls, as well as the enforced geographical separation and isolation of many black townships, limit the capacity of blacks to strike out at white authority beyond their own communities. [redacted]

Consequently, although the townships are currently serving as a major catalyst for the antiapartheid protests, the government is unlikely in the foreseeable future to weaken one of its most important mechanisms for keeping nonwhites physically in check. Indeed, the government is going ahead with plans for the development of new townships. In mid-1986, for example, a proposal for a new black township north of Johannesburg—dubbed Norweto in press reports—was floated for public comment. Conceding the enormous cost of such a project, the government has called for major private-sector involvement in the provision of housing and services. While critics have rejected new township construction as a costly perpetration of past mistakes, US Embassy [redacted] reporting stresses that repeal of the Group Areas Act is nonnegotiable for the mainstream of the National Party and for the majority of its constituents. [redacted]

There is, nonetheless, speculation that the 1987 parliamentary session might see a softening of its edges. This could take the form of amendments allowing localities to legalize "gray areas" at their own option, or perhaps even the creation of new areas designated explicitly for multiracial residence. (In so-called gray areas the law is openly violated. Whites in such areas are tolerant of their nonwhite neighbors.) Resistance to even such partial relaxation is likely to be strong. [redacted]

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Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Ackerville	Witbank	Transvaal	B	
Actonville	Benoni	Transvaal	I	26 12 45S 28 18 15E
Adendorp	Graaf-Reinet	Cape	NA	32 18 00S 24 33 00E
Alexandra	Johannesburg	Transvaal	B	26 06 30S 28 05 40E
Alexandria	Grahamstown	Cape	NA	33 39 00S 27 25 00E
Allandale	Queenstown	Cape	C	32 26 00S 27 16 30E
Alra Park	Nigel	Transvaal	C	26 25 30S 28 29 00E
Amalinda	East London	Cape	NA	32 59 45S 27 50 00E
Andalusia Park	Jan Kempdorp	Cape	C	
Arakfontein	East London	Cape	NA	
Arcadia	Port Elizabeth	Cape	C	33 52 30S 25 31 20E
Asherville	Durban	Natal	I	
Ashton	Western Cape	Cape	NA	33 50 00S 20 03 00E
Athlone	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 58 00S 18 30 00E
Athlone West	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Atlantis	Western Cape	Cape	C	33 34 00S 18 29 00E
Atteridgeville	Pretoria	Transvaal	B	25 46 20S 28 04 30E
Austinville	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Avondale	Parow	Cape	C	33 53 55S 18 35 40E
Babeledi	Upington	Cape	NA	
Bakerton	Springs	Transvaal	I	26 14 00S 28 24 15E
Balfour	Johannesburg	Transvaal	NA	26 39 30S 28 35 00E
Batho	Bloemfontein	Orange Free State	B	29 08 30S 26 13 45E
Bekgopas	Pietermaritzburg	Natal	NA	
Bekkersdal	Westonaria	Transvaal	B	26 16 30S 27 42 30E
Belgravia	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 58 00S 18 31 00E
Belhar	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 56 45S 18 37 20E
Bellville-South	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 54 00S 18 38 30E
Beroma	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Bhekuzulu	Vryheid	Natal	NA	
Bishop Lavis	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 56 50S 18 34 40E
Blanco	George	Cape	C	33 57 30S 22 25 30E
Blue Waters	East London	Cape	NA	
Bochebela	Bloemfontein	Orange Free State	B	29 09 15S 26 14 20E

^a Township names have been compiled from unofficial sources (NOMAD data base).

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Confidential**South African Townships (continued)**

