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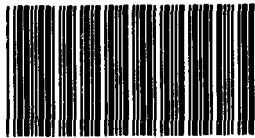
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4.3.2 Factor seen as having contributed most to poverty

To limit the number of categories used in the analysis, only the first five response categories for Question 2 (see Table 2) were retained. This means that about 3,5 % of the records would have been dropped from the CHAID analysis. According to Diagram 8 (APPENDIX B) *language* group was the most important divider, revealing that as a group the Xhosa respondents emphasized factors that were not emphasized by the other language groups: The Xhosas were more inclined to mention sanctions and a lack of economic growth — both very noticeable factors in the Eastern Cape region where most of them lived or had lived⁴. The respondents in the other language categories placed more emphasis on apartheid measures and unequal educational opportunities.

	Xhosa-speaking respondents	Rest of respondents
Sanctions and lack of economic growth	36,9 %	19,3 %
Apartheid and unequal educational opportunities	22,2 %	32,5 %

It should be noted however that the largest proportion of respondents in both groups felt that insufficient job opportunities was the factor that had contributed most to poverty (about 41 % of the Xhosa respondents and 48 % of those in the other groups).

4.3.3 Best way of assisting the poor

Diagram 9 indicates that *age* is the best predictor of the response pattern for the "best way of assisting the poor". The data for the youngest group clustered at formal education and skills training and for the older group at the provision of a job opportunity. In fact the need for skills training appears to decrease with increasing age, and that for a job opportunity increases among the older groups. For example when the three clusters or legs of the dendrogram are examined for these two choices only, the pattern is fairly clear.

	18-24 yrs old	25-34 yrs old	35-95 yrs old
Skills training	14,8 %	11,6 %	4,2 %
Provide a job opportunity	56,8 %	65,6 %	70,6 %

Nevertheless, the choice mentioned most often among all groups still was that of providing a job opportunity.

4.3.4 Bodies to provide financial support

The respondents who *regularly read a daily newspaper* (at least four of the six issues a week) responded significantly differently from those who did not (Diagram 10, APPENDIX B). Those who were not regular readers of a daily paper were more inclined to disapprove of direct financial assistance (19,0 % of the group) but they also contained a large proportion of people who preferred that the state provide

direct financial assistance to the poor (42,9 %). Among those who regularly read a daily paper, the state was also seen as an important provider of direct financial assistance, but 51,3 % preferred a welfare agency or a body in which people participated at a local or neighbourhood level, namely a voluntary community organization like a *stokvel* or a municipality.⁵

If regularly reading a daily paper is a proxy for a combination of such socio-economic characteristics as literacy, income and education, one may conclude that the higher level respondents did not really oppose direct financial assistance to the poor, but that they felt that both the state and private organizations could give that assistance. If the non-readers are assumed to be the less well-off it may also be fair to assume that they were more likely to be aware of the limited resources of local authorities, *stokvels* and welfare agencies, and therefore favoured assistance from the central government. (Or they might view local bodies as less impartial, favouring the rich, etc.)

Unfortunately the relatively small number of records in which the choices "business community" and "other" were marked, had to be ignored for the purpose of this analysis.

4.3.5 Form/Destination of financial assistance

According to Diagram 11 *language* is the best predictor — and the only significant one — of the response on the form that direct financial assistance should take. Again (see also Diagram 8) the Xhosa respondents had a unique response pattern but this time the Zulus also had a different pattern, as did the respondents from Northern and Eastern Transvaal (Northern Sotho, Swazi and Shangaan/Tsonga), and then the Southern and Western Sotho.

The way the data split up for language in this instance shows regional differences more clearly than is the case for the data regarding the factor that has contributed most to poverty. Almost a quarter of the Southern and Western Sotho respondents disapproved of direct financial assistance to the poor, compared for example to only 13,3 % of the Northern Sotho, Swazi and Shangaan/Tsonga speakers. The former group (Southern and Western Sotho) were also less inclined to favour a cash payment as the preferred form of direct financial assistance (17,6 %). For the language groups of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal, where blacks had been hit hard by droughts and unemployment, food was the preferred form of financial assistance (35,6 % of the group), while the Xhosa respondents favoured cash (39,4 % of the group). The distribution for the Zulu respondents was fairly even although a quarter preferred that the financial assistance be in the form of a basic dwelling, compared with only 12,0 % of the Xhosa respondents (who preferred a basic dwelling).

The Zulus and the Xhosas favoured other forms of assistance, such as a serviced plot, medical services, etc., to a relatively greater extent than did the other clusters: 21,7 % and 16,0 % as compared with 11,2 % and 8,9 % respectively. The records of the few who had chosen the option of transport had to be ignored.

(The table was significant beyond the 0,1 % level.)

4.3.6 Ways of preventing poverty

Language was again the main divider and, as can be seen in Diagram 12, the smaller cluster, namely that for the Swazi and the Xhosa respondents, emphasized job creation, and budgeting, etc. together with the promotion of entrepreneurship.

The other language cluster (comprising all the language groups except Swazi and Xhosa) also concentrated on job creation but contained a reasonable proportion that selected "apartheid" and "Provide educational opportunities". This group also had a sizeable proportion of non respondents.

When the analysis in Diagram 12 is compared with that in Diagram 8, a certain degree of consistency can be observed: The data for the Xhosas clustered at the development of jobs while those for the other language categories, although also emphasizing job creation, were relatively strongly concentrated around the political structure of the society and around educational opportunities.

Diagram 12 reveals a second significant splitting of the data. Here the Swazi and Xhosa respondents divided according to *level of education reached*. Those among these groups who had not achieved a qualification higher than Std 7 were more inclined to mention job creation (73,7 %) as a way of preventing or combating poverty (or not to give a response at all), while those with an educational level higher than Std 7 included comparatively larger proportions of respondents mentioning the scrapping of apartheid, the provision of educational opportunities, and teaching budgeting, saving and promoting self-help and entrepreneurship. A comparison of the language spoken and the educational level reached (see later Section 4.4.1) shows that the Swazis and the Xhosas in fact contained comparatively larger proportions of respondents who had reached Std 7 only.

4.3.7 Trends in the influence of sociodemographic factors on views on poverty

In three of the six analyses (Diagrams 7 to 12, APPENDIX B) *language* was revealed as the main divider, in other words as the best predictor of the response to the particular question. The relevant questions refer to the factor considered to have contributed most to poverty, the form direct financial assistance should take (if it was considered a desirable way of assisting the poor) and the best way of preventing poverty.

Language most probably pertained to a specific region or constitutional affiliation (see Section 4.4, Table 8) in most of the analyses where it proved important, and as such it is perhaps more important than the area classification which was used for the correspondence analyses (Section 4.2, and Diagrams 1 to 6). Although urban/rural and metro/non metro often are considered the major indicators of variance in data, for the purpose of this survey the specific region or development area, the language and the ethnic grouping were perhaps better indicators, as revealed in the single variable of language.

However it should be kept in mind that "Area", as used in Section 4.2, was not included in the CHAID analyses of this section (Section 4.3). Moreover language is prominent only because it

recurred. Three of the analyses revealed other "best predictors" of the responses obtained, namely *income* for the level of income considered "poor", *age* for the best way of assisting the poor, and *reading a daily newspaper* for the bodies that should provide financial assistance; while the level of education reached, occurred twice as predictor although at a second level of splitting.

Some of the predictor (independent) variables that appeared to be significant therefore may be second-order or indirect predictors, and possible associations among the sociodemographic variables themselves will be discussed in the next section.

4.4 Associations among the independent variables

Although the CHAID dendrograms presented in Diagrams 7 to 12 reveal hardly any significant interactions among the predictor variables, it has to be borne in mind that the CHAID programme's main function usually is to indicate important predictors in order to allow the discarding of less important independent variables with a view to more sophisticated analyses. The existence of interactions can therefore not be ruled out merely on the basis of the CHAIDs.

Moreover, *language* and the *reading of a daily newspaper*, both of which were significant predictors according to the CHAID analyses, are indirect or intermediate characteristics, and one would expect them to be proxies for certain more fundamental sociodemographic characteristics of the sample. Cross-tabulations between each of these two variables and all the other independent variables revealed a significant degree of interdependence between *language* and *region* (16 categories), *language* and *income*, and *language* and *having a telephone*; and some degree of interdependence between *language* and *level of education*, and *language* and *age*; while the *reading of a daily paper* was associated with *sex*, *age*, *marital status*, *level of education*, *income*, *occupational status*, the *possession of a telephone*, and *regularly watching TV* — in fact with all of the other sociodemographic variables *except region*.

4.4.1 Language

Region. It was suggested in Section 4.3 that the way the data were split up according to language in some of the CHAID analyses, might have indicated that the specific geographic location whence the respondents came, influenced their responses.

TABLE 8: REGION AND LANGUAGE

Region	LANGUAGE							Total
	Southern Sotho	Tswana Western Sotho	Northern Sotho	Swazi	Xhosa	Zulu	Shan-gaan/Tsonga	
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	
A: Cape Peninsula and Western Cape	1	1	0	0	54	8	0	64
E: KwaZulu, Dundee	0	0	0	0	1	63	1	65
G: Lebowa and environs	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	15
C: QwaQwa and environs	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
F: KaNgwane and environs	0	0	0	6	0	2	0	8
H: PWV complex	53	24	28	6	17	87	16	231
D: Eastern Cape Humansdorp, Hankey	0*	0*	0*	0*	0*	16*	0*	16*
D: Port Elizabeth complex	0	0	0	0	41	0	0	41
E: Durban, PMB complex	0	0	0	0	2	34	3	39
C: Bloemfontein, Brandfort, Botshabelo	30	14	0	0	4	0	0	48
F & G: Northern and Eastern Transvaal towns	0	2	4	18	7	20	2	53
C: Northern OFS towns	42	3	2	0	5	3	0	55
J: Western Transvaal towns	8	22	2	0	0	0	0	32
B: Kimberley, Noupoort	1	10	0	0	14	0	0	25
B: Carnarvon, Prieska	0	0	2	1	3	5	0	11
D: East London, Albany, Elliot	2	1	0	0	52	1	0	56
TOTAL	143	79	53	31	200	239	22	767

* This entry may be the result of a punching error, particularly since about 16 respondents seem to be missing from the KwaZulu sample.

Table 8 reveals that with a few exceptions, the respondents reported as their language "mostly spoken at home" the main language of the region where they were domiciled at the time of the survey. The association is significant at a probability of better than 0,001. (In other words the chi-square value of 1 507,29 revealed by the analysis, has a less than 0,1 % probability of occurring if the variance in the response is due to chance.) This significance is maintained even when more rigorous chi-square tests are applied. On the other hand the many cells in Table 8 that had counts of less than 5 may invalidate the chi-square test.⁶ No tables are presented of the other cross tabulations that revealed significant associations, but the trends will be described.

Income differentiated between the Swazi and Xhosa speakers on the one hand and most of the other respondents on the other hand. For example, around 70 % of the respondents in each of the first two groups reported a household income of less than R800 a month, compared with approximately 50 % of those in most of the other language groups (reporting such a low income). The exception was the Southern Sotho of whom 65 % reported such a low income ($P = 0,002$).

Possessing a telephone was true for only about a third of the respondents of all the language groups except the Northern Sotho (Pedi) and the Zulu speakers for whom the figures were 55 % and 43 %

respectively. ($P = 0,007$, and with no cells containing less than 5, the chi square is a valid test in this case.)

Education differentiated roughly between the Xhosa, Swazi and Tswana speakers, and the rest of the groups. Among the former three groups about two-thirds of the respondents had reached only Std 7 and 80 % or more (90 % in the case of the Swazis) had reached only Std 8; among the other groups larger proportions had reached Std 8 or had a higher qualification. However the significance of the difference is borderline — $P < 0,05$, but $> 0,01$.

The comparatively low level of education among the respondents in the Xhosa and Swazi-speaking groups may partly explain the splitting of the Swazi and Xhosa cluster in Diagram 12 (ANNEXURE B).

Age features slightly more obscurely but it appears that the categories for the youngest and the oldest respondents (younger than 25 and older than 54 years) constituted different proportions of the different language groups. Of the Tswana and Swazi speakers, respectively 47 % and 48 % fell in these categories, while the proportions among the other groups ranged from 35% to 41,5 %. As far as the older group, 55 years and over, is concerned, the Tswana and Swazi speakers again had the highest proportions, namely about 23 % of the Tswanas and 26 % of the Swazis. (Among the Xhosa speakers and the Northern Sothos the proportions were 15 % and 17 % respectively.) However the significance of the chi-square value found is borderline ($P = 0,04$) and many cells in the table had expected counts of less than 5.

4.4.2 Reading a daily newspaper

Sex, age, marital status, level of education, income, occupational status, watching TV, and having a telephone were all significantly associated with reading a daily newspaper.⁷

Sex. While women constituted the majority of both readers and non-readers, namely just over 53 % and 68 % respectively, the proportion of women who read a daily paper was (only) 41 %, compared with the 56 % of the male respondents. (The chi-square value of 18,75 for one degree of freedom (two columns, two rows) is significant at a level of $P < 0,001$.)

Age. Of those who regularly read a daily newspaper, less than 6 % were 55 years or older. Of the persons in the age group 55 and older, only about 18 % were "readers" — compared with about 54 % in the group 20-34 years of age.

Marital status. The never-married respondents constituted more than half of the regular readers, and just more than a third of the non-readers, while the non-readers included relatively larger proportions of ceremonially married, widowed and living-together respondents. The legally married and the divorced constituted almost equal proportions of the reading and the non-reading groups. When the (three) categories for widowed, living-together and ceremoniously married are observed independently, they still include only small proportions of readers compared with the never married (of whom 56 % were readers), the divorced (52,6 % readers) and the legally married (46,1 % readers). Less than 20 % of the widowed regularly read a newspaper.

Educational level reached represented a clearly distinguishing factor. Those who had reached Std 9 or higher constituted 39 % of the readers and 15 % of the non-readers. Of the group that had reached Std 9 (or higher) just over 69 % were readers, compared with only 23 % of the group who had attained no more than Std 5.

Income differentiated readership between those respondents whose households received less than R800 and those receiving R1 200 and more a month. About 67 % of the higher income group were readers, compared with 39 % of the low-income group. The low-income group constituted about 50 % of those who read a daily newspaper, but almost 69 % of those who did not. The higher income group constituted about 21 % of the readers, and 9 % of the non-readers.

There was no real difference between readers and non-readers in the categories "Refuse to state income" and "Do not know income". Neither was there a significant difference in the group that received no income at all. (See the analysis in Diagram 7, where "No income" did not display the same response pattern as the low-income group, i.e. those receiving less than R400 a month.)

Occupational category differentiated readership clearly between the three high-level groups — medical and related, educational and related, and clerical — and those in unskilled and labourer jobs or those not economically active. Of those who regularly read a daily paper about 17 % fell in the three top categories, and about 73 % in the (two) categories for the unskilled and the economically inactive. Of the non-readers about 3 % fell in the top categories, and just more than 88 % in the unskilled/non-working group. The change-over in the pattern of the response occurs in the middle categories, namely sales, transport and trade where there is not much difference between readers and non-readers (see Table 9).

As can be seen also from Table 9, a considerable proportion of the economically inactive were readers (42 %). It should of course be remembered that this economic inactivity pertained to the respondents themselves and not necessarily to their entire household.

TABLE 9: READING A NEWSPAPER AND OCCUPATION*

Occupation	DAILY NEWSPAPER		Total N
	Read regularly	Do not read regularly	
	N	N	
Medical and related	14	5	19
Educational and related	21	1	22
Clerical	21	6	27
Sales	16	13	29
Transport	10	9	19
Trades	9	13	22
Labourers and other unskilled	41	74	115
Economically inactive	206	282	488
TOTAL	338 (100 %)	403 (100 %)	741

* Chi-square value = 47,5

P = < 0,001

(Frequency missing = 67)

Watching TV (on an average work day). As the hours of watching TV increased, respondents were also more inclined to read a daily paper. Particularly salient was the very large group that did not have a TV set or did not have transmissions in their area and did not read a paper (almost 25 % of the response group). Apart from not having the personal resources to read a paper regularly, many of these respondents may be living in areas where there is no distribution of a daily paper, for example in parts of the national states and other rural areas. (Chi-square value = 100,4 P < 0,001; 6 degrees of freedom.)

Possession of a telephone. Almost half (49 %) of those who regularly read a newspaper, had a telephone, but only 28 % of those that did not read a paper had a telephone. The order of the variation is similar when one compares those with and those without a telephone. Of the first group just more than 60 % read a paper, and of the second group approximately 38 % did so.

