SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Rendering welfare and development services with special reference to Grahamstown
by
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When you give a dinner or a banquet, invite neither your friends, your brothers nor your rich neighbours.... But, when you give a feast, invite the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind and you'll be blessed because they cannot repay you (Luke 14: 12-14).

1. Introduction:

None of us here knows how it is to be poor, how the poor feels, and how poverty affects him as an individual, a person and a human being with the six senses like all of us. We are all here today talking about researches and studies conducted on and about other people, after which we then draw our conclusions and presuppositions.

Whatever I am saying in this paper is based mainly on my experiences and observations resulting from a day-to-day contact with the needy, the destitute and the hungry, in my work as a social worker in a Grahamstown Child & Family Welfare Society, and not on any research. I am in this paper going to try to show how a social worker has to patch up what other structures are unpatching and how she has to struggle to help people who are and have been frustrated for a long time and who find themselves defeated and bound by chains of poverty. Without going much into that, let me begin by giving you a very brief history and the geographical lay-out of Grahamstown.

1.1. HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL LAYOUT:

After the foundation of the military post by Col. Graham in 1812, the 1820 Settlers soon came to settle and thereafter Grahamstown developed and is today one of the most important cultural and educational centres in the country, an interesting position inspite of its size.

Grahamstown is roughly divided into three parts - a large white residential area, the Coloured township and the Grahamstown Black township lying from the north to the south-eastern side of the town. This township, which is our main concern in this paper, is divided into Fingo village, Tantyi and Joza, a municipal housing scheme built above the eastern escarpment. Xolani and Thatha townships have been established toward the end of 1982 and 1983 respectively. The population of the township is 100% Black consisting largely of Xhosas and Fingos who share a common language - Xhosa.

Because of its industrial underdevelopment, Grahamstown has more acute
unemployment and poverty problems than most of other comparable urban centres. Grahamstown's retarded industrial growth could be attributed to a number of combined serious factors like:

(1) scarcity of rainfall; (ii) electricity costs being one of the most expensive in the country; (iii) distance from the main railway line, ports and major markets.

Let us now analyse the Black community of Grahamstown in more detail.

2. WHAT TYPE OF COMMUNITY IS BLACK GRAHAMSTOWN?

Here we are to concentrate more on the problem areas in relation to poverty in Grahamstown.

2.1. Socio-economic Conditions:

Here we are to consider all the small factors falling under this big topic.

2.1.1. Population: (For population figures see Appendix I)

Concerning the latest population statistics, small as it is, Grahamstown has a total Black population amounting roughly to 42,345. Scrutinising this appendix closely, one will note that the Black population is almost 4 times that of whites, almost 7 x that of Coloureds and almost 19 times that of Indians. Though destitution and unemployment are present amongst the Coloured population, the situation in the Black townships are very much worse and its impact is felt more severely. It is appropriate to say that the white community on the other side of the river lives comfortably in the best area of the town and while its population varies depending on whether Rhodes University and the white private and government schools are open or not, the Black population on the other side of the same river, has in spite of the Influx Control Act, increased at a percentage higher than that recorded in similar settlements, as people have drifted into town from the surrounding farms as conditions there have become intolerable.

2.1.2. Unemployment:

Of the total population of + 42,345, about 22,894 are children of less than 17 years of age, and are obviously still dependants. This leaves the adults at 19.71, mind about 3,109 are aged and about 1,882 are disabled. Unfortunately the exact figure of the employed could not be obtained, but scrutinising the above figures it would be obvious that more than 2/3 of the total population is unemployable, let alone that the streets are flowing with
the economically active work seekers. The reason for the high unemployment rate is reasonably clear from the absence of industries which I rate as the most causative factor resulting in all the problems like begging, illegitimacy, apathy and suffering, malnutrition, overcrowding etc. It is definitely because of its industrial underdevelopment that Grahamstown has more acute unemployment and poverty problems than most of other comparable urban centres. Inspite of this high rate of unemployment and the results thereof, migration of farm people into town is still continuing. As a result the slums and living conditions in the townships are deteriorating.

Another consequence of an over-supply of labour to this economically deprived area is low wage rates.

After a close scrutiny of the above situation, it goes without saying that Grahamstown is one of desperate concern and immediate action is necessary to help restore the shattered and crumbling race relations as well as to build those essential solid foundations which are necessary for a shared future of trust, respect and well-being.

