Relocation and deprivation in QwaQwa: The experiences, problems and responses of closer settlement residents.

by

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RELOCATION AND DEPRIVATION IN QAQWA:

The experiences, problems and responses of closer settlement residents.

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The name of the closer settlement and all personal names in this paper are fictitious in order to protect the identity of my informants. All extended quotations from informants reflect the English translations supplied by an interpreter.
The study of population relocations in contemporary South Africa have to date been marked by attempts at statistical analysis (eg. Simkins 1982 and the Working Group Kairos 1980), categorization (eg. Marè 1980) and theoretical explanations which relate the export of the unemployed from common South Africa to the needs of abstractly conceptualized notions of 'capital' and 'the state' (eg. Marè 1982). While I recognize the value of these discussions, this paper points to a crucial shortcoming in such analysis. The varieties of everyday experience, the problems faced by, and the responses of relocated people are either ignored or overlooked. Ultimately it is always these people who manipulate unwanted conditions and are forced to find strategies for coping at a ground level. It is in this context that the anthropologist, trained in research methods which presuppose empathetic understanding and a detailed knowledge of a small community, can provide an 'insiders' perspective on the everyday lives of relocated people. In this regard an observation of Murray is of great relevance.

"Concentration on the details and variety of particular families experience is often more valuable in respect of it's capacity to illuminate macro level political and economic processes than the results of large scale survey work which is statistically respectable but conducted at several degrees of distance, as it were, from the subjects of inquiry... Given limited resources the anthropological method remains potentially rewarding." (Murray : 1980 : 8-9)

In viewing life from close-up there is, however, a danger of partial understanding of events constantly shaped in broader political and economic processes. Anthropological field work should therefore be conducted with an appreciation of these macro level trends. Against the background of these propositions this paper attempts to present an account of the experiences, problems and responses of people who have been relocated from 'white'-owned farms in the U.F.S. and from Krömdraai, in the Thaba Nchu enclave of 5ophuthaTswana, into
Kgano, a closer settlement in QwaQwa. In 1983 Kgano had an estimated population of approximately 18 000 people. The paper draws from observations and in-depth interviews conducted in the closer settlement by myself, John Sharp and Elaine Salo with various members of 38 randomly selected site populations during April, June-July and December 1983. In this paper I shall firstly outline the development of conditions of life in Kgano since 1974 before a synchronic analysis is presented of problems pertaining to employment and local government. Thereafter five different strategies for survival in response to economic, political and social deprivation are examined. The paper concludes with a brief assessment of implications of the discussion.

Relocation in QwaQwa

Conditions of life in Kgano cannot be treated in isolation from the history of relocation in QwaQwa. Basotho QwaQwa (previously known as Witzieshoek) is the smallest of the South African Bantustans. It comprises no more than 50 172 ha of which at least 30 000 ha could be described as mountainous terrain. (Van Botha; 1982:2) This area, which boasted with a firmly established peasant economy at the turn of the century, came to serve as a reception area for African households relocated from 'white'-owned farms in the O.F.S. ever since the passage of the 1913 Land Act. According to Greenberg (1980:80) the act prohibited African farm ownership in the greater part of the O.F.S., outlawed sharecropping and 'squatting' on 'white'-owned farms and

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1. The term closer settlement is defined by the Surplus People Project (1983:xiii) as "a type of settlement established for African people on reserve or trust land for residential purposes only—no agricultural land is attached—and far more rudimentary in the type of facilities it has than a township." Simkins (1982:5-7) estimates that approximately 32.5% of all residents of the South African Bantustans lived in closer settlement conditions in 1981. In QwaQwa hardly any people live in rural areas and this percentage is closer to 90% if the total de facto population is taken to be 400 000 people of whom 30 000 live in Phuthaditjhaba. (Bank; 1984:12)
placed a limit of a maximum of five labour tenants on these farms. The
area was soon described as over populated and impoverished and it was
noted that a familiar pattern of migrant labour had begun. Rev. J.J. Ross,
the first missionary in Witzieshoek from the Dutch Reformed Church,
estimated that in 1929 the area had a population of approximately
8 000 and wrote:

"In the past few years many folk who could make no existence on
the farms outside have moved in. They are the old folk and the poor.
This would have to be prohibited because Witzieshoek is already
full, or Witzieshoek would have to be enlarged by the addition of
nearby farms." (1930 ; 88, my translation)

A period of mass relocation into QwaQwa, however, started only in 1970
and has continued until the present. BENNO (1978 :9) estimated that in
1970 23 860 people lived in this Bantustan. In 1982 the assistant
Commissioner for the Department of the Interior or the QwaQwa government
estimated that the area was inhabited by between 400 000 and 500 000
people (cited in Sharp ; 1982 :13). This tremendous increase in the
defacto population of QwaQwa closely corresponds to a large scale
exodus of African households from 'white'-owned farms in the O.F.S.
Figures quoted in the South African Agricultural Census of 1970/71
and 1976 indicate a decline of 20% (from 126 775 to 97 066) in the
number of 'regular' farm labourers in this province for the six year
period. For 'casual' labourers this decline was as high as 46% (from
127 814 to 69 212). It should, however, be noted that these sources do
not specify if these figures refer to male labourers only or if domestic
labourers are included in the 'casual' labourers group. In his study of
61 maize farms in six magisterial districts in the Western Transvaal
De Klerk (1963) concludes that such decreases in the demand for agricul-
tural labour could be related to farm enlargements which increase
potential economics of scale and the mechanization of harvesting and
weed control processes. Both these factors are seen as lowering the
costs of production.

Conditions of employment on these farms have also been marked by a transformation in the earnings of wage labourers. Although cash wages have increased over time, real wages have shown an overall decline due to restrictions in the rights to keep cattle and fields. The *World* (13/11/1974) for instance reported that in 1974 farm employees in the U.F.S. did not benefit from average wage increases throughout the country. Their total wage of R 223 per year was R 5 less than the R 228 of the previous year. It is in this context that thousands of unwanted farm labourers and their fellow household members removed to uwaQwa. They were joined by those relocated from Thaba 'Nchu in dophutha Tswana, refugees from the Transkei and those evicted from various townships in the U.F.S. such as Senekal, Harrismith and Bethlehem. People were furthermore urged to remove to QwaQwa by broadcasts on Radio Sesotho. An informant recalled the messages that urged his household to come to QwaQwa as follows:

"It (the radio) said come and enjoy yourself in uwaQwa. All the black people must come to this homeland where they will find fields and lots of jobs."

Inside QwaQwa various members of the Legislative Assembly, in response to this rapid population increase, have made urgent calls for more land. In his opening address to the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly, paramount chief Wessels Mota argued:

"If we don't get more land we would be forced to retreat to skyscraper buildings such as in Johannesburg and this is not something Basotho like." (Verbatim verslag van die eerste sessie van die Basotho QwaQwa Wetgewende Vergadering; 1972: 34, my translation.)

Another member of the Assembly, who made a fruitless call for an end to relocation in uwaQwa, noted:
"The people already located in this homeland are now so many that we are forced to use places not meant for residential purposes. People are now being granted residential sites near ploughing fields with the result that the greater the influx of people the more the economy of this homeland would decline... Those people we continually receive in the homeland would someday have nothing to eat and as a result would eat each other." (ibid; 1972: 40, my translation)

In this decade the Phuthaditjhaba township was created to house bureaucrats, teachers and various other categories of people removed from urban areas in the O.F.S. and to serve as an administrative centre. It was estimated that by 1972 600 families lived in semi-detached double storey dwellings. (S.A.I.R.R.; 1973: 152) Sub economic houses were also provided for pensioners and widows. People relocated from farms, on the other hand, are assigned to various closer settlements in the QwaQwa "countryside" at different times in accordance with instructions issued by the QwaQwa Legislative Assembly and/or Tribal Authorities where they built either corrugated iron shacks or mud houses.

The development of Kgano

The random sample of 38 Kgano site populations contained five households which came from Bophuthatswana and three from townships in the O.F.S., while the rest had removed from 'white'-owned farms in various parts of the U.F.S. countryside such as Petrus Steyn, Viljoenskroon, Reitz, Bothaville and the Clokoian districts. With the exception of only three households all arrived in QwaQwa in 1974.

Within the framework of an overall decline in the demand for agricultural labour and a decline in real wages various local instances and circumstances in response to which households removed from the farms can be isolated. As listed by informants, these include:
1) The absence of schooling facilities on the farms.