Comparing the values of chi square found for the different associations, and taking into consideration the degrees of freedom for each, the strongest associations appear to be those between the reading of a newspaper and the *level of education, possession of a telephone and watching TV.*

The fact that so many variables were associated with the reading of a paper indicates that all or most of them have some bearing on socio-economic status. Therefore no single variable influenced the dependent variable much more than any of the others in the analysis relating to the bodies that should provide financial assistance. (Diagram 10, APPENDIX B).

4.4.3 General

In summary then, language and reading a daily paper appear to be important proxies for several other sociodemographic variables, and for this reason are revealed as significant predictors for the responses to the poverty-related questions.

5. FINDINGS IN RELATION TO OTHER STUDIES AND THE LITERATURE

5.1 Summary of responses

Since the first question (Question 1(a)) surveyed the respondents' views on what constituted poverty in terms of the level of income only, it was expected that under "comment" (Question 1(b)) respondents would refer to other ways of measuring poverty. For example it was anticipated that they might have mentioned an absence of goods in kind, of social security, of an insurance policy, etc. — in other words the absence of any kind of back-up system (Levitan 1990:3). It was also expected that the different types of hardship suffered by poor people, especially those in harsh peri-urban and rural environments, would be mentioned, namely landlessness (and/or peri-urban high-density living), and the hours and money spent in travelling long distances to earn a livelihood, or to obtain fuel and water. It was thought that the inclusion of respondents from non-metropolitan areas and from squatter areas would yield responses in which the lack of land, and of affordable and convenient energy sources and clean water would feature strongly, especially since these characteristics are often stressed in other studies and in the literature on rural areas particularly those referring to the black states (Simkins⁸ 1984b:12-13; Gandar & Bromberger 1984:2; Harries 1984:1, 7; Stone 1984a:5, 7; Stone 1984b:11, 15-17; Eberhard & Gandar 1984:5, 7, 11; Gandar 1984:3-5; Van Coller 1991: i, ii, 8-12, 37; Kritzing 1990:13-15).

However, poor housing, a low level of education and training (including a high rate of illiteracy) and high taxation, which are also mentioned in the literature in respect of rural and "homeland" black areas (Harries 1984:1; Gandar & Bromberger 1984:2-3; Kritzing 1990:14-15), did appear in the responses. Although "high taxation" was mentioned by only 0,5 % of the respondents who gave a reply under "comment", this response did not necessarily refer to non-metropolitan poverty problems.

Because of the reputed unreliability of income data as indicators of degrees of poverty, other measures are sometimes used as proxies for, and not merely supplementary to income data. In Chile the National Planning Office and the Economics Institute of the Catholic University of Chile devised a "Poverty Map" using several demographic and particularly accommodation factors (Snyman 1989:31-32). Income was thought to fluctuate too greatly according to economic upswings and slumps and was therefore not considered in the original "map" (although probably in later ones). However, other researchers in Chile came to the conclusion that the above indicators undermeasured poverty. By incorporating housing, employment status, educational level, nutrition and health, social security *and income* in their measuring instrument, a much higher level of national poverty was found.

In Colombia (World Bank 1988:7-8) poverty is measured by an index called "Basic needs not met" (NBI). NBI is also based mainly on shelter-related indicators, namely the building materials used, occupation density and access to public utilities; and further includes two indicators that have been proved to reflect the potential or real availability of income, namely the number of dependants per wage earner in the household, and the number of school-age children in the household who were not attending school. These indicators reputedly differentiate between the absolutely poor and those even worse off, the wretchedly poor.

The emphasis on housing and housing-related indicators is however being criticized because in the Colombian rural areas poverty is more aptly characterized by malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment and underemployment, than by the lack of access to electricity or sanitation (World Bank 1988:8). The two World Bank missions from whose report this information was gleaned nevertheless found that the (non) availability of basic services — particularly sanitation — was closely related to death due to gastro-intestinal diseases among children below the age of five. They concluded therefore that a comprehensive poverty index should be used which includes information on health (and nutrition, and employment) (World Bank 1988:8, 10).

Although health and medical services did not feature strongly in the survey on which this report is based, "housing" and "food" recurred in the responses. However in the "comment" (Table 1(b)) the respondents tended to refer to the causes of poverty, and several of these — joblessness, racial discrimination, sanctions, no education, etc. — recurred as important in the responses to the subsequent questions.

Rather large proportions of the respondents recorded no income at all, and perceived poverty as "having no money at all" (see Section 4.1). In observing "income distribution and poverty in the homelands" Simkins (1984b:12-13) found a "widespread and real substantial improvement" in incomes between 1960 and 1980 for the majority of homeland residents: Although, according to estimates, no homeland families achieved the minimum living level in 1960, 20 % did so in 1980. However there was a rise in the proportion of households receiving no income from the sources analyzed (which included transfer payments, remittances and subsistence agricultural production). This rise could be attributed to a combination of increasing landlessness, fewer people in the homelands population working in agriculture, and increasing unemployment (Simkins 1984b:13).

Eckert (1992:5-6) claims that this within-group inequality is growing for the black and white population groups while it is decreasing for the coloured and Indian groups.

Most of the other findings will be discussed within the framework of their associations with certain more stable variables, but the recurrence of references to unemployment and job creation requires that it also be addressed as a finding by itself.

A quick glance abroad — at a study of seven countries or regions in the European (Economic) Community (EC) — reveals that unemployment is a major determinant of poverty. "In all countries (and by all standards), the poverty risk of a household is extremely high if the household's head is unemployed ..." (Deleek & Van den Bosch 1992:112). If the head of the household had retired the risk of poverty was also high, but not as high as it would be if he still fell in the economically active

category but was unemployed. On the other hand, if there were two or more employed persons in the household, the risk of poverty was low (except in Greece where the level of earnings was often found to be very low) (p. 113). Finally, Levitan (1990:2-5) criticizes the poverty index of the Social Security Administration of the USA (which is three times the cost of their economy food plan) and suggests the use of measures that link poverty to employment data in order better to understand both poverty and the labour market.

According to a report of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (Calitz 1991:3, 7) Southern Africa's population increased annually by nearly 2,6 % during the decade 1980-1990. This rate places the region "squarely in the league of low-income economies" which registered an average annual population growth rate of 2,8 % for the period 1980-1988. By the year 2018 the population could be "perilously close" to 80 million people (Calitz 1991:7).

Although one of the greatest causes for concern is the expected doubling of the number of children under the age of 15, for the purpose of this discussion the expected increase in the size of the potentially economically active group (15 to 64 years of age) is almost more disturbing: The projected growth in their numbers from 16,7 million to nearly 30,5 million for the period 1980-2005 means that large numbers of new entrants to the labour market will seek work every year (Calitz 1991:7-8). Already in 1989 only 12,5 % of the new entrants could be accommodated; for school leavers the figure was even less, namely 7 out of every 100 (People behind ... 1992:1). According to the DBSA report the resulting unemployment, especially in non-urban areas, could exacerbate the already high levels of social tension in the country (Calitz 1991:7-8).

The situation is spelt out more clearly in another DBSA report which focuses on labour and employment in South Africa (Viljoen 1991:ES1-ES2): While the potential labour force in South Africa increased at an average annual rate of 2,9 % in the period 1960-1990, the formal economy was only able to create new employment opportunities at an average annual rate of 1,8 % for this period. The worsening of the situation is revealed in the fact that the average annual increase in new jobs in the formal market for the five-year period 1985-1990 was less than one quarter of that for the five-year period 1960-1965 (Viljoen 1991:ES1).

That "it is the poor who are multiplying" is pointed out in *The Economist* of 29 February 1992 (Living ... 1992:19), which quotes a current population growth of 2,3 % p.a. for South Africa. The poor here are predominantly black, and at the time two-fifths of their (blacks') approximately 28 million were under the age of 15 and two-thirds under the age of 21. Employment in the informal (black) economy is seen as an important option for a large proportion of new job seekers, while others expect massive public works programmes to be more comprehensive and to provide skills training in a cost-effective way (Living ... 1992:22).

Eckert (1992:2) refers to the unemployment following the rapid rural to urban migration in the period after the abolition of influx control. This is actually merely a shift of unemployment and/or underemployment from rural to urban areas. Urban industry, however, is unable to expand employment sufficiently because urban centres have already grown at rates exceeding 10 % during the last five or six years. In more general terms Eckert estimates that unemployment, at about 40 %

nationwide, exceeds that of most nations that have emerged with stable governments. In his listing of the main dimensions of the "1990s economic agenda" he places the generation of jobs and incomes first, and then proceeds to list the generation of employment, "even in the absence of growth", as the most urgent subgoal (before the subgoal of increasing the growth in the Gross Domestic Product to at least 4 % a year (Eckert 1992:4)). He suggests a redefinition of the concepts of "labour intensity", referring to other countries where it was found that even in conventional construction, normally requiring a large percentage of sophisticated technology, the major input (over 60 %) could be labour (Eckert 1992:11).

Ligthelm and Kritzinger-Van Niekerk's (1990:633-634) discussion of the "production elasticity of employment" ties in with Eckert's view that an increase in Gross Domestic Product will not be sufficient. They point out that the percentage growth of employment associated with 1 % (annual) economic growth has been dropping in the 1980s, indicating the "capital deepening" in production processes which may keep increasing numbers of people outside the formal labour market. In a discussion on unemployment, Sadie (1991:11-12) enumerates the many factors that have led to a situation where increasingly scarce capital is used to replace increasingly available labour.

5.2 Views on poverty in relation to "area"

This discussion is tied mainly to the paragraph that summarizes the findings described in Section 4.2, namely Paragraph 4.2.7 — *Trends regarding views on poverty according to area* — and not as much to the separate discussions of each of the questions. In other words, only the responses with the highest recurrence rate, and the area categories in which these responses predominated, receive attention. And because job-related responses predominated, it was of special interest to see which area categories clustered there, and which preferred other options to a significant degree.

Traditionally authors and researchers differentiated between and compared urban and rural areas only. However, in view of the way in which the urban areas (traditionally "white cities"), the "rural" black national states, and black informal settlements have developed, the classification used for the variable "Area" in this survey is more appropriate. Nevertheless, for the sake of the discussion that follows, references to "urban" in the literature will be regarded as indicating a metropolitan situation, and those to "rural" as indicating a non-metropolitan frame of reference. Unless stated otherwise it will be assumed that squatter or informal settlements are those in peri-urban areas in the major metropolis.

If it is correct to assume that metropolitan (city) dwellers on average receive higher incomes than non-metropolitan dwellers (Bosman 1989:39; Wilson & Ramphela 1989:66-67), and if furthermore it is correct to assume that people put their estimate of a required minimum income at a level close to their actual income (Delecock & Van den Bosch 1992:109), then it is an unexpected or unusual finding that metro urbanites' views on poverty levels clustered closer to the lower incomes relative to those of the non-metropolitans which clustered closer to the middle income levels. The latter finding is also to some extent contrary to the finding discussed in Paragraph 4.3.1, namely that the lower-income group

(receiving less than R400 a month) places their poverty estimates at lower levels while those with higher incomes still regarded people as poor at higher income levels. However, over and above the higher-income respondents, the cluster included others who refused to respond or did not know the household income, or reported no income at all, and as was found in the CHAID analysis (Diagram 7) the views of the respondents in this cluster had been influenced by their level of education.

Above all, it is possible that other variables related to domicile would influence "Area" results, for example exactly where people live in metropolitan urban areas (such as peri-urban areas — Snyman 1989:30-31), or whether they are newly urbanized poor people from rural areas taking their poverty and unemployment with them to the cities (*cf.* Eckert 1992:2, 10) where they are often underemployed (Bosman 1989:42).

Nevertheless the particular finding regarding views on the poverty level should not create the impression that non-metropolitans are better off than metropolitan city dwellers, particularly in the black states. In this respect the Urban Foundation (Van Coller 1991:ii) concludes that about 80 % of homeland (independent and self-governing black states) households receive incomes below subsistence levels; increases in the GDP per capita in these regions are among the lowest in the world, and the average household income there is considerably lower than that in black urban and metropolitan areas.

Moreover, although the proportional geographical distribution of the black population is expected to change from rural to metropolitan, the number of black people living in the rural areas is not expected to decrease: they constituted 92 % of the rural population in 1985 and are expected to account for 94 % of the rural population by the year 2000 (Van Coller 1991:7, 37). For the decade 1970-1980 the population growth in the black states ranged from 53 % (KwaZulu) to 515 % (Qwa-Qwa) (Steyn 1991:6).

The emphasis that non-metropolitans gave to job-related factors (insufficient job opportunities as cause of poverty, providing jobs to assist the poor and the creation of jobs to prevent or combat poverty) was expected. Employment in white rural areas has decreased owing to mechanization and a rapid decrease in the number of farmers since the 1950s. Kotze and Theron (1992:1-2) quote this decrease in the numbers of farmers as being of the order of 50 % over the 15-year period preceding 1991 — from 132 000 to less than 61 000 — and an alarming number of sequestrations are still continuing. Van Coller (1991:ii-iii) refers to the loss of jobs in these areas, mentioning a figure of less than 1,1 million remaining by 1985. In general there has been a sharp decline, "particularly critical" according to Beukes (1988:21), in the job-creating capacity of the agricultural sector.

In the black states between 60 % and 80 % of the gross national income is accounted for by the earnings of exported labour (Van Coller 1991:11, quoting Tapson 1986). (Much of the balance comes from salaries earned by civil servants.) "Income" here may refer to cash, rather than to overall income which includes the value of livestock slaughtered, in-kind remittances, etc. Moreover some of the cash income would be derived from pensions rather than labour sold outside the area. Nevertheless the pensions would also be "external income" and not earned locally, and Gandar and Bromberger (1984) who studied a region of KwaZulu using the above broader definition of income, found that even

within these broader limits the households they studied still received about 60 % of their income from external sources.

As far as external agriculture is concerned, these sources may be dwindling fast, as was shown above. How the specific national states are affected by the loss of agricultural jobs in the common area of South Africa will again be referred to in Section 5.3.2 (Language and/or development region) (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:242-243).

Discriminatory legislation historically undermined "black agriculture" in many parts of the country, largely eliminating the black farming class and rendering many people landless (Van Coller 1991:10, 13). Particularly in the black states there is an increasing landlessness, with a declining proportion of the population working in agriculture, and consequent increasing unemployment (Simkins 1984b:13). Aggravating factors are droughts (Drought ... 1992:1), overcrowding (Gandar & Bromberger 1984:2; Eberhard & Gandar 1984:7), the communal land system, the establishment of, or tightening of control over, game parks (Harries 1984:3-4) and inadequate resources — including knowledge and expertise — for successful agricultural activity.

As indicated in Paragraph 4.2.7 the metropolitan respondents — city dwellers and squatters — to a large extent prescribed an education related solution for poverty. Even their emphasis on assistance in self-employment (metropolitan city dwellers — see Diagram 3), and on the promotion of entrepreneurship (metropolitan squatters — see Diagram 6) probably imply the inclusion of basic education or of training in business skills (over and above, presumably, any financial and legal assistance).

Education in South Africa, even at the lowest levels, falls short of the standard of many other developing countries, and particularly of the requirements of an industrializing nation. The country's literacy rate is only 42 % compared with Botswana's 70 % and Zimbabwe's 75 % (McDonald 1992:56 — quoting Nattrass & Roux). Research findings released by the Urban Foundation in 1988 revealed that barely 2 % of the blacks in the Orange Free State had completed matriculation, 12 % had never attended school, while out of every five pupils one had dropped out at Sub-A level, one had received education up to Std 2 and another one had completed Stds 3, 4 and 5 (McDonald 1992:56).

Urban violence and disruption in schools since about 1976 has led to at least one "lost generation" of youth (McDonald 1992:57), mainly urban or at least metropolitan. However, even under more peaceful circumstances the overcrowding in metropolitan schools and the limited resources for traditionally segregated black education, together with poor socio-economic conditions, kept pupils from school or from progressing at school (*cf.* Engelbrecht & Nieuwenhuis 1988:152-153).

The non-metropolitan respondents' lesser emphasis on education nevertheless should not be interpreted as an indication of adequate facilities in those areas. They have to contend with fewer schools, greater distances, and lower incomes with which to meet school fees and the cost of books and other material (Harries 1984:12). In their study of a certain region in KwaZulu, Gandar and Bromberger (1984:2-3) found that there was a tendency for better-educated people in rural areas to leave the area, although this "brain drain" phenomenon largely involved males (*cf.* Bosman 1989:42).