Grahamstown is about 130 kms away from the industrial complex of Uitenhage/Port Elizabeth which has attracted quite a number of some still economically active youth of Grahamstown, though on the other side, the workseeker would be affected by the Influx Control Act anyway.

Here's an example of a case whereby this Act was unreasonably applied showing clearly that Black people are still to be hard hit by unemployment. I have personally dealt with this case which I eventually could not help even though I applied all the tactics I have in my theoretical kit. Here is a child, Temba (fictitious name) whose parents worked very hard on a nearby farm and who have through thick and thin managed to send this child to attend a school in Grahamstown. After passing Std. 9 and getting a job at a firm in Port Elizabeth, he could not go and work there as he was from a 'rural' area. His father earned R14.00 per month and had 7 children. Temba is the eldest and would like to assist his family financially by getting a job and then assist his father with the education of the younger siblings. The P.E. Labour Office would not permit him to work in Port Elizabeth unless the Grahamstown labour office had stamped his reference book with Section 10(1) of the Influx Control Act No. 25 of 1945, instead of which the latter office endorsed that he should leave the prescribed area of Grahamstown within 10 days.
He came to me with the problem after which the East Cape Administration Board officials threw me from one office to the other, and in fact, I realised that the more one reasons with these people the thicker grows the wall between the two parties. As a result Temba was bound to go back and idle on the farm after he had struggled to at least attain Std. 9 which is not easy for a farm child. He is now looking after the farmer's cattle on the farm - is this not disgusting? Thus, apart from the people's apathy as such, such draconian laws as these can be seen as contributing to the bad situation as a whole.

2.1.3. Housing:

Between 1962 (after the completion of Makanaskop) and mid-1982, only 100 houses were built and 58 corrugated iron units provided. One must note that the increase in population due to natural means and influx of people from the surrounding farms has been phenomenal; slum and shanty-type living conditions have grown apace. Note too that overcrowded conditions can be directly linked to social unrest as well as to forms of individual abhorrent behaviour such as rape, incest, uncontrollability of children (which is becoming rife in Grahamstown) etc. Bad housing conditions and overcrowding in Grahamstown are very serious and in my view are not only greatest causative factors in community unrest and frustration, but especially combined with unemployment, has a direct influence on productivity potential, social deterioration, development of apathy and loss of self-image and self respect. Fortunately, mid-1982, 100 Zenzele type houses (Xolani location) were built. Here residents had to build their own houses at a relatively cheap price of + R2,600. The houses, however, had to be built with approved materials. Thatha, established in 1983 is a new and latest non-conventional type of housing owned by ECAB. These can be bought for about R 9 000.00 on the 99 year lease if one is interested in buying them.

2.1.4. GENERAL TOWNSHIP SOCIAL CONDITIONS:

The prevailing conditions, especially in Tantyi, and Fingo village can most adequately be described as slum and appalling. The lack of the provision of electricity, sewerage and water supply to individual homes causes tremendous deprivation. Communal bucket lavatories serving sometimes up to 30 people each and communal water taps in the streets serving up to 60 people each, make it almost impossible for families and individuals to maintain reasonable standards of hygiene and health. These conditions and consequences thereof cause terrible frustrations which make people madder every day. The young Blacks in particular have every reason to feel a deep sense of despondency,
frustration, and unhappiness about their future prospect; especially that they have grown up not only in a discriminatory society but also in the bleak Eastern Cape climate of deprivation and unemployment. The whole atmosphere aggravates a total sense of frustration and helplessness in a situation of suffering, poverty, unemployment and over-crowding where these are actually facts of life.

As Mercia Wilsworth too researched, there are hundreds of Blacks in Grahamstown who manage to transcend these and live decent lives. As is the case in any society, this is a matter of social stratification. I am in this paper concentrating on those at the bottom of the socio-economic scale which are the rank and file.

2.1.5. GRAHAMSTOWN SYNDROME:

What I refer to here as Grahamstown syndrome is merely that whites have for many years been acutely aware of the impoverished black community on the other side of the river. Whites have always been seeing themselves in roles of leaders, guides and philanthropic-givers and blacks were seen developing a habit of dependency and apathy. This is another factor that encouraged a certain portion of the population to sink right down to the bottom of the socio-economic scale and which encourages them even today to go begging.

