

The Second Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa

HANOVER : A FORLORN HOPE?

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Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.'

(K. Marx)

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This essay is the revised version of section two of the area profile of Hanover by Sean Archer and Eileen Meyer, presented at the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa.

Section two of the original paper contained an analysis of the findings of a socio-economic household survey of the black town population. The Second Carnegie Inquiry was not exclusively confined to any specific population group, however concentration on the black population of Southern Africa, in this case of Hanover, was necessary as impoverishment in this region affects these people the most presently through the past neglect of social development in 'black' urban, rural and homeland areas.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of the inquiry was to gather facts about the living conditions of the poor. It also aimed at establishing and characterising their needs and deficiencies which would influence the subsequent strategies developed for the struggle against poverty. Poverty was not defined, but rather comprehended as a social process. Thus it was important to grasp the underlying mechanisms which lead to this abject condition. As a micro-study, Hanover served as an example of these conditions in a part of the Great Karoo, and offered an opportunity to think about concrete strategies to ameliorate the situation.

Two methods of research were employed to gather information on poverty. Firstly, a survey was administered to 102 households. The interviews were conducted by means of a questionnaire (see Appendix 1) which explored the conventional dimensions of poverty, viz. sources and levels of incomes, employment, levels of education, residence status, marital status, rents. This questionnaire, compiled according to socio-economic criteria, was useful, but did not cover all areas which had to be addressed. Rodgers formulated one of the problems encountered in this method:

'The most obvious difficulty with "absolute" measures of poverty is human capacity to adapt to and survive in apparently intolerable conditions.'<sup>2</sup>

Hence, the statistical data needed to be complemented by a second method, i.e. recorded in-depth interviews with a cross-section of the residents. Questions were posed to gain information from the respondents about their lives, living conditions, development of the town, etc. In part the people structured the

interviews, i.e. spoke for themselves and provided '... illuminating anecdotes about the past and the present ...'<sup>3</sup> enabling various interpretations of the social reality of the poor.

This procedure not only helped break down the barrier between researcher and respondent, it also proved invaluable because of the paucity of literature on Hanover. Documentary evidence is scarce and even travel guides only mention Hanover in passing. Census data, surveys of bordering areas, an autobiography, a history of the first one hundred years of the church and articles in newspapers provided some information. One had, however, to comb through the newspapers of the past 130 years thoroughly to collect substantial information on this small rural town.

The debate which followed the inquiry resulted in my drawing certain conclusions. The area study presented at the conference was in part a collection of statistical data and in part a presentation of contradictory phenomena and information. A complete picture of the poverty situation was not adequately developed as the different phenomena encountered had not been interrelated effectively to explain the complex nature of poverty and the position and roles of the poor in this context. Especially the poor had to be seen as the key element in the investigation of poverty. They are the living subjects in which poverty materialises.

It seemed to be the general consensus of participants at the Carnegie Conference that the structural features of South African society, be they social, economic or political, are determinants of the living standards of the people - hence poverty. Yet, this consensus could only serve as a base as there were different conceptions of poverty which offered different interpretation of the researched material. Thus, it became clear that the process of diagnosing the problem would in turn determine the nature of the cure.

The consequence was the realisation that the collected information on Hanover could yield much more than a mere account of the poverty situation there. It offered the possibility of developing and applying different models of interpretation about the causes and mechanism of poverty and of considering their implications for the type of strategies implemented. In other words in terms of each model applied one could:

- (a) perceive the nature of the problem, and
- (b) develop strategies appropriate to the perceived nature of each.

The data and information on Hanover allowed three models of interpretation which encompass three different basic approaches to poverty. These models provided the opportunity to explore the validity of different perceptions on poverty and establish various points of departure to facilitate change.

In the first approach the poor are seen as mere victims of poverty, as prisoners of their own conditions of misery incapable of freeing themselves from their situation. Their reactions to conditions are characterised as passive and resigned. Therefore, change can only come from outside. Features such as crime, alcoholism, and prostitution are perceived as signs of desperation which could only be reduced and eradicated through strategies of intervention from outside. Thus, money from the state and/or private sector would play an important role. Various forms of institutions would be seen as being responsible for combatting these symptoms and alleviating poverty. The starting point would be what the outsider sees as being the needs of the poor.

The second approach would also see the poor as victims of their socio-economic and political circumstances, but in addition it would assume and recognise the self-help capabilities of the poor. The poor are not seen exclusively as helpless, powerless victims of existing conditions, but as able to participate in change and through help from outside become subjects in their liberation from poverty. Supporting self-help groups where they do not exist would be fundamental to this approach. Support from private organisations or, if occasion should arise, from the state, could partly further the struggle against poverty. It would be a careful process of intervention and participation where the initiative comes from outside. Nonetheless, the starting point would be the needs of the poor as determined by themselves in the participation process.

The third approach to poverty differs fundamentally from the other two. Like the other approaches structural features of society are perceived here as determining conditions of poverty, and hence inequality. However, this perception considers discrimination as the driving force that strengthens the

will to self-assertion. Change does not come from outside at all. The poor try through their own activity to change their situation in all spheres of their daily lives, i.e. in the family, in school, at their work place and especially their attitudes toward state institutions. Here the people themselves or the community find a solution. They call on the expertise of others only when they need advice or support.

Various non-conformist strategies would be accepted by the third approach as another dimension of the self-determining activities of the poor. Different behaviour patterns such as working slowly, not wanting to work at all, theft, sabotage and activities in the informal sector illustrate this.<sup>4</sup> These patterns of behaviour as well as alcoholism and prostitution are sometimes construed in literature as resignation, apathy and passivity. In contrast to this the third approach observes this behaviour as the rejection by the poor of existing conditions, their rage about their miserable situation. Therefore, these activities of the poor should be understood as a practical critique of their social reality, an assertion of the will for self-determination and the retention of their own human dignity.

It is against this background that the material on Hanover should be seen. In the following sections the reader is introduced to this rural town and the data collected on various issues: demographic aspects, employment/unemployment, income and working conditions. The reader can form an impression of the lives of the poor in Hanover and how their living conditions are affected by other aspects dealt with in the essay such as housing, rent, amenities, health facilities, education. In this context various activities of the poor in dealing with their situation in their own unconventional way will also be highlighted.

## 2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HANOVER

The social history of the black population has been recorded thus far mostly through the eyes of the colonizers. Another important point is the lack of documentation of this history.

It is not surprising that little is known about the problems of poverty among the black people in the past. The settlers who were the principal keepers of records, were more occupied adapting to life in Africa and retaining their

standards of living than with attempting to comprehend the society of the inhabitants of the country. References to black people appeared only when they disturbed the harmonious course of white history. Any such references are highly instructive insofar as they offer invaluable clues to 'black' resistance to the process of proletarianisation.

These references demonstrate the various forms of will of the black people to assert themselves. Armed revolts, desertion from work, the mobility of the worker to receive a higher wage illustrate these forms of will. A tradition of refusal to submit to imposed patterns of domination is evident and attempts to retain self-determined values and activities were confirmed. This is in line with the third approach introduced above.

Since documentation is very sparse, oral evidence is important in the reconstruction of the social history of the people. It often provides new insights into social practices that have escaped the written sources. Therefore, one method of recording this type of information was through piecing together the life histories of the people interviewed. Unfortunately, for this purpose, the oral evidence collected was more concerned with present conditions than past practices. Now and again an older person referred to the past, but the information was too fragmented to develop a broad picture.

Hanover was founded in 1854 as a result of the wool boom of the 1850s<sup>5</sup> on a farm called Petrusvallei situated in the vicinity of the Zeekooe Rivier. The farm was bought for £2 500 by six men of whom two came from the Boland to fight in the frontier wars. The condition of sale was that the town be named 'Hanover' after the birthplace of the ancestors of Gert Gous in Lower Saxony in West Germany. Like many other places in the Colony,<sup>6</sup> the local farming community developed a need for a church and social and commercial centre.

The power structures which developed thus revolved around the white community. As a result the economic development of the white centre influenced the lives of the black people of Hanover, especially when their labour was needed.

Agriculture was the mainstay of the whole country until the late 19th century with sheep-farming being the economic base of the Great Karoo, i.e. Hanover area. On the eve of the beginning of industrialisation in South Africa agriculture was in the throes of a recession. The 1890s was a decade of

depression as wool prices fell on the English market.<sup>7</sup> At the same time sheep were being killed by blue tongue and locusts were destroying the vegetation in the Hanover area.<sup>8</sup> Droughts and floods exacerbated the situation as did the scarcity of labour.

According to a local farmer's account of 1865, 'A number of Kaffers are passing through on their return home beyond the Orange River. No doubt they have been summoned to join their tribes, some of which are reported to be in arms against the Free State Boers. Labour is getting very scarce in consequence of the flittings of these people'.<sup>9</sup>

Competition for African labour increased with the discovery of minerals in South Africa. Thus the question of farm labour in the Colony remained to be resolved. In interviews with farmers during the hearings of the Select Committee on the Supply of the Labour Market of 1879 the claim was made that 'they run away' and '(a) kafir will never settle here unless he has his family with him'.<sup>10</sup> They were also deserting farm work for better wages in the mines and at the railways.

The process of industrialisation transformed South Africa from a relatively self-contained agricultural community to an industrialising state. This process was accompanied by problems of adjustment and rural impoverishment. Poverty of many white and black people was the result. The Anglo Boer War of 1899-1902 accelerated this process causing a major crisis on the land and contributing especially to the growth of a white urban labour force. Growing unemployment, poverty, social dislocation and misery marked the urbanisation process of the white population in South Africa.<sup>11</sup> This came to be known as the 'Poor White Problem'.<sup>12</sup>

This problem was exacerbated because African people were also entering the urban areas in increasing numbers once all available land had been taken up (refer to the Land Act of 1913).<sup>13</sup> Compulsive instruments such as poll-tax and the enforcement of pass laws also forced the African people to acquire money. They had to leave the rural areas in order to find work for a cash wage. This development of the migrant labour system was to become the cornerstone of the South African economy.

After the Second World War the demand for foodstuffs and agricultural raw material grew. This growing marketability with the accompanying land capitalisation, i.e. land concentration and mechanisation/rationalisation, had socio-economic consequences. Thus increasing mechanisation and the restructuring of labour displaced proportions of farm labour, i.e. the demand for labour decreased.<sup>14</sup> The resulting rural impoverishment forced all population groups in growing numbers from the land. This population movement is reflected in the demographic profile of Hanover, which is but one example of the effects of this development on rural towns.

### 3 A PROFILE OF THE POPULATION

Since the late 1940s there has been a decline in the demand for black labour on farms in the Hanover district. At the same time farm sizes increased over the years. This process of land consolidation and concentration developed rapidly in this area.<sup>15</sup> As a result these factors affected the movement of the whole population. Rural families were faced with the choice of migrating into the town or leaving the area completely. The following will illustrate the demographic trends which accompanied this process of migration and the profile of the urban sample population will give one an impression of the structure of the present population in Hanover.

#### 3.1 General Remarks

The data for this section have been derived from the Population Censuses. They have to be approached with a measure of caution for three reasons.

Firstly, district boundaries changed a number of times, most recently in 1946 and 1963 with the proclamation of Noupoot as an independent magisterial district. An adjustment of 1951 and 1960 rural figures has been attempted to make them roughly comparable with their 1970 and 1980 counterparts by subtracting a fraction from the earlier years' totals equivalent to the fraction of land area transferred to Noupoot in April 1963. Population density on the excised farms may, of course, have differed from the Hanover mean. To that extent this adjustment would be misleading.

Secondly, in 1970, construction work was in progress within the district and African work teams were located in compounds along the railway line, e.g.

ninety at Burgerville station. It was not possible to establish from railway authorities how many of these temporary workers would have been included in census totals on 6 May 1970.

Thirdly, the national road through Hanover was rebuilt between 1978 and 1981 by two private construction companies. One of these firms housed, on average, 300 African males and 15-20 white families in the town over this period which includes census day, 6 May 1980; the other was located in Colesburg. Presumably, this partly explains anomalies in the 1980 figures, such as the white urban population rising against the trend and the 76% jump in urban African numbers between 1970 and 1980.

Two features of Table 1 are prominent. The growth of the urban and decline of the rural population is quite evident. The other feature is that the total population remained relatively static over three decades.

### 3.2 Distribution of the Population

Despite inaccuracy and anomalies, trends are still evident in the data. The distribution of the total population shows that the white population in the magisterial district decreased by almost half since 1951. In total only a slight decrease of the African population in the district took place. As far as the 'coloured' people are concerned, an increase of this population group can be discerned.

The migration of the various population groups from the rural areas to the industrial centres follow different patterns. The decrease of the rural white population developed along with the decrease in the urban white population which indicates an outward migration from the district. The increase of the 'coloured' population in the town is accompanied by a direct decrease in the countryside. Yet the slight decrease in the total 'coloured' population until 1970 suggests that a small proportion also left the district.

In the case of the African population the strong urban increase and the dramatic rural decrease is questionable. The unduly high jump in the number of African urban dwellers between 1970 and 1980 has already been explained. Even if a natural increase is also taken into consideration, there is nonetheless an apparent decrease in the total African population. As there has been

TABLE 1<sup>16</sup>Hanover : Population Groups

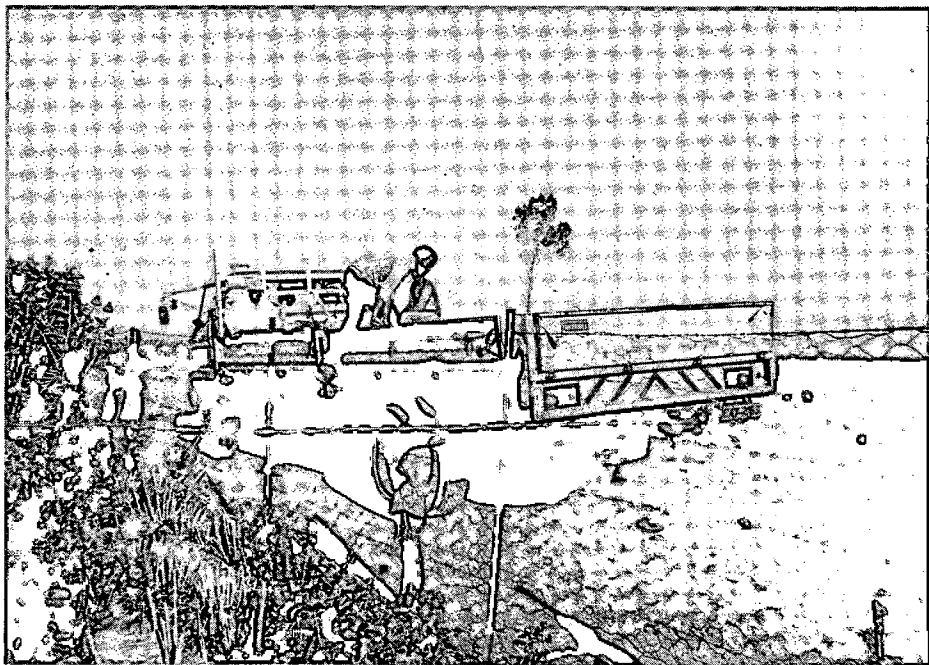
|              | White            | 'Coloured'         | African            | Total              |
|--------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <u>Urban</u> |                  |                    |                    |                    |
| 1951         | 562              | 650                | 536                | 1 748              |
| 1960         | 470              | 914                | 700                | 2 084              |
| 1970         | 300              | 1 149              | 1 044              | 2 493              |
| 1980         | 340 <sup>b</sup> | 1 340              | 1 840 <sup>b</sup> | 3 520 <sup>b</sup> |
| <u>Rural</u> |                  |                    |                    |                    |
| 1951         | 465 <sup>a</sup> | 1 520 <sup>a</sup> | 1 505              | 3 490 <sup>a</sup> |
| 1960         | 374 <sup>a</sup> | 1 248 <sup>a</sup> | 1 881              | 3 503 <sup>a</sup> |
| 1970         | 248              | 912                | 1 705              | 2 865              |
| 1980         | 240              | 900                | 440 <sup>b</sup>   | 1 580 <sup>b</sup> |
| <u>Total</u> |                  |                    |                    |                    |
| 1951         | 1 027            | 2 170              | 2 041              | 5 238              |
| 1960         | 844              | 2 162              | 2 581              | 5 587              |
| 1970         | 548              | 2 061              | 2 749              | 5 358              |
| 1980         | 580 <sup>b</sup> | 2 240              | 2 280 <sup>b</sup> | 5 100 <sup>b</sup> |

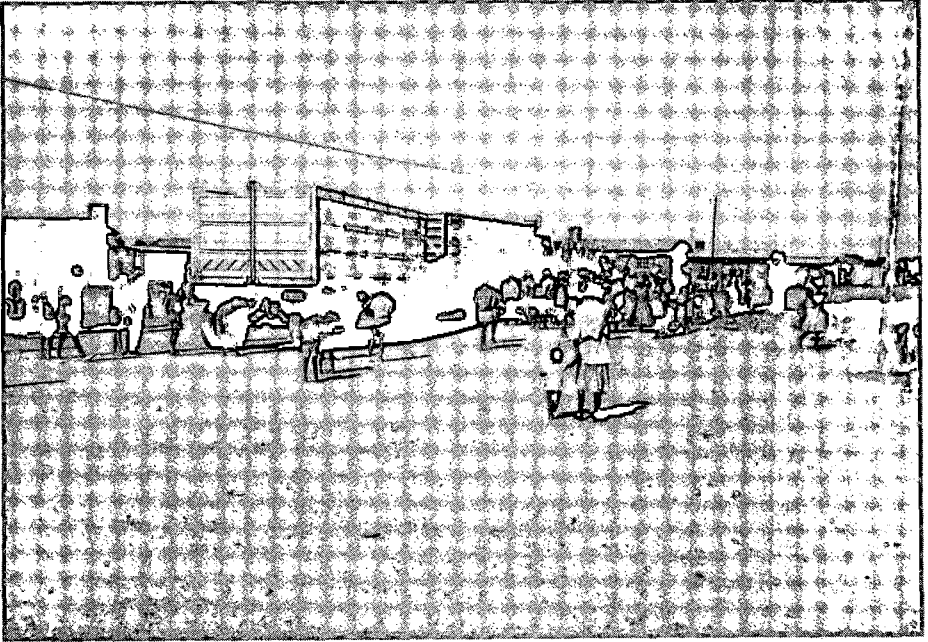
Notes: (a) 1951 and 1960 rural population estimates comparable with 1970 and 1980 are obtained by subtracting from the PC figures a proportion, 0,2785, equivalent to the 1963 decline in the district in surface area with the formation of the Noupoot magisterial district.

(b) 1980 White and African figures, based upon a sample tabulation, are anomalous and suspect. E.g. a 60 strong White group (20 male, 40 female) is listed as resident in a 'black township'; furthermore, the increase in urban and decrease in rural Africans compared to 1970 appears unduly high. Some possible explanations are advanced in the text.

Source: CSS 1963 PC 1960, Vol.1 : 14  
 CSS 1976 PC 1970, 02-05-10 : 8  
 CSS 1982d PC 1980, 02-80-01 : 18

no mention of resettlement during interviews one could assume that part of the rural African population left the district for the industrial centres like Port Elizabeth or Johannesburg. The fact that the Hanover district falls between two 'Eiselen lines' (the original 1955 proclamation to the west, the 1963 one to the east - see Appendix 2), i.e. proclaiming Hanover a 'Coloured Labour Preference Area' could also have an effect on the migration of the African people.<sup>17</sup> That means that they are forced to look for work beyond this preference area with the result that they move out of the district. In addition influx control, contract labour regulations and pass laws (the question of Section 10 rights) could influence the demographic process significantly.





What can be inferred broadly over thirty years are:

1. marked declines in the rural populations of all groups, although the 1980 figure of 440 Africans compared to 1 705 in 1970 is likely to be an exaggeration for the reasons mentioned earlier;
2. considerable growth in 'coloured' and African urban dwellers, and probably consistent falls in the number of their white counterparts if we subtract about 60 construction company employees and dependants from the 1980 figure of 340
3. migrating workers of the two largest groups would not have been recorded in May 1970 and May 1980, and these have been estimated tentatively at about 16% of the urban populations;
4. the total permanent population of town and district is likely to have declined in 1983/84 to well below 5 000 despite the 1980 population census sample figure of 5 100.

### 3.3 The Urban Population Sample of Hanover

A survey of the black town population was conducted by means of a household questionnaire. This was to provide a more detailed profile of the population. The questionnaire covered variables such as sex, age, marital status, residential status, employment, income, education and housing.

One problem encountered was the status of workers who were migrating or commuting on a weekly, monthly, quarterly, half-yearly or yearly basis. This posed a problem of methodology throughout this essay. The choice of the terms 'migrate and/or commute' indicates the dilemma. Where does commuting stop and migrancy start? How long does a worker have to stay/work away from home to be considered a migrant? Another aspect is his/her relationship to the Hanover community. To what extent can he/she be regarded as part of the population or not? Is a person still considered part of the community if he/she stays away for a year?

It is assumed that most of these migrating and commuting men and women leave their families behind and return to them over a shorter or longer period of time. They contribute towards the reproduction of the family by sending remittances back to Hanover. They are also seen by their families as part of the family unit and their relationships are resumed during their time at 'home'. Only in the case of permanent migration, were such people not included as members of the family even if they did contribute towards the family income on a regular or irregular basis. They are tied to their place of work elsewhere just as they are tied to Hanover through their social relations, and tend to ameliorate the poverty situation there - perhaps even diffuse the urgency for change. On these grounds commuters and migrants were included in the sample without distinction. They are all affected by conditions in Hanover which have forced them into this situation.

