

Everyone thought the amount was insufficient:

What can you do with that amount? (E.P. Herald , 24.03.82)

There was no compensation for losses, and apparently there were many who suffered during the move. An old man said:

When I came back to my house I was told I had to move. We couldn't get everything packed and people just threw our stuff together and onto the truck. All the cups and plates were broken, and the furniture. We never got paid for all that was broken. We also lost materials from our old house which were outside in the night. In the morning the zinc sheets were gone.

At one stage the Ciskeian government attempted to deal with the question of compensation and other complaints. Officials came, wrote everything down, but that was the last of it. They never returned.

To summarise:

They just came and dumped us here and never looked back again.

Dr Koornhof, as was said earlier, claimed in parliament that no-one was removed by force, and that no officials were authorised to carry guns, and that the people signed documents to the effect that the move was voluntary. He also stated that compensatory land was allocated.

It may well be that no force, or at least no unreasonable force, was actually used, but it is clear that the people felt threatened at various stages, perhaps merely as a result of the threat of arrest during the October meeting, and that they acted accordingly. The removal was not voluntary in the sense that a free choice was made between the two places. Compensatory land was received by some people, but that includes very few of the people who are at present living in Elukhanyweni itself.

### **3.5.4 After the move**

#### INTRODUCTION

During the mid-sixties the current resettlement programme began to receive high priority. As the tempo accelerated and the numbers involved increased it became imperative to have some form of cheap and basic accommodation for the mass of resettled people, the families of landless migrant workers, the surplus people from white urban and rural areas. Hence closer settlements.

Closer settlements are normally situated in rural areas, often isolated backwaters. They are not rural villages - agricultural land is never available. At best the inhabitants have small urban sized plots on which their houses stand. But they are not urban townships either. Only rudimentary services are provided. Houses, where they are provided by the State, are of an inferior type. Local employment opportunities are generally severely limited. In short, closer settlements are deliberately designed so as to accommodate large numbers at minimum cost. They are the new breeding grounds for the South African migrant labour force.

## GEOGRAPHY

The Keiskammahoek district is fairly mountainous, and large parts are covered by tree plantations and natural forests. The Keiskamma River runs down the centre.

Elukhanyweni lies against a hill that marks the point where the Keiskamma River valley opens up into the Keiskammahoek basin.

Towards the middle of the basin is the tiny town of Keiskammahoek. It has a few general stores, a number of churches, a labour bureau, a police station and the like.

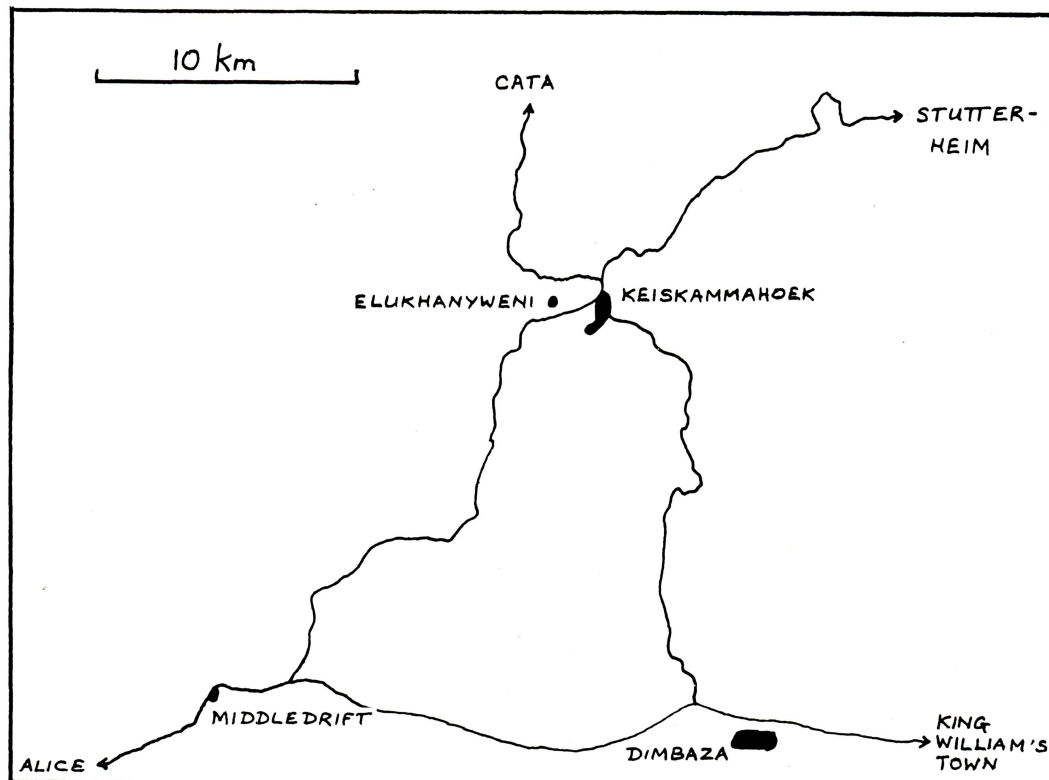
Dotted all over the district are small mud villages. But only a fraction of the residents are engaged in agriculture. There is widespread landlessness (30 - 35%) and considerable pressure on the land. Arable plots measure less than 2 morgen on average. As a result, a steady stream of migrants flow from these villages each year in search of formal sector employment.

Three or four small factories are located in the area. Two of these, a saw mill and a furniture producer, have been established under the agency system. In all, about 250 females and 200 males are employed in these industries.

The centrepiece of Ciskeian agriculture, the R2,2 million Keiskamma irrigation scheme, is situated in the basin. The main farming activity is milk production from pastures. Each of the 175 families involved in the scheme has a 4 ha plot, of which 3 ha is devoted to irrigated pastures and 1 to cash crops from which, provided at least one family member is engaged full-time, they derive an annual cash income of R2 400 plus home-grown food. The settlers on the scheme were selected by a board appointed by the Minister of Agriculture. Employment for 200 outsiders is also provided.

However, these isolated pockets of development cannot satisfy the employment needs of the 38 000 inhabitants of the district.

