AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS OF POVERTY IN KHAYELITSHA: A CASE STUDY OF SITE C

By

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Keywords

Poverty is an objective reality, measurable through quantitative indicators of income and access to services and outcomes such as health, nutritional status, employment and employability. It is also a subjective reality as cold, misery, hunger and few prospects for better life (National Social Development Report, 1995).

Circle of poverty is a way of life passed on from generation to generation in a self-perpetuating cycle. This culture of poverty involves not just a low income, but also attitudes of indifference, alienation, and apathy, along with a lack of incentives and self-respect. These attitudes make it difficult for the poor to utilize the opportunities for upward mobility that may be available to them. Increasing the income of the poor may not affect joblessness, lack of incentives, lack of education opportunities, unstable family life, or the high incidence of crime, delinquency, and other social problems among the poor (Dinitto and Dye, 1983).

Community would incorporate some sense of feeling of belonging or being accepted and valued with in the group. It is this, that leads to the use of the term 'member of the community' the concept of membership implies belonging, acceptance by others, and allegiance or being loyal to the aims of the group concerned (Ife, 1995:90).

Khayelitsha, is the name of the case study area in the Western Cape Region, one of the biggest black townships in the country. When translated from Xhosa it means 'our new home.'

Informal settlement is a place where people live informally and the shelters are generally made of used scrap metal, corrugated metal sheets, and plastic and are irregular in shape.

Unserviced areas are areas that are not being provided with basic services like garbage collection, toilets, street cleaning, street lights, patrol of policeman or guards in the streets for community protection. This situation occurs when people decide to build their shacks any where without permission from the authorities.

Squatting is the process of the people living in a place without any official or illegal permission. According to The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982) squatting is the act of a person who settles on a new place or public land without title or takes unauthorized possession of unoccupied premises.

Inequality is rooted in the structure of economic life, Wilkins (1998) explain that 'inequality' can be defined in terms of being the opposite of 'equality', a state of social organization that enables or gives equal access to resources and opportunities to everybody.

Migrant workers were those people who left their homes in various parts of South Africa and traveled long distances to the mines where they worked on for short contracts, and then they went home. This system of using migrant workers on a mine (or a farm or a factory) is called the migrant labour system (Callinicos, 1980).

Migrant Labour *system* in South Africa was an instrument of the policy of apartheid, which prevented individuals from seeking and obtaining a job of his choice; it also causes grave social and family problems.

Destitute is being left alone without any resources, in great need of food, shelter and a job to maintain a household of your own. (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1984).

Empowerment is discussed as having or being given power or control and further explains that it is generally used to describe a desirable state of affairs in which individuals have choice and control in everyday aspects of their lives (Allen et al, 1990:91).

Abstract

This research focused on an evaluation of the effects of poverty in Khayelitsha, in particular, a case study of Site C. Fifty eight men and women residing in Site C completed a structured questionnaire. Khayelitsha Site C provides a good case for investigating the effects of poverty, as it is one of the most underprivileged areas of the Western Cape. Issues that were under examination include an in-depth discussion of poverty and the reasons for the proliferation of poverty in Khayelitsha Site C today. This research used qualitative and quantitative methodological strategies including a literature review, field surveys, in-depth interviews, a case study as well as direct observation.

Experiences, attitudes and behaviours of poverty are discussed in the research progress. South Africa was used as a place of reference. Examples are taken from it because of its prolonged history of poverty. Khayelitsha Site C is the selected area and is one of the black townships in Cape Town where poverty has grossly manifested itself. The study supported the hypothesis, which suggests that poverty has resulted in large numbers of people in Khayelitsha Site C living in shacks. The poverty is exacerbated by high rates of crime and violence. This study proposes that if the people of Khayelitsha Site C could be provided with employment, education and descent houses, it would result in self-sufficiency and a reduction of poverty.

Declaration

I declare that the thesis submitted for examination titled:

A*n evaluation of effects of poverty in Khayelitsha: A case study of Site C* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Xoliswa Zandile Ndingaye

Signed: …………………………   Date: ………………………………

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this research work to my late, loving sister Pumela Ndingaye who gave me strength, love, support and encouragement to finish up my studies. She has been everything to me. It was a loss and pain to loose her before I finish writing my thesis.

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Chapter one

Background and overview

1.1 Introduction

There is widespread consensus across South Africa's social spectrum for the need to devise effective means of promoting substantial and sustainable economic growth. Most political and economic actors agree that consistent growth, conventionally defined as an increase in real gross domestic product per annum, is necessary to engender significant improvement in South Africa's standards of living and quality of life. It is widely accepted that economic growth that exceeds population growth by a sizable margin can generate employment, increase the range of goods and services available, poverty alleviation and help to reduce the enormous inequalities in distribution of income and opportunity in the country.

The South African economy's mid-1990s growth rates of approximately 3% per annum were marked improvements over the low and sometimes negative growth rates that prevailed during most of the 1980s and early 1990s. However, in 1997, the GDP growth rate fell to 1.7%. Moreover, growth in the mid-1990s has not been adequate to create a large volume of new jobs or to provide the revenues required by the government to expand service delivery to the disadvantaged (Smith, 1998).

Any strategy to reduce inequality and alleviate poverty in South Africa must include a strong component act. Actions to combat poverty in South Africa must be informed by a thorough understanding of poverty in the South African context. Towards this end the focus of this study will be an evaluation of the effects of poverty in Khayelitsha Site C section.

1.2 The research problem

Khayelitsha is a historically black township situated on the fringes of Cape Town in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. It is made up of different types of dwellings. It is the area, which will be the subject, which has a number of experiences where people developed survival strategies of living in poverty.

Poverty in Khayelitsha Site C entails restricted lifestyles where poor people frequently depend on borrowing money from neighbourhood the furniture in a household is little and not in good condition. There is constant worrying about their ability to survive. According to Holman (1978) woman are poor because they are alone and also unemployed. There is political acknowledgement that poverty remains and confirms the desirability of some discussion on the explanations of social deprivation. Studies have done on personal experiences of poverty also reveal the route by which other people experience poverty and how they react to it.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The study seeks to investigate an evaluation of the effects of poverty in Khayelitha Site C. There is high level of poverty for the people of Site C in Khayelitsha. Poverty in this area has manifested in the conditions people live under and the social effects of such conditions in the life of Site C residents will be assessed in terms of / or in relation to the following: levels of infant mortality; level of malnutrition; rate of school drop out due to lack of food and other resources; high level of alcohol abuse; lack of basic services and the shortage of toilets etc.

There is evidence from several studies, (such as those reviewed below), that indicates high levels of poverty in the numerous informal settlement areas of the Western Cape. Various reasons such as lack of skills, unemployment and retrenchment have been pointed out as the cause. In Site C, most people live in corrugated iron shacks and where they are often unable to acquire basic needs such as food and clothing. This condition is further exacerbated by environmental factors such as the lack of proper toilet facilities, the absence of employment opportunities that result in feelings of helplessness, which in turn leads to drug and alcohol abuse. Thus the family and home in this environment becomes dislocated which in turn affects the wider community and society as a whole.

Therefore, given the above picture of poverty in informal settlement areas in the Western Cape in general and in Khayelitsha in particular, it becomes imperative to carry out a study aimed at uncovering an evaluation of the effects of poverty in Site C. It is within this context that this study will be carried out with the purpose and aim of finding ways whereby this issue can be addressed.

1.4 Aims of the study

The general aim of this study is to investigate the deep-seated evaluation of the effects of poverty in the lives of people in Khayelitsha Site C. Site C section provides a good case for evaluating poverty incidences, as it is one of the most underprivileged areas of the Western Cape. This will be done by:

- Introducing poverty and its motivation in order to find proper strategy for poverty alleviation;

- Providing a detailed socio-economic profile of households of Khayelitsha Site C, outlining the nature, character, dynamics of poverty levels and also highlight issues that force people to be engulfed by poverty in the area,

- Providing detailed information of groups mostly affected by poverty in the study area;

- Attempt to identify corrective measures through the interviews that can help in the fight against poverty.

- Suggest recommendations and identify planning options that can reduce the levels of poverty, which involve the community, as well as the victims of poverty.

1.5 Research hypotheses

➢ Poverty has forced a large number of people in Khayelitsha Site C to live in shacks.

➢ A possible factor arising from poverty might be a rise in the rate of crime and violence.

1.6 Delimitation of study area

Khayelitsha is one of the largest black townships in South Africa. It is rated as number three biggest township following Soweto in Johannesburg and Mdantsane Township in East London. Khayelitsha is a clearly defined entity, delineated as part of the Tygerberg Substructure and falls under the jurisdiction of the Cape Town Metropolitan Council. The Cape Town Metropolitan area is divided into six sub-regional substructures (Dyantyi et al, 1998).
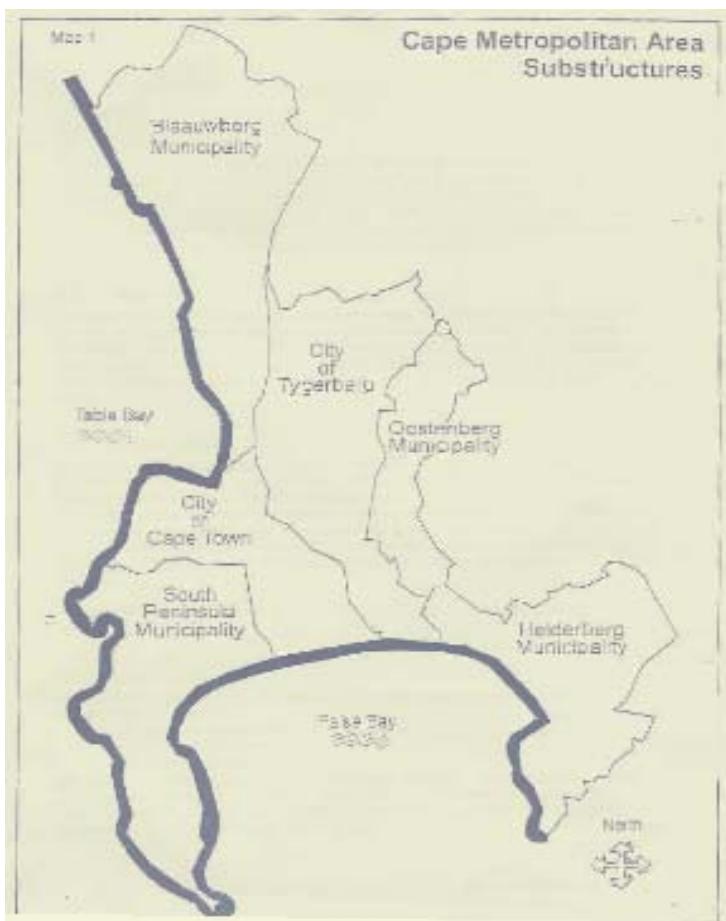
Map of substructures

The various sections include Site B, which is made up of both formal and informal settlement and Site C, which is predominantly an informal settlement area. Site B and C are areas of legalized squatting and basic services are provided, such as the bucket system, sanitation, communal taps and water drainage. Plots of land were originally allocated at 150 square meters. Residents of Site C were originally moved from Crossroads on the basis of a government promise to legalise their urban status. There are outside taps shared by a number of dwellings. Service charges for the collection of refuse are R10.00 per family. In Site B the largest category of residents are people

who fled Crossroads during the 1986 violence. This area is similar to Site C except for improved sanitation and residents pay a R20.00 service charge (Pick et al, 1990).

When visiting the area, it becomes clear that there are an insufficient number of sites to cope with the demand. Shack dwellings have been constructed on the outskirts of the schemes wherever possible, regardless of the lack of services available. The informal squatter areas have practically no services of any kind and water is obtained from taps at serviced sites. Many sites are unsuitable for housing and the location of shacks changes in response to flooding or drifting sand.

1.7 Significance of the study

The legacy of apartheid in South Africa still lives on, resulting in the majority (mainly black people) living below the poverty line. There are various dimensions to poverty in this country such as racial, geographic, and gender dimensions.

This study is significant because it can help to appropriate policy intervention measures to eliminate the problem of poverty in communities such as in the Khayelitsha area of Site C. These measures can also be applied in other areas in South Africa. Furthermore, a study of this nature will enhance both our understanding of the nature of poverty and thus improve the lives of the "poorest of the poor". This is a very critical task in a country like South Africa where the majority of its people, for various reasons, live under abject poverty, with little access to resources necessary to improve their circumstances.

This study therefore seeks to appraise the extent of poverty in Khayelitsha area of Site C and aims to investigate the evaluation of the effects of poverty examine the socio-economic causes as well as various interventions aimed at alleviating the problem.

1.8 Overview of the literature

This study encompasses a critical analysis of the present conditions and circumstances surrounding the informal settlement of Khayelitsha Site C. It enquire thoroughly about the information needs, the nature of the decisions and actions to be based on the research results, and the general operation of the institution or organization sponsoring the survey. The literature review is not only about the relevant research results that can be published at any time but also about new aspects and problems that arise requiring new information. According to Bless et al (1997) literature review is an ongoing process whereby acquaintance with different theories and models as well as research results takes place, by necessity before a clear statement of the problem can be formulated. The general theoretical context of literature on informal housing and squatting has primarily focused on the negative perceptions and consequences of informal housing and squatting. The tendency is to refer to informal housing as a Third World phenomenon. According to (Gilbert et al: 1990, p.81) "housing is a highly visible dimension of poverty. Perhaps that is why it represents such an emotive issue in many Third World cities".

Poverty has multiple dimensions, which are poor access to health and food, poor housing conditions, and homelessness, which deeply affects people's health. Studies done on families who experience these bad living conditions indicate that poverty is a daily struggle, which interacts with family life (Blackburn, 1991:100). Related literature on poverty has been read to give assistance to the investigation of effects of poverty in Khayelitsha Site C section. Theoretical literature for an example apartheid system, which was introduced by the ruling National Party in 1948, colonialism and migration (Ramphele, 1989). Some other theoretical literature has been

read and plays an important role in the research progress. Migrant Labour System (Callinicos, 1980). Poverty, capitalism and development (Allen et al, 1992). Poverty and inequality in South Africa (Wilkins, 1998).

1.9 The research design

This section outlines the plan to be followed and how the research will be conducted. It outlines the research tools. This type of research aims to concentrate on the evaluation of the effects of poverty Khayelitsha Site C. The experiences, behaviors and attitudes should be stated closely by interacting with the people that feel the pain of poverty.

1.10 Research methodology

This research used qualitative and quantitative methodological strategies including a literature review, field surveys, focus in-depth interviews a case study as well as direct observation. In my study the most important aspects of research will be to find solutions to important social problems experienced in Site C. In this study the focus is on the evaluation of the effects of poverty with the hope that at the end of the research an assistance of alleviation of poverty could be recommended. Chadwich et al (1984) discussed that the research methodology of social research consists of the preparation of a plan whereby verifiable knowledge about the research problem is obtained.

The literature review will take care of correcting the theoretical material available on poverty. It helps to widen the scope of knowledge, strengthen thoughts to be more independent on the discussion of the evaluation of the effects of poverty. Necessary background information and

previous research results will be used to be acquainted with the problems hypotheses and results obtained by previous research to avoid repeating efforts but to widen and deepen them.

Qualitative methodology allows me to look at settings and people holistically. It also studies people in the context of their past and the situations in which they find themselves. Currently nothing is taken for granted. According to Tayler et al, (1984) people, settings or groups are not reduced to variables, but are viewed as a whole. Everything is a subject matter of enquiry. Filstead, (1990:6) discussed that qualitative methodology allows the researcher to obtain firsthand knowledge about the social world and experiences of people in poverty. It also develops the analytical, conceptual and categorical components of explanation from the data itself

Quantitative research includes singular, unambiguous interpretations, which are aimed for through precise operationalisation of variables, accuracy in data collection, etc. (Mikkelsen, 1995). This method helps the researcher to be at the same level of understanding with the participant and the research becomes more practical.

Case study approach includes both qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the investigation fully. The researcher will take every aspect to be considered, which means that the development over time of the event or person constitutes an important dimension. The researcher will also collect and examine as much information as possible regarding the subject of the study. According to Babbie (1986) case study is a comprehensive description and explanation of many components of a given social situation. The researcher will learn about the history of the community, its religious, political, economic, geographical, and racial makeup. Bless et al (1997) also explains case study as a way of organising social data and looking at the object to be studied

as a whole. Khayelitsha Site C section is selected as the case study area for this research. Case study is used extremely widespread in social research.

Questionnaire is a formalized schedule for collecting data from respondents so that it can meet the aims of the research, accurately reflect information on the topic of study and be practicable given available time and resources (Center for Science Development, 1993). In this research survey questions are broadly divided into factual and opinion including attitude questions. Questions are closed, pre-coded and the alternatives are listed on the questionnaire and the interviewer ticks a box next to the appropriate response. In this regard Bless et al (1997) explained that questionnaire must be presented to each respondent in exactly the same way to minimize the role and influence of the interviewer and to enable a more objective comparison of the results.

1.10.1 Research procedure

The research procedure is the mode of performing or conducting a research task, which reflects the research problem and research aims of the study that influences the development of the research phases.

1.10.2 Gathering of data

In order to produce research findings there will be use of the qualitative research method, which will include in-depth interviewing. Historical background information is obtained from the government department to build an understanding of the setting. Community profile of Khayelitsha has been done previously to know the area better, to get used to the community members and their activists. This profile has also done to change the researcher from being a

stranger and be a known person to gain co-operation. Newspaper articles, researches that have been done previously, published documents community activists and formal policy statements were used to get quality and updated information. Taylor et al (1984) argued that, monitor the process during the actual data collection is advisable. Waiting until the project is completed, records and materials returned may result in unexpected problems.

Empirical fieldwork involves the completion of a questionnaire and the sample, which was designed to obtain information on an individual personal experience. The research will focus on data more than theory as a matter of emphasis. It is getting the information directly from the respondent and that made it purposeful. Plummer (1983) argued that rationalistic method is based on human reason the opposite of the rationalistic method is the empirical method, where facts observed in nature are the only elements to rely on. Objectivity of the observation is emphasized and only what can be perceived by our senses constitutes knowledge.