#### 3.3.1 Sex and Age Distribution

The sample of 709 people consisted of 404 women and 304 men (one case had incomplete data), i.e. 57% were female. At the time of interviews not all the people from whom I collected data were present as many male workers were commuting. It is thus not surprising that 70% of households in the sample were headed by females. 'The sex ratio is that of a country permanently at war'.<sup>18</sup>

Although Mayer is referring to the 'homelands' (in this case the Transkei), this micro-study among others on the platteland substantiates this uneven sex ratio in rural areas.

The age distribution of the population in Graph 1 shows in contrast the difference between the actual population pyramid, i.e. the average number of people on site throughout the year and who were present at the time of the interview, and the reconstituted population pyramid taking account of those who migrate on a fortnightly, quarterly or yearly basis, namely those who were not present when their families were interviewed. As Hanover has no high school, the number of people absent from home between the ages 11 to 20 are scholars who migrate on a quarterly basis. The 'decrease' in the permanent adult resident sample population, however, was 16% which throws some light on the local labour market.



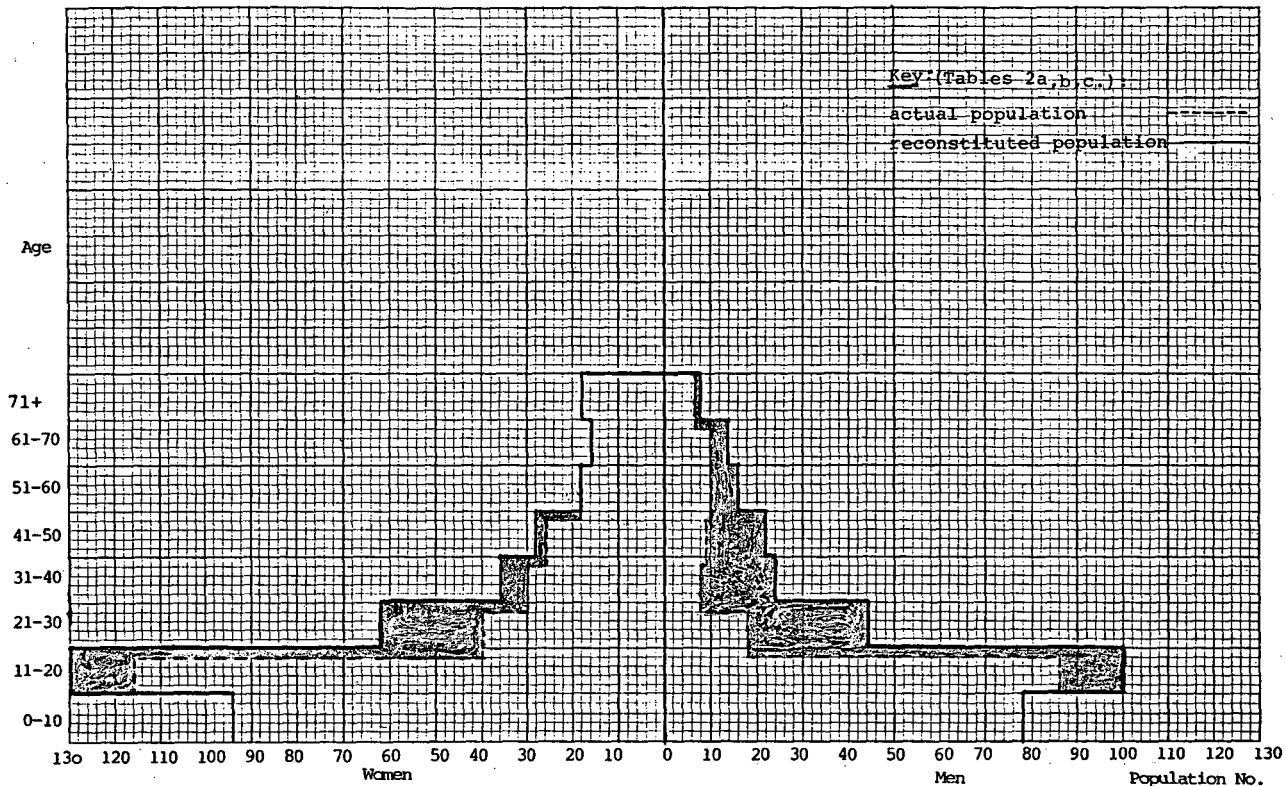
'... (T)he observed male/female ratios in different age groups are influenced by the respective proportions of the two sexes at birth, differential mortality, (educational possibilities, EM) and sex-selective migration. Apart from the failure to report age at all, mistakes concerning the age distribution of a population results from misstatements of age and incomplete enumeration of certain age groups.' 19

The urban sample population of Hanover showed the following age distribution of the black population.

1. Pre-school children, 5 years and under comprised 10,8% of the total sample population - 'coloured' children equalled 10,2% and African children 11,5%.
2. Scholars from 6 to 15 years comprised 29,7% of the total sample population with the distribution of 'coloured' and African scholars being 32,2% and 27,3% respectively. As there is no high school in Hanover the possibility of further education decreases remarkably considering the costs of transport, board and lodging.
3. The youth aged 16 to 20, i.e. 16,6% of the total sample population in all probability would belong to the economically active population considering the above mentioned schooling possibilities. However 5,6% are still at school in Hanover or managed to go to school elsewhere.
4. Thus, including the economically active youth, the potential economically active population comprises 46,8% of the total sample. Of the 'coloured' and African people, 44,9% and 48,7% respectively belong to this group. Almost half of the population is thus dependant on this potentially productive group.
5. Of the total urban sample population 7,1% is of pensionable age, i.e. 60 onwards for women and 65 onwards for men.

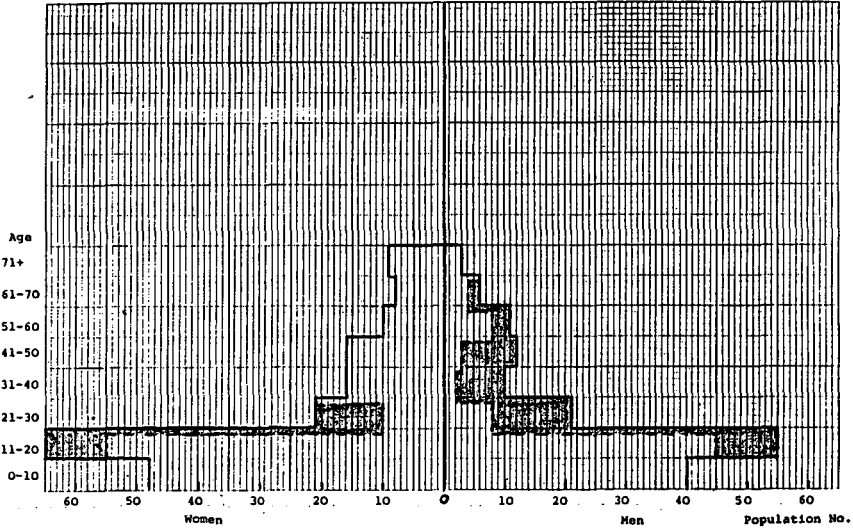
The median age of the 'coloured' sample population of Hanover is 24,7 years. With greater representivity, i.e. a larger sample, the median age is likely to fall. In 1974 Truu found in his study of the demographic structure of the Cape Midlands and Karoo that 'there had been a recent indication of juvenescence' in the 'coloured' population.<sup>20</sup> The African sample population however had a higher median age of 27,1 years, but the sample could be too small to assess aging among this group of people.

# Age Distribution of Sample Population



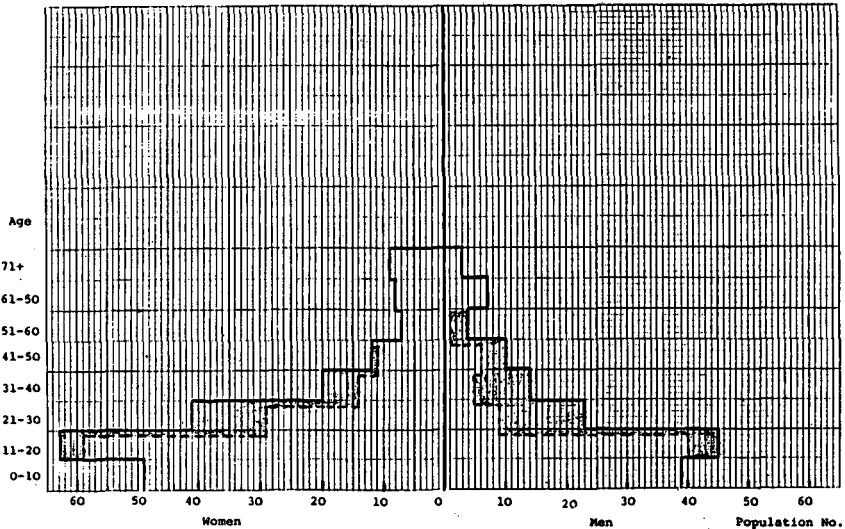
GRAPH 2A

**Age Distribution of Coloured Sample Population**



GRAPH 2B

**Age Distribution of African Sample Population**



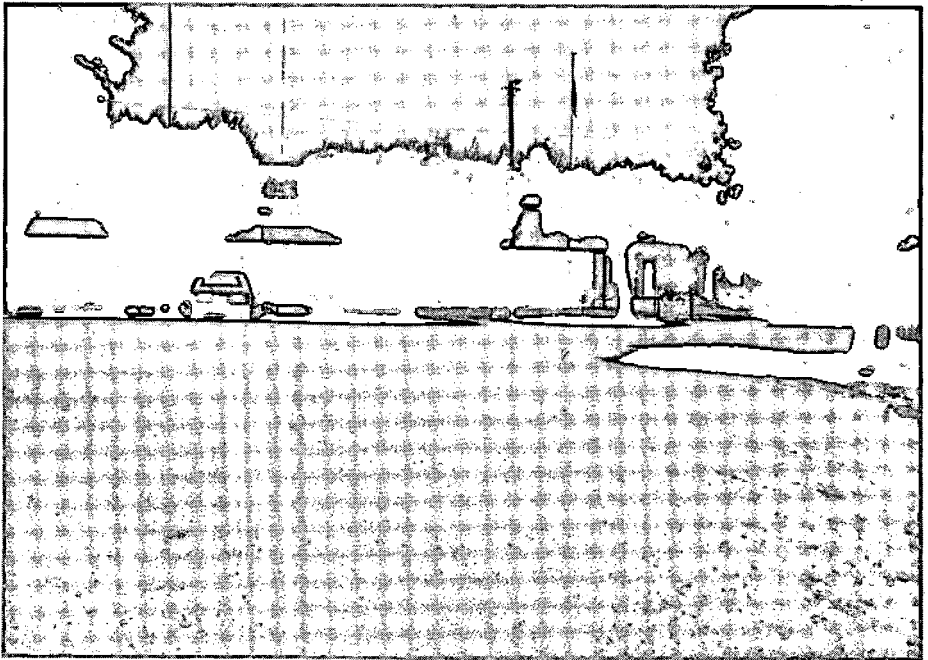
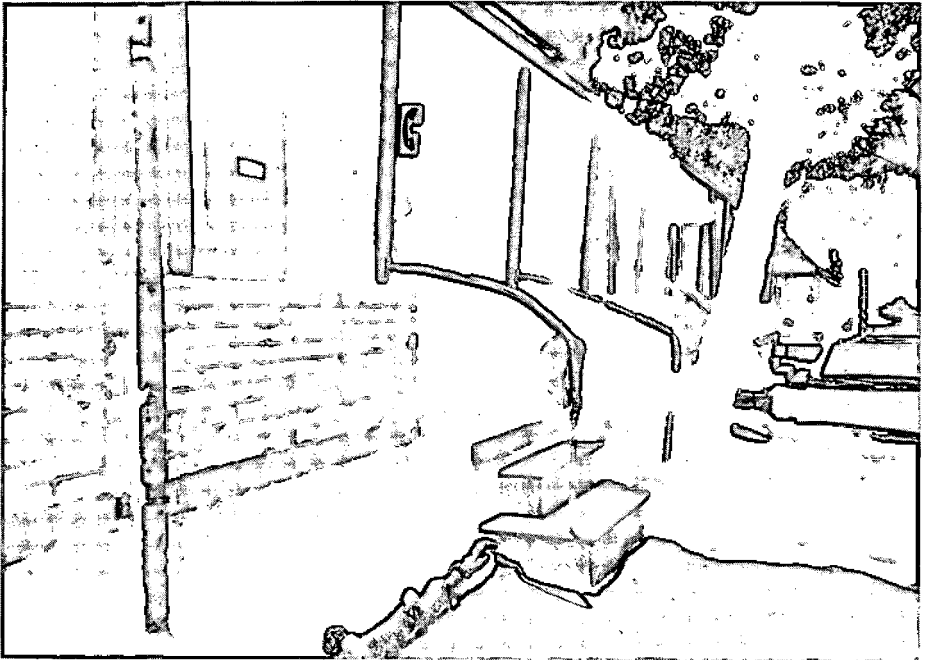
The population pyramids (Graphs 2A and 2B) for both groups reflect the youthfulness of the town's black population. The sample shows that 71,1% and 73,4% of the 'coloured' and African population respectively are 30 years old and under. In both groups the aged comprise 7,6% of the total sample population with the percentage of women higher. The population pyramids indicate a reduced birth-rate in both groups over the past 10 years which might be the effect of family planning. The sister responsible for family planning had only been in the town for a few months at the time of this survey, but the information about birth-control injections being used by the district doctor reinforces the above assumption.

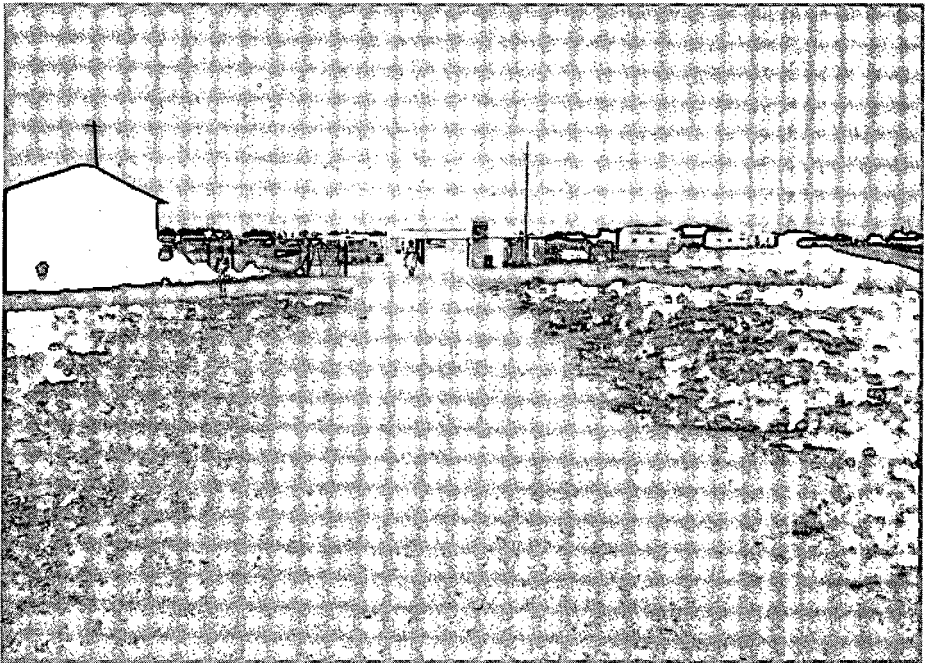
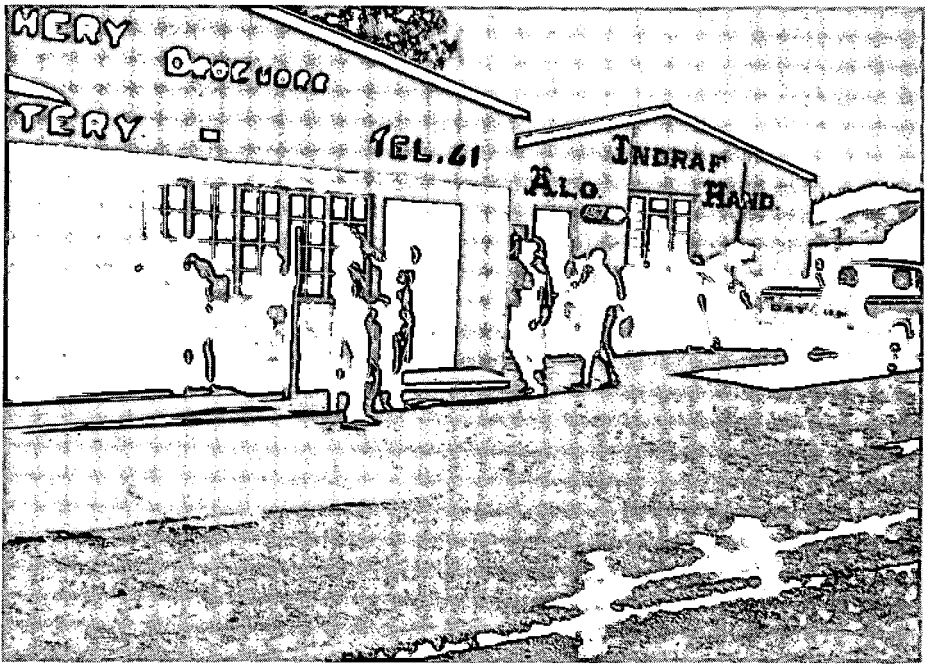
The difference between the age bracket 11 - 20 and 21 - 30 of the 'coloured' and African sample population could be the result of out-migration. This possibility is stronger among the 'coloured' than the African people. The relatively larger 21 - 40 age group for African people may reflect the effects of Hanover's location vis-a-vis the Eiselen Line and the application of pass law restrictions on their mobility. A prominent feature is that a proportion of both groups are forced to look for work elsewhere with more men than women leaving Hanover for this reason.

I have only dealt with one demographic factor, viz. migration. Factors such as mortality and fertility are of no less importance. It is of absolute necessity to deal with these factors if one questions the impact of poverty on population-growth in its complexity. However, the lack of data leaves a gap in further research.

In summary the following trends emerge:

1. a change in the composition of the population groups,
2. a relatively high female to male sex ratio indicating the effects of migration amongst others,
3. the tendency of the younger people to move away or commute in view of restricted or declining opportunity.





#### 4. ECONOMIC PROFILE

The economic situation in Hanover is closely linked with the demographic profile. The following profile offers some explanations for migrancy and commuting, illustrates working conditions in the town, comments on different sources of income and considers a few behaviour patterns which arise from this economic situation.

##### 4.1 The Structure of the Local Labour Market

Of the sample of 709 respondents, 261, i.e. 36,8% make up Hanover's labour force. This category embraces all those who are employed on a regular, casual or seasonal basis and those who are unemployed. Housewives, old people and children are categorised as not economically active. If the labour force is broken down by employment status, about 62,8% of the labour force are employed. Of these workers 15% work on a casual or seasonal basis, and 37,2% are unemployed. Those working in Hanover comprise 22,2% of the labour force whereas 40,6% are forced to work away from home. This large percentage employed elsewhere together with those unemployed indicates how scarce job possibilities are locally.

What job possibilities are there in Hanover? Hanover has no industry at all, although a few respondents mentioned rumours of a wool weaving establishment starting up.

'The Bo-Karoo Divisional Council with headquarters in De Aar employs 29 workers in Hanover for the maintenance of district roads; for the same purpose on national roads the Cape Provincial Administration employs 18. A figure of 38 is cited for municipal workers though this sounds rather high. Then at Hanover Road Station, South African Transport Services administer a compound for 90 track men, an unknown proportion of whom live with their families in Kwezi and commute the 15 kms daily. The post office, magistrate and police employ a handful, as do the three schools. In addition to state and local government employers, a number of jobs exist in the tertiary sector: four shops, one butchery, one hotel, one garage, one farmers' co-operative, and private domestic service.' 21

A high proportion of the working people in the urban sample, 35,2%, is employed in the services sector (see Table 2). Domestic service would be the most likely sector in which black women both in Hanover and in other places are

TABLE 2

Hanover Urban Sample : Employment by Economic Sector

| Sector       | Female | Male | Total | %       |
|--------------|--------|------|-------|---------|
| Agriculture  | 2      | 20   | 22    | 12,5    |
| Manufacture  | 1      |      | 1     | 0,6     |
| Power        |        | 1    | 1     | 0,6     |
| Construction |        | 17   | 17    | 9,7     |
| Commerce     | 3      | 21   | 24    | 13,6    |
| Transport    |        | 3    | 3     | 1,7     |
| Service      | 55     | 7    | 62    | 35,2    |
| Authority    | 1      | 25   | 26    | 14,8    |
| Teaching     | 1      |      | 1     | 0,6     |
| Post         |        | 2    | 2     | 1,1     |
| Medicine     | 3      |      | 3     | 1,7     |
| Others       | 1      | 13   | 14    | 7,9     |
| Total        | 67     | 109  | 176   | 100,0** |

Source: For the above and following tables analysis of urban sample data, unless otherwise stated.

\*\* Irregularities in the aggregates of the following tables are due to missing data which were absent because of the lack of knowledge in different categories. Percentages are thus calculated on the total of those categories included allowing only for suggesting trends tentatively.

employed. The other dominant category is local authorities (14,8%) where male employment is higher. Men are more likely to find work with the Municipality or Divisional Council because of the type of work offered in these areas. If one includes sectors such as teaching, the postal services and health, then 18,2% of the employed are absorbed in government jobs. Should the number of pensioners be considered at this point, then the role of the state as a source of income would be seen in a new light. This will be dealt with later. Agriculture absorbed 12,5% of the employed in the sample population. They are mostly sheep-shearers resident in town. Manufacturing, construction and commercial jobs are scarcely available in Hanover. Those employed in these sectors found work outside of Hanover, i.e. in industrial centres.