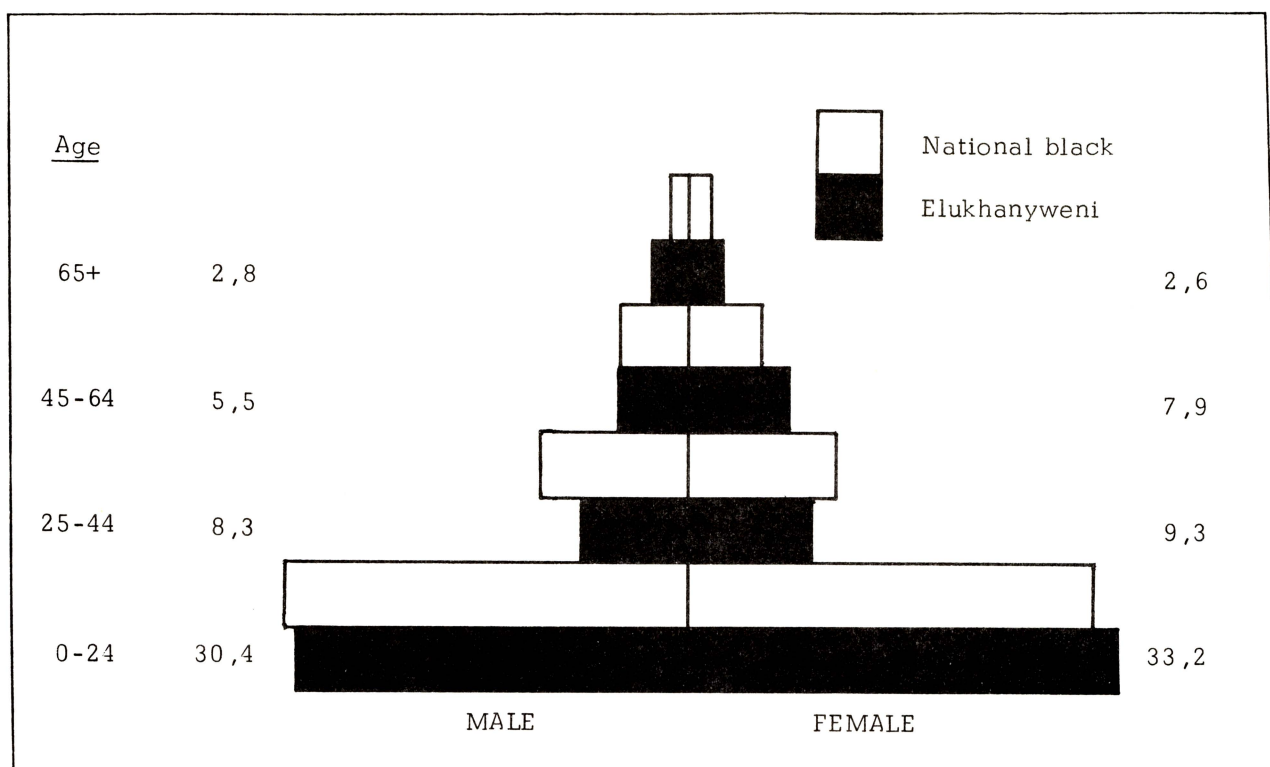
Map 2 KEISKAMMAHOEK DISTRICT



## DEMOGRAPHY

The de jure population of Elukhanyweni is between 2 500 and 3 000 . The composition of this population according to age and sex is close to that of the black South African population as a whole .

Figure 1 COMPOSITION OF THE DE JURE POPULATION (%)



The marginal discrepancy between male and female numbers suggests that permanent outmigration of males occurs on a small scale . Likewise , and for similar reasons , old people are slightly overrepresented .

The household structure is also relatively standard . The average household , as in most rural areas , has 7,1 members . However there are a significant number of large families with between 8 and 15 members . About 68% of the households are male headed .

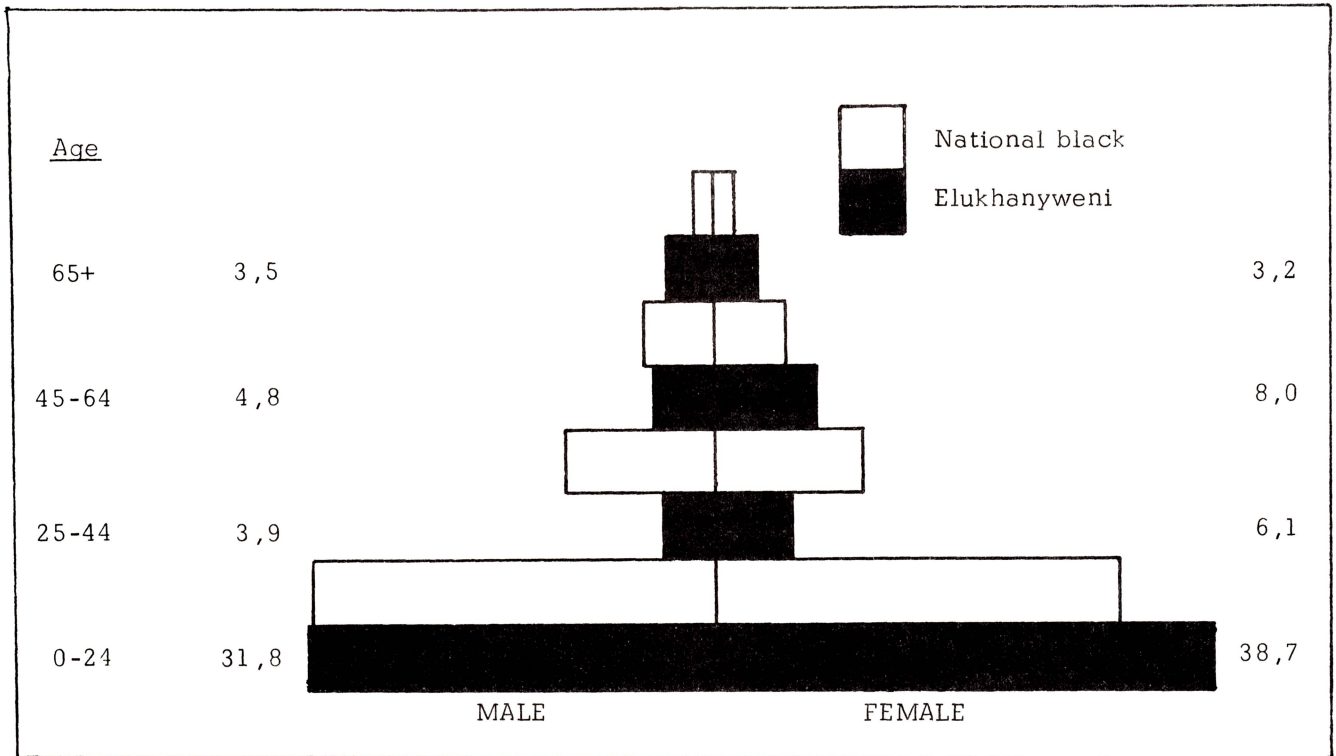
In all the demographic structure of the de jure population is fairly normal , reflecting the fact that a whole community , regardless of age , sex and economic status , was resettled at Elukhanyweni .

The structure of the de facto or permanently resident population , on the other hand , reveals all the severe imbalances associated with extensive temporary migration . (A figure showing composition of the de facto population is given on the next page .)