Simple random sampling is the usual method of selecting a sample from a homogenous or same kind of population. Every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected for the sample (Howard: 1985). The researcher will make each member of the population to be represented by a lottery ticket with the full address of the candidate. Every member has one, and only one, ticket. Simple random sampling involves the selection of the individuals from the lottery pool in a way that does not discriminate.

Sixty-eight people who cope with poverty will be selected as the subject to participate in the study. The focus of the research is on the people of Khayelitsha Site C that developed survival strategies in order to cope with poverty. Both men and women will be included in the participants

as long as one is the owner of the chosen household. Women are experiencing more poverty than men when comparing the two groups. Blackburn (1991) mentioned that black women face the dual oppression of sexism and racism in the labour market. They experience a different position in the labour market to both white women and men of all races. Black women tend to be in jobs with the lowest pay and the poorest conditions.

Observation, The researcher used non-participant observation by making all the participants to be aware of the fact that he is a researcher and report issues quite relevant as a bystander not as part and parcel of the acts in the research exercise. The researcher will be more direct and draws on the premise that for certain purposes it is best to observe what actually happens. According to Taylor et al (1994) discussed that by observing people in their everyday lives, listening to them talk about what is on their minds, and looking at the documents they produce, the qualitative researcher obtains first hand knowledge of social life unfiltered through concepts and rating scales. As much as participant observation is good to gain an in-depth understanding of life in a group, community or society, observation is essential for personal experience as a researcher and uses his or her senses in the observation process. But this study did not choose the participant observation. Bless et al (1997) argued that becoming an insider allows a deeper insight into the research problem, since one enjoys the confidence of participants and shares their experiences without disturbing their behavior.

In-depth interviewing will be conversational in order to grasp and unravel the participant's responses and perceptions of phenomena. The interview is a direct method of obtaining information in a face-to-face situation. This is the type of research in which the aim is to meet the people that have developed survival strategies to cope with poverty. Talk to them more about

their experiences, behaviors and attitudes and also evaluate the effects of poverty in the research area. The interviews will be done in their households to have chance to observe the respondent in the natural setting to gain an in-depth understanding by being intimately involved with the participants. The purpose of interviewing according to Patton (1982) is to allow us to enter into other person's perspective. The assumption is that perspective is meaningful, knowable and capable of being made explicit.

1.11 Data processing and analysis

The analysis of the data requires much more discussion in the whole of research methodology, a task that should invariably take considerably more time than the collection of data and which would invariably also proceed simultaneously (Plummer, 1983). This is the creative part of the work it entails brooding and reflecting upon the pile of data for long period of time until it make sense. It is also the difficult process to describe.

The researcher will be using the qualitative research method and this means that as the data collection in progress the analysis of that data gathered will follow. The researcher will also look for patterns and themes and try to make sense of the data being collected, at the same time to identify any inconsistencies and contradictions. This data will also be integrated with other research literature already studied and point out the differences and similarities. The researcher will analyse the data, which generally consist of field notes, to identify significant events, feelings, and patterns of behavior. The quantification of variables and related statistical analysis will be included.

1.11.1 Data Interpretation

Once the data has been analysed and the findings stated on the basis of qualitative and quantitative analysis, these findings and the whole procedure leading to them will be thoroughly and critically reviewed to detect any errors of measurement. The research report will follow and that is basically a description of what the researcher did, with special emphasis on the researcher's idea of how the subject interpreted their social world and what their actions meant to them.

1.12 The research agenda

The research problem has been discussed in **chapter one,** which gave rise to the research design, aims of the study and selected research methodology. As the introductory chapter it gave us a sense of understanding of the research. Furthermore it provided the impetus and chapter progression of this study which are as follows:

- **Chapter 2** contains the theoretical framework about the definition, experiences and the risk situation that people live in poverty and also presenting a general overview of poverty in the developed and developing countries comparing with South Africa.

- **Chapter 3** covers the community profile of Khayelitsha Site C as the case study area looking at the socio-economic and dynamic functioning.

- **Chapter 4** contains community participation in developing planning of the area in poverty. Investigate various strategies that they have developed to cope with poverty as people of Khayelitsha Site C.

- **Chapter 5** concentrated on the recommendations for better living in Khayelitsha Site C with the assistance of the research findings. Presents also general conclusions within the framework of poverty alleviation strategies.

1.13 Conclusion

This chapter is the introductory chapter whereby the reader is being introduced to the research topic to have a better idea of what is going to take place in the development of the research. It gave an overview and background of the study. The explanation on the research problem, significant of the study, aims of the study and the method that will be used in the progress of the research is addressed. The following chapter will be dealing with theoretical framework of the study. The chapter will be focusing on the academic language, details of poverty, definitions and structuring.
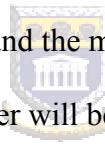
Chapter Two

Conceptual framework

2.1 Introduction

South Africa is one of the most complex and heterogeneous countries. Massive problems such as severe poverty and inadequate health services are prevalent especially in black townships like Soweto in Johannesburg, Mdantsane in East London and Khayelitsha in Cape Town.

All people dream of living and working in a democratic and prosperous country, a country which promotes tolerance amongst its people, a country which allows every human being to develop to his or her full potential. The majority of black people in South Africa live in devastating conditions created by poverty. Poverty shows itself in different ways, which will be reflected in the discussion that follows.

2.2 Conceptualisation of poverty

The study of poverty as a subject for empirical investigation and theoretical exploration has become the focus of intense study for government, civil society and academics. The importance of this topic is reflected in the vast number of books like Chadwich et al 1984, Chambers 1983, Filstead 1990, Babbie 1986, Howard 1985, Ife 1995, Klasen 1977, Lombard 1991, Naurang 1980 etc. and also journal articles like Reconstruction and Development Programme 1995, Moola 2002, Poverty Profile 1997, Heintz et al 1998 etc. A number of these have been used in this discussion to give a clear understanding of poverty.

2.2.1 Poverty as a concept

Poverty has been given various meanings from a range of different perspectives. Defining poverty is a political activity. People are considered to be poor if their income is so low as to be

intolerable but the problem lies in determining what might be considered tolerable. Some writers define poverty as deprivation because a large number of people, who experience poverty today have been deprived by the ruling class of a decent standard of living. Dinitto & Dye (1983) also explain poverty in terms of deprivation, that is, insufficiency in basic human needs such as food, housing, clothing, education, medical care and other items required to maintain a decent living standard.

An acute observation of poverty is provided by an interviewee in a study by Wilson and Ramphele. Mrs. Witbooi comments: "Poverty is not knowing where your next meal is going to come from, and always wondering when the council is going to put your furniture out and always praying that your husband must not lose his job. To me that is poverty" (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989:14).

Singh (1980) suggests that it is difficult to convey the true meaning of poverty because the people affected may not have anything in common other than a lack of resources to meet their basic needs. Owing to the complex nature of poverty, it is not really possible to give uniform account of the circumstances in which people become poor.

From a sociological perspective, poverty is viewed within the social context of the family, community and society, not just the individual. Most sociologists explain poverty in terms of inadequacy of the welfare state, not its generosity (Haralombos, 1991).

Poverty does not explain a certain kind of attribute, which people do or do not have. It is used to describe a cluster or a large number of conditions. Budlender (1998) comes to a different

perspective, namely, that the basis of poverty is greatly influenced by the individual's background, experience and environment. Different groups of South Africans, in different parts of rural or urban areas, differ according to age, race, gender and other characteristics. Poverty is not only about lack of money, but also more centrally about the scarcity of favourable occasions which allow people to build decent lives for themselves.

A number of definitions have been given to the term 'poverty'. There are disagreements and controversies that exist as to stating the precise nature of poverty. Poverty is generally classified as absolute and relative.

Absolute poverty: "The concept of absolute poverty rests on the idea that it is possible to define a minimum standard for physical survival, and that the needs of the poor do not change through time" (Buckingham,1991: 9). This is the condition in which everything revolves around the worst scenario. It posits a situation where the mortality rate is high, malnutrition is chronic, housing is of sub-human standards and employable skills are extremely rudimentary due to weak or absent entrepreneurship (Singh, 1980).

*Relative poverty***:** Buckingham (1991) discusses the idea that poverty is relative and implies that poverty is about being poor in comparison to the standard of living of others, and about being unable to do things that are generally accepted. Singh (1980) elaborates by saying that relative poverty defines poverty in terms of its relation to the standards, which exist elsewhere in society. This can be understood primarily in terms of inequality, namely where goods and services are less than available to most members of the community struggling to maintain the prevalent norm of living.

Cycle of poverty: Poverty is a social problem, which reproduce itself from generation to generation, hence we talk of the cycle of poverty today. In most times when you come from a poor background, that is born to poor people, the chances of being rich are very narrow. The cycle of poverty is more like a permanent situation, where people are trapped and unable to escape. Dinitto and Dye (1983: 55) postulate that, "poverty is a way of life passed on from generation to generation in a self-perpetuating cycle. This culture of poverty involves not just a low income, but also attitudes of indifference, alienation and apathy".

Leinwand (1968) gave us another version of understanding the cycle of poverty: that it is related to the casualties of society, such as inadequate parents, children who are in varying degrees abused at home resulting in emotional disturbance, socially and intellectually deprived people, unskilled or unemployed persons not earns enough to move out of social deprivation, people trapped in unstable and unsatisfying marriages and those living dysfunctional family lives. All these interact with various linkages to keep one in the trap of the cycle of poverty.

2.3 Dimensions of poverty
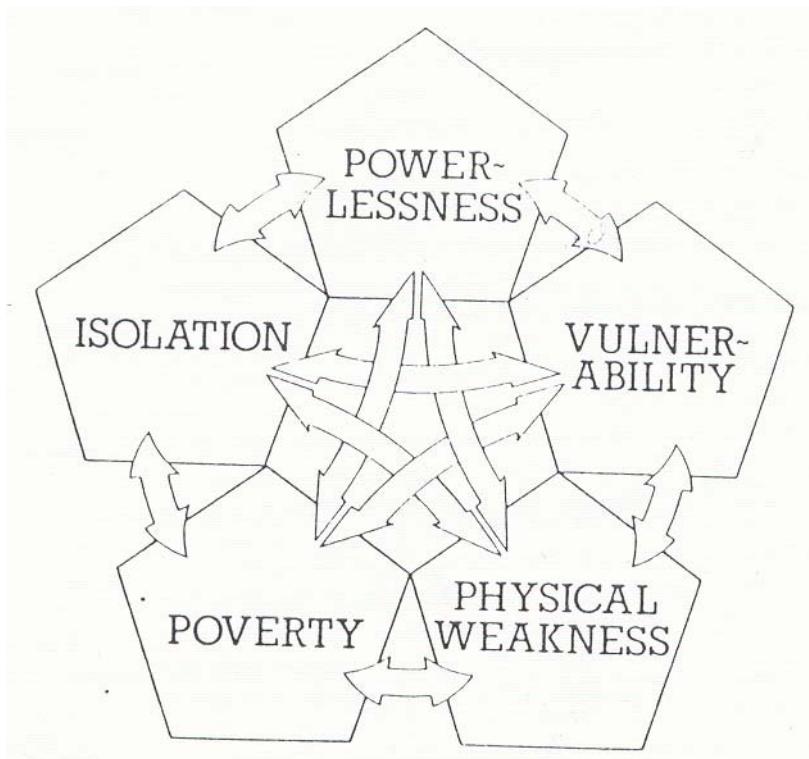
Figure 2.1 The deprivation trap (Chambers, 1983)

Robert Chambers (1983), one of the Western world's most respected analysts of rural development, identifies five interlocking "clusters of disadvantage" that characterise the lives of the rural poor in developing countries: poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerable and powerlessness. Each of these disadvantages serves to reinforce and aggravate the others; the overall effect is to 'trap the poor in deprivation" (Chambers, 1983).

The first cluster of disadvantage, poverty, involves the material status and resources of the household. Several aspects of poverty in the sense that Chambers (1983) uses the term including the assets endowments, livelihood strategies, housing conditions, and access to services typical of South Africa's rural poor. Other elements of his conceptualization of 'poverty' applicable in the

South African context include a tendency to use available cash on immediate needs rather than on savings or investment; low labor productivity; and indebtedness (Chambers, 1983).

The *poverty* of poor households is both a cause and effect of the second cluster of disadvantage, *physical weakness*. Rural households face frequent bouts of illness, typically occasioned by poor nutrition and sanitation. Infant, child and mortality rates in rural households are often higher than in urban areas because of the difficulty of accessing clinics or other health care facilities. Poor households in South Africa's rural areas tend to have a higher ratio of dependents include small children, the elderly, the sick and disabled. The third cluster of disadvantage identified is *isolation* (Chambers, 1983).

Rural households are often located at a substantial distance from one another and from centers of "trading, discussion and information"(Chambers: 1983, 110). With heavy workloads and limited resources at their disposal, rural household members are rarely able to travel. Many rural households are infrequently or never visited by government workers from health, agriculture or other departments. Rural households' difficulty in accessing information is often exacerbated by low levels of formal education and literacy, deepening their isolation.

The fourth cluster of disadvantage, *vulnerability,* is comprised of multiple facets. One of the facets most relevant in the South African context is vulnerability to seasonal fluctuations. The agricultural cycle in rural areas entails increased workloads during periods of peak activity and decreased income and food security leading to poor nutrition and poor health during the lean months. The time of highest risk for many agricultural families is the west season, when demand for labor is high, food supplies are low, and sickness is more common. The reliance of most rural

economies on agriculture leaves rural households highly vulnerable to seasonal failure as well, when inadequate or excessive rain damages or destroys crops (Wilkins, 1998).

The final cluster of disadvantage is the least tangible but arguably the most significant of the five. Chambers (1983) calls this cluster "*powerlessness*". I will substitute the term "*disempowerment*" because I believe power is relative, not absolute. No individual household or community is ever all-powerful or entirely without power; rather there are varying degrees of empowerment possessed by an entity (individual, household, community, nation-state, etc.) vis-à-vis another entity. The degree of empowerment is determined by the relationship between the two and is therefore constantly changing as the relationship changes.

The strength of these linkages varies but poverty is the strong determinant of the others. ***Poverty*** contributes to ***physical weakness*** through lack of food, to ***isolation*** because of the inability to have money to travel for job seeking and pay fees for education, to ***vulnerability*** through lack of assets to pay high amount of expenses and to ***powerlessness*** through lack of wealth (Chambers,1983).

2.4 Aspects of poverty

Social aspect in defining poverty: The malevolent impact of the apartheid period is still felt, particularly in the rural areas. Presently we are talking of black- on- black violence, psychiatric cases in large numbers, children who are malnourished and even death from hunger or malnutrition. Despite the several years of economic growth, poverty is on the increase in various areas among families with young children. They are still deprived of the resources needed for an acceptable quality of life. According to Blackburn (1991), dominant explanations in the past have

regarded poverty as a consequence of the moral weakness or the psychological or social inadequacy of the individual. There are perhaps more fundamental reasons for the causation of poverty.

Economic aspect in defining poverty: Lack of jobs undoubtedly complicates the seriousness of the situation because all societies, as forms of human social organization, depend upon human labour for survival. Labour provides goods such as food, clothing and houses to live in, which maintains human existence. Singh (1980) defines poverty in a economic sense as a state wherein an individual cannot satisfy his minimum wants for healthy living in a given social environment.

Political aspect in defining poverty: Poverty has its own historical origins based on capitalism. It is much more a recent and historically specific phenomenon. It implies a devastating situation or state and suggests that individuals, groups, families and communities at large who are in poverty need assistance so that their situation is changed to a better quality of life. According to Budlender (1998) poverty is not about lack of money alone, but also about a dearth of opportunities and choices that allow people to build a healthy environment and descent lives for their own good.

2.5 Measurement of poverty

Poverty is variously defined, but commonly understood as a single economic problem that large number of developing countries are experiencing today. Poverty is difficult to measure. The convenient guiding principle is requisite to the determination of the degree and intensity of poverty. Blackburn (1991) mentions that the easy way to measure poverty is in terms of

household income as income determines access to the amenities and resources that are important for good health.

Measuring economic growth is to determine a country's total production of goods and services in a specific period. The central concept is the Gross Domestic Production, which is explained as the total value of all final goods and services produced within the boundaries of a country in a particular period usually a period of one year (Mohr et al, 1995). Moola (2002) further discussed that housing is one of the issues that make an impact on social and economic life and that initiative is with its difficulties in a political sphere that respects the right to own land privately.

Generally, high standards of living per capita income are associated with high standards of nutrients, education, housing, health and other components of the level of living (Hardiman & Midgley, 1982). Under nutrition, insufficient access to food is one of the most devastating aspects of poverty. This is not only a compromise of the present situation, it is also a compromise of the future because it limits the potential of children to grow and learn.

There are large numbers of children that suffer from poverty despite the fact that South Africa is a liberated country with the high expectations of the people when talking of being liberated. Poverty profile (1997:1) discussed that "government is giving greater priority to repaying South Africa's odious debt than to the plight of its own children". The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) advocates that the amount of child support transfer should be increased in order for the children to receive their human development.

Wilkins (1998) relates to the correlation between level of education and standard of living. The poverty rate among people with no education is 69%, compared with 54% among people with primary education, 24% among those with secondary education, and 3% among those with tertiary education. The discussion emphases that the correlation between poverty and ill health is more difficult to measure. However, poor children suffer a much higher than average rate of stunting.

The burden is greater on women than on men and children are the victims. Heintz et al (1998) explained that women perform the large amount of unpaid work that is household production, care of the children, old and the sick. Women face discrimination in the formal labour market, in an income women can earn and the lack of economic opportunities. Reconstruction and Development Programme (1995) discussed that women's experiences show poverty in South Africa is linked with destitute, malnutrition, hunger, unemployment, lack of access to health care and basic services and also disintegration of families.

The distance and difference between the rich and the poor in South Africa are immense.
The distribution of income and wealth in South Africa is among the most unequal in the world. Only Brazil has a higher Gini coefficient, a standard measure of income inequality, than South Africa (Wilkins, 1998). The gulf between the day-to-day experience of South Africa's affluent and the daily lives of the South African poor is wider than any statistical analysis can reveal. According to Woolard et al (1994) the Gini coefficient is a number between 0 and 1, which indicates the level of income inequality within a population. The bigger the number the more inequality exists.