Given these depressed conditions, 40,6% of the economically active black population have been forced to migrate further afield: about two-thirds of those employed elsewhere, are working in the north (the Orange Free State and Transvaal) and one-third in the south, especially Cape Town, with more 'coloured' people finding work here as the Western Cape is a 'Coloured Labour Preference Area'. (See Appendix 2). It is, therefore, difficult for Africans to find work nearby. This state of affairs not only affects the individual and his or her immediate family, but the community as a whole. Those members of the family not working locally eventually cease to be considered part of the population, their work-places ranging between 60 and 800 kilometers from Hanover.

It requires perseverance to find employment under the pass laws confining Africans to Hanover: a girl wishing to train as a nurse was refused registration in Cape Town and Johannesburg because her Section 10 rights restricted her to Hanover. Only when adopted by a minister in Johannesburg could she gain residential and working rights there.

How the different restrictions, i.e. influx control, pass laws, 'Coloured Labour Preference Area', affect each population group is reflected in Table 3.

Approximately 75% of the employed African workers and about 59% of the employed 'coloured' workers are forced to leave the town. African workers are

TABLE 3

## Plan of Work by Population Group

| Work Location | 'Coloured |     |       |      | African |     |       |      | Total |      |
|---------------|-----------|-----|-------|------|---------|-----|-------|------|-------|------|
|               | Women     | Men | Total | %    | Women   | Men | Total | %    |       | %    |
| Hanover       | 18        | 22  | 40    | 40,5 | 4       | 14  | 18    | 24,4 | .58   | 33,5 |
| Away          | 21        | 38  | 59    | 59,5 | 23      | 33  | 56    | 75,6 | 115   | 66,5 |
|               | 39        | 60  | 99    | 100  | 27      | 47  | 74    | 100  | 173   | 100  |

obviously worse off in Hanover. But, as Table 4 below demonstrates, even migration offers no solution to a large proportion of workers who are unable to find employment.

TABLE 4

## Employment of Population Groups by Age

| Age   | Employed |         |      | Unemployed |         |      | Total |     |
|-------|----------|---------|------|------------|---------|------|-------|-----|
|       | Coloured | African | %    | Coloured   | African | %    |       | %   |
| 15    | 5        |         | 62,5 | 1          | 2       | 37,5 | 8     | 100 |
| 20    | 24       | 12      | 55,4 | 13         | 16      | 44,6 | 65    | 100 |
| 30    | 29       | 29      | 66,7 | 6          | 23      | 33,3 | 87    | 100 |
| 40    | 12       | 18      | 63,7 | 5          | 12      | 36,1 | 47    | 100 |
| 50    | 13       | 10      | 65,8 | 7          | 5       | 34,2 | 35    | 100 |
| 60    | 7        | 3       | 58,9 | 4          | 3       | 41,1 | 17    | 100 |
| 65    |          |         |      |            |         |      |       |     |
| 70*   | 1        |         | 100  |            |         |      | 1     | 100 |
| 71*   | 1        |         | 100  |            |         |      | 1     | 100 |
|       | 92       | 72      |      | 36         | 61      |      | 261   |     |
| Total | 164      |         | 62,8 | 97         |         | 37,2 | 261   | 100 |

\* These respondents are seasonally employed so a rate of 100% is somewhat misleading.

Children of school-going age, i.e. 15 years and under, are working or wish to work as Table 4 shows. Although they only comprised 2,9% of the economically active population, they have an unemployment rate of 37,5%. More significant

are the circumstances in the age-bracket 16-20 years. The youth suffer the highest unemployment of 44,6%. The second highest are those between the ages of 51 and 60. The fact that there is no high school in Hanover forces the youth either to commute to the nearest high school (i.e. in De Aar 67 km. away) or, if the financial situation does not permit it, to look for work in Hanover. On the other hand work is scarce in Hanover and they are forced to migrate to find work.

This vicious circle is probably the fate of most of the unemployed in Hanover although other factors may play a role. Unemployment is higher amongst the African population in almost all the age-brackets. This reinforces the earlier arguments about the effect of the Eiselen line.

#### 4.2 Working Conditions

The workers of Hanover are not only faced with restricted opportunities but they also have to endure adverse conditions. The work they find locally does not necessarily offer social security. The following three case studies exemplify the situation of some workers which is exacerbated by the conditions of unemployment.

##### 4.2.1 Sick Leave

A municipal worker related:

'I'm sitting here with backache. When I worked for the butcher I hurt myself. I had to carry heavy. My muscle tore. I got no money ... Nothing. Now I hurt myself again in this job. I filled in a form from the municipality, but the doctor did not want to sign. He sent me back to work and didn't even take an X-ray. Then the pain got worse. So I went back to him. He asked me why I went back to work the first time ... I said, "doctor, you sent me back!" He could have put me off for a week or two not so?'

##### 4.2.2 Bargaining Powers

The sheep-shearers constitute the largest group of farm workers. Hanover has two sheep-shearing teams of about 8 - 10 men each. Sheep-shearers are employed for periods of days or weeks depending on seasonal demand. In

toto they work approximately seven months in the year, although there is no guarantee they will work continuously for that time. During my stay a team had just lost their jobs because the boer refused to fetch them from town as he had found a cheaper team.

'We had to be working today. These days are working days for me and my men. That man that we worked for is not going to pay us for the week. Last Tuesday we took on the job. He took on the team and left me - that I am now sitting here with these people. We age from this work. Our kidneys are already like sponge and the cement eat us. We stand day by day on cement in big sheds - whether it is cold or warm. If a sheep kicks me or the scissors stabs me, I get nothing. This is my life ... I wrote to the Wool Board and am trying to get a permit so that I can make a contract with the farmer.'

The leading hand further related, they had worked for a week without being paid. Their clothes, blankets, cooking utensils and, worst of all, their only means of earning a living, their tools, remained on the farm. The lack of transport not only prevented them from fetching these things, but also from travelling further afield to find work.

#### 4.2.3 Job Protection

The job insecurity and very weak bargaining position of the labour force is especially prominent amongst farm labourers and domestic workers as they are not protected by the Labour Relations Act nor the Wage Act. The position of the domestic worker quoted below is an everyday reality for this group of workers.

'I work for the whites for R15 or R20 a month. It's washing, scrubbing floors, cooking. We have a difficult time here. If one talks, then the white man shows you you can take the road. I went to complain by the administration, but they said they could do nothing. There are enough people to take on the jobs.'

Considering the fact that the white population is decreasing the number of vacancies in domestic employment is likely to shrink further forcing more and more women to look for work elsewhere or fill the ranks of the unemployed in Hanover.

The position of domestic workers in the industrial centres is no better. They are just as little protected even if they do have organisations to give them advice and support.<sup>22</sup>

These case studies illustrate not only the weak position of these workers, but also reflect the level of resistance that takes place outside of any form of organisation - the municipal worker returning to the doctor, the domestic worker going to the administration board, the sheep-shearer wanting a permit - all vis-a-vis a seemingly hopeless situation.

#### 4.2.4 Unemployment

What was incredible was that not a single person of the 32,7% who were unemployed received unemployment insurance fund benefits (see Table 5).

The fact that a considerable portion of the unemployed could have previously been employed in the economic sectors, services and agriculture, could partly explain the absence of this income type, i.e. UIF, in the sample as under present conditions domestic workers and farm labourers do not have the right to unemployment insurance fund benefits.

TABLE 5  
Type of Income by Population

| Income Type      | 'Coloured' | African | Total | %    |
|------------------|------------|---------|-------|------|
| Regular          | 71         | 66      | 137   | 52,7 |
| Casual           | 18         | 5       | 23    | 8,8  |
| Old Age pensions | 15         | 24      | 39    | 15,0 |
| Other pensions   | 2          | 0       | 2     | 0,8  |
| UIF              | 0          | 0       | 0     | 0    |
| Disability       | 9          | 11      | 20    | 7,7  |
| Welfare          | 22         | 4       | 26    | 10,0 |
| Service pensions | 1          | 0       | 1     | 0,4  |
| Board            | 9          | 3       | 12    | 4,6  |
|                  | 147        | 113     | 260   | 100  |

### 4.3 Income

'Poverty is ( ... ) both simple and complex; simple in the sense that a broad view of the poor as those with inadequate incomes is often thought to suffice.' 23

But income cannot be seen as a single measure of poverty, i.e. if poverty could be measured. Subjective factors illustrate that the amount of income could be relative if what people consider to be their needs does not overlap with their physical welfare. Furthermore comparisons with other variables such as type of work, work location, sex and education show that income alone cannot be a measure, but only an indicator of the poverty situation.

The total income of the sample, including wages, pensions, welfare grants, boarding and remittances, was R12 540 per month; i.e. the average household of seven members has a monthly disposable income of R123. Level of income and types of work reflect possibilities on the local labour market.

#### 4.3.1 Wages

The average wages of those workers in Hanover who were included in the survey were R89,28 per month.

The more obvious sectors of employment in the absence of industry, would be domestic service, agriculture and local authorities such as the Municipality etc. Unqualified or labourers jobs would thus be the more probable type of employment offered in Hanover, especially in the light of low educational levels (which will be dealt with later). Table 6 shows a concentration of workers in these sectors. This allows one to draw comparisons with the national average minimum wage of labourers. In January 1984, at the time of this survey, a labourer in South Africa was earning an average monthly minimum wage of R134,32 according to wage rates set by the Wage Board.<sup>24</sup> This would mean that the workers of Hanover were earning only 66,5% of the average set minimum wage. Only 21,4% of the workers in Hanover earned above the national average minimum wage - the highest wage being R200 per month. Wages in Hanover are low and the plentiful supply of labour with an unemployment rate of 37,2%, depressed wages.

Commuters carry a double burden. If they are unqualified, the possibility of earning almost as little elsewhere as in Hanover is very real (see Table 7).

This situation is aggravated by the additional costs which arise from commuting - rent at home and at the place of work, travelling expenses, etc. The workers have to earn substantially more for commuting to make a financial gain. But to earn more money the worker has to be qualified and Hanover does not offer this possibility (refer to Tables 6 and 7) for there are no high schools let alone other training facilities.

Of all women employed about 61% are in the lowest wage bracket compared to about 36,2% of the males (see Table 8). Job opportunities for women in Hanover are scarce. Domestic service is virtually the only sector in the town which could absorb women workers.

TABLE 6

Income by Type of Work

| Income R/m | Professional | Skilled | Semi-skilled | Service | Labour | Farm | Other | Total |
|------------|--------------|---------|--------------|---------|--------|------|-------|-------|
| 50         |              |         |              | 20      | 4      | 7    | 6     | 38    |
| 100        |              |         | 1            | 4       | 14     |      | 4     | 23    |
| 150        | 1            |         |              | 3       | 6      | 3    | 2     | 15    |
| 200        |              | 1       |              |         | 1      |      | 1     | 3     |
| 250        |              | 1       |              |         |        |      |       | 1     |
| 350        |              | 1       |              |         |        |      |       | 1     |
| 400        |              | 1       |              |         |        |      |       | 1     |
| 600        |              | 1       |              |         |        |      |       | 1     |
| Total      | 1            | 5       | 1            | 27      | 25     | 10   | 13    | 83    |

TABLE 7

Income by Worklocation

| Income R/m | Hanover  |         | Other Places |         | Total |
|------------|----------|---------|--------------|---------|-------|
|            | Coloured | African | Coloured     | African |       |
| 50         | 20       | 7       | 10           | 2       | 39    |
| 100        | 11       | 6       | 1            | 2       | 20    |
| 150        | 6        | 3       | 3            | 2       | 14    |
| 200        | 2        | 1       | 1            |         | 4     |
| 250        |          |         | 1            | 1       | 2     |
| 350        |          |         | 1            |         | 1     |
| 400        |          |         | 1            |         | 1     |
| 600        |          |         | 1            |         | 1     |
| Total      | 39       | 17      | 19           | 7       | 82    |

TABLE 8

Sex Distribution by Income Level

| Income R/m | Women |      | Men |      | Total |
|------------|-------|------|-----|------|-------|
|            | No.   | %    | No. | %    |       |
| 50         | 50    | 61,0 | 34  | 36,2 | 84    |
| 100        | 29    | 35,4 | 35  | 37,2 | 64    |
| 150        | 2     | 2,4  | 15  | 15,9 | 17    |
| 200        | 1     | 1,2  | 5   | 5,3  | 6     |
| 250        |       |      | 2   | 2,1  | 2     |
| 300        |       |      |     |      |       |
| 350        |       |      | 1   | 1,1  | 1     |
| 400        |       |      | 1   | 1,1  | 1     |
| 600        |       |      | 1   | 1,1  | 1     |
| Total      | 82    | 100  | 94  | 100  | 176   |



The majority of the women in the lowest wage category are employed in domestic service where the worker is in a very weak bargaining position.

Two points thus need to be underlined:

1. Wages are low and depressed in Hanover
2. and women suffer a particular disadvantage where income is concerned.

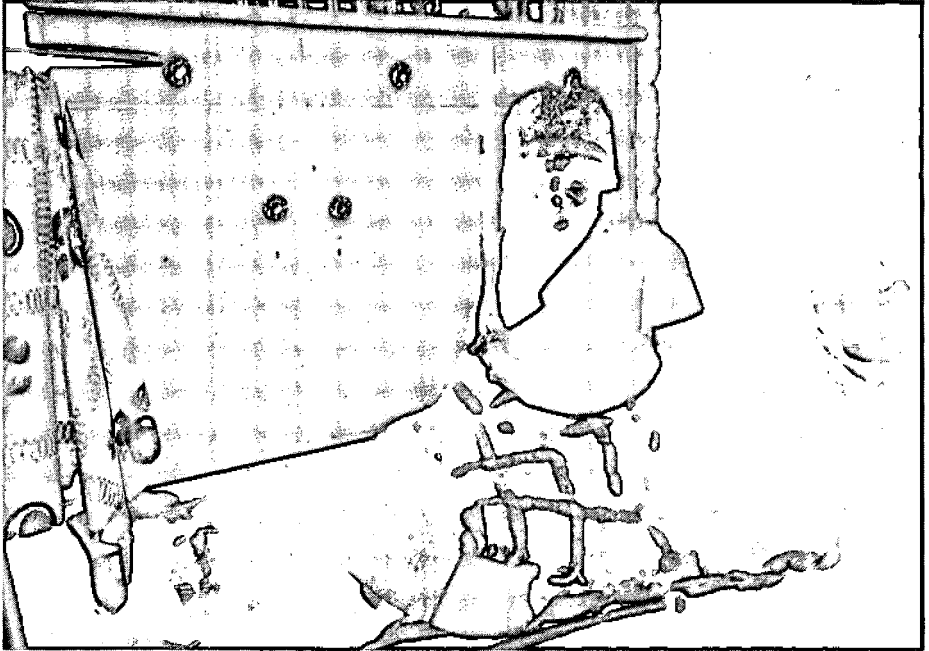
The farm workers in the urban sample were mostly sheep-shearers resident in Hanover, working on the farms in the area, and spending their money in the town. They need special mention as they do not earn a regular wage and they get paid in cash and kind. As they can only work for about seven months of the year, they are hard pressed to survive on a very low income.

Sheep-shearers earn 30c per sheep sheared in the Hanover district. Shearers manage to shear between 100 and 150 sheep per week (earning R30 to R45 a week). If a shearer earns an average of R37,50 a week and works for 7 months (which is most unlikely), then for a year he would have R87,50 a month at his disposal, i.e. 34% less than the national average minimum wage for a labourer. And he lives in a position of not knowing whether he would have work the next day or week.

According to a shearer the farmer must give the men a 'slagding' once they have completed 1 000 sheep. Meat from this slaughtered sheep ('slagding') has to be shared among those in the team leaving little meat for each family. Because the shearers get paid at the end of the job, they have to live on credit from the farmer on the farm while their families live off the 'boek' in town, i.e. on credit from the general dealer.

#### 4.3.2. Pensions

Pensions constitute 24% of total income of the urban sample population. A considerable portion of the black population is dependent on payments from state institutions. Thirty four per cent of the income-receiving population in the sample live off some type of pension or grant; 18,6% of the 102 households live off old age pensions alone and 6% live off maintenance or disability grants alone. In toto, 72 people survive on 22 pensions. Should one include all households receiving pensions, this percentage would increase as in a majority of cases the pension is the only regular source of income, the rest coming from casual or seasonal work; alternatively, the regular wage is so low that the pension constitutes the bulk of overall income in that household.





### Old Age Pensions

Of the sample, 44,3% are pension or grant receivers. (see Table 9 below). More old people should qualify for a pension but have no birth certificate or other means of proving their age. An old woman who used her baptism certificate to support her claim to a pension had to wait 10 years for it. Many old people struggle to manage financially on their pensions, especially Africans who receive payments only every second month. Some support grandchildren whose parents are forced to leave home for work. They buy on credit and at the end of the second month pay double rent, about R20, using the rest of the R93 to pay their shop debts. In many instances these are higher than income received, forcing them to go into debt again.

Why people get into debt may be ascribed to many factors - too low a pension, high rent, high food prices, etc. Another reason could be the refusal to adapt to an impoverished situation. A pensioner related:

'We ate beans, corn, maize, pumpkin in the old days. There was enough food. We did not know what hunger is. Milk and meat we got from our cows, sheep and goats. The Depression forced us to sell. I then worked for the farmer for years. I received good food and got used to the life with 'boerekos' and 'lekkernye'. Now, when I receive my pension and go to the shop, I buy that food - the food that I'm used to eating. Then the money is gone ...'

More women receive an old age pension than men (see Table 9) because they outlive them as the population pyramid in Graph 1 demonstrates. It is important to stress the role that these women play in the community as part of a support system.

TABLE 9  
Income from Public Funds

| Pension Type      | Women | Men | Total | %    |
|-------------------|-------|-----|-------|------|
| Old Age Pension   | 25    | 14  | 39    | 44,3 |
| Service Pension   |       | 1   | 1     | 1,1  |
| Other Pension     |       | 2   | 2     | 2,3  |
| Welfare Grants    | 15    | 11  | 26    | 29,6 |
| Disability Grants | 14    | 6   | 20    | 22,7 |
| Total             | 54    | 34  | 88    | 100  |

## Welfare and Disability Grants

It is not surprising that farmers commented on the easy access to these grants, especially welfare grants,<sup>25</sup> as they comprise 17,7% of all the income in Hanover (see Table 5, p. 26). They also include more than half of the income derived from some type of pension (see Table 9). A large proportion of these two income types are received by women. This is particularly so with disability grants. The position of these women is amplified in the section on health. The role that welfare and disability grants could also play in the struggle against poverty is elaborated in the final section, i.e. poverty and the position of women.

Finally, old people, the disabled, and parents struggling to rear children regard pensions as a means of survival, whereas farmers consider that welfare grants obviate the need to work and are awarded 'too easily'. Perhaps farmers have enough reason to believe the latter as the poor in Hanover are revealing non-conformist behaviour patterns (the refusal to work), but need a source of income to survive nevertheless. If this is so, then it provides evidence for the third approach to poverty as referred to in the introduction.

### 4.3.3 Non-Wage Sources of Income

Growing vegetables like pumpkin or mealies barely eases the struggle for survival. The shortage of water in summer ruins the gardens and stunts the growth-rate of the vegetables. Often people live far from the sources of water and become apathetic about carrying it. Poverty reduces people to beggars. They borrow from relatives, friends and neighbours if the shopkeeper refuses them credit. 'Ons kry hier 'n bietjie, daar 'n bietjie'. This shows that:

' ... survival is not merely a matter of cash in hand ...  
but also of money borrowed, money shared, money saved or  
invested ...'

A woman from Kwezi, who had no income at all, told how she and her family survived by borrowing money to buy baking ingredients to make small cakes to sell. Beer is brewed in the same manner and with the same objective in mind. In general, the Administration Board refuses to issue licences for hawkers. Obviously it is difficult to obtain reliable information on these informal activities, but the inconsistent and sometimes confusing stories told suggest that such activities are common.

## 5. HOUSING

With the influx of farm workers, the 'coloured' and African townships of Hanover have grown since the beginning of the 1970s. Although Hanover has not been finally proclaimed, the Group Areas Act has affected the black population.

The physical lay-out of the town today accords with the classical apartheid pattern of separating the different population groups. Older residential and commercial areas are zoned for white ownership and occupation; Cape Stands erected in 1941 and extended post 1945 in part for ex-servicemen, and Tornadoville after 1976 are occupied by the 'coloured' community; and Kwezi is the African township where construction commenced in 1973. These spatial relationships can be clearly seen on the map.

Two vestiges of the pre-apartheid era remain: some 20 families live in squatter conditions in Die Erwe within the buffer strip between white and 'coloured'; approximately 15 - 20 families classified African still reside in New Stands on the margin of the 'coloured' area, although their 13 houses, school and 5 churches, all currently occupied, have been purchased by the Hanover municipality.

Excluding these last-mentioned properties, the housing stock is 166 in Tornadoville with a further 39 planned. Kwezi, run by the Eastern Cape Administration Board, contains 270 houses and finance for an additional 30 has been granted to accommodate the families from New Stands.

It should be recorded that these tidy results of social engineering were accomplished with the help of die Grootwind, a tornado in November 1976 which destroyed many structures erected by the occupiers themselves.