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Boipatong	Vaal Triangle	Transvaal	B	
Bokaap	Cape Town	Cape	M	
Bokweni	Paarl	Cape	C	
Bolo	Stutterheim	Cape	NA	32 23 00S 27 38 00E
Bongulethu	Oudtshoorn	Cape	NA	33 36 00S 22 14 20E
Bongweni	Colesberg	Cape	NA	
Bonkani	Knysna	Cape	NA	
Bonteheuwel	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 00S 18 33 20E
Bophelong	Vaal Triangle	Transvaal	B	
Botleng	Johannesburg	Transvaal	NA	
Breidbach	King Williams Town	Cape	C	32 53 30S 27 26 30E
Bridgetown	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 20S 18 32 00E
Buffalo Flats	East London	Cape	C	33 03 30S 27 52 30E
Cambridge	East London	Cape	NA	32 58 30S 27 53 00E
Cathcart	Eastern Cape	Cape	NA	32 18 00S 27 09 00E
Cato Manor	Durban	Natal	M	29 51 40S 30 57 00E
Cerutiville	Nigel	Transvaal	C	
Charleston Hill	Paarl	Cape	C	
Charlesville	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Chatsworth	Durban	Natal	NA	29 55 00S 30 54 00E
Chesterville	Durban	Natal	NA	29 50 50S 30 56 40E
Cinda Park	Cape Town	Cape	NA	
Clarkes Estates	Cape Town	Cape	NA	
Clermont	Durban	Natal	NA	29 47 40S 30 53 45E
Colville Floors	Kimberley	Cape	C	28 42 50S 24 46 00E
Coronationville	Johannesburg	Transvaal	C	26 11 20S 27 58 30E
Cravenby	Cape Town	Cape	I	33 55 30S 18 35 20E
Crossroads - Sq	Cape Town	Cape	B	33 59 40S 18 36 05E
Daveyton	Johannesburg	Transvaal	NA	26 09 00S 28 25 30E
Dennilton	Kwandebele	Transvaal	B	25 16 00S 29 10 30E
Diepkloof	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	NA	26 14 15S 27 57 00E
Dimbaza	King Williams Town	Cape	NA	32 50 30S 27 07 00E
Dobsonville	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	NA	26 13 20S 27 52 00E
Dondonald	Lothair	Transvaal	B	
Donkinvale	Port Elizabeth	Cape	NA	33 53 00S 25 35 40E
Doornhoogte	Cape Town	Cape	I	
Dordrecht	Eastern Cape	Cape	NA	31 22 30S 27 02 30E
Dorrington	Fort Beaufort	Cape	NA	
Dube	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	NA	26 14 20S 27 53 40E
Duduza	Nigel	Transvaal	B	26 22 00S 28 24 30E

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South African Townships (continued)

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Dukathole	Aliwal North	Cape	NA	
Duncan Village	East London	Cape	B	33 00 40S 27 52 30E
Durheim	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Eden Park	Alberton	Transvaal	C	
Eersterus	Pretoria	Transvaal	C	25 42 40S 28 18 45E
Eikendal	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Ekgangala	Bronkhorstspuit	Transvaal	NA	
El Dorado Park	Johannesburg	Transvaal	M	
Elsies River	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Elsiesrivier	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 55 00S 18 34 00E
Elswood	Cape Town	Cape	NA	
Elundini	Port Elizabeth	Cape	NA	33 53 25S 25 35 45E
Emjindeni	Barberton	Transvaal	B	
Enduli	Ceres	Cape	NA	33 21 30S 19 20 30E
Epping Forest	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 56 00S 18 34 40E
Evaton	Vereeniging	Transvaal	B	26 33 00S 27 52 00E
Ezakheni	Kwazulu	Natal	Z	
Ezibeleni	Queenstown	Cape	B	31 54 30S 26 57 30E
Facreton	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 54 20S 18 31 15E
Fairways	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Fingo	Grahamstown	Cape	NA	
Fingodorp	Port Elizabeth	Cape	B	
Florianville	Kimberley	Cape	C	28 43 00S 24 45 30E
Forty-Second Hills	Harrismith	Orange Free State	NA	
Galeshwe	Kimberley	Cape	B	28 43 15S 24 44 00E
Garankuwa	Pretoria, Boph.	Transvaal	B	25 36 30S 27 59 00E
Gatesville	Cape Town	Cape	I	
Geluksdal	Brakpan	Transvaal	C	26 20 30S 28 22 00E
Gelvandale	Port Elizabeth	Cape	C	33 55 30S 26 33 00E
Ginsberg	King Williams Town	Cape	B	32 53 45S 27 22 30E
Glebe	Durban	Natal	NA	
Gleemoor	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 45S 18 31 00E
Grassy Park	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 02 40S 18 30 00E
Greylingstad	Johannesburg	Transvaal	B	26 45 00S 28 44 30E
Guguletu	Cape Town	Cape	B	33 58 40S 18 34 10E
Gwaba	King Williams Town	Cape	NA	32 54 30S 27 18 00E
Hambanati	Durban	Natal	NA	29 34 30S 31 07 00E
Hamarsdale	Durban	Natal	NA	29 48 00S 30 39 45E
Hangberg	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 03 20S 18 20 40E
Hanover Park	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 59 20S 18 32 00E