The Gini coefficient in South Africa is about 0.60. For a long period of time South Africa's Gini was the highest recoded in the world. *World Development Report 1996* explained that only Brazil has a higher level of inequality as measured by the coefficient.

The landmark report *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa was* developed for the office of the Executive Deputy President with the support of the World Bank. The United Nations Development Program and the British and Dutch foreign aid agencies define poverty as "the inability to attain a minimum standard of living, measured in terms of basic consumption needs or the income required to satisfy them" (Wilkins, 1998). This definition is in line with current internationally accepted standards, which defines poverty in terms of material deprivation. The "minimum standard of living" can and does vary from one society to another according to each society's interpretation of what consumption level is necessary and appropriate.

Nationwide, poverty rates are highest among Africans 61% and lowest among whites 1%. Coloureds and Indians fall in between with poverty rates of 38% and 5%, respectively (Wilkins, 1998). Africans comprise an estimated 95% of all poor people in the country, although they constitute only 72% of the population (May et al, 1994). It is important to note that income inequality in South Africa is high within race groups as well as among race groups. African and Coloured median incomes in rural areas are approximately half the median incomes earned by Africans and Coloureds in urban areas. The poverty gap – the amount needed annually to raise all poor in a specified population to the poverty line by a perfectly targeted transfer of money – is a measure of the severity of poverty. The poverty gap for all of South Africa was estimated to be R28 billion in 1995. Some 76% of the poverty gap was in rural areas, although these areas contain only half of the total population (Wilkins, 1998).

In the South African context, the poverty level – the monetary value of the consumption, which separates the poor and the non-poor - has been established by considering the poorest 40% of households as 'poor'. These households include about 19 million people, slightly less than half of South Africa's population. Using this standard sets the poverty level at a monthly household expenditure of R353 approximately US$57 at current exchange rates per adult equivalent (Wilkins, 1998).

The household surveys from which these figures are drawn do not report on the gender distribution of income within households. The results of these surveys indicate that female-headed households are more vulnerable to poverty than male-headed households. The poverty rate among female-headed households is 60%, almost the twice 31% rate of male-headed households (Wilkins, 1998). Rural South Africa has among the highest incidences of female-headed households in the world (Lipton and Lipton, 1994).

2.6 Indicators of poverty

Measuring poverty solely in terms of income overlooks other important dimensions of human well-being, including health, education mobility and self-respect. According to this argument, 'income only constitutes an important input to well-being…it does not measure the level; of well-being itself '(Klasen,1997). These issues hold that other measures of the physical, intellectual, and emotional status and development of household members are needed to supplement income figures. The mentioned issues admit that measurement of such intangible qualities of 'sense of empowerment' and self-esteem' is difficult, but contend that it is crucial to a full description and understanding of poverty.

Most income-based measures are calculated per household and thus obscure both differences in household size and composition and unequal distribution of income and consumption within households. Another technical criticism recognizes that income-based measures do not take into account goods and services produced by households for their own consumption (subsistence) rather than the sale and thus do not accurately reflect the wealth of a household.

Poverty is the condition of having insufficient resources or income. In its most extreme form, poverty is a lack of basic human needs, such as adequate and nutritious food, clothing housing, clean water, and health services. Extreme poverty can cause terrible suffering and death. Regan (1996) shows that the Third World Countries with the poorest people live mainly in the developing areas of Africa. They struggle daily for food, shelter and other necessities. Estimated levels of poverty have been mentioned. In 1969 – 1971, 33% of the population of Sub-Saharan. Africa was poverty-striken. This rose to 37% in 1994. The respective figures for America were 19% and 13%, while those of Asia 29% and 20%. Both Asia and Latin America had a decreased level of poverty while in the United States it has increased.

Education in South Africa was long characterised by racial inequality. There is a very strong correlation between the lack of educational facilities and the lack of employment in black communities. When young, one is being taken to school by the parents to be educated for better living. Sometimes the parents cannot afford to keep the child in the educational system for too long. A deficient education lessens the chances of financially secure employment. The risk of

being uneducated is unemployment. Even then employment can mean poor wages. If you are a woman, you earn less than a man. Poor households are more often headed by women. Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit – SALDRU (1995) estimated that 50% of the poor are uneducated or have not completed primary education. These large inconsistencies in educational attainment have a major impact on the differences in employment opportunities and wages between the rich and poor.

Unemployment is one of the most significant contributors and important indicators of poverty. Unemployment rates are the highest among Africans, in rural areas, among women, youth, and those with no work experience (Wilkins,1998). There is a strong link between poverty and unemployment. According to Lual et al (1996) the SALDRU survey revealed that approximately 900,000 individuals were involved in some form of casual labour and more than 1 million in non-agricultural self-employment activities including street vending, clothing, shopkeeping, shebeens and taxis.

The scarcity of clean water and sanitation are very important because lack of these gives rise to even higher levels of susceptibility to infections. Lack of hygiene in food processing promotes the transmission of diseases. People should be very careful and responsible about their lives because there is lack of access to health services. The National Social Development Report (1995) explained that only one doctor is available for 700 people in the metropolitan area, and one doctor for every 1 900 in the non-metropolitan areas. Also in the former homeland areas, there is one doctor for an estimated 10 000 and 30 000 persons.

2.7 Community level factors

Several important causes of poverty can be identified at the community level. Some communities' geographic isolation puts them at a disadvantage. Outlying communities' distance from service provision sites, markets and decision-making centers deprives community members of opportunities to participate in economic and political activities, thereby tightening the poverty trap in which many of the poor are caught. The lack of adequate, affordable transport and telecommunications in many areas exacerbates the marginalization of communities from the main stream of society.

Another key reason that the poor remain mired in poverty is the vulnerability to exploitation by local elites. Nearly all communities have a minority of members who are more wealthy, secure, and powerful than the majority of community members. Local elites can use their positions of influence in the community and their access to information and decision-making processes to capture resources invested in the community from external sources that are intended to reach the poor. Chambers observers, "Most government, parastatal, [NGO], and private sector programs and campaigns [including irrigation schemes, cooperative formation initiatives, and employment creation projects] are designed intentionally for the elites, or so designed and implemented that they are likely to be intercepted by them"(Chambers, 1983:131).

Other aspects of the poor's vulnerability to exploitation by local elites arise from the power imbalances between the poor and the elite. This imbalance place the poor in a disadvantageous bargaining position when they are selling their labour; negotiating access to communal land, water or grazing; or engaging in other economic transaction with the elite (Chambers, 1983). The

power imbalances also leave the poor vulnerable to robbery of their assets by rapacious elites through direct violence or through more subtle means such as "deception, blackmail or intimidation" (Chambers, 1983:133). In sum, the advantages enjoyed by elites allow them to accumulate still more advantage, often at the expense of the poor.

2.8 A broader framework within which poverty arises

The existing economic inequalities in South Africa today are not through an accident of history but results from a deliberate, calculated political initiative by the apartheid state to promote capitalism along racial lines. This inevitably advantaged whites at the expense of other races, most notably the Africans. It is therefore no accident or coincidence that the Mass Democratic Movement representing the majority of the politically oppressed people of South Africa came to equate apartheid and capitalism. These sentiments have been founded on the observation that indeed there has been an almost visible symbiotic relation between apartheid and capitalism in industrial society (Wilson, 1976).

Motlhabi (1986) understands "apartheid" as meaning the enforced separation of different racial groups in a community. This was the pattern of race relations in South Africa. At its roots was a pass system for Africans.

The symbiosis between apartheid and capitalism could be seen in apartheid's key role in the development of capitalism in South Africa. Capitalism in turn contributed to the maintenance of the system of apartheid. Each could not have survived without the other. The legacy of apartheid is the main factor for the economic crisis and the high level of poverty which disadvantaged South Africa finds itself in. The system finally proved too costly to maintain.

This was seen at the turn of the 20th century when capitalists like Cecil John Rhodes forged a strong working relationship between the state and mining magnates like himself.

The mining capitalists wanted the government to legislate laws that were favorable and conducive for capitalism to strive in. Thus the mining sector came to pioneer and entrench a system, which soon spread to all sectors of the economy. This system of an apartheid – capitalism working relationship set a precedent, which became a permanent feature throughout the fabric of South African political and economic civil society (Lodge, 1983).

One of the disturbing features of the apartheid – capitalism alliance was the manner in which the former undermined the economic empowerment of all races besides the whites. The laws of the land were so designed so as to deny these racial groups – notably the Africans – the opportunity to uplift themselves economically. Although it has been argued in certain circles that apartheid by its nature was in fact dysfunctional to capitalism, it remains true that the roots of racial disparities in South Africa were entrenched by the deliberate exploitation of black labour by the forces of capitalism. The institution of migrant labour system is one of the many examples of how racial laws were used to advantage capitalism through the misappropriation of cheap labour. Owing to the fixing of the gold price and the expense accrued by the important of machinery and skilled labour, mining capitalists were frustrated by the small profits that they extracted. As a way of accruing more profits, black cheap labour was targeted for exploitation.

Wilson (1976) notes that a series of labour orientated laws like the Pass Laws, the Native Services Contract Act, the Masters and Servants Act and the Native's Labour Regulations were legislated to deliberately debar Africans from the benefits of certain labour awards. By denying Africans their freedom of movement, the Pass Laws effectively limited their bargaining power,

exposing them to exploitation by a certain type of employer and excluding them from enjoying benefits to be derived from the Industrial Conciliation Act. The system of cheap labour was therefore premised to advantage capitalism and enable it to reap huge surpluses and profits.

Johnstone (1972) further observer that the 1913 Land Act was amongst the most central laws which actively promoted Capitalism. In any given society, ownership of land and / or access to it, is a fundamental basis of all wealth and power. It is from land that man derives his existence. The recent Gulf War was basically over land and its (oil) resources. The argument by organizations like the Pan African Congress that a political settlement toward the creation of a "new" South Africa cannot be complete without a resolution of the land question is founded on their understanding that land is basic to wealth, prosperity and health. By depriving Africans of or access to land, the Apartheid state effectively proletarianised Africans, relegating and reducing them to be forever dependent on the low wages meted out to them by their capitalist bosses. A combination of low wages, high taxes and strict restrictive labour laws has throughout the political - economic history of modern South Africa rendered Africans landless, desolate and impoverished, while the white capitalist minority lived affluently.

The legacy of apartheid and capitalism continue to bedevil the country. The impact of their relationship is strikingly visible in our country, with the rich becoming richer and the poor languishing in dire poverty. What is irrefutable is that the history of the political economy of South Africa is mainly about apartheid and capitalism. The two continue to coexist even at a time when South Africa is seeking a new political identity.

Simply blaming the Apartheid State and its policies for contemporary poverty in South Africa is not however useful. Instead it is vital to identify the apartheid-era origins of present factors contributing to poverty so that appropriate measures can be devised to address these factors effectively, thereby advancing transformation and reducing poverty.

2.9 The growth of capitalism

The following are extracts from E. S. Sachs' work. The quotations come from oral evidence given to the Beaumont Commission of 1916, which was appointed to investigate the operation of the 1913 Land Act.

"…There is no place where we can make permanent home; we do not like our children to be homeless wanderers all the days of our life" (M. K. Mancobo, Knysna).

"We are grieved that every native is scattered all over the place from their old homes" (Chief Ndunge – Gele Tribe).

"Even as I am speaking here there are many natives homelands in the veld with their bundles" (chief Sondanazwe – Dundee).

The above quotations lucidly capture one of the most immediate effects of the migrant labour system, which brought poverty in to the majority of people in South Africa. Although the accounts are a response to the legislation of the 1913 Land Act, the vivid description of an uprooted and displaced people should be seen as one of the major byproducts of the introduction of the migrant labour system. The migrant labour system cannot be understood in isolation without alluding to other labour-orientated laws that were created to effect its implementation. Thus, in order to fully appreciate the impact that the migrant labour system per se had on the

fabric of both, it is necessary to understand a series of labour-orientated laws that were designed to make the migrant labour system work.

The migrant labour system came into operation with the advent of the mineral revolution. Faced with the frustrations of scarce labour for deep-level mining as a result of the reluctance of the Africans to sell their labour, the mining magnates colluded with the government of the day to introduce laws that would force Africans off their land and compel them to enter the mining industry as wage-earners. The Land Act of 1913 dispossessed Africans of their land. Tax laws forced them to work in the mines for wages so as to be able to pay their tax dues. A series of other labour orientated laws like the Pass Laws, the Native Service Contract Act, the Masters and Servants Act, the Native Labour Regulations Act were introduced to deliberately debar Africans from the benefits of certain labour awards. By restricting Africans in their freedom of movement, the Pass Laws undermined the bargaining power of the Africans, effectively exposing them to exploitation by a certain type of employer and excluding them from enjoying benefits contained within the Industrial Conciliation Act. This grossly impoverished Africans and forced them to live below the breadline. Cheap labour was justified by the false argument that the low wages were meant to be sufficient for the worker alone. His family back in the reserves supposedly subsisted on the land. The truth is that the reserves were so crowded that there was little if no land to cultivate (volume 3 of the Surplus People Project Report, 1983).

Poverty was amongst the most devastating effects of the migrant labour system on the family. The living standards dropped sharply in the years immediately after the introduction of the notorious Land Act of 1913. What needs to be understood is that land is our main source of existence. It is from land that we derive wealth, food and shelter. To deprive people of the land is

to deny them their survival. With the advent of poverty, most African families found it hard to make ends meet. Malnutrition, malnourishment and all the other hallmarks of poverty became common features of families especially those in the rural areas. With poverty spreading, the telltale signs of poverty like high infant mortality rate and diseases became a common feature of most families.

The separation of husbands and fathers from wives and families was one of the most traumatic results of the system of migrant labour. It undermined the very foundation on which the family was grounded. The absence of the patriarchal and figurehead in the African family reduced the dignity of the family and its status. Bearing in mind that men constituted the governing elite of class and tribes, it is clear that the migration of males to the mines greatly weakened tribal autonomy and society. Above all, it was the mothers, the sick and the aged who remained at home, who had to keep the fires burning. With little land to work on, most families found it almost impossible to survive without the breadwinner. The latter's wages, after deductions for taxes and traveling allowance, left little for the sustenance of the family back home.

The advent of the migrant labour system led to a dual life for fathers and husbands: one at home and the other in the mines. The isolation in the mines caused many to pine for home while others, finding the working conditions cruel and hostile, escaped without completing their contracts. Desertion was a criminally punishable act. Thus, overnight, the migrant labour system turned decent husbands and fathers into criminals and fugitives in their own land. The conditions in the compounds, where there was no privacy and no demarcation between young and old, desecrated the dignity of the adult in the eyes of the younger workers. Their manhood and self-respect were

undermined. This is the impact that the system had on African family life. After the system became fully operational, most families were never to be the same again.

Many children were left fatherless, as their fathers join the casualty list of fatal accidents in the mines. Safety in the mines was poor. Some of the men were never to return to their families but chose to start new families in the urban areas. Thus many families were left destitute. Certainly, most families were irretrievably broken. Adulterous and illicit extra-marital affairs became rife in many societies. This tension in the nuclear families saw many wives and mothers in their quest to save their strained marriages, migrating to the mining centers to be with their husbands. Within a short space of time – almost overnight – the African family was torn from a peaceful agrarian and pastoral life to a life of urban tension and alienation. This sudden and massive existential disruption was to produce untold psychological damage on the African family. Many families have still awaken from this nightmare. The Migrant Labour System continues to haunt a lot of families. In the modern South Africa, society has come to reap the brutalising long-term effects of the system. The endemic violence, which bedevils South Africa today, is an example of the social evil produced by the inhuman conditions that the migrant labour system created.

That the migrant labour system has irreparably damaged and destroyed the fabric of the nuclear and extended African family, there is no doubt. What remains to be seen is whether the generations of uprooted, displaced, orphaned and brutalised will turn against the society that deformed their existence. Perhaps society, through the present violent bloodletting orgy, has come to pay for signs like the inhuman migrant labour system.

The difficulties of development and upliftment of the poor in the developing world are immense. No purpose is served by underestimating them. Many biases tilt against them. The enormity of the problems may induce some to despair, cynicism, fatalism and a search for one big solution. But great problems can be broken down into small sections, which can then be tackled one by one (World Bank Staff Working Paper, 1980).

2.10 Poverty reduction strategies by the government

Under apartheid, Africans in South Africa were subjected to all forms of oppression, including being denied a right to vote for the government of their own choice and forced removals into the so-called "Bantustans". All such injustices did not pass unnoticed and unchallenged. People in South Africa embarked on different forms of resistance and strategies, culminating in 1994 with the African National Congress - led Government of National Unity. The situation in South Africa changed and the ANC focused on restoring the dignity of black African people.

Large number of projects have been established to develop the people, societies and communities where people are involved and catered for. One of the biggest and most important projects established for the people from disadvantaged backgrounds was the   Reconstruction and Development Programme, popularly known as the RDP. The ANC (1994) discussed what the RDP was: "The RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources towards the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future".

The RDP was established to eradicate a long list of issues that were not handled properly. Poverty is one of the pressing social problems that need to be attended to. Poverty is the greatest burden of South Africa's people, and is the direct result of the apartheid system and the grossly

skewed nature of business and industrial development, which accompanied it. Poverty affects large number of people especially women and people in the rural areas.

The RDP was based on reconstruction and development, components of an integrated process that required fundamental changes in the way that policy was made and programmes were implemented. The ANC (1994) further affirmed that the RPD was a people-centered programme whereby people were involved in the decision-making process, in its implementation, in new opportunities requiring new skills, and in managing and governing the society.

The aim of the RDP was also to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, and in particular the most poor and marginalised sections of the community. The poor should be given the power to control their lives and increase their ability to mobilise sufficient development resources, including those from the democratic government where necessary (ANC, 1994).

The RDP was a promising programme to alleviate social problems by creating home ownership and employment. It sought to help the people in their basic needs. Within two years of the implementation of the RDP, a new policy was adopted. This was the growth Employment and Redistribution Policy (GEAR). Introduced in 1996, it encouraged economic growth, while seemingly ignoring the poorest of the poor.