## 5.1 Conditions of Housing

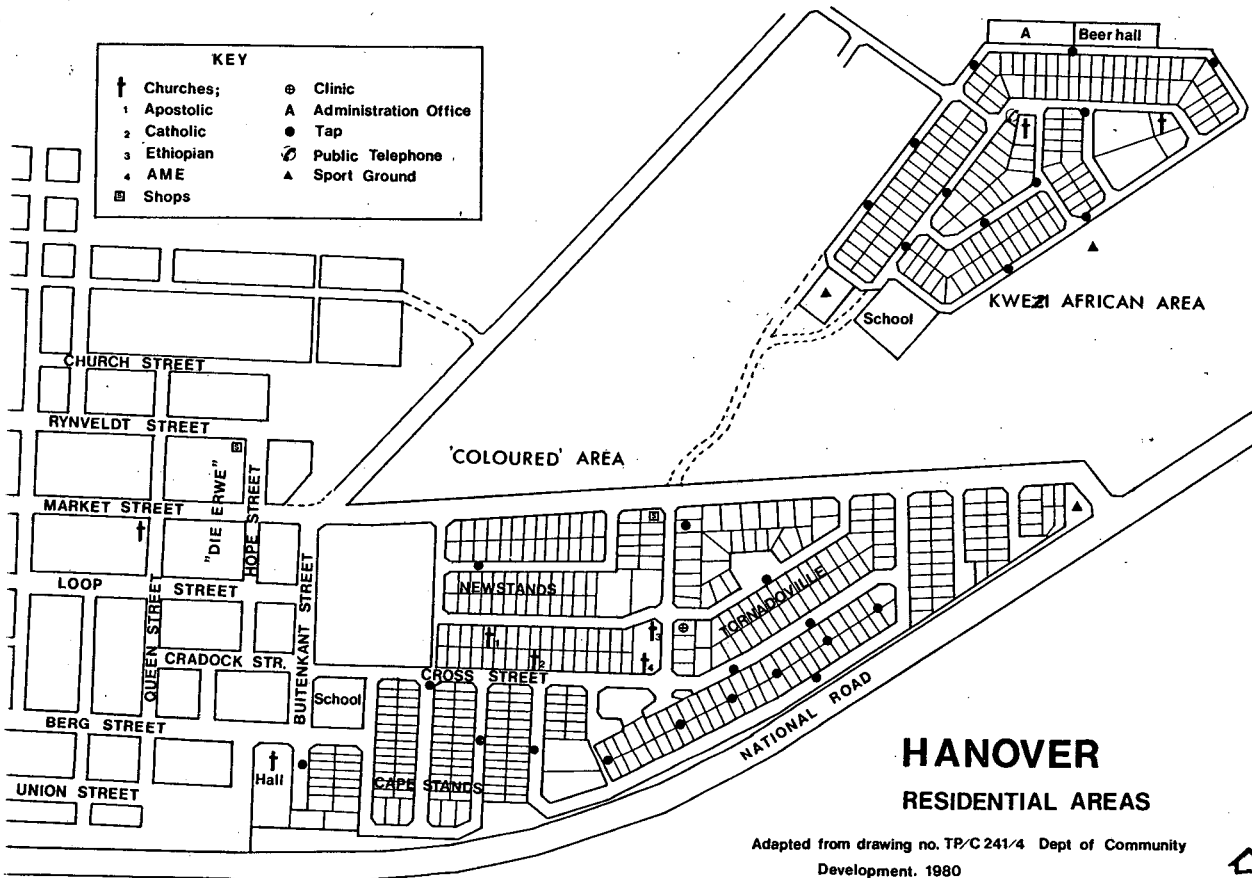
The houses in the 'coloured' and African areas, built on 'streetless wasteland'<sup>27</sup> range from two-roomed and semi-detached and detached units to four-roomed houses.

### 5.1.1 The Economic Houses

These are four-roomed houses. The few economic houses (Tornadoville has 10 for example) differ from the sub-economic in having:

- 1) running water (hot and cold) inside the house,
- 2) a bathroom and flush toilet,
- 3) electricity is also installed only in these houses,
- 4) ceilings are another feature.

With the exception of the economic houses in Kwezi, those in the 'coloured' township have inside doors.



**KEY**

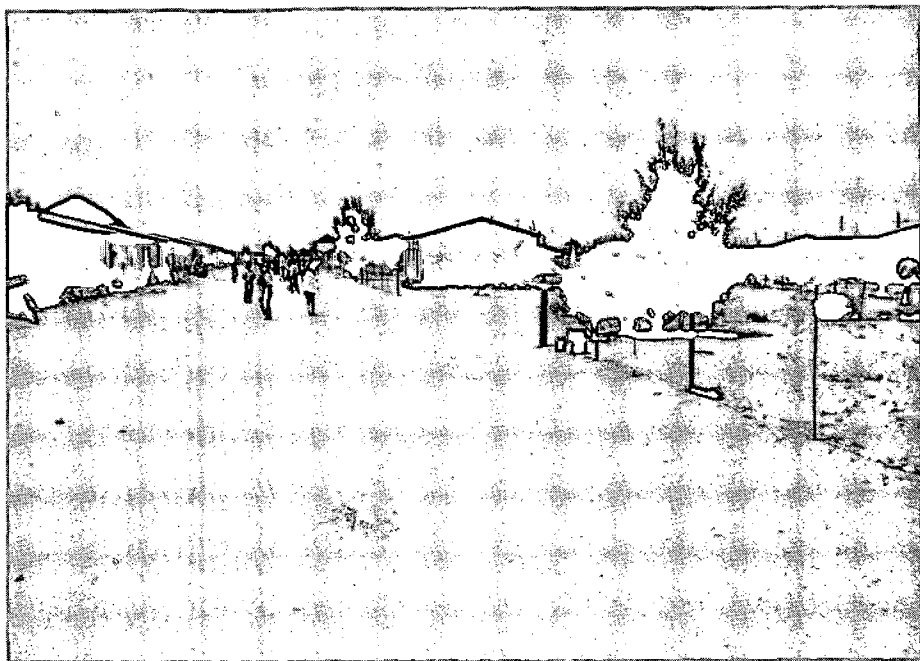
|             |                         |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| † Churches; | ⊕ Clinic                |
| 1 Apostolic | A Administration Office |
| 2 Catholic  | ● Tap                   |
| 3 Ethiopian | ⊙ Public Telephone      |
| 4 AME       | ▲ Sport Ground          |
| ■ Shops     |                         |

# HANOVER RESIDENTIAL AREAS

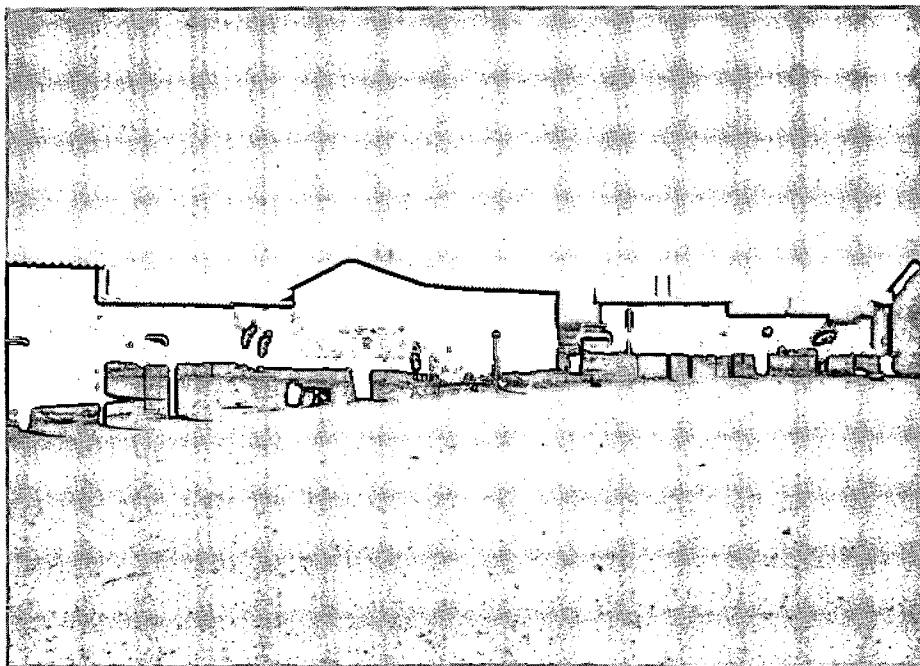
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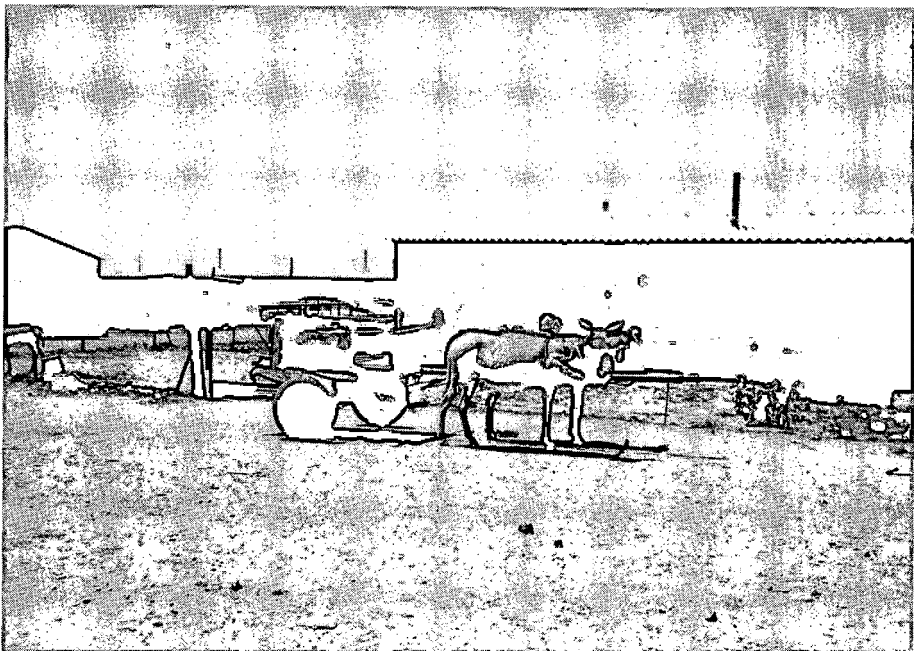
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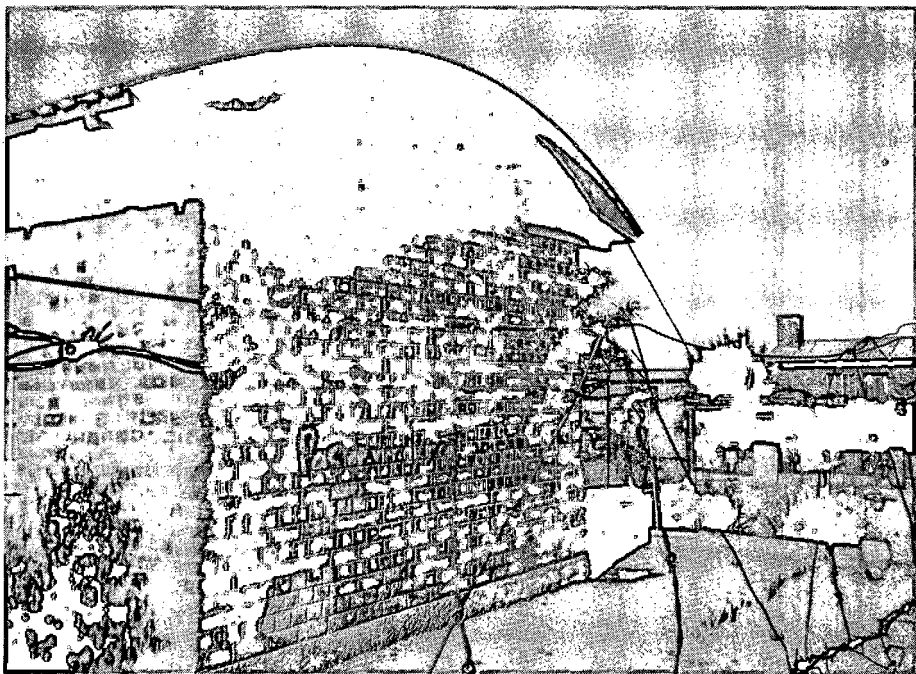


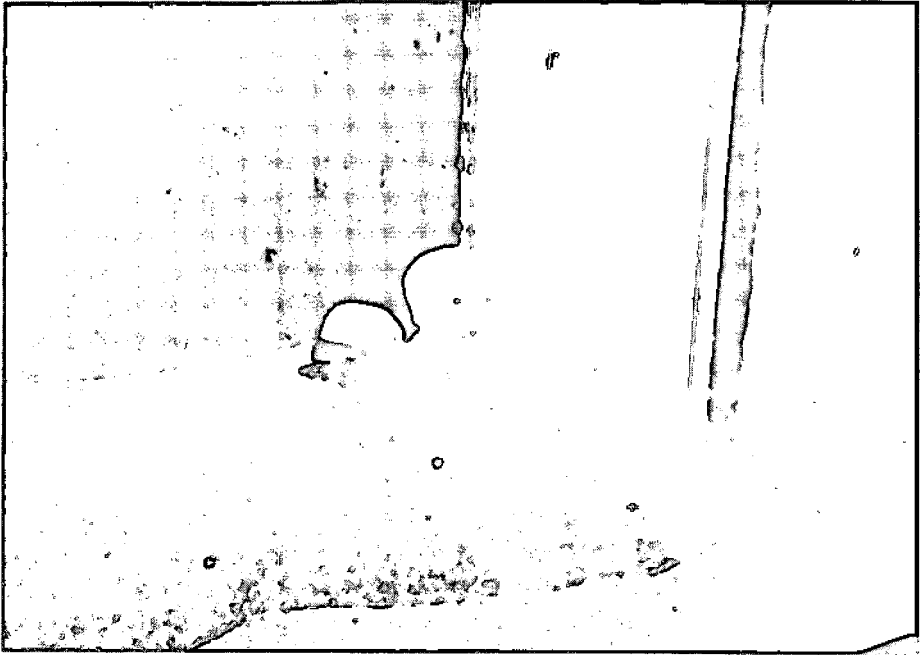
SUB-ECONOMIC HOUSING



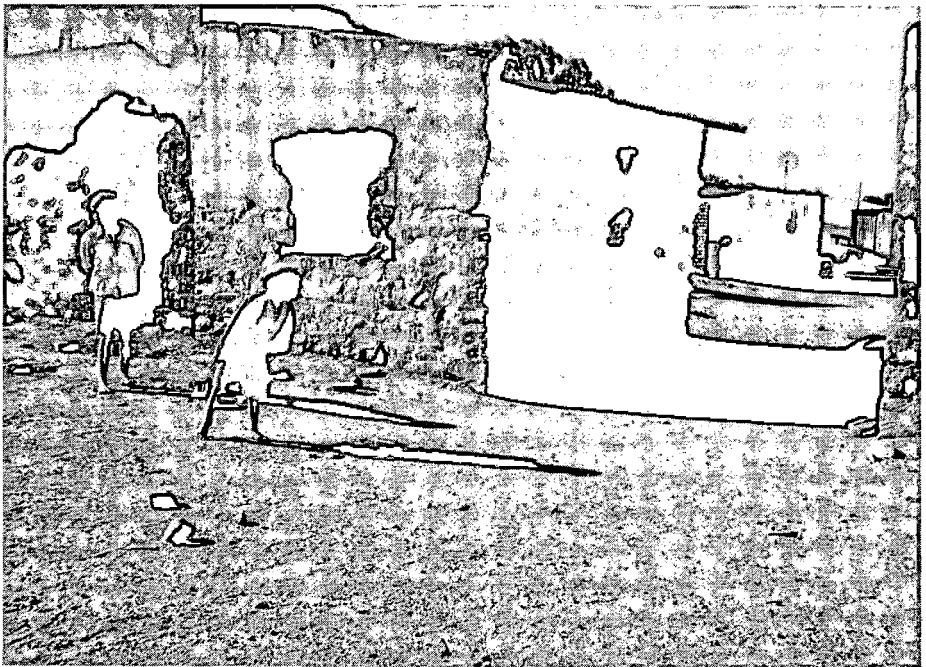


SUB-ECONOMIC HOUSING





SUB-ECONOMIC HOUSING

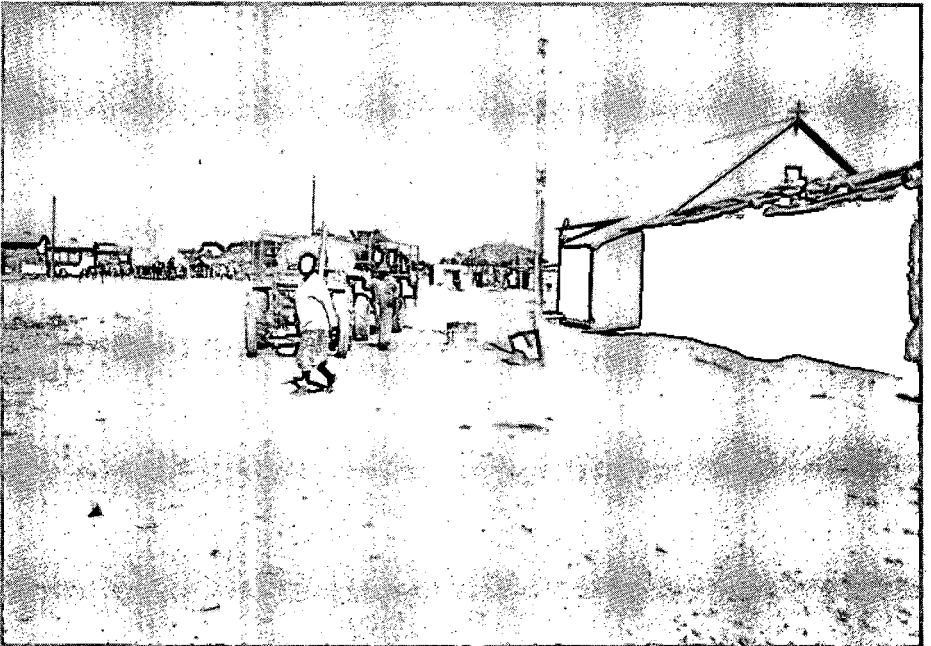
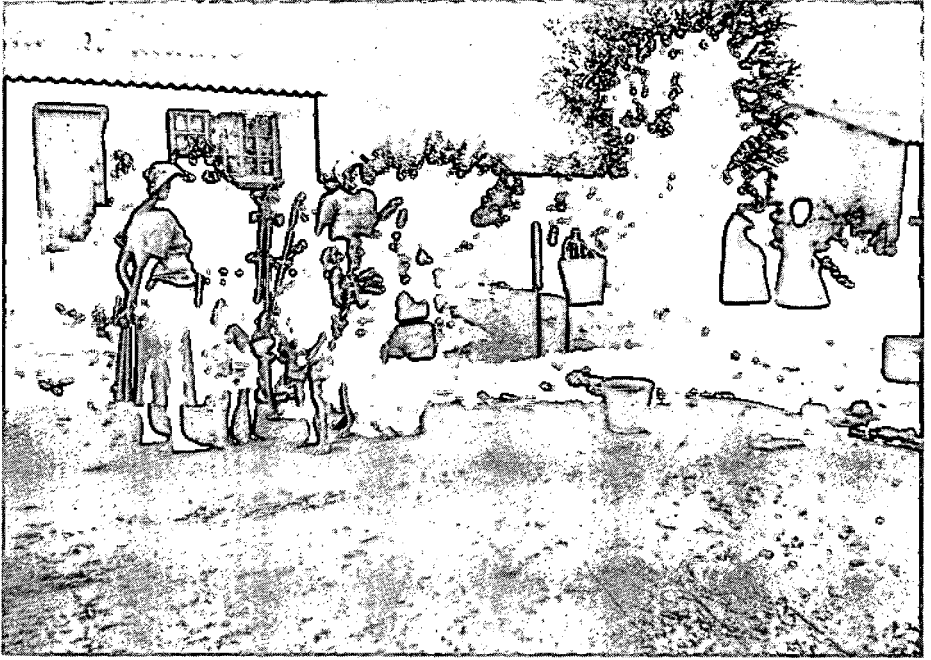


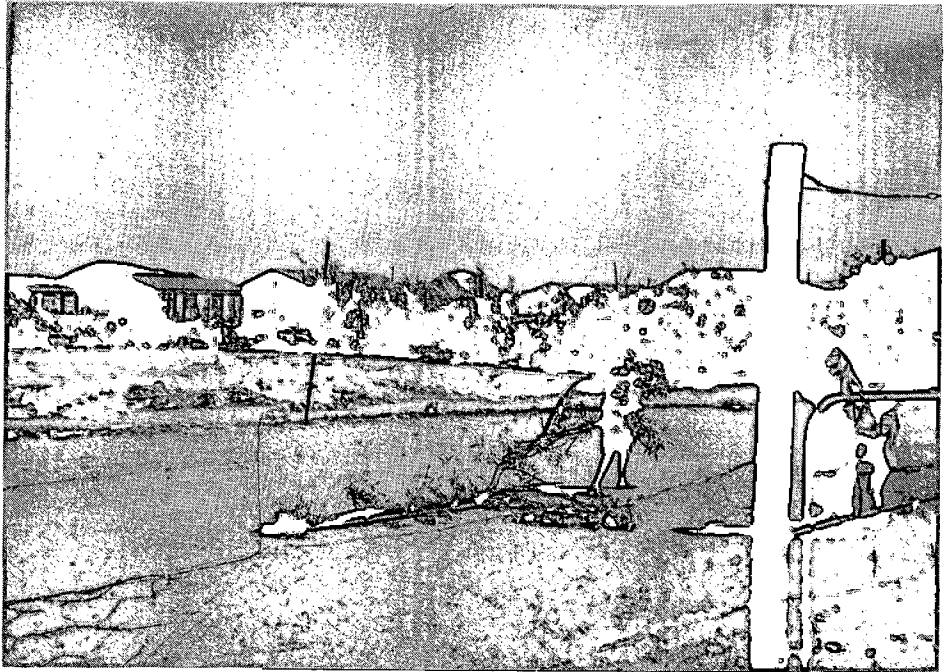
### 5.1.2 The Sub-Economic Houses

These houses range from two rooms to four rooms. The four-roomed houses are semi-detached unlike the economic houses. These houses lack all the comforts an economic house has to offer:

- 1) Water has to be fetched from a communal tap outside which has to be shared between four or more households depending on how they are spaced (refer to the map).
- 2) The bucket system is still in use for sanitation. These sanitary buckets are collected twice a week which is insufficient where there are 14 to 16 members in a household. Second buckets if needed cost between R1 and R2 a month.
- 3) People living in these houses have the burden of finding wood or buying coal for cooking and candles for light in the absence of electricity.
- 4) These houses have no ceilings and are thus very cold in winter.
- 5) The sample of 102 households showed that 11 families were sharing two-roomed houses, i.e. approximately 10% of the households questioned. One to seven persons shared one room while an average of seven people shared two- and three-roomed houses. There is no doubt that overcrowding is prevalent. Extending the sub-economic houses with corrugated iron structures, as in Port Elizabeth or Willowmore, is not allowed at all.