The latter is a problem facing every concerned person today and everybody is trying to think of possible solutions. Towards the end of 1982, a Begging Committee was formed but it is now 1984, this Committee has neither achieved nor solved anything, instead the problem is worsening. Welfare organisations have been accused of falling into the same trap than actually practising true social work. This has become a stumbling block in the sense that when we interview our client one discovers that they always expect the social worker to hand out materially and are not interested in theories like self-help, reconstruction etc. It is high time that they are re-educated into accepting that hand-outs do more harm than good; and that it is better to equip a poor man with a fishing rod than a fish. These liberal-minded whites and the existing myriad of "welfare organisations" have gradually led to a hand-out mentality and a hand-out sickness which is now very difficult to cure, both as far as the giver and the receiver are concerned.

3. WELFARE SERVICES RENDERED IN GRAHAMSTOWN.

Appendix II gives a list of welfare organisations in Grahamstown as well as their aims and objectives - those with an asterix are the only ones with social workers in their employ.
The presence of large numbers of clergy and of liberal-minded whites with humanitarian values is attested to by the plethora of welfare organisations which exist in such a small town to assist the less fortunate as a result of which, today, a substantial proportion of Black Grahamstonians depend on help from welfare, charity and aid organisations to make or extend their living.

In a community where apathy and self pity predominate, social workers find themselves being hand-out officers more than professional theorists aiming at self-help and reconstruction. It is more frustrating when social workers realise that they are sometimes blocked by unreasonable and inflexible regulations and laws of the country, let alone when they realise that problems facing the community need to be tackled on a very much higher level.

Here is an example to substantiate the above allegation. An illegitimate child whose mother (38) is both deaf and dumb, crippled with a paralysed left leg and living under very poor conditions is removed from her care by a Child Welfare Social Worker and is placed in the custody of his father (42) who at that time had remarried a woman, who beyond doubt hated this child. The latter used to scrape in the dust-bins for food and was ragged. Neighbours who witnessed this reported this now and again at the Child Welfare office. His mother obviously had no visible means of support and his father's family rejected him. The child was at this stage three years old.

A Children's Court Enquiry was held, child declared in need of care and as there was no foster mother who could be found for child, he was sent to an institution where he stayed from then until he turned 18 years of age, with few school vacations inbetween when he had to be placed with other people. On discharge the child was doing Std. 6. He was discharged to the custody of a foster mother, with whom contact and adjustment were practised whilst he was still in the institution. As this was in the middle of the year, social worker could not get him into any school as a result of which the child idled at home and gradually became vulnerable to all sorts of evils as he mixed with a wrong and naughty type of bigger boy. The foster mother started realising that she didn't really like the boy - he was now showing her another side of him - social worker immediately intervened, submitted a report to head office suggesting and recommending other alternatives. It was not long that he clashed with the law and was arrested for shoplifting. Again the social worker intervened and child was released on a suspended sentence of 2 years. It was hardly a month thereafter and he was again taken in for shoplifting - he was now totally uncontrollable and the foster home was also rejecting him and here the social worker was stuck with him. One can see here an example of a child which a welfare agency has done its best to care for up to a certain age, it comes to a cul-de-sac when something has to be tackled from a higher level. All this time the head-office
did nothing about social worker's suggestions and recommendations. Here we see an example of a child who, inspite of his poor background conditions and institutionalisation, could have been turned into a good citizen by services rendered by a welfare organisation, instead has been turned into a jail bird at the 11th hour.

Another tragic situation facing welfare organisations in Grahamstown is that the latter is too small for their numbers, as a result of which they find themselves fighting for the same sponsors. Thus, while on one side poor people knock on their doorsteps for assistance, unreplaceable monies get drained on the other side.

3.1. WHAT HAS BEEN TRIED (BY WELFARE & OTHER PRIVATE BODIES)?

Grahamstown people have not closed their eyes and pretended as if all was golden. So much effort has gone into trying to improve the general situation; some have worked, some have been misdirected. Problems are developing daily and the people are becoming more and more destitute. Life to some people in Grahamstown is struggle, suffering and pain. Remember the Black population here has quadrupled in 25 years and whatever welfare services rendered seem to be a vicious circle of some kind. Let us see what has been and/or is being tried by various bodies as well as problems encountered in these attempts.