2) The enforcement of stock limitations and bans on stock holding. In this regard an ex-farm labourer, who kept a herd of five cattle and earned an average of R 40 per annum from the sale of calves to "whites in the Senekal town", recalled that he was told to get rid of his cattle by the farm owner. In compensation he and his fellow farm labourers were offered a cash increase of R 2 per month in wages. According to him many of the 20 households employed by the farm owner left in response to this measure. He mentioned that he could buy clothes for himself and his mother from the sale of such stock and argued: "How can you buy clothes for R 2?"

3) The alleged cruelty of farm owners. Informants who supplied this as the major reason for removal complained of being beaten by a sjambok for failure to arrive at work in time.

4) Quarrels between farm owners and farm labourers.

5) Expulsion after retirement or being considered too old or too ill to continue working as manual labourers. A female pensioner expressed her dissatisfaction about this matter as follows:

"They (the farm owners) are satisfied if you can work, but if you are too ill and cannot work they are not. Even if you are struggling you may not write a letter to a person here in QwaQwa. Then the farmer would say: 'No. You can join them. You may now walk to the Sesotho (sic)'. If the farmer was not cruel I would still be living there... I have nothing more to talk about the farms. There are only bad things."

6) Several informants also noted that after the sale of the farms that they worked on, new farm owners told them to move off the land as they either "wanted new workers" or "brought along their own workers."

7) The sample furthermore included people who had (in response to low wages, long hours of work and adverse conditions on the farms) (a) decided to move to QwaQwa in the hope of securing migrant labour contracts to the industrial centres of common South Africa; and
(b) were expelled from the farms after taking up migrant labour contracts while their dependents continued to reside on the farms. Although some farm owners encouraged the sons of farm labourers to engage in migrant labour contracts and T.E.B.A. has started recruiting for the mines from O.F.S. farms, others were greatly opposed to farm based migrant labour. A pensioner mentioned that police regularly raided unemployed women on the farms. "Sometimes these raids took place during the day, but mostly at midnight. Women were taken to the courts and fined R 20 or 30 days..." He continued: "It is impossible for women to stay in the compounds. They had no option to stay on the farms and risk another fine of R 40." In this manner his daughter-in-law was arrested, fined and eventually moved to QwaQwa.

The BophuthaTswana to Kgano removals demonstrate some of the tragic consequences of the stimulation of ethnic hostilities by the Bantustan strategy. According to the 1970 census the Thaba Nchu enclave of BophuthaTswana had a population of 42 000 including 24 300 people classified as Tswana, 12 000 as South Sotho and 3 600 as Xhosa. (in SPP; 1983:162) In the following years many more Basotho moved into Thaba Nchu and a large concentration of squatters developed at Kromdraai, east of the Thaba Nchu town. Although the land at Kromdraai had been demarcated as grazing land thousands of people had moved there after plots were fraudamentally sold to them by Khosa, a man believed to be linked to BophuthaTswana authorities. A Kgano housewife recalled that they were invited by him to settle at Kromdraai. "He said: 'Come to my land and I shall give you land to plough.' For this we paid Khosa money, but when we arrived we found that the land was for the Baralong. Many people were angry and they wanted to fix Khosa, but he fled. Having lost thousands of rands these people simply settled there anyway. This

had resulted into a substantial increase in the Sotho speaking population of Thaba 'Nchu. When people registered for the kwama elections in 1975 it was found that 58,205 residents of Thaba 'Nchu were classified as South Sotho. (The Voice 4/11/1978)

Then administration of the area was taken over by the BophuthaTswana authorities, discrimination against and harassment of those who refused to take out BophuthaTswana citizenship had already started. South Sotho schools were closed and non-Tswanas were refused access to hospital and clinic services. Many children reportedly died from drinking contaminated water after being denied water by the BophuthaTswana authorities. Since May 1974 more than 400 families had been evicted from Kromdraai and taken to Kgano by G.G. (Government Garage) trucks. Official claims at that time that all removals were voluntary can be questioned. On 8 October 1974 seven people who refused to be moved were arrested and appeared in a Thaba 'Nchu court. A South Sotho central committee, which raised funds to defend those arrested, also reportedly said that it would retaliate if more Basotho were molested and appealed to the Commissioner General to allow Basotho to stay in Thaba Nchu. (Rand Daily Mail 2/10/1974) The case below also shows that those willing to be moved did not do so voluntarily, but rather in an attempt to flee from political oppression experienced in the area.

CASE No 1 : ASKING TO BE MOVED FROM THABA 'NCHU

Mrs. Sekonyela, who was approximately 65 years old in 1983, left the Smithfield farms, where she had worked as a domestic for more than 20 years, in 1969. As all her sons had left for Bloemfontein she decided that it was "useless" to stay on the farms, and made her way to Thaba 'Nchu where she could retire and have her own house. Initially she thought that this would be a good place where Tswanas and Sothos could live together without any problems.

Upon arrival at the Thaba 'Nchu railway station she, however, found that BophuthaTswana police prevented Basotho from going to Selosesha, where she had arranged to hire a room. "They said that only South Sothos willing to become Tswanas (to take out Bophutha-Tswana citizenship) were allowed into Thaba 'Nchu." Although some
people who were with her on the train decided to take out citizenship, she refused to make this change. Had I died my children would have been told: 'This person who died here is a Tswana!' she explained. At first she wanted to go to Lesotho, but was told that Lesotho did not want to accept South Africans. Along with others who refused to take out citizenship she decided to build shacks next to the station. Here they used the station toilets and were granted permission by the station master to use water sparingly. After six months they were instructed to move to Kromdraai. This she and her three grandchildren did, carrying their belongings on their heads. At Kromdraai no sites were marked out and there was no water nor toilets. She also said that the Authorities did not want Basotho to be employed: "The Basotho men had to spend the hours of daylight hiding away in dongas to avoid arrests, fines or imprisonment... Many men who were arrested died in jail. This was their way of getting rid of the Basotho." She also mentioned that Tswana headmen refused them permission to bury their dead in Tswana soil. Her three grandchildren were also not allowed to go to school in Thaba Nchu.

While in Kromdraai Mrs. Sekonyela had been supported by her sons. They normally brought her money at night and left for Bloemfontein before daylight for fear of being arrested. Mrs. Sekonyela found it extremely difficult to find work. She was, however, eventually employed by a Tswana couple as a domestic in Selosesha (the man was a teacher and his wife a matron at the hospital), where she earned only R 5 per month without food. She furthermore always shopped at the Thaba 'Nchu town as she believed that prices were raised in all Tswana shops for Basotho customers.

She mentioned that in Kromdraai men had been unable to organize in order to articulate their grievances as they had been closely watched by the police. She and a few other women therefore approached the Commissioner General in 1974. He asked them if they wanted to go to QwaQwa and most of them said yes. G.G. trucks were then arranged for their transportation. "They killed us off as we left," she said. Apparently the UophuthaTswana police fired shots at the dispersing vehicles and some people who had been hit died on the way to QwaQwa as they were unable to return back to the hospital in Thaba 'Nchu. By 1983 Mrs. Sekonyela had lived in Kgano for almost a decade and said "I never want to see Thaba 'Nchu again".

Not all those removed from Thaba 'Nchu were as content as Mrs. Sekonyela to leave. Another housewife explained: "The U.G. did not ask us. The Tswanas said that we were Sothos and must go to QwaQwa...

The G.G. bakkies forced us." She also mentioned that soon after arrival her husband died from T.B. "When arriving (in Kgano) there were only two graves, but a year later the whole graveyard was full... I was willing to return to Thaba 'Nchu because I was afraid that I could also die." (see SPP; 1983: 160-175 and Lye and Murray; 1980:104-5 for an analysis of subsequent events in the Thaba 'Nchu district)
People who came to Kgano in 1974 were given no choice as to where to settle, whereas G.G. trucks from Thaba 'Xchu brought people straight to Kgano others were informed by the chiefs or other closer settlements and officials of the sakwena Tribal Authorities that they had to come to Kgano. Upon arrival the names of incomers were recorded in a register by chief Morena or his wife, who deputized in his absence. Thereafter they were handed a piece of paper which indicated the number of their sites. Several informants mentioned that they had to pay either the induna, who directed them to their sites, or the chief an amount which varied from 60 c to R 5. Informants estimated that approximately 50 truckloads of people arrived in Kgano daily during August and September that year and mentioned that these months were exceptionally windy and rainy. Those who arrived in the rainy days either slept in the G.G. or hired trucks which brought them the first night after arrival, whereas others were forced to sleep out in the open. After arrival most people constructed tin shanties from materials brought along from the previous place of residence. It was recalled that: "During those dusty and windy days many shanties were blown down by the wind." Later most people, however, rebuilt their houses with mud bricks. According to the records of chief Morena's wife 2 048 households moved into Kgano in this manner from May until October 1974. (Rand Daily Mail 2/10/1974) If the average household size is taken at seven members more than 14 156 people would have moved into Kgano during this period.