The disadvantage of both economic and sub-economic houses (with the exception of Cape Stand's arched concrete slabs covered with corrugated iron roofs) is that they have asbestos roofs unsuitable for the Karoo climate. It becomes dry, brittle and breaks easily in hailstorms. Asbestos emits dust which is potentially injurious to health.<sup>28</sup>





## 5.2 Rent

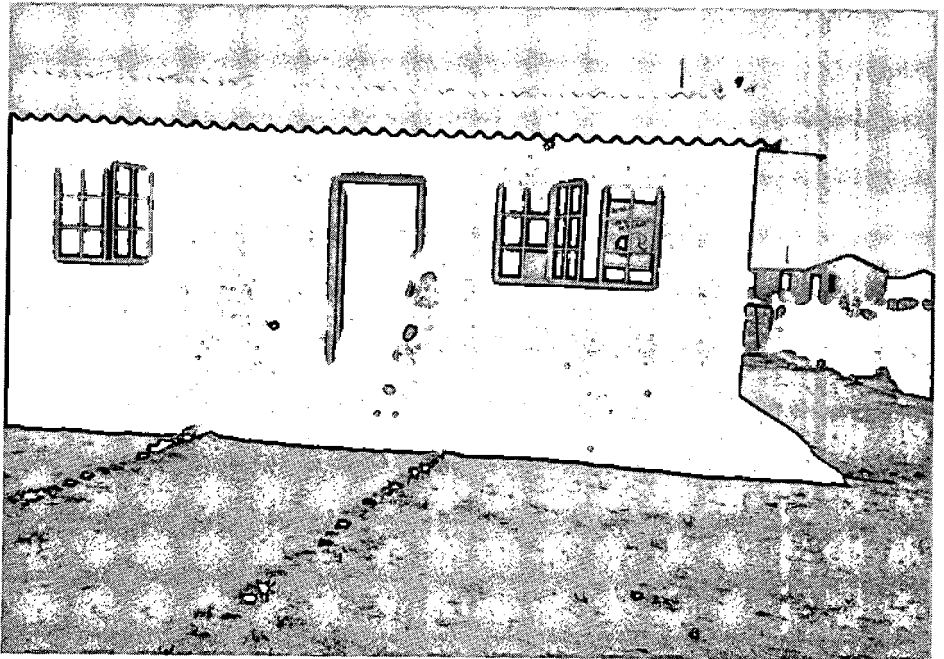
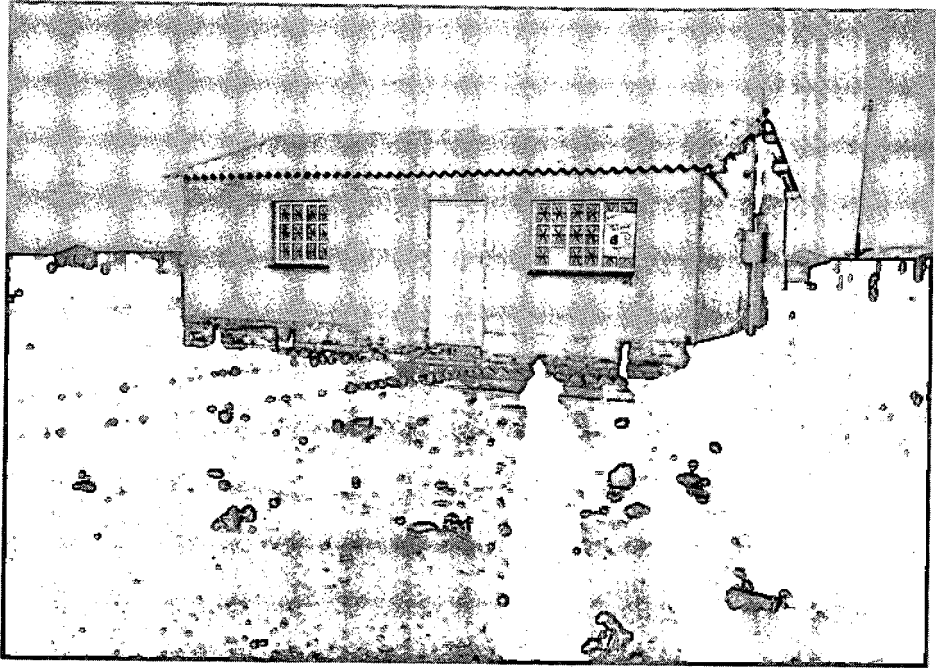
Rent in the 'coloured' township varies according to size of dwelling and usually rent is raised when a new tenant moves in. The rent for a sub-economic house in Cape Stands and Tornadoville varied from R10 to R23,50 according to the number of rooms.<sup>29</sup> The economic houses cost R50 a month.

In Kwezi, rents are on a sliding scale, i.e. they are charged in proportion to income. According to the Eastern Cape Administration Board (February 1984), the maximum proportion of income payable for rent a month is 25%. Whether this is based on the income of the person who rents the place or all working members of the household is unclear, but there were discrepancies between this information and that collected during interviews.

Rents in Kwezi varied from R4 to R10 a month according to size. The economic houses cost R48 a month. With an income of R90 per month a tenant should pay, according to the Administration Board, at most, 25% of his income, i.e. R22,50. One respondent reported that as a tenant earning R90 he was paying R37 for his four-roomed sub-economic house, i.e. 41% of his income. This was no isolated case as another tenant living in the same type of house earning R130 per month also paid R37 rent monthly, which is 29% of his income. There was also the case of a tenant who earned R40 per month paying a monthly rent of R15, i.e. 38% of his income.

The lower income groups are affected by high rents in a more restrictive manner because they have to spend a relatively high proportion of their wages on rent. It is not surprising that a great number of people are in arrears. In Tornadoville there is a household which owed the Municipality six months' rent for a four-roomed sub-economic house at R16,23 per month. In Kwezi, to be nominated for the Community Council, the candidate must not be more than two months in arrears. Only one man in Kwezi was eligible at the time of the survey.

The fact that so many people are in arrears could perhaps explain the above-mentioned disparity. In other words one could question whether the Municipality or Administration Board are collecting a monthly payment for the arrears pushing rent higher than the maximum rate. If this is so, why are people not informed about this? Who is reaping the benefit of such a situation?



The possibility of eviction is thus very real. When one is about R40 in arrears, the threats of eviction start. Eventually tenants are locked out of their homes and their furniture is stored in a shed in town until their rent is paid. But, some people would only let themselves be evicted by force as their needs conquer the fear of the consequences of rent arrears. They first spend their money on other things which exposes the inherent rebellion implicit in going into arrears. This behaviour of the people of Hanover confirms the third approach to poverty in which the poor set their own priorities when dealing with their situation.

## 6. HEALTH

Health is defined by the World Health Organisation as a state of 'complete physical, mental and social well being'.<sup>30</sup> If one considers the black population of Hanover according to this criterion, a bleak picture emerges.

### 6.1 Health Services

Hanover has no hospital and no resident doctor. A local clinic had been established about six months prior to this survey.

A nurse from Colesberg visited Hanover on a part-time basis until a permanent nurse was sent by the Health Department in August 1983. However, there was no adequate building to house the local clinic. The Municipality was forced to use one of the economic houses which lacked all the necessary facilities and equipment. The building which could have been used as a clinic instead accommodated the nurse for family planning - a service which had also only recently been established.

The district doctor from Richmond visits Hanover twice a week on Tuesdays and Thursdays. He is subsidised by the Municipality and a consultation costs 50c. Another doctor from De Aar visits only once a week on Saturdays and charges R4 per consultation as he has a wholly private surgery.

Because skilled medical services are not available immediately on call, at confinements there is still an untrained elderly women considered sufficiently qualified as a midwife known as the 'voedvrou'.

There is an ambulance service, but as there is no hospital, in cases of emergency, the patient has to be taken to Richmond (approximately 61 km. south) where the

district doctor is stationed. But he is there only at certain times leaving the nurse to use her initiative about where to send the patient. Other emergencies are sent to De Aar about 67 km. from Hanover, as a doctor is constantly on duty there. Apparently before the nurse arrived people had to get permission from the Municipality first before they could hire an ambulance. The people of Hanover were thus totally dependent on the judgement of Municipal officials about the seriousness of their case. If this was not possible because the ambulance was unavailable (the ambulance driver is also the taxi and post driver), a car had to be hired at extraordinary prices. For example, an inhabitant was charged R40 for a 93 km. return trip to Middleburg and the taxi to De Aar (67 km.) costs R30.

## 6.2 Health Status

Children: The private doctor in a brief interview claimed that 90% of the diseases among babies and very young children in summer is gastro-enteritis. This was confirmed by the district nurse. In winter children suffer mostly from bronchitis, pneumonia and other lung problems and the doctor stated that tuberculosis is still a widespread condition in the community. The district nurse indicated that mass X-rays of the community were still required to assess the overall magnitude of the problem.

Adults: According to the doctor the most common problem amongst males is lung complaints. Women suffer mostly from inflammation of the bladder which occurs more often in winter and there are considerable numbers of cases of pelvic and uterine ailments. These health conditions are not surprising if one remembers that the houses are not insulated and the toilets are outside. Hanover is very cold in winter with a lot of snow. Nervous complaints, blood pressure and heart problems were mentioned by the respondents, especially women. One could question the psychosomatic nature of these complaints. Its prevalence would not be surprising considering the pressure under which women have to survive: migrancy of their partners, lack of money, lack of job opportunities, childcare, household chores. This will be dealt with in greater detail in the following section.

Malnutrition and Undernourishment: The effects of a poor diet can be seen in the physiques of children who are either small for their age or thin with bloated stomachs. A poor diet, of course, also makes the human being more susceptible to illness and disease. Thus access to nutritious foodstuffs is an absolute necessity in sustaining good health status. But the staple foods of the community are mealie pap (maize porridge), beans, bread and coffee. Fresh vegetables and fruit are luxuries for which the people of Hanover have to pay high prices.

Alcohol: Although I have no substantial data on the rate of alcohol consumption in the community nor to what extent people suffer from alcohol-related diseases, the two weeks experience in Hanover nevertheless made me aware of the high consumption of alcohol, especially over the weekends. Respondents confirmed this observation. Alcohol contributes to the low health status of the poor and makes them more susceptible to other illnesses and diseases. How alcohol affects the community on a different level will be dealt with under social health.

### 6.3 Health Consciousness

Generally, conditions in Hanover such as bad housing, overcrowding, lack of physical amenities, low income and unhygienic practices caused through apathy or simply lack of resources, generate and sustain a low health status. The district nurse emphasised that ignorance was a major factor. She put it forth-rightly: 'Die mense is uit die aardkors. Hulle is rou ... Hulle het geen gesondheidsbewussyn nie'. For example, the medicine man or toordokter still plays a role in the community. Some people believe their illnesses are caused through curses, leaving the nurse regularly in contact with the people in an awkward position. Should such a person die, she runs the risk of the community rejecting her.

Yet, the community's refusal to come to terms with the health services offered, may lie deeper than pure 'ignorance' or 'lack of health consciousness'. Health consciousness cannot be seen independently of material conditions. The so-called lack of health consciousness could thus be interpreted as a reflection of the real, material conditions of the poor - their socio-economic conditions. How does one keep clean if there is no water or access to water is difficult? How does one combat disease, if sterilisation with boiling water is complicated

because of the lack of firewood or money to buy coal? What effect does the treatment of tuberculosis have in the presence of overcrowding? The list is long. If, in this context, one understands consciousness in relation to material conditions, then the latter will also have to change for an overall improvement in the health status of the poor to take place.

The term 'ignorance' is, of course, interpreted from the position of those who feel rejected in their function, i.e. when people do not respond as expected. However, the 'ignorance' of the poor could also be interpreted as a gesture of mistrust and rejection of an alien situation. Although the poor have been sporadically confronted with medical or health services i.e. western culture through the process of industrialisation, such services have not been an integral part of their life experience. They have more trust and confidence in traditional healing methods as this has been part of their upbringing, way of life, and culture. Their experience with modern medicine in all probability has been one of the patient being reduced to a passive object. This is contrary to the traditional healing process where the patient is involved as an active subject in his/her own healing process albeit through rituals. But in modern medicine they have been denied the self-determining moment in the process of healing. Their response to health services could thus be seen as a practical critique of western medicine which expropriated their own capacity to heal themselves.

#### 6.4 Social Health

Social well-being depends on the social environment of people. If the social environment is repressive people look for a means of dealing with the situation. Their strategies can take different forms - excessive use of alcohol being one form. To quote a minister of one of the churches who put it so aptly, 'Let the poor (man) drink so that he can forget his poverty'.

The extent of excessive alcohol consumption forces one to come to terms with the problem in a more complex manner than merely regarding alcoholism as an illness to be cured. Alcohol may be perceived as a means whereby the poor escape from an intolerable situation. It is used to release frustration and rage, the express feelings which are otherwise under control.

If violence does erupt, it could take two paths. Firstly, the violence is given vent to in the community. It affects those people who themselves are suffering under oppressive conditions. Often the family suffers and conditions are perpetuated. Secondly, a form of aggression and violence could break out which is directed against what the person perceives as causing his/her misery. It could take the form of vandalism directed against visible causes of poverty. Things and people who are seen as supporting the existing social order come under attack. This in part could offer an explanation for high crime rates.

The excessive consumption of alcohol should thus be seen in the social context from which it results. It could be perceived as a sign of dissatisfaction with living conditions, a form of unorganised social protest. This need not only be expressed in the community but could also happen at the work place too - it does affect people's productivity and their ability to live an 'ordered life'. In any event, it creates a disturbance for so-called normal life and every disturbance is a threat to the existing social order.

Besides looking at the protest element in alcohol abuse which arises from a specific social context, alcohol should also be seen as a need - a need which also cannot be seen independently of its social context. Needs and desires arise out of social and historical circumstances. They need to be realised and satisfied. So people spend money on alcohol without thinking of how they are going to survive for the rest of the week. It is a need to be satisfied and has to be satisfied to endure the miserable conditions. They are acting in their own interest and are not concerned about what people think of them.

This approach is no defence of the excessive use of alcohol, neither is it an attempt to elevate its role in resistance. It is rather an attempt to unravel the underlying mechanisms of alcohol abuse which seems incomprehensible when taken at face value.

Mental health is equally dependent on the social environment. Feelings of deprivation and personal inability or even capacity to encounter problems of poverty affect mental well-being.

Emily, a married woman with children, lives alone in a room on a disability grant. She claimed that she had become 'deurmekaar' - confused enough to be put into an asylum. On her return, she was forced to live on her own as her husband did not want to have any dealings with her. Not seeing her children broke her heart. The mental anguish was imprinted on her face. She was desperate.

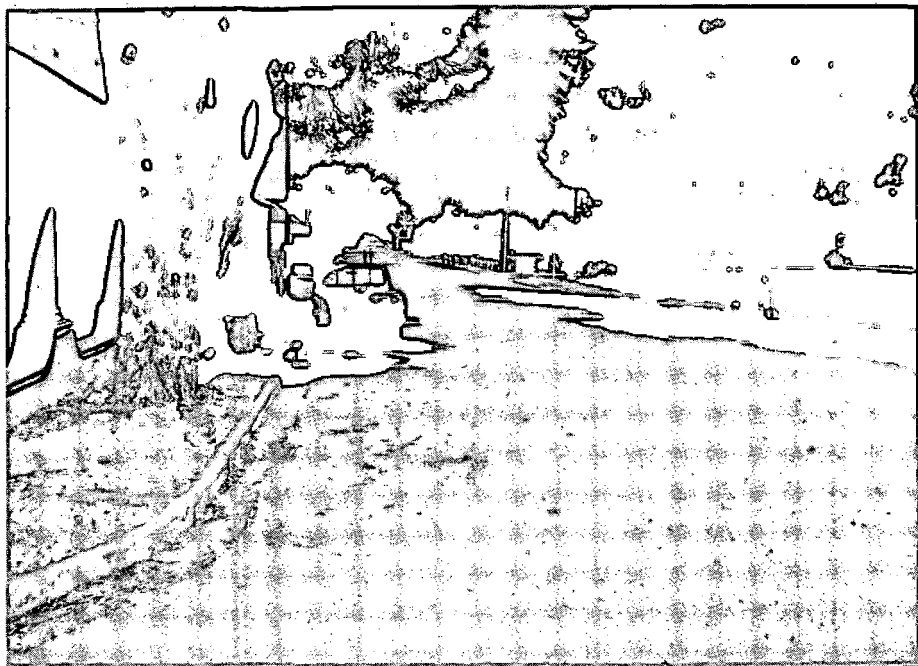
Frustrations found an outlet in mental disarrangement. This woman lost all belief in herself, in her ability to be a wife and mother. Her exclusion from the family and the community worsened her already low self-esteem.

The section on 'Poverty and the position of women' elaborates upon the burdens women have to bear. It also deals with ways in which women handle their situation - consciously or unconsciously. Mental illness could thus be a strategy of coming to terms with an unmanageable situation. This does not exclude men who also live under adverse conditions and could suffer from mental deprivation as much as women. But nervous complaints were observed more frequently amongst women. So one could safely claim that this situation results from the particular conditions the women have to endure, from their social reality with which they have to come to terms.

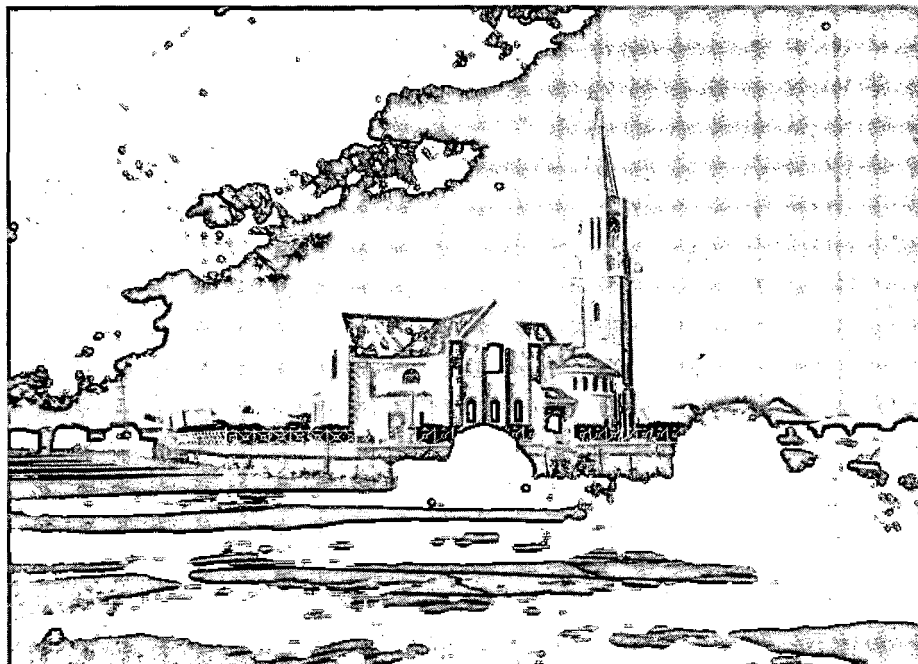
## 7. THE SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

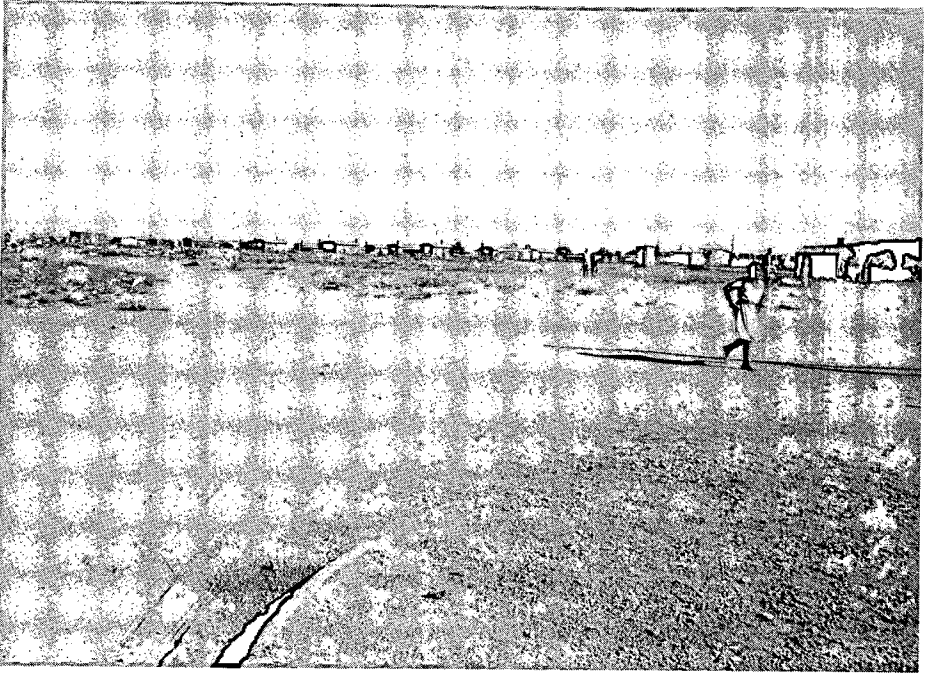
The infrastructure of Hanover is still very rudimentary. Although it lies on the national road there is an absolute lack of transport to and from the town. Even to get to the railway station 16 km. away people have to hire an overpriced taxi or walk.