As suggested earlier the emphasis of metropolitan people on skills training, assistance in self-employment and on the promotion of entrepreneurship may include a strong reference to an educational component. The needs in this respect may arise simply from a shortage of jobs to accommodate the large number of school leavers with an inadequate or very general education (Engelbrecht & Nieuwenhuis 1988:147). However, these needs are usually intensified by a dissonance between the requirements of jobs in a fast-changing and shrinking formal market and the expanding potential work force shaped by a slow-changing educational system (Engelbrecht & Nieuwenhuis 1988:154-155, 167). But when foreign investors withdraw, enterprises close down or retrench workers, or as people move from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas, their need to be retrained or to be equipped for specific activities becomes acute.

Not that retraining and the upgrading of skills — or of jobs — should always follow disruptive conditions. In fact some of the disruption may be prevented if a certain amount of skill upgrading and retraining is part of the mission of an enterprise. In Japan 10 % of the total payroll is spent on education and training (in South Africa it is between 0,5 % and 1,5 %), and in Sweden workers receive four weeks paid leave per year to further their education throughout their working lives (McDonald 1992:61).

As is happening elsewhere in the world it is expected that unions and employers in South Africa will to an increasing degree negotiate on retraining for additional skills and on relocation opportunities. Mature apprenticeships may cease being the prerogative of the educationally deprived, and may be instituted for workers who have already been trained but in a skill that has become redundant (McDonald 1992:61).

Returning to the actual wording of the main choices made by the metropolitan respondents — skills training, assistance in self-employment and promoting entrepreneurship — it is again not certain why the data for the non-metropolitans were placed rather far away from these choices. It should be mentioned however that the point for "promote entrepreneurship" was also placed far away from metropolitan urbanites, most probably indicating the relatively greater need of the metropolitan squatters for a chance to make a living outside the formal market. It is possible on the one hand that many people living in informal settlements have already been so greatly alienated from the formal occupational market that they do not hope to return to it; but on the other hand they might have become more conscious of the many small home-based enterprises that invariably spring up in the informal settlement with its dearth of formal amenities. These enterprises often fit the description of "informal" economic activities which are said to be easy to engage in at home, are seldom registered or recorded, are characterized by adapted (mainly simplified) technology and by skills acquired outside the formal school system.

Although the viability and profitability of these activities are sometimes questioned, they are also claimed to fulfil certain important purposes such as acting as a survival mechanism for the chronically unemployed, providing an income for persons awaiting a job and establishing a training ground for entrepreneurs that would equip them for entry or re-entry into the formal market (Bromley 1978:1033;

Brand 1986:17-18; De Waal 1986:19-20; Penzhorn 1988:16-17). According to Eckert (1992:12) informal economic activities also help to redistribute income among the poor.

In another study undertaken, in September-October 1989, for the HSRC Co-operative Programme: Affordable Material Provision, it was found that of a sample of nearly 1 500 metropolitan urban black households (informal settlement populations had not been included at that stage) about 21,5 % had one or more members participating in the informal economic sector (compared with 10 % or less among the other three population groups). The respondents from nearly 50 % of these households considered the activities performed in the informal economic sector the households's main source of income (Snyman 1990: 28, 33). Some of the participants spent 90 hours or more a week on informal economic activities, with an average per participating black household of 47 hours a week (compared with between 11 and 27 hours a week for the other three population groups) (Snyman 1991:49-53).

However the time spent on these activities did not imply profitability and some authors mention the undeveloped nature of the informal sector, the lack of financial viability, the limited potential for job creation (because of the family orientation of the activities⁹) and the lack of resources, including bookkeeping and marketing skills or even a basic minimum number of years of schooling (De Coning 1985:26; Brand 1986:18; De Waal 1986:20; Kroon 1986:17).

In view of this more negative aspect — and as a conclusion to Section 5.2 (Views on poverty in relation to area) — the respondents' emphasis on the need for skills training, assistance in self-employment and the promotion of entrepreneurship may just be another way of asking for help with job creation and for the provision of an opportunity to earn a living. And the latter represents the category that in any case was mentioned most often by the respondents as a group. In this respect the Small Business Development Corporation has played and can play an important promotive role (Vosloo 1991:47-50).

5.3 The influence of sociodemographic factors (other than area) on views on poverty

5.3.1 The most important predictors

Since the three area categories cover such large and varied geographical regions, each of them represents considerable variance in a number of sociodemographic variables — language group, income, age, education, etc. These variables might have influenced the responses more than the area variable and were therefore used as the frame of reference for further analyses. This influence is described in Section 4.3 and is graphically displayed in the six CHAID diagrams — 7 to 12 of APPENDIX B.

As summarized in Section 4.3.7 — Trends regarding the influence of sociodemographic factors on views of poverty — *language* was the main divider or best predictor of the response patterns revealed in the case of the factor that the respondents considered had contributed most to poverty, the form or destination of financial assistance (including a reaction on whether this was an appropriate way of helping the poor), and the best way of preventing or combating poverty. *Age* was the best predictor of the responses obtained for the most appropriate way of assisting the (currently) poor; *income*

differentiated between those fixing their views of a poverty line at a lower income level and those placing their estimate of poverty at higher levels; and the *reading of a daily paper* revealed differentiation in the responses for the type of bodies that should provide financial support (including a reaction on whether this was an appropriate way of helping the poor). *Education* appeared to interact with income as the best predictor and in one instance with language.

While age and income are fairly common predictors, the language one speaks, and whether or not one reads a daily paper seemed rather indirect and obscure determinants of the types of opinions surveyed. They were therefore subsequently analyzed in relation to the other sociodemographic variables (Section 4.4 ----- Associations among the independent variables). Since the latter analysis did not include responses for the dependent variables (the six questions) it will not be discussed by itself any further except to point to apparent interactions that help to tie this discussion to other studies and the literature.

A notable finding was the tendency of the *Xhosa speakers*, and in a few instances the *Swazis* (in one case also the *Tswanas*) to respond differently from the other language groups. Starting with the more basic characteristics, the Xhosas and Swazis had smaller proportions of high-income respondents, with about 70 % of each group receiving less than R800 a month compared with about 50 % of the other language groups falling in this income category. Together with the Tswana speakers the Xhosas and Swazis also had relatively smaller proportions of respondents who had reached an educational level beyond Std 7, namely about a third (see Section 4.4.1).

These findings might have influenced, or contributed to:

- the respondents' views on a poverty datum line (see Diagram 7 where the less educated estimated lower levels of income as a poverty datum line than the better educated);
- the Xhosas' emphasis on cash as the preferred form of financial assistance (nearly 40 % of this language group compared with 25 % of the total sample — see Diagram 11);
- The Xhosa and Swazi respondents' emphasis on job creation as the best way of combating or preventing poverty (almost 67 %); and when they divide further according to level of education, the even heavier concentration of the less educated among them at this choice.

If one looks only at the *Xhosa-speaking respondents* and connects the findings just mentioned with those of Diagram 8, namely that the Xhosas considered sanctions against South Africa and a lack of economic growth (together with insufficient job opportunities) as major contributory factors to poverty, the picture that emerges is one of low income, a low level of education, and economic deterioration coupled with high unemployment. As most of the respondents spoke the dominant language of the region where they were domiciled at the time of the study (Table 8) one may assume that the above findings reflect the conditions found in the region. In this respect the poor conditions prevailing in the Eastern Cape have already been referred to (Note 4).

However the poor scores obtained by the respondents in that region on a series of development indicators were equal, second or third to those obtained in one or two other regions (Note 4). One of the regions is Development Region G ----- the Northern and North-Eastern Transvaal which includes

three struggling black states and is subject to frequent and persistent drought conditions (Drought ... 1992:1). (According to the Development Bank of Southern Africa, Region G has the second-lowest literacy rate, the highest infant mortality rate, the highest total fertility rate, the highest dependency ratio and the lowest absorption capacity of the formal economic sector in the country (Centre for Information Analysis 1991; fertility rate and literacy rate — DBSA 1992 unpublished information).) As a group the respondents from Regions G and F — Northern Sotho, Swazi and Shangaan/Tsonga speakers — were clearly in favour of *food* as the way financial assistance should be channelled to the poor (Diagram 11), and they featured almost as strongly with regard to the *cash* option, although not when compared to the Xhosas' almost 40 % in favour of cash.

Although all *age* groups favoured the provision of job opportunities as the best way of assisting the poor, it was shown (diagram 9) that the proportion increased with age while the emphasis on formal education and skills training decreased with age. It may be significant that the two groups with comparatively larger proportions of people above 54 years of age¹⁰, namely the Tswanas (23 %) and the Swazis (26 %) (Paragraph 4.4.1), constituted two of the three groups — the other being the Xhosas — with significantly larger proportions of respondents who had only reached Std 7. Among the Xhosa speakers the proportion of respondents older than 54 years was 15 %, and among the Northern Sotho, 17 % — both still fairly high. If it is true that the aged, notably the black aged, tend to remain in or return to non-metropolitan areas (more particularly to the national state whose language they speak (cf. Bosman 1989: 42)), then these findings can be connected with those on the non-metropolitan respondents' emphasis on job-related factors as displayed in Diagrams 2, 3 and 6 and discussed in greater detail in Section 5.2 (Views on poverty in relation to area). Although the picture may be a bit blurred, one is left with an impression of fair proportions of *aged* in some *non-metropolitan* areas where the level of *education* is generally low and *jobs very scarce*.

Another pattern which, although also somewhat hazy, does seem to present itself, relates to the preference for *direct financial assistance* as the best way of assisting the poor: the *non-metropolitans* clustered fairly closely to this choice in the correspondence analysis (depicted in Diagram 3 and discussed in Paragraph 4.2.3). As the *age* of the respondents increased, more of them chose this option (although the percentages in favour of the choice were generally low compared with those for providing a job opportunity) (Diagram 9). As stated earlier in this section, a large proportion of the Xhosas and a quarter of the people from the Northern and Eastern Transvaal (Northern Sotho, Swazi and Shangaan/Tsonga) chose *cash* as the form financial assistance to the poor should take (Diagram 11).

The question now arises: How do these findings on the influence of sociodemographic variables (other than "Area": metropolitan-non-metropolitan, etc.) on the specific sample and subsamples relate to findings from other studies and to the literature on the subject of poverty? The variables of major importance here have been found to be the language spoken (found to be related to specific geographic or political region), age, income and education. And these predictor variables were related in one way or another to such choices (among the response variables) as jobs, education and training, and financial assistance as the best way of helping the poor; food and cash as the preferred form of

financial or material assistance; jobs and educational opportunities as best way of preventing or combating poverty; and an income of less than R250 a month as the poverty datum line.

Even if one did not have information on the low incomes of the group (discussed in Paragraphs 4.1, 4.3.1 and 4.4), their estimate of the poverty datum line might have suggested it. Deleecck and Van den Bosch (1992:108-112) evaluated different income poverty lines applied mainly in Europe and found that (i) in answering a question on the minimum income their family needed to be able to make ends meet, the amount mentioned increased systematically with the actual income of the households; and (ii) in answering a question on whether the family was managing easily or with difficulty on their monthly income, those households that answered "with some difficulty" (but not "great difficulty") just managed to balance their budgets and this (their) income was the particular family's estimate of the minimum income needed.

Perhaps a question referring so specifically to poverty — as the one in the study on which this report is based — would cause the estimate of a smaller amount across the board than would a question on what income would be needed to (barely) manage. It is possible that a figure closer to the social grant for the aged, disabled, etc. — under R400 a month — would have been closer to most of the respondents' estimates of the amount needed for a minimum level of living. In any event, a comparison of the proportion (about 86 %) of the respondents who considered households poor if their monthly income was below R750, with the just more than 60 % who reported an income for their own households of less than R800 a month, reveals a rather wide gap. Perhaps an estimated minimum-level-of-income-line would be a better proxy for income than a view-of-poverty-line. It might at least eliminate the large proportions of non-responses (almost 10 % refused to answer or did not know the household income).

Other authors confirm the considerable interwovenness of some of the sociodemographic variables, particularly income and education (read Diagram 7 and Diagram 12 together with the cross-tabulations of language and income and language and education as discussed in Paragraph 4.4.1). Deleecck and Van den Bosch (1992:112-113), in describing the social structure of poverty, present a syndrome of *inter alia* low income (high unemployment) and a low level of education, together with the extreme youth or the relatively high age of the household head, and citizenship of a non-"European Community" country. In a discussion on the culturally deprived or the environmentally disadvantaged, Bosman (1989:15-16, quoting Ulmer (1989)), describes level of income and level of education as a chicken-and-egg proposition because the lack of education leads to low income but poor income hampers the development of an aptitude and opportunity for learning.

How can incomes be raised? The respondents mainly mentioned jobs, followed by education and material assistance. In this respect reference has already been made to Eckert's recommendations on "labour intensive social investment", firstly to put money in the hands of the poor, but also to establish social infrastructure, create new internal markets and contribute to export (Eckert 1992:11, 18). He specifically emphasizes the value of smaller and informal enterprises, and of education — the latter also to effect greater income equality among the different population groups in South Africa (Eckert 1992:12, 17).

Direct financial assistance, particularly if it is received from or *via* the state and in the form of cash (the latter two choices having been mentioned by a significant proportion(s) of the respondents in certain subsamples), would most probably mean the horizontal and vertical expansion of social security, particularly towards and among the blacks. Williamson (1987:205-227) quotes comparative research in respect of a number of developing countries, indicating that if the researchers controlled for level of development¹¹, the nations that allocated a greater share of government resources to social security programmes, tended to end up with a higher physical quality of life for their citizens, particularly the poor. (However the growth of industrial technology which leads to modernization and then to an increase in national production, was found to be a more important process for increasing the standard of living, also for the poor.) Simkins (1984a) discusses welfare expenditure in a broader sense and shows that if a considerable degree of equalization in the per capita spending on welfare for the different population groups were to be brought about, the state would have to "reduce the level of its commitment in respect of whites" (p. 38). Such a measure would certainly not please many whites but Eckert (1992:23) presents data showing that the incomes received and then spent by whites have a very modest multiplier effect among blacks, whereas in the reverse instance, the black incomes spent generate considerable income for whites. Simply put, blacks spend their income in the white establishment to a far greater extent than whites spend their income on behalf of blacks. Were this more widely understood, the whites "might be able to agree to a disproportionate skewness in the distribution of annual growth increments toward the black population ..." (Eckert 1992:23).¹²

5.3.2 Language and/or development region

The findings reveal that people speaking certain African languages experience deprivation in several spheres of their lives. The landlessness and lack of real or regular income of many people in the black states have been mentioned (Simkins 1984b:12-13). However, studies undertaken in respect of specific black states may illuminate and supplement some of the findings of this study. The poor scores on a number of indicators achieved by Development Regions D and G have already been discussed. The respondents from the *Northern and Eastern Transvaal* (Region G and part of Region F) showed a unique response pattern only with regard to the form in which financial assistance should be given, in that they chose food first of all and then cash. In other analyses they shared the response patterns of the Western and Southern Sotho and the Zulu speakers in their emphasis on unequal educational opportunities and apartheid as important contributors to poverty, and the scrapping of apartheid and the provision of educational opportunities as ways of preventing poverty. (Job-related factors, of course, were uppermost in the minds of most of the respondents.)

In his report on a study of three regions of Gazankulu (mostly Shangaan/Tsonga-speaking people) in the north-eastern corner of the Transvaal, Harries (1984) discusses the following facets of poverty found in those parts: a variety of taxes, levies and fees to keep the system running; land shortage and worsening drought conditions which not only kill off the cattle and the crops but also many veld foods such as locusts, worms, snails and cane rats as well as many kinds of wild fruit; limited job markets

with very low wages; limited clean water and very expensive reticulation systems; extreme malnutrition in children and a high infant mortality rate; a lack of fuel concomitant with desperate efforts by the authorities to stop the process of deforestation; limited and expensive building materials; and a small educational budget despite education being a priority of the government of Gazankulu.

There is an obvious interwovenness between poor agricultural conditions, limited job opportunities and taxes that have to be paid; and songs quoted by Harries (1984:4-7) show the despair about the droughts, the food shortages and the malnutrition but also about the very low wages, especially for the women who do not become long-distance migrants like the men. (*cf.* Kotzé 1991:2.)