Confidential**South African Townships (continued)**

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Hazendal	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 15S 18 30 20E
Heathfield	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 03 00S 18 28 00E
Heideveld	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 58 00S 18 33 40E
Hofmeyr	Cradock	Cape	NA	31 39 00S 25 48 15E
Homevale	Kimberley	Cape	C	28 41 45S 24 44 00E
Hornlee	Knysna	Cape	C	34 02 00S 23 03 30E
Houtbaai	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 02 20S 18 21 15E
Hqwali	Stutterheim	Cape	NA	
Huhudi	Vryburg	Cape	NA	26 58 00S 24 44 30E
Ikageng	Potchefstroom	Transvaal	B	
Ilinge	Queenstown	Cape	B	31 59 00S 27 02 30E
Imbali	Pietermaritzburg	Natal	NA	29 39 20S 30 21 00E
Inanda	Durban	Natal	M	29 41 30S 30 56 00E
Ingogo	Kwazulu	Natal	Z	27 34 30S 29 53 30E
Isipingo	Durban	Natal	I	29 58 45S 30 55 00E
Jamestown	Eastern Cape	Cape	NA	31 07 30S 26 48 30E
Jethembuni	Prieska	Cape	NA	
Jojoza	Grahamstown	Cape	NA	
Jouberton	Klerksdorp	Transvaal	B	26 53 30S 26 36 30E
Kabah	Uitenhage	Cape	NA	33 45 45S 26 23 00E
Kabokweni	Nelspruit	Transvaal	B	
Kagiso	Krugersdorp	Transvaal	B	26 09 00S 27 48 00E
Kalksloot	Upington	Cape	C	28 24 45S 21 02 00E
Kalksteenfontein	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 00S 18 34 15E
Kananna	Orkney	Transvaal	B	26 58 00S 27 38 00E
Kanyamazane	Nelspruit	Transvaal	B	
Kasselsvlei	Cape Town	Cape	NA	33 55 15S 18 38 50E
Kathlehong	Alberton	Transvaal	NA	26 20 00S 28 09 00E
Kayamnandi	Stellenbosch	Cape	NA	33 55 00S 18 50 45E
Keiskammahoek	Ciskei	Cape	B	32 41 00S 27 09 00E
Kenhardt	Kenhardt	Cape	C	29 18 30S 21 03 30E
Kensington	Western Cape	Cape	C	
Kewtown	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 30S 18 31 00E
Khayelitsha	Cape Town	Cape	B	34 03 00S 18 40 30E
Khudsong	Oberholzer	Transvaal	B	26 19 30S 27 19 30E
Khuma	Klerksdorp	Transvaal	B	26 50 30S 26 52 00E
Kingsburgh	East London	Cape	NA	
Kirkwood	Eastern Cape	Cape	NA	33 24 00S 25 26 30E
Klaarwater	Durban	Natal	NA	29 52 00S 30 51 45E
Klein Krantz	George	Cape	C	34 00 30S 23 39 00E

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Confidential**South African Townships (continued)**