It would be problematical for a wool-weaving industry to start in Hanover as the water supply is inadequate to meet the demands of such an industry. It is particularly noticeable in summer when the taps run dry. Apparently the cost of modernising the water supply (Hanover has its own spring) would demand too much capital and transport costs have to be taken into consideration.

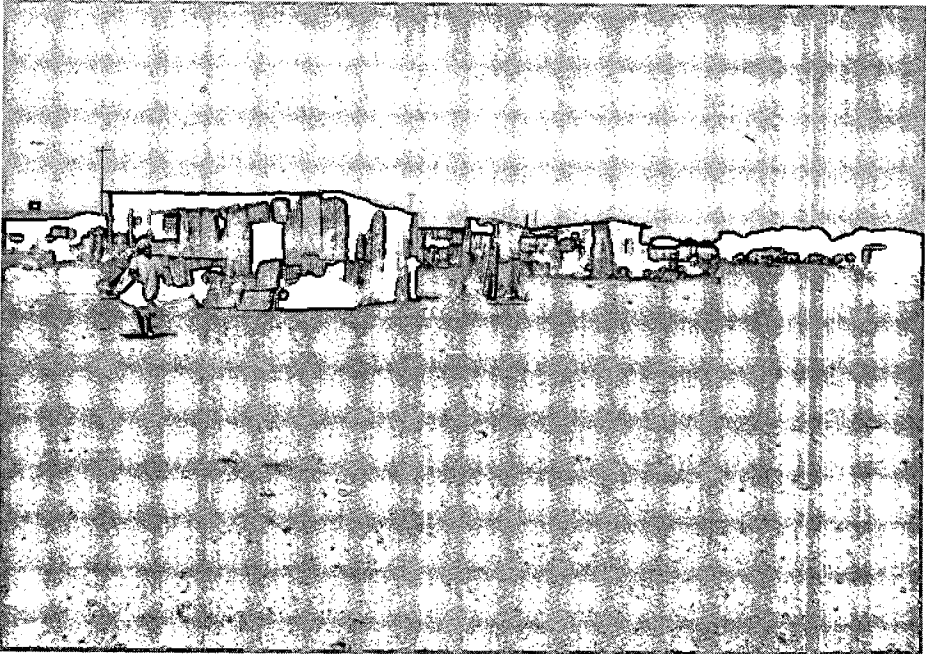


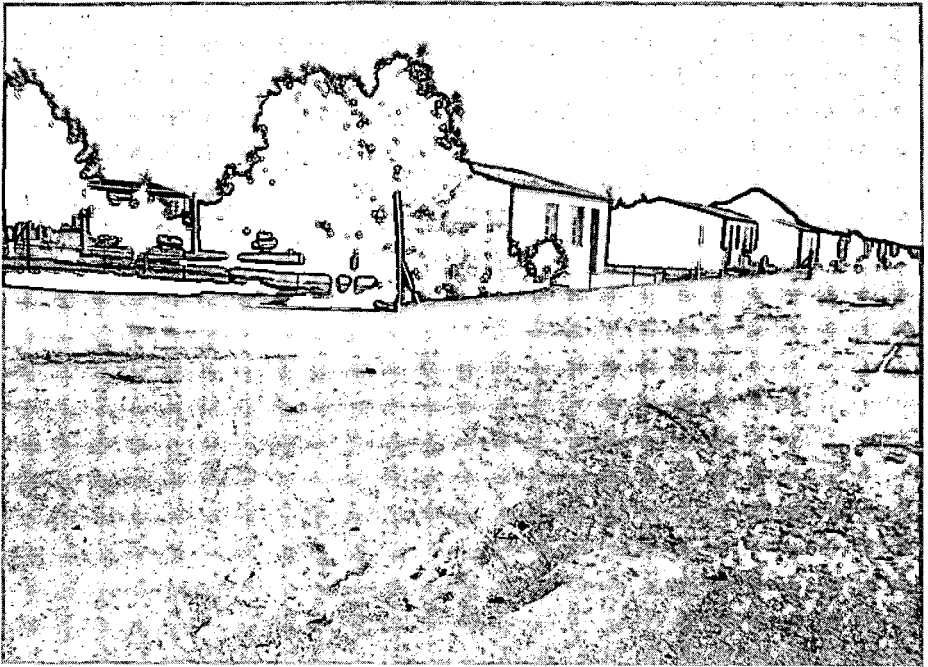
'WHITE' HANOVER



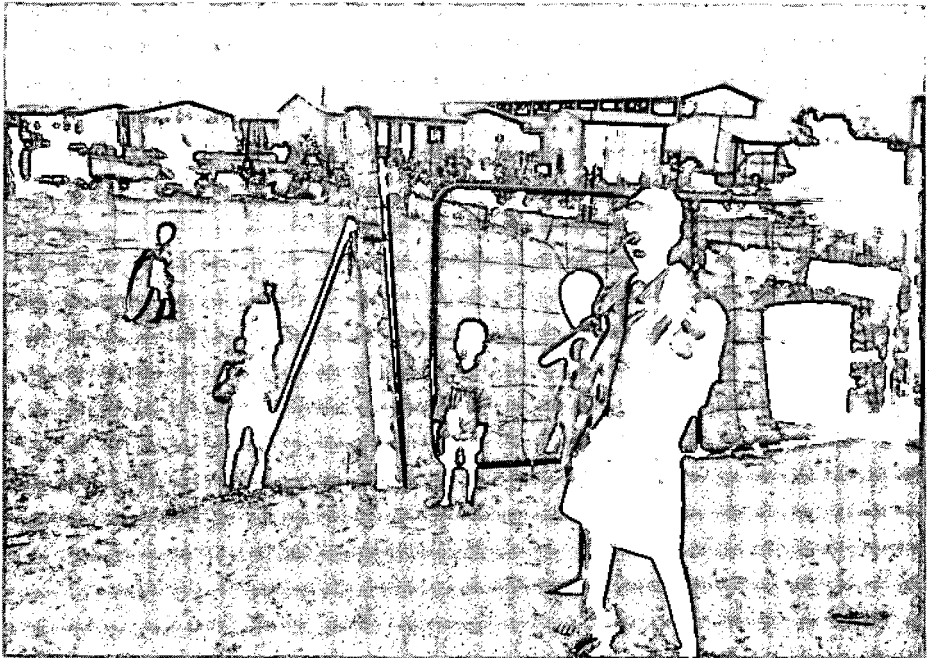


'COLOURED' HANOVER





KWEZI AFRICAN TOWNSHIP



Electricity is another factor which could hinder industrial and commercial development and thus the prospects of more jobs for the people of Hanover. Besides a supply to the white town, only the few economic houses in Tornadoville and Kwezi have electricity. People depend on candles, fire wood and coal for light, cooking and heating. But wood is scarce and coal expensive.

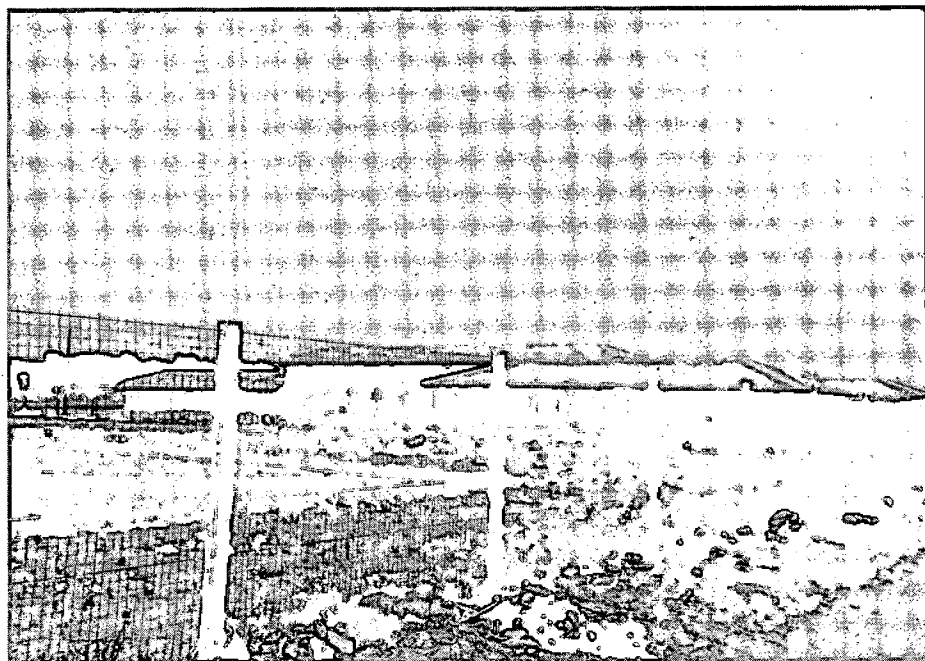
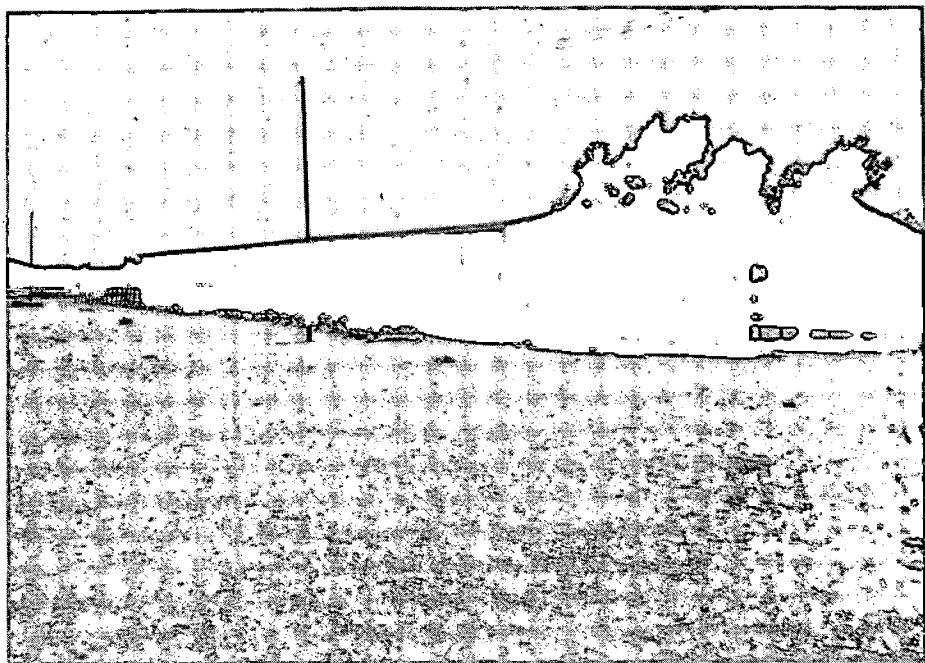
The town itself has two faces. As Martin Nathan puts it in his autobiography,

'... (it) was a pretty little place, with the streets regularly laid out in parallel lines. Down the streets run furrows of running water from the spring at the West end, from which such gardens as had water rights were supplied.' 31

What he failed to mention are the beautiful huge oak and other trees in the centre of the town which offer the necessary shade against the scorching Karoo sun. And the streets are now tarred. But this is only in the so-called white part of the town with its few shops, garage, butcher, hotel, post office and police station.

The other face, the so-called black part of town, makes one sweat before entering. There is not a tree to be seen on the roadside. The 'streets' are not tarred and, besides Kwezi, have no street names. The houses are monotonous to look at, with a difference between the houses in Cape Stands and the Tornadoville and Kwezi township houses. There is only one general dealer in the 'coloured' township. For a greater variety of goods as well as for meat the black population must walk to the white dorp. Kwezi has one public telephone and the 'coloured' townships have one bordering the white town; otherwise people either bother those few neighbours who have telephones or walk to the post office in the town.

The lack of recreational facilities adds to the feeling of frustration about employment, housing etc. There is no playground. Children play in the sandy 'streets' or veld until sunset. The two rugby fields and a tennis court are virtually unused partly through the lack of organisation and partly because there is no money for the necessary equipment. Adults relax in their gardens or sandy yards. There are no cinemas in any of the townships although occasionally one of the churches arranges an evening of films for fundraising. Disco-dancing is held in an old dilapidated building which served as a church previously.



The 'coloured' people of Hanover have no political representation at local level to express their different interests: thus they have no power legally to pressurise the local administration into improving social amenities, i.e. their living conditions and alleviating poverty. They are excluded from all levels of formal decision-making and thus have no influence on the distribution of the community budget. Although some people have been elected at a public meeting to form a Management Committee, they have remained voiceless as this body has no legal standing as long as Hanover is not 'proclaimed' in terms of the Group Areas Act.

The African community has a Community Council, but, as in the 'coloured' section, their decision-making is limited. A former member of the Community Council said:

'They talk about the problems and needs of the people and the whites of the government promise they will bring things right, but nothing comes of it.'

The Council is seen as a dummy body, unrepresentative, and little more than a buffer to appease the people and has little relevance for the community as a whole.

## 8. EDUCATION

'(For) the Black person education for an apartheid society means poor school buildings, poorly qualified, underpaid and overworked teachers, understaffed schools, crowded classrooms, inferior equipment and sometimes no laboratory equipment, unsatisfactory amenities for sport and recreation.' 32

These conditions are reflected in Hanover's schooling.

### 8.1 Conditions of Formal Education in Hanover

#### 8.1.1 'Coloured' Education

One primary school serves the 'coloured' community of Hanover and its magisterial district. There are no farm schools. In 1983, 51 scholars from surrounding farms were attending the school.

The overall enrolment was 511 for 1983 and 550 was anticipated for 1984, making 35 children per class up to Standard II and an average of 20 for higher standards.

There are 13 single and five double shift classes, with a staff comprising 19 teachers including the principal. Sub A, Sub B and two Standard I classes are double shift with two standards having adaptation classes. The double shift classes are indicative of the lack of teachers as well as classrooms.

A church hall which is divided into two sections by sheets of corrugated iron serves to provide a further two classrooms. A principle concern of the 'coloured' community is that there are too few qualified teachers. One teacher claimed that about 60% of the staff were unqualified, i.e. without a teacher's diploma.

#### 8.1.2 African Education

The situation in Kwezi is no different. In 1982 a primary school was erected. Until then African children received their education in church and mission schools. In 1983, there were 690 children at school. Classes average 30 to 80 children which necessitates double shifts from Standard III to Standard VI. This school has even fewer teachers and fewer classrooms. Of the 14 teachers on the staff, four were unqualified in 1983 and two in 1984.

#### 8.1.3 Common Problems

The lack of farm schools for both population groups places a burden upon the scholars as well as their parents. Farm children have to walk distances of up to 10 km. to get to the schools in town. At least the 'coloured' farm pupils can board in town and receive a bursary of R59 quarterly. But because these bursaries are often paid late dependence on the household income of the family with whom they board make them unpopular.

The last resort of farm parents who want their children to receive an education is to move to town themselves. This often leads to the separation of mothers and fathers. Extra expenses occur and aggravate the situation especially for African parents who have moreover to pay for the schooling of their children.

Of all the children in the urban sample population 12% between the ages of 5 and 10 years and 10% of the children between 10 and 15 years did not attend school. Unfortunately, no data on the drop-out rates at both schools was available. As there is no high school to serve the black community, part of the latter group could be pupils who were unable to leave Hanover for a high school in another town.

GRAPH 3

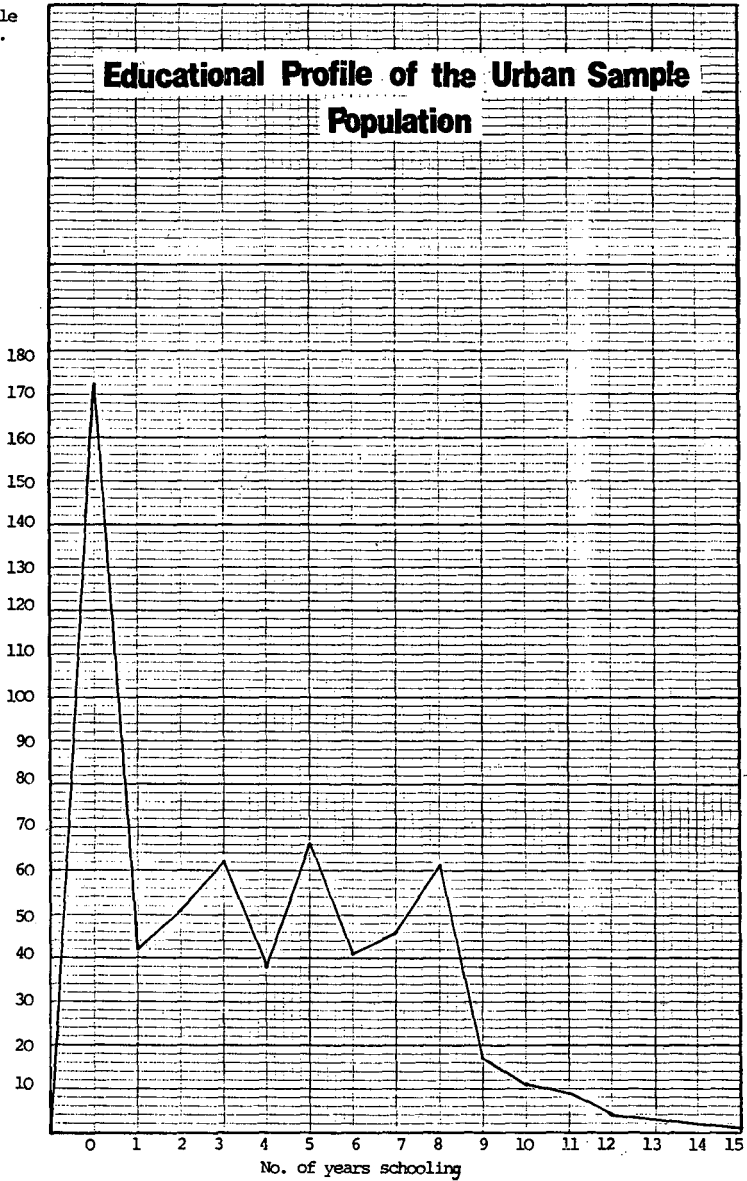
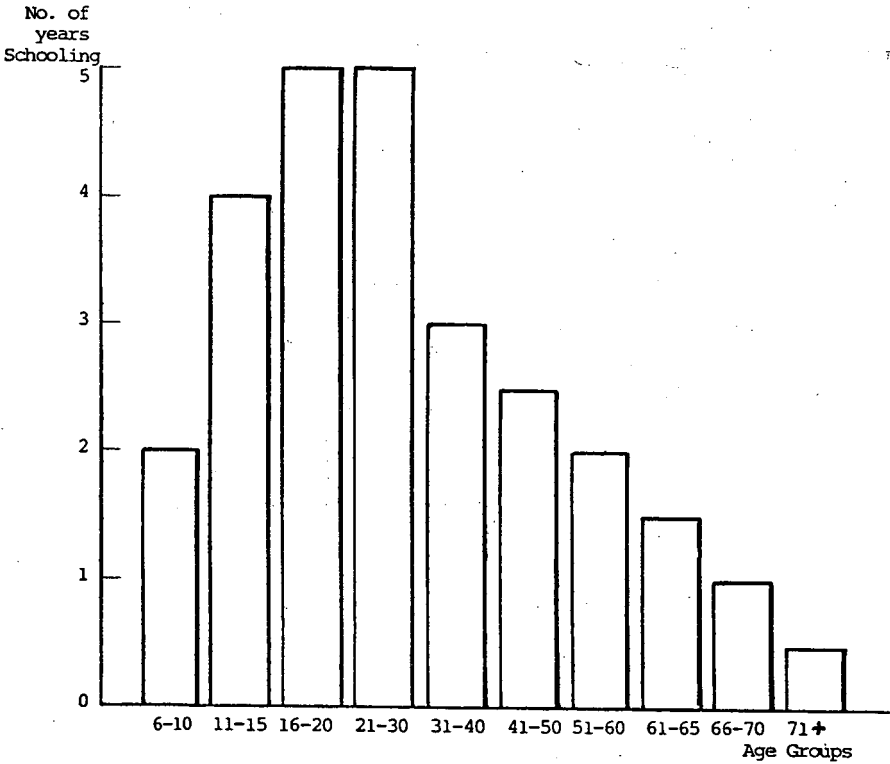
Sample  
No.