Extra pressure is placed on the people by a system of two local public administrators, namely the magistrate and the traditional chief, several of whose functions overlap. They maintain and administer different funds to which people have to contribute the abovementioned levies or fees and some of the taxes. For many of the local people the difference between these payments is obscure, and they consequently consider all these payments to be "fines" (Harries 1984:1-2).

In a report summarizing and contextualizing all the research undertaken for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, Wilson and Ramphela (1989:101-102) refer to the above and other studies that highlight the exceptionally high incidence of malnutrition in Gazankulu. However they mention that studies done in KwaZulu, the Ciskei and other parts of the Eastern Cape, the Northern Cape and the Northern Transvaal revealed similarly high figures for malnutrition, or of stunting, a certain indicator of long-term malnutrition (*cf.* Rural ... 1992:3). In other words, one is dealing with a mainly rural or non-metropolitan phenomenon, as practically all the case studies and vignettes included by Wilson and Ramphela (1989:100-105) seem to suggest, as does the analysis on the most desirable form of financial assistance. Food as a choice was placed fairly close to non-metropolitans (Diagram 5, APPENDIX A).

Alamgir and Arora (1991:106) speak of the rural poor as the "food-insecure" and state that the population of the Southern African region (not including South Africa in respect of which they apparently had no information) had a "very poor" nutritional and food security status compared with the "poor" and "fair" statuses of the majority of the 78 developing countries they studied (Alamgir & Arora 1991:55).

Many of the characteristics and obstacles found in the Gazankulu areas studied by Harries (1984) are listed by Alamgir and Arora (1991:55-56) in relation to the Southern African region: limited funds for agriculture, high urban migration, an ever-increasing number of female-headed households in the rural sector, rapid growth in the public sector, an extreme shortage of trained manpower and very small domestic markets.

They recommend short-term solutions such as emergency food relief — *inter alia* to save lives, to prevent people from eating potentially lethal famine foods or seed and prevent the sale of assets — and long-term approaches such as food-for-work programmes, the development of micro-enterprises, small-scale agriculture and fisheries, and price stabilization schemes (Alamgir & Arora 1991:122-141).

Wilson and Ramphela (1989:339-340) state that a food policy could have a major impact on health and therefore on life-expectancy, even where average income was very low. They recommend the

emulation of the Sri Lanka food stamp programme which stimulated food production and the creation of jobs. Such a programme obviously combines short-term and long-term approaches.

Since this discussion on food arose in the first place from the main choices selected by the respondents of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal, it is appropriate to return briefly to that region and mention the very high birth rate, already referred to once before (especially Region G whose fertility rate and dependency ratio are the highest in the country (Centre for Information Analysis 1991; DBSA 1992)).¹³ Wilson and Ramphela (1989:246-247) also highlight the exceptionally high birth average per woman in the Northern Transvaal — six, but with extremes of up to 18 children — but agree with other authors that the desire to limit family size is probably linked to a more urban life-style.

The *Zulu* speakers, as well as the Western and Southern Sotho respondents, chose mainly a basic dwelling as the form financial assistance should take (although the Sothos spread their choices more evenly between "not in favour of financial assistance", "a basic dwelling" and "food") (Diagram 11). It was also shown (in Diagram 5) that the metropolitan urbanites chose the basic dwelling option more often than anything else or anyone else, and Wilson and Ramphela (1989:125-128) discuss the overcrowding of urban dwellings, for example on the Witwatersrand, and mention specifically the deplorable conditions in migrant hostels.

Minnaar (1992) describes the informal settlements of the Greater Durban Region where many *Zulu* speakers live, and mentions the lack of security of tenure, the control of the rentlords and their exorbitant rents and the high level of violence in these areas. Over decades several factors have led to the rapid rural to urban migration in Natal, which has made the Greater Durban region the fastest-growing urban area in South Africa (Minnaar 1992).

Gandar and Bromberger describe the high population densities of KwaZulu (1984:2-3) and also show how much worse that situation would have been, had an additional 2,5 members per household of about 10,5 not lived elsewhere. However these absentee members are usually men leaving behind female-based households which support a large number of dependents, a situation which usually aggravates the poor socio-economic conditions of the black states.

Mullins (1991:3) and Eckert (1992:11) sketch the shortage of housing for blacks in more general terms and recommend investment in low-cost housing not only as a viable and affordable alternative for conventional housing but also as a labour-intensive activity that would multiply jobs and circulate income. Lukhele (1992:1-3) explains that saving enough for a house is one of the biggest obstacles to black home-ownership, even at the low-cost level, and describes the role of rotating credit associations as savings clubs in this respect. The National Stokvels Association of South Africa (NASASA) has already gone a long way towards developing such schemes.

On the factor that had contributed most to poverty, the *Zulu* respondents also formed part of the cluster which included all but the *Xhosas*, and on the best way of preventing/combatting poverty the cluster that excluded only the *Swazis* and the *Xhosas* (Diagrams 8 and 12). Apart from job-related factors, these clusters stressed education, and the legislative framework — more than the other two groups which moved in a different direction at the splitting of the data.

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:138 *et seq.*) refer to research undertaken in KwaZulu, quoting not only the large proportion of persons who had never attended school in the district researched, but also the proportion (one-third) of teenagers who had never been to school. And "(t)he story is much the same in other reserves" (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:139).

As was discussed in Section 5.2 (Views on poverty in relation to "area"), providing equal educational opportunities and the scrapping of discriminatory legislation and practices were desired to a larger extent by the metropolitan urbanites while the non-metropolitans felt job scarcity more acutely. Wilson and Ramphele's discussion of inadequate and unequal schooling resources pertain to the situation of South African blacks — and in a few instances to coloureds — in general when they describe the racially-based differences in school subsidies in South Africa and the historical development of this inequality, as well as the "lack of quality" in black schools. Malnutrition, school boycotting and structural violence with regard to black youth exacerbate the situation (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:145-146; 149).

Gandar and Bromberger (1984:3) recommend giving more emphasis to training other than schooling, especially the acquisition of skills that could lead to self-employment in the trades (artisans). (The connection between basic education and entrepreneurship was discussed in Section 5.2 with regard to the metropolitan urbanites and particularly metropolitan squatters' preferences.)

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:341) recommend a single unified, though not necessarily uniform system of education, which would start by redistributing national educational resources, notably through "open" schools. In the end, however, they feel that such a distribution would only be accomplished by a truly national(ly representative) government.

The *Xhosa* and Swazi response patterns were remarked on earlier, particularly those of the Xhosas which distinguished themselves from most of the other groups in all three of the analyses where language was the main divider. Taken separately the Xhosas mentioned job scarcity and to a lesser but still significant extent, sanctions and the lack of economic growth as the main factor(s) contributing to poverty. They emphasized the job issue more than the other groups, and their concentration on direct cash as the desired form that financial assistance should take, was perhaps not unexpected (Diagram 11). According to Wilson and Ramphele (1989:242-243) the Xhosas and others outside the "white" areas had lost many agricultural jobs (in maize harvesting for example the number decreased from 100 to 20 per 1 000 ha. of maize harvested during the period 1968-1981), mainly on white-owned farms that had been mechanizing for a long time, or had been suffering from serious agricultural problems (Kotze & Theron 1992:1-12). Meantime the population has grown quite rapidly; although the population doubling time for Region D, part of which is the Xhosas' land of origin, is better — in other words longer — than seven of the 10 developing regions, namely 34,7 years. (The worst, or shortest population doubling time is 21,2 years, for Region G — Centre for Information Analysis 1991.) Wilson and Ramphele (1989:246) point out that in the more settled areas of the Eastern Cape, e.g. Ciskei, there is a high rate of contraceptive practice, but a considerably lower rate in the resettlement villages — similarly to some of the metropolitan informal settlements. The infant mortality rate was also found to be very high in the resettlement areas (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:110).

In the earlier reference to the Northern Transvaal's high birthrate Wilson and Ramphele (1989:246-247) also mention the association between a reasonably settled life — including adequate jobs and a desire to decrease family size. Sadie (1991:12-13) however indicates that jobs are created by people, especially by certain kinds or categories among them. He shows that the numbers of the two major employment creating categories entrepreneurial/managerial/executive and highly skilled — are increasing far more slowly than those of the less skilled, the unskilled, etc. The first two groups are expected to constitute only 12 % of the population by the year 2005 compared with close to 15 % in 1991. Of the total increment in population between these years (a 15-year period, roughly) these two groups are expected to account for only about 15,5 %.

It should be mentioned however that because of increasing improvement in the opportunities for upward occupational mobility, the composition of the labour force portion of the population should reveal a somewhat better picture than does that of the general population.

One final cluster that can be dealt with separately is the cluster of the *Southern* and *Western Sotho* speakers. They basically displayed metropolitan, and to some extent metro squatter response patterns, claiming that apartheid and discriminatory legislation, and unequal educational opportunities were important contributory factors for poverty (also lack of job opportunity but not to the extent mentioned by the groups that displayed a different pattern of response); a basic dwelling was favoured, *inter alia*, as the form financial assistance should take (see also the discussion of the Zulu speakers' choice in this respect), and besides job creation the scrapping of apartheid and discriminatory legislation and the provision of educational opportunities were considered the best ways of combating/preventing poverty. However their response pattern resembled the non-metropolitan urban response in their relative resistance to financial aid on the one hand but emphasis on food on the other (see also the discussion on the respondents from the Northern and Eastern Transvaal in the latter respect).

Discussions of socio-economic situations tend to return to income, and the income levels found in Soweto were referred to in Section 4.1 of this report (*cf.* Wilson & Ramphele 1989:67-68). Other references found relate *inter alia* to:

- Botswana (Western Sotho) from where many people migrate to work in the South African mines and homes because of the lack of resources with which to farm — assuming that they owned land (many do not) in those very arid parts. Many people work closer to their homes doing farm work for others in exchange for food and a portion of the crop, the latter income being dependent upon the materialization of the crop (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:73-75).
- North-western and Western Transvaal where economic disintegration has been taking place with regard to white farms in particular, but including the many black women, children and elderly living on those farms (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:89; Kotze & Theron 1992:1-12).
- The Northern Cape where unemployment is rife (Scheffer 1992:10) mainly as a result of redundancy retrenchment from the mines. Here the small rural towns are "unemployment traps" because there are no jobs in the local economy but people are too poor and lacking in credentials to find work elsewhere (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:90). In mid-1987 stunting was

found to characterize about 80 % of the children in two Northern Cape villages studied by Operation Hunger. In one area in the region the diet of blacks was found to be more lacking in variety than that of the poor whites in the 1920s (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:102, 105, 113; cf. Scheffer 1992:10; cf. Rural ... 1992:3). Moreover food prices were higher in the Northern Cape rural areas (towns) than for instance in Cape Town, and this was found to be true even of foodstuffs subject to price control (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:105-106).

- The Northern and Eastern Orange Free State where the problems for blacks are similar to those found in the Northern Cape: jobs available elsewhere but transport, accommodation and skills require a certain capital outlay which the long-term unemployed do not have (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:90-91).

Like the Zulus the Western and Southern Sotho respondents favoured a "basic dwelling" (even in preference to food) as the best form of financial assistance. If there is a choice between overcrowding or starvation, people are more likely to choose overcrowding, state Wilson and Ramphele (1989:124-125); and at least some of the overcrowding in the PWV area arises from the quest for nutrition which cannot be satisfied in other areas, particularly in some of the non-metropolitan areas like those mentioned above where dietary and nutritional conditions are exceptionally poor. This overcrowding could amount to an average of more than 20 persons per house in Soweto (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:125), and the situation will certainly not improve if one compares the number of houses being built with the number of children born (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:125-126 — quoting T.D. Wilson).

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Perceptions of poverty

The nearly 800 respondents included in the survey on which this report is based can be considered as generally very poor with about one-third of the households receiving less than R800 a month and another quarter reporting no income at all. It is therefore not surprising that few of them considered people poor if they received more than R750 a month. There obviously was some connection between their views on poverty and their own income.

It is suggested however that a question on the basic financial requirements of a household might render more useful information, both on perceptions of poverty and on actual levels of income — although people with extremely small incomes may fix their estimate of a minimum level of living at a level considerably higher than their own meagre income.

6.2 Contributing factors to and solutions for poverty

The lack of job opportunities as the major contributing factor, and the creation of work/giving of jobs as the best way of helping the already poor (microlevel) and of preventing or combating poverty on a

meso/macro level were uppermost in the minds of the majority of the respondents. Non-metropolitans felt the need for jobs particularly urgently as did the respondents originally from — or still living in — specific regions (Xhosa and Swazi) and the older respondents.

When the need for more direct assistance is examined more closely, hard cash, food and a basic dwelling were emphasized in this order by about a quarter of the group although a fair proportion categorically preferred indirect rather than direct assistance. Again, the people from certain geographical areas expressed a greater need than others for specific forms of assistance, for example Xhosas for cash, Northern and Eastern Sothos for food, Zulus for a basic dwelling, etc.

However the overall picture was one of need that is very widespread. In certain respects the views of the Western and Southern Sotho were similar to those of the people of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal; in other respects the latter two groups expressed views like those of the Xhosas, while the difference in response patterns between the Zulus on the one hand and the Southern and Western Sotho on the other was merely a matter of degree: the Zulus stressed "a basic dwelling" a little more than the others did, but the data obtained from the people from both areas clustered essentially on that point.

The metropolitan respondents' emphasis on the past and future role of discriminatory legislation, and of education and skills training also cuts across many ethnic-regional connections. For the purposes of this report, recommendations will therefore be general, although the body of the report contains sufficient information on which to base more targeted interventions.

- **Job creation** should be pursued as a process of development and not made dependent on the solution of political problems, economic growth or any other events or conditions that are usually considered prerequisites for the expansion of job opportunities. Labour intensiveness should be promoted, also in high-technology and middle-technology environments like sophisticated and advanced construction and electronics. In a country that imports its machinery and high-technology equipment as expensively as South Africa does, it should be possible, through on-the-job training and task specialization to employ greater numbers of currently low-skilled people. The "total-institution" nature of most of South Africa's formal employers should give way to more open systems where people can move in and out of the periphery, doing subcontracting, "piece-work", limited-hours work, etc.
- Support for **small business and entrepreneurship** should include both training and a certain amount of financial risk-taking, particularly for categories of entrepreneurs that traditionally have not been popular with business development or other job-promoting bodies: women, the disabled, early school leavers and ex-prisoners are some examples.

The role of **non-governmental organizations (NGOs)** in South Africa should also change in this respect. The very poor, particularly if they are not gainfully employed, cannot spend time at clubs for the aged or for young adults, at women's unions or at sewing circles, unless they can benefit economically as well as socially or culturally. Educational talks and recreational

activities cannot in themselves be a priority unless they can help to improve marketable skills or form part of income-generating activities.

A CODESA, a negotiating council or any other body revising, or creating afresh, socio-political structures and processes for Southern Africa should have a visible emphasis on job creation, preferably attended to by a special arm of the unit or committee dealing with the economy in general.

- Although education and skills training, assistance in self-employment and the promotion of entrepreneurship were favoured more by metropolitan than by non-metropolitan people, other studies referred to show that the former are unlikely to be the worst-off educationally because the better-trained are inclined to leave the non-metropolitan areas for the cities. This flight to urban areas can be slowed down by extensive rural educational programmes with a strong technical and income-generating component. Use should be made of the unique resources of each particular environment, be they wattle trees, driftwood, leather, feathers or whatever can be found, cultivated or produced in the immediate vicinity of workers or potential work seekers.
- Current nutritional support programmes should be continued and extended. Although such programmes may be targeted to certain categories of people, such as lactating mothers, young children, etc., it should be understood that it would be unrealistic and unreasonable to expect a hungry family to feed only one of its members while the others starved. Moreover, although those who administer nutritional programmes may be committed to long-term development and eventual self-sufficiency for the people of the particular region or community, they should appreciate the need for and value of immediate life-saving work.
- A greater input by society in low-cost housing would create jobs, distribute income and to some extent encourage economic growth because of the stimulation of the markets that provide materials. Low-cost electrification should be considered for its multiplier and job-creation effects, but it should be accompanied by skills training so that household electricity can be applied to generate income and not only to save labour.

7. CONCLUDING REMARK

Some of the macro contributing factors to or causes of poverty have not been included in the original question-response set nor were they mentioned in the "open" questions, for example the excessive monopolies of financial power in South Africa, the weak tradition of entrepreneurship among the majority of the South African population and the variability of the international economy.