A Development update (1999/2000) discussed the government's rejection of critisism that it had displaced the values underpinning the RDP. The government argued that the closure of the Ministry without Portfolio, which was the home of the RDP in 1996, was the beginning of a strategic shift to integrate the RDP into all levels of government operations.

The government accepted its responsibility to explain to the people why the RDP had stopped its programmes. The people were disappointed about the government's arrangement but unfortunately it was beyond their control. The government claimed that the RDP programmes were going to continue but with a different strategy from all government agencies. However, it became clear to the people that the RDP programmes would not be visible as before, even if they were in progress. Clearly, not everybody in Parliament were touched or moved by the plight of people from a disadvantaged background situation, as was the ANC when it released the RDP Project in 1994.

2.10.1 Growth employment and redistribution (GEAR)

South Africa's current macroeconomic strategy was adopted by the government in

mid-1996 in response to a foreign exchange crisis. The rand was depreciating rapidly, and investor confidence appeared to be eroding. To stabilize the rand and assuage investor concerns, the government developed and announced the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution strategy: (GEAR). GEAR is an integrated macroeconomic strategy comprised of multiple policy prescriptions, many of which are strongly influenced by the neo-liberal school of economic thought that dominates the global economy at present. While GEAR succeeded in halting the short-term slide in the rand and forestalling massive capital flight, its critics argue that its strict adherence to the global economic orthodoxy will prevent it from reaching its medium-term and long-term goals.

According to GEAR, promotion of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) is an important part of the overall strategy for job creation and income generation. Toward this end,

Gear states that the government will work to operationalize the policies outlined in the White Paper on small business promotion and will maintain the various programmes and organizations established to support SMME development, including the Department of Trade and Industry's Small Business Center, Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency, Khula Enterprise Finance Limited, Khula Credit Guarantee Limited, and the Competitiveness Fund.

GEAR notes that the Government has developed a protocol on corporate government of state owned entities, which promotes high performance and protects consumers from monopolistic practices. The protocol also promotes asset restructuring. GEAR states that the process of restructuring is advanced in the telecommunications sector and will continue in other sectors, including mineral and energy, agriculture, forestry, leisure and transport. Asset restructuring, the document explains, will take one of the three forms: total sale of the asset, partial sale of the asset to strategic equity partners with government retaining majority ownership, or sale of asset with government retaining a strategic interest.

Lehulere (1997) notes that in many discussions GEAR is reffered to as a neo-liberal policy. Neo-liberalism is an economic philosophy whose policies includes privatisation, wage restraint, that is, lowering of wages, deregulation of labour markets, and measures which allow money to leave the country easily. It also includes opening the economy by lowering tariffs and allowing easy movement of goods and services into the country. The interesting part of the neo-liberal policy is the state's role to create conditions for companies to be able to make profits. The state must lower company taxes and introduce taxes that largely affect the poor, what are normally called "regressive" taxes, such as VAT.

The main aim of neo-liberalism is to increase the profits of the bosses, while tolerating falling wages, fewer social services, less job security and joblessness for the workers and their communities. This policy will benefit a minority of people in South Africa. However, people that are coming from a disadvantaged background are still disadvantaged. They are not catered for. How did Government attend to the situation? The Government decided to depend on business. How did they ensure that economic growth and development were in place or that businessman were progressing in development as individuals? This policy appear to impoverish the poor even further, while enriching the affluent.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter began with an examination of the nature of poverty in South Africa together with a definition of poverty as a concept. The chapter further shows that the realities of South Africa's poor are dynamic and diverse and they also able to devise or develop different strategies to cope with poverty. The broader framework within which poverty arises has been addressed. Attention has been paid to the causes of poverty, demonstrating the interrelationship of many of these causes, which play the most important role in poverty creation. The Government's policy known as Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) has been discussed, as well as its impact on strategies to cope with poverty. The failure of the policy could be seen in the continued prevalence of gross poverty in Khayelitsha Site C. This analysis suggests that an effective strategy to combat poverty in South Africa and in the case study area known as Khayelitsha Site C requires sustained, coordinated action at the international, national, provincial, and local levels. This will create an enabling environment for households to enhance their lives. The following chapter will focus on the case study area of Khayelitsha Site C. It will serve as an example of the

people of a specified location fighting the scourge of poverty. The study will also look at the size, population, housing of the area and its distance from the Central Business District of Cape Town.

Chapter Three

Khayelitsha Site C - Case Study

3.1 Introduction

The majority of Khayelitsha's present population consists of people who have recently been located to the urban environment and are in a state of transition and acculturation. Strong traditional elements of community life are still evident and are manifested in the numerous social support systems, which exist in the community. Persons who have moved from the older residential areas of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu are in most instances third and fourth generation Capetonians inhabiting the formal housing areas (Lingelethu West City Council, 1992).

The townships of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu were allocated to black Africans by the Minister of Co-operation and Development in 1980. These areas were made up of single quarters for black Africans and contract migrant workers who were registered by the Western Cape Administration Board. The single quarters were built to accommodate exclusively male migrant labour from Trankei and Ciskei. Later the contract workers invited their families to stay with them in their single quarters and in the process influxes of women and children have resulted in serious overcrowding in the area (Volume 3 of the Surplus People Project Report, 1983).

The poverty that is witnessed in Site C of Khayelitsha today, is a result of the politically calculated strategy of apartheid that denied black people access to descent living standards. Part of the development of people around Cape Town especially Khayelitsha, was a result of the migrant labour system and group areas legislation commonly known as the Group Areas Act. Migrant workers left their homes in various parts of South Africa with the aim of getting a job in

Cape Town or nearby places of work. The overwhelming majority of the migrant workers originate from the Transkei and Ciskei. Desperate black people were brought in from the reserves to work as migrant workers on contract in the white rural areas at low wages. The Transkei and Ciskei were both made "independent states" which gave the central government a justification for deporting migrant labourers from these areas where they were now seen as "foreigners". The traditional chiefs who were responsible for tax collection on behalf of the government forced these people to go to urban areas to look for work in order to meet the tax obligations. These taxes were imposed on the people by the government. The migration of black people from the former Bantustans of Ciskei and Transkei were due to the effects of capitalism along racial lines. This system favoured the whites and confined black people to poor areas with little opportunities for either employment or sustainable livelihoods (Volume 3 Surplus Project Report, 1983).

It was within this context that Site C emerged as an informal settlement area to cater for the needs of families migrating from the Eastern Cape and those that the authorities did not cater for in terms of descent dwelling units. Conditions in Site C are very similar to other informal areas around Cape Town where poverty is pervasive and living standards are well below the national poverty line.

3.2 Location of South Africa

South Africa lies at the southern tip of the continent of Africa, next to Indian Ocean on the south and east and the Atlantic Ocean on the west. The country is bordered on the north by Botswana and Zimbabwe and on the northeast by Mozambique and Swaziland. On the northwest is Namibia. Lesotho is surrounded by South Africa with its independent kingdom (The World Book

Encyclopedia, 1994). It is made up of nine provinces. They are Limpopo, North West, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Kwazulu Natal, Northern Cape, Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Free State. The case study area is in the Western Cape Region in Cape Town, in the Site C section of the black township, Khayelitsha.
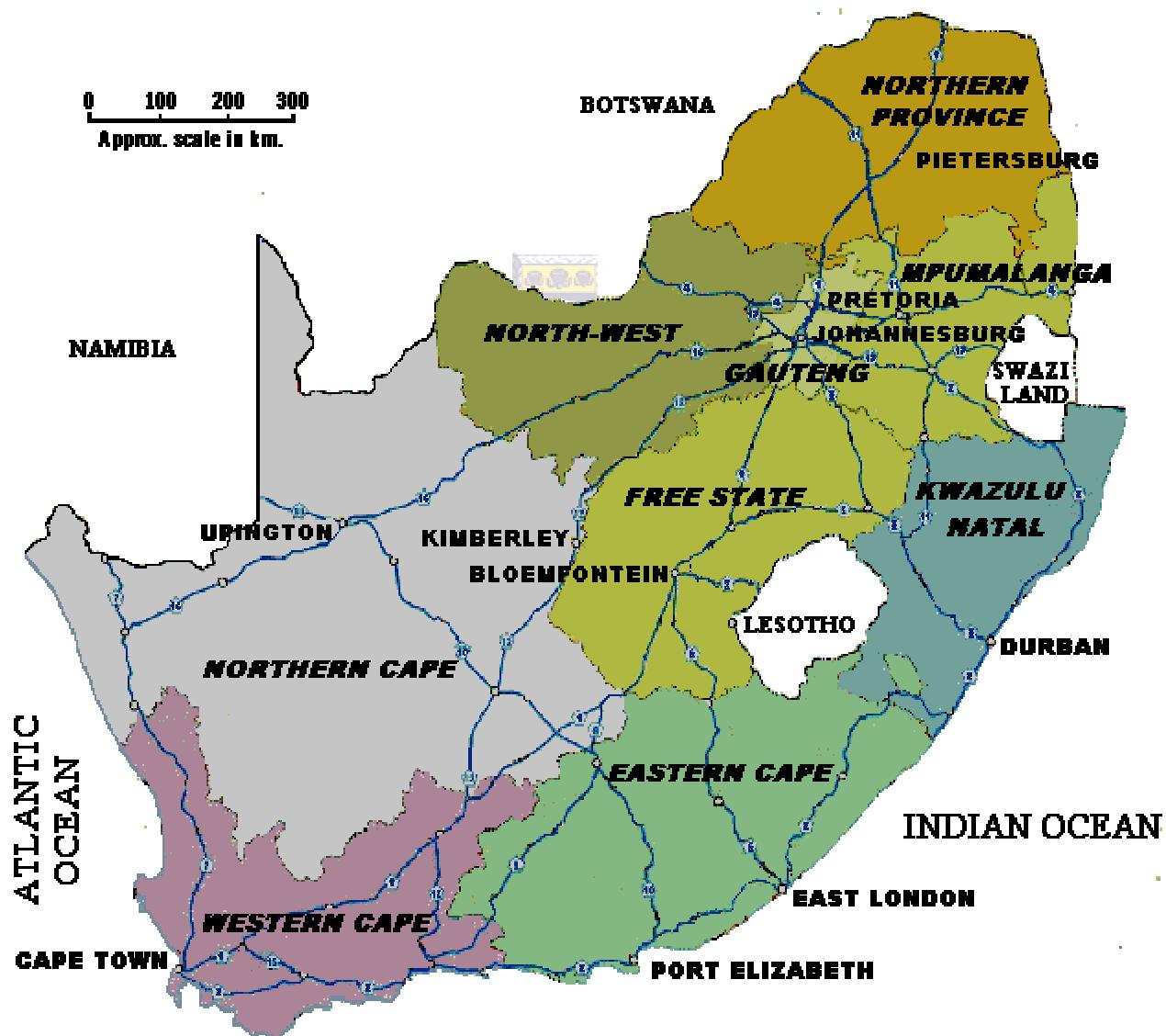
Map of South Africa - Showing National Routes and Provinces (Email:campers@buffalo.co.za)

Figure 2.1

3.3 Population of South Africa

In October 1996 there were 40,58 million people in South Africa. Among the people in South Africa 77% classified themselves as African, while 11% classified themselves as white, and 9% as coloured. The Indian or Asian population was smallest at 3%, and 1% did not specify their group, or else classified themselves in some other way (Hirschowitz, 2000).

3.4 Location of Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha is South Africa's fastest growing township and is one of Cape Town's leading tourists attraction and destinations. It is a large and predominantly informal settlement. The impression from outside is pretty severe with many shacks lining the outskirts and giving no indication of the vibrant culture within. It is located in the Western Cape region some 26km from the central business district of Cape Town on the white dunes of the Cape flats and is bordered by the N2 highway to the North and the False Bay Coast to the South with Mitchell's Plain to the West. The size and population of the settlement is disputed, with varying estimations from about two million people and above (Lingelethu West City Council, 1992). This constitutes about half of the entire population of the Western Cape, which is estimated to be about four million (Hirschowitz, 2000).

Khayelitstha was established as a mono-functional dormitory town and consequently there is virtually no significant economic base other than in the service sector. Khayelitsha is made up of both formal and informal settlements. The formal settlements are known as Bongweni, Ikwezi Park, Khulani Park, Khanya Park, Tembani, Washington Square, and Zolani Park. The formal settlements are located in the original area of Khayelitsha that was built by the government in order to entice people to move to the area, whereas informal settlement areas were built by the

residents themselves as a way of dealing with overcrowding in their households; these include Site B, Site C, Green Point, Litha Park, Makaza and Harare. Later the government was forced to provide services to these areas. This research focuses on Site C, which as indicated above, is one of the informal settlements in Khayelitsha. As Dyantyi et al (1998) rightly observe Site C is located in the South Eastern Sector of Khayelitsha.

3.5 History of Khayelitsha

The Western Cape faced a serious housing crisis in the early 1980's. This was because the population of Africans in Cape Town boomed. This was aggravated by the stipulations of the Group Areas Act No 36 of 1966, the Colored Labour Preferential Policy and the freezing of the erection of new houses in the townships of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu, all of which created overcrowding in the existing settlement areas and the large, burgeoning squatter settlements. Harsh influx control measures were imposed and later Khayelitsha Township was established (Mangwana, 1990).

During the early 1980's, the Western Cape was declared a Colored Labour Preferential Area. Influx control had been rigidly enforced and for two decades development was frozen in the old townships of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu. A new township for formal housing had been earmarked for part of the old Drift Sands farms near the Cape Town International Airport. The township of Khayelitsha was established in 1983 and grew thereafter rapidly.

3.5.1 Emergence of Site C

In February 1983 legal lodgers from overcrowded township houses in Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu made a stand to provide their own housing by squatting on a vacant tract of land

between Nyanga and Gugulethu opposite New Crossroads. Others rapidly joined them. Many of these residents were "illegally" in Cape Town. Demolition of their shacks in which they were illegally squatting, followed and the residents were forced to move to Khayelitsha. In March 1983 Dr Piet Koornhof, then Minister of Plural Relations, announced that a black township at Swartklip, (east of the coloured township of Mitchell's Plain) would be developed. This was the beginning of a new housing development called Khayelitsha, and would house the 'legal' informal settlement residents in core houses and 'illegal' informal settlement residents on 'site and serviced' land. The original plan to move 'illegal' informal settlement residents living in and around Old New Crossroads to Khayelitsha never occurred and the area became a symbol of black poverty and resistance to resettlement. Residents of Crossroads refused to budge, and the controversial decision to clear the old townships was dropped (Lingelethu West City Council, 1992).

3.6 Demographic Profile

The total number of residents in Site C (with the backyard shacks) total about 100 364,0 and the number of houses in the entire Site C is estimated at 22000. The area is predominated by female-headed households and a very large youth population. The majority of people that are staying in Site C are Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu speaking people with a very low percentage of Coloureds (Lingelethu West City Council, 1992).

3.7 Occupations

Economic activities: A major concern for developing the informal sector is its employment creating potential. The realisation that the formal sector will not be able to accommodate all the people who are not employed, has contributed substantially to the present focus on the informal sector. Nevertheless, not many informal operators were in the position to employ anyone,

eventhough they would love to do so. The reasons are that their businesses are too small or the operators cannot afford to employ people. Others however prefer to work alone; either they do not want to spend more money "unnecessarily" or they enjoy working alone.

Most of the people in Site C rely on selling meat, chicken, braai sausages, red meat, vegetables and fruits on the streets. Spaza shops, taverns and taxi businesses are popular. Some people are selling building materials such as zinc, windows, wooden planks, wallpaper, second hand furniture. Others are engaged in other businesses such as shoe and mechanical repairing, punctured tyre fixing and shoe selling. There is also a healthy service sector, consisting mainly of hairdressing salons, a small number of panel beater and motorcar repairers.

It is estimated by the Self Employment Institute that about R9.1 million a year's worth of business is transacted in Khayelitsha. However, this does not taken into account wages, both regular and casual, earned outside the town. The biggest single sector is probably that of spazas (house shops). There are some 50 of these shops in Site C with monthly and annual average turnovers of about R12 500 per month and R150 000 per year respectively. It is estimated that about 750 people have a monthly turnover of around R2 000.This is the fastest growing sector since it has the easiest entry in terms of capital and expertise. Many start with a capital of as little as R200.00 (Lingelethu West City Council 1992).

Livelihoods: Employment patterns are the major determinants of the quality of life. The pattern and the level of unemployment in Site C is difficult to determine because the influx of people into the area is continuous. Most of the people who are in formal employment are either unskilled or semi-skilled. Men usually work as labourers, employed, for example, in the construction

industry, with the women usually employed as domestic workers in the wider metropolitan area. The formal sector within Khayelitsha itself is very small and consequently does not provide enough job opportunities for residents. The lack of job opportunities in the formal sector and its location in relation to Site C has resulted in the mushrooming of the informal sector. This sector is an important aspect of survival strategy for the residents.

Feminisation is very apparent in Site C. Women are the primary breadwinners in subsistence economies. They work longer hours and devote a larger share of their earnings to supporting their families than men do. Men often are siphoned off by the purchase of alcohol, tobacco, or other consumer products. It is estimated that women contribute 100 percent of their earnings to the family budget and effectively provide the largest share of the family's basic needs. Men contribute at most 75 percent of theirs and are even less likely to pull their families out of poverty.

The higher poverty rate among women in female-headed homes is accounted for both by the great reliance of these households on remittances and pensions and also because of unequal opportunities for employment. Women are usually predominant in low waged and less skilled jobs.

Sustainability of income source: The majority of families in Site C are sustained through access to pension funds, disability grants and single parent maintenance grants. If there is a member of the family receiving such a grant, the entire household will in due course become dependent on that grant. Few working people have got even temporary jobs and they consequently do not make enough money for a basic standard of living (Captain October, Station Commander, 2000).

Unemployment in this area clearly contributes to poverty. People without stable employment are likely to be underpaid. The extreme poverty prevents the population from making positive contributions to the development of their communities. People who are experiencing poverty are affected physically and mentally. The youth generally experience a higher rate of unemployment than adults, partly because of lack of experience in the work field. Young people leaving a job that is casual, boring or stressful, find difficulty in obtaining re-employment.