The old and the young are greatly overrepresented . Contrarywise , those between the ages of 25 and 45 are heavily underrepresented . There is a severe sexual imbalance , only 78 males for every 100 females .

Over 20% of the total population is temporarily absent from Elukhanyweni . A half of the adult males aged 20-64 and a staggering 35% of the adult females migrate . This gives an overall

Figure 2 COMPOSITION OF THE DE FACTO POPULATION (%)



adult migrancy rate of over 40%. About a third of the male household heads migrate, whereas very few female heads are absent.

The crippling impact of large-scale migrancy on family life is well documented. It generates a variety of social problems and causes a great deal of dissatisfaction:

Our problem is that the family is separated for such a long time.

We are no longer a united family like we were there, because most of the members work away from here.

In some cases family fragmentation takes extreme forms:

Next door stays five children on their own. Their mother works in Humansdorp, earning R50 a month in domestic work. The father also went back to work there. After school the children come back to the house, but each night they go to their aunt to sleep. The parents come home every two months.

## AGRICULTURE

There is a severe shortage of agricultural land at Elukhanyweni. The people have no fields. Instead each household has at most one or two, perhaps three small garden plots available for cultivation. As a result the scope of agriculture is extremely limited.

The available land is more or less fully utilised. No fewer than 90% of the households raise crops such as maize, beans and cabbages on their plots. Unfortunately the quantities involved are miniscule. On a tenth of a morgen, under current techniques of production, in other words without fertilizers and irrigation, and often they are not permitted to draw a drop of water from the shared water supplies for the purpose of irrigating their gardens, it is quite simply impossible to produce a substantial amount of agricultural goods. The most industrious and dedicated family probably does not derive more than the equivalent in food of R100 a year from horticulture.

Judging by appearances, the shrivelled crops, the stunted growth, it seems a figure of R25 is more reasonable. In short, the contribution of agriculture to the subsistence of the people at Elukhanyweni is just about insignificant. In cash terms the contribution to household incomes is utterly irrelevant.

The state of livestock production is even more precarious. Though a third of the households have some form of grazing rights, only 10% actually own any cattle. There are a few pigs about. No more than 30% of the households keep poultry. Sheep, goats and horses are entirely absent.

The table below compares agriculture before and after the removal. It speaks for itself. There is no need to mention the relative quantities involved.

Table 2 AGRICULTURE BEFORE AND AFTER REMOVAL

% of households	Elukhanyweni	Tsitsikama
with land rights: Fields	94	2
Gardens	98	93
Grazing	66	24
that cultivate: Maize	93	37
Potatoes	94	74
Beans	92	55
Other	93	70
that own stock: Cattle	93	10
Goats	41	0
Sheep	35	0
Pigs	62	11
Poultry	86	23
Horses	26	0
that sell produce	67	12

One can begin to understand the outrage and bitterness in the community. They have lost their arable land. They have lost their stock. One after another they comment:

There we had fields, now we have none.

We had so much stock, now there is few left.

At Humansdorp agriculture acted as a cushion against starvation and malnutrition. Now their independent subsistence base has vanished:

We used to take something from the garden, but now I have to spend much money buying vegetables which we didn't did before.

There is more starvation here. At Humansdorp we used to take something from our fields as we needed it.

We need fields because without food people easily get diseases.

We have no fields and as a result we have to buy everything dear.

But proletarianisation has other costs as well. It renders agricultural skills redundant, upsets the domestic division of labour, leads to a loss of security, the disappearance of a way of life:

I am the agriculturalist, but I have no fields to grow.

I want to plough, but there are no fields.

We had fields for the future of our children, now we don't.

We need fields for our lives depend on the soil.

We have no fields and that is why we despise this place.

As a result they preferred life at Humansdorp:

We had a better life there because we had fields and rain was not so scarce, even though we had no work.

There is no way to lead a better life as we did in Humansdorp because we have no fields.

Understandably there is a craving for land, and an expectation:

We need fields as an alternative to unemployment.

We want fields so that we can grow crops.

We want to plough, we need fields.

We expect to be given fields so we can eat healthy food.

At least we may be given fields so as to get food like where we came from.

People should be given fields so that they can survive.

We want our permanent fields.

But as one realist adds:

We want fields, but we do not know where they can be created.

## INTRODUCTION

We can summarise the activity rates found among the adult population of Elukhanyweni as follows:

Table 3 ACTIVITY RATES (%)

Age	Male	Female	Total
15 - 24	41	23	↓
25 - 34	89	75	
35 - 44	90	67	
45 - 64	66	46	
65+	6	7	
Total	38	27	32

Though most males are economically active, that is, employed or searching for employment, the percentages are marginally lower than the national averages. The female rates, on the other hand, are substantially above the national female rates. In turn, the rates for the old and the young are extremely low. The high female rates may be due to a combination of factors such as the pressure of poverty, the absence of agricultural land and the availability of service sector jobs. The low rates for young people may reflect a commitment to education and a demoralisation associated with high youth unemployment. Early retirement is an obvious consequence of the migrant labour system, hence the low rate for old people.

The dependency rate in the camp is 26.8%. This means that more or less a quarter of the total population is employed. This figure is surprisingly high. In concrete terms it means that the average family of 7.1 members has 1.9 of them in employment.

Employment as a percentage of the population according to age and sex is presented below. The rate for adult males is average, but the female rate is very high. Both youth rates are low.

Table 4 PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION EMPLOYED

Age	Male	Female
15 - 24	32	14
25 - 64	76	50

Roughly 40% of all jobs are held by females. This is unexpected, considering that Elukhanyweni is essentially a settlement of migrant workers. It has been estimated that females constitute only 10 - 20% of the migrant labour force in the country as a whole. However in Elukhanyweni they form about 40% of all migrants.

Migrant labour is the dominant form of employment. An incredible 70% of the labour force migrates over distances in excess of 200 km. The rest have jobs within daily or weekly commuting distance.

#### LOCAL EMPLOYMENT

There are some local employment opportunities available, though not a great many:

Work is so scarce here that we have to travel far away from this land seeking work.

We don't find work here. People should get work where they live.

There is a scarcity of work here. There ought to be a factory or something where we can at least get work.

Because of unemployment here the head is working in Humansdorp.

These comments basically reflect the fact that the Keiskammahoek district is essentially an isolated rural region, more or less devoid of industries and capitalist farms. Only 23% of the Elukhanyweni work force have jobs in the basin itself. These are equally divided among the sexes. Domestic work, especially as far as women are concerned, is the dominant form of employment. Other service sector jobs such as teaching and nursing are also important. Males tend to work on local construction projects or in the handful of small manufacturing firms in the basin. A small number labour on the irrigation scheme.