Several indicators of poverty or underdevelopment as applied by other bodies would have been masked in this study by the emphasis placed in the questions on need or on more obvious contributing factors in the poverty syndromes. For example high infant mortality rates, poor child health

conditions, etc. have barely been mentioned. This masking has been broadened by collapsing or combining categories for the sake of slightly more advanced analyses.

However the basic requirements have become fairly clear: The expansion of employment and the improvement of employability or income-generating ability are the top priorities, while nutritional improvement and access to ready cash should be brought about simultaneously and by more direct means. People who do not possess the means of survival cannot wait for education or a yet-to-be-created job.

NOTES

1. It is not possible to transcribe all the interprofile information onto a two-dimensional display. A measure of the completeness of the summary provided by the display — in other words the amount of variation explained — can be calculated. For all six diagrams (1 to 6) the "fit" is almost 1,00 (100 % of the variation explained) (Du Toit, Steyn & Stumpf 1984:92-101).
2. Metropolitan areas comprise the PWV complex (Pretoria, Johannesburg, East Rand, West Rand and South Rand), the Durban complex, the Port Elizabeth complex, Bloemfontein and the Cape (Town) Peninsula. For the purpose of this survey the non-metropolitan areas comprise selected (18) black areas from most of the development regions as well as cities and towns in the four self-governing states that had been selected — KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Ka-Ngwane. The areas selected in the development regions were *inter alia* Botshabelo, Welkom, East London, Ermelo, Kimberley and Klerksdorp.
3. Slightly more than 27 % of the sample indicated that their household (meaning the husband and wife) had no income (from all (any) sources). This is a relatively high figure, and it may be useful in future to ask about the respondent's personal source of income or maintenance, or to take into consideration the value of livestock and other produce produced and consumed or bartered, as well as the value of gifts received in kind. (See for example Gandar & Bromberger 1984:8-14).
4. The official unemployment rate in 1990 for Development Region D, where most of the Xhosa speakers are found or from where they migrate, was 24,7 %. This is the highest of all the development regions. The second highest rate was found in Region E, Natal, where the population also includes a certain proportion of Xhosa speakers. Region D displays unfavourable scores on several other socio-economic or development indicators, and reveals, for instance, the second-highest total fertility rate of all the regions (3,6 %), the third-lowest literacy rate (66,2 %), the second-highest dependency ratio (3,1), the second-lowest formal-sector absorption capacity (33,7 %), while it and the OFS (Region C) jointly have the second-highest place for infant mortality rate (54 per 1 000 live births) (Centre for Information Analysis 1991; fertility rate and literacy rate — DBSA (1992) unpublished information). However it should be pointed out that only about half of the Xhosa speakers in the sample were found (interviewed) in Region D. (See Table 8 in Section 4.4.1.) The rest were found in the subsamples of the other regions — approximately 25 % of them in the Cape Peninsula and the Western Cape.
5. It is not certain whether the two categories: voluntary community organization, and local authority — municipality, etc. — should have been combined. The assumption was that both are characterized by neighbourhood participation. However a municipality usually has

jurisdiction over a wider area than for example a *stokvel* does, and often the participation of ordinary citizens in municipal affairs is minimal, particularly when compared to the participation level of the *stokvel* or other mutual aid organizations. Especially in those cases where most of the disposable income of a municipality does not come from the people over whom it has jurisdiction, the municipality is a public authority rather like the state.

6. This warning on the validity of the chi-square test applies also to the associations found with regard to income, level of education and age.
7. In spite of the fact that the critical values of the chi-square figures were generally large and the significance of the associations high throughout, one would have expected such a large response group to render even larger values for the chi-square test. But some of the variables are not truly continuous, or in the case of rankable discrete variables the order of the categories is not beyond dispute. For example income, occupation and watching TV include categories of data that are in effect "not applicable".
8. The first seven references are all papers of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa (1984) and are presented here in numerical order — 7, 56, 67, 147, 148, 154 and 156 — although the numbers are not listed. In the REFERENCES they are listed alphabetically according to authors' surnames.
9. The "limited potential for job creation" of the family-centred informal or small business refers to South African circumstances and not to the small business concern in North America which could have up to 99 employees. Such businesses are purported to be responsible for creating as many as eight out of ten new jobs in that region (Howard 1990:88).
10. It should be kept in mind that the significance of the relation between age and language group was borderline, and that "Area" (metropolitan, squatters and non-metropolitan) was not cross-tabulated with any of the other sociodemographic variables. A table "Age" and "Area" might have revealed a stronger relation.
11. Level of development may not be the only variable that should be controlled. Even in developed countries particular problems may require a large investment in social security which does not necessarily reflect the state's commitment to development or to a higher quality of life. In the case of Denmark the very large investment measured in the early 1980s could be explained by a high unemployment rate which at that time had not (yet) hit the other Scandinavian countries. Moreover, partly to cope with the unemployment problem, the state in Denmark actively promoted early retirement, more so than other Scandinavian countries, which of necessity led to heavier demands on state welfare (Daatland 1992:35).
12. In quoting Eckert it should however be pointed out that he did not refer to direct social security payments to the poor.

13. **The UN Population Fund, in its first report in 10 years, highlighted the serious global situation regarding the relation between food production and population growth: Food production fell behind population growth in 69 out of 102 developing countries during the 1980s. The situation is expected to deteriorate in this decade, particularly in Africa and South Asia (People that ... 1992:2).**

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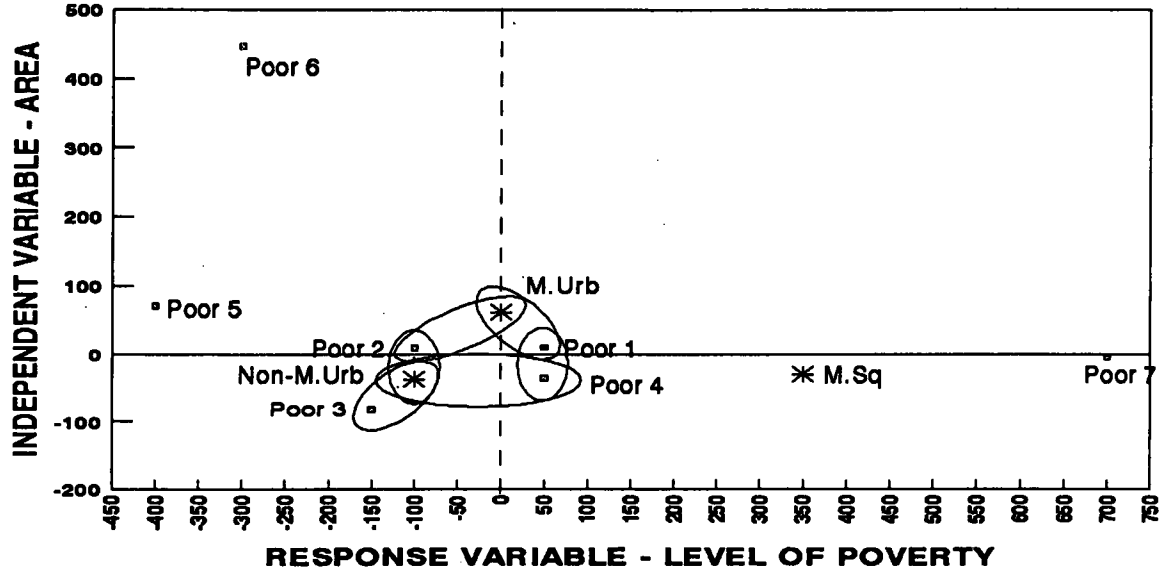
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APPENDIX A

Diagrams 1 to 6

DIAGRAM 1

PERCEPTIONS OF "POVERTY LEVEL" BY "AREA"

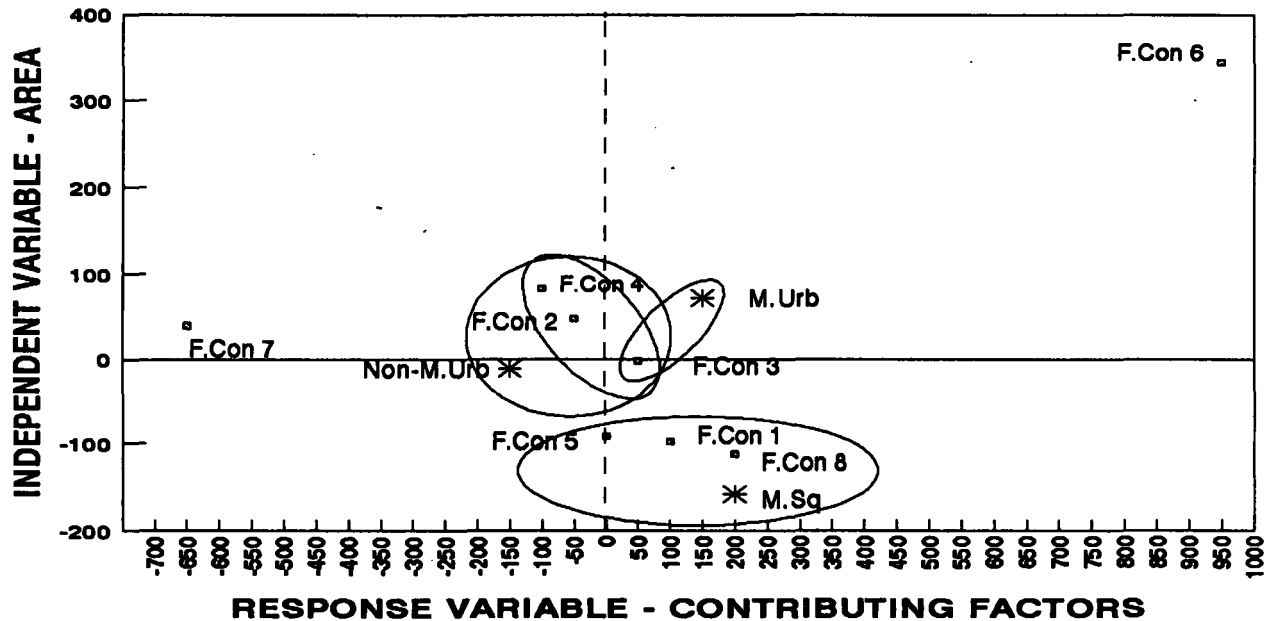


* M.Sq = Metropolitan squatters
 M.Urb = Metropolitan urban
 Non-M.Urb = Non-metropolitan urban

■ Poor 1 = Less than R250 a month
 Poor 2 = Less than R500 a month
 Poor 3 = Less than R750 a month
 Poor 4 = Less than R 1000 a month
 Poor 5 = Less than R1 500 a month
 Poor 6 = Less than R2 000 a month
 Poor 7 = Less than R3 000 a month

DIAGRAM 2

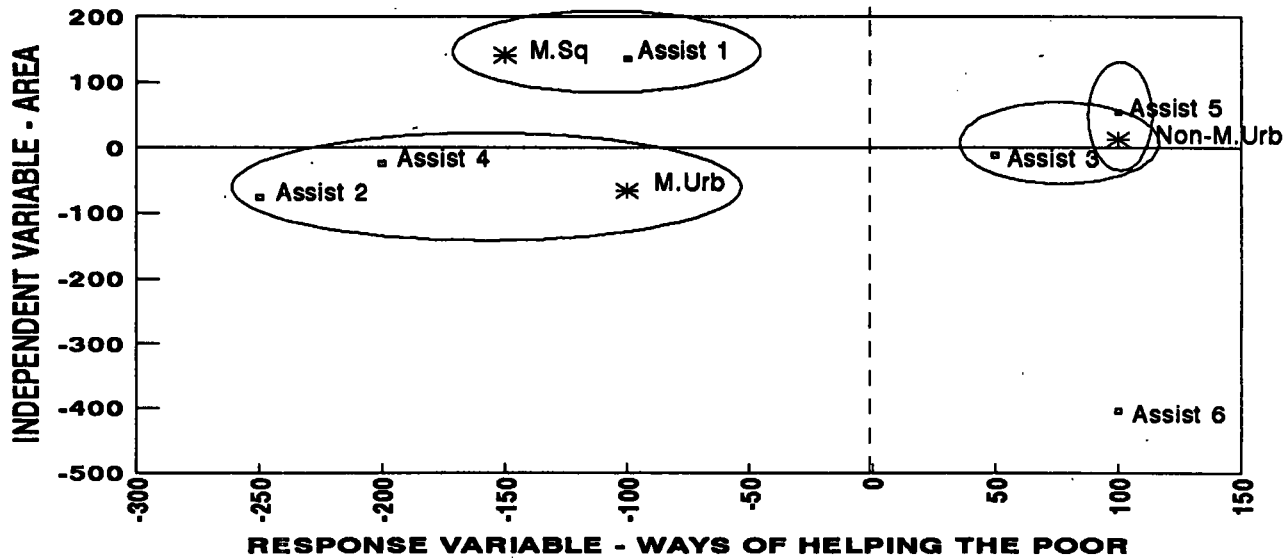
CONTRIBUTING FACTORS BY "AREA"



- * For "area" labels see Diagram 1
- F.Con 1 = Sanctions against SA
- F.Con 2 = Limited economic growth
- F.Con 3 = Insufficient job opportunities
- F.Con 4 = Apartheid/Discriminatory legislation
- F.Con 5 = Unequal educational opportunities
- F.Con 6 = Unrest in the townships
- F.Con 7 = Lack of support for the disadvantaged
- F.Con 8 = Other factors

DIAGRAM 3

WAYS OF HELPING THE POOR BY "AREA"

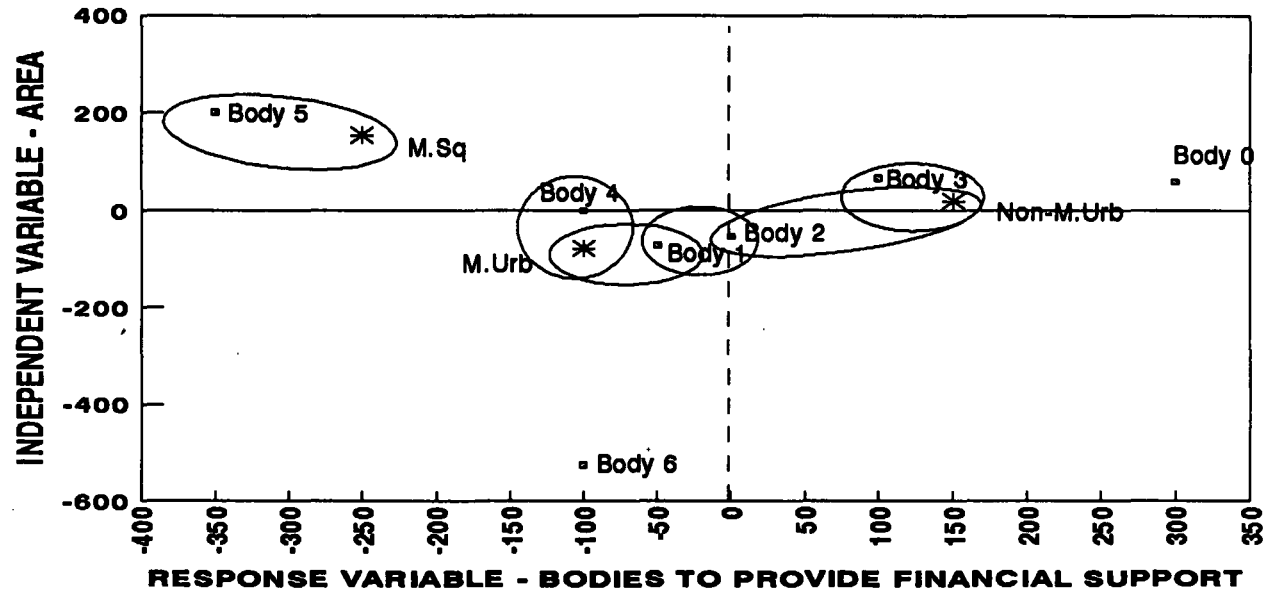


* For "area" labels see Diagram 1

- Assist 1 = Provide formal education
- Assist 2 = Provide skills training
- Assist 3 = Provide a job opportunity
- Assist 4 = Provide assistance in self-employment
- Assist 5 = Provide direct financial assistance
- Assist 6 = Other