3.8 Infrastructure

The state or local authorities generally provide service infrastructures. The provision of appropriate services is geared towards better quality of life, reduction of health risks and the fostering of a balance between people and their environment. These services are crucial for the development and functioning of the community.

3.8.1 Physical infrastructure

Roads: Khayelitsha has a highly developed internal road network with well-maintained and constructed roads. The design of the road system however was built to serve and enhance private mobility. It is linked to the metropolitan movement system via a limited number of access points. The following roads surround Site C: the N2 Freeway at Mew Way and Spine Roads, Lansdowne Road, a major metropolitan arterial and metropolitan activity spine, that links Site C Khayelitsha via the Cape Flats to Claremont. Spine Road provides an important east-west link, and connects site C with Mitchell's Plain and Strandfontain to the west. Direct access from Site C to the R 300 freeway, which provides an important north-south link to the northern suburbs, is possible via the N2 and Lansdowne Road. The road leading to Site C from N2 is very close, its estimated distance being about 200 meters away (Rendall et al, 1999).

Transport services: Khayelitsha's distant location makes accessibility to and from the city center extremely difficult resulting in severe hardship and frustration. This is mainly because of the very long distance of about 36km one way to the central business district. Moreover, the lack of industrial development in the area and the resultant long distances to alternate places of employment has meant that a substantial amount of earned wages is spent on transport costs and further hinders the chances of the unemployed to find employment. The residents are dependent heavily on public transport. The central railway line area was opened in February 1988 and is now connected to all sections of Khayelitsha and other nearby residential areas (Mangwana, 1990).

The residents of Site C use several modes of transport to ferry them to different areas within the Peninsula. These modes of transport include taxis, buses, trains as well as private cars. However taxis are more popular than any other mode of transport. The reason for this is that buses and trains have got a specific route that they need to follow and some stages are far away from people's homes. Taxis are normally considered very unsafe because they are often overloaded. In an event of an accident mortality and injuries become very high.

Electricity: The Phambili Nombane initiative was started in January 1994 as a joint venture between Escom, the French Electricity Authority (EDF) and the Manchester Electricity Authority (EME) to provide electricity through "pay as you go" meters to 42,548 dwellings in Khayelitsha including Site C. Progress on the project has been substantial over the past years, with the target number of customers being reached by December 1997. Some 9,272 new connections were made. During the construction of this settlement more than 200 people from the community were

employed as sub-contractors, who were required to use labour intensive construction methods. Training schemes were also launched in the schools to ensure effective and safe use of electricity. Following these training programmes, the project strove to increase the sale of electricity instead of other fuels. It was projected that by 2003 the entire Site C area would be connected to electricity. (Lingelethu West City Council, 2002). However not all can afford to buy electricity because of a lack of finances. Paraffin and gas are used as alternative sources of energy.

Sanitation and garbage collection: Water borne sewerage only exists in the formal sector of Site C. Khayelitsha Site C has no storm water drainage and is prone to flooding, particularly during the wet winter months. At present each dwelling in Site C has got its own flush toilet and a tap outside the house next to the toilet. In the early years there were taps on the streets, scattered all over the settlement to be shared by a number of dwellings. These taps are still used by people who do not have descent houses and stay in shacks as alternative homes (Rendall et al, 1999).

Garbage collection is very irregular in the area. The people of Site C have designated empty spaces between the houses to throw away their garbage when it is not collected. Children playing in these sites are vulnerable to illness or injury. Sometimes residents   burn the garbage or leave it unattended. The heavy rains would then wash the garbage to the houses, the strong winds would blow and scatter it, and the heaps would then decay and produce a bad smell all over the area. This produces unhealthy pollution and bad conditions in the environment. When garbage is burnt the whole area would be filled with smoke and cause a very uncomfortable situation in the households.

Housing: The case study area is made up of a large number of shacks and very few formal houses. These shacks represent an innovative approach to creating homes through recycled materials such as plastics, cardboards, old newspapers, planks and corrugated iron sheets that are easily available because they are collected from rubbish dumps or bought from informal traders. Some of the shacks are very small, skewed and not strong enough to withstand the bad weather of the area. Others are big with two to three bedrooms and well-arranged furniture with television sets and video sets in good working condition. Sowman and Urquhart (1998)

Timber is the most commonly used building material. The use of asbestos is avoided because is quite expensive. Very few people have it in their houses. Most of the shacks are made up of corrugated iron because it is easily obtainable from informal traders. The change in the type of building materials used can be attributed to two factors, namely, availability and cost. Timber is easy to get and much cheaper. It is also much warmer in winter seasons. Cardboard is a relatively cheap insulator even though it burns easily and retains water through dampness. Corrugated iron is cold during winter and very warm during summer season, while cardboard is used as an insulator. Heavy plastic is used to cover the roofs and walls during the rainy seasons and it is an excellent insulator during the cold winter period. These materials may seem adequate for those in dire need of shelter, but do have some drawbacks in terms of their respective material and efficacy.

There is also low-income housing provided in Site C area. Private developers built about 500 dwelling units. The core houses were rented for R20.00 a month, and an additional R23.00 service charge was levied. Recently, residents have been encouraged to purchase these homes through bonds obtained from financial institutions. The basic core houses are built of bricks and

have two rooms, a bedroom, kitchen, bathroom and toilet included. Residents have to install their own baths, showers, ceiling, flooring and electrical units. The houses are very small and relate to the size of the family. Because of population density, many shacks have been built in the back yards in an attempt to cope with the household overcrowding (Mangwana, 1990).

The lack of physical amenities such as running water and a proper sewerage system compound the existing health hazards in the community. Furthermore, the lack of electricity or power supply in the township encourages crime and facilitates the task of burglars and other criminals. Furthermore, improper and insufficient infrastructure, especially inadequate health facilities, leads to an increase in the mortality rate.

3.8.2 Social services

Police stations: Khayelitsha has three police stations. They are situated in Site B, Section A of the formal houses and Harare, which is the squatter area. Site B police station was established in 1985, whilst the Section A police station was established in 1990. The Harare police station was established in 1992 and all are focusing on controlling crime. Tembani, Bongweni, Site C and Green Point, which are other areas of Khayelitsha, are making use of the Section A and Site B police stations (Lingelethu West City Council, 1992). In Site C there is no police station. When they need police help they do not hesitate to contact Site B or Harare police stations. That is where they can get help in the absence of a police station in Site C.

Crime: According to Special Crime Statistics released in the months of November (1997) and January (1998), there were about 31 murders, 43 armed robberies, 34 rapes and 174 cases of assault reported per month. These statistics depict some similarities with those collected in the

previous years and the present situation. Thefts of various varieties showed an increase when compared with previous years. The effect that the robberies have on retail investment has been substantial. (South African Police Statistics, 1998).

Drugs: The community of Site C is living in a social context of unemployment, overcrowding and malnutrition. They are at heightened risk of psychological and psychiatric disorder, especially the children. It is indisputable that the effects of poverty and unemployment lead to stress, misery and frustration among the families of this area. Drugs and alcohol are being used by the people as a panacea in the belief that they are giving themselves a relief from the pain of poverty.

Youth indulge in smoking dagga and taking alcohol at a crucial stage of their early development. Parents complain of their sons flocking to parks with friends to engage in these activities. They later suffer health and behavioural problems. The behaviour of the child affects the home, the school, the peers and the community. The results are devastating. The child becomes physically aggressive, destructive, disobedient and dishonest. He steals, cheats, lies and runs away from the home and school. Such behaviour patterns become the norm. Hence, antisocial behaviour in childhood predicts similar behaviour in adulthood and indeed across a number of generations. According to Kazdin (1987) conduct problems in childhood and adolescence seem to precede later problems in adulthood, including poor marital and criminal behaviour, alcoholism and diagnosable psychiatric disorders.

3.9 Policing and "Law and Order"

Captain October (2000) the Station Commander of Site B Police Station provided valuable information about policing in the area. She explained that people in the community are divided, some of them are working with the police and some are fighting with them. The police devised some strategies to protect themselves and the community by having Social Crime Prevention Projects. Youth leaders from the community are highly involved in these projects such as Hands Off Our Children (Hooc). Awareness programmes at schools and talk shows on radios are being done to promote safety and security among the general population, especially children. Problems are reported daily and they differ in the degree of their seriousness. Child abuse is common and on the increase especially in families where alcohol and drugs abuses are prevalent. The increase in crime could be attributed to a high rate of unemployment and high population growth in these areas.

Community policing: Khayelitsha police stations have started community forums based on community policing initiatives. Their main aim is to educate people to speak up and not be silent anymore when they see someone breaking the law. The police promise to treat all the information with confidentiality.

The police intend to educate tavern owners by holding workshops where they will inform or teach them how to keep their taverns safe at all times. To ensure peace and security around their places, they need to employ people to man the doors to search people for dangerous weapons and not allow them to get inside. They are also advised to report trouble makers and serious cases that they cannot handle to the police. Tokens of thanks are sometimes provided to the community members by the police after work to encourage them. It is hoped that business owners will be compelled to restrict the entry of under-age children to their taverns.

In addition, the community, in collaboration with the police, assists in tracing children lost due to the negligence of parents or relatives. The numbers of children who get lost has increased due to the high movement of people from rural areas to urban areas. Taxis and buses dump children at wrong addresses. Some of these children are placed in police stations. Some parents are never found. Their children will land up in Child Welfare Societies like Ekukhuselweni.

3.10 Health

Hospitals and clinics: Site C is serviced by a one-Day Hospital. Private clinics operate in the area run by the University of Cape Town and Community Health Project. There are two clinics in Site C, who are assisted by clinics in other sections like Site B, Harare and Town 2. This project also trains people from the community as health workers and to date have approximately 50 such workers located mainly in Site B. The Hospital is running under the auspices of the Cape Provincial Administration. There is also mobile tuberculosis clinic at Site C. The Regional Services Council runs them. Approximately forty private doctors operate from surgeries mostly located in the middle-income group areas as well as some dentists and pharmacists. Private practitioners do not service the community because of financial conditions (Lingelethu West City Council, 1992).

Some 500 – 600 people attend the Site C clinic, of whom some 230 – 350 are females, and some 140 – 200 are males. The figures indicate that women might be more delicate and sickly than their stronger and fitter male counterparts. Everyday in the clinic, prior to consultation, medical staff conduct a health education workshop, which take at least 20 to 30 minutes. The workshop concentrates on the killer diseases, because they cause such frustration and misery amongst the

community members. These diseases are mainly Tuberculosis and AIDS amongst the adults and diarrhoea amongst infants (Community Health Worker, 2003).

Physical health: Poor housing conditions, lack of essential services, and poverty are root causes of ill-health among the urban poor. Based on poverty alone, it is evident that the poor are often more susceptible to disease than the affluent. Shacks are more susceptible to damp walls and floors, especially in winter. There is also inadequate insulation, which permits infiltration of dust, rain, unwanted insects and rodents like rats, mice etc. Overcrowding poser a problem as dwellings are poorly ventilated and hence promote the spread of communicable disease by airborne droplets, for example, influenza, tuberculosis and meningitis; all of which are associated with poor housing and overcrowding. Lack of food is one of the major problems related to poverty. It leads to various diseases due to the scarcity of a balanced diet. With the age structure of the population in mind, AIDS, under-nourishment, tuberculosis, and prevailing inadequate health facilities in the area are a matter of serious concern. Most notably, the highest rate of AIDS and tuberculosis is found among children between the ages of 0-4 years of age. Possibly even more alarming than tuberculosis is the horrifying increase in the number of HIV positive people in the entire Khayelitsha area. An indication of its rise can be seen in tests made at anti-natal clinics which showed 3.4 % HIV positive in 1994, 5.4 % HIV positive in 1995, and 10.5 % HIV positive in 1996. The population is served by 7 clinics including the one in Site C, which are operated by the Tygerberg Substructure (Lingelethu West City Council, 2002).

*Mental health***:** During 1993, Khayelitsha Site C developed the Empilweni Project in response to a grave need for psychosocial services. These were identified during epidemiological research conducted in this area. Community leaders also recognized this need and requested assistance.

The project targeted informal / un-serviced settlement communities. The study was done and the results came up as explained below.

The rate of depressive disorder in children from unserviced areas (22%) was considerably higher than in children from serviced areas (13%). It was the highest in children where the family needed food (29%). The prevalence of this disorder was slightly higher in children aged between six and sixteen years (18%) than in children aged between twelve and sixteen years (17%). The rate of disorder was higher in boys (19%) than in girls (15%). The risk of having an anxiety and depressive disorder was the highest in children from families who also needed food (Robertson et al; 1998).

Traditional healers: Traditional healers are scattered all over the location. They also render services. People are invited by their ancestors through their dreams or visions to become a traditional healer. There is a substantial number of people that they believe in them. The supporters of traditional healers believe that there are illnesses that they experience, of which medical doctors are unfamiliar. However, they do not completely stop visiting the hospital to consult medical doctors for illnesses like diabetis mellitus, tuberculosis, cancer, measles, chicken pox, blood pressure, mumps etc.

It is very difficult to know how many traditional healers there are, due to a lack of statistical data.

3.11 Education and literacy

The majority of the population within this township is not highly educated and lacks the skills needed for the modern urban economic workplace. Hence, most of them do unskilled work and supply the bulk of the unskilled labour force for Cape Town and Bellville. They are often

exploited by their employers because of their low level of literacy. In examining the educational levels of the informal sector or squatter area through various empirical studies, the overall picture is that educational levels tend to be relatively low. There are seven schools in Site C, namely, two secondary and five primary schools. Pre-schools or pre-primary schools are attached to primary schools and operate in a similar manner to nursery schools. Other pre-schools have mushroomed in the area of Site C. There are six registered pre-schools (Mangwana, 1990).

The qualifications of teachers at all levels of education varies considerably. They are commonly used as evaluators to access children's emotional and behavior problems. For certain types of problems, parents are considered to be the best sources of information of the child's functioning. Teachers are widely used resources. They are important and helpful for the youth development of Khayelitsha Site C. Classrooms generally have a lack of adequate training equipment and this contributes to the poor quality of education in Site C. The classrooms have desks with chairs for the pupils. Sometimes the desks are too many or very few for the number of pupils, causing the pupils to be very uncomfortable in their classrooms. Four pupils can end up sharing one desk. There is also a cupboard for books to be kept by the teacher. The provision of education has the potential to transform the lives of millions of people living in informal settlements like Site C area. It is unfortunate that there is no adult education presently provided in Site C, although plans are in the pipeline for that.

However, specialized education is provided for the people to enable them to earn a living. This educational training involves activities such as plumbing, dressmaking, technology, agriculture, administration, building, knitting etc. This training empowers the children who are better in practical work than theory, to continue with their studies and achieve qualifications. To advertise

the skills training programmes, posters are used. Volunteer group members from different organizations place posters on targeted areas like hospitals, clinics, taxi ranks, stations, shops and the walls for T-junctions. The community activists are also taking responsibility for explaining the skills training programme in their meetings at street level.

School dropouts: The traditional approach to behavioural problems at schools in Site C has been largely negative from both teachers and children. There is a feeling among teachers throughout South Africa that their power to deal with pupil discipline has been ended with the abolition of corporal punishment, which was never replaced by any meaningful sanction. According to Mallet (2003-2004) it may in fact be teacher's tolerance of bad behavior, which has decreased in the face of rising demands for curricular and examination innovations and reforms. Generally, the pupils' disruptive behaviour in and out of the school environment has had a negative effect on teacher performance and attitudes, which in turn has impacted negatively on classroom behaviour and academic performance.

Khayelitsha Site C has deep underlying problems of poverty and unemployment. Overcrowding and the poor structure of houses leads to unhealthy conditions and subsequent high rates of mental health disabilities. Children become non-productive at school and leave school early. For these reasons Site C area has a high rate of illiteracy, which leads to unemployment due to lack of skills. Children who do not attend school or who have serious scholastic problems are at risk of developing psychological problems. An inability to pay school fees and uniforms, lost birth certificates and the need to look after younger siblings are among the reasons why children in Site C do not attend school. In addition to financial difficulties, other reasons for children not attending school include family problems, lack of motivation on the part of parents to enroll

children, parental neglect and inadequate parental supervision of young children. Nevertheless, not all parents are irresponsible. Struggling to achieve the basic needs of life, they still battle to provide their offspring with a decent education.

The lack of facilities for the mentally handicapped is of serious concern to community members for a number of reasons. Many mentally handicapped children leave school after repeated school failure and humiliation. This leaves the children and their friends extremely vulnerable to abuse and antisocial influences. They are deprived of opportunities to acquire skills that would enable them to become resourceful members of the community.

3.12 Recreation

There are no adequate recreational facilities and very little has been done to develop them. There are two sports fields for rugby and soccer in Site C, which are not properly developed. But this has not stopped the people from using them as underdeveloped as they are. There are three community halls available, as well as parks where there is appreciable vegetation. Residents utelise them as picnic sites. One of the three halls is being used for community meetings and entertainment is organised by the schools and youth in the community.

Overall, the township lacks social recreational facilities. A serious consequence of this is that the youth ends up participating in crime related activities. Even if there is high rate of unemployment within an area, at least, if there are sufficient recreational activities, then the youth in particular can be kept occupied with recreation rather than indulging in crime.

3.13 Religion

There are ten formal church buildings in Site C. Christians, Zionists and Rastafarians constitute the different religious groupings in the area. Many churches and organisations are concentrating specifically on human development programmes. Sunday school programmes have been instituted to promote religious learning. There are also other church societies, including youth guilds, which cater for different categories of residents. Church programmes give support to each other spiritually and otherwise. There is a definite need for such programmes in communities such as Site C that are overwhelmed by the trauma of poverty. Site C established the programmes for both status and non-status areas. Some congregations have formal church buildings, whilst others meet in any venue available, waiting either for construction to be completed or approval for church site allocation (Lingelethu West City Council, 2002).

There are also Rastafarians scattered in the area. Most of them are selling good quality fruit and vegetables for their living. There are other people, not belonging to any religious group, who are not easily identifiable.