Wages in the area, and in fact in the Ciskei as a whole, are extremely low, certainly much lower than in white South Africa. Some manufacturing firms pay as little as R60 a month. An artisan explains the position:

I am a qualified bricklayer. I got R15 a day in Humansdorp. Here I get only R5. I build on the Keiskamma irrigation scheme. On the other irrigation scheme too, at Tyefu. If I try to get work elsewhere, at Dimbaza, I won't get better pay anyway because the government fixes the scales. If I try going off they'll see on my compass I'm from Humansdorp and know I should be in Elukhanyweni. They'll send me back. We are dead here. We are dying here. You must do something now, otherwise we will all be dead. I have 5 children. How can I have them on R5 a day and not growing food? If you want to buy any children you can have some of mine.

The rest of the community share these sentiments:

At Tsitsikama I used to get R120 per month, now I don't. I get R40. I cannot afford to educate my children on such a salary.

People here are being underpaid. Wages should be increased so that we can support our families.

Even those who are employed are being underpaid.

My wages are too low for subsistence.

The scarcity of local employment has raised the intensity of competition for jobs between the resettled people at Elukhanyweni and the old inhabitants of the rural villages in the area to the level of conflict. The reproaches have flown both ways. The locals view the resettled community, the 'Hotspots from Humansdorp', as intruders and allege that they receive preferential job treatment because they are better educated. The resettled people contend that just the opposite occurs. It is a no-win situation, a breeding ground for conflict. When two separate, easily identifiable groups are located in an area where too many people compete for too few resources, then mutual recriminations invariably arise. Although no violence has emerged as yet, verbal clashes occur regularly.

#### MIGRANT LABOUR

The vast majority of jobs for both males and females involve temporary migration. No fewer than 71% of the employed males and 64% of the employed females migrate.

The age and sex distribution of the migrant labour force reflects a somewhat unbalanced pattern of migration:

Table 5 AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT AMONG MIGRANTS (%)

Age	Male	Female	Total
15 - 24	39	24	33
25 - 34	36	39	37
35 - 44	11	15	13
45 - 64	14	22	17
65 +	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100
Sexual division	61	39	100

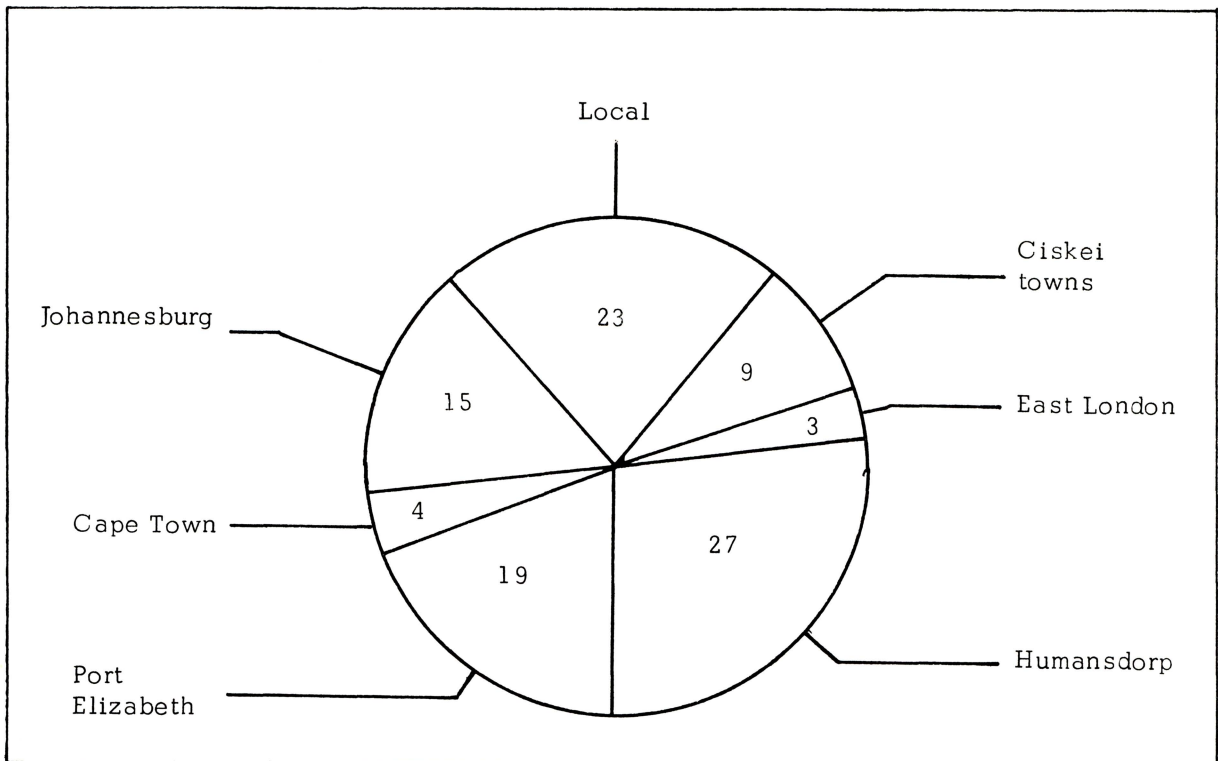
Migration is clearly age specific. Most migrants - an excessive number - are concentrated in the 15-34 age range. The female share of the total migrant force is also extremely high and unusual.



It is a great irony of the removal that a large number of people have returned to their place of origin in search of employment. Some never even changed jobs during the move. No fewer than 27% of the total labour force, that is more than a third of all migrants, work in Humansdorp and surrounding district. The males are employed in a variety of sectors. Construction, especially road construction, is the most important. Others work for Boskor, in manufacturing firms and a few on farms. The females are almost exclusively domestic servants.

The ties of the Elukhanyweni community to Humansdorp are the greatest of all:

Figure 3 LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT (%)



After Humansdorp, the most important destination for the migrant work force is Port Elizabeth. In this case as well, the construction and service sectors are the key employers. Manufacturing, by far the largest employer in Port Elizabeth, provides almost no jobs to migrants and hence virtually none to the work-hungry people of Elukhanyweni.

Migration to the mines is an extremely unpopular option. While still at Humansdorp the men were largely able to evade all the distress associated with employment in this sector and hence:

Our men are not used to working in the mines. None want to go there.

However, no migrant labour force can completely avoid the mines. Hence many, 15% of the work force, migrate to the mines on the Reef.

The other metropolitan centres such as East London and Cape Town do not draw many migrants from Elukhanyweni. Nor do small Eastern Cape towns. Furthermore, the white rural areas are totally irrelevant.

A few people commute on a weekly basis to Ciskeian towns like Alice, Peddie and Zwelitsha. Most of these are professionals such as teachers and nurses.

No systematic estimates of migrant earnings are available. Casual observation suggests that

work and therefore most female earnings fall within the fairly narrow range of R40 - 60 per month, while male migrant wages vary considerably. A family stated:

Our problem is that the head is the only one working full-time. He works at Humansdorp and only gets R40 per month.