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Kleinvlei	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Klipspruitt West	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	B	
Komga	East London	Cape	NA	28 34 30S 27 53 00E
Kotsang	Bothaville	Orange Free State	NA	
Kraaifontein	Cape Town	Cape	NA	33 51 00S 18 43 40E
Kroonvale	Graaf-Reinet	Cape	NA	32 15 20S 24 34 00E
KTC - Sq	Cape Town	Cape	NA	
Kubise	Stutterheim	Cape	NA	
Kubushi	Stutterheim	Cape	NA	
Kuilsrivier	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 55 30S 18 41 00E
Kutloanong	Odenaalsrus	Orange Free State	NA	27 51 00S 26 45 30E
Kwadabeka	Durban	Natal	NA	29 45 30S 30 55 30E
Kwaggafontein	Kwandebele	Transvaal	B	25 18 00S 28 57 00E
Kwaguqha	Witbank	Transvaal	B	
Kwamakuta	Durban	Natal	NA	
Kwamashu	Kwazulu	Natal	Z	29 45 00S 30 59 00E
Kwamaxaki	Port Elizabeth	Cape	B	
Kwamuzamo	Humansdorp	Cape	NA	
Kwananzame	Middelburg	Transvaal	B	
Kwandengesi	Durban	Natal	NA	29 51 00S 30 46 00E
Kwanobuhle	Uitenhage	Cape	B	33 48 30S 26 23 00E
Kwanobushle	Uitenhage	Cape	B	33 48 30S 26 23 00E
Kwanogane	Middleburg	Cape	NA	
Kwathema	Johannesburg	Transvaal	NA	26 18 00S 28 23 30E
Kwazakhele	Port Elizabeth	Cape	B	33 52 30S 25 34 20E
Kwezi	Oudtshoorn	Cape	NA	
Lamontville	Durban	Natal	NA	29 56 30S 30 56 30E
Langa	Cape Town	Cape	B	33 56 30S 18 31 40E
Langverwagi	Secunda	Transvaal	B	
Lansdowne	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 59 30S 18 30 20E
Laudium	Pretoria	Transvaal	I	25 48 45S 28 05 30E
Lavender Hill	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 04 10S 18 28 45E
Lawaaikamp - Sq	George	Cape	NA	
Leandra	Eastern Transvaal	Transvaal	B	26 23 00S 28 55 30E
Leeuwerhof	De Aar	Cape	NA	
Leightonville	King Williams Town	Cape	B	32 53 45S 27 23 00E
Lekoa	Johannesburg	Transvaal	NA	
Lenasia	Johannesburg	Transvaal	I	26 19 00S 27 46 30E
Lenyenye	Tzaneen	Transvaal	B	23 58 00S 30 16 30E
Leslie	Eastern Transvaal	Transvaal	B	26 22 00S 28 55 30E

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Confidential**South African Townships (continued)**

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Lingehlhle	Eastern Cape	Cape	NA	
Louisvale Road	Upington	Cape	C	28 28 30S 21 16 00E
Louwater	East London	Cape	NA	
Lynville	Witbank	Transvaal	B	25 52 00S 29 12 00E
Mabopane	Pretoria, Boph.	Transvaal	B	26 30 00S 28 04 00E
Macassar	Somerset West	Cape	C	34 04 00S 18 46 00E
Mackenzieville	Nigel	Transvaal	I	26 25 45S 28 29 00E
Mahwelereng	Potgietersrus	Transvaal	B	24 09 00S 28 57 00E
Malagasi	Durban	Natal	I	
Malukazi	Durban	Natal	M	29 59 15S 30 53 30E
Mamelodi	Pretoria	Transvaal	B	25 42 30S 28 21 30E
Manenberg	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 59 30S 18 33 20E
Maraisberg	Roodepoort	Transvaal	B	26 10 45S 27 56 20E
Maraisplaas	Mosselbaai	Cape	NA	
Mathebula	Barberton	Transvaal	B	
Matjesfontein	Plettenberg Bay	Cape	C	34 02 45S 23 22 30E
Matlapeng	Bophuthatswana	Transvaal	B	
Matroosfontein	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 56 25S 18 34 30E
Matsulu	Nelspruit	Transvaal	B	25 31 30S 31 22 00E
Mbekweni	Paarl	Cape	C	33 40 30S 18 59 45E
Mdantsane	East London	Cape	B	32 56 30S 27 45 00E
Meadowlands East	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	B	26 13 15S 27 54 00E
Meadowlands West	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	B	26 12 45S 27 53 10E
Meloding	Virginia	Orange Free State	NA	
Mevana	Howick	Natal	NA	
Mfuleni	Cape Town	Cape	B	34 00 30S 18 10 30E
Mhluzi	Middelburg	Transvaal	B	
Mimosa Park	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Mitchells Plain	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 03 00S 18 37 00E
Mlungisi	Queenstown	Cape	NA	
Mofolo	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	B	26 14 30S 27 53 00E
Mohlakeng	Randfontein	Transvaal	B	26 13 30S 27 42 00E
Morhenvell	Eastern Cape	Cape	NA	
Morning Star	Cape Town	Cape	NA	
Motetema	Groblersdal	Transvaal	B	25 05 30S 29 27 30E
Mpophomeni	Pietermaritzburg	Natal	NA	29 34 00S 30 11 00E
Mpumalanga	Durban	Natal	NA	29 49 00S 30 37 00E
Mtunzini	Northern Natal	Natal	NA	28 57 00S 31 45 30E
Munsieville	Krugersdorp	Transvaal	B	
Murraysburg	Eastern Cape	Cape	C	31 57 30S 23 16 00E

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South African Townships (continued)