3.14 Governance

South African history has been a bitter one dominated by apartheid, racism, sexism, colonialism and repressive labour policies. This has resulted in gross inequality, especially in the modern city where poverty co-exists with affluence. There is deep resentment against this state of affairs. This is one of the reasons that the majority of people in Site C including the youth are politically motivated. They have different political affiliations. These include the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, the African National Congress Women's League, the African National Congress Youth League, Azapo and various democratic and civic organiations. The different organizations strive to provide opportunities for people to develop themselves in

order to improve the quality of their own lives and the standard of living of their community. Among their tasks are the recreation of opportunities for all community members to develop to their full potential; improving conditions of employment, and creating opportunities for all to sustain themselves through productive activity and improving living conditions through better access to basic physical and social services.

Cloete, (1991) has focused on the situation of people who have moved from different places. The Group Areas Act of 1950 uprooted, evicted and displaced many people who lived together in mixed communities. "Coloureds" were evicted from areas declared white, while "blacks" were evicted from areas declared "coloured". Blacks were thus pushed to the outer limits of "coloured and white" residential areas.

Community members established the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO) in Site C in an attempt to address the enormous backlog in low-income black housing. The South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) is a decentralised, organization based on local, grassroots civic structures. Individual Civics have executives that are elected by, and accountable to, local constituencies and they address local issues and conditions. SANCO has operated outside of governmental institutions and political parties and exists, in part, as an alternative to illegitimate and non-representative statutory structures such as Municipal Councils and black local authorities. The grassroots or bottom-up nature of SANCO is fundamental to each level of the hierarchy existing to represent, support, and co-ordinate subsidiary structures but not to dictate policy or control decision-making. Civic organizations address local problems and needs that relate directly to the conditions and circumstances of everyday life.

As a community-based organization constituted as an alternative to non-representative structures, SANCO endeavours to maximize participation and policy-making at the lowest tiers of the organization. For this reason the structure of executives or committees with specific portfolio assignments exists at all levels. The following 15 portfolios, as currently held by the SANCO Khayelitsha Site C executive, are representative of what exists throughout the organization from Street Committee to National Executive: Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, General Secretary, Vice Secretary, Treasure, Publicity Secretary, Education, Legal Aid, Local Government, Unemployment and Labour, Health, Housing & Land Sports and Culture, Tranport & Roads, Pensions & Social Welfare. The Street Committee is the smallest organization within the SANCO structure and is composed of 10 members. The organization starts with the street committee, area committee, branch, local, sub-region, region and the last one is national. (Community Activist, 2002)

3.15 Conclusion

The people of Site C are working very hard to cope with poverty. They have lost hope for a solution to liberate them from poverty. . The number of people that are involved in business is very high. It shows that they have taken responsibility for their lives. They are not waiting to be employed to earn a living. They live through different strategies to keep the dignity of their families in place. The fundamental aim of this research is to evaluate the effects of poverty and the survival strategies that have been developed to cope with poverty.

It became clear that Site C resembles most black South African townships in terms of poverty problems. It is engulfed in a high level of poverty, concomitant with a lack of skills. The majority of the population is unemployed and the level of illiteracy is very high. This manifestly retards

the prospects of employment, or self-employment of an individual. The extent of poverty in Site C can clearly be seen through the dwelling or housing structures within the area. Most housing units are safety hazards in that whenever it is raining or cold, dwellers experience all sorts of discomfort. In order to develop a proper strategy to relieve the people of Site C from their poverty, a comprehensive research survey has been undertaken. The results will indicate or guide future policy in the fight against poverty in Site C.

Chapter four

Presentation of results and discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative data.

The focus is on the effects of poverty and the factors that sustain it. The broad goal of this study is to evaluate the effects of poverty and to explore the survival strategies that the people of Khayelitsha Site C have developed in order to cope with poverty. The discussion and presentation of results concentrate on the effects of poverty on family household and related issues like unemployment, malnutrition, shelter, education, etc.
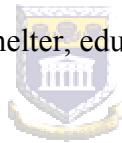
4.2 Shelter

The majority of people of Khayelitsha Site C stay in shacks rather than proper houses. This is one of the effects of poverty in the area. Interviews and site visits suggest that very little has been done and achieved to provide sustainable housing for the vast majority of people in Site C who still remain homeless and informally housed. The sharing of one plot between two families is prevalent in Site C. The bad conditions around informal and squatter settlements are the major concerns mentioned by most squatters in the study area. This concern stems from the limited amount of indoor and outdoor space. Occupation of the vacant space, lawful or unlawful, does not necessarily mean that the intended dwellings are specious. There is generally a lack of indoor, outdoor and private space. A striking feature associated with privacy is the lack of doors to separate rooms. Internal doors are scarce because the structure of the shack is not strong enough to support the interior doors. The availability of adequate living space within this settlement is very small, or nonexistent, and overcrowding is a common phenomenon. Lack of space can be

attributed to the vast number of dwellings erected in the informal settlement. Figure 4.1 illustrates the details about the living space in the household of Site C.

N = 68

Living space

inadequate
28%

adequate
72%
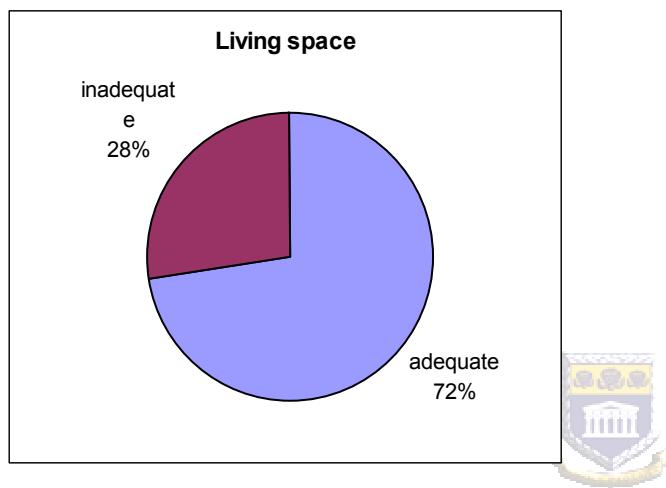
Figure 4.1

Data gathered from the surveyed settlement has shown that 72.10% of the respondents do not consider space, indoor or outdoor, as important when constructing their houses. Their main focus is on building a place to stay with their families. They believe that as there are so many homeless people wanting a piece of land to build a house, it would be selfish to take too much ground for oneself. A culture of sharing was clearly evident among most informal settlements. According to Schlyter (1979:87) "people use the house and the close environment as one unit – their living area". Thus division between outdoor and indoor space seems somewhat artificial.

A significant number of people, about 27.9% consider themselves as being very inconvenienced through lack of space in their homes. Lack of indoor and outdoor space impinges on all members of the family. Owing to the limited amount of indoor space, many women in this study do some of their domestic chores outside in front of their dwellings.

4.3 Household characteristics

Marital status: The findings gleaned from the interviews support the traditional perceptions relating to gender roles in the household. According to traditional gender roles, women take responsibility for the children, education and household managing, while men perform most of the maintenance tasks. Most respondents agreed that there is a distinction between male and female tasks. A large number of the participants in the study were married, namely 50.0%, while single participants comprised 47.1%, widowed and the divorced 1.5%. Other categories received 0%. The interview responses add an interesting dimension with regard to the practice of these role perceptions. In practice the husband's housework is optional and supplementary to that of the wife and she retains overall responsibility for home management.

Unemployment of the male or father of the house does not lead to the assumption of child-care responsibilities or domestic duties. Though the employment status of the man has a significant effect on family division of household tasks, gender has a stronger effect and accounts for more of the variance in division of labour in the family than does his employment status (Morris 1985). Children are always part and parcel of marriage, although there are exceptions or special cases where there are no children in marriages. Some married couples do not stay with their children. Figure 4.2 depicts the summary of the marital status and children staying with parents and those who do not.
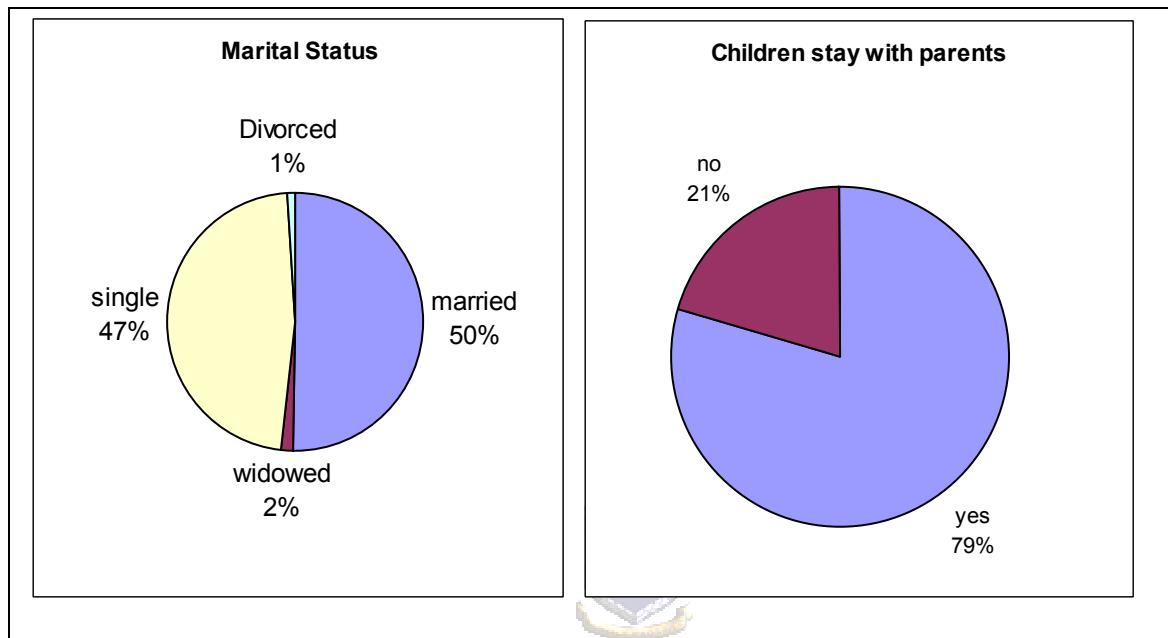
Figure 4.2

On the issue of children, the respondents' replies indicate that some married couples have children, some have not. Some stay with their children and some do not. Put more precisely, the vast majority, about 88.4%, have children and only 11.6% people do not have children. Some 79.4% stay with their children and 20.6 % do not stay with their children, but stay with relatives around Cape Town, in the Eastern Cape and in Gauteng region. In each household the number of children varies from one to three or more. Some of the participants wish they could afford to stay with their children but poverty has forced them to leave their children with their relatives in order to achieve a better life than what they can offer. An individual in a house can greatly influences the household finances through different spending habits and needs.

Dependents: The number of dependents has an influence on the household income. The respondents have dependents that need support like the children, grandparents, aunt, uncle, boyfriend, girlfriend and so forth. All of the respondents have got dependents but they differ in

age, gender, number and relationship. The majority of the respondents is not employed, and involve themselves in the informal sector for their living. Income from the informal sector is often used to support these dependents with the result that profit cannot always be realised. The high need for support reduces the earning potential of the informal sector.

Consequently, there is low capital formation in an informal business. Viewed differently, profits generated by these enterprises are utilised for consumptive purposes, rather than productive. A minority, about 1.5 %, have more than 9 dependents in a household and the percentage of supported members is 25%. The average number of dependents in each household in Site C is about 4.5%. Figure 4.3 depicts the summary of supported members.
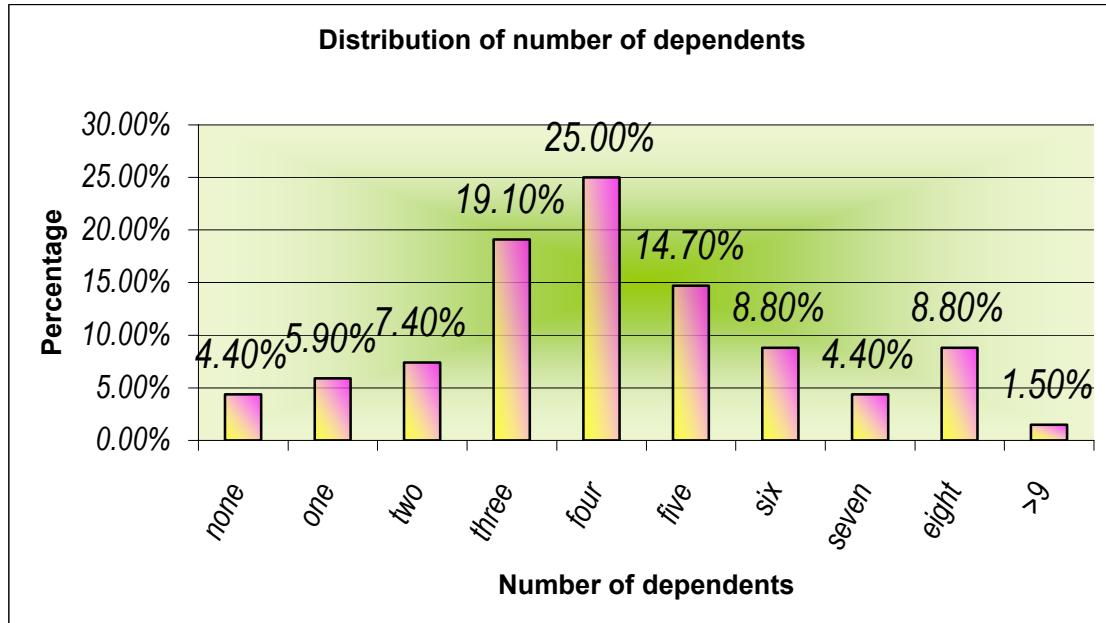
Figure 4.3

4.4 Socio-economic characteristics of Site C

In the investigation of the socio-economic characteristics in Site C the overall situation is that several dimensions of income earning activities were analysed including the high rate of unemployment, the occupation status of household members, the informal sector activities and the average monthly income. Figure 4.4 illustrates the details of employment pattern.

N=68
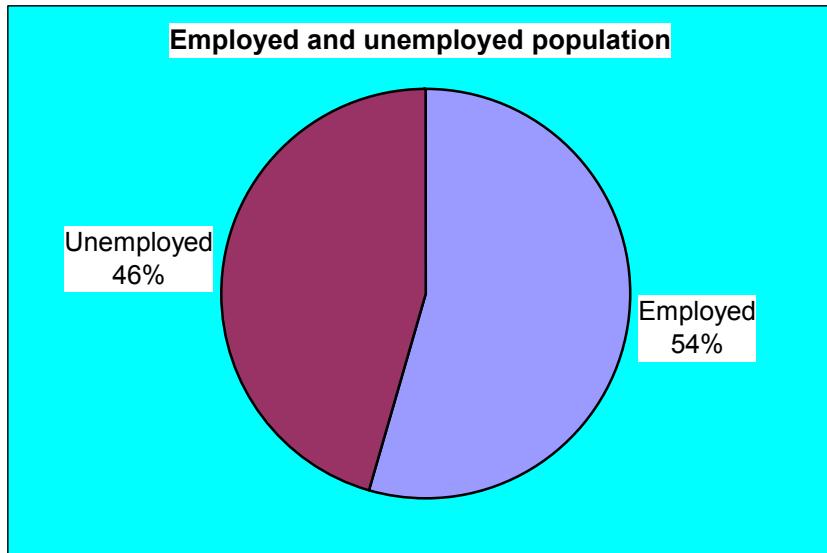
Figure 4.4

Employment: About 46% are not employed and the majority 54 % is employed. This report shows that almost half of the population of Site C is not employed and unemployment is one of the effects of poverty.

About 8.8% are involved in the formal employment whereby they receive a monthly salary Only 20.65% involve themselves in the informal employment sector where they operate businesses like selling vegetables, fruit, meat, liquor, clothes etc. A small number of people receive different grants from the government. Pension grants are given to 2.90%, maintenance grants to 10.30 %, and disability grants to 7.40 %. A percentage of about 4.40 % do not explain what they do for a living. It is possible that they are earning their living through unlawful acts like drug dealing. The respondents also mentioned that such people are involved in crimes like bank robbery, house breaking, car hijacking and anything that could provide them with a comfortable existence. Site C is clearly a place of refuge for a criminal class.