The massive influx of people immediately brought about tensions within the population. The most significant lines of cleavage to emerge were, between incomers and the few established residents on whose fields they were relocated, and secondly between established residents and chief Morena, whom they blamed for the loss of their fields. An informant explained: "When we arrived the locals told us to move off
their fields. The local people resent us and they tried to scare us off their plots with witchcraft. They also stole building materials that we brought from the farms. With the subdivision of the fields for residential purposes established residents also approached the chief. "He tried to make them satisfied by talking to them, but he never gave them money for their land. The people were still dissatisfied, but they had to obey the chief", I was told.

People relocated in Kgano were by no means 'resettled'. This was made very explicit by the wife of chief Morena in an interview with a reporter from the Rand Daily Mail, in which she pointed to the absence of necessary amenities in Kgano at that time. She is quoted as saying:

"We are worried about the increasing numbers. It will ultimately bring slum areas into Witzieshoek due to the lack of sanitary, schooling and other facilities which should be provided for incoming families. I am wondering what to do, I envisage a breakdown of the whole system as more and more people arrive causing the government of Basotho QwaQwa more embarrassment." (R.D.M. 2/10/1974)

Other facilities which were non-existent in Kgano at that time included: clean water, firewood, shops, a clinic, any formal transport service and local employment opportunities. Those relocated in Kgano soon discovered the fraudulence of Radio Sesotho broadcasts. An informant expressed her discontent as follows: "The radio was talking a lie. Here is no grazing land for cattle and people have waited a long time for work." It is also evident that many people returned to the farms and even 'habe'wchu soon after arrival in response to the lack of essential resources in Kgano. In this regard an informant noted:

"The people were so angry that they returned to the farms. Many people would also return to the farms if QwaQwa gets independence. Many people would try to run away... Nowadays many people want to return, but Hopeli does not want such things to happen. He would stop this by taking some of the policemen and making them
stand on the road to Harrismith."

The most immediate problem faced upon arrival was the virtual absence of employment opportunities inside QwaQwa. Even the highly inefficient Tribal Labour Bureau, which today offers a few migrant labour contracts to workseekers, was non-existent in 1974. An analysis of data pertaining to 19 site populations shows that it took the first work-seeking member of these site populations an average of four months to gain access to wage employment. Of these 19 workseekers only four maintained employment after arrival, whereas three took 12 months or more. During this period site populations without access to wage employment were forced to rely exclusively on savings, money gained from the sale of livestock before arrival and the help of kin and neighbours as illustrated in the case study below.

CASE No 2: THE MZIMA HOUSEHOLD: PASSING THROUGH A PERIOD OF STRESS.

Mr. and Mrs. Mzima met and married in Ventersburg, where they both attended the same school. After their marriage they both went to live with his parents on a farm in the Virginia district. From here the family moved to four other farms before coming to QwaQwa. From the last farm in Botshabelo, where his father worked, Mr. Mzima started working in Welkom. After the death of the farm owner and the sale of this farm in 1974, Mr. Mzima his wife and children were expelled from the farm. "The new farmer did not want people to live on the farm who did not work for him," I was informed. Although Eliza was only 15 years old she continued to reside on the farm as she was employed as a domestic worker by the wife of the farm owner. According to Mr. Mzima they had no option but to hire a truck and come to QwaQwa as this was the only place where a permanent site could be obtained.
Soon after arrival misfortune struck. Mr. Mzima, who had lost his job in Welkom due to an unplanned period of absence from work at the time of relocation, found himself to be unemployed for more than a year. None of his sons had any hope of securing employment as Isaac, the oldest, was only 12 years old. Mrs. Mzima could also not look for work as she had to look after Jacob who was only a few months old. Their savings lasted only a few months and apart from two occasions on which Eliza brought money home from the farm the household had no cash income. "At that time we were struggling", Mrs. Mzima explained and mentioned that it was extremely cold during the winter of 1974. "When it was so cold we used to chop our table to make fire." Members of the household could furthermore not participate in any informal income generating activities as they did not have enough money to buy vegetables which could be resold in Kgano. During this time two of Mrs. Mzima's sons died at a very young age due to, what she called, "a phantom on the head" (dehydration). Thabang, Letsie and Jacob furthermore began to suffer from serious malnutrition. She recalled that they were taken to the doctor, who said that the cause of their illness was "a wrong way of eating"... "but we had no food", she continued.

Mr. Mzima's first response to this crisis was to send Isaac and Mopahi back to the Bothaville farm to live with their grandfather and Eliza. He could afford to look after them and to provide money for them to attend the farm school. Mr. and Mrs. Mzima also asked their neighbours for assistance and found that they helped by lending food such as mealies and money. In 1975 Mr. Mzima found work at a construction firm that built the University/College near Kgano, but was again unemployed for more than four months after the completion of the contract. Towards the end of 1974 he went into Welkom to look for work and was employed as a migrant at a plumbing concern. Having regained access to relatively secure employment the physical survival of members of this household was no longer threatened. Mr. Mzima, however, complained: "I did not know what I was working for... I just worked for the neighbours to return their money." Both Isaac and Mopahi still live with their grandfather who had subsequently retired and moved to another closer settlement in QwaQwa. Thabang, Letsie and Jacob also no longer need to go to the clinic for treatment as "now they are healthy and get enough vegetables to eat."

Malnutrition and starvation was exacerbated by the fact that there was no clean water available in Kgano in 1974. As no taps existed people were forced to fetch water from a few wells near the mountainside or from other closer settlements. Informants noted that from drinking the well water many people got a rash on their skin and burns on their mouth.

"We heard that the water was killing people... During that time my sister-in-law just collapsed while walking around. We don't know the reason why she died. It could be the water or it could be that we had to pay a lot of money for transport and had no money to buy food with."
"Only kids died from drinking the water. Sometimes when you are sitting you may find that there may be three or four coffins passing."

Due to the impossibility of determining whether people died from foul water or malnutritional diseases, no quantitative data concerning deaths as a result of foul water can be provided. (See appendix 2 for data concerning child deaths in sample site populations) Late in 1975 the water problem was partially alleviated with the provision of taps for nearly every block in Kgano. Blocks housing more than 100 site populations, however, depended only on two taps in 1983 and on the slopes of the mountain, where there were still no taps, some residents still fetched water from the wells.

The lack of firewood was another major problem faced upon arrival. Firewood is an essential resource both for cooking porridge and for heat during the cold winter nights when snow on the nearby mountains is by no means uncommon. Natural vegetation in the area had, however, been destroyed after relocation and few residents were able to buy wood and coal, due to a lack of money and because no shops existed in Kgano at that time. Wood could only be obtained from the mountains near the Lesotho border. Conflict soon occurred between people from Kgano and residents of the mountain area. In an attempt to protect the interests of the mountain people Chief Morena and his indunas often arrested people for collecting firewood and imposed fines which varied from R 5 to R 10. Since shops were built in Kgano this problem was solved for households that could afford to buy wood at R 2.50 and coal at R 4 per bag. But not all people can afford to pay R 6.50 for fuel. This is clearly illustrated in the case of Mrs. Joseph whose husband is unemployed. She is a member of a group of women who regularly collect wood on the mountains near Lesotho. According to her "dissidents" from Lesotho sometimes rape women near the mountainside and they therefore arm them-
selves with axes. A trip to the mountain normally takes the group about five hours and they are sometimes fined by the chief even if they collect dry wood. They are normally told that the reason for this is that the forest belongs to the badimo (forefathers) of the mountain people. Sometimes when she had too much housework to go to the mountain, Majoseph resorts to cutting off branches from her fruit tree for firewood.