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Mzimhlope	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	B	26 13 20S 27 55 20E
Mzinoni	Bethal	Transvaal	NA	
Nandi	Somerset East	Cape	B	
Natalspruit	Germiston	Transvaal	NA	26 18 00S 28 09 30E
Ndumangjini	Stutterheim	Cape	NA	
Nelsville	Nelspruit	Transvaal	C	
New Brighton	Port Elizabeth	Cape	NA	33 54 00S 25 36 00E
New Horizons	Plettenberg Bay	Cape	C	34 03 00S 23 20 30E
New Rest	King Williams Town	Cape	B	32 53 30S 27 22 45E
New Village	Barberton	Transvaal	B	
Newlands East	Durban	Natal	I	29 46 30S 30 57 00E
Newrest	Burgersdorp	Cape	NA	
Newton	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Newtown	Paarl	Cape	C	33 40 45S 19 00 10E
Ngangelizwe	Transkei	Cape	B	31 36 30S 28 48 30E
Ningizimu	Durban	Natal	NA	
Nkanyezi	Colenso	Natal	NA	
Nkuluzi	Pietermaritzburg	Natal	NA	
Nomonde	Molteno	Cape	NA	
Nonzwakazi	De Aar	Cape	B	
Nooitgedacht	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 15S 18 35 00E
Northdale	Pietermaritzburg	Natal	NA	29 33 20S 30 23 45E
Nqkebela	Robertson	Cape	NA	
Ntuzuma	Durban	Natal	NA	29 43 45S 30 56 30E
Nuverust	Queenstown	Cape	C	
Nyanga	Cape Town	Cape	B	33 59 40S 18 35 20E
Observatory	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 56 15S 18 28 05E
Ocean View	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 08 45S 18 21 20E
Okhukho	Kwazulu	Natal	Z	
Orlando East	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	NA	26 14 20S 27 55 40E
Orlando West	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	B	26 13 40S 27 54 45E
Pabalello	Upington	Cape	B	28 27 00S 21 13 00E
Pacaltsdorp	George	Cape	C	34 01 00S 22 27 30E
Parkside	East London	Cape	C	33 01 00S 27 53 30E
Parkwood	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 01 45S 18 30 20E
Pefferville	East London	Cape	C	
Pelican Park	Cape Town	Cape	I	
Pembroke	King Williams Town	Cape	B	32 54 00S 27 31 00E
Peritonia	Heilbron	Orange Free State	NA	
Petrusville	Northern Cape	Cape	NA	

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Confidential**South African Townships (continued)**

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Phelelo	Upington	Cape	NA	
Phillipi	Western Cape	Cape	C	34 01 00S 18 34 45E
Phillipstown	Northern Cape	Cape	NA	30 26 00S 24 25 00E
Phoenix	Durban	Natal	I	29 42 30S 31 00 00E
Phomolong	Kroonstad	Orange Free State	NA	
Pimville	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	B	26 15 20S 27 54 00E
Pinetown	Durban	Natal	NA	29 49 20S 30 52 40E
Primrose Park	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 59 00S 18 33 00E
Protea	Johannesburg, Soweto	Transvaal	B	26 17 30S 27 50 30E
Ramakgopa	Soekmekaar	Cape	NA	
Ratanda	Heidelberg	Transvaal	B	26 33 00S 28 20 00E
Ravensmead	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 55 30S 18 36 15E
Refenghotso	Vaal Triangle	Transvaal	B	
Reigerpark	Boksburg	Transvaal	C	26 13 30S 28 14 00E
Reini	Adelaide	Cape	NA	
Reservoir Hills	Durban	Natal	I	29 48 00S 30 56 20E
Residensia	Vaal Triangle	Transvaal	B	26 32 15S 27 52 45E
Retreat	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 03 20S 18 28 30E
Reunion	Durban	Natal	NA	29 58 00S 30 56 00E
Richmond	Western Cape	Cape	NA	
Riverlea Extension One	Johannesburg	Transvaal	C	
Riverview	Worcester	Cape	C	
Rocklands	Bloemfontein	Orange Free State	NA	29 11 30S 26 14 00E
Ronaldsvlei	Kimberley	Cape	I	28 47 00S 24 45 30E
Roodekrans	Verulam	Natal	I	
Roodewal	Western Cape	Cape	NA	
Rosedale	Uitenhage	Cape	NA	
Rosemoor	George	Cape	C	33 58 30S 23 29 00E
Rylands	Cape Town	Cape	I	33 58 15S 18 31 50E
Rynsoord	Benoni	Transvaal	I	26 11 30S 28 21 45E
Sada	Queenstown	Cape	B	32 12 00S 26 49 00E
Sandbult	Burgersdorp	Cape	NA	
Sandkraal	George	Cape	B	34 00 45S 23 30 30E
Santaville	Graaf-Reinet	Cape	NA	
Sarepta	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Saulsville	Pretoria	Transvaal	B	25 44 00S 28 05 30E
Schoone Kloof	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Schotse Kloof	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 55 15S 33 25 00E
Scottsdene	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 51 55S 18 42 45E
Scottsville	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 51 20S 18 42 20E