DIAGRAM 4

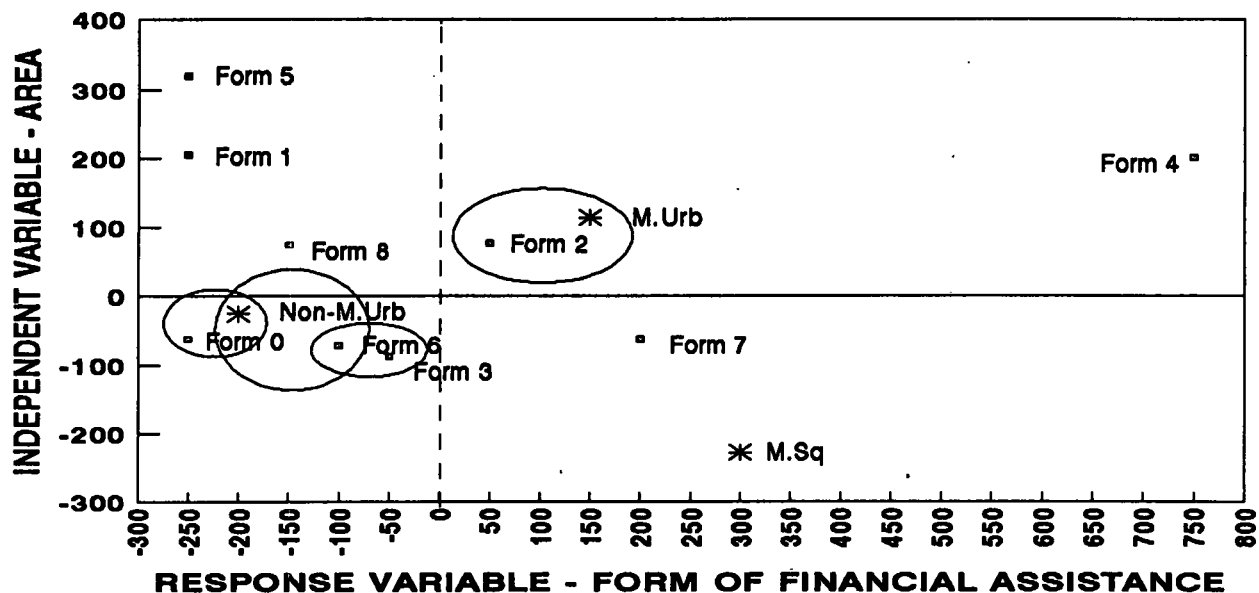
BODIES TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT BY "AREA"



- * For "area" labels see Diagram 1
- Body 0 = Not applicable; not in favour of financial assistance
- Body 1 = A voluntary community organisation (e.g. a "stokvel")
- Body 2 = A welfare agency (e.g. Operation Hunger)
- Body 3 = A local authority (e.g. a municipality)
- Body 4 = The state (e.g. a welfare department)
- Body 5 = The business community
- Body 6 = Other

DIAGRAM 5

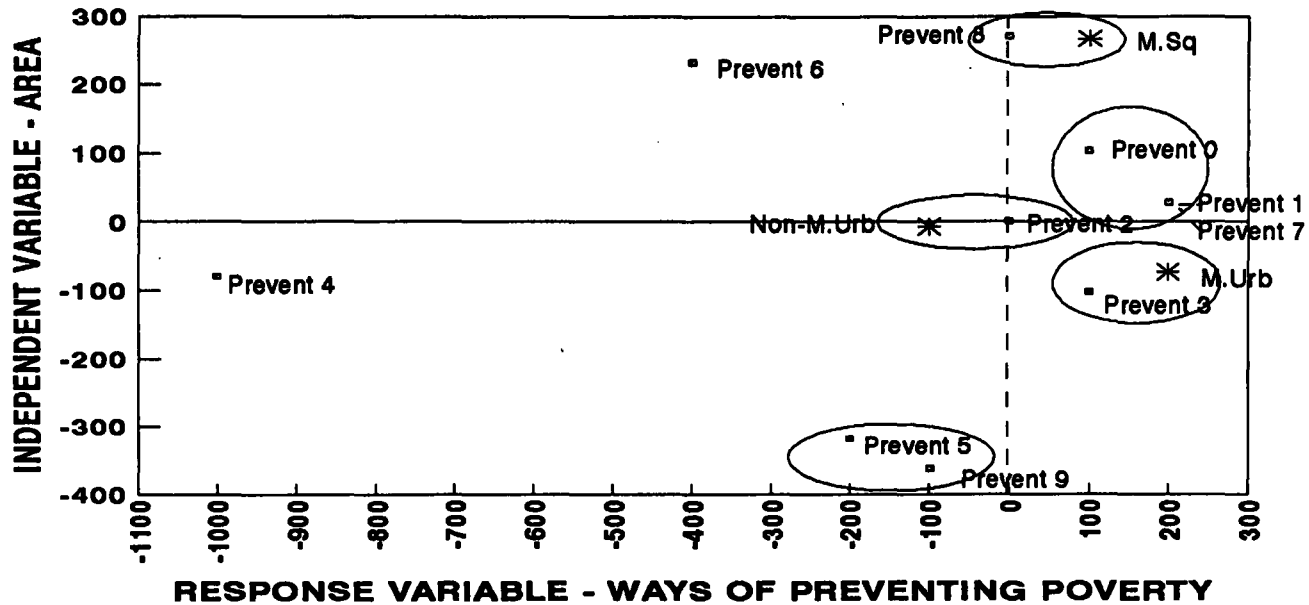
FORM OR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE BY "AREA"



- * For "area" labels see Diagram 1
- Form 0 = Not applicable; not in favour of financial assistance
- Form 1 = A serviced plot
- Form 2 = A basic dwelling
- Form 3 = Food
- Form 4 = Clothing
- Form 5 = Medical services
- Form 6 = Transport
- Form 7 = Cash
- Form 8 = Other

DIAGRAM 6

WAYS OF PREVENTING POVERTY BY "AREA"



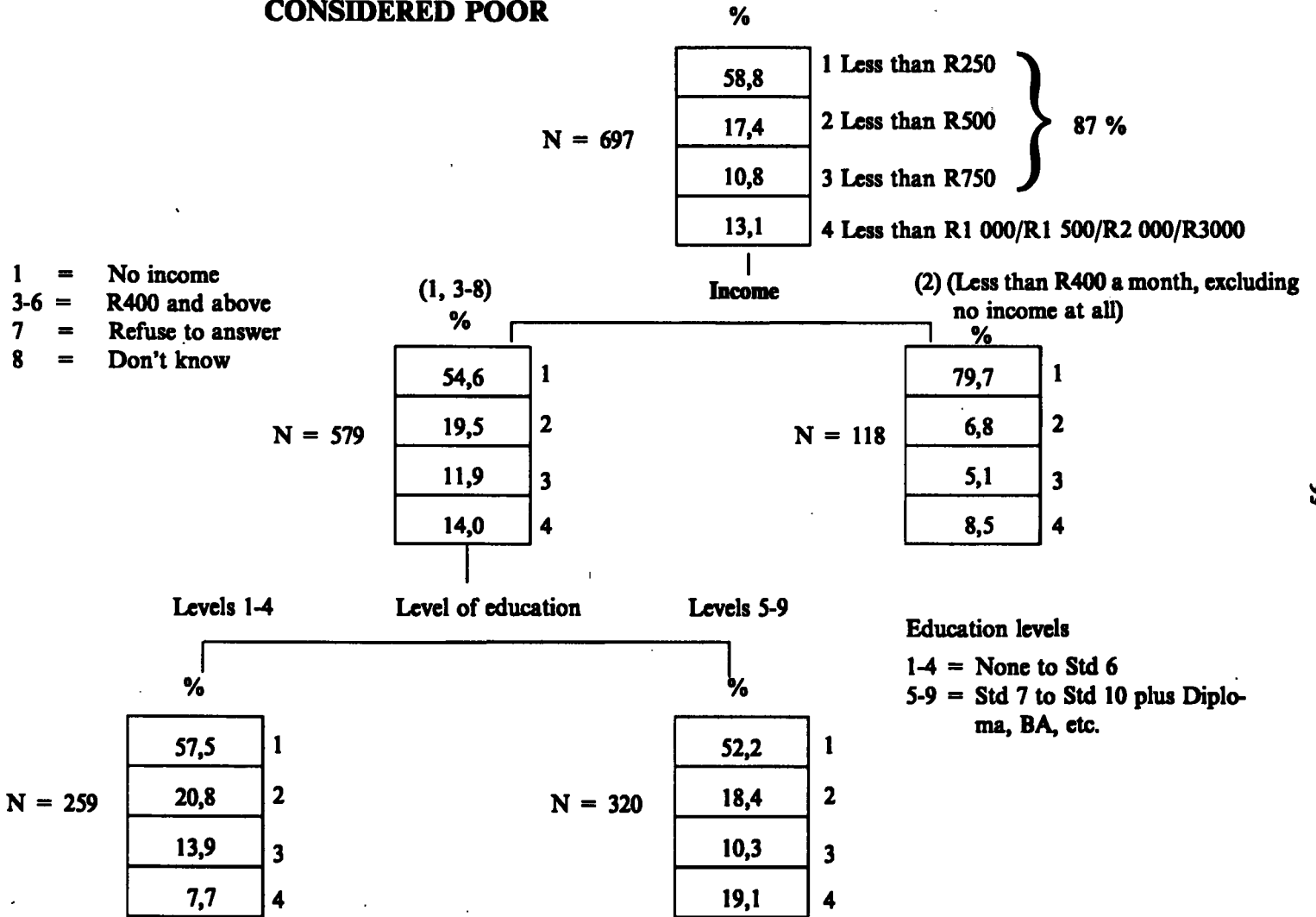
* For 'area' labels see Diagram 1

- Prevent 0 = Teach people budgeting/save, self-help schemes
- Prevent 1 = Do away with apartheid
- Prevent 2 = Give people work/create work
- Prevent 3 = Provide educational opportunities
- Prevent 4 = Smaller families
- Prevent 5 = Give more to poor people
- Prevent 6 = Feeding/nutritional programmes
- Prevent 7 = Curb inflation/Expand industry
- Prevent 8 = Promote entrepreneurship
- Prevent 9 = Cessation of sanctions

APPENDIX B

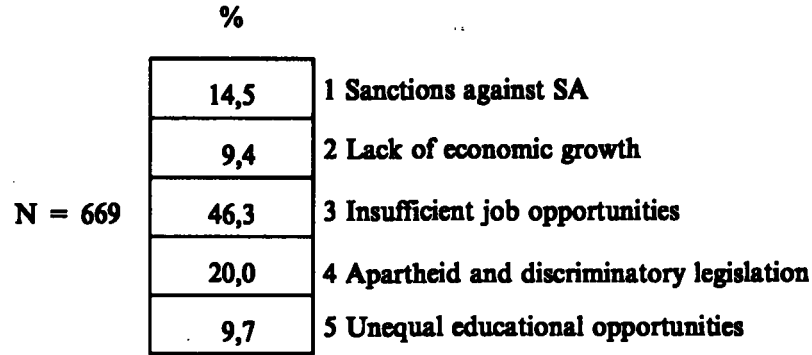
Diagrams 7 to 12

DIAGRAM 7: MONTHLY LEVEL OF INCOME BELOW WHICH A HOUSEHOLD CAN BE CONSIDERED POOR



- 1 = No income
- 3-6 = R400 and above
- 7 = Refuse to answer
- 8 = Don't know

DIAGRAM 8: FACTOR CONSIDERED AS HAVING CONTRIBUTED MOST TO POVERTY



- 1 = Southern Sotho
- 2 = Western Sotho (Tswana)
- 3 = Northern Sotho (Pedi)
- 4 = Swazi
- 6 = Zulu
- 7 = Shangaan/Tsonga

(1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7)

Language

(5) (Xhosa)

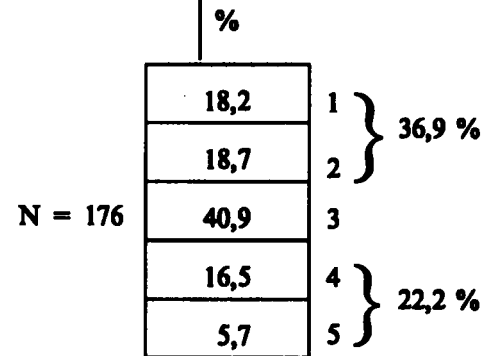
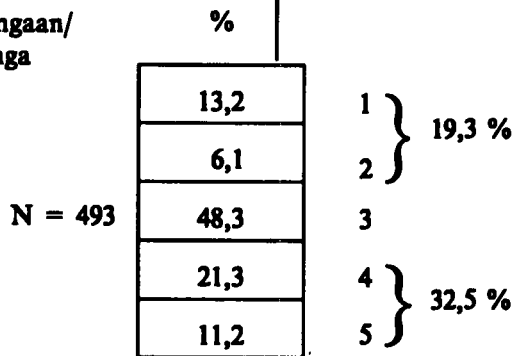
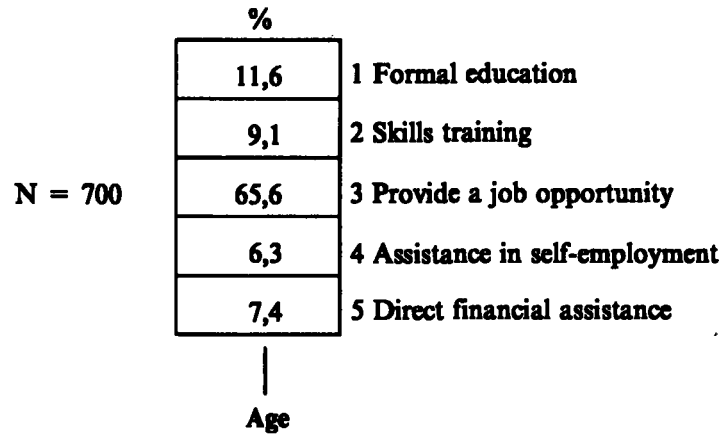


DIAGRAM 9: BEST WAY OF ASSISTING THE POOR



(1, 2) (18-24 yrs)

(3) (25-34 yrs)

(4, 5, 6, 7) (35-95 yrs)

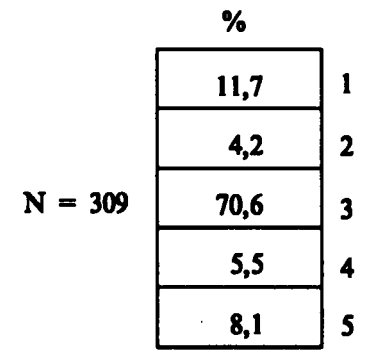
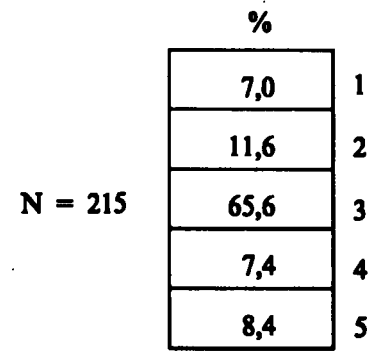
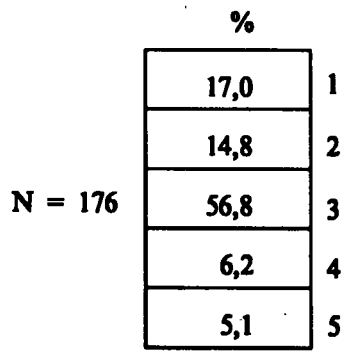
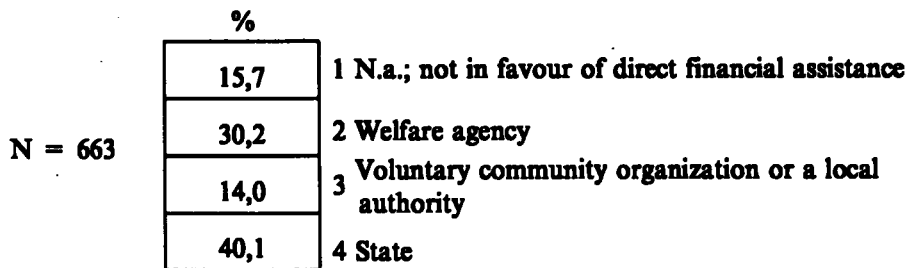


DIAGRAM 10: BODIES TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT



Daily newspaper

59

1 (Read regularly)

2 (Do not read regularly)