It did not take long before four schools were established in Kgano. These include four high schools, one primary and one preparatory school. Kgano High school, in particular, is well known for the boarding facilities it offers for many scholars from as far afield as Soweto. These scholars came to QwaQwa due to a lack of schools for African pupils in common South Africa (see Robinson; 1983). The attention of many outsiders was focussed on this school during the nation wide education boycott in 1980. The Sunday Express (28/5/1980) reported that 2 000 pupils and students in QwaQwa joined these protests. The boycott started in Kgano High school as pupils marched to the QwaQwa University/College. The students joined the scholars and soon their ranks swelled to 2 000. At this stage police with batons intervened and broke up the procession.

In Kgano high school education is by no means cheap. The parents of matric pupils reported paying up to R 105 for books, school and examination fees. A housewife furthermore complained that her children were sometimes instructed to go on educational tours by their teachers.

"It would cost R 30 for one child to go from here to Durban and this would be without padkos (food for the road). When they arrive in Durban it would be R 1 for the zoo, R 1 for this and R 1 for that."
Local government in Kgano

For purposes of local government Kgano is divided into seven wards each headed by an Induna (subordinate political officer) who has been appointed by the chief. Chief Morena, the chief of Kgano, is a headman held directly accountable to the offices of the Bakwena Tribal Authorities in Namahadi. An induna, who was appointed by the father of chief Morena, argued: "Today the power of the chiefs are gone! At the pitso ('tribal' gatherings) they only execute the commands of the Hopeli people." This view that Indunas and headmen merely constitute part of the lower echelons of the Bantustan bureaucracy was confirmed by an investigation of their administrative tasks as listed by informants. These were said to include: (1) The registration of all births and deaths in Kgano. (2) The conservation of soil and water. (3) The collection of taxes such as the annual Sethabathaoa (site tax) and R 10 special development tax. (4) The settlement of less serious disputes and quarrels in the community. (5) The allocation of sites. (6) To ensure that all yards in the wards are kept tidy. (7) To arrange with the Works Department for bulldozers to scrape local roads. (8) To ensure conformity to funeral rules i.e. that residents attend the funerals of their neighbours and people deemed 'important' and not to 'look busy' when a funeral procession passes. (9) To see that residents do not hang washing on the line between 10:00 am and 2:00 am during summer months. The reason for this, I was told, was that chief Morena believed this could cause hail.

People found guilty of disobeying laws laid down by the chief could be arrested by the Indunas and taken to chief Morena who could fine them anything from R 5 to R 20. For failure to pay fines or for offences considered 'more serious' people could be lashed by chief Morena or
taken to the "supreme tribal court" in Namanadi, where they are lashed by "head office chiefs". Another form of penalty is the suspension of residential rights in Kgano.

The well known saying *Morena ke morena ka batno* (a chief is a chief by the people) is of little applicability in Kgano. An informant, upon being asked what the greatest problem in Kgano was, replied: "the chief and the indunas." She continued: "I hate Morena and his indunas. Even if people fight I would just walk past and won't talk to the indunas... In 1974, when we arrived he stayed in a rondawel. Now it seems as if he is living better from all these fines. He has built a house and even a shop near the clinic. He also drives a Chev El Camino bakkie now."

Several examples can be cited in support of these critical observations. Estelle Serabele explained that during the summer of 1982/83 she hung the nappies of her baby on the washing line. She was then approached by an induna who reportedly said: "It is wrong to hang nappies on the line during summer because this would cause hail"....

"He then fined me R 10 on the spot. I then told the induna that it was only a few nappies. He replied: 'You talk too much pay another R 5'. Because I was still stubborn he raised the fine another three times until it added up to R 30." By June 1983 she had not yet paid the fine and argued: "The indunas just want to take everything to him... Not all Basotho believe that washing causes hail. They want to make all Basotho the same."

People were furthermore deeply dissatisfied about the fact that every wage earner in Kgano had to pay R 5 to the chief as *bohali* (bride-wealth) when his daughter got married. Informants were also sceptical about the manner in which soil and water conservation measures were enforced. "Water conservation meant that all taps in Kgano would occasionally be locked for an entire day. During the Christmas season..."
of 1982 all taps had been locked by the *indunas* who reportedly said that this was done because people would use the water to brew beer. In terms of soil conservation measures people were not allowed to take any soil from outside their sites. As most houses in Kgano were constructed from mud bricks and soil is much needed for the renovation of houses many people disobey this rule. An informant who maintained that one could be fined up to R 20 for digging soil and R 10 for carving stones, normally awakens her children at midnight to collect soil from "state property". They usually take less than two hours to collect soil and this is done twice per year. She said that she thought fines were instituted "to make us buy bricks from Mopeli's brickyard in Phuthaditjhaba where large bricks cost R 80 and smaller ones R 60 per hundred." Informants also complained bitterly about taxation. An *induna* for instance described the R 11 Special Development Tax as "pathetic... Some people can't even afford to buy a box of matches."

### Wage employment

In the sample of 39 site populations there was a de jure total of 69 adult males (between the ages of 16 and 64) of whom 43 (62 %) were engaged in wage employment. There were also 56 adult females (between the ages of 16 and 59) of whom only eight (14.2 %) engaged in wage employment during July 1983. It would be extremely difficult to calculate the numbers of unemployed as the sample contained 12 males and 16 females above the age of 16 who were still in school. A number of these, however, returned to school after losing access to wage employment.

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3. Excluded from the category of wage employment are people who engage in 'piece jobs'. This concept is an emic construct used to denote:

(a) work with no security of employment on a day to day basis examples of which are scholars who walk into Phuthaditjhaba every Saturday to work in the gardens of bureaucrats and teachers and unemployed males who dig pit toilets for other residents of Kgano. (b) people promised part time work by an employer and called upon whenever their services are required such as women who are called upon a few times every month to fry *vetkoeks* or to wash floors by a local shopkeeper.
To them schooling was merely a way of filling unoccupied time.

**TABLE 1: NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS PER SITE AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE SITES, KGANO (JULY 1983)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of wage earners</th>
<th>Number of sites</th>
<th>Mean site pop. size</th>
<th>Range in site pop. sizes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>3-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9-15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All figures given here are de jure

**TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF KGANO WAGE EARNERS BY SEX AND CATEGORY OF EMPLOYMENT (JULY 1983)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employed inside Qwaqwa</th>
<th>Migrant labourers</th>
<th>Commuter labourers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both sexes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evidence from Kgano clearly supports the findings of Greenberg and Giliomee (1983) that Tribal and Territorial bodies exercise limited functions in the recruitment of labour in Bantustan areas. Unemployed males seldom visited Kgano's labour bureau and travelled to the labour bureau at the magistrate's office in Phuthaditjhaba and back every day.

4. Any distinction between migrant and commuter labourers is necessarily arbitrary. In this study commuters are regarded as people employed outside Qwaqwa who return to Kgano either daily or weekly, whereas migrants are taken to be people who return home less frequently.
instead. The mother of a young man, who had been unemployed for more than four years in July 1963, explained:

"If you are eager to go on contract you go to the Phutnaditjhaba labour bureau every day. He was eager and walked there since the beginning of the year, because he did not have enough money to spend on bus fare. Only some days when he was tired did he not go, then he just walked down to the Kgano labour bureau..."

Many workseekers bypass both these labour bureaus to look for employment in common South Africa, risking the danger of fines or imprisonment under influx control legislation, in the hope that employers would have their jobs regularized by specific requisition. The search for employment is not always successful. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that two workseekers in the sample had been unemployed for nine years i.e. since arrival in QwaQwa.

No single wage earner in the sample was employed in Kgano. Of those employed inside QwaQwa two males worked in various closer settlements, whereas three women were employed in Phutladitjhaba (two as manual labourers at an engineering firm and one as a domestic). It is well known that wages earned in the industrial area in Phutladitjhaba and the QwaQwa public works department are exceptionally low. A civil servant reported that manual labourers in his department were paid R 30 per month, whereas the two women in the sample who were employed at the engineering firm earned R 12 per week. Male workseekers in the sample seldom had their eyes set on low-paid and insecure local employment. To take up such employment would imply that they would be unable to take up better paid and more secure migrant labour contracts at the crucial moment an employer appears at the labour bureau. Women, on the other hand, know that this is almost the only option available to them in their quest for access to wage employment. Informants explained that "men seldom get contracts, but women never get contracts".
A female informant, who had been unemployed for nearly four years, only looked for work in Phuthaditjhaba. 'We would all go up to the factory gates and then the foreman would maybe call one of us and say: 'Hey you, come!'" She complained bitterly, however, that "the foreman would only select family members to work there."