Other male migrants receive incomes of anything between R100 and R200 per month. The average male migrant wage is probably somewhere between R120 and R150 per month.

It is clear that people now earn less as migrants than they did while at Humansdorp, but the extent of the average decline in wages is unknown. In some cases the decrease has been savage:

My husband used to get R130 per month building roads. Now he only gets R84.

But in most cases it has been more gradual:

My wages are less than before. I used to earn R140 per month whereas I now earn R122.

The community at Elukhanyweni has a passionate hatred of the migrant labour system. While at Humansdorp, not only were many engaged in fulltime subsistence agriculture, and not only were many more local jobs available, but when it became essential to migrate the distance involved was that between home and Port Elizabeth, the main centre for migrant employment at that stage, a mere 90 km away. Now, after a vicious removal, migration has become an imperative to which almost all families (80%) are exposed. Now migration over substantial distances, leading to very infrequent homeward visits, has become necessary. Little wonder then the intense antipathy towards migration. It is the underlying theme in numerous remarks:

Our problem is that we are forced to be migrant workers. Where I work at Humansdorp is far away from here and transport costs from Humansdorp are very big.

I wish to get work here so that family disunity will end and so that we cannot use so much on transport.

My work is very bad because I have to check at Port Elizabeth where I have no home.

And numerous demands:

Work should be created here for us.

We expect to get work where we stay.

I want to get work at my place and get a fair salary.

A hospital, butcher and baker and other places of work should be created here for us.

We should be given work here, no matter what type it is.

## INDUSTRY

Table 6 dealing with the sectorial composition of employment is set on the next page, for lack of space here. It has some significant features:

The service, construction and mining sectors have disproportionately large shares of total employment. The other sectors, and especially agriculture and manufacturing, are grossly underrepresented.

The service sector in particular is by far the largest employer with 36% of total employment. Its importance derives from the fact that it is virtually the only avenue open to females, be they migrants or not. An astonishing 74% of employed females have service jobs. The other large employers of female labour do not seem to recruit in Elukhanyweni.

Table 6 SECTORIAL COMPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT (%)

Industry	LOCAL			MIGRANT			TOTAL		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	4	6	5	2	6	3	3	6	4
Mining	0	0	0	31	6	21	24	4	16
Manufacturing	17	6	13	11	6	9	12	6	9
Construction	61	6	38	31	6	21	38	6	26
Transport	9	0	4	11	0	7	10	0	6
Trade	0	6	2	3	3	3	3	4	3
Service	9	76	38	11	73	36	10	74	36

Although male employment is more evenly spread across the various sectors than female employment, it is nevertheless heavily concentrated in the two great male migrant industries, construction and mining. Respectively 38% and 24% of employed males are in construction and mining.

There is a lack of employment opportunity for Elukhanyweni residents in manufacturing and trade. This is because in the Eastern Cape these two industries do not recruit migrants on an extensive scale.

The position with regard to agriculture is more complex, for although it draws large numbers of migrants from the Ciskei as a whole, very few from Elukhanyweni work on farms. This may reflect a reluctance on their part to enter agriculture. But it may also be due to the pattern of recruitment. There seems to be a conservatism in agricultural recruitment, a discrimination in favour of existing networks, and since they have bypassed Elukhanyweni in the past they continue to do so.

There is surprisingly little difference, mining aside, between local and migrant employment patterns.

## OCCUPATION

The occupational structure of the labour force is summarised here:

Table 7 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE (%)

Occupation	LOCAL			MIGRANT			TOTAL		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
White collar	13	16	14	12	15	13	12	16	13
Service	4	58	28	8	62	29	7	60	29
Skilled	13	0	7	18	8	14	16	5	12
Unskilled	70	26	51	62	15	44	65	19	46

The white-collar occupations form about 13% and service jobs about 29% of all employment. The rest (58%) are labourers.

In a clear sexual division of labour, males are mostly labourers (81%), whereas females

are mainly in the domestic services (60%). For reasons similar to those discussed in the previous section, the degree of concentration in the latter case is rather extreme.

The level of skills is relatively modest, only 1 in every 5 workers is skilled. This may on the one hand be a consequence of the agrarian background of the work force, or on the other it may be just a function of the structure of employment opportunities in the area.

Migrants are incorporated into the economy at marginally higher levels of skill than non-migrants. However the migrants to the mines are all unskilled. The skills are mainly found among the workers in manufacturing, and to a lesser extent those in transport and construction.

## RECRUITMENT

The overwhelming majority (72%) found their present jobs through their own search activity. How they managed to have their jobs registered at the relevant urban labour bureaux is not clear. It is possible that exceptions have been allowed, especially to those who work in Humansdorp. The law provides that before entry into a prescribed area, an African from a bantustan must be in possession of a firm offer of employment that was obtained through a labour bureau, an employment agency or a call-in card, otherwise a job cannot be registered and is therefore illegal. Although this regulation has not always been strictly enforced, in recent years there has been a tightening up. At any rate, however they managed to organise the registration of their employment, there are nevertheless complaints about harassment and arrests in this regard.

This question should also be related to the efficiency, as an employment agency, of the system of labour bureaux. The Riekert Report acknowledged that the bantustan government labour bureaux are ineffective in providing employment to bantustan workseekers. This is borne out by the fact that only 18% of the jobs held by Elukhanyweni residents were obtained through a labour bureau, and most of these were mining jobs that went through private recruitment agencies such as TEBA (Chamber of Mines). People maintain that it is almost impossible, with or without bribes, to find employment through the official labour bureaux.

This no doubt explains why people have to search for themselves and have to run the associated risks of either discovering that a job found in this way cannot be registered, or worse still, arrest and imprisonment.

Table 8 RECRUITMENT (%)

Self	72
Labour bureaux	18
Network	10
Total	100

The network of family and friends was not entirely irrelevant in finding local employment. About 10% of all the jobs were found in this way.

## JOB LENGTH

The next table summarises information with regard to job turnover, and especially the effects on this of a removal:

Table 9 JOB LENGTH ACCORDING TO PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT (%)

	Less than 2 years	Since removal	Before removal
Local employment	70	96	4
Migrant employment	47	59	41
Humansdorp	36	43	57
Port Elizabeth	50	61	39
East London	80	100	0
Cape Town	71	100	0
Johannesburg	50	67	33
All employment	54	70	30

Most people have had their current jobs for a period of less than two years. This trend is especially pronounced in the case of local employment and jobs in Cape Town and East London.

It is clear the resettlement has had a considerable effect on job turnover. About 20% of all employment dates from the period commencing with the removal. Some people, though, and especially in the case of those with Humansdorp jobs, have managed to retain the ones they had prior to the removal. But it is also significant, noticeably in the instance of Humansdorp, that people have managed to find employment in the centres since the move.