TABLE 10

## Age by number of years schooling

| Age   | No<br>Schooling | 1   | 2   | 3    | 4   | 5    | 6   | 7   | 8    | 9   | 10  | 11  | 12  | 15  | Total |
|-------|-----------------|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 0-5   | 1               |     |     |      |     |      |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     | 1     |
| 6-10  | 4               | 36  | 30  | 15   | 3   | 2    |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     | 90    |
| 11-15 | 7               | 4   | 9   | 21   | 13  | 26   | 9   | 16  | 6    | 1   |     |     |     |     | 112   |
| 20    | 14              | 2   | 5   | 6    | 12  | 15   | 11  | 15  | 21   | 9   | 5   | 1   | 2   |     | 118   |
| 30    | 20              |     | 3   | 8    | 5   | 9    | 12  | 8   | 20   | 7   | 4   | 7   | 2   | 1   | 106   |
| 40    | 34              |     | 1   | 2    | 1   | 7    | 3   | 4   | 6    |     | 1   | 1   |     |     | 60    |
| 50    | 24              | 1   | 1   | 8    | 2   | 3    | 2   | 3   | 5    |     | 1   |     |     |     | 50    |
| 60    | 23              |     | 1   | 1    | 1   | 2    | 1   |     | 3    |     |     |     |     |     | 32    |
| 65    | 8               |     |     |      |     | 2    |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     | 10    |
| 70    | 15              | 1   |     |      |     |      | 3   |     |      |     |     |     |     |     | 19    |
| 71+   | 22              |     | 1   | 1    | 1   |      |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     | 25    |
| Total | 172             | 42  | 51  | 62   | 38  | 66   | 31  | 46  | 61   | 17  | 11  | 9   | 4   | 1   | 623   |
| %     | 28,2            | 6,9 | 8,3 | 10,1 | 6,2 | 10,8 | 5,0 | 7,5 | 10,0 | 2,8 | 1,8 | 1,5 | 0,7 | 0,2 | 100   |

GRAPH 4**average years of schooling**

## 8.2 Education Levels of the Urban Sample Population and their Consequences

The educational profile of the urban sample population (see Graph 3) shows clearly that there is a break-off point after Standard VI, i.e. 8 years of schooling. This is not unexpected as both primary schools have classes until Standard VI. Thereafter the pupil is forced to leave the town. Despite all the obstacles already mentioned about 7% of the urban sample population nevertheless managed to go beyond that point (refer to Table 10).

Has there been an improvement in the educational levels of the black population? Graph 4 shows a steady increase in the average levels of education. This implies that the preconditions for a longer period of schooling have improved although the levels have still remained low. The proportion of people of school-going age without education has decreased, especially over the last 30 years. Young people, 30 years and below, have been attaining Standards VII, VIII, IX and X. One person in the sample had a teacher's diploma (Table 10). Despite the increasing level of educational attainment, these figures are in fact irrelevant when seen in relation to the scarcity of employment possibilities and continuing low income levels.

### 8.2.1 Education and Type of Work

The columns in Table 11 vertically give the level of education most commonly held in each job category (see column %'s). The rows give the proportion of the employed in the different job categories at each level of schooling (see row %'s).<sup>33</sup>

What can be discerned from this table is that:

- 1) Of the urban sample working population 88,8% are employed in unskilled labour, i.e. services, farm work, labouring, of which 85,3% have a Standard VI education and below.
- 2) About 11% of all employed are doing professional, skilled and semi-skilled work. 29,4% have Standard VI level and above of which 60% are in professional occupations.
- 3) Of all those with a level of schooling above Standard VI, 50% are employed in unskilled work.
- 4) The distribution of all employed along the different levels of schooling (see row % of Table 11) shows a larger concentration in the categories farm labour, labour and services up to and including Standard VI.

TABLE 11

LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY TYPE OF WORK

| Years of<br>Schooling | Professional |     |       | Skilled |     |       | Semi-skilled |     |       | Farm |     |       | Labourer |     |       | Services |     |       | Total |     |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----|-------|---------|-----|-------|--------------|-----|-------|------|-----|-------|----------|-----|-------|----------|-----|-------|-------|-----|
|                       | Col.         | No. | Row % | Col.    | No. | Row % | Col.         | No. | Row % | Col. | No. | Row % | Col.     | No. | Row % | Col.     | No. | Row % | Col.  | %   |
| 0                     |              |     |       |         |     |       |              |     |       | 82,4 | 14  | 28    | 29,2     | 12  | 24    | 34,8     | 24  | 48    | 50    | 100 |
| 1                     |              |     |       |         |     |       |              |     |       |      |     |       | 4,9      | 2   | 50    | 2,9      | 2   | 50    | 4     | 100 |
| 2                     |              |     |       |         |     |       |              |     |       |      |     |       | 7,4      | 3   | 42,9  | 4,4      | 3   | 42,9  | 7     | 100 |
| 3                     |              |     |       | 12,5    | 1   | 14,2  |              |     |       |      |     |       | 9,8      | 4   | 40    | 5,8      | 4   | 40    | 10    | 100 |
| 4                     |              |     |       |         |     |       |              |     |       | 11,7 | 2   | 20    | 14,6     | 6   | 28,6  | 17,4     | 12  | 57,1  | 21    | 100 |
| 5                     |              |     |       | 25      | 2   | 9,5   | 16,7         | 1   | 4,8   |      |     |       | 9,8      | 4   | 40    | 8,7      | 6   | 60    | 10    | 100 |
| 6                     |              |     |       |         |     |       | 66,6         | 4   | 36,4  |      |     |       | 4,9      | 2   | 18,2  | 7,2      | 5   | 45,4  | 11    | 100 |
| 7                     |              |     |       | 50      | 4   | 20    |              |     |       |      |     |       | 12,1     | 5   | 25    | 15,9     | 11  | 55    | 20    | 100 |
| 8                     |              |     |       | 12,5    | 1   | 50    |              |     |       |      |     |       | 2,4      | 1   | 50    |          |     |       | 2     | 100 |
| 9                     |              |     |       |         |     |       | 16,7         | 1   | 33,3  |      |     |       | 2,4      | 1   | 33,3  | 1,4      | 1   | 33,4  | 3     | 100 |
| 10                    |              |     |       |         |     |       |              |     |       | 5,9  | 1   | 25    |          |     |       | 1,4      | 1   | 25    | 4     | 100 |
| 11                    | 66,6         | 2   | 50    |         |     |       |              |     |       |      |     |       |          |     |       | 1        |     |       | 1     | 100 |
| 12                    | 33,4         | 1   | 100   |         |     |       |              |     |       |      |     |       |          |     |       |          |     |       |       | 100 |
| Total                 | 100          | 3   | 2%    | 100     | 8   | 5,5%  | 100          | 6   | 4,1%  | 100  | 17  | 11,8% | 100      | 41  | 28,6% | 100      | 69  | 48,2% | 143   | 100 |

### 8.2.2 Education and Income

What is the impact of schooling upon income distribution? Two methods of approach could be used to describe this relationship. Firstly one could consider the wage levels most commonly associated with a given level of schooling, secondly, one could look at the level of schooling achieved within a given wage-bracket.<sup>34</sup>

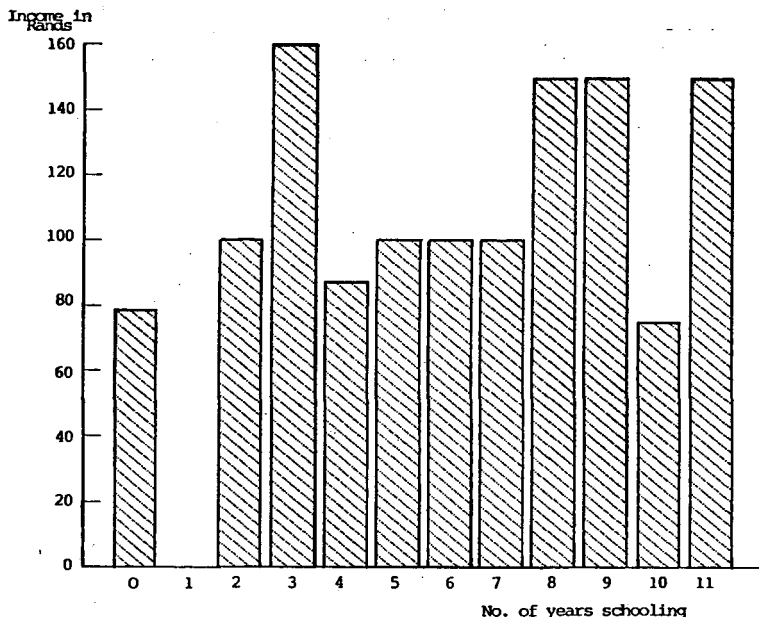
TABLE 12  
Education by Income

| Income R/m         | 50 | 100 | 150 | 200 | 250 | 300 | 350 | 400 | 450 | 500 | 600 | Total |
|--------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Years of Schooling |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |       |
| 0                  | 51 | 31  | 8   | 1   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 91    |
| 1                  | 1  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 1     |
| 2                  | 3  | 5   | 1   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 9     |
| 3                  | 6  | 3   |     | 2   |     | 1   |     |     |     |     |     | 12    |
| 4                  | 3  | 1   | 1   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 5     |
| 5                  | 7  | 5   |     |     | 1   |     |     |     |     |     |     | 13    |
| 6                  | 6  | 3   | 2   | 2   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 13    |
| 7                  | 3  | 7   | 1   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 11    |
| 8                  | 3  | 5   | 2   | 1   | 1   |     |     | 1   |     |     |     | 13    |
| 9                  |    | 1   | 1   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 1   | 3     |
| 10                 | 1  | 1   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 2     |
| 11                 |    |     | 1   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 1     |
| 12                 |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |       |
| Total              | 84 | 62  | 17  | 6   | 2   | 1   |     | 1   |     |     | 1   | 174   |

According to the first method, it can clearly be perceived from Table 12 that of those workers with no schooling at all, 56% earned R50 and below per month. At the breaking off point, i.e. in Standard VI (refer to Graph 3) the largest proportion of workers, viz. 38,5%, earned between R51 and R100 per month. The highest level of education attained amongst those employed, viz Standard VII fell into the R101 - R150 per month wage bracket.

GRAPH 5

## AVERAGE WAGE INCOME By Number of Years Schooling



Secondly, the wage brackets up to R150 per month have the highest concentration of workers without schooling. Yet it is significant that these very wage brackets include those workers with the highest educational levels attained amongst the employed, but at the same time they only comprise 1,7% of all employed. Nevertheless, this is an obvious indication that a high educational level is no insurance against low wages.

In general, there is an obvious cluster in the wage brackets up to R200 per month which is the highest wage one could earn in Hanover (refer to Table 7) irrespective of the educational level attained.

In short: what does emerge from the data, especially when looking at the average wage income (see Graph 5) is that one cannot discern a direct consistent relationship between education and level of income. Higher education does not necessarily lead to higher wages, but the possibility of earning more with

increased educational levels is slightly greater. However, whatever work is offered in Hanover is at a low income level. Thus finding a job there with a higher education does not protect you from the depressed wages connected with that job.

### 8.2.3 Education and Employment

How slight the chances of better jobs and higher earnings are, can be seen in Table 13. The employment status in relation to the level of education attained confirms the general trend, that no direct or significant relationship can be discerned between education and job type and/or income. This indicates that education does not protect you at all from unemployment.

TABLE 13  
Level of Education by Employment Status

| AVERAGE YEARS OF SCHOOLING | EMPLOYED |       | UNEMPLOYED |       | TOTAL |     |
|----------------------------|----------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-----|
|                            |          | %     |            | %     |       | %   |
| 0                          | 52       | 61,6  | 33         | 38,4  | 85    | 100 |
| 1                          |          | 0,0   | 1          | 100,0 | 1     | 100 |
| 2                          | 5        | 83,3  | 1          | 16,7  | 6     | 100 |
| 3                          | 9        | 39,1  | 14         | 60,9  | 23    | 100 |
| 4                          | 9        | 64,3  | 5          | 35,7  | 14    | 100 |
| 5                          | 21       | 75,0  | 7          | 25,0  | 28    | 100 |
| 6                          | 10       | 55,5  | 8          | 44,5  | 18    | 100 |
| 7                          | 11       | 57,8  | 8          | 42,2  | 19    | 100 |
| 8                          | 28       | 70,0  | 12         | 30,0  | 40    | 100 |
| 9                          | 6        | 54,5  | 5          | 45,5  | 11    | 100 |
| 10                         | 4        | 66,6  | 2          | 33,4  | 6     | 100 |
| 11                         | 6        | 100,0 |            | 0,0   | 6     | 100 |
| 12                         | 1        | 33,4  | 2          | 66,6  | 3     | 100 |
| 15                         |          | 0,0   | 1          | 100,0 | 1     | 100 |
| TOTAL                      | 163      |       | 91         |       | 254   |     |

TABLE 14  
Years of Schooling Completed (Hanover Urban Sample)

| Average years of schooling | Women | %    | Men | %    | Total | %    |
|----------------------------|-------|------|-----|------|-------|------|
| 0                          | 106   | 29,8 | 67  | 25,0 | 173   | 27,7 |
| 1                          | 24    | 6,7  | 20  | 7,5  | 44    | 7,0  |
| 2                          | 29    | 8,1  | 22  | 8,2  | 51    | 8,2  |
| 3                          | 34    | 9,5  | 28  | 10,4 | 62    | 9,9  |
| 4                          | 21    | 5,9  | 17  | 6,3  | 38    | 6,1  |
| 5                          | 37    | 10,4 | 29  | 10,8 | 66    | 10,6 |
| 6                          | 27    | 7,6  | 14  | 5,2  | 41    | 6,6  |
| 7                          | 30    | 8,4  | 16  | 6,0  | 46    | 7,4  |
| 8                          | 27    | 7,6  | 34  | 12,7 | 61    | 9,8  |
| 9                          | 6     | 1,7  | 11  | 4,1  | 17    | 2,7  |
| 10                         | 4     | 1,1  | 7   | 2,6  | 11    | 1,8  |
| 11                         | 6     | 1,7  | 3   | 1,1  | 9     | 1,4  |
| 12                         | 4     | 1,1  | 0   |      | 4     | 0,6  |
| 15                         | 1     | 0,3  | 0   |      | 1     | 0,16 |
|                            | 356   |      | 268 |      | 624   |      |

#### 8.2.4 Education and Sex

Comparing the sexes (see Table 14), the sample showed an asymmetry in favour of men, especially concerning the amount of people without schooling. The proportion of women without schooling, 29,8%, compared to the proportion of men without schooling, 25%, implies that women are not seen as potential bread-winners. Yet social praxis proves the contrary. Of all the women between the ages of 15 and 60 years, 60% considered themselves as part of the economically active population.

A noticeable feature in Table 14 is that women had attained a higher level of education than men. This does not undermine the above assumption as fewer women were able to go beyond Standard VI (8 years of schooling) than men, viz. 5,9% and 7,8% respectively.

This situation arises from two phenomena. Men seem to have easier access to schooling as their role as potential breadwinners is recognised and accepted. But this very role predestines them to leave school early when the family income has to be supplemented, i.e. they have to find work. Women might be taken out of school not only for financial reasons, but also to act as surrogate mothers while the mother goes looking for work when there are no males to do so. The data showed that of the 209 potentially economically active women only 63 were working. Yet of the 161 potentially economically active men, 102 were employed. These attitudes are self-fulfilling as men and women come to play their particular roles in the face of poverty.

To conclude:

- 1) The overall data showed an increase in the educational levels of the people of Hanover over the past 30 years.
- 2) Yet, their educational levels are still low, the average being 5 years of schooling, i.e. excluding those without schooling at all. Should the latter be added, then the educational level drops even lower to 3,7 years schooling on average.
- 3) This low level of education forces workers to accept unskilled work. At the same time 50% of those with a level of schooling above 8 years are doing unskilled work which indicates that appropriate job opportunities are lacking in Hanover.
- 4) Higher education eases access to higher earnings, but is no protection against low earnings.
- 5) Higher education does not protect you from unemployment.
- 6) Women are discriminated against where education is concerned as they are not seen as potential breadwinners.

### 8.3 Education and Poverty

The data presented above have shown that obviously education in the form of schooling is not a prerequisite in the way that it would be in a more industrialised situation. Higher education is therefore hardly a guarantee for overcoming the poverty situation there even if a few might escape into more urbanised areas where the chances of raising their standard of living is slightly better (refer to Table 8). It is thus not the lack of educational opportunities or inferior education alone which is an obstacle to the poor, but rather factors outside the education system that determine the unequal structure of income and occupational opportunity.

If education is seen as a link in the chain of issues determining poverty, then one, of course, questions its function in society. According to Bowles and Gintis the key function of education is the production of a potential labour force with the appropriate attitudes, aptitudes and familiarity with capitalist work practices.<sup>35</sup> Labour is thus reproduced with varying levels of competence and work skills. Obviously, education does not create better job opportunities. Rather the socio-economic development of a country demands the expansion of schooling, adapting it to the needs of that political and economic system - but not necessarily to the needs of the poor.

It is significant that attempts in highly industrialised countries to improve the living conditions of the poor through expanding schooling have largely failed. Experiences in Britain and the United States have shown that while higher levels of schooling have increased occupational and income mobility for certain individuals, the ability of the poor as a group to achieve greater economic equality has not been aided.<sup>36</sup>

Indeed, one should not accept the politics of educational expansion as a realistic attempt to improve the position of the poor. It aims rather, independently of the possible noble motives and purposes of the educational planners, to:

- 1) eliminate potential or real seats of unrest and tension in the social relations, and
- 2) in direct connection with the above, to individualise, i.e. to foster the hope of individual social upliftment.

This complies with the tradition of western educational systems as a form of mediation of social conflict and as a mechanism of social control and discipline that is independent of the good or bad will of the actors.

Hence, the strategy of expanding educational levels as a means in the struggle against poverty is grossly limited in two ways:

- 1) the improvement of education can only become effective in the framework of the existing socio-economic setting, i.e. it functions primarily as a mechanism of control and discipline and
- 2) the improvement of education can only improve the living conditions on an individualised basis and not the social group as a whole, (this has already been shown in the case study of Hanover).

The claims made above assume different meanings when perceived in the light of the different approaches to poverty referred to in the introduction. The first approach would see education as one determinant of poverty or rather the expansion of schooling according to the educational plans of industrialised countries as a means of ameliorating poverty. Its contribution to the struggle against poverty would be a strategy from outside which would only ease but not remedy the situation. Its limitations have been dealt with in the exposition above.

The second approach would recognise the role education plays as an agency of control and socialisation, but would also see liberating potential in the tensions, contradictions and ambiguities which arise within it where pupils may challenge, as they are in South Africa, the hierarchical structure of segregated schooling and the ways in which it transmits knowledge in an unjust society - here the Apartheid social order. Education could assume the role of consciousness-raising which would facilitate action against the present situation.<sup>37</sup>

This approach sees education as an active and changing force within a complex web of economic, political, cultural and social forces, in a world of dominance, subordination and resistance.<sup>38</sup> It means that help to self-help is attained through having the 'right' consciousness which would be a tool in the process of eradicating poverty. Here education plays the role of being a guideline in this change. What should be noted is that the curricula might still, in spite of response from the community, be determined from outside.

The question thus remains whether education in the sense of schooling, expanded schooling or other educational institutions, with changed curricula, are not by their very structure counteracting the aim of self-determination which plays a major role in the third approach.

Illich argues that schools are based upon the hypothesis that learning is the result of curricular teaching. The natural inclination to grow, and learn, the possibility of self-determination and self-specialisation is perverted into the demand for instruction. Knowledge is thus separated from life's experiences. Formal education should be seen in the context of hierarchies of knowledge, where certification determines one's place in these hierarchies and is the key to occupational success.<sup>39</sup>

Education should be seen in a broader sense, enabling people to cope and improve their living situation:

'... it should provide all who want to learn with access to available resources at any time in their lives; empower all who want to share what they know to find those who want to learn it from them; and, finally, furnish all who want to present an issue to the public with the opportunity to make their challenge known.' 40

In this context strategies of survival, behaviour patterns and forms of resistance, which were developed by the people of Hanover and documented conjecturally in this paper, could be understood as a process of self-qualification. The conditions of their existence as such and the necessity to organise their lives under these conditions and from them so that their own needs and interests be taken into account is the base for a type of practical education. This education qualifies the poor as actors, doers - as subjects intervening in their conditions.

#### 9. POVERTY AND THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Women are affected by poverty in a particular way. This section aims at putting the position of women into perspective in relation to all other indicators of poverty dealt with earlier. In addition their specific strategies adopted to deal with their poverty situation as women are also illustrated.

'Within capitalism, patriarchal ideology is the dominant ideology, thus in SA (South Africa, E.M.) it "assumes a nuclear family unit where men are seen to support women financially in return for control over their procreative powers and labour in the household unit". (...). The majority of women as a result are treated as though they come from this family (...)' 41

Yawitch points out that the laws concerning women, especially African women, enforce the nuclear family structure on the one hand; on the other hand laws concerning migrancy for example, contribute to the very erosion of this family form.<sup>42</sup>

This contradiction determines the lives of the black women of Hanover too. The lack of job opportunities force those looking for work to leave the town. Men especially migrate or commute. How this affects the nuclear family is reflected in the number of household heads who are females - viz. seventy per cent.

At the same time this indicates the role of women in the division of labour. As Yawitch rightly points out,

'... in capitalist societies the sexual division of labour assigns women almost totally to reproductive labour, or else their involvement in production, in wage-labour, is also structured and connected in some way to their reproductive role in the home.' 43

This was obvious in Hanover. Women at home and especially old women found themselves doing housework and childcare. Old women play an important role as nurturers for women who are forced to work. Those who migrate leaving their children behind are very dependent on them. About 60% of all women between the age of 15 and 60 years belong to the economically active population. These women are at a particular disadvantage where their income levels are concerned. Table 8 shows the large proportion of women compared to men in the lowest wage bracket. According to Table 2 most women were employed in the economic sector 'services' which implies domestic service as the most probable type of work. This substantiates the reproductive component in work for women. Women are discriminated against where educational opportunity is concerned. This is reflected in Table 14. They are not seen as potential breadwinners.