Table 2 demonstrates that the single most important source of income for Kgano households is the remittances sent or brought home by male migrant labourers employed in the industrial and mining centres of common South Africa. Access to migrant labour remittances also constitutes the most important criterion of household differentiation in Kgano. Of the 38 site populations in the sample only ten did not have access to migrant labour remittances. Of these five were severely disadvantaged and had an average monthly income of R 20 or less. Of the 36 male migrants in the sample 13 were employed in Welkom, 14 in the Witwatersrand complex, four in Sasolburg, two in Virginia and one each in Theunissen, Bethlehem and Harrismith. The remittances of these men varied greatly: from as little as R 60 every second month to just over R 200 monthly. The life histories of these labouring men are all variations on a single theme - the repetitive movement between these centres of employment and a household in Kgano to which they return for brief periods of rest. Some of these men returned home no more than twice per year. The story below of a 48 year old plumber employed in Welkom provides an illustration of some of the problems encountered by male migrants.

**CASE No.3: WORKING ON CONTRACT IN WELKOM**

By December 1983 Mr. Joseph Mzingi had worked as a migrant at a plumbing firm in Welkom for eight years (see case no.2 for a discussion of a period of crisis in his household). According to him he was promised 80 c per hour when he took this contract in 1975, but upon arrival in Welkom found that he was paid only 60 c per hour.

By November 1983 this had been increased to R 101. 40 per fortnight, from which R 11 is deducted for a yearly bonus in December. He normally works nine hours per day and five days per week. "Every
"Every month they raise it by 5 c or 15 c. It is therefore better to remain at work for a long time else the money won't go up", he explained, but continued: "The money is not good enough, but there is nothing you can do". From his earnings he normally sends R 60 home every fortnight. "At Welkom you have to save as much as possible and then you don't even have enough money left for banking."

At Welkom Joseph shares a room with 12 other migrants in a municipal hostel. "There are Jasotho, Xhosas, Tswanas and Zulus as they are all from different tribes". Although he tries his best to speak all these languages he admits that he cannot speak Zulu very well.

At the hostel no food is provided for them, but there are kitchen facilities they use for cooking. He mentioned that for leisure time activities: "Youngsters play soccer or other games, but I am old and just sit and talk with my workmates until I go to sleep."

There is also a beer hall near the hostel which is often frequented by prostitutes. "They ask R 20 for sex. Only for a moment, not for the whole night. After those few seconds it is enough... They go around in their see through dresses and the men just crumble."

A problem Joseph considers to be of great importance in Welkom is that of tsotsis. "At the hostel there was a placard saying: THIS BONUS OF YOURS, WE ARE GOING TO SHARE IT." He recalled eight different occasions on which he was robbed by tsotsis (six times in Welkom and twice on the bus from Welkom to Kgano). The amounts stolen varied from R 12 and R 15 and Joseph did not think that the police do their duty in protecting migrants. He saw the police as part of the problem and suggested: "Sometimes the policemen are friends of the tsotsis. They will meet the tsotsis on the streetcorner and go fifties." He also recalled an encounter in which two policemen stole money from him. He explained that after sleeping in the wrong room in the hostel he and a few workmates were arrested. Before arrival at the charge office they were, however, asked to pay R 10 to each policeman to be set free. "The Zulus paid R 20 each, but I only paid R 10 as I am not scared."

Joseph normally visits his wife and children in Kgano once per month, but explained that whenever he buys clothes for his children in Welkom he does not have enough money left to go home and just sends the clothes. He normally comes home by taxi or private car, which takes him right up to the doorstep of his house. The costs of a single journey is R 11 by bus, R 12 by car and R 15 by taxi. Joseph, however, never uses the bus as he considers it too dangerous. "It is better to lose your money than it is to lose your life", he explained.

This case shows the lack of bargaining power migrants have in the context of high rates of unemployment. It is also indicative of a tendency among migrants to hold onto their contracts at whatever costs. In relation to this point another migrant explained: "If you should loose your job now it would be difficult to find another. The best is therefore to keep your contract no matter how bad it is." This story also indicates that secure employment does not necessarily imply that
regular remittances are brought or sent home due to the vulnerability of migrants to theft.

Overall the links between Kgano households and female migrants (for whom domestic service is just about the only available category of employment) were weaker than those with male migrants. In the four cases of female migrancy in the sample no single member of any household knew the amounts earned by migrants and money was either seldom or irregularly remitted. It is also relevant that no female migrant in the sample was married.

The only significant centres of employment which are not completely out of reach to Kgano’s commuters are Harrismith and Bethlehem. The sample included only five daily, and one weekly commuter who were all employed in Harrismith. They travelled by buses departing from Kgano to Phuthaditjhaba at 3.00 am, 4.00 am and 5.00 am. At the bus depot in Phuthaditjhaba they, along with commuters from other closer settlements in QwaQwa have to wait for buses to Harrismith. Although the wife of a daily commuter did not consider the R 4 for a weekly bus ticket as “too expensive” she noted that “many people are complaining, but they don’t want to face the fact”. Commuters complained about the inefficiency of the bus service and noted that due to the poor conditions of QwaQwa’s gravel roads a single bus trip from Kgano to Harrismith could take nearly three hours. It was also alleged that buses often arrived late and sometimes failed to arrive. Although the sample included no labourers who commuted to Bethlehem in July 1983 it was suggested that those who work in Bethlehem are more likely to be weekly commuters. The case study below provides an insider’s perspective on some of the entailments of this form of labour control.
CASE No. 4: LOW WAGES AND LITTLE TIME FOR SLEEP

After Johannes Serabele left the mines, where he worked for nine years, in 1981 due to an injured leg he looked for work in another sector of employment. He remained unemployed until March 1983, when he was approached by a friend who worked as a daily commuter at a Hardware store in Harrismith. The friend told Johannes that he could find work for him at the Hardware store, on provision that Johannes paid him R 5. For this he took Johannes' reference book to the owner of the store and "pleaded with him so that I could get work in Harrismith." From March until September Johannes had to wake at 2.00 am every weekday and take the 3.00 am bus for Harrismith in order to arrive at work in time. He normally returned home at 7.00 pm and then only had enough time for supper as he normally went to sleep at 8.00 pm. In June 1983 he was one of 26 commuters from Kgano to be arrested by the Harrismith police on the charge that his reference book was not endorsed appropriately. For this 'offence' he was fined R 25 and his employer R 50. Johannes considered this as extremely unfair. "If a man does not work there is the possibility of theft, but if a man is employed there is no trouble!" He also noted that many of those arrested paid for themselves and refused to supply the names of their employers to the police as they feared the loss of their jobs if their employers knew of their arrests.

Johannes was deeply dissatisfied about his weekly wage of R 25 and considered it as "just equal to a bag of mealie meal". He also mentioned that when his wage was issued he only received R 24.89 and did not know what this 1lc deduction was for. He was afraid to ask his employer as "He would only say 'If you are not satisfied you can go to QwaQwa where they earn only R 15 per month." When I interviewed Johannes in July 1983, it was on a Monday morning when he was not at work as he had woken up too late for the 3.00 am bus. He told me that he had not gone to work, because "if you are late you are not paid for the hours that you work. It is therefore better for latecomers not to go to work." In September 1983 Johannes was either retrenched or resigned. The details of the termination of employment at Harrismith is not known to me. Johannes merely said: "That job was not secure."

The story of Johannes confirms the following conclusions drawn by Ehlers (1983) in her study of commuter labourers from Kwandebele to Pretoria i.e. that long distance commuting implies: a lack of sleep, high transport costs, absence from work due to overcrowded buses or oversleeping and long periods of absence from home which means that commuter labourers (like migrants) are unable to meet the demands of family responsibilities.

Other strategies for survival
There is no guarantee that income derived from wage employment is sufficient to ensure the survival of non-employed residents of Kgano. Other sources of income are of crucial importance. The provision of social security payments in Kgano is, however, extremely limited. No single unemployed person in Kgano received anything that vaguely resembled unemployment insurance payouts and only one member of the sample site populations received injury compensation money (see case no. 5). Women over 60 and men over 65 years of age were often unable to prove their ages at the pensions office. Pension payments generally varied from about R 40 to R 98 every second month. Cultivation and stock holding which once provided a wage subsidy for many households in the area had also disappeared as a result of relocation.