Regarding welfare organisations I'm to dwell on services rendered especially by Child and Family Welfare Society, a bit on what CADRA does and a bit on the Centre for Social Development. (Regarding others see Appendix II).

3.1.1. A FAILED EXPERIMENT:

In 1975 the Anglican church invited Dr. Rosner from the U.S.A. to initiate a community development scheme in Grahamstown. His optimism about things resulted in welfare organisations coming together to consider ways and means of greater cooperation with a view to allowing priorities of needs to be determined by the Grahamstown Black Community. Housing and employment were identified as top priorities, and also other needs in health nutrition, preventive education, adult education, vocational training for youth literacy, income producing schemes, physical environmental improvements such as recreation. Unfortunately, Dr. Rosner's experiment failed due to factors like (i) six weeks after his arrival he departed again; (ii) the Grahamstown Black community was still threatened about the removal of the Fingo village under the Group Areas Act, to a place that the South African Government had in mind which was literally in the middle of nowhere and was thus not interested in community development; (iii) it was the period of the Soweto
riots which was itself not conducive to new ventures of this kind; (iv) some difficulty in recruiting Black support into a white-directed, white sponsored operation was experienced, and for these reasons the whole operation failed to motivate the Black community. After Dr. Rosner left, this demonstration project came to nothing.

3.1.2. CHILD AND FAMILY WELFARE SOCIETY SERVICES IN GRAHAMSTOWN.

As children are men of tomorrow, it is of importance that each society develops them to their fullest well-being. To be able to do this, it is expecting each family to see to their children's good upbringing and development. Children need families, first and foremost, to provide the physical, intellectual, spiritual and psychological development, nurture and stability, onto which each child's developmental future is tied. In addition children need to prepare themselves for living in the wider community and for developing patterns of living which will help them form new family units and eventually nurture their own offspring. To think that this is possible for every Black family in communities like Grahamstown is a fallacy which I am not prepared to entertain. This is why one finds such organisations as Child and Family Welfare Societies which patch up what the families have failed to do. It is obviously highly undesirable that our work is always to declare a certain child in need of care, but to pretend as if this is not so, is another fallacy I am not prepared to entertain. Surely the blame here may not be imposed on child welfare agencies but on higher political and social structures that determine the fate of some children. Child welfare work as such is highly emotionally charged and the psychological strain imposed on us should not be underestimated. Everybody in this room can imagine how difficult it is to practise successful social work in a poverty-stressful and destitute community as the one outlined above.

We always intervene as there is some indication of a "child in need of care". When this happens it should be obvious that natural parents cannot be rehabilitated due to death, mental illness, desertion, poverty etc. The child/ren in question is/are often placed in foster care which is much preferred to institutionalisation, for it offers the child/ren an opportunity to grow up in a family set up and become part of and partake fully in the community in which they find themselves.

There are ideal situations propagated by authors in foster care, welfare administration, health, psychology, social science etc.
which are almost unattainable or nil in the field of foster care in a place like Grahamstown.

3.1.2. PRACTICAL PROBLEMS:

Amongst a complexity of problems, all resulting from poverty with which we are faced daily, are illegitimacy, child neglect/abandonment, ill-treatment, uncontrollable behaviour, non-maintenance, alcoholism, truancy, adoption, foster placement etc. The latter method is the one most used by a child welfare agency, and the following are some stumbling blocks we often come up against.

(a) The majority of Black Grahamstown people live in small shacks which makes it difficult for social workers to fuss about adequate accommodation.

(b) Most families are in the low income bracket and cannot afford to spend additional money on foster children. Remember that while in October 1983, the Foster Care Grant for white children was and still is R106,00 per child per month, that for a Coloured child is R80,00 per child per month, it is R36,00 per child per month for a Black child. Mind that (i) the latter is often fostered by a grandmother, who has no other income but her old age pension which she receives bimonthly, and (ii) her/his education is not free. From the above figures I'm sure that we all here would agree that (i) R36,00 for a child that one is unrelated to sometimes is absolutely insufficient and inadequate; and (ii) it disregards the basic needs of children for nutritious foods, adequate clothing, decent medical care etc. Obviously this and other factors would prevent people from availing themselves of this service especially seen in the light of the escalating cost of living and the drought that is hitting the Eastern Cape at present.