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South African Townships (continued)

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Sebokeng	Vereeniging	Transvaal	B	26 34 30S 27 50 00E
Seekoeivlei	Western Cape	Cape	C	
Seisoville	Kroonstad	Orange Free State	NA	
Selanane	Worcester	Cape	NA	
Shalo	Queenstown	Cape	NA	
Sharpville	Vereeniging	Transvaal	B	26 41 00S 27 52 30E
Shaunville	King Williams Town	Cape	C	
Shongweni	Kwazulu	Natal	Z	
Sibongile	Dundee	Natal	NA	
Silobela	Carolina	Transvaal	NA	
Silvertown	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 45S 18 31 40E
Slangspruit	Pietermaritzburg	Natal	NA	29 39 20S 30 21 30E
Sobantu	Pietermaritzburg	Natal	NA	29 35 45S 30 25 20E
Songa	Uitenhage	Cape	NA	
Soshanguve	Johannesburg	Transvaal	B	25 34 30S 28 05 00E
Soutrivier	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 55 50S 18 28 00E
Soweto	Johannesburg	Transvaal	B	26 15 00S 27 53 10E
Soweto-On-Sea Sq	Port Elizabeth	Cape	B	
Steadville	Ladysmith	Natal	NA	
Steenberg	Cape Town	Cape	C	34 04 30S 18 28 20E
Steenvliet	Eastern Cape	Cape	NA	
Steynville	Piketberg	Cape	C	
Sunnyside	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 58 15S 18 31 00E
Surrey Estate	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 58 30S 18 33 00E
Swart Woonbeurt	Middleburg	Cape	NA	
Sydenham	Durban	Natal	I	29 49 40S 30 59 20E
Sykes Farm	Verulam	Natal	I	
Tantjie	Grahamstown	Cape	NA	
Tembisa	Johannesburg	Transvaal	B	26 00 30S 27 14 30E
Thabong	Pretoria	Transvaal	B	25 44 30S 28 07 30E
The Range	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Thembalihlo	Glencoe	Natal	NA	
Thornhill	Queenstown	Cape	B	31 59 00S 26 07 00E
Tinius	Fort Beaufort	Cape	NA	
Tlhabane	Bophuthatswana	Transvaal	B	26 38 00S 27 13 00E
Toekomsrus	Randfontein	Transvaal	B	26 12 30S 27 43 00E
Thokoza	Alberton	Transvaal	B	26 21 00S 28 09 00E
Touwsriver	Western Cape	Cape	NA	33 20 30S 20 02 45E
Tsakane	Springs	Transvaal	B	26 21 00S 28 23 00E
Tumahole	Parys	Orange Free State	NA	26 55 30S 27 28 30E