It is in this context that I wish to isolate five different strategies undertaken by Kgano households to combat some of the worst aspects of poverty. Although these are not always successful, I would argue that without these the chances of survival of Kgano households would be considerably diminished.

1. Informal income earning

Apart from wage employment residents of Kgano also engage in a wide variety of informal income generating activities. These include: the daily rental of garden implements (at R 1 per wheelbarrow and 50c per spade) and the sale of cowdung at 20 c per bucket. More common types of income earning are: fruitselling, the provision of various social services (ranging from shoe repairs to divination) and petty commodity production (such as knitting, baking, beadmaking and beer brewing). These activities can be distinguished from piece-jobs on the basis that those who engage in them are self-employed.
In few instances do these activities constitute a buffer against unemployment. Evidence from Kgano shows that in most instances these activities depend, for their initiation and perpetuation, almost directly on income derived from wage employment or social security payments. This is clearly demonstrated in the case study below.

**CASE No. 5 : FRUITSSELLING IN KGANO**

In June 1983 the only wage earners in the Maraletse household were Mrs. Maraletse, who worked as a domestic in Brakpan and seldom sent money home, and Joe who worked at a scrapyard in Welkom where he earned R 48 per week. Monty normally works on the Virginia mines on contract where he is paid R 10.25 per day. In February 1983 he, however, seriously injured his spine during a rockfall and was sent home on leave for a period of six months. According to Monty he was paid a lump sum of R 1 285 compensation for this time. Neither Mokgete, aged 30, nor his two sisters have ever been employed although they have searched desperately for work.

As a form of income earning Mokgete, Monty and their three younger brothers (who are still in school) sell apples and oranges in Kgano. Using Monty's compensation money they normally buy two boxes of apples (at from R 3.80 to R 4.00 each) and one box of oranges (at R 2.30) from the fruitsellers at the Phuthaditjhaba bus depot every weekend. They normally go by bus and pay 50 c per return journey each. The fruit is then sold on a house to house basis in Kgano. They normally charge 10 c for a large apple and 5 c for a small one. "On one weekend we normally sell three boxes, but this could be more" Monty explained. According to him they normally make R 6 to R 8 profit per box and in this way an additional household income of up to R 24 per week could be secured.

Just as money is needed to buy apples and oranges to sell, money is also required to purchase wool, needles, thread, beads and flour so that jerseys or caps could be knitted, beadworks made or buns baked. This small financial outlay often proves too expensive for many households. In this regard informants explained: "I can easily make
vetkoeks to sell; but this cannot be done as it costs too much". "I have never tried because my husband does not send enough money", and "we don't even have a rand to buy oranges which we could sell." It is for this reason that no member of any of the five site populations without access to wage employment in the sample engaged in informal income earning in June 1983. These activities therefore provide an additional rather than alternative source of income, thereby serving to supplement rather than to substitute wages.

There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as indicated in the following case study of a household of 11 members which adequately subsist on the earnings of a self-employed musician.

CASE No 6 : THE HISTORY OF A SUCCESSFUL MUSICIAN

Daniel was born on a farm in the Senekal district in 1956. As the farm was close to the Senekal location it was convenient for him and his siblings to attend school there. Here he completed Standard three and first discovered that he was musically inclined. A misunderstanding between his sister-in-law and the wife of the farm owner, for whom she worked as a domestic, however, resulted in their leaving the farm and coming to QwaQwa in 1974.

After arrival Daniel spent some time struggling unsuccessfully to find work but then decided to go to Johannesburg to learn music. After some months he returned and formed his own local band. Initially he had a range of different people playing for him. They, however, demanded an equal share of the takings so he was left with little to live on. His solution to this problem was to teach younger members of his family to play and in June 1983 the band comprised of himself, two of his elder sister’s children (aged 13 and nine respectively) and his maternal cousin who was only 14 years old. As they are still in school he pays them only pocket money from the takings.

The band, known as the SOUND BRUThERS, normally plays four times per weekend (Friday and Saturday evenings and Saturday and Sunday afternoons). Venues normally include tents put up for this purpose and school halls in the closer settlements. Normally charging R 1 for adults and 50 c for children takings amounted to R 300 - R 400 per weekend session. Daniel complained that in places where he used school facilities he had to pay R 10 for hire and sometimes and sometimes the school principals would demand half of the proceeds for school funds. The band has gone on tour outside QwaQwa four times. On these occasions gigs held in or near the hostels in SASUL II and Welkom brought in between R 800 and R 3 000. Daniel composes his own music and plays mainly underground, disco, soul and traditional Sotho songs. He spoke of a longing to be more
Although Daniel cannot be considered as a wage earner I have included him in Tables 1 and 2. Firstly because of the security of employment and secondly because Daniel's weekly earnings of up to R 400 before expenses far exceed those of other residents in Kgano who are self employed.

(2) Involuntary transfers

As the victims of tsotsi are normally the powerless or grant earners, the commuter labourers arriving home on late buses, they are greatly despised by residents of Kgano. The pervasiveness of theft in Kgano is clearly illustrated in the following statement:

"The tsotsi slaughter and kidnap people and ask for their money. They rob people and their things. At night you cannot even walk from here to the church. It is dangerous for a woman because you cannot walk at night. It is therefore better to stay at home and to lock the doors, for if you die it is better to die at home. If you have 20c in your pocket they will steal it."

Some informants suggested that people become tsotsi's in

5. See Hobsby (1977) for the argument that in some instances these activities provide potential growth points for resistance, particularly when backed by traditional enemies of the poor.
response to unemployment. A female informant, who considered unemployment to be the major problem in Kgano made this very explicit. "I have been looking for work for two years and other people have waited for contracts for longer than six years. This is why there are so many tsotsis stealing and kidnapping people." The correlation between unemployment and theft is also demonstrated in the case study below.

CASE No.7: BEING ROBBED

Soon after the Mofokeng household arrived in Kgano they experienced great problems with tsotsis. "In the nights when people would sleep gangs of tsotsis would enter into their houses, after breaking open the doors, and demand money from them." During the course of one night in 1974 Selina and her mother suddenly awoke after hearing a bang on their door. "Three tsotsis were standing in the house. The tsotsis told us that they were unemployed and demanded money from us, but they did not say how much," Selina recalled that her mother refused to give them any money. "The tsotsis did not have any money but they fought with my mother." She and her mother then ran away to sleep in the house of chief Morena as he was the one who had given them their site. When they returned to their homestead the next morning they found that all their dishes, pots and saucepans had been stolen. Selina also heard that the tsotsis had broken into the house of their neighbour and forced the lady to give them M 20.

It is due to the pervasiveness of crime in Kgano that a police station was built near the bus stop in October 1982. Informants who lived near the police station generally reported that since then there had been a sharp decline in crime. Others noted, however, that the police had hardly any effect. "They (the police) don't do their job... The culprits are those scholars at Kgano High School. They stabbed a woman to death, but the policemen don't go into their yard. They are afraid of those kids ", I was told.

(3) Kinship

The first sense in which residents of Kgano use kinship as a resource in the struggle for survival is the sharing of domestic responsibilities between household members. In the context of migrant labour household
management, however, presents itself as a formidable task. Great dissatisfaction about the separation of households were expressed. Women voiced the following complaints: "When the father is gone he forgets about the children"; "A woman never knows how much her husband earns... He may spend his money on drink or on other women, but one can never know". It is also significant to note that many dependents did not know what kind of work male migrants did. On the other hand a male migrant explained: "Men can easily complain, but they have never been migrants. It (the place of employment) is far and you don't even see your children grow old... You don't even know if your children are ill."

Such tensions make sound relations between household members difficult to maintain and can lead to divorce and in exceptional instances complete household disintegration. This is by no means inevitable, however.

From a very young age children help their mothers with: the building of mud houses, domestic chores such as cleaning, washing, cooking fetching wood and collecting firewood. As many parents are illiterate children also often do shopping for them. To meet the costs of schooling scholars often seek 'piece-jobs' during school vacations. Scholars who work in the urban and industrial centres of common South Africa hardly ever go on contract. The mother of a scholar who went to visit his relatives in Sasolburg, from where he looked for "piece-jobs in the gardens of whites" during the December vacation of 1983; explained: "He never went to the Labour Bureau... I am hoping he gets work. It is two weeks now."