(c) Most children declared in need of care are usually disorganised families and are mostly looked down upon by most people as having bad behaviour; this precludes other people in offering their services. Usually for the same reason they are either late starters at school or their schooling and progress is disturbed. This causes that at 16 years of age, most of them are still in Higher Primary schools and no longer qualify for the Grant. This causes a high rate of school dropouts among them, and they are left with no option but to do menial jobs. This also causes the foster parents not to bother much as there is no money forthcoming.
Most foster parents available in Grahamstown are Old Age Pensioners, with no income except for their old age pension, and are also only interested in fostering their own grand-children. One should bear in mind that these are old and sickly people, unable to cope with the needs of a child, but social workers find it difficult to fuss about this either as they have no other alternatives. Although we do educate the community about e.g. foster placement, and endeavour to recruit younger and better educated people, this is rather difficult because:

(i) young married couples are often affected by lack of housing;
(ii) they usually want to start their own families and are usually in a process of establishing their own families;
(iii) the quality of foster parents is also affected by the totally unrealistic remuneration for foster care services. In a community so poverty-stricken, social workers find themselves faced with people approaching the agency under the impression they are interested in extending a helping hand, while they have their own hidden agenda like personal gains, at the expense of foster children.

Everybody has a great need to be recognised for what they offer as a service. Apart from the small amount paid up for the upkeep of a black child, there is another factor closely linked to this. This is the delay in some instances of more than a year, before foster care grants for black children are approved, or the elapse of one for months. When this happens, the fault not being of the foster mother's, what then is latter expected to be maintaining the foster child from? This practice clearly overlooks the inconvenience caused to foster parents and foster children, and indicates that no recognition is given to black foster parents as such, let alone the underpayment. Mind that these may perhaps be giving their services whole heartedly and not for personal gain. They really foster with the view to give a less fortunate child a chance in life. Other people in Grahamstown have voiced their dissatisfaction into painful and denigrating procedures used at pay-points, only to be given THIRTY SIX RAND!

One should imagine a social worker in the midst of this whole situation trying to undo pressure from all sides to improve human living conditions. This has gradually caused us to revert to institutionalisation, not to mention its obvious disadvantages in this paper. Sometimes the parents are still living but have sunk to the bottom by chains of poverty, and as a social worker we are expected to help. We usually feel that under the circumstances the
best is to remove the child/ren from the non-conducive environment. Here is an example of the same which I personally dealt with.

Very poor conditions were evident in this family comprising father aged 45, mother 38, and 4 children ranging from 6 - 13 years of age. Having been evicted from a nearby farm because father fell sick and became unproductive (as far as the farmer was concerned) they moved to Grahamstown about 2 years ago. When they came here, they contravened the Influx Control Act and were ordered to leave the prescribed area of Grahamstown within 10 days. After I negotiated on their behalf with the local authorities, this period was extended indefinitely, and fortunately they managed to put up a shack in somebody's backyard. The shack, which they still occupy, measuring 3m x 5m is unfurnished, use is being made of wooden boxes, almost everything inside is black due to dirt, no ventilation and barely any space for movement; family living on father's disability grant of R86,00 every two months; mother in and out of hospital with a rare disease, syringomyelia where her fingers are immune to pain and shrink as a result of pressure on the spinal cord; even when back from hospital, she is totally unable to manage household chores and her children as a result of which developed kwashiorkor and tuberculosis; parents are totally illiterate and are living under terrible slum conditions; neither is employable and they find themselves and their children entangled in a complicated vicious cycle of poverty with no immediate solution. They are both of sober habits and are emotionally attached to their children, no symptoms of child neglect are evident; in fact they love their children but they do not foresee any immediate solution to their complicated problems, nor do they foresee the slum conditions under which they live changing in the immediate future. When this family knocked on my door for help, and after interviewing them, I knew immediately that I had to do something. After convincing them that the slum conditions under which they lived were not conducive to the wellbeing of their children, and that is their children who were then in a state of advanced and gross malnutrition, were the victims of the circumstances. After numerous and unsuccessful attempts to get a local foster placement where they could live decently, I was left with no other alternative but to send the children to an institution. This is not only what we do - we also have other projects directed at improving the conditions in the community. We have got a literacy project, a youth recreation program, both ongoing.