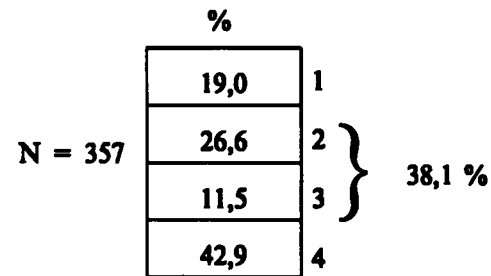
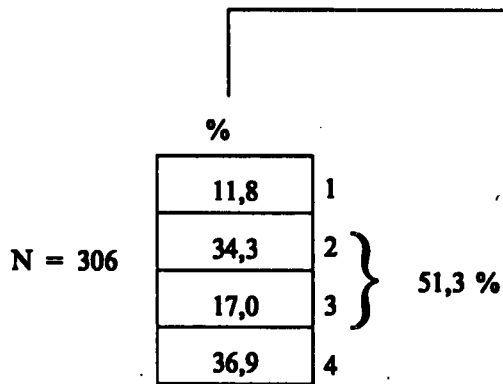


DIAGRAM 11: FORM/DESTINATION OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

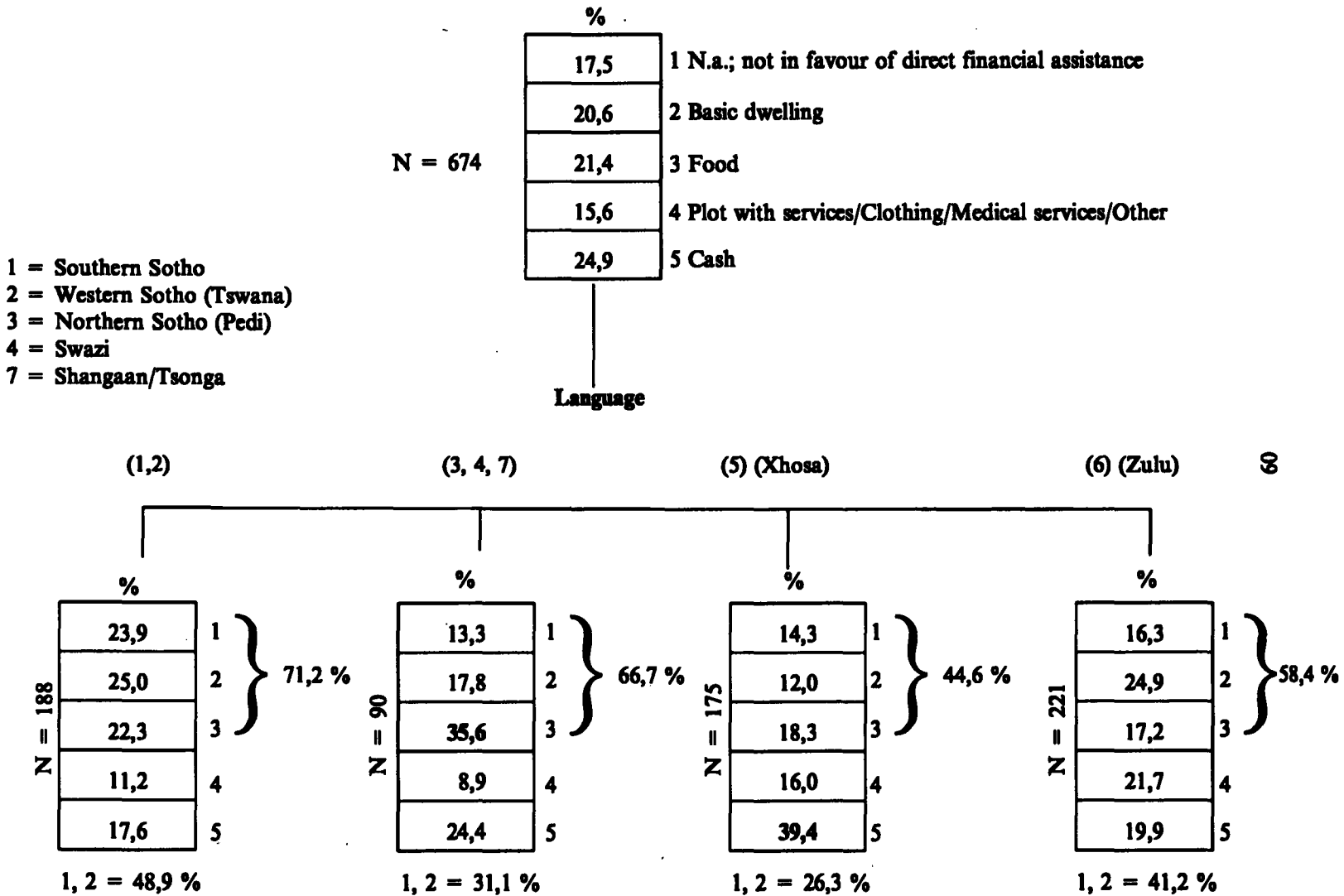
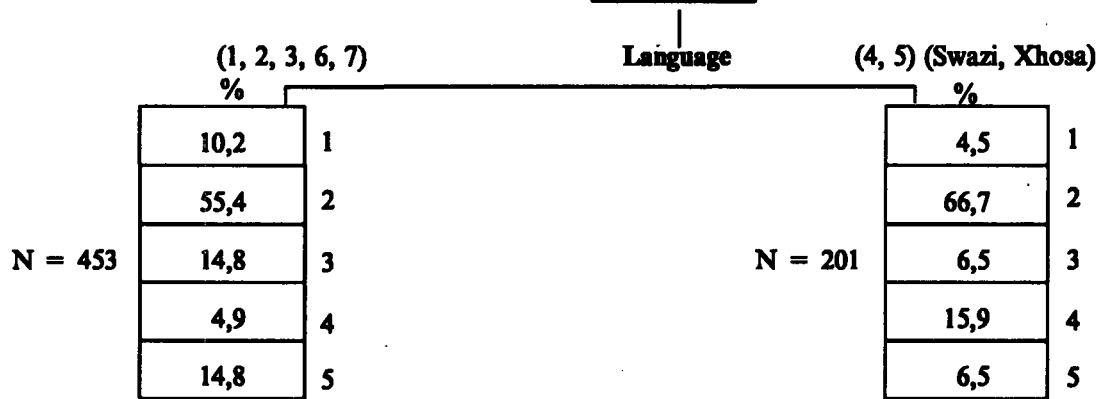
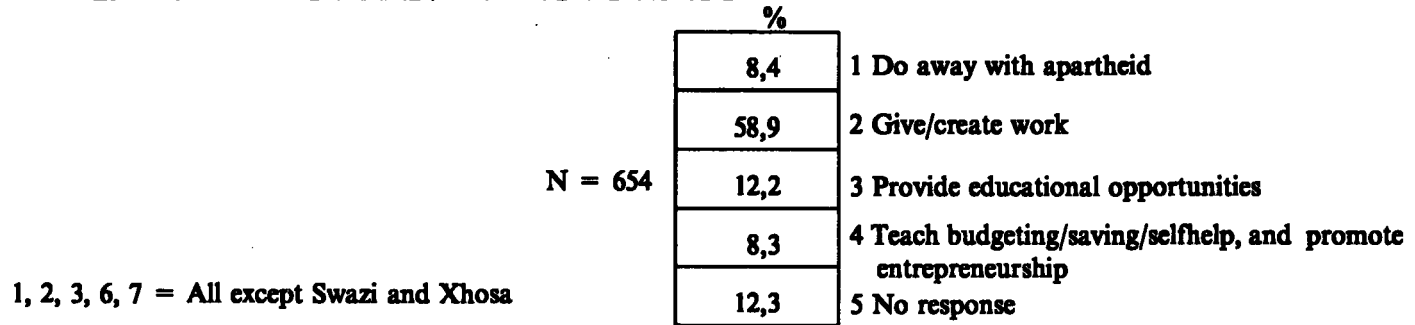


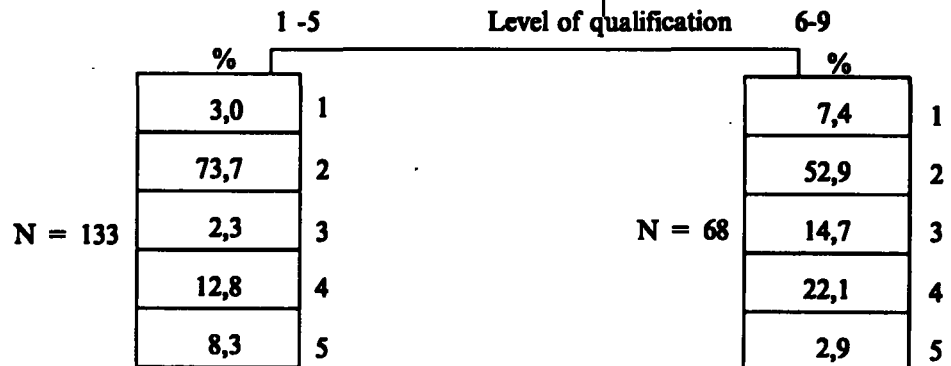
DIAGRAM 12: BEST WAY OF PREVENTING POVERTY



Level of qualification

1-5 = None to Std 7

6-9 = Std 8 to Std 10 plus Diploma, BA, etc.



4.3 The influence of sociodemographic factors (other than area) on views on poverty

To discover if variables other than area had a bearing on the responses to the different questions, ten sociodemographic independent variables were entered into CHAID analyses. The CHAID computer programme fits a sorting model to the data and identifies patterns of response behaviour in regard to each response variable, in this case each of the six questions. The independent variables used were age, sex, marital status, educational level, language spoken, income, occupation, possession of a telephone (or not), and habits with regard to reading a paper and viewing TV programmes.

In order to limit the number of categories entered into the analyses, certain categories were combined while others which had attracted only a few responses, were omitted.

4.3.1 Level of monthly household income below which a household can be considered poor

It was expected that the *income* of the respondent's household would influence his/her views on a poverty datum line; and this was found to be so: The dendrogram in Diagram 7 (APPENDIX B) depicts the splitting of the data into different income groups according to their differential response patterns. As can be seen the response pattern of Income Group 2 (Less than R400 a month) differs (statistically significantly at a level of 0,1 % — $P = 0,001$) from that of the other income groups and of the respondents who had not given a figure for income. The response pattern of the other groups is closer to that of the response group as a whole (compare Table 1 and Diagram 7, although it should be kept in mind that the data shown in Table 1 have been weighted). In other words, the respondents whose own household income was less than R400 a month were more inclined to consider people with an income of less than R250 a month as poor, than were those with higher incomes, or no income at all, or those who would not or could not report a figure for income (79,7 % as compared with 54,6 %). By the same token those receiving less than R400 a month were less inclined to consider people at any of the other higher levels as poor.³

There is a further significant splitting of the data in respect of those respondents with no income or an income higher than R400 a month, or those who would not or could not report a figure for income: the respondents who had attained a higher level of education were slightly more inclined to consider people poor at higher levels of income, while the less educated (those with a qualification lower than Std 7) did not really consider people poor who earned R750 a month or more. This second splitting seems to signify an interaction between the level of education and income in the particular income group — which perhaps accounts for the rather unusual first division of the data along income lines (no income, refusals and "don't know" grouped with the higher income categories — see Diagram 7 in APPENDIX B).

of the area groups on Diagram 5. However, this is most probably because it was mentioned by a third of the *metropolitan squatters*.

4.2.6 Ways of preventing poverty, by "area"

The *metropolitan urbanites* very definitely favoured the provision of educational opportunities but their points were almost as close to the choices "scrapping apartheid", "job creation", and "curbing inflation and expanding industry".

The points for *metropolitan squatters* — outlying again — were placed very close to the choice "promotion of entrepreneurship" (Prevent 8).

The *non-metropolitan urbanites* favoured job creation most, followed by the provision of educational opportunities, scrapping apartheid, and curbing inflation and expanding industry.

As already stated in the discussion of Tables 5 and 6 the small proportion of the respondents preferring feeding or nutritional schemes (Table 6) was unexpected in view of the prominence of "Food" as the best way of providing financial assistance (Table 5). On Diagram 6 it can be seen that the point for feeding (programmes) as a way of combating or preventing poverty appears isolated and outlying. It is particularly far from that for the metropolitan urban group, meaning that it certainly was not an option they favoured.

4.2.7 Trends regarding views on poverty according to area

Because a job-related category was chosen recurrently in reply to Questions 2, 3 and 6, it is important to ascertain if certain area categories were more likely than others to be associated with such a response. It was found that the *non-metropolitan respondents* were very conscious of insufficient job opportunities as a contributor to poverty; they were just as certain that providing a job opportunity was a good (best) way of assisting the poor, and for a large majority of them giving people work or creating jobs was the best way of combating or preventing poverty.

The *metropolitan urbanites* were not placed as close to the job-related options as the non-metropolitans, and in the case of the best way of combating poverty (Diagram 6) the former clearly favoured the provision of educational opportunities which to some extent ties in with their emphasis on skills training as the best way of assisting the poor (Diagram 3).

The *metropolitan squatters* emphasized education-related factors as a major cause of poverty, and the provision of formal education as the best way of helping the poor. They were, however, inclined to choose the promotion of entrepreneurship as the best way of combating poverty.

When one examines only the area points, it is clear that although the metropolitan urban and non-metropolitan urban clusters are always closer to each other than to that for the metropolitan squatters, they appear to be drawn in opposite directions by the way the secondary choices of each group are positioned.

4.2.3 Best way of assisting the poor, by "area"

As far as choosing the best way of assisting the poor is concerned (Diagram 3) the *metropolitan urban* respondents are inclined to think that the provision of skills training, and assistance in self-employment are the best ways of assisting the poor, while the respondents from *non-metropolitan* areas select the provision of a job opportunity as the best way of helping the poor, although they also favour the provision of direct financial assistance. It should be pointed out that more than half of the metropolitan urban respondents also favour job opportunities as the best way of helping the poor, but the fact that more than two-thirds of the non-metropolitans chose this option, shifted it in their direction on the diagram.

The *metropolitan squatters* were more likely to state that the provision of formal education is the best way of helping the poor. (According to Diagram 2 they see unequal educational opportunities as an important factor contributing to poverty.)

The three area points lie far apart, the metropolitan squatters again quite far from the other two groups (although this is not shown on the reduced scale of Diagram 3).

4.2.4 Bodies to provide financial support, by "area"

When asked to choose the type of body (Diagram 4) considered by them to be the more appropriate to provide financial assistance — assuming they were in favour of direct financial assistance — the *non-metropolitan urban* respondents were more likely to disapprove of direct financial assistance or to think that a local authority (Body 3) or a welfare agency (Body 2) should provide it.

The *urban metropolitan* respondents favoured a voluntary community organization, a welfare agency or the state rendering direct assistance while the *metropolitan squatters* preferred the business community and to a lesser extent the state.

Again the area points for the metropolitan and non-metropolitan urban respondents were placed closer together on the diagram, although in opposite directions, with the one for the metropolitan squatters again rather isolated and outlying on Diagram 4 (the reduced diagram again did not reveal this very well).

4.2.5 Form of financial assistance, by "area"

When asked in which form the financial assistance (Diagram 5) should be provided — assuming the respondents were in favour of such assistance — the *metropolitan urban* respondents clearly favoured a basic dwelling.

The *urban non-metropolitan* respondents tended strongly to oppose financial assistance or to prefer it in the form of transport or food.

Although just more than a quarter of the response group thought that direct cash was the best form of providing financial assistance (see Table 5), the point for this (Form 7) does not appear close to any

sets of relative frequencies (Diagrams 1 to 6, APPENDIX A). Each point on a particular diagram has been determined by calculating the position of the figures in each cell in the table (or matrix) in relation to all the others in that matrix. Only one matrix is shown here, namely that displaying the breakdown of response frequencies for Question 1 according to "Area" (Table 7).

According to Table 7 the responses clustered *inter alia* in the cells "Metro urban — Less than R250", and "Non-metro urban — Less than R250", particularly if one observes the absolute numbers. Yet on Diagram 1 (see APPENDIX A) non-metro urban is closest to "Less than R500" (Poor 2). (The distances between the points are intended to be a measure of the similarity of their profiles (Greenacre 1984:6).)

4.2.1 Perception of "poverty level" by "area"

Diagram 1 (APPENDIX A) indicates that the *metro urban* respondents are more inclined to consider people poor if the household income is less than R250 a month or less than R500 a month; the *non-metro urban* respondents more readily consider people poor if the household income is less than R500 a month, R750 a month, or less than R1 000 a month.

The point for *metropolitan squatters* is isolated on Diagram 1, but lies between the options, "Less than R250", "Less than R1 000" and "Less than R3 000" a month. As far as the area points themselves are concerned, non-metro urban and metro urban are not too far apart, but tend to be in opposite directions, while the point for metropolitan squatters lies more or less on its own away from both the other area points.