Like children grandparents also help with domestic chores, engage in

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6. Murray (1981: 47-48) for instance points out that in this context a household cannot be defined as a co-residential group - as most males and few females spend their middle years absent from home-, nor in terms of kinship - as "there is a striking variation in the actual kinship composition both between households and within households over time." A household therefore comprises both people who share a homestead and act as a unit of consumption plus absent members who continuously contribute towards their maintenance.
informal income earning, look after grandchildren and contribute pensions to domestic grants. The case below clearly illustrates the value of the contribution of a grandparent to the physical maintenance of household members.

CASE No. 8: THE CONTRIBUTION OF 'MALEFU

After she had worked as a domestic in Johannesburg for 31 years after the death of her husband 'Malefu decided to join the household of her oldest son Lefu in Kgano. In this household of seven members Lefu, who works in Vereeniging and sends only R 50 home every second month, is the only wage earner. Although Lefu's two oldest daughters have completed Standard five in Kgano primary school, they were unable to continue their schooling due to financial problems. Lefu's wife still has a baby and therefore cannot seek employment.

It is for these reasons that 'Malefu's contribution is extremely valuable. She contributes to the household income with her pension and money derived from beadwork. 'Malefu's pension amounts to R 40 every second month, which she fetches from the Kgano Labour bureau. She furthermore makes a profit of R 20 every second month from selling beadworks in Kgano. According to her the beads and thread are very expensive, but she argues: "When I am not lazy I make many. When I make these beads I can also buy snuff."

A second sense in which the ideology of kinship is of great importance is in the relations of mutual aid constructed between households and those who can be related to them by ties of blood. In times of crisis such as unemployment, illness, death and sudden hospital expenses kin are normally the first to provide moral and financial assistance. Poorer households are also forced to rely on the constant support of kin. As an informant explained: "We are often helped by relatives who provide us with money, mealie meal and even shoes."

CASE No 9: HELPING OUT TWO MENTALLY DISTURBED KIN

'Matumo and her oldest son, who is 20 years old have both been unemployed for more than two years. Their household of eight members therefore depend exclusively on the wages of her husband, who works as a daily commuter at a tannery in Harrismith and earns R 50 per week.

According to 'Matumo her husband's two brothers, who are 40 and 45 years old respectively, are both mentally disturbed. Before they arrived in Kgano in 1975 they both stayed at a hospital in Allenridge. After being discharged from the hospital they obtained a site across the road from 'Matumo's homestead. "It was better when they
came" she explained, and continued "but after four years things again went wrong". Since 1979 both brothers-in-law have been hospitalized in QwaQwa for intermittent periods, sometimes for longer than three months. "MaTumo normally cooks for them at her own homestead every day. "It is a lot of work, but if you have to help your family it is a matter of must". She emphasized that they were extremely dependent upon each other: "When one visits here the other one will crumble... They are used to living on their own." Of her two brothers-in-law only one receives a disability pension of R 80 every two months, whereas the other has been waiting for such a pension for longer than a year. MaTumo's husband does not consider this pension as enough to keep them going and normally gives them R 20 per month from which they buy wood and coal.

Kinship relations are, however, obligatory and demands for aid along these lines are not without limit. These relations also have to be continually reaffirmed by means of visiting and communication, it is for this reason that it is easier to mobilize support from kin who are of closer residential proximity. This is seldom the case as a result of the demise of many formerly established relationships as a result of relocation which has been experienced by all households in Kgano.

(4) Neighbourliness

Insofar as relations of reciprocity and mutual aid are concerned networks constructed between residents of nearby sites, as vphrased in the ideom of neighbourliness, are also of great importance. A lack of concern with the well-being of one's neighbours and secrecy are by no means norms in Kgano. This was made very explicit when I, in the course of conversation, mentioned that some residents of Cape Town do not know who their neighbours are. Replies of disbelief ranged from: "This is bad. Aikona (no)" to "It is not good. By living in that way they are living like animals. It is only animals that don't talk to one another." All informants considered their neighbours as friendly and helpful. Common replies to my questions were: "Truely speaking they are very good" and "Our neighbours are just like family." The later reply is indicative of an attempt to construct social obligations almost similar to those of kinship.
The mutual exchange of favours and a complex system of borrowing and lending are examples of reciprocal relations of mutual aid between neighbours. Informants reported that although they considered all neighbours as friendly and helpful, those from whom items are borrowed have to be carefully selected. Due to generalized poverty borrowing and lending networks can, however, not be too exclusive. It was explained that: "neighbours are not reluctant to offer aid, but you cannot borrow from the same neighbours too often." Items commonly subject to borrowing and lending arrangements include: firewood, coal, matches, salt, sugar, mealie meal, garden implements and small amounts of money. The pervasiveness of borrowing and lending in Kgano was clearly illustrated when I asked a female informant how long a bag of mealie meal lasted in her household. "About two to three weeks if neighbours don't borrow any", was the reply. Another informant reported that she sometimes resorts to doing her shopping in the evenings as she tried to avoid claims from too many borrowers. Although neighbours were generally expected to return the goods that they borrowed (see case no. 2) it was acknowledged that goods were sometimes not returned. A pensioner, whose three sons all had access to wage employment boasted that he often helped his neighbours without expecting them to make returns. "If I see that the children of my neighbours across the road don't have any porridge to eat I shall send them a tin of porridge."

The motives of lenders who are better off are understood as follows: "People who are better off help as they don't live a better life for a long time. They will also have financial problems and need help."

In times of crisis the assistance of neighbours may prove of considerable importance. In addition or in the absence of kin neighbours provide moral support, render companionship and make loans without expecting immediate returns. There are, however, clear limitations in the capacity of neighbourliness as a strategy for survival. This is
clearly illustrated in the case of the Sefatse household below in which wage employment was terminated.

**CASE NO. 10: THE SEFATSE HOUSEHOLD: A CASE IN THE FAILURE OF KINSHIP AND NEIGHBOURLINESS**

Since 1974, when the Sefatse household arrived in Kgano from a farm in the Senekal district, Mr. Sefatse has had intermittent labour contracts. In 1979 he secured employment with SASOL II as a construction worker. Along with many others from QwaQwa he did not realize that this two year contract was not renewable. In 1982 when Mr. Sefatse was retrenched he had developed an illness (probably T.B.) which made it difficult to obtain another job. He nonetheless managed to secure work at Bethlehem in mid-1982, but after two months he was too ill to continue working and returned home where he lay recovering for several months. Towards the end of 1982 he again felt well enough to continue looking for work, but thus far his search has been unsuccessful. A special dilemma is that he had been unable to pay the R 10 Special Development tax at the start of 1983 as all available income had been used for subsistence. This has meant that due to special regulations issued by the QwaQwa Legislative Assembly he is unable to obtain a labour contract at any of QwaQwa's labour bureaus. He claims that on one occasion he got to the point of being offered a contract which he needed to be attested—-but failed to secure it at that point. He has, however, persisted in going to the labour bureau in hope that officials will relent.

Edward, the oldest son of Mr. Sefatse, secured a contract at a steel factory in Welkom during 1982 when he was 17 years old. He was paid R 40 every fortnight and regularly sent half his wages home. By June 1983 his last remittance had been in May and Mrs. Sefatse was worried that Edward could not send in June as he was also ill. She thought that he could have been sent to hospital or confined to the hostel, in which case he did not have anything to send. Ndekete, who is 16 years old, was removed from school in mid-1982 because his fees could not be met. He is still too young to be issued with a reference book and has been unable to find a piece-job in QwaQwa.

By 1983 the Sefatse household was in deep crisis. Mrs. Sefatse and Regina had both been diagnosed as suffering from pellagra and Mrs. Sefatse also had suspected T.B. Lineo was sent home from school because she suffered severe and constant stomach aches and had passed out in class as a result of hunger. According to Mr. and Mrs. Sefatse they had exhausted all possibilities for borrowing and begging in the neighbourhood. Owing to the vagaries of relocation neither of them had any kin in QwaQwa on whose support they could
depend. In the case of the Sefatse household the loss of access to wage employment had meant that they had dropped out of networks of reciprocity and sharing when these were needed most urgently. A neighbour to the household conceded these claims and noted that she and others were appalled and ashamed of seeing Mrs. Sefatse literally starving to death where she lay and of hearing her cries. She was, however, unable to do anything more to help as she also had no food nor money in her house.