To say few words about what other organisation are doing!
3.1.3. CADRA:

Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association was founded primarily as a feeding scheme for destitute children but has extended its services to include Family Aid and education. Gadra School Feeding Scheme has to feed about 10,000 and 12,000 school children, while Gadra Family Aid Section feeds about 150 destitute families at any given moment. About 700 bursaries and loans are provided each year for students from Sub A to University by Gadra educational welfare sub-committee. Unfortunately, Gadra does not get a state subsidy for all its work and has to fund-raise so as to have funds for all their work. They also see to the crippled and the blind, and run a

3.1.4. Centre for Social Development:

The Centre, whose basic aim is development, was established under the umbrella of the Rhodes Social Work Department as a result of the generosity of the Anglo American and De Beers' Fund. They basically work with community groups to help help themselves. The teaching and training they do is a necessary input in a community like Grahamstown where handouts have created a particular kind of mentality and where people have never had the opportunity to make their own decisions. They serve as an umbrella body for numerous educational and developmental projects with which the staff have long been involved. They have reorganised a creche for 150 children, a second one for 50 children was opened in February 1984, a self-help community project including vegetable gardening is being planned.

4. GENERAL REMARKS:

Unfortunately it has been very convenient lately to use the drought as a reason for famine, which is really not the cause of hardship for Blacks in this country, especially in the rural areas. What about other factors contributing to poverty that are not affected by whether or not it rains.

Professor Allie Moosa, head of the head of paediatrics at the University of Natal quoted in the STAR of the 12 April 1983, confirmed that about 30,000 Black children a year, three or four an hour, die of malnutrition in S.A. He said "about 45% of all children admitted to King Edward, suffered from malnutrition. Those who recover are provided with only symptomatic relief because they are sent back into the same socio-political environment which caused their malnutrition. It is quite likely they will return to the hospital with the same complaint later or will die back in the rural areas."
Extracted from another Sunday Times, is a case of a black farm labourer, who appeared in court for stealing somebody's cattle in the Colenso area, so as to be able to support his wife and 2 children. He, Mr. Sikhala Masengemu, was being paid R2,00 a month by a wealthy Colenso farmer, Mr. Les Wood, who unsympathetically felt that this was a "justified" wage as Mr. Masengemu was living on his farm with his family and was allowed to keep cattle on his land. Whether he had cattle to keep is another question.

Farm labourers are unfortunately the most exploited, as there is nothing to protect them, no minimum wage and no working conditions. Even the National Manpower Commission set up sometime in 1983 to inquire into measures relating to farm labourers and domestic workers, would neither consider their wages, nor would it set up minimum conditions of employment for farm labourers.

When one thinks of poverty in relation to Blacks in this country, irrespective of where they are, one should take all the other factors like above into consideration as well as the socio-political structures which decide the fate of peoples of this country.

5. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION:

It goes without saying that the policy of the government of our country has been so designed that another section of the population be discriminated against. There is a section of the population that is always approached whenever such things as poverty are to be studied. All of us in this room, can never escape the fact that the inequalities of the worlds in which the distinct South African populations live shout louder, and their differences are there for us to see.

The poverty and struggle in the black township of Grahamstown are with us DAILY - we cannot escape or brush them under the carpet. In 1979 a team of two senior government Health Inspectors who investigated living conditions in this township reported that it was difficult to imagine equally poor circumstances in the black townships elsewhere in the country.

If you look at Appendix II you will notice that despite its size, Grahamstown has so many welfare organisations - all supposed to be fighting and improving the fate of the black person here, but
- have jobs been created?
- has the quality of life been improved?
- are children progressing better at school?

............. / 14.
- are the kwashiokor wards at the hospitals less full?
- are fewer girls falling pregnant?
- is alcoholism on the decline?
- is hand-out sickness on the decline?
- has there been personal growth in the case of individuals? etc. etc.

It is important that all relief and charitable programmes are designed to bring about change and not maintain the status quo.

I would be inclined to say that almost if not all the black communities of South Africa are in poor and disgusting conditions. This means that workers in the welfare field have got a very long and dark road to travel and they need to be armed well for this. They need to be armed with enough and valuable knowledge during training, knowledge like community work at grass-roots, which in itself requires that community members are active and willing to participate. In most cases regarding black people who have been born and bred in poverty, lived with it and knows what it means, they tend to be apathetic, not interested, unmotivated and indifferent. It is essential that Government authorities realise the urgent need to correct and temper those conditions which are responsible for the bitterness, the frustration and the unrest.