The burdens these rural women have to bear are manifold. It is thus not far-fetched if Van der Vliet questions whether staying single among black women, especially African women, was not a form of struggle against poverty.<sup>44</sup> Without going into detail about the reasons for this, in Hanover, women complained about commuter or migrant husbands, partners who did not send money home regularly, about those who absconded, about those who were unemployed. Where there is no income, the woman is forced to work; and as there are no jobs in Hanover, she is forced to find other means to fend for the family.

As a result it is not strange that there is a huge demand for welfare grants. At the same time these welfare grants serve as a means of withdrawing from the work process - this withdrawal being a critique of the existing structures of society which would rob the woman for example of the time she has to spend on herself and her children. This does not mean negating the catastrophic labour market as a reason for the need of welfare grants, but rather see that the conditions of those jobs they could get are so undesirable that they serve as an additional stimulant to apply for welfare grants.

Psychosomatic illnesses which could develop from the strain and stress involved in sheer survival seemed to prevail amongst women particularly. Hence it is also not surprising that 70% of those receiving disability grants were women (see Table 9). But like welfare grants, disability grants could also play an ambiguous role in the struggle against poverty. It could be suggested that beneath the surface of necessity a space is conquered for themselves as women through adapting to social norms expected from them. Powerlessness, helplessness, weakness could come to the fore in the face of poverty - characteristics, which would be more acceptable for women than men. Therefore women could exploit their position in society to their own advantage and withdraw from the day to day struggle on the grounds of the 'weakness'. This behaviour, the subversive use of repressive norms against women (role attribution) used by the women themselves, could be characterised in short as 'the cunning of weakness'.

'Prostitution' as the last resort in the fight for survival? A minister of one of the churches alleged that young girls stream out of town when work-gangs come along to work on the roads for example. It was assumed that the poverty situation of these women could be eased for a while in the sense of receiving maintenance for services rendered - trading one commodity for another. But it remains to be questioned whether this is a case of 'prostitution' or whether this is one possibility for women to escape their poverty. There is no proof of this and I did not have the chance to interview such women.

The church, of course, would see this as poverty forcing women into this position. But it is a position which is seen as moral decay threatening Christian social structures. For these women it could be a matter of ensuring their lives for a stipulated period; taking the right to live with men for as long as they want to, thus escaping from the social control of the family and the church; getting out of the town and finding other forms of pleasure and recreation, or just satisfying their sexual needs. Social norms become irrelevant in the struggle to deal with the poverty situation and retain their autonomy. They are not only victims of circumstances, but could rather be seen as acting to find their own way, of course, under given and not freely chosen circumstances, which have a determining influence on their way of life and decisions concerning their lives.

This has implications for the so-called nuclear family. Families break up as daughters disappear for unknown periods. Single women return as mothers.

Others desert the family completely to fulfill their own needs. In the case of migration, the women who are left behind develop their own abilities in dealing with their situation. . Cooper points out that, 'Life as we know it in nuclear families ... prevents us from realising ourselves and our potential to be ourselves'.<sup>45</sup>

The nuclear family could be seen as a bastion stabilising the social system, but the fact that the objective conditions force people to migrate leads to the very breakdown of such a family form. What would be seen as the erosion of the nuclear family might, however, be the starting point of a new form of living together which implies the breakdown of existing structures which carry within them the causes of poverty.

## 10. CONCLUSION

The statistical data presents the following picture. Work is scarce in Hanover. Changes in agricultural production have caused a shortage of work for the Hanover population. The result is a continual restructuring of the population as people are forced to migrate or commute to larger towns such as De Aar or Aliwal North, or industrial centres such as Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town to seek work.

Most women are left behind for longer or shorter periods to fend for the family in the absence of these workers. These women, together with the aged, play an important role in developing a support system. The family structure is affected by migration. However, the position of women is strengthened through the possibility of determining and deciding on household and other affairs in the absence of men.

The lack of industry leaves those who do find work in the town with no option but to accept unskilled, labouring or service work. These forms of work are coupled with a low income level. As labour is plentiful, the unemployment rate being 37,2%, wages are even more depressed. Non-wage incomes like pensions, for example, support large portions of the population. As pensions are low, too, one could speculate on the extent of informal sector activities.

The unfavourable economic situation is exacerbated by high rents for unsuitable housing. The conditions of the houses and overcrowding aggravates the low

health status which already exists among the poor. In fact, damp and overcrowding cause such illnesses as tuberculosis and pneumonia. The inappropriate health services and facilities impede the promotion of better health conditions.

The social infrastructure is not conducive to the improvement of the town's socio-economic conditions in any way. Institutionalised political power of the black population is minimal, if present at all. Thus there is no real opportunity for changing this situation.

Formal educational levels are low and schooling facilities inadequate. There is no high school in Hanover. Raising the low educational levels is questionable without restructuring or changing the socio-economic framework. If education is considered in a broader sense, the criticism by the practitioners of institutional health care of the so-called 'ignorance' of the people indicates a need for health education in those terms.

This summary of conditions in Hanover conveys the objective circumstances in which the poor are forced to live. The first approach which sees the poor as victims of poverty would recognise this objective situation as the determinant which reduces the poor to this position and thus to objects of these living conditions; therefore these conditions need to be altered or changed. Obviously, this dimension of poverty cannot be denied, but is this the whole reality?

Indeed not! The case studies highlighted the ways and means in which the poor try to deal with their everyday life. For example, a domestic worker complained about her situation to the administration, a municipal worker demanded his right to sick leave, a trainee nurse fought for her right to live and work where she chose, an old woman bought her 'lekkernye' despite the lack of money. Furthermore there were attempts to form a 'dorpskomitee' and a youth group, rent arrears were on the agenda and alcohol, welfare and disability grants also had their function. All these examples illustrate the different levels of resistance which were to be found among the black people of Hanover.

This shows that the poor are capable of acting in their own interests. They do not surrender hopelessly to the pressures of poverty. They cannot be seen as mere victims or objects of their social situation. Of course, the poor

are objects of social conditions in so far as they are embedded in a cultural, socio-economic and political framework which determines their lives. But, at the same time, they determine their own development through interacting with, and thus forming and changing their social environment according to their experience to satisfy their wishes and needs as far as possible. They can be defined through their behaviour and activities as essentially active in relation to their social environment.

This dimension of poverty is not covered by the first approach. The second approach, which also perceives the poor as victims of their conditions but with the ability to participate in changing them, takes their activity only partly into consideration and is thus characterised by its restrictive perception of the activity of the poor. Only the positive, visible activity or readiness to participate is considered. It excludes some of the methods/levels of active resistance employed by the poor themselves. Non-conformist behaviour, passive resistance, a general attitude of non-compliance as well as the 'cunning of weakness' are not perceived as activities of the poor aimed at dealing with poverty.

However, it is the third approach which sees the self-determining activities of the poor as the wheel of change, that more effectively covers the hidden, ambiguous and imaginative behaviour of the poor. It contains the key to a comprehensive understanding of poverty.

Of course, each approach takes the given socio-economic and political conditions as the starting point for a strategy to overcome poverty. The difference lies in the way poverty is perceived. Therefore each strategy would have its own emphasis. The material on Hanover offered different points of application.

In the first approach the main thrust would be to improve the material conditions of the poor. Thus housing could be upgraded and the sanitary system modernised, health facilities, health services and recreational amenities could be improved. Education could be advanced through providing a high school. The social infrastructure could be improved to serve as an incentive for investment to develop the town. Social work could be implemented more effectively.

This would require a comprehensive programme. For such a programme to have any effect, the state would seem to be the most likely agent to accomplish this. Structural characteristics, growth and development patterns of South Africa are comparable with other countries such as Algeria, Argentina, Venezuela to name but a few. These are all countries in which widespread poverty exists. They have similar GNP per capita, but the figures conceal major inequalities in income distribution. South Africa is an extreme example. Sixty-five per cent of the Household Income in 1980 went to the top 20% of earners in this country. If, considering the economic capacity of the country, a redistribution of income did take place, this could raise the living standards of some of the poor in certain areas such as social development, education and training, which would restructure but not eradicate poverty. At the same time redistribution would have political implications. The 20% of earners would not sacrifice their share readily which would affect present power relations.

Nevertheless, the incremental improvement that could take place cannot be rejected out of hand. However, the essence of this approach is also contained in the strategy it advocates, viz. the poor are reduced to objects of care and welfare where their needs are defined by others. The result of this type of approach can be seen for example in the new 'concrete slums' of Europe. The control of the poor over the type of housing they see fit for themselves was weakened and expropriated.

This does not mean that such measures, which could bring about improvement, will not be accepted by the poor. On the contrary, but the accompanying phenomena, which are inseparable from this improvement could also evoke new resistance. The actions and reactions of the poor are then to be understood against the background of their not wanting to lose control of the process of change thereby sacrificing their own human dignity.

Thus, in the context of this approach, the abolition of specifically discriminatory aspects of Apartheid such as influx control, pass laws etc. would not necessarily eradicate poverty. Under liberal capitalism it might make the upward mobility of certain groups of the poor possible, thus helping a few to escape from poverty. But as long as a socio-economic system which benefits a few at the expense of many still exists, poverty would not be eradicated. The first approach might bring change through easing the worst effects of poverty within the existing social order or bring about social and political

reform to diffuse certain issues, but to those less affected by this change, poverty would probably remain

The second approach would take the participation of the people into consideration. The community in Hanover showed signs of being ready for this approach. Rudiments of organisation and attempts at self-help to deal with specific conditions were demonstrated. A local committee was established, but the municipality refused to recognise it. The youth also tried to start a youth group. Part of their problem was the lack of advice on how to manage their problems. They needed answers to the many questions they had. The same applied to workers qualifying for unemployment and sick fund benefits and workmens compensation who did not know how to go about it. The same dilemma existed in the case of sheep-shearers who wanted to obtain a permit - as I understood them a certificate of qualification - to strengthen their bargaining position. High rents and obtaining the correct amount of old-age pension were major grievances. These problems could be ameliorated by establishing an advice office, organising a civic association around major issues, organising a trade union or making contact with other unions.

The Karoo climate is harsh. The uncontrolled felling of trees leads to further deterioration in the environment. But resources are lacking for an adequate social infrastructure. However, the lack of electricity makes wood an important commodity and the only source of fuel for many people. A wood lot project would not only create a constant supply of wood, but also enhance the quality of the natural environment itself and promote ecological balance.

Vegetables and fruit, among other necessary foodstuffs, are expensive. People suffer from malnutrition and undernourishment as a result. Thus organised vegetable- and fruit growing and their distribution through co-operatives would ensure a balanced diet at low cost. For example an inexpensive and simple method of obtaining food rich in vitamins and minerals is the sprouting of seeds such as lentils, peas, chick peas and mung beans. One 500g packet of mung beans yields about 2 to 2½ kg. of sprouts sufficient to provide protein for a family of six.

Housing is unsuitable for the Karoo climate. Traditional methods could be revived and mud, clay, grass or other natural building material conducive to

health could be used. This does not mean an inferior quality of building, but rather applying new technical developments to past building experience to gain an optimal building structure for the Karoo climate.

Self-help groups could play a creative role in unemployment in the town. Rural women are no longer bound to the land. They are just as dependent on a cash wage as their male counterparts. As they stay in the town when the men leave for work elsewhere it is important that projects be female orientated.

The potential of this approach is unquestionable. Supporting and initiating projects for and with the poor could raise awareness of their skills and abilities. Their participation should develop to the point where they themselves gain control of their situation. But there is the danger of the interests of the initiators developing to a point where the poor find themselves in tutelage. Thus the question still remains of whether initiators and supporters of such projects will work together with the poor to the point where the role of the initiators loses importance. To what degree will they consider the needs and wishes of the poor as determined by themselves. The ambivalence of the first and second approaches is that they improve the material conditions of the poor, but at the same time they have an inherent tendency to maintain their basis, i.e. poverty is not eradicated, but rather takes on other forms. Instead of being supported in their own creativity, the poor become dependent on the so-called specialists. They become appendages of institutions or specialised groups. But this tendency, which is also inherent in the first approach, would bring forth its own contradictions.

Thus, the resistance which could arise as a result of strategies in the first and second approach would be recognised by the third approach as the living praxis of the people finding their own strategy against poverty according to their daily experience and the creativity which it developed. The role of old-age pensions, of disability and welfare grants for women, the refusal to work and alcoholism are but a few examples which demonstrate the activity of the poor. Their struggle against poverty, distress and misery, the active and passive resistance perceived by this approach would gain its own momentum under the pressure of survival. How structural changes would take place would also be determined by the poor. The extent of the recent unrest in the Eastern Cape is evidence of what could happen when pressure on the poor grows and they refuse to adapt any more. Even rural areas similar to Hanover have been affected.

Thus, active and passive forms of resistance could reach such levels where they develop into open revolt. Yet, the more the poor demand their rights, the more help and support or concrete measures will come from outside to realise their demands. So their own acts are changing their circumstances as well as causing intervention from outside forces answering their activity in different ways and thereby opening a new cycle of activity by the poor.

In this manner the three approaches are drawn together in a contradictory way by the social reality itself with the contradiction having its base in this very reality. Therefore, without wanting to idealise the poor or turn them into heroes, the poor themselves through their actions and reactions remain the driving force in the process of eradicating poverty.

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1. The terms African and 'Coloured' are only used where it is necessary to identify these two population groups; otherwise the term 'black' is used when referring to these groups as a whole. In reference to impoverishment see Thomas, 1985, p.18.
2. Rodgers, 1984, p.5.
3. Wentzel, 1984, p.1.
4. The assumption that such behaviour patterns exist is confirmed by the attitudes of farmers in the district. Archer and Meyer, 1984, p.55.
5. Cf. Houghton, 1964, p.12.
6. F. Wilson, The Platteland Connection, in Leadership S.A., Third Quarter 1984, Vol. 3, No. 3, p.80.
7. Graaff-Reinet Advertiser, 14 June 1865.
8. Ibid., 5, 19 April 1865 and 3 May 1865.
9. Ibid., 10 May 1865.
10. Cf. the Cape of Good Hope : Report of the Select Committee on the Supply of the Labour Market 1879.
11. Natrass, 1981, p.63.
12. Cf. The Report of the Carnegie Commission of The Research of the Poor White Question in South Africa, Vol. I - IV, 1932.
13. Yawitch, 1981, 7f.
14. Horwitz, 1967, 280f.
15. Archer and Meyer, 1984, p.41.
16. Ibid., p.3
17. The 'Coloured Labour Preference Area' policy does not exist anymore - cf. Government Gazette No.972, 3 May 1985. What effect this will have on the economic situation in Hanover, remains to be seen.
18. Mayer, 1980, p.16.
19. Truu, 1977, p.65.
20. Ibid., p.56.
21. Archer and Meyer, 1984, p.41.
22. Behardien, Lehlere and Shaw, 1984, 49f.
23. Rodgers, 1984, p.3.

24. Pillay, Budlender and Young, 1985, p.8.
25. Archer and Meyer, 1984, 54f.
26. Saldru, 1983, p.43.
27. Innes, 1975, p.16.
28. Myers, 1980. Although this paper deals mainly with the exposure to asbestos in the industry, people living under dry, brittle asbestos roofs without ceilings might also be exposed to some dust.
29. The absolute amounts were given by the respondents. They may not necessarily correlate with official figures as some seem to have been paying the arrears too.
30. Mahler, 1975, p.2.
31. Nathan, 1968, p.8.
32. South African Outlook, September 1982, p.137.
33. Cf. Prinsloo, 1984, p.28.
34. Ibid., p.31.
35. Nasson, 1984, p.31.
36. Ibid., p.7.
37. Ibid., p.14.
38. Ibid., p.31.
39. Illich, 1971.
40. Ibid., p.78.
41. Shefer, 1984, p.42.
42. Yawitch, 1984, p.67.
43. Shefer, 1984, p.41.
44. Cf. van der Vliet, 1984.
45. Gordon, 1972, p.22.

## APPENDIX 1

CARNEGIE POVERTY STUDY

TOWNS PROJECT  
DOCUMENT 2HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE FOR USE AMONG THE POOR

1(a) List all members of the household in the following table:

| No. | Name | Sex | Age | Marital Status | Relationship to household head | Resident status | Education | If regularly employed |          |           |               |                           | Income |
|-----|------|-----|-----|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|---------------|---------------------------|--------|
|     |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           | Employment status     | Industry | Work type | Place of work | Regularity of remittances |        |
| 1   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 2   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 3   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 4   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 5   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 6   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 7   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 8   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 9   |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 10  |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 11  |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |
| 12  |      |     |     |                |                                |                 |           |                       |          |           |               |                           |        |

1(b) Monthly Rent Paid:....., No. of Rooms:.....

2. Non-wage sources of income:

(a) (i) Are there informal economic activities in your household? (Tick one only)

|     |    |
|-----|----|
| YES | NO |
|-----|----|

If so, what are they? (Describe)

|  |
|--|
|  |
|--|

(ii) Does your household produce agricultural goods? (Tick one only)

|     |    |
|-----|----|
| YES | NO |
|-----|----|

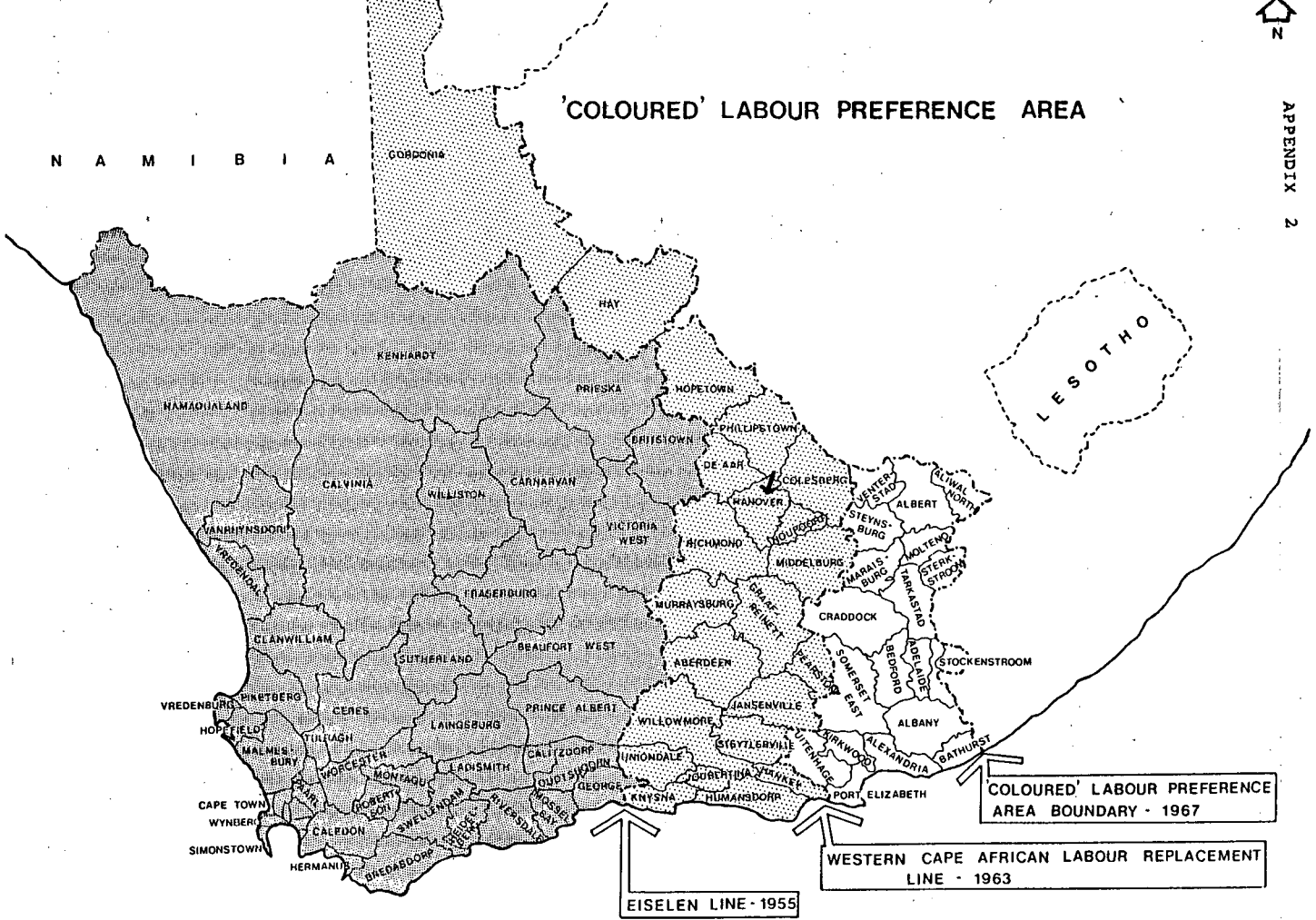
If so what are they?

|                                       |
|---------------------------------------|
| PRODUCE FROM GARDENS ONLY             |
| PRODUCE FROM FIELDS                   |
| LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS - FOWLS ONLY       |
| LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS - OTHER THAN FOWLS |



# 'COLOURED' LABOUR PREFERENCE AREA

N A M I B I A



'COLOURED' LABOUR PREFERENCE AREA BOUNDARY - 1967

WESTERN CAPE AFRICAN LABOUR REPLACEMENT LINE - 1963

EISELEN LINE - 1955

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