(5) Associations of mutual aid

The notion that impoverished communities are marked by a lack of 'voluntary associations' beyond the extended family is clearly contradicted by evidence from Kgano. In this section I shall discuss three types of association which have been explicitly created as a means of coping with some of the worst aspects of poverty.

Nearly all informants in the sample claimed to be members of a burial society. These associations comprise a set of people who make formal financial contributions and render moral support to fellow members left in destitute at the death of a close relative. Residents of Kgano generally expressed the ideal that one should die well and be buried with dignity and estimated that a decent funeral for an adult could cost up to R 800. Funeral expenses were said to include: a coffin, mortuary costs, the rental of a car for transport of a coffin and food and beverages for the mourners. Such a huge immediate expense is far beyond the means of most households and if it were not for the assistance of burial societies relatives of the deceased would have to rely on small collections taken for them by their neighbours and settle for a pauper's funeral. The largest of these associations in Kgano is a local branch of the Mpate ke Ompane (Let's bury each other) society which has about 150 members. The society has other branches in all closer settlements in QwaQwa, Phuthaditjhaba and various O.F.S. townships. Members of the society have to pay 50 c monthly membership fees plus R 2 every
time a member of the society or a close relative of a member (parents forming part of his or her household, a spouse or child) dies. A member of the society explained: "When there is a funeral the society will buy a coffin, two sheep and if there is enough money left groceries will be bought for the family." It was also mentioned that members of the society assist with funeral arrangements and help with "things that they can cook".

Although stokvel associations were also found in Kgano, these were not as well supported as burial societies. Membership to these associations were generally confined to about three to six women who either made weekly payments of R 5 or monthly payments of R 10 to a fellow member whose turn it was to hold a stokvel. From this money an amount would be used to provide plates of food, tea, home-brew or 'Big Ace' beer cartons to be sold at a party attended by about 15 people. All profits made at the stokvel would then go to the holder thereof. An ex-member of a stokvel association, who was forced to withdraw after her pension 'did not come through', reportedly scooped R 25 at the party she held. Due to the wide prevalence of extreme poverty in Kgano, many informants could not afford membership fees. Other reasons supplied for not belonging to these associations varied from "I do not have that room laugh" or "that kind of interest". Many non-members nonetheless found it possible to occasionally participate in stokvels by buying plates of food, which varied from R 1.20 to R 1.50 in price. This was not considered to be "so expensive, because (at the shops) food is too expensive".

Phabadi\textsuperscript{8} feasts present a less institutionalized type of association encountered in Kgano. According to Murray (1975) these feasts, which

7. In Kgano stokvels were considered to be strictly women's business. "Men are troublesome. Men would fight and do bad things", I was told.
are held to thank the 'shades' for luck in the past and to request luck for the future, involve controlled communication with the dead as initiated by the living. The procedures of a phabadimo, which was attended by about 30 people, was described as follows by an attendant:

"At the party you first enter and then you have to take some snuff. Thereafter you may smoke Jocker (a tobacco brand) if you want to and then you sit down to enjoy some home brew... A meal is then provided... At this phabadimo there were five fowls because the host saw these fowls in a dream." 9

Other informants considered it as preferable to slaughter a sheep or a goat but most agreed that cigarette smoking was strictly prohibited. "You may not smoke a cigarette because the old people never smoked these cigarettes", I was told. It was also mentioned that Christians also attend and hold these feasts although some churches have attempted to prevent them from doing so. The fact that these feasts may lead to a distribution of migrant earnings among neighbours and kin was brought to my attention by an elderly lady, who, when I first met her, complained that there was no food nor money in her house. Four days later, I was told that she had "delicious food, free of charge" at a phabadimo held by one of her neighbours the previous day. She considered herself too poor ever to hold a phabadimo herself. Some of the poorest households in Kgano, however, also hold these feasts as they (more than anybody else) need luck to cope with problems experienced in their daily lives. This is clearly illustrated in the following case study.

**CASE No.11: ASKING THE BADIMO FOR LUCK**

The only source of income for the household of 'MaJoseph, which has nine members, is a monthly remittance of R 60, sent by her husband who works as a migrant in Krugersdorp. In September 1983, when he returned home for a brief visit, he decided to hold a phabadimo due to a "problem in the house". He was worried because he had made no progress at work and his salary had hardly shown any increase.

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8. The South Sotho word phabadimo can be translated as a giving to the spirits of the departed or ancestors
9. See Murray (1975) for an analysis of the symbolic resonance of snuff and tobacco in Lesotho.
over the ten years that he worked for the firm. "He thought that perhaps the badimo can help" Mr. Joseph, who is a member of the St. John's church in Makwane, explained. For this feast, which was attended by about 35 people, including neighbours and kin from "far away", her husband slaughtered a sheep and she made home brew and cooked porridge. She recalled that a few years previously they held a phabadimo to thank the badimo after her husband had brought some furniture home from Krugersdorp.

Residents of Kgano also pointed out that neighbours and kin often helped "poor people" to hold a feast by contributing food and the ingredients for home brew. A middle aged woman explained: "They need not have a goat if they are poor. They only need tea and some home brew."

What burial societies, stokvels and phabadimo have in common is that these have been created to cope in the absence of social services. In Kgano, where the dust roads are unsafe to walk at night, recreational facilities are non-existent. In this context both stokvels and phabadimo serve as associations for recreation. Within these associations bonds of friendship are enhanced and relations of mutual aid fostered by a pooling of resources. Burial societies and stokvels, on the other hand, also serve as a means of enforced saving. As there are no banks in Kgano, people are often illiterate and money is constantly in short supply. It is by no means easy for people to save. In these associations the moral pressure of fellow members act as an inducement to save.

**Conclusion**

The central argument of this paper has been that in the study of relocation and deprivation in contemporary South Africa diversities and varieties in the experiences, problems and responses of relocated people should be fully recognized. We have seen that in the context of a decline in real wages and in the demand for agricultural labour in the O.F.S. a great diversity of local instances in response to which people removed to Iwaliwa have been isolated. In Kgano people encountered
an unwanted environment caused by the absence of essential facilities. Yet most people did not simply die. Some returned to the farms and These 'Mchu' people walked miles to cut firewood on the Lesotho mountains; workers moved into the urban and industrial centres of common South Africa facing the danger of pass arrests; and scholars boycotted unequal educational facilities.

In the section on strategies for survival we have also seen a diversity in responses to economic and social deprivation. Some unemployed men become tsotsis, whereas others engage in fruitselling. Some households disintegrate in the context of labour migration, whereas in others we find the sharing of economic responsibilities. There is, however, a danger of presenting a romanticized picture of these strategies. It should be recognized that there are limitations in the capacity of these and that survival is by no means guaranteed. Secondly it should be noted that, with a few exceptions, these do not generate a cash inflow into Kgano, but rather serve to redistribute income derived from wage employment. Lastly we have seen that opportunities to secure an additional source of income are extremely limited to poorer households.

Studies focussing on local diversities and varieties in experiences, problems and responses faces the constant danger of losing sight of the common situation of relocated people in South Africa. Although it would be impossible to determine exactly how many have been subject to relocation in South Africa, one calculation estimates that from 1960 to 1979 more than 3 520 204 Africans have been subject to these processes. (Working Group, Kairos;1982 :6) Although some of these people have been settled in places where facilities such as water supplies and housing have been provided this is seldom the case. SENS0, referring to the planned removal of 175 UDU families in terms of the 1975 'homeland consolidation' proposals, for instance noted that 20% would be settled.
in state constructed houses in planned towns, 33\% in planned villages with site-and-service schemes and the remaining 47\% on a rudimentary basis i.e., without houses nor site-and-service facilities. (Kane-Berman, 1981:128)


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**APPENDIX**

**FARM WAGES PER HOUSEHOLD IN CASH AND KIND (BEFORE 1974)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Number</th>
<th>Members employed on farm</th>
<th>Cash wages R / month</th>
<th>Access to Land</th>
<th>Bags of mealies per year</th>
<th>Number of animals kept</th>
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* X number or amount not specified.
* - either 1 x 90 kg or 1 bag or unspecified.

Note: missing numbers inadequate data.
## APPENDIX 2: CHILD DEATHS IN SAMPLE SITE POPULATIONS

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<tr>
<th>Site pop. number</th>
<th>No of children born to women in site pop.</th>
<th>Deaths on farms / Thaba 'Nchu</th>
<th>Deaths in Kgano</th>
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*Note: missing numbers indicate inadequate information*
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.

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