I usually witness a very unsympathetic and inhumane situation which is the police practice almost everywhere. This is when such people as vegetable and fruit hawkers, people who have sweated and who have through thick and thin managed to get few things rather to sell than steal or shoplift, get very much unceremoniously harassed by the Police. The latter would grab their goods, crush them down and would arrest these people. Shouldn't people who have pulled themselves up by their bootstraps be recognised and rewarded rather than be thrown at the back of a police van? All black people who do or practise some kind of informal business have to do it under thick blankets so that they are not spotted by a Police, while on the other side are expected not to be apathetic. In the plight of unemployment, and in the plight of informal sector being discovered this way, how are people expected to struggle through the chains of poverty?

How about: (i) providing education on survival diets and nutrition;
(ii) promoting joint action programmes for hunger relief;
(iii) promoting long-term development education;
(iv) introducing a "correct" approach to agricultural development in the rural areas.

In conclusion, I'd like to end by saying that though we would pretend as if all is golden, it is in fact not so. The poor and the hungry are subjects of the Kingdom
of God, and not just objects and "cases" of charity. We cannot be what God had meant us to be if our lives are going to be one of struggle to find somewhere to live or stay. We must be what God had meant us to be, for this God up there, the ONE we ALL PRETEND to be serving, is not bound by colour nor limited to culture.

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**APPENDIX I**

**GRAHAMSTOWN BLACK POPULATION STATISTICS**

**SOURCE:** EAST CAPE ADMINISTRATION BOARD.

**SURVEY DATE:** MARCH 1983.

**DATE OBTAINED:** JANUARY 1984.

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<td>FINGO VILLAGE</td>
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**POPULATION BREAKDOWN**

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<td>FINGO VILLAGE</td>
<td>2 119</td>
<td>2 448</td>
<td>2 657</td>
<td>2 986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLD MUNICIPAL LOCATION</td>
<td>1 683</td>
<td>1 546</td>
<td>2 257</td>
<td>1 701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>10 013</strong></td>
<td><strong>9 023</strong></td>
<td><strong>12 881</strong></td>
<td><strong>10 428</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NUMBER OF CHILDREN** = 22 894

**NUMBER OF ADULTS** = 42 345

**NUMBER OF AGED RECEIVING OLD AGE PENSION** = 3 109

**NUMBER OF DISABLED RECEIVING DISABILITY GRANTS** = 1 882
APPENDIX II

1. CIVILIAN BLIND SOCIETY - To assist and advise the blind and to help in the prevention of blindness.

2. CRIPPLE CARE - To see to the welfare of the crippled.

3. FAMSA - To provide (i) a marriage counselling service and (ii) an educational service in Grahamstown on matters relating to marriage and family life.

4. GADRA Educational Welfare Committee - To investigate applications, to provide books and assist with the educational problems of Grahamstown's Black Community.

5. GADRA School Feeding Scheme - To raise funds in order to provide school feeding programmes in the majority of the schools in the black and coloured townships of Grahamstown.

6. GADRA Family Aid - To serve the community in 3 ways - emergency relief, pre-school feeding and old age pensions.

7. GRAHAMSTOWN CHILD & FAMILY WELFARE SOCIETY - To protect and to promote the well-being of the children of Grahamstown.

8. GRAHAMSTOWN NUTRITION GROUP - To assist in combating malnutrition in particular and improving nutritional standards in general especially amongst the lower income groups.

9. GRAHAMSTOWN T.B. CARE SOCIETY - To promote and support measures for the prevention, early discovery and prompt and efficient treatment of Tuberculosis.

10. THE NATIONAL CANCER ASSOCIATION - Research and public education and to run clinics for early detection of cancer.

11. Rhodes University Black Workers' Association (RUBWA) - To liaise with university on matters relating to the welfare of Black workers.

12. S.A. Library for the Blind - To see to the welfare of the blind.
These papers constitute the preliminary findings of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, and were prepared for presentation at a Conference at the University of Cape Town from 13-19 April, 1984.

The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa was launched in April 1982, and is scheduled to run until June 1985.

Quoting (in context) from these preliminary papers with due acknowledgement is of course allowed, but for permission to reprint any material, or for further information about the Inquiry, please write to:

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