These findings are supported by the responses to the interview questions, which indicate that unemployment of the male partner does not have an influence on gender role perception within these families and that the families uphold a traditional role perception. These families have been socialized to regard the man as the breadwinner and the woman as the caretaker of the family. Hence there is deep concern when the father of the house is out of a job. Mallet (1994) reported that many women and men continue to aspire to the ideal model of hardship in all spheres, which may mean that it is based on their unrealistic definition of the family and gender roles held by males and females. Vinokur et al (1996) found that family relations are detrimentally affected by a husband or father being unemployed. They also concluded that it could lead to friction and tension in the

Household, which signified deteriorating family relations. Figure 4.5 below illustrates the sources of household income.
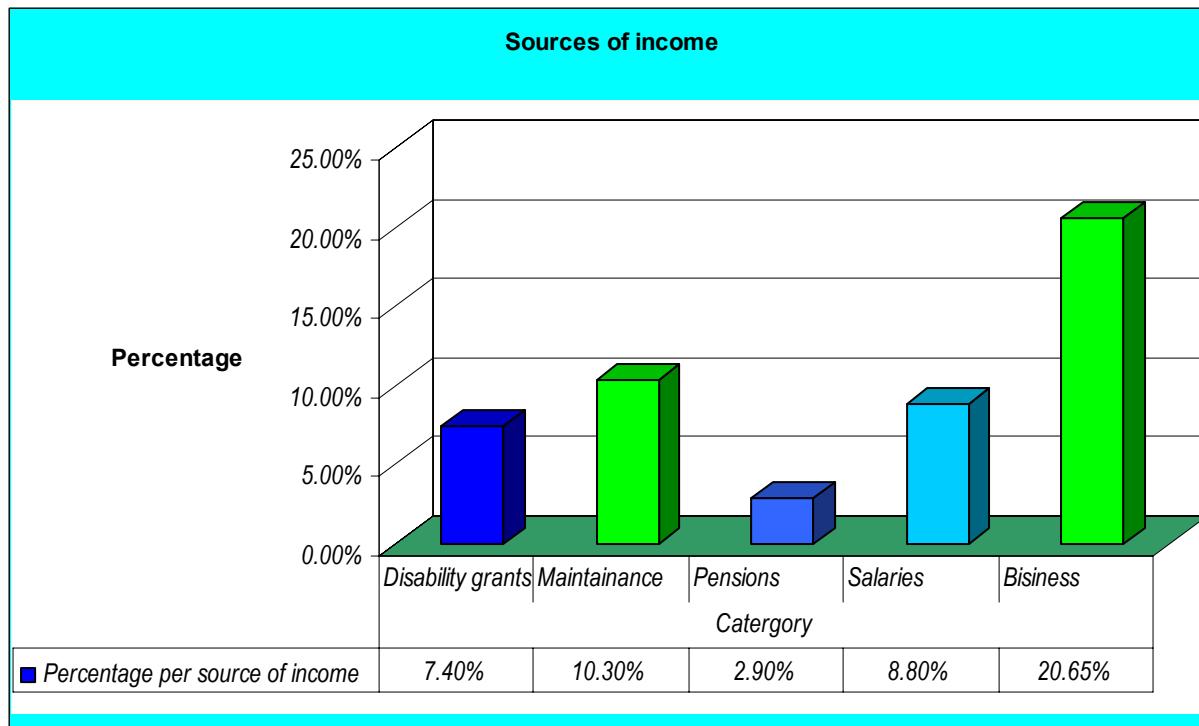
Figure 4.5

Average monthly income: Income distributions are difficult to measure and are therefore not estimated regularly. Moreover, the estimates are subject to a significant margin of error. The scale within the questions revealed that 29.40% of the respondents expressed unhappiness with their average monthly income of about R501.00-1 000. They felt it is too little for the smooth running of their household. Some respondents explained that as they worked longer than eight hours per day they had to work the whole day in order to generate sufficient income to survive. The outcome corresponds closely with the finding that 27.90% of the respondents are earning between R250.00-R350.00 and 22.1 % of respondents are earning less than R250.00. This means that half of the respondents are earning below the poverty line.

The results of the study confirm that the effects of poverty in the researched area are manifest. The poverty line in South Africa is R1290 in a household per month with its dependents. Those earning less than that amount in the entire country including Site C are experiencing the effects of poverty on a serious level. The high percentages of people that earn below the poverty line reflect the seriousness of poverty in the researched area. This study shows that Site C area is experiencing acute poverty where even basic needs like food; clothing, house and education are difficult to acquire. Figure 4.6 depicts the summary of average monthly income per household and percentages according to categories.

N = 68

Figure showing "Average monthly income" bar chart with axis "Average income per household" and x-axis "Catergory".

|	<R250	R250-R350	R501-R1000	R1001-R1500	R1500-R2000	>2000
■ Average monthly income per household	157.5	315.3	646.1	1500	1433.4	3000
□	22.10%	27.90%	29.40%	8.80%	10.30%	1.50%
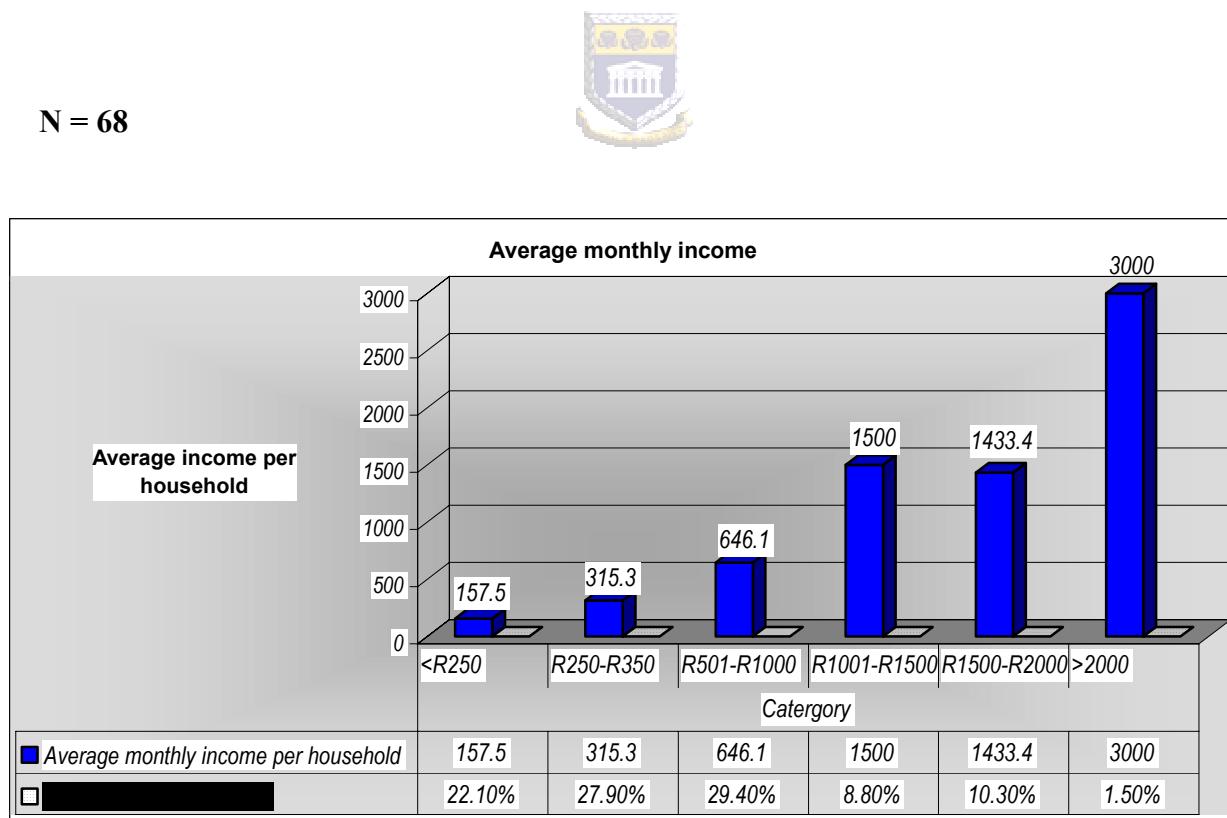
Figure 4.6

Half of the population of the respondents, about 50 %, earns less than R350. The other 50% of the population earn better than the people below the poverty line. This report confirms that the

effects of poverty are clearly manifest in Site C. The impact of deficient household income on the family is a serious problem. The respondents felt that they should be encouraged to break free from the acceptance of the culture of poverty. Financial management skills should also be promoted, enabling families to utilize their financial resources in a more efficacious manner.

Average monthly food expenses: According to the survey, some 29 % of respondents spend between R200 and R250 a month. Very few people, namely 6 %, have sufficient money to buy enough food to eat. Food constitutes the bulk of spending for a large number of people. There is simple not enough income to maintain a household. Almost 49 % buy groceries for their households of less than R250.00 monthly. A low level of education has an impact on their income levels. Respondents felt that their income was too low to support their family members. A low income certainly influences the diet of the people, which is substantially below minimum requirements. Some of the people in Site C have only one or two meals per day because of their inability to provide food for their families. According to Gray (1993: 86) the average daily calories intake per person in a low-income economy is estimated at 2407 calories, in middle income economies it is approximately 2738 calories and in high-income economies it is approximately 3398 calories. Figure 4.7 illustrates the average food expenditure each month in a household. It also presents the details about the percentage of households according to the categories in terms of food expenses.

Average expenditure on foodmonthly

Category	<R200-250	R251-R300	R301-R350	R351-R400	R401-R500	>R500
■ Food expense per household	203.15	296.6	326.3	400.1	495.5	996.1
□ Percentage of household	29.00%	20%	6.00%	12.00%	14.00%	19.00%
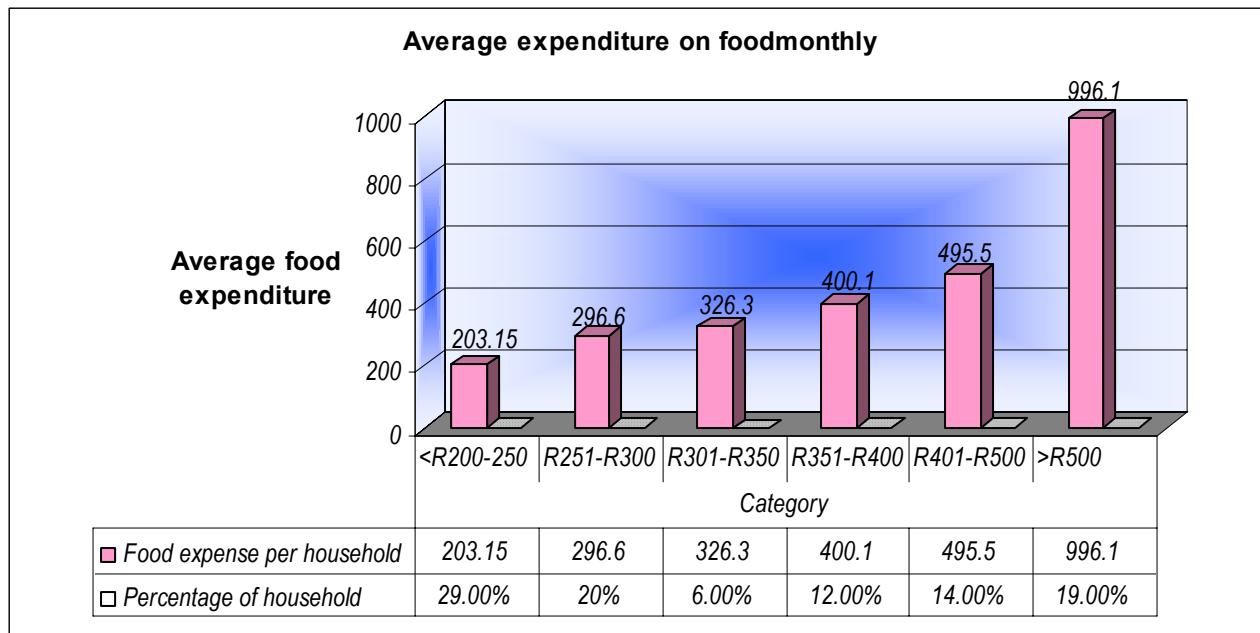
Figure 4.7

According to the respondents some households buy food with the money they earn and that means there is no money left for any other households needs. Money for transport to work is one of the important items from a long list of other items that need to be taken care of in the household. 29 % of households have an average monthly food expenditure of R203.15. The figure for the lowest percentage of households, namely 6 %, is R326.3 After purchasing their food requirements, they are left with little or nothing. This creates enormous problems. Families have to find ways to survive in this situation.

An inadequate diet implies that the informal settlement of Site C is more susceptible to infections disease. Some of the respondents perceive themselves as having enough food with nutrients in their household while others perceive that their food is both insufficient and lacking in nutrients.

Some of the respondents mentioned that they consume bread each day just to have something in the stomachs. Bread is all they can afford. A nutritious balanced diet is out of the question. It is evident that large amounts of money are spent on buying food and yet at the end of the day, the food is still not enough. Salaries are often used to pay other needs. It is simply not possible to buy food only. Thus, low levels of food intake leads to malnutrition and under-nourishment, where one is prone to various diseases. At this stage, health care services would be of importance in protecting the community against disease and illness.

4.5 Health and nutrition

In site C a positive relationship exists between ill health and those who are ill housed. Based on poverty alone, it is evident that the poor are often more susceptible to disease than the affluent. Poverty, unemployment and illiteracy ultimately determine the living standards of the poor in Site C. Poverty is associated with a lack of food, finance, education, poor sanitation and inadequate housing all of which are major causes of ill health. Gray (1993) discusses the meaning of health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well being, and not only the absence of disease or physically weakness.

The research indicates that the severity of all diseases is being compounded by poverty. Poor nutrition leads to the risk of malnutrition. The risk of malnutrition increases because people do not get enough food and the food is of poor quality. The risk of infections increases because the people lose their immunity. Infection leads to an increased need for energy and other nutrients, but at the same time a decreased appetite and therefore decreased intake of nutrients. This in turn leads to loss of weight and slower human development. Malnutrition leads to a decreased

resistance of tissues to infection. Tuberculosis and AIDS are two of the dead lies diseases prevalent in Site C, where poverty and its attendant evils are rife.

4.6 Literacy

In examining the education levels of Khayelitsha Site C, the overall impression is that these levels are relatively low. The level of education of the Site C population reflects their disadvantaged position in society. The low education level is both a cause and a result of their limited political and economic space. This inadequate space is also reflected by their occupational status. Residents with some levels of education tend to be clustered in a relatively narrow range of occupations. For example, they concentrate on clerical and occupations in education, welfare, health and personal services. Members of the community who never attended school are employed as unskilled labourers. According to Ramphele (1993), poverty forces many children to drop out of school and look for income-generating activities to give assistance to the family. A low education level is usually accompanied by the disruption of family life through the migrant labour system, and the poor academic performance of children at school. The situation is encouraged by the absence of parents and money to maintain school requirements. The following diagram illustrates the summary of education level.

N=68

Level of education

Percentage	None	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
	10.30%	1.50%	4.40%	7.40%	10.30%	10.30%	7.40%	13.20%	10.20%	25.00%
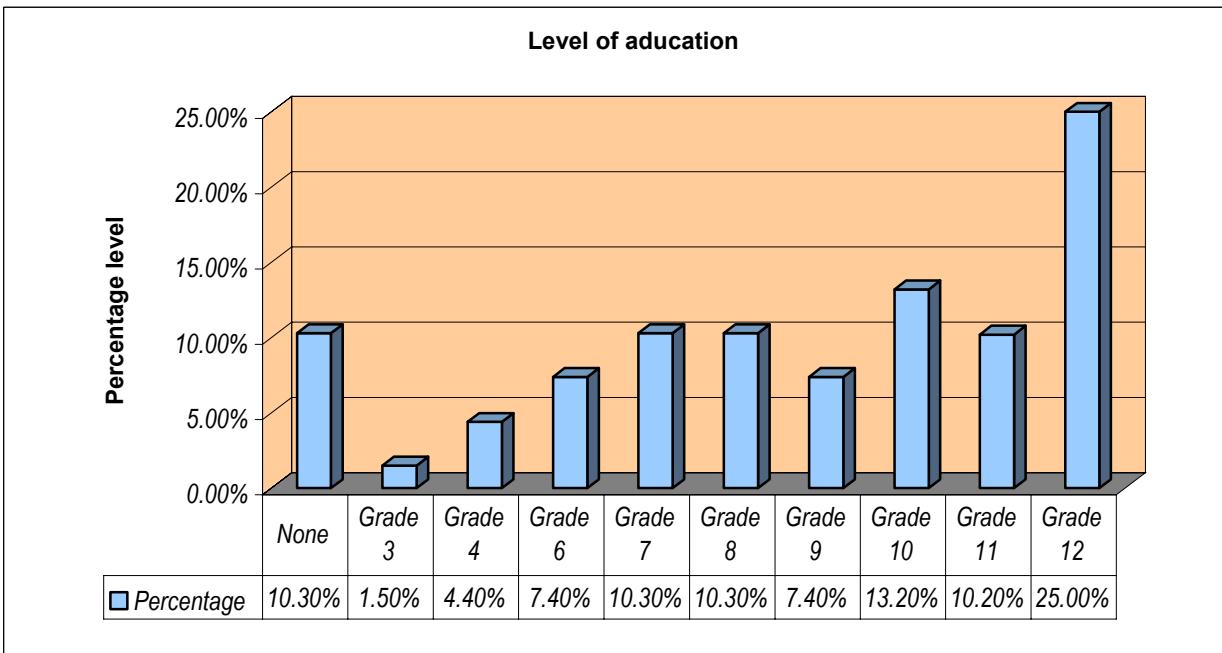
Figure 4.8

The highest level of education in Khayelitsha Site C is grade twelve, attained by 25 %. Grade ten follows with 13.2 %. 10.3 %never attended school. The remainder of the participants display varying degrees of schooling ranging from grade four (4.4%) to grades six and nine (7.4 %) According to my survey of the participants there are no degree or diploma graduates in the area. It is evident from this study that the participants of an informal settlement like Site C are not necessarily illiterate. Specialized education included activities such as dressmaking, technology, agriculture and administration. It was possible for the people to engage successfully with these activities and hereby develop their potential. This outcome implies that many people in Site C are at least able to read and write. Therefore, it would not be difficult for these training institutions to offer basic business management training courses to the Site C community.

4.7 Community life

The lack of recreational facilities in designated Site C area is part and parcel of the apartheid legacy. The constraints of recreation and leisure facilities are highlighted in terms of spatial location and social impact on disadvantaged communities like Khayelitsha Site C residential area. Since there are no recreational facilities in Site C children are prone to delinquency and gangsterism. A certain number of respondents felt very much insecure in their community because of the high rate of crime, including the robbing and even killing of residents on their properties, house breaking, mugging of people on their way from work etc. Others felt good, satisfied and happy in this community because they respect each other, live together closely and unite as a group to beat poverty by helping each other.

There are no restaurants, sports café, swimming pools, cinemas and parks to relax. The coloured community located in nearby Mitchell's Plain does have some of these facilities. However to utilise those facilities, a certain minimum amount of money is needed for transport. As a result, people had different reasons for not entertaining themselves. The reasons including distance, transport problems, cost and the unsuitability of some activities. When people need to be entertained they go to church, attend traditional ceremonies around their community, or watch television as a group in a selected house of a friend and have fun with drinks. The respondent desired proper police patrols with very strict rules of law and order for their security. They also complained that police members are involved in crime and that they are being paid for not exposing the perpetrators. This encourages the ungovernability of Site C.

Discussion

The research results reveal a long list of issues but the discussion will concentrate on the effects of poverty in Khayelitsha Site C, such as lack of shelter, education, food, employment, etc.