4.2.2 Contributing factors (to poverty), by "area"

Diagram 2 (APPENDIX A) indicates that the *metropolitan urban* respondents are more likely to feel that limited economic growth, insufficient job opportunities, or apartheid/discriminatory legislation is the most important factor that contributed to the widespread poverty in Southern Africa. (Reducing the original computer printout to its present format (about one third of an A-4 page) distorts some of the relations: for example "F. Con 4" on Diagram 2 lies somewhat further away from "M. Urb" than it would appear on Diagram 2.)

The *non-metropolitan urban* respondents, although their point lies almost in the opposite direction to that of the metropolitan urban respondents, also mention limited economic growth as being important, but the relevant point lies fairly close to "F. Con 3" (insufficient job opportunities) and "F. Con 4" (apartheid and discriminatory legislation). The *metropolitan squatters* are conscious of the effect of sanctions and also mention unequal educational opportunities. Again their point lies some distance from the rest, particularly from the other two area points.

The fact that the point for insufficient job opportunities has been placed in one of the most central positions — in relation to the other points on Diagram 2 — confirms its overall prominence in the minds of the respondents (see also Table 2).

The preference for a job-related category in both the problem and the solution dimensions is not unusual or unexpected in view of the fact that the economically inactive respondents constituted nearly 60 % of the response group. (The age categories usually assumed to be economically inactive were responsible for only 15 % of the response group — those below 20 years old, and those 65 years and older.) This large proportion of unemployed may be attributable to the fact that the composition of the sample represented that of the general population fairly closely; in other words areas and household categories characterized by high rates of unemployment, in non-metropolitan areas as well as informal settlements, were included.

The analyses described in Sections 4.2, and more particularly 4.3, shed some light on the responses made *vis-à-vis* certain sociodemographic characteristics of the sample.

4.2 Views on poverty in relation to area

Because this is the first survey conducted for the *Programme: Affordable Material Provision* in which black people from non-metropolitan areas as well as those living in informal dwellings were interviewed, it has been possible to include "Area" as a variable. For the purpose of analysis the smaller categories have been combined with the larger ones, and the following three "Area" categories are used: metropolitan urban, metropolitan squatters, and non-metropolitan urban which comprises towns from the common area of the RSA, as well as some in the selected self-governing territories.

To determine whether "Area" was in itself associated with the way the respondents replied to the six main questions, the three area categories were cross-tabulated with the response categories of each question (dependent variable). However, because the tables do not readily reveal trends, nor do they indicate the significance of apparent associations, the figures were entered into correspondence analyses¹ (one for each question). The output allowed the simultaneous display of the profiles of all the

TABLE 7: PERCEPTIONS OF "POVERTY LEVEL" BY "AREA"

Poverty level	AREA ²							
	Metro urban		Metro squatters		Non-metro urban		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than R250	179	59,4	69	66,3	222	56,5	470	58,9
Less than R500	53	17,6	13	12,5	72	18,3	138	17,3
Less than R750	29	9,6	7	6,7	49	12,5	85	10,6
Less than R1 000	24	8,0	10	9,6	33	8,4	67	8,4
Less than R1 500	8	2,7	0	0,0	11	2,8	19	2,4
Less than R2 000	3	1,0	0	0,0	2	0,5	5	0,6
Less than R3 000	5	1,7	5	4,8	4	1,0	14	1,8
TOTAL	301	100,0	104	100,0	393	100,0	798	100,0

income at all, and a further approximately 33 % an income of less than R800 a month. Even if concessions are made for the underreporting of income, many of the respondents seem to be living with very tight budgets.

- (ii) **Table 1(b).** The comments received reveal "the faces of poverty". A lack of job opportunities, as well as joblessness was mentioned by over half of the respondents. Being totally without money, "no money at all", was mentioned by nearly 13 % and might have been the circumstances prevailing in many of the households in which the responding member stated that there was no income.
- (iii) **Table 2.** The lack of job opportunities was perceived as the most important factor contributing to poverty in South Africa. More than 44 % mentioned this, followed by about 18 % for "apartheid and discriminatory legislation", and just under 14 % for "sanctions against South Africa".
- (iv) **Table 3.** Among the choices presented in the questionnaire as the "best way" of assisting the poor, "Providing a job opportunity" was chosen by the largest proportion of the response group, namely about 65 %. "Providing formal education" and "Skills training" received less support, namely from a little more than a tenth of the respondents in each case.
- (v) **Table 4.** According to Table 3 only 6,3 % of the respondents chose "Direct financial assistance" as the best way of helping the poor, whereas Table 4 shows that only about 13 % of the respondents were not in favour of direct financial assistance. For about 40 % of the respondents the state was the body best suited for providing financial assistance to poor people. Less than 30 % preferred a welfare organization for this purpose, although the current poor economic climate has impelled many welfare organizations to expand the financial assistance component of their work.
- (vi) **Table 5.** The proportion of respondents not in favour of financial assistance increased slightly (15 % compared with 13 % for the previous question) in response to the question on the preferred form of financial assistance. However those respondents who did make a choice, mostly preferred a basic dwelling (20 %), food (21 %) or cash (26 %). Considering the extent to which the idea of a serviced site has been promoted publicly by parties concerned with the housing problem for several years now, the less-than-5 % response for a serviced plot was unexpected. So was the less-than-4 % preference for medical services. It is of course possible that some respondents would prefer cash in order to purchase such serviced plot or medical services directly.
- (vii) **Table 6.** The emphasis on job creation as seen in Tables 1(a), 1(b), 2 and 3 is also obvious from Table 6. In an "open" question on the best way to combat (prevent) poverty, about 61 % of the response group suggested that people be put into employment and/or that jobs be created. "Scrap apartheid" and "Educational opportunities" came much lower down the list of priorities, with about 9 % and 13 % respectively.

TABLE 6**"In your opinion, which is the best way to combat (prevent) poverty?"**

	(%)
Teach people budgeting/save, self-help schemes	5,2
Scrap apartheid	8,9
Give people work/create work	60,9
Provide educational opportunities	12,6
Smaller families	0,6
Give more to poor people	1,8
Feeding/nutritional programmes	1,4
Curb inflation/Expand industry	2,1
Promote entrepreneurship	5,4
Cessation of sanctions	1,1
	<u>100,0</u>

About 12 % of the response group did not answer this question.

The following are some of the more salient features that can be deduced from the above seven tables:

- (i) **Table 1(a).** Nearly three in five (59,5 %) respondents equated poverty with households having incomes of less than R250 a month. Obviously, for most of the respondents real poverty implies a certain degree of deprivation, or at least of going without essentials.

The degree of deprivation can be appreciated if one considers the different "poverty datum lines" or "minimum living levels". A Minimum Living Level of R600 is used by the VAT Committee, but in July 1986 the nutritional requirements alone of an urban family of five (father, pregnant mother and three children below 10 years of age) amounted to about R420 a month (Nawrotzki 1987:15). UNISA's Bureau for Market Research determined that in October 1991 the minimum (subsistence) household level (MHL or HSL) and the general (effective) household level (GHL) for blacks were R827 (MHL) and R1 124 (GHL) for Johannesburg, and R841 (MHL) and R1 157 (GHL) for Pretoria (BTW raak ... 1991:7). Research undertaken several years earlier for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:67-68) revealed that between 20 % and 40 % of the households in Soweto lived below the more conservative poverty datum line, but up to 80 % did so if the wider definition was used. In five Natal townships the figures were between 23 % and 68 % under the conservative measure and up to 89 % of the households if the more liberal measure was used.

If one accepts the levels determined by the Bureau for Market Research, it can be assumed that a large proportion of the sample was not unfamiliar with hardship: Just over 27 % recorded no

TABLE 3

"Which one of the following ways of assisting the poor do you consider the best?"

	(%)
Provide formal education	11,6
Provide skills training	10,3
Provide a job opportunity	64,8
Assistance in self-employment	6,5
Direct financial assistance (e.g. a subsidy)	6,3
Other (specific)	0,6
	<u>100,0</u>

TABLE 4

"If you consider financial assistance to poor people important, which of the following bodies should provide this support? Mark only one."

	(%)
N.a.; not in favour of financial assistance	13,2
A voluntary community organization (e.g. a "stokvel")	4,9
A welfare agency (e.g. Operation Hunger)	28,4
A local authority (e.g. a municipality)	8,0
The state (e.g. welfare department)	39,9
The business community	5,0
Other (specify)	0,5
	<u>100,0</u>

TABLE 5

"If you are in favour of financial assistance, in which form should it be provided? Mark only one of the following."

	(%)
N.a.; not in favour of financial assistance	15,0
A serviced plot	4,4
A basic dwelling	20,2
Food	21,0
Clothing	2,8
Medical services	3,6
Transport	1,8
Cash	25,7
Other (specify)	5,5
	<u>100,0</u>

TABLE 1(b)

"Comment (particularly if you would also use other bases for determining poverty)."

	(%)
Visibly destitute	0,1
No job, no opportunities	51,3
No education	8,3
No savings	2,8
Poor housing	7,9
Strikes, violence	1,7
High taxation	0,5
Fixed incomes	1,1
No money at all	12,9
Racial discrimination	3,9
Disability	0,4
Sanctions, inflation	1,3
Salaries decreasing	1,5
Large families	2,5
Lack of food	<u>3,8</u>
	<u>100,0</u>

Not all respondents offered comments. About one-third made no comment or did not know any other bases for determining poverty. The above comments thus came from about 66 % of the response group.

TABLE 2

"There is widespread poverty in Southern Africa, also among whites. In your opinion, which one of the following factors has contributed most to this?"

	(%)
Sanctions against South Africa	13,9
Lack of economic growth	10,2
Insufficient job opportunities	44,4
Apartheid and discriminatory legislation	18,2
Unequal educational opportunities	9,7
Unrest in the townships	1,5
Lack of support for the disadvantaged	1,5
Other (specify)	<u>0,5</u>
	<u>100,0</u>

exclusion a serious mistake, and it may be necessary at some stage to survey their opinions and those of the coloureds and Indians as well (cf. Verarming van blankes ... 1991:25).

3.3 Definitions

The questions and their respective response options were considered to be straightforward, and not to require any defining. On reflection, it seems that in Question 1 income should have been defined as including in-kind over and above cash income.

4. FINDINGS

4.1 Summary of responses (frequencies)

In order to evaluate the poverty of individuals, communities and societies, it is necessary to establish what they regard as poverty, what factors they believe contribute to it and how they think the situation can be resolved. The following seven tables reflect the questions asked and the responses (weighted percentages) received in this respect.

TABLE 1(a)

"When can a household be considered poor: when its monthly income is less than R250, than R500, than R750, than R1 000, than R1 500, than R2 000 or than R 3 000? Mark one only."

	(%)
Less than R250	59,5
Less than R500	16,2
Less than R750	10,5
Less than R1 000	8,6
Less than R1 500	2,7
Less than R2 000	0,6
Less than R3 000	<u>1,9</u>
	<u>100,0</u>

- (ii) the relations between these opinions and the sociobiographic characteristics of the group studied, and
- (iii) associations among the sociobiographic variables that may shed light on the relations found and described in (ii).

3. STUDY DESIGN AND DATA GATHERING

3.1 Design and data sources

The study was designed to be mainly descriptive although provision was made for the inclusion of more "open" questions with prestructured (multiple) choices.

The sample, designed by the Centre for Statistical Research at the HSRC, was drawn by means of a complex (multistage, stratified, clustered) sampling procedure according to which households were systematically selected in proportion to the size of the population in a particular census enumerator district. It (the sample) consisted of approximately 800 households, half from metropolitan and half from non-metropolitan areas and included specific subsamples from informal ("squatter") settlements such as Crossroads and Kayelitsha near Cape Town, as well as from self-governing territories such as Kwa-Zulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa.

In each household a respondent was randomly selected with the aid of a "household grid" or probability respondent table.

Because of the provision made in the sampling procedure for substitution in the field, a 100 % response rate was achieved, although the non-responses to individual questions meant that a full response was not obtained for any of the questions in the study. Weighting was done on the basis of the 1985 population census to compensate for skewness in the realized sample.

3.2 Data-gathering process

An omnibus questionnaire which was used by a number of different clients was administered by trained fieldworkers employed by MarkData, HSRC. Five of the six questions included for the purposes of this report had a prestructured choice of responses, requiring the selection of only one of the response options. However, where appropriate, a category for other possibilities was included.

Most of the interviews were conducted during September and early October 1991. Fieldwork organizers checked 10 % of the completed questionnaires by telephone or by personally visiting the households.

Because some of the questionnaire users (clients) included questions aimed at all four population groups, it was inevitable that groups other than blacks became aware of the questions on poverty — from which they were being excluded. Consequently there was a certain degree of dissatisfaction, because they were also experiencing poverty. Particularly the whites appeared to have considered their

1. INTRODUCTION

The questionnaire survey on which this report is based was authorized by the Management Committee of the HSRC *Co-operative Programme: Affordable Material Provision* and forms one leg of a study on poverty, employment and wealth distribution.

The other leg of the study was more qualitative, consisting mainly of interviews undertaken by Mr André Spier (SYNCOM) (Spier 1993, in the press).

2. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

2.1 Background

Poverty and unemployment have increased steadily in South Africa over the past ten years — particularly since the middle of the 1970s. According to the report of the committee on value-added tax (VATCOM 1991:15) 16,3 million people in South Africa and the TBVC countries were living below the minimum living level (MLL) at the time of the investigation, i.e. when the MLL was equal to a household income of approximately R600 a month. Just over 14 % of these people were "in dire need of nutritional support to combat malnutrition" (VATCOM 1991:15).

Trade unions estimate that unemployment is rising by 1 350 people per day in South Africa (Valentine 1991:18). Many of them are now active in the informal economic sector; the largest proportion probably in food-related activities, crafts and in transport (taxis, removals, etc.) (Snyman 1991:50-51).

The gap between rich and poor is widening. The disparity in the provision of opportunities and services for the different population groups is highlighted in various research reports (Barnard 1988:1-7; Wilson & Ramphele 1989:64; Simkins 1984a:38).

Several organizations attend to the needs of the poor; some, like Operation Hunger, give considerable direct material aid — *inter alia* food — while others, such as the Independent Development Trust devote funds and expertise through other organizations or development agents, mainly for housing and education (Haunted by ... 1991:13).

2.2 Objectives

The objectives of the HSRC study about poverty among blacks in South Africa can be divided into two categories. The first category deals mainly with the qualitative research by SYNCOM and is concerned with the co-ordination of services to the poor and with guidelines for the development of policy in connection with poverty, employment and wealth distribution.

The second category applies to the current survey and concerns

- (i) the opinions of a cross-section of black (African) South Africans on the subject of poverty,

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EKSERP

Hoewel armoede nie direk gemeet is in hierdie studie nie, toon die resultate dat daar onder die 800 swart respondente 'n sterk bewustheid van veral werkloosheid was, maar ook van swak opleidingsgeriewe en diskriminerende gebruike as faktore wat met armoede verband hou. Die voorstelle vir oplossings sentreer ook om die skepping van werk en van opleidingsgeleenthede vir werk en vir ondernemerskap.

Die bevindinge onthul op 'n indirekte wyse die armoede wat in sekere streke in Suid-Afrika heers.

Voorts het streke wat geografies en kultureel uiteenlopend is, dikwels soortgelyke keuses gemaak ten opsigte van die faktore wat tot armoede bydra en dié wat ter oplossing gebruik kan word.

'n Verskeidenheid algemene inkomsteskeppende strategieë word aanbeveel.

ABSTRACT

Although this study did not measure poverty directly, the results revealed the awareness among 800 black respondents of particularly unemployment, but also poor educational facilities and discriminatory practices as factors associated with poverty. Their solutions also centred around the creation of work and of training opportunities for work and entrepreneurship.

The findings indirectly revealed the poverty prevailing in certain regions in South Africa.

Furthermore, regions that are far apart geographically and culturally often made similar choices regarding the factors that contributed to poverty and those that could help in combating poverty.

A variety of general income-generating strategies are recommended.

The Co-operative Research Programme: Affordable Material Provision is situated within the Group: Social Dynamics and is managed by a committee of experts drawn from the public and private sectors in South Africa.

The emphasis in the programme is on discovering affordable alternatives in the main fields of social policy — income maintenance, health, human settlement, employment development and social welfare. In this report the focus is more specifically on income maintenance and the development of work opportunities.

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Ina Snyman, HSRC

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