#### INFORMAL SECTOR

The informal sector is not significant at Elukhanyweni. Only 7% of the families are engaged in such activities. The position is summarised by one woman:

I have a knitting machine but business does not go well here.

Quite simply, an informal sector cannot thrive in the absence of a formal sector close by.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment rate in Elukhanyweni is 12% for males and 22% for females. This gives an overall unemployment rate of 16.2%. By any reasonable standards these are high unemployment figures and the community is acutely aware of the problem:

We are starving here because we have no money which is caused by lack of work.

In this place unemployment is very rife.

Our problem is that we have not got enough money as a consequence of scarcity of work.

Here we are not working because jobs are scarce.

And the consequent social problems:

We are not working here so some of us are just wanderers.

We are unemployed and so some of us are wanderers.

We are wanderers for there is no work for us.

There is not enough work here, thus there are loafers here.

We have a problem with thieves, people are stealing because most of them have no fields and work.

There are people here who drink too much because they have nothing to do .

The tables below enable us to construct a profile of the unemployed:

Table 10 UNEMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

Categories	Unemployment rate	% of unemployed
Male aged 15 - 24	21	28
25 - 64	5	10
Female " 15 - 24	42	29
25 - 64	17	33
Total	16	100

Table 11 UNEMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY

Previous work experience	Unemployment rate	% of unemployed
in agriculture	24	7
mining	17	17
manufacturing	0	0
construction	7	10
service	15	33
No previous work experience	N/A	33*
Total	-	100

Table 12 UNEMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Previous work experience	Unemployment rate	% of unemployed
white collar	0	0
service	15	27
skilled	0	0
unskilled	14	40
Total excl. * in Table 11	-	67

Females and school-leavers, and especially young females, run a considerable risk of being unemployed. Agricultural, mining and service sector workers have an above average chance of becoming unemployed, and so have service and unskilled workers. On the other hand, it is unlikely that an adult male working in manufacturing or construction and holding a white-collar or skilled job will become unemployed for any length of time.

The typical unemployed person is female and/or young, and with either no previous work experience or with experience as a service or unskilled worker.

The duration of unemployment is in 90% of the cases in excess of one year, and sometimes much longer.

Although unemployment is widespread in Elukhanyweni, in comparison to other resettlement areas and the reserves in general the level of unemployment is low. The reason for this is the special relationship that exists between the community and the Humansdorp district. Many people, both males and females, have either retained the jobs they had prior to the removal or been able to find new jobs in the area. Without this headstart the unemployment rate would be much higher. If for example we assume that half of those currently employed at Humansdorp would be unable to find employment elsewhere, then the unemployment rate could rise to 27%, which is similar to other such black unemployment figures.

However, despite the persistence of the link with Humansdorp, there is now, according to 65% of the questionnaire respondents, more unemployment in the community than before the removal:

We could get jobs there, here there are no jobs.

There was more work in Humansdorp, but here it is scarce.

Work was not as scarce as it is here.

These subjective views seem reasonable in the light of the fact that the community was more favourably situated with respect to the labour market before the removal. The Tsitsikama is much closer to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, and the district itself is not as densely populated with potential labourers as Elukhanyweni. About 65% of presently occupied jobs could have been more or less easily obtainable before the removal. Additional employment, over and above substitute jobs for the 35% of currently held jobs which would have been unobtainable from the Tsitsikama, would we may assume have been readily available.

There is naturally a yearning for more and better jobs:

If only there could be more work.

Wages of workers should be increased.

## INCOME AND LIVING CONDITIONS

### INCOME

As was stated earlier, the dependency rate at Elukhanyweni is relatively high. On average there are ,4 local earners, 1,5 migrant or commuter earners and ,4 pensioners per family.

Unfortunately no reliable information on average family incomes is available. Nor do we have accurate data on the various types of earnings. Although most migrants (93%) send remittances to their families at regular intervals, as can be expected under the circumstances, the exact amounts involved are unknown.

Nevertheless some estimates of family incomes can be developed. If for example we assume that the average local male worker earns R80 per month and local females R40, that the average male migrant or commuter earns R150 and remits R100 per month and female migrants earn R80 and remit R50, and that the average pensioner receives R30 per month (1981), then the average monthly cash income for a family of 7,1 members amounts to R213,93 inclusive of migrants, and of the 5,6 nonmigrant members comes to R153,10.

These figures should be treated with great caution because the incomes imputed to the different categories are mere guestimates. They cannot be used for instance to compare living standards between, say, closer settlements and rural villages. To give an idea of the sensitivity of the

estimated family incomes to the assumptions regarding wages and remittances, we may for instance revise all earnings up and down by R10. In the former case the family incomes become respectively R232,62 and R171,79, while in the latter they are R195,24 and R134,41. The actual figure is probably somewhere between the high and low estimates. To get some feel for these estimates it may be worth noting that the 1980 Household Subsistence Level for a family of 6 living in the Peddie district was calculated at R170,66. It is quite likely that the average household in Elukhanyweni would find itself somewhat below this level.

It is furthermore significant that, in terms of our estimates, only 16% of the total cash income at Elukhanyweni is derived from local services. A further 8% comes from transfer payments. The rest, 76%, is generated by migrant and weekly commuter wages. The dependency of the community on migrant earnings is therefore nearly total.

## POVERTY

Average family income is, however, an unreliable indicator of poverty in an area because the most immediate determinants of poverty, household income and household size, are unequally distributed across a community. To measure the incidence of poverty, the sample of households was subdivided into four poverty equivalence classes. The focus is exclusively on the permanent resident component of each household.

The most affluent group consists of families who are better off than a family of 6, consisting of say 3 adults and 3 children, with an income of roughly R240/R270 per month. This group includes 18% of the sample. Typical examples are a family of 5 with a teacher as a breadwinner, or a family of the 5 remaining members receiving remittances from 3 migrant earners. Among this group are a few households which might be described as comfortable. The salient characteristic of the households in this group is the relatively small number of children attached to them.

The next group, consisting of 31% of all the households, are those who are worse off than the first group, but somewhat better off than a family of 6 with a monthly income of around R150/R180. These households usually have between 2 and 3 earners who contribute towards the family maintenance. They are probably able, in a fashion, to make ends meet.

Thus about half the households seem to manage. The rest live under much harsher conditions.

The third class (27%) consists of decidedly poor people. A typical example would be a family of 6 with between R60/R90 and R150/R180 per month. A couple with few children with the male in migrant employment would be another. In fact many of these households are average-sized families with a single, normally male, earner. Clearly many of these people will be short of what is commonly called the necessities of life.

The rest, about a quarter of the people at Elukhanyweni, are the destitute. Examples: family of 7 with one female in domestic service, family of 4 with a single pension, family of 9 with the remittances of one male migrant, family of 8 with no cash income.

For most of these families, meat is a rare monthly occurrence. They live on a diet consisting of maize, dry bread, tea or coffee and the occasional green vegetable. Below is the diet table of one such family. It is completely representative. (This table must go on the next page, for lack of space here.)

One can only guess how these people survive. Sometimes kinship relations come to the rescue:

My sisters who are married support us with food as well as money.

Otherwise they beg and borrow.



DIET

Table 13 TYPICAL DIET TABLE OF A POOR ELUKHANYWENI FAMILY

How often does your household eat the following foods?						
D = daily, S = every 2nd day, T = twice a week, W = once a week						
L = less than once a week N = less than once a month						
	D	S	T	W	L	N
MEALIE MEAL/SAMP/ETC	✓					
SPINACH /BEANS/LENTILS/GREENS			✓			
POTATOES/RICE					✓	
MILK				✓		
TEA/COFFEE	✓					
SUGAR	✓					
MEAT					✓	
EGGS					✓	
FISH						✓
CHEESE						✓
BREAD	✓					
BUTTER/MARGARINE/FAT					✓	
JAM						✓
OTHER (specify)						

Malnutrition is widespread at Elukhanyweni. A diet table for the whole community is provided below.

Table 14 EATING FREQUENCY IN ELUKHANYWENI HOUSEHOLDS (%)

Commodities	Daily	Twice weekly	Weekly	Monthly
Carbohydrates: Maize	93	7	-	-
Bread	85	3	6	5
Sugar	98	-	1	1
Proteins: Meat	4	11	41	45
Eggs	16	9	16	60
Vitamins: Milk	23	8	10	60
Greens	27	40	30	5
Other: Tea/coffee	99	1	-	-
Butter	42	14	15	28

Evidently the diet consists mainly of carbohydrates such as maize and bread. Very few families eat protein-rich foods on a regular basis. In general meat and eggs are eaten on a weekly or monthly basis. The vitamin content is slightly better, about 70% of households eat some greens, typically cabbage, twice or more than twice a week. However, milk is rare, and so is butter.

Tea or coffee is drunk daily.

Feeding is in fact identified by the community as their main problem:

My problem is feeding my children.

Money is the source of every problem, feeding.

And more forcefully:

We are starving and our children used to faint because of starvation.

My children are fainting at school because of starvation.

My children go to school with empty stomachs because of starvation.

My children usually go to school without having their breakfast because of starvation.

My children get fainted at school because they did not eat before they left the house.

I am too old to work, so I suffer from many matters. My grandchild Thozama fainted because of hunger one day.

## MALNUTRITION AND MORTALITY

These inferior diets have taken their toll in terms of child deaths and diseases, especially during 1979:

There were terrible child deaths in 1979, at times the people were burying 10 children a week. It started with stomach trouble and the passing of blood, but it was caused by starvation.

From a press report (EPH, 28.08.79):

According to the sister in charge of the clinic ... 90% of the children were malnourished .... She often sent cases of kwashiorkor to the nearby hospital ... the death rate from malnutrition was higher inside Elukhanyweni than in the rest of the area, and though it was difficult to estimate the number of deaths, the clinic might hear of three a month.

Our sample reveals a mortality rate for children born between 1976 and 1980 of 220/1 000 births. Although things have improved since 1979 there is still high infant mortality and malnutrition in the settlement.

People are dying here.

The community is fully aware that the malnutrition and starvation are caused by lack of fields, scarcity of employment, low wages and high food prices, and that improvements in these areas are the conditions for a better diet:

We do not have fields, so we have poor feeding.

If only we had fields we could have something better to eat.

Our problem is feeding. Everything is bought because we have no fields.

People should be given fields so that they can survive.

We should be given some work in order to survive because some children faint of hunger.

We have inadequate feeding. My husband is the only breadwinner. More work opportunities should be created.

We are starving. If our wages can be increased some of our problems will be solved.

We expect our wages to be increased so we can support our family on food.

We do not get good and balanced meals because of food prices .

Unfortunately no significant improvements in dietary patterns are likely in the foreseeable future .

In short , the Humansdorp - Elukhanyweni removal has condemned a community to a state where there is less land , and fewer jobs , lower wages , poorer diets . And thus :

We are starving more than we did in Humansdorp .

## SERVICES

Although the quality of services has improved since people arrived at Elukhanyweni , and in some spheres , in comparison to Humansdorp , even better services are now being offered , they are still , in terms of any humane criteria , utterly , hopelessly and grossly inadequate .

## HOUSING

The state of accommodation has improved marginally since the removal . There are no longer any families who live in tents . There is now a recent development , in 1982 , of replacing the old temporary tomato-box houses with small two-roomed brick ones . By February 1982 , about 50 families were permanently settled in these new houses . The other families had mixed feelings about transferring to them when their turn came . It meant moving into a substantial house at last , but becoming far more cramped after the three-roomed tomato-box houses where the rooms are also larger and many people have added extensions of corrugated iron .

Yet these temporary structures are very inadequate . They have earth floors . Overcrowding remains . And as shelters , they fail dismally:

My house is built of planks . So when strong winds occur my cups get broken because the planks are only for the reduction of wind speed .

These houses easily get damaged by strong winds . They shake when a hurricane occurs . We do not want to get damaged as Glenmore people did .

Our house is built of planks , so when strong rain falls our house leaks .

This house is of planks , so it gets very cold when it is cold .

The system of sanitation , those lines and lines of pit latrines clustered in groups of four at the back of adjoining gardens , the hallmark of a resettlement camp , is a health hazard , especially now that serious epidemics have become a recurrent threat in South Africa:

These pit toilets are terrible . They are still the same as when we came four years ago . This is not healthy .

The toilets give us problems . They are too close to the houses and are of the hole system .

The toilets are holes . Some are full , but there is no-one willing to clear them .

Water is pumped from the river , purified through the addition of Jik and piped across the camp to taps shared by about 12 households each . The supply is rationed by a variety of devices . All water must be taken away by bucket . No hose pipes may be used , and no clothes , for instance , may be washed at the taps , 'otherwise you will be in jail at once' , the people said . Occasionally the taps are even disconnected on a rotational basis , and at times no water may be used for gardening purposes .

It is hardly surprising that there is a widespread hankering for better accommodation. In fact, it is the most persistent demand within the community:

We want houses, not these shacks.

Our houses should be extended and be made of brick.

Permanent houses should be built because these houses are not safe and they leak.

We need a water system of toilets, or at least a bucket system.

There should be at least five taps for each street, and the water should be purified without adding Jik.

But it is all mere wishful thinking. The Ciskeian authorities simply do not have the resources at their disposal to provide improved accommodation for the mass of resettled people and since independence it has ceased to be a concern of the South African government. Thus the officially termed 'temporary' houses are in fact permanent.

The full insanity of the removal is highlighted yet again by a comparison of the position before the removal with the present state of affairs. For the community the erosion of housing standards is, after land and labour, the most significant difference between Elukhanyweni and the Tsitsikama:

At Humansdorp we had houses, not matchboxes.

We had well built houses, but here we are given wooden ones.

This house is very small as compared to our last place's houses.

## EDUCATION

The educational levels attained by the Elukhanyweni population aged 7 and above are presented below.

Table 15 EDUCATIONAL LEVELS (AGED 7+)

Educational level	% of population
No education	8
Lower Primary	22
Higher Primary	32
Lower Secondary	29
Standard 9+	9

They compare favourably with that of any other rural black community. More than 70% of the population have completed a Std 5 course or better. Only a small number have no education at all.

Educational facilities at Elukhanyweni are poor. There is only one ten-roomed school in the camp itself. It was estimated that it has 380 pupils and 7 teachers. This gives a pupil-teacher ratio of 54. Furthermore it caters for only half the children in the settlement. The rest, it seems, commute to schools in other parts of the basin. Its one advantage compared to educational facilities at the Tsitsikama is that it goes all the way up to Standard 8.

Uniforms are compulsory, and in terms of income levels in the community they are extremely

expensive. The initial outlay for a senior student on fees, books and clothes amounts to R140. The raising of this sum produces an annual crisis in the community around January. One firm seems to have a monopoly over the sale of school uniforms throughout the Ciskei. There are claims that this monopoly extends so far that there is a prohibition on home-made uniforms.

The cost of education is a very common complaint heard in the settlement:

We have no money to buy books.

Books and uniforms are too expensive.

Sometimes my children do not pass because they do not have a uniform.

We expect to get free and compulsory education for our children.

## OTHER FACILITIES

The settlement is served by a clinic staffed by full-time african nurses. There is a hospital nearby at St Matthew's. The clinic and the hospital both had a bad name among the people we met. Some families even go to the huge effort and expense of taking the sick to a trusted doctor in Humansdorp rather than waiting in the local clinic. They added that they would far rather be referred to hospital on the Humansdorp side where treatment would be quick and good.

There are several illegal and informal shops in the camp, but prices are high. A loaf of brown bread costs 35c (February 1982), a kg of sugar 65c. People also buy at the shops in Keiskammahoek. Apparently even there the prices are high.

Wood, which was readily available in the Tsitsikama, is virtually unobtainable in Elukhanyweni. Repeatedly people complained,

In Humansdorp there was plenty of wood, but it is scarce here.

A permit from the headman is required for cutting any bushes or trees around the camp. The nearby forests are nature reserves and it is therefore illegal to take any wood from these areas. Yet some people do risk collecting illegally and as a result there are occasional arrests. In the main, people resort to buying paraffin:

Here we must buy paraffin because of lack of wood.

Other facilities include temporary churches, a 'sports' field and a regular bus service to Keiskammahoek.

## COMMUNITY RELATIONS

We did not investigate community relations in any detail. The CNIP has a presence and is forever collecting money for the national monument at Ntaba kaNdoda. We do not know how strong its presence is.

There are very definite divisions within the broadly defined Elukhanyweni community. It would

seem that the few who co-operated in the move right from the start received land in the Keiskammahoek basin. Some of these, including the headman, are even members of the irrigation scheme. The headman, not surprisingly, now feels that the move on the whole was a good thing.

Most of the community stand in opposition to this group, known as the inywaki (collaborators). They resisted the move as much as they could, received no compensatory land, and want to return. Some researchers in the area picked up scathing comments about the inywaki.

The potential for conflict has been defused somewhat because the landed group have moved out of Elukhanyweni itself in order to live closer to their land. On the other hand, the landed group seem to occupy many of the positions of local authority in the community. The headman is the obvious example. It is only to be expected that his appointed councillors share his outlook. As a result some people feel their complaints are not taken seriously and that the economic allocative function of the council is used against them. Unfortunately we do not know how extensive these feelings are, how the ensuing conflict is expressed, or for that matter whether the council has effective control and a debilitatingly divisive effect on the community.

### 3.5.5 Conclusion

The Elukhanyweni people basically want one thing, and that is to return to the Tsitsikama.

I don't want any improvement. I don't know about the others. I just want to be escorted back to Humansdorp.

If only they can return me back to Humansdorp to stay there I will be like a fish in the river.

On several occasions they have tried reversing the removal. In 1979 they wrote a letter to Dr Koornhof in which they mentioned some grievances and asked to be allowed to return. A blunt refusal from the Department followed.

In early 1982 the removal captured public attention again. The PFP, who had received requests for assistance from the people in their struggle to return, after a series of probes demonstrated in parliament that the proposed sale of the Mfengus' land at Humansdorp to white farmers, which was about to take place, contravened a number of laws, in particular that the land had not yet been formally excised from the schedule to the 1913 Land Act. Such excision requires a resolution of parliament. The resolution must also specify the compensatory land. After initial denials and a claim by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries that reports in the press were 'extremely malicious', Dr Koornhof announced that a select committee would be established to make recommendations to parliament on the excision.

In June the select committee duly reported, not surprisingly to recommend the immediate excision of the land. Then at the final sitting of parliament, after a heated debate, a resolution was passed in the early hours of Saturday, June 12, regularising the excision of the land. During the debate Mr Moorcroft (PFP, Albany) highlighted one of the most bizarre aspects of the consolidation process. In terms of the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936 no african land may be excised from the schedule to the 1913 Act unless compensatory land is awarded to the SADT. But this compensatory land need not go to the people involved. In fact the law only specifies that it must be in the same province. The resolution complied with this easily enough. It handed over the land which was originally destined for the Crossroads squatters to the Trust. This land in turn is earmarked for inclusion into the Transkei. In other words, the State did not even compensate the bantustan that received the Tsitsikama people, much

less the people themselves .

The sale of the Tsitsikama land , which a representative of the Department of Agriculture called potentially the most productive in the country , the New Zealand of South Africa , could therefore proceed . The intended selling price , which has been described as a gift , exceeds R1 million .

During this period the Elukhanyweni community mounted a last-ditch attempt to return to the Tsitsikama . A delegation was sent to meet Dr Koornhof . He refused to grant them an interview and instead referred them to the Ciskei Department of Foreign Affairs as they were now citizens of an independent State . What this meant can easily be deduced from the response of the Ciskei authorities , who had already previously refused to assist the community . The Rev Xaba could only say that the leader of the delegation wasn't even a Fingo and that the real problem with the issue was that white political parties made blacks their political football . The delegation was thus left with no other option but to sit and watch from the gallery as parliament put the final seal on the removal .