A large number of the respondents were between 26-30 years of age. They comprised 20.60 % of the participants. They were not employed. Unemployment is a major effect of poverty that revealed itself in this study. The people of the age group of 26 to 30 are fit and young. Youth of this age are supposed to pay government taxes. But this survey reveals a different situation. It shows the low level of economic activity in South Africa. The Department of Agriculture (1999) explains that in South Africa, while there is adequate food at national level, some 30 to 50% of the population has insufficient food, or is exposed to an imbalanced diet, as a result of low income. When young, one becomes strong and powerful but as you grow older you may become lazy, tired and powerless. Chambers (1983) explains that powerlessness contributes to poverty. Isolation is grouped together with powerlessness and also makes the poor more vulnerable to sudden demands such as the repayment of loans.

A poor family is unable to feed itself adequately. Without enough food, the breadwinners in the family become tired and lose their energy. They cannot work as hard or as often as they need to in order to feed their family. The children become ill and require medicines from the clinic, but which the family cannot afford. They may spend on these items that they would otherwise have spent on food. The money and food available to the family become even less, and the breadwinners become less able to work, bringing even less money. The family is forced to eat even less, and to eat foods with a low nutritional value because they are cheaper. The family becomes more undernourished. The children become sick. The parents are less able to care**.**

Poverty and malnutrition are intimately linked. In fact, they form a cycle where one leads to the other in an ever-worsening spiral of misery. A poor family is unable to own a properly built

house. Poverty has resulted in large numbers of people in Khayelitsha Site C living in shacks. Shacks in Site C have been used as an alternative strategy in the absence of housing. It is for better than having nothing or sleeping in the streets. During the interviews most people mentioned that, in considering all their problems, their greatest problem was their inability to have a house. They further explained that if they could own their houses, life in Site C could change for them. But even a shack in Site C serves as a home, a house to live, and a place for the family to stay.
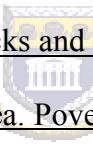
Almost the whole area is covered with shacks and brick houses are very few. The types of houses reflect the poverty and its effects in this area. Poverty in Site C is an objective reality measurable through quantitative indicators of income, access to services and outcomes such as employment and health. Access to services such as housing is very important to enable people to meet their basic needs and to participate fully in the economic and social life of the community.

Pregnant mothers or teenagers who are undernourished are giving birth to low birth weight babies. Low birth weight babies have low stores of nutrients such as fat, iron and vitamins, so they are more exposed than larger babies to infections such as pneumonia. In addition, low birth weight babies are more likely than larger babies to die, not only in the newborn period but throughout the first 4 years of life and maybe even longer.

Poverty is a subjective reality experienced by hundreds of people in Site C as hunger, cold, misery and few prospects for a better life. People of this area are living an unpleasant life because of poverty. They are full of anger and resentment. They cannot appreciate what is good for the next person. When they see a person in the community improving his quality of life, they may

plan to break into that person's house. They break into houses to steal some articles like televisions, videos and radios in order to obtain money to survive. In the interviews they responded boldly that when robbing people or stealing from somebody else, they see nothing wrong with it. It is an alternative strategy of managing their lives as a way to cope with poverty. There is the belief that without stealing, robbing people and pick pocketing, there would be nothing to eat at home.

The number of people who are unable to provide themselves with basic needs is increasing, due to school dropout and unemployment. The school attrition rate increases the low level of general education. These people become dependents of their families. Later in life they get tired of being maintained, or staying at home doing nothing. The young girls become pregnant and the young boys look for something to do to make quick cash. The only way to make quick money is through engaging in crime. The majority of the youth in Site C are involved in crime. The high rate of violence and crime are the effects of poverty that people of Site C are living with.

Despite what the youth of Site C appear to believe, committing crime because you are poor or experiencing poverty is not the best option left for people who are struggling. Crime makes one feel good, successful and comfortable because everything appears to come easily and effortlessly. The problem is that in the long term, crime does not solve poverty but makes life more complicated. The Department of Justice intervenes to provide protection to the community of Site C. The youth of Site C end up in a court of law or in jail for a long period of time or die from crime. Such behaviour affects the development of the area. The effects of poverty are linked to the other. Poverty kills and destroys the people though they live under the illusion that they are doing well.

Destitute families in Site C

The majority of families that are experiencing poverty are destitute and the children are severely malnourished. Children from destitute families are often at considerable risk, starvation is serious and life threatening in some instances. The Nobhaxa family in Site C is an example of the plight of destitute families.

Mrs. Nobhaxa, in spite of being a particularly resourceful woman, was unable to find a way to keep herself and her family from the brink of starvation when her husband died. When the Community Health Workers first made contact, the family was suffering from tuberculosis, but had allegedly been turned away from the clinic because the nurses were complaining of their poor hygiene standards. The Community Health Worker arranged for the family to obtain the necessary treatment. However, Mr. Nobhaxa did not recover. After her husband's death, Mrs. Nobhaxa was unable to obtain a grant, in spite of having a small baby, because she did not have the necessary birth and death certificates, and marriage license. Her documentation had been lost during a fire and her traditional marriage was not recognized by the legal system. As a result, Mrs. Nobhaxa worked as a farm labourer for five rand per day. Novangeli her twelve years old daughter was forced to leave school in order to look after the younger children of her mother. The son Eric, a brother to Novangeli, also left school because he did not have a birth certificate, and because the family could not afford the compulsory ten rand school fees and the required school uniform.

In spite of her effort, Mrs. Nobhaxa was unable to obtain sufficient food. As a result her children became ill and her baby was hospitalized because of severe malnutrition. In order to assist this

family, complex and lengthy negotiations took place between the Community Health Workers and the professional supervising the case on the one hand and bureaucrats and senior administrators, as well as the school principal on the other hand. This family's experience demonstrates the risk of poverty and vulnerable, obstacles that most family's experience in the education, health and social welfare system. Without assistance, many people of this area and their families have little chance of overcoming their life threatening impoverishment, even with considerable personal resources and ability.

Some other people fight against poverty as a collective group. There is a certain lady who lives in Khayelitsha Site C who has developed a pattern of eating when her male partners are absent. They give paraffin for cooking, lighting and heating whenever necessary. They never return the amounts borrowed, but they also only take very small quantities from each other, never more than half a liter. They do not measure out exact amounts, but rather take the empty appliance to one of their yards to decant fuel straight into it. Sharing paraffin remains within the confines of the yard.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter reflected the main findings that emerged from the study. Within the informal sector people manufacture goods and render services, which are within the means of customers. It is a self-help movement of individuals who have gone out and created their own form of earning a living through selling vegetables, sweets, liquor and other goods. Some take on odd jobs like fixing toilets, radios and shoes, or selling clothes. People in this area are working hard to earn a living because they see that there is no easy entry into the employment market. This study was conducted to evaluate the effects of poverty and to suggest various survival strategies. Finally,

certain recommendations, flowing from the findings of this mini-thesis, are made in the following chapter.

Chapter five

Summary, recommendations and conclusion

5.1 Summary

This research paper has explored the vigorous debate around the effects of poverty and the survival strategies that have been developed by the people of Khayelitsha Site C to cope with it. An examination of urban poverty in South Africa, as manifested in Khayelitsha Site C, attempted to identify and direct the realities of this poverty. It demonstrated the interrelationship of many of these causes. It then discussed the central provisions of the government's macroeconomic strategy for accelerating growth, GEAR. Next it examined a critique, and the ideas of several academics and activists. It then commented briefly on the multiple non-macroeconomic government policies, which can contribute toward or constrain economic growth.

South Africa faces a unique set of challenges in seeking to attain and sustain a high level of economic growth, not least of which are the imperatives of globalization. Many of the neo-liberal policies imposed on the countries of the developing world by their lateral donors and multilateral creditors are being called into question by individuals, institutions, and states in the South and the North.

In this environment of uncertainty, South Africa has a unique opportunity to pursue an alternative path. South Africa's low foreign debt, sophisticated economy, ample natural resources, and moral stature afford it an opportunity to question and alter some of the parameters set by the orthodoxy of the international financial system. If the country charts and successfully follows an alternative course to sustained growth that results in enhanced employment and redistribution, the South

African example will serve as a powerful model for other states, African and non-African, to follow.

The culture of poverty is said to transcend regional, rural-urban and national differences and shows remarkable similarities in family structure, interpersonal relations, time-orientation, value systems and spending patterns. To illustrate this, one might say that the majority of the poor in the affluent countries are suffering from relative poverty insofar as they are not able to afford the minimum quantity of goods and services available to the rest of the population. Khayelitsha Site C is the victim of relative poverty, hence its residents have made it possible to develop strategies to cope with poverty. They need poverty alleviation to regain the dignity of their families.

5.2 Recommendations

The community of Khayelitsha Site C should be empowered by giving them control over resources. An analysis or strategy must be initiated to facilitate the empowerment of the community of Site C by government. Site C must control its own development, and not depend on existing institutions. Some actions are urgent, because of the need for the Government to deliver, and because existing institutions are reshaping themselves without fundamental changes or community control. This study is contributing to a much larger debate.

5.2.1 Housing

Suitable, unused land must be identified as a matter of urgency for distribution to the poorest members of the community, who should be supported by government subsidies.

The current evictions of people from land must be stopped; the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO) housing conference must be held to resolve all issues and problems related to housing; housing delivery must be community controlled and gender sensitive.

A significant percentage of the housing finance made available through regional Housing Boards should be used for rural housing. Pressure must be put on banks to make housing finance available to poor and disadvantaged communities. A people's housing bank at local regional and national levels must be created. Services such as water, sewerage, electricity, telephones and transport should be provided to all communities at an affordable price. A special budget must be created to build the capacity of communities to handle housing.

5.2.2 Social problems

The South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) should work together to campaign for the following: free health service for the unemployed; the upgrading of clinics, including a 24 hour service; primary health care; feeding schemes for the unemployed; community health workers recognised by and paid by the state and legislation to compel companies and community driven initiatives to recycle. Dumping pits should not be allowed in community areas. SANCO must debate and develop positions on the very important issues of drugs, school dropouts, crime and destitute families. These issues are also to be included in the integrated recommendations of the commission and the forum document.

5.2.3 Human resource development

The SANCO Human Resources Department must include a political head and a full-time co-coordinator. The co-coordinator must be employed with immediate effect.

Co-ordinate human resource development must take place in all regions.

SANCO must create a database and libraries at local, regional and national levels.

SANCO must network with institutions, Non Government Organisations (NGOs) and organs of civil society such as the trade unions. SANCO's communication system must be improved.

Study groups / circles must be formed around SANCO issues. Human resource development must take place within the context of basic needs at the local level.

5.2.4 Economy

There is a high rate of unemployment, not only in Khayelitsha Site C but also throughout South Africa. Accordingly there is a pressing need to democratize the South African economy and redistribute wealth. A dynamic small and medium size business sector can enhance the competitiveness of the South African economy. All the fragmented efforts to support small medium and micro enterprises must be centralized by the Government. All obstacles facing Black Business such as those related to credit, markets, skills and business premises must be removed. Central, provincial and local government must meet a significant proportion of their purchasing needs from small, medium and micro enterprises.

5.2.5 Community based development

Communities must control their own development. In this regard, SANCO must push the government to make the necessary finance available directly to communities. SANCO must also push the government to phase out the development agencies, which have been receiving almost all the government development finance. Civics must organise their communities and develop strong structures. Civics must play a central role in setting up Community Development Forums

or other community based development organisations appropriate to their communities. SANCO must play a central role in ensuring the necessary facilitators to ease the process whereby community organizations come together to form the appropriate community development structures.

Lines of communication with specific people in government must be seen as a tactic, not as a formal SANCO position. SANCO must retain its non-partisan nature and must not restrict its relationship to specific parties.

5.3 Conclusion

To achieve a substantial degree of economic autonomy Khayelitsha Site C needs to reduce its dependence on government by establishing an overall development strategy and creating a system of secondary economic activities. It is clear from official statements that the potential of the informal sector is well recognized by the present administration in South Africa. However, recognition without actual supportive services is not enough. This recognition includes contribution to employment, income generation and the creation and wider distribution of wealth and assets. In particular, the Government regards the development of the informal sector as an important component of its strategy to bring Blacks into the mainstream of production and distribution in the economy

The development of the informal sector can assist local resource mobilization as well as contributing to entrepreneurship development. In terms of consumer convenience, the informal

sector offers goods and services sometimes not found in the formal sector and often at competitive prices. Encouragement and promotion of the informal sector should

Be a policy of the government and the private sector in South Africa for the smooth running of the country.

There are serious problems with land invasions in informal settlements. This land is usually un-serviced and badly located. The Government appointed Land Commission is working assiduously to negate the inequitable system of land distribution and to right previous injustices. It is a long and arduous process, but one that will hopefully allocate in a fair manner land to those previously denied access or forcibly removed from it.

The purpose of listing these recommendations is to summarise what must be done to improve community development. To see to it that everybody is living in proper houses and also enjoying basic needs like food, shelter and education. There are a lot of challenges that need to be faced in this community. For instance, there are children who have gross psychological problems due to the violence of the area. They end up disturbed in a crucial stage of their development. There is also drug abuse and school truancy by children even at primary school level. The majority of the people and children of this community are seen by the community mental health workers. Regular home visits are done for assessment of home environments and referrals are made when necessary to a psychiatrist for pharmacological assessment.

The issue of poverty is at its core political. It is a frustrating, discouraging and demoralizing issue. Given the deep historical roots of apartheid and oppression, the people of Khayelitsha Site C are trapped in the quagmire of poverty, from which it is difficult to escape. Displaying

resilience and initiative, they have developed survival strategies to cope with poverty. This, notwithstanding, there is still an urgent need for Government intervention and concern, at both the national and local level.
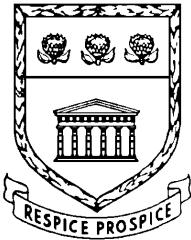
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

QUESTIONNAIRE TO RESIDENTS OF SITE C, KHAYELITSHA

This questionnaire has been developed to collect data on poverty in Khayelitsha Site C. All the information will be treated as confidential. No names will be mentioned in the final report.

1. Personal Details

1.1 Gender

Male	Female

1.2 Age

21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40
41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60
60 +			

1.3 Marital status

Married	Widowed	Single
Living together	Divorced	Separated

1.4 Do you have children?

Yes	No

1.5 If yes how many children do you have?

One	Two	Three	Four	Five +

1.6 Do your children live with you?

Yes	No

2. Economic Status

2.1 Indicate your employment status below.

Formal employment	Informal employment	Unemployed	Disability grant
Maintenance grant	Pensioner	Retrenched	Other specify

2.2 How many family members are supported in the household?

One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	More than nine

2.3 What is the average monthly income for the household?

Less than R250	R 250 – 500	R 501 – 1 000
R1 001 – 1 500	R1 501 – 2 000	> R2 000

2.4 Do you make use of transport to go to work?

Yes	No

2.5 If yes, how much do you spend on transport to and from work per day?

0 –R2,00	R2,01 – R4,00	R4,01 – R6,00
R6,01 – R8,00	R8,01 – R10,00	>R10,00

2.6 What type of transport do you use?

None	Walk	Bus	Train	Taxi	Car / Other

2.7 Do you have an alternative source of income?

Yes	No

2.8 If yes, please indicate the amount and for what service?

Amount	Service

2.9 Do you have tenants living with you?

Yes	No

2.10 If yes, state number of tenants and average monthly rent paid.

Tenants	Rent paid

3. Housing

3.1 Do you own a house in Site C?

Yes	No

3.2 Do you pay rent, rates or service charges?

Yes	No

3.3 If yes, can you afford to pay these charges?   Give a reason for your answer.

Yes	No

3.4 How many rooms do you have in your house?

One	Two	Three	Four	> Five

3.5 How many people sleep in each room?

One	Two	Three	Four	>Five

4. Education

4.1 What is your highest level of education?

None	Grade one	Grade two	Grade three	Grade four
Grade five	Grade six	Grade seven	Grade eight	Grade nine
Grade ten	Grade eleven	Grade twelve	Degree/Diploma with grade twelve	

4.2 Give details about your children according to the table given below.

Child	Age	Grade presently in	Average distance to and from School	Transport cost to and from school	Type of transport
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

5. Health

5.1 On average how many times do you visit the clinic / hospital each month?

None	Once	Twice	Thrice	Four times	Five times +

5.2 What are the common illnesses that your family suffers from?

Diarrhea	Chicken Pox	Mums	Measles	Coughs/Cold
Diabetes	Lung Problem	Tuberculosis	Blood Pressure	Others Specify

5.3 How much do you spend on each consultation?

100

R 2.00 -3.00	R 3.00 - 400	R 4.00 – 5.00	More than R5.00

5.4 What form of transport do you use to get to the clinic?

Walk	Train	Bus	Taxi	Car / Other specify

5.5 If you use transport, how much do you spend for transport?

0 – R2.00	R 2.01 – 4.00	R 4.01 – 6.00	R 6.01 – 8.00
R 8.01 – 10.00	R 10.01 – 12.50	More than R12.50	

5.6 Do you make use of the services of traditional healers?

Yes	No

5.7 Who is more in demand in your area, a medical doctor or traditional healer?

Medical doctor	Traditional Healer	Both

6. Nutrition

6.1 On average, how much do you spend on food every month?

R 200.00 <	R 200.00- 250.00	R 251.00- 300.00	R 301.00 - 350.00
R 351.00– 400.00	R 401.00- 450.00	R 451.00-500.00	>R 501.00

6.2 Does your family have enough to eat each day? Motivate your answer.

Yes	No

_____

6.3 Do you consider your daily food intake sufficiently nutritious?

Yes	No

6.4 Indicate average daily consumption. Explain fully what each daily meal consists of?

Breakfast	Launch/Dinner	Supper

7. Quality of life

7.1 Do you feel your living space is adequate?

indoors	Yes	No
outdoors	Yes	No

7.2 Do you find time for leisure activities?

Yes	No

   Indicate the types of activities which you participate in.

_____

7.3 Do you find recreational activities:

Do not suit your needs	Are too costly
Are too distant	Involve transport problem
Do suit your needs	

7.4 Do you enjoy living in your community? Motivate.

Yes	No

7.5 Do you get on well with your neighbours? Motivate.

Yes	No

7.6 Do you feel safe in the area that you are staying presently?

Yes	No

   Motivate.

7.7 Is there any police patrol during the night?

Yes	No

   How do the discipline and order being maintained in the community?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

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