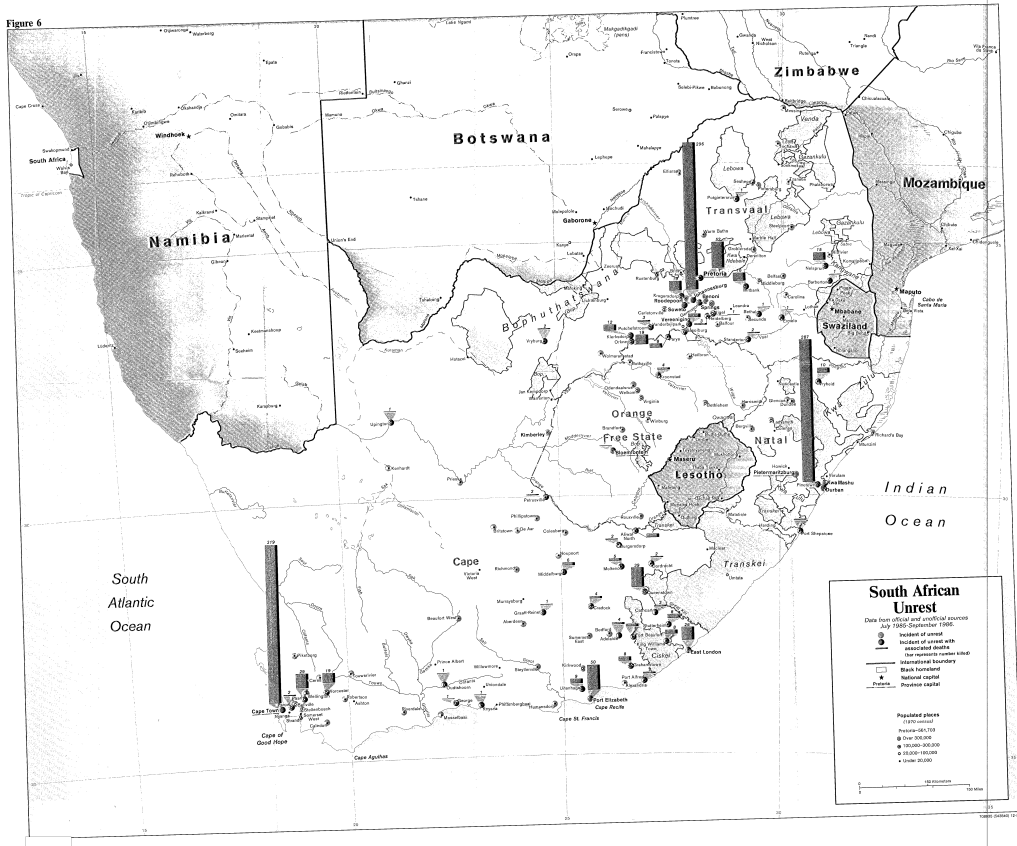
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Confidential**South African Townships (continued)**

Town Name (Township) ^a	Location	Province	Ethnicity	Coordinates
Uitsig	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Umasizakhe	Graaf-Reinet	Cape	NA	
Umbekweni	Paarl	Cape	C	
Umbumbulu	Durban	Natal	B	29 59 00S 30 44 00E
Umlazi	Kwazulu	Natal	B	29 57 40S 30 53 00E
Valencia Park	Nelspruit	Transvaal	I	
Valhalla Park	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Valspan	Jan Kempdorp	Cape	NA	27 55 00S 24 48 00E
Veeplas	Port Elizabeth	Cape	NA	33 51 45S 25 33 45E
Venterspos	Randfontein	Transvaal	B	26 16 30S 27 37 30E
Vlaklaagte 1	Kwandebele	Transvaal	B	25 20 00S 28 53 00E
Vlaklaagte 2	Kwandebele	Transvaal	B	25 23 00S 28 51 30E
Vleifontein	Louis Trichardt	Transvaal	B	
Voevlei	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Vosloorus	Boksburg	Transvaal	B	26 21 00S 28 12 00E
Walmer	Port Elizabeth	Cape	NA	33 58 40S 25 35 00E
Walmer Estate	Cape Town	Cape	C	
Watville	Boksburg	Transvaal	B	26 13 30S 28 18 00E
Welcome Estate	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 57 30S 18 32 45E
Weltevrede	Kwandebele	Transvaal	B	
Wentworth	Durban	Natal	NA	29 55 00S 30 59 45E
Wesselton	Ermelo	Transvaal	NA	
West End	Port Elizabeth	Cape	NA	
Westville	Durban	Natal	NA	29 49 20S 30 56 30E
White City	Ceres	Cape	NA	
Winterveld - Sq	Bophuthatswana	Transvaal	B	26 23 00S 27 59 30E
Woodstock	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 55 45S 18 26 40E
Zakhile	Standerton	Transvaal	B	
Zamdela	Sasolburg	Transvaal	B	
Zolani	Cape Town	Cape	NA	
Zonnebloem	Cape Town	Cape	C	33 55 45S 18 26 00E
Zwelanu	Western Cape	Cape	NA	
Zwelentemba	Worcester	Cape	NA	33 39 00S 19 29 30E
Zwelitsha	King Williams Town	Cape	B	32 55 30S 27 25 30E
Zwide	Port Elizabeth	Cape	NA	33 52 00S 25 